

Reports, of the
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

NO. 68, PART I

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON CALIFORNIA INDIAN TRIBES

C. Hart Merriam

Compiled and Edited by Robert F. Heizer

University of California Archaeological Research Facility
Department of Anthropology
Berkeley

October 1966

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON CALIFORNIA INDIAN TRIBES

PART I

PART II: ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA INDIAN TRIBES [to be published]

PART III: ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON CENTRAL CALIFORNIA
INDIAN TRIBES [to be published]



C. Hart Merriam and Dave Mauwee, Pyramid Lake, Nevada
September 29, 1938

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Acknowledgment is made to Dr. S. Dillon Ripley,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, for a
grant from the E. H. Harriman Fund to support the
publication of REPORT No. 68, Parts I, II, and III.



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INTRODUCTION

Robert F. Heizer

Clinton Hart Merriam was born in New York City on December 5, 1855 and died in Berkeley on March 19, 1942, at the age of eighty-seven. His life and activities as a zoologist and ethnologist have been treated at length in obituaries and the reader is referred to these for details.¹

Merriam's early years, beginning in 1872 when he was a member of the Hayden Survey studying birds in the Yellowstone region, were mainly devoted to both ornithology and the practice of medicine. He secured his M.D. in 1879 from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University. In the early 1880's his interests began to turn to mammals, and in 1885 he became the first director of the newly created Division of Entomology and Mammalogy in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In 1905 this Division became the Bureau of Biological Survey, and long afterward, in 1939, the Bureau was transferred to the Department of the Interior, where, joined with the Fish Commission, there was formed the present Fish and Wildlife Service.

In 1890 Merriam's report on the biota of the San Francisco Mountain area of Arizona² outlined his ideas on causes determining distribution of plants and animals, and contained a discussion of life zones, a concept which he has primary credit for developing.

In 1899 Merriam accepted the commission to organize and direct the Harriman Alaska Expedition which was financed by E. H. Harriman. About 1900 his natural history interests became directed to California where he built a home at Lagunitas in Marin County, and about this time he began to record observations on California Indians.

In 1910 Mrs. E. H. Harriman, widow of the man who had supported the Alaska Expedition a decade earlier, was approached with the suggestion that she provide Merriam with a life endowment to carry on research. The outcome was the establishment of the Harriman Trust, administered by the Smithsonian Institution, under which Merriam was to follow whatever lines of research he wished. Freed of administrative duties and liberally supported by the Harriman Trust, Merriam set to work by himself, with an official connection as Research Associate of the Smithsonian Institution, doing full time research. But it was not the subject of North American mammals to which he primarily devoted himself (much to the disappointment of his mammalogist colleagues whose efforts had helped to establish the

¹ See p. 7 for end notes.

Harriman Trust), but to studies of California Indians. Having seen their pitiful condition and noting that each year saw the few remaining survivors of aboriginal tribes die off, Merriam plunged into an active program of interviewing Indians and recording information which they provided him. He was aware of the value of information which was being lost through Indian mortality and an insufficient number of investigators, and it is to his great credit that he pursued the work of recording with such energy and purpose. This activity covered the years 1910 to 1937.

His ethnological investigations were not Merriam's sole interest after 1910, however, and the following tabulation of his publications may help to set the record straight on the matter of his continuing concern with mammals. The list begins with the year in which his first ethnological paper was published.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of published papers</u>		<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of published papers</u>	
	<u>Ethnology</u>	<u>Mammalogy</u>		<u>Ethnology</u>	<u>Mammalogy</u>
1903	1	10	1919	0	4
1904	1	10	1920	0	1
1905	1	5	1921	1	2
1906	0	2	1922	1	2
1907	1	2	1923	2	1
1908	2	7	1924	1	2
1909	2	6	1925	0	2
1910	1	3	1926	4	2
1911	0	0	1927	1	1
1912	0	3	1928	2	0
1913	0	1	1929	1	2
1914	0	4	1930	5	3
1915	0	3	1931	1	0
1916	2	4	1932	0	3
1917	2	2	1933	0	0
1918	1	2	1934	0	1

Total number of papers published during this period: ethnology, 33; mammalogy, 90.

The tabulation reveals that a strong interest was maintained in biology, and that the ethnology played a secondary role in his publications.

For some reason, although he gathered abundant data,³ Merriam did not publish very much on California Indians. With relatively little effort

he could have prepared fifty papers similar to his monograph on the Pit River tribes. Why he did not publish more of these detailed studies of tribal territories, names of tribal subdivisions, and of villages cannot be answered, unless, because he was an extraordinarily thorough worker, Dr. Merriam was rarely satisfied that all of the information potentially available had been secured.

Dr. Merriam was not trained formally in ethnology, and several of his biographers have pointed out that he believed that by applying the methods he had used in zoology he could achieve more exact distribution of "types" (as defined by dialects) than could the professional ethnologists. His interests in Indians were quite specialized and mainly concerned the recording of word lists (written in printed schedules and including terms for plants and animals), names and locations of villages, terms for neighboring tribes, and exact geographic boundaries of tribes.

Merriam's idea of how to study Indians is illustrated by the following statement which he wrote as part of the introduction to an unfinished work on basketry:⁴

Indians need to be studied in relation to their background—in other words, in relation to their biological environment. This includes the forests, the animals and the plants of their native country, their methods of hunting and fishing, the uses of materials in the construction of their dwellings, utensils and clothing, and the various animal and vegetable products used for food and medicine.

Indians are born naturalists, familiar from earliest childhood with the animals and plants of the regions in which they live. It is not strange, therefore, that their occupations and beliefs—in fact, their entire lives and thoughts—center about natural objects.

It follows that students of ethnology who are unfamiliar with animals and plants in the field labor under an insurmountable handicap.

In recording Indian words Merriam used a simple phonetic system which did not meet the requirements of accuracy which linguists, even in 1910, demanded. R. B. Dixon⁵ referred to Merriam's phonetic system as "aggravatingly unscientific spelling," but Kroeber, in his evaluation of Merriam as an anthropologist,⁶ takes another, and more understanding, position, which is that Merriam "did not set out to do linguistics, did

not profess to, and obviously would not have known how," and that the "nontechnical" phonetic system which Merriam employed was a means to an end rather than an end in itself, which is what linguistic inquiry per se would have been. Merriam apparently felt that ethnology should be communicated to the public, and wrote in his monograph on the Pit River tribes:⁷

My work in anthropology has been done not for the ultra specialist [in linguistics] but for the average educated American who wants to learn about our aboriginal inhabitants. The alphabet employed [in writing Indian words] therefore gives the usual sounds of the letters of the English alphabet.

While most scientists strive to inquire, analyze, and publish as much as they can in order to achieve rewards of professional reputation (and decent salaries) while they are alive, Merriam, as an ethnologist, was self-appointed to the work after 1910, already had an outstanding reputation as a zoologist, and had been awarded a unique life—endowment for research whose direction he had the privilege of choosing. He apparently did not feel under any strong pressure to publish his findings on California ethnology, since his two books on myths and thirty articles are only a fraction of his data. It is quite clear to one who knows the collection of ethnological data acquired by Merriam, together with his file of correspondence with American ethnologists, that he did not feel himself "one of the gang." Whether he felt that he was not accepted by the professionals, nearly all of whom held academic or museum positions, or that, as a self-trained and independent research worker with his own ideas of how to make investigations, he did not speak the professionals' language, I do not know. Regardless of how he really felt about other American ethnologists, there is abundant evidence that he did not feel himself fully accepted as one of that relatively small group, that he felt some jealousy, and that in his investigations he was in competition with at least some other individuals. With J. P. Harrington of the Bureau of American Ethnology he felt a close relationship and the two shared confidences.

That Merriam believed he could make a distinctive contribution to the study of American Indians is clear. His method was to secure vocabularies, compare them, and derive a classification of "stocks" and related dialects within these. The technique was a simple one and of about the same degree of sophistication as that employed by J. W. Powell in his 1891 classification of North American Indian languages. By unremitting inquiry

he recorded many thousands of names for villages, and secured information on their location at the same time. Information was derived from the Indians about the differences in language between adjoining groups, and the boundaries of territories of tribal groups was elicited and recorded. All these data were then combined to be drawn on the map of California.

Merriam's interests in Indians, while warmly personal toward his informants and strongly supportive of their welfare as evidenced by his efforts to secure Federal aid for them, were professionally those of a natural historian. While he did not wholly ignore information on social and material culture, he obviously did not concentrate on those aspects of Indian life but was more concerned with their zoological and botanical knowledge, and with how—almost as though these were species—their distributions could be plotted and mapped. The concentrated effort in recording names and locations of villages, and in working out language areas, were all directed toward this end.

Merriam's discovery of the hitherto unidentified Tlo-hom-tah-hoi tribe on New River⁸ must have seemed to him much like discovering an important new animal species in an area apparently fully known to zoologists. And, perhaps for this reason, he felt very keenly the objections to acceptance of his conclusions on this group by R. B. Dixon.⁹

The contents of the present series of three volumes represent the balance of cultural ethnography in the collection. What remains that is original are lists of village names and vocabularies and word lists of plants and animals for nearly every California tribe. These constitute a rich source of information which is unique since the data are only partly duplicated by the work of others.¹⁰ No doubt, in the course of time, with living Indians no longer a source of information, the voluminous Merriam ethnogeographic data will be worked over carefully, and, considered with other available data, final assessments will be made of tribal territorial boundaries. The linguistic schedules collected by Merriam will be important to linguists who will be in need of such information for little known tongues. The long word lists of Indian names for plants and animals probably represent a unique body of data for so large an area and diversity of tribal groups, and beyond doubt significant findings will result from their careful analysis.

An effort has been made in the present work to publish not only what remains of the straight ethnographic data in the collection, but also to provide a sample of the kind of information which occurs in large quantity in the files. Lists of tribal and village names of the kind that appear here in the sections dealing with the Wintoon and Midoo tribes¹¹

(Part III) exist for nearly every California Indian tribe. Some of these are very extensive and the whole, if published, would require several thousand pages of text.

Part of the Merriam collection is a file of photographs of California Indian buildings. This file has been studied and a selection of what the present editor believes are the most interesting prints (negatives are only rarely present) has been made and are here published.

I should like to acknowledge the assistance of the following persons in connection with the preparation of this monograph: Mrs. Z. M. Talbot (daughter of Dr. Merriam); Dr. Leonard Carmichael, former Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; Mrs. Theodora Kroeber; Mrs. Alice Davis; Miss Sonia Ragir; Mr. Zenon Pohorecky; and Mr. Albert B. Elsasser.

November 26, 1962

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Postscript

Since 1962 the present manuscript has been awaiting publication as a number in the Smithsonian Institution Miscellaneous Collections.

In 1965 an alternative arrangement was made through Dr. S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, to publish the manuscript in three volumes of the University of California Archaeological Survey Reports, costs to be defrayed by a grant from the E. H. Harriman Fund.

It is a pleasure to express appreciation to Dr. Ripley for this assistance.

December 15, 1965

Notes

1. See Science, 95:45-46, 1942; Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, 32:318-320, 1942; California Historical Society Quarterly, 21:284-286, 1942; Journal of Mammalogy, 24:421-436, 1943; National Academy of Sciences, Biographical Memoirs, 24, First Memoir, 1945; C. H. Merriam, Studies of California Indians, University of California Press, 1955 (vii-xiv).

2. In North American Fauna, No. 3, Washington, 1890.

3. The C. Hart Merriam Collection, contained in a number of steel filing cases, consists of original ethnographic, linguistic, and ethnogeographic data, plus copies of historical accounts dealing mainly with California Indians. This collection was placed in the care of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California (Berkeley) in March, 1950, by the heirs of Dr. Merriam, Mrs. Z. M. Talbot of Berkeley, and Mrs. H. D. Abbott of Washington, D.C. The present editor has been, since 1950, the person primarily interested in California Indians on the staff of the Department, and the present series of three volumes is the latest of several publications of Dr. Merriam's data which have been assembled under his supervision. As originally agreed upon, Dr. Merriam's own style of phonetic rendering of Indian words and names has been preserved. Minor inconsistencies of spelling and use of accents and hyphens in native terms have been retained as originally written, it being thought best not to attempt any alterations which might cause future students to wonder what the source of variable spellings was.

4. Between 1895 and 1935 Dr. Merriam formed a superlative collection of Indian baskets, numbering about twelve hundred specimens. The reader will note numerous observations on names of basket forms, basket-making materials, and mention of purchasing baskets. This collection was purchased in 1962 with funds supplied by President Clark Kerr and presented to the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.

5. R. B. Dixon, Dr. Merriam's "Tlo'-hom-tah'-hoi." American Anthropologist, 33:265, 1931.

6. C. Hart Merriam, Studies of California Indians. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1955 (vii-xiv).

7. The Classification and Distribution of the Pit River Indian Tribes of California. Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections, 78 (3), 2, 1926.

8. The New River Indians Tlo'-hom-tah'-hoi. American Anthropologist, 32:280-293, 1930.

9. Op. cit. in note 5, pp. 264-267.

10. The most intensive ethnogeographical study done in California was by T. T. Waterman, Yurok Geography, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 16:177-314, 1920. A published work done in about the same degree of detail that Merriam's data would permit for large parts of the state is by S. A. Barrett, The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 6 (1), 1908.

11. In addition see C. Hart Merriam, Studies of California Indians, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1955 (149-187), for Shoshoneans and the Tuleyome.

UNPUBLISHED SHORT PAPERS

Classification and Distribution of Language Stocks
and Tribes in California

Dr. Merriam had, by 1939, drawn up a map showing the distribution of the language stocks and tribes as identified by him. Generally speaking, the dialect and stock areas agree with those of A. L. Kroeber, who published his map in 1925 in the Handbook of the Indians of California.¹ A still earlier map, on the scale of 30 miles to the inch, was published in 1877 by Stephen Powers in his classic Tribes of California.² The only still earlier attempt to map the locations (not the tribal boundaries) of California tribes was by Alexander S. Taylor, author of the famous "Indianology of California," which appeared in 1860.³ Taylor's map, which was drawn in 1864, is referred to by Hubert H. Bancroft in his works, but remained in the manuscript files of Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley until it was published in the California Historical Quarterly in 1941.⁴

Merriam's map presented here (map 2) is our best effort to include all boundaries upon which he had made a final decision, but not to go beyond this. Had Merriam wished, a great amount of additional tribal boundary detail could have been extracted from his records, but he did not choose to do so.

The tabulation given below shows how close the three classifications are in fact. Powers' classification is based upon comparison of word lists. He incorrectly classifies Yana with Maidu, Esselen with Salinan, and Miwok with Mutsun. Kroeber, basing his classification upon intensive analyses which yielded evidence of genetic relationships, places twelve of Merriam's stocks under the single Hokam family, five under Penutian, and three under Uto-Aztekan or Shoshonean.

Where exact boundaries are not drawn on Merriam's map (e.g. Yokuts, Chumash, Pomo, Yuman, Olhonian), the general area held by the group is indicated by location of the number. The list and map will aid the reader in identifying the tribal groups referred to by Dr. Merriam. The extreme fractionation of political groups and the small size of their territories made it advisable to show the Pomo tribes on a map of larger scale (map 3). Dr. Merriam identified a larger number of autonomous groups (tribelets) than did other workers.⁵

¹ See p. 12 for end notes.

Comparative Table of Linguistic Stocks as Mapped by Powers (1877),
Kroeber (1925), and Merriam (1939)

Merriam	Kroeber	Powers
Athapaskan	Athabaskan	Tinneh
Polikla	Algonkian	Yu'-rok
Soolahteluk	Algonkian	Wish-osk
Yukean	Yukian	Yu'-ki
Lutuamean	Lutuamian	Mo'-dok
Shastan)		Shas'-ta
Achomawan)		A-cho-mâ'-wi
Kahrok)		Ka'-rok
Tlohomtahoi)	
Chimareko)		Chim-a-ri'-ko
Yahnah)	
Pomoan)	Hokan	Po'-mo
Chumash)		Santa Barbara
Yuman)		Yuma
Washoo)		Washo
Esselen)	
Ennesen)		San Antonio
Olhonean)		Mît'-sūn
Winton)		Win-tūn'
Midoo)	Penutian	Mai'-du
Mewan)	
Yokut)		Yo'-kuts
Shoshonean)		Sho-sho-ni
Tongva)	Uto-Aztekan or Shoshonean	
Tubotelobela)		

One of Merriam's stocks, the Tlohomtahoi, was proposed in an article in the American Anthropologist (32:280-293, 1930), but a year later R. B. Dixon, in the same journal (33:264-267, 1931), argued that Tlohomtahoi is nothing more than the New River Shasta dialect identified by him (Dixon) in 1905.

For purposes of comparison, A. L. Kroeber's map is shown in Map 1.

NATIVE TRIBES, GROUPS, DIALECTS, AND FAMILIES OF CALIFORNIA IN 1770



- ATTEANAKAN FAMILY**
Oregon group
 1a. Rogue River (uninhabited)
Tolowa group
 1b. Tolowa
Hupa group
 1c. Hupa
 1d. Chilula
 1e. Whilkut
Mattole group
 1f. Mattole
Wailaki group
 1g. Nongati
 1h. Lemik
 1i. Sinkiyone
 1j. Wailaki
 1k. Kato
- ALGONKIN FAMILY**
 Yurok
 2a. Yurok
 2b. Coast Yurok
 3. Wiyot
- YUKIAN FAMILY**
 4a. Yuki
 4b. Huchnom
 4c. Coast Yuki
 4d. Wappo
- LUTUNMIAN FAMILY**
 5. Modoc
- HOKAN FAMILY**
Shasta
 6a. Shasta
 6b. New River Shasta
 6c. Konomibu
 6d. Okwanuchu
 6e. Achomawi (Pit River)
 6f. Atsugewi (Hat Creek)

- Yana**
 7a. Northern Yana (Nose)
 7b. Central Yana (Nose)
 7c. Southern Yana
 7d. Yahi
- Pomo**
 8. Karok
 9. Chimarko
 10a. Northern
 10b. Central
 10c. Eastern
 10d. Southeastern
 10e. Northeastern
 10f. Southern
 10g. Southwestern
- 11. Washo**
 12. Esselen
- Salinan**
 13a. Antoniano
 13b. Miguileo
 13c. Playano (doubtful)
- Chumash**
 14a. Obispeño
 14b. Purisimeño
 14c. Ynesheño
 14d. Barbareño
 14e. Venturoño
 14f. Emigdiano
 14g. Interior (doubtful)
 14h. Island
- Yuman**
 15a. Northern (Western) Diegueño
 15b. Southern (Eastern) Diegueño
 15c. Kama
 15d. Yuma
 15e. Halechidhoma (now Chemehuevi)
 15f. Mohave
- PANUTIAN FAMILY**
Wintun
Dialect groups:
 16a. Northern
 16b. Central (Nomlaki)
 16c. Southeastern (Patwin)
 16d. Southwestern (Patwin)
- Maidu**
Dialect groups:
 17a. Northeastern
 17b. Northwestern
 17c. Southern (Nisenan)
- Miwok**
 18a. Coast
 18b. Lake
 18c. Plains
 18d. Northern
 18e. Central
 18f. Southern

- Chinookan**
 19a. Saklan (doubtful)
 19b. San Francisco
 19c. Santa Clara
 19d. Santa Cruz
 19e. San Juan Bautista (Mutsun)
 19f. Monterey (Rumsen)
 19g. Soledad
- Yokuts**
Dialect groups:
 20a. Northern Valley (Chulamni, Chauchila, etc.)
 20b. Southern Valley (Tachi, Yauelmani, etc.)
 20c. Northern Hill (Chukchansi, etc.)
 20d. Kings River (Choinimni, etc.)
 20e. Tule-Kaweah (Yaudanchi, etc.)
 20f. Pano Creek (Paiuyami)
 20g. Buena Vista (Tulammi, etc.)
- TO-ATTEKAN (SHOSHONEAN) FAMILY**
Plateau branch
Mono-Bannock group
 21a. Northern Paiute (Paviotao)
 21b. Eastern Mono (Paiute)
 21c. Western Mono
Shoshoni-Comanche group
 21d. Koso (Panamint, Shoshone)
(Te-chemehuevi group)
 21e. Chemehuevi (Southern Paiute)
 21f. Kawaisu (Tehachapi)
- Serra River branch**
 21g. Tóbatulabal (and Bankalachi)
- Southern California branch**
Serrano group
 21h. Kitaneemuk (Tejon)
 21i. Allikik
 21j. Vanyume (Möbineyam)
 21k. Serrano
Gabrielino group
 21l. Fernandeño
 21m. Gabrielino
 21n. Nicoleño
Luiseno-Cahuilla group
 21o. Juaneño
 21p. Luiseno
 21q. Cupeño
 21r. Pasa Cahuilla
 21s. Mountain Cahuilla
 21t. Desert Cahuilla

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Map 1 (after Kroeber 1925)

Notes

1. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, Washington, 1925.
2. Stephen Powers, Tribes of California, Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, Washington, 1877.
3. Alexander S. Taylor, "Indianology of California," California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences (San Francisco), Vols. XIII-XX, 1860-1863.
4. California Historical Quarterly, Vol. 20:171-180, 1941.
5. Cf. A. L. Kroeber, op. cit. in note 1, pl. 36; S. A. Barrett, The Ethno-geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 6 (1), 1908; F. B. Kniffen, Pomo Geography, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 36:353-400, 1939; O. C. Stewart, Notes on Pomo Ethnogeography, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 40:29-62, 1943.

I. STOCKS AND TRIBES OF CALIFORNIA AS IDENTIFIED
BY C. H. MERRIAM

ATHAPASKAN (stock)

- 1a Tol'-lo-wa or Huss
- 1b Whil'-kut
- 1c Tin'-nung-hen-na'-o or Hoo'-pa
- 1d Tsa-nung-wha
- 1e Ma-we-nok
- 1f Kit-tel
- 1g Lo'-lahn-kok
- 1h Nek'-kan-ni
- 1i Mat-tol'
- 1j To-cho-be
- 1k Set-ten-bi'-den
To-kub'-be (around Garberville)
- 1l Tsen-nah'-ken-nes
- 1m Bah'-ne-koke-ah
- 1n Che-teg-ge-kah
- 1o To-chil-pe-ke'-ah-hahng or Kah'-to

POLIKLA (stock)

- 2a Polikla
- 2b Ner'-er-ner

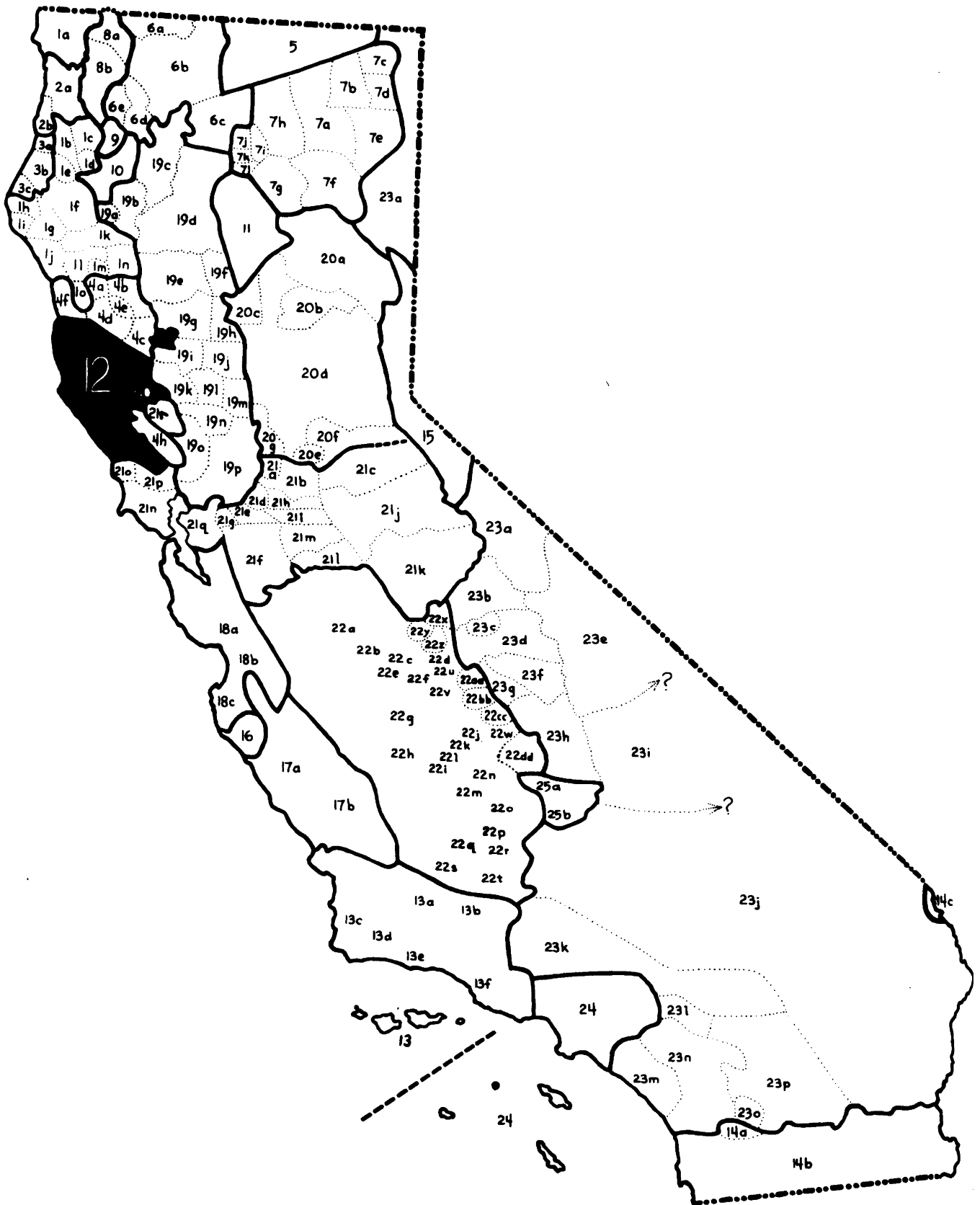
SOOLAHTELUK (stock)

- 3a Pah-te-waht
- 3b We'-ke
- 3c We'-yot

YUKEAN (stock)¹

- 4a Kah'-shut-sit'-nu
- 4b Oo'-kum-nom
- 4c On-kal-oo'-kum-nom
- 4d Hootch'-nom
- 4e Wet-oo-kum-nom
- 4f On'-ka-ton-til'-kah
- 4g Lil'-lak
- 4h Mi-yahk'-mah
Mi-yahk'-mah (around Rutherford and Oakville)
Moo-tis-tool (near Kellogg)
Mish-a-wel (near Geyserville)

¹ See p. 21 for end notes.



Map 2. Indian linguistic stocks, tribes, and territories in California as determined by C. Hart Merriam.

LUTUAMEAN (stock)

5 Mo'-dok

SHASTAN (stock)

6a Wah-te'-roo
 6b Ke'-kahts
 6c O-kwahn'-nu-choo
 6d Hah-to-ke'-he-wuk
 6e Ko'-no-me'-ho

ACHOMAWAN (stock)²

7a At-wum'-we
 7b As-tah-ke-wi'-che
 7c Ha'-we-si'-doo
 7d Ko-se-al-lek'-te
 7e Ham-mah'-we
 7f Ap-woo'-ro-kae'
 7g At-soo-ka'-re
 7h Ah-ju-mah'-we
 7i To-mah-lin'-o-he-moi
 7j Mo-des'-se
 7k A-me'-che
 7l E-poo'-de

KAHROK (stock)

8a Kah'-rah-ko'-hah
 8b Ah-rahr

TLO'-HOM-TAH'-HOI (stock)

9 Tlo'-hom-tah'-hoi

CHEMAREKO (stock)

10 Chemareko

YAHNAH (stock)

11 Yahnah

POMOAN (stock)

12a Mah'-to-po'-mah
 12b Sho-mul'-po'mah
 12c Po-mo'-ke-chah'
 12d Kah'-be-tsim'-me po'-mah



Map 3. Detail of large area shown in black on Map 2.

POMOAN (stock) [cont'd.]

12e	Mah-soo'-tah-ka'-ah
12f	Mah-too'-go
12g	Yo-ki'-ah
12h	She-a'-ko
12i	Sho-ko'-ah
12j	Den-nol'-yo-ke'-ah
12k	Yo-buk'-ka'-ah
12l	Mah'-kah-mo Chum'-mi
12m	Shah-kow-we Chum'-mi
12n	Me-hin-kow'-nah
12o	We-shum-tat-tah Kah-tah-we chum-mi (around Healdsburg) O-so-to (around Lytton) Me'-dah-kah-tum-mi (around Santa Rosa) Bah-tin'-kah-le (around Sebastopol) Chow'-we (around Sebastopol)
12p	Kah-chi'-ah
12q	We'-shah-chum'-mi
12r	Kan-no'-ah
12s	Lah'-ta
12t	Tah'-bo-ta'
12u	Bo'-yah
12v	Me'-tum'-mah Bool-dam' (around Caspar)
12w	Buk-kow'-hah
12x	Dan-no'-kah Ho-al-lek (along Middle Creek)
12y	Ki-yow'-bah ^{ch}
12z	Bo'-al-ke-ah Ye-mah'-rah ^{ch} (around Lakeport)
12aa	She'-kum
12bb	'Ham'-fo
12cc	Hah-benap'-po
12dd	Ku'-lenap'-po
12ee	Sho-te'-ah

CHUMASH (stock)³

13	Kah-she-nahs-moo Hool-koo-koo Ah-moo Kah-sah-kom-pe'-ah Kas'-swah Chu-mash
----	---

YUMAN (stock)

- 14a Tis'-se-pah
 14b Kam'-me-i (around San Diego)
 Diegueno (around Pine Valley)
 Es-kah'-ti (around Jamul)
 Yu'-mah (around Yuma Indian Reservation)
 14c Mohave

WASHOO (stock)

- 15 Washoo

ESSELEN (stock)

- 16 Esselen

ENNESEN (stock)⁴

- 17 Antoniano
 Migueleno

OLHONEAN (stock)⁵

- 18 Hoo'-mon-twash
 Moot-soon'
 Kah-koon' or Room'-se-en

WINTOON

- 19a Ni-i'-che
 19b Nor'-rel-muk
 19c Num'-soos or Wintu
 19d Num'-te-pum' Winton
 Daw'-pum (around Red Bluff)
 19e Wi-e'-ker'-ril (around Redbank Creek)
 Nom'-lah-ke (around Willow Creek)
 19f No-e'-mak (around Proberta)
 Te-ha'-mah (around Kirkwood)
 19g Dah'-chin'-chin-ne
 19h No-mel'-te-ke'-we
 19i Choo-hel'-mem-shel
 19j Ko'-roo
 19k Chen'-po-sel
 Lol-sel (around Bartlett Springs)
 19l 'Klet'-win
 19m Pat-win
 19n Kopa or Win
 19o Nan'-noo-ta'-we or Nap'-pa
 19p Poo'-e-win

MIDOO (stock)

- 20a No'-to-koi'-yo
 Sa-ap'-kah-ko (around Mount Meadows Reservoir)
 Nah'-kahn-ko (around Lake Almanor)
 O-so-ko (around Quincy)
- 20b Kum'-mo-win
- 20c Mitchopdo
- 20d Kon'-kow (around Yankee Hill)
 Tahn'-kum (around Oroville)
 Kow'-wahk (around Downieville and Sheridan)
 Ho'-mah (around Nevada City)
 To-sim'-me-nen (around Garden Valley)
 No-to'-mus'-se (around Folsom)
- 20e Es'-to-Nis'-se-nan
- 20f Nis'-se-nan
- 20g Nis'-sim Pa'-we-nan

MEWAN (stock)

- 21a Hul-poom'-ne
- 21b Mo-koz'-um-ne
- 21c Northern Me'-wuk division
 Hook-ka'-go (around Jackson)
- 21d O'-che-hak
- 21e Wi'-pa
- 21f Yatch-a-chum'-ne
- 21g Han-ne'-suk
- 21h Mo-kal'-um-ne
- 21i Chil-um'-ne
- 21j Middle Me'-wuk division
- 21k Southern Me'-wuk division
 Po-ho'-ne-che (around Mariposa)
- 21l Tu-ol'-um-ne
- 21m Si'-a-kum'-ne
- 21n Hoo-ko-e-ko
- 21o O-la-ment-ko
- 21p Le-kah'-te-wuk
- 21q Saclan
- 21r Tu'-le-yome

YOKUT (stock)

- 22a Chow-chil'-lah
- 22b Heu'-che
- 22c Pit-kah'-che
- 22d Kosh-sho'-o

22e	Ho-yo-mah
22f	Chu-ki'-yah
22g	No-to'-no-to
22h	Tah'-che
22i	Choo-nut
22j	Kah-we'-ah
22k	Ta-dum'-ne
22l	Choi'-nuk
22m	Wo'-wul
22n	Ko-yet'-te
22o	Pal-low-yam'-me
22p	Yow'-el-man'-ne
22q	Tin-lin'-ne
22r	Ham-met-wel'-le
22s	Tu-lum'-ne
22t	Too-lol'-min
22u	Ketch-a'-ye
22v	Wa'-cha-kut
22w	Yo-kol
22x	Chuck-chan'-sy
22y	To-ko'-lo
22z	Tal-lin'-che
	Toom'-nah (along San Joaquin)
22aa	Choe-nim'-ne
22bb	Cho-ki-min-nah
22cc	Wik-chum'-ne
22dd	Yow-lan'-che

SHOSHONEAN (stock)

23a	Northern Piute
	Koo-tsab'-be-dik'-ka (around Mono Lake)
	Pahng'-we-hoo'-tse (around Owens River)
23b	Nim or Monache
23c	Kwe'-tah
23d	Too-hook'-mutch
	Toi-ne'-che (around Piedra)
	To-win-che'-bah (around Dinkey Creek)
	Hol'-ko-ma (around Toolhouse)
	Ko-ko-he'-ba (around Toolhouse)
	Posh-ge'-sha (around Aubery)
23e	Owens Lake Piute
	Kwe'-nah-pat'-se (along Pine Creek)
	To'-bo-ah-haz'-ze (around Zurich)
	Chuk'-ke-she-rra-kah (around Kearsarge)
	No'-no-pi'-ah (around Mount Whitney)
23f	Wo'-pon-nutch

SHOSHONEAN (stock) [cont'd.]

- 23g En'-tim-bitsh (around Dunlap)
Wuk-sa'-che (around Badger)
- 23h Pot-wish'-ah
- 23i Panamint
Pak'-wa-sitch (around Cartago)
Moo-et'-tah (around Haiwee)
- 23j Southern Piute
New-oo'-ah (around Monolith)
Chem-e-we'-ve (around Lucerne Valley)
- 23k Ketahn'-nah'-mwits
Pur-vit-tem (around Lake Arrowhead)
Yohah'-ve-tum (around Pine Knot)
Mar'-ring-i-yum (around Forest Home)
- 23l Koos'-tam
- 23m A-katch'-mah
- 23n Pi-yum'-ko
So-bo'-ba (around Hemet)
- 23o Koo'-pah
- 23p Kah-we-sik-tem ("Cahuilla")
Wah-ne-he'-tem (around Banning)
Kah-we-sik-tem (around Palm Springs)
Pany-yik-tem (around Indian Wells)
Wah-ko-chim'-kut-tem (around Asbestos)
Pow'-we-yam (around Anza)
Sow'-wis-poh-kik-tem (around Santa Rosa Reservoir)
We-is-tem (along San Felipe Creek)

TONGVA (stock)

- 24 Tongva

TUBOTELOBELA (stock)

- 25a Pahn'-ka-la'-che
25b Tu'-bot-e-lob'-e-la

Notes

1. [Certain groups are not listed here or shown on the map. They are listed and mapped in a more detailed study by R. F. Heizer, Languages, Territories and Names of California Indian Tribes, University of California Press, 1967. The Tah-too and Nar-ko-po-mah are not included under this stock. Ed.]
2. [See note 1. The Il-mah'-we are not included here.]
3. [See note 1. The Tso-yin-ne-ah-koo are not included here.]
4. [See note 1. The Lahm-kah-trahm are not included here.]
5. [See note 1. The Hor-de-on, Achestah, and Yak-shoon not included.]

II. NEED OF A MORE RATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF INDIAN TRIBES

Of recent years anthropologists have acquired the habit of uniting two or more linguistic stocks whenever resemblances were detected. To my mind this is a pernicious proceeding, resulting from a misconception of the needs and principles of classification.

Such combinations defeat the object of classification, which, of course, is the recognition of closely related units in contrast to those remotely related.

If zoologists and botanists combined species, genera, and higher groups whenever interrelations were discovered, imagine the chaos that would result! For example: among mammals the weasel family (Mustelidae) comprises the weasels, martens, wolverines, badgers, otters, sea otters, and skunks, all of which are known to be related. But would any human being think of uniting them in a single genus?

The difficulty the anthropologists seem unable to overcome results from their failure to recognize enough categories of rank to cover their needs. They seem to feel that a group of Indians must be either a tribe or a stock, thus depriving themselves of the convenience, clarity, and accuracy of additional categories.

For example, they class equally as Shoshonean the so-called "Piute" tribes (both Northern and Southern) all the way from Oregon to Utah and the Grand Canyon, the so-called Serrano, Cahuilla, and Koo-pa of Southern California, the extremely different Tongva of San Fernando Valley, and the Los Angeles plain, the unique Tubotelobela of the Valley of the Kern, and even the distant Hopi of the Tusayan Pueblos of northeastern Arizona. The manifest handicap of such utterly inadequate classification must be pitifully apparent to all who know anything about the language of these tribes.

Equally objectionable are the stock names Mariposan, now happily discarded for Mewan; Salinan, still in use for Salinas Valley; and Wappo, a Spanish word referring to the fighting qualities of the Indians. Instead of Salinan, I long ago adopted En'-ne-sen, the proper name of the Salinas Valley tribe as given me by two old Kah'-koon women at Monterey in 1906. For this I claim no originality as the form Ensenes was published by Taylor in 1860, and in the form Ensen by Bancroft in 1885. Instead of Wappo, I have for years adopted their own name, Miyakma.

In choosing tribal names, my aim has always been to adopt, whenever feasible, that name applied by the tribe to itself. As is well known, however, some groups have distinctive tribal names for themselves, using in a tribal sense their word for "people." Thus, in California the tribal or stock names Midu, Mewah (or Muwah), Mewuk, Nim, Nuwuwah (or Newooah), Yahna, and Yokut have been adopted to designate the people so using these terms. This practice is not only current among American anthropologists, but it has the sanction of antiquity, for according to the high authority of the Encyclopedia Britannica the ancient Egyptians had no distinctive name for themselves, but proudly called themselves romi, meaning men or people.

On the other hand, all tribes have names for neighboring tribes. Many of these are derogatory and therefore naturally objectionable to the people to whom they are applied, for which reason I have abstained from using them.

Many anthropologists have adopted Spanish names, not only for tribes but also for stocks. My system revolts so strongly against this practice that I have not been able to acquire a frame of mind sufficiently cosmopolitan to permit the use of such terms as Costanoan, Serrano, Cupeño, Luiseño, Diegueño, and so on.

III. ALPHABETS AND INCONSISTENCIES

In the early days of ethnologic work in America the influence of exotic alphabets and pronunciations was dominant. This is shown by the writings of Gallatin, Hale, and Schoolcraft, and to a certain extent by Gibbs. Later, when the Bureau of American Ethnology came into existence, the example of these men, together with the strong personal influence of Albert Gatschet, who assisted Major Powell in organizing the Bureau, became irresistible. Gatschet was not only of the foreign school but was himself a foreigner (a Swiss), so that even Major Powell succumbed to the exotic influence.

When courses in Anthropology came to be established in some of our universities, foreigners, or the sons of foreigners, were the chosen teachers, so that the students, some of whom are leading ethnologists today, were trained in a foreign system and knew no other.

Hence it was inevitable that practically all technical anthropologists, when writing Indian words, should use the sounds of the letters in foreign alphabets. This, to my mind, is a calamity, for the reason that it imposes a formidable barrier between the professional ethnologist on the one hand and the average, educated American on the other.

This is not intended as in any way disapproving the use of technical language in strictly technical papers, but as a protest against the all too prevalent custom of using unfamiliar alphabets, terms, and expressions in general articles, thereby discouraging understanding and cooperation.

Returning to the matter of the alphabet, it is well to bear in mind that even in Europe there are notable differences in the spelling of words having the same sound, while among American ethnologists such differences are conspicuous. Furthermore, it is by no means an adventure to discover that the alphabet used in a certain paper differs materially from that employed by the same author in a subsequent publication.

Nevertheless there is general agreement—varied by an interesting sprinkling of exceptions—in the adoption of what are called the "Continental" vowel sounds. Thus, when ethnologists wish to convey the e sound of our alphabet, they usually write i, with the result that the Indian abode familiarly known as te-pee is written ti'-pi. I say usually, for now and then even a professional ethnologist finds this a hard one to swallow and condescendingly writes tepee in plain English!

Then we are told that letters of the alphabet must never be doubled, that the oo sound should always be written with the single letter u. This being the case, why do we find in the writings of eminent ethnologists such spellings as Chinook, Tillamook, Nootka, Noosak, and numerous others, all glaring violations of their rule.

And since they deplore the use of two letters for a single clear-cut sound, why do they insist on ai for i, writing Pai-ute instead of Pi-ute, and so on.

But they are inconsistent, for they write Ki'-owa instead of Kai'-owa. If Pai'-ute is correct, why not Kai'-owa; if Ki'-owa is correct, why not Pi'-ute? Then again, who among professional anthropologists ever writes Hai'-a-watha?

IV. PHILOGIC MONSTROSITIES

In writing Indian words, many anthropologists are opposed to the use of the hyphen. Thus no less an authority than Roland Dixon, in reviewing a scholarly contribution to the ethnology of California, states: "The advisability of such extensive hyphenation as is here used is open to question, and it is to be hoped that in further publications the forms will be given without this unnatural separation, convenient though it may be in some ways" (American Anthropologist, vol. 6, p. 715, 1904).

I hold the opposite view, believing that the liberal employment of the hyphen in the separation of syllables is most helpful both to the transcriber and the student.

The suppression of the hyphen, and the unnatural use of letters of the English alphabet to designate sounds wholly different from their usual and proper sounds, have placed before the student a bewildering conglomeration which, to the nonspecialist in linguistics, is truly appalling. For instance, what proportion of intelligent and educated English-speaking people are able to read such words as "SBETETDA!Q" and the following, taken at random from the writings of such distinguished anthropologists as Boas, Dixon, Gatschet, Goddard, Michelson, Sapir, and Swanton?

From Boas: ðisd'e'sdēL, qwantgesgA, lô'gaksgEsgA, aLkLamctx.

From Dixon: Kahā'masakanā'tsxsu, is'abunnatütsükum, Utcī'yaqig, K'ihī'tsinnihauwě, NēDī'wēbissim, lökōn'pinwēbissim, tsěkōn'webisstsoia, xūxwō'danapton, ma'wimuda'tcxun, kutok'kutcai'dananda, söntsedōnūdom.

From Gatschet: heshkatchkî'mish, vuyuyamke'dsha, tchiktchi'kash, titēlankidsha'tko, shuashuaktchtampka.

From Goddard: yayaxōtdillūw, axōLtcitdenne, mûñkutnikkyaō, miñkûtdekeyīmantcintcin, maxatcinminnexōlen.

From Michelson: Wātcināwā'kwagicisāwā!, Äp'Agicimugicisāwā! äAskipAgāme'kwisenigitcī!.

From Sapir: mitewā'galwaldik'uenigi, 'etc!ut!altc!yaun.

From Swanton: xAldā'ñgadayagAn, yuq!ā't!dāq.

From Boas and Swanton: wowe'winhoje'jainja, Hakiniklne'kjônêgê'jîni.

From the Handbook of American Indian Languages: yahlahaimubahutulbe.

Is it not true that only a handful of American scholars possess the specialized training necessary to the understanding of such philologic monstrosities as these; and is it not equally true that a hundred million people understand the alphabetic sounds of the English language and are able to pronounce unfamiliar words provided the letters have their normal sounds and the syllables are properly separated by hyphens?

Many persons in contact with Indians become interested and would be glad to contribute observations that might prove of value, but in attempting to check up in the literature, they are so discouraged and appalled by the array of ultra-technical forms that they pursue the matter no further.

Here, as in other branches of science, one is confronted with the same old question: Is it wiser to discourage by technical language those who seek information and whose support and assistance we need, or to invite cooperation by the use of language that all understand? In other words, is it more in the interest of science to restrict our audience to the small, albeit holy, circle of the ultra-erudite, or to encourage interest by addressing all who care to listen, in the hope of enlisting the cooperation of many? For now, at the eleventh hour, do we not need all the assistance we can obtain in the effort to rescue as much as may still be possible of our rapidly vanishing material?

V. USE OF THE LINGUISTIC TERMS "STOCK" AND "FAMILY"

A century ago Albert Gallatin, a man of great ability, profound learning, and varied attainments, laid the foundation of our knowledge of the Indian tribes of North America. By similarities of language, he grouped the tribes into categories¹ which he usually called "families," sometimes "nations," and more rarely "stocks." In one place he says that eighty-one tribes "have been divided into twenty-eight families," and in a footnote adds, "The eight great families embrace sixty-one of the distinct languages."

To make his meaning absolutely clear Gallatin explains: "It must, however, be understood that the expression 'family,' applied to the Indian languages, has been taken in its most extensive sense, and as embracing all those which contained a number of similar primitive words sufficient to show that they must, at some remote epoch, have had a common origin. It is not used in that limited sense in which we designate the Italian, Spanish, and French as languages of the Latin stock, or the German, Scandinavian, Netherlandish, and English as branches of the Teutonic, but in the same way as we consider the Slavonic, the Teutonic, the Latin and Greek, the Sanscrit, and, as I am informed, the ancient Persian, as retaining in their vocabularies conclusive proofs of their having originally sprung from the same stock."

In his synopsis of the Indian tribes of North America Gallatin states: "Whenever...a sufficient number of words have been found to be the same or similar in two or more languages, such languages have generally been considered as of the same stock, and the nations which spoke them as having belonged to the same family."

In the interchangeable use of the terms "family" and "stock," Powell followed Gallatin, and Kroeber followed Powell. Powell² states: "The terms 'family' and 'stock' are here applied interchangeably to a group of languages that are supposed to be cognate." And Kroeber, speaking of the "Diegueno," remarks: "We return once more to the much scattered Hokan family and enter upon the consideration of the last of the stocks represented in California—the Yuman."³

It thus appears that the three most eminent American anthropologists who during the past hundred years have discussed the classification of Indian tribes, have employed the terms family and stock interchangeably.

¹ See p. 30 for end notes.

Nevertheless, Kroeber and Dixon, in one instance at least, have given the term family two ranks, one higher than the other, for in their valuable pamphlet on the "Linguistic Families of California" (1919:54) they say that one result of their investigations "was the setting up of four larger families." This of course is a definite admission that the authors deliberately employed the term family to express groups of different rank, one included with the other. This may seem all right to an anthropologist but certainly is shocking to a zoologist or botanist.

Rather than coin a new term for groups next higher than family, why not simply accord stock the higher value, as I did more than thirty years ago in my paper on the "Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock of California,"⁴ and for groups lower than family accept the self-explanatory term subfamily?

And when it is ascertained—or at least believed—that in the remote past two or more present stocks had a common ancestry, why, instead of befogging current knowledge and making a mess of classification, would it not be better to adopt the self-evident term superstock for the resulting higher group?

For instance, when one speaks of the Mewan Stock everyone knows what is meant, but when five well-known stocks⁵ are fused under the heading "Penutian" and still called a stock, what has become of the value of terms? Surely superstock meets the crying need of a group-term to cover the results of profound studies of prehistoric linguistic affinities—possibly sometimes stimulated by the imagination—and has the advantage of permitting the continued use of stock names, names with which the anthropologic world has been long familiar.

The major curse of current anthropologic classification is its insufficiency, its inadequacy to express more than the two categories—Family and Tribe—with no provision whatever for groups of higher or lower rank.

A second curse is the confusion of the terms stock and family. These in the majority of cases are used interchangeably (as by Gallatin and Powell, and usually by Kroeber), though sometimes the one, sometimes the other, is given the higher rank.

To orderly minds, current usage is not only contradictory and confusing, but is positively repulsive. The remedy does not involve the use of a single new term, but merely the addition, when necessary, of one or the other of the two well understood prefixes, super- or sub-. Thus provision

would be made for nine categories (Superstock, Stock, Substock, Superfamily, Family, Subfamily, Supertribe, Tribe, Subtribe), a far larger number than needed for the expression of relationships.

Notes

1. [Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes in North America. Trans. Amer. Antiquarian Soc., Archaeologica Americana, II. Worcester, Mass., 1836. Ed.]
2. J. W. Powell, Indian Linguistic Families of America, North of Mexico, Bureau of American Ethnology, Seventh Annual Report, p. 11. Washington, 1891.
3. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78:709. Washington, 1925.
4. American Anthropologist, 9 (2), 341, 1907.
5. Namely, Wintoon, Midoo, Mewuk, Yokut, and Olhonean ("Costanoan").

VI. DISCONTINUOUS DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES OF THE SAME STOCK

In the case of Indian stocks composed of a number of tribes, the component tribes may be either in geographic contact or separated from one another by the territory of other tribes.

In cases of disconnected distribution of related tribes, the question arises as to whether an outlying band was separated from the main body by a superior enemy, or whether from discontent (due perhaps to intertribal quarrels or shortage of food supply) it voluntarily sought a new home. The latter explanation doubtless applies to the Shoteah, a Pomoan tribe surrounded by tribes of Wintoon origin.

On the other hand, certain tribes at present widely separated from their relatives appear to mark the limits of territory once continuously occupied. To this category I refer the Tuleyome of Lake County and the Hookoeko of Marin County, Mewan tribes whose nearest relatives were the Wipa of the Sacramento-San Joaquin delta, from whom they were long ago separated by an invasion from the north of Indians of Wintoon stock.

VII. A MONACHE-YOKUT PUZZLE: A NOTEWORTHY CASE OF WORD BORROWING¹

Some years ago, in comparing my vocabularies of the several Shoshonean tribes of Eastern California and Western Nevada, I was surprised to find that while the mammal names in use by the so-called "Northern Piute" bands of Mono, Walker, and Pyramid Lakes are in essential agreement, those of the Piute of Owens Valley—another division of the same stock and one whose territory adjoins that of the Mono Lake tribe—differ in ten or eleven names out of a total of twenty-five.²

On the other hand, comparison of the animal names obtained from the Piute of the east side of the Sierra Owens Valley with those of the closely related tribes of the west slope (Monache Piute) shows a remarkably close agreement, two-thirds of them being the same.

This is explained by the obvious fact that the ancestors of the west slope Piute or Monache came originally from Owens Valley, migrating westward through the high passes of the Sierra.

However, the discovery of this agreement by no means suggested the revelation that was to follow; namely, that nearly all the Monache Piute mammal names (that differ from those of their relatives of the Mono Lake and Owens Valley region) are identical or practically identical with corresponding names in dialects of the Yokut stock, a stock restricted to the hot San Joaquin Valley of the interior of California. And yet, as is well known, the languages of these two stocks (eliminating the names in question) are wholly different. It is obvious therefore that the animal names used by the Monache Piute were borrowed from the Yokut tribes on the west—tribes with which their ancestors came into contact after crossing the mountains from their original home in Owens Valley, no one knows how long ago.

While borrowing of individual words by adjoining tribes is well known, the wholesale adoption of a considerable body of words from the language of one stock by all the tribes of an important division of another stock is quite a different thing.

Dixon and Kroeber, in their studies of the resemblances of words in the languages of the various stocks of California, found that "beyond onomatopoeic names of birds there was no class of words that seemed more or less given than others to transference by loan." In the case under consideration, surprisingly few of the borrowed names are those of birds.

¹ See p. 35 for end notes.

But a much more remarkable thing has happened: a series of tribes' of the Shoshonean linguistic stock, instead of using the animal names of adjacent tribes of their own stock, have adopted a body of strange names from the language of an unrelated and widely different stock. So far as I am aware, no parallel is known.

Twenty-seven kinds of mammals (not counting the bats) occur in both Monache and Yokut territory and are known to the older people of both linguistic stocks. Sixteen of these have names essentially the same in both languages, eleven appear to have different names. The flying squirrel and the bats are omitted, the former because it is named from its voice, the latter because the number of different genera of bats in this region makes it impossible to identify them without specimens to show the Indians.

Comparison of Monache and Yokut Names of Genera of Mammals

Mammals whose Indian names are common to some or all of the tribes of both Yokut and western Monache:

Bear (<u>Ursus</u>)	Un-no; No-o
Raccoon (<u>Procyon</u>)	Ku'-che; Kitch'-e
Cougar (<u>Felis</u>)	Wa-ha'-shit
Gray fox (<u>Urocyon</u>)	Ow'-tsa
Otter (<u>Lutra</u>)	Nah-haht'
Mink (<u>Lutreola</u>)	Wah-ke-as; Wah-kish
Little spotted skunk (<u>Spilogale</u>)	Cha-choo
Badger (<u>Taxidea</u>)	Tran'-now; Ho'-nah
Elk (<u>Cervus</u>)	Shaw-koi
Antelope (<u>Antilocapra</u>)	Soi-yol; Soi-yo-te
Beaver (<u>Castor</u>)	Tu-big; Ta-pig
Gray tree squirrel (<u>Sciurus</u>)	Mow; Me-e; Muiyah
Chipmunk (<u>Eutamias</u>)	Te-witch-e; Witch-e-wo-tah
Cottontail Rabbit (<u>Sylvilagus</u>)	Ta-o

Mammals whose Monache and Yokut names differ radically:

	<u>Monache Names</u>	<u>Yokut Names</u>
Big skunk	Po-hitch	Chawch
Deer (<u>Odocoileus</u>)	Ta-hut'; Ta-hwing	Hoi
Bighorn (<u>Ovis</u>)	Koip; To'-ish	Lu-wes'-sip; De-wes-sup
Bobcat (<u>Lynx</u>)	Too-do-bitch	To-nul
Coyote (<u>Canis</u>)	E-shah	Ki-yu; Hoo-shoo

	<u>Monache Names</u>	<u>Yokut Names</u>
Weasel (<u>Mustela</u>)	Sis-soo'-gah (Tu-soo'gah)	Paw-hawt
Jackrabbit (<u>Lepus</u>) ³	Kum; Kah'-mah	Ho-mech; To-pul
Pocket gopher (<u>Thomomys</u>)	Ma-e; Mu-yah	Hun-hoot; Hos-ke-wits
Big gray ground squirrel (<u>Citellus beecheyi</u>)	Ek'-wa; We-ge-ah	Shit-kil; Wit-ra; Po-hal
Roundtail woodrat (<u>Neotoma</u>)	Kow'-wah	Ho-mutch; Hit-sit
Whitefooted mouse (<u>Peromyscus</u>)	Pung-e-je (Po-wij-je)	Ko-choi; Pitch-to
Brush rabbit	Tah-ho	Mah-je
Mole	Ha-ha-an-ho	Ateh-kil

Of the mammals enumerated above whose names differ radically in the two series, six—coyote, deer, bighorn, jackrabbit, gray ground squirrel, and woodrat—agree among themselves throughout the tribes of the Monache series but are wholly different in the Yokut series. These six Monache names, as might be expected, are essentially the same as those of their northeastern relatives, the Mono Lake Piute, leaving only four that fail to appear in the vocabularies of any of the neighboring tribes.

Mammals whose names are common to the Monache series of tribes and the Mono Lake Piute but differ in Yokut:

	<u>Monache Names</u>	<u>Mono Lake Piute</u>	<u>Yokut Names</u>
Coyote	E-shah	E-jah	Ki-yu; Hoo-shoo
Deer	Ta-hut	Tu-hu-dah	Hoi
Bighorn	Koip; Toi-ish	Koip	De-wes-sup
Gray ground squirrel	Ek-wa; We-ge'-ah	E-gua	Shit-kil
Jackrabbit	Kum	Kum'-moo	Ho-mech; Topul
Woodrat	Kow'-wah	Kah'-wah	Homutch; Hit-sits

Mammals whose Monache names differ from those of both Yokut and Mono Lake Piute:

	<u>Monache Names</u>	<u>Mono Lake Piute</u>	<u>Yokut Names</u>
Weasel	Sis-su-ga; Tu-soo-gah	Pah-bitch	Paw-hawt
Pocket gopher ⁴	Mwe-ah (or Me-e)	Ye-jib	Hun-hoot; Hos-ke-wits

	<u>Monache Names</u>	<u>Mono Lake Piute</u>	<u>Yokut Names</u>
Whitefooted mouse	Po-we-ge (Pong-i-je)	Po-natz	Ko-choi; Pitch-to and Sop-sop-its

Notes

1. [A very brief abstract of this matter was published by Merriam in Science, 72, No. 1847, p. 546, May 23, 1930. Ed.]

2. Much might be said also of the names of birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, and plants, but these open too large a subject for present consideration.

3. It should be stated that the Wuksache informants gave To'-pul, a Yokut name, for jackrabbit, while all the other Monache tribes gave Kah-mah, the usual name throughout the so-called "Piute" series of tribes.

4. In the case of the pocket gopher, the Tongva ("Gabrieleno") name M'waht is the only one discovered that suggests the Monache Mwe-ah.

VIII. POTOYENSEE LANGUAGE

The words listed below are taken from a scrap of manuscript¹ which was pasted in a book entitled "Three Years in California," by Walter Colton, published in 1850, which I purchased at a book auction in New York in June 1919.

"Conjugation of a verb in the language of the Potoyensee Indians on the Merced River, California:

Tuyecomi	to sleep
Tuyema	I sleep
Tuyese-a	Thou sleepeth
Tuyeco	He sleeps
Tuyecami	We sleep
Tuye Cote	Ye sleep
Tuye Con	They sleep
Loyoma	a flower
Hosokilo	a stone
Tule	a star
Chalato	a planet"

Fragmentary as it is, this bit of manuscript is of unusual value for the reason that it contains four words which prove that the stock to which the Potoyensee belong is Mewan, not Yokut as previously supposed.²

My vocabularies do not contain the verb "to sleep," but the four words given by Warde after the verb are well known to me as Southern Mewuk. They are Loyoma, a flower; Tule, a star; Chalato, a planet; and Hosokilo, a stone.

The word for flower in Tuolumne Mewuk is loimah, in Chowchilla Mewuk, loiyehmah—the same as Warde's loyama.

Warde gives chalato as the name of a planet. This is the Southern Mewuk word for star. The word tule which he gives for star is the Southern Mewuk name of evening star. Warde's hosokilo (written by me Ho-sok il-wah) for stone is not the general word for stone but the Southern Mewuk name of the white flint rock believed to have resulted from the transformation of Hos-sok-il-wah, one of the early Fire People, who was killed by Wek-wek with an arrow pointed with a flake of white flint.

¹ See p. 37 for end notes.

Notes

1. [Author of the manuscript was presumably the book's owner, Samuel Warde, who dates the linguistic record as April 18, 1855. Ed.]

2. [Handbook of American Indians (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, Vol. 2, p. 294, 1910) classes the Potoyanti (i.e. Potoyensee) as probably Mokoluman (i.e. Miwok or Mewan) in language affiliation. Ed.]

IX. FALSE IMPRESSIONS OF INDIAN INTELLIGENCE, CAPACITY AND LANGUAGE

One of the larger causes of misunderstanding between Indians and whites is the wide difference in point of view—the inevitable result of different heredity, different early contacts and associations, different training, and consequent differences in conceptions and beliefs. Add to this the inborn reticence of Indians and the knowledge that whites as a rule look upon them as an inferior people, and it is not difficult to realize that what is in an Indian's heart is rarely exposed to our unsympathetic gaze.

As a matter of fact the average Indian is a very intelligent person and a good deal of a philosopher. But his sphere of knowledge is a different sphere from that of the white man—each possessing a precious fund of information and beliefs unknown to the other. This might be represented by the front and rear wheels of a cart each revolving on its own axis—the area of the circles being wide apart. This is the reason that white men have so little conception of the intelligence and knowledge possessed by Indians and explains the too common idea that Indian languages consist of relatively few words and are insufficient for the expression of thought.

The Eureka Standard of May 25 has an article by Carl Marshall entitled "Indians responding slowly to education by the present system," which contains a number of truths and some very grave errors. The author tells his readers that "the Indian language was a crude affair of a few hundred symbols of what he heard or saw or felt in his unexpansive existence. It expresses only by association, lacking even the logic of the sentence."

This brief statement, obviously intended to be accurate and fair, contains two monstrous untruths: First, the untruth that the language comprises only a few hundred symbols, whereas it contains several thousand words; and second, that it lacks "even the logic of the sentence," whereas it is made up of sentences.

That so well intentioned a writer could make such serious mistakes shows how little white men know of the language and thoughts of Indians. This imperfect knowledge lies at the root of innumerable misunderstandings

Mr. Marshall, in speaking of Indians, says he has "yet to hear of one of them having a savings account." I admit that too large a proportion of our Indians are thriftless, but nevertheless even in California a number of them have substantial bank accounts.

Again, Mr. Marshall says, "The idea that one (an Indian) should be kind or generous or self-sacrificing to any other than his blood relations seems funny to them." This is hard to understand in view of the personal experiences of many white men still living, and also in view of the fact that the history of our contact with Indians abounds in records of kindness, helpfulness, and in many cases, of self-sacrifice shown white persons from whom no reward was expected.

Perhaps the most astounding statements in Mr. Marshall's article relate to the Indian's mental development and capacity. He says, "except in that limited area of their minds that was developed by their primitive environment, their mentality is that of morons," and adds, they evince "almost no faculty of invention or imagination." Such statements are additional illustrations of how little even educated, well meaning, white men know of the mental operations of Indians. Let anyone who entertains this fallacy listen to the creation story and other myths of any of our Indians, not excepting the Klamath River tribes, and let him witness some of the ceremonial observances commonly called "dances," and then ask if he still thinks Indians are deficient in invention and imagination!

Can anyone examine the beautifully wrought canoes of the Klamath River Indians, dug out of the trunks of huge trees by means of elkhorn chisels, and perfectly adapted for navigation in a river in bars, rapids, and whirlpools; or can anyone look at the graceful and pleasing forms of their delicately woven baskets ornamented by intricate and beautiful designs; or at their aboriginal aprons, fashioned so elegantly of plant fibers and decorated with a multitude of carefully braided pendants in contrasting colors, beautified by the addition at regular intervals of shells, pine nuts, and other articles—can anyone behold such objects as these without realizing not only the perfect adaptation of the materials at hand to the needs of the household, but also a well developed appreciation of art and a love of the beautiful. Is this in harmony with "the mentality of morons"?

And is it not true that while our works of art are hung on the walls or set in conspicuous places to be seen and admired, theirs appear in the implements and utensils of everyday life? The only artistic feature in common seems to be the dress of the women, which since very early days and among both so-called civilized and uncivilized peoples has always received a large share of attention.

That our treatment of Indians is a stain on civilization everyone knows. Let us even at this late date try to make some amends. Let us cease speaking of an Indian as belonging to a "Digger" tribe, for there

is no tribe of that name; and let us cease calling their women squaws, an obnoxious term. Let us encourage their children to come to our schools; let us afford them much needed medical attention; let us drop our air of superiority and treat them as fellow human beings; and let us try to learn from them, before it is too late, the thousand-and-one things worth while for us to know. It may be overtaxing the truth to say that we have as much to learn from them as they from us, but nevertheless, and entirely apart from their superior knowledge of the food, textile, and medicinal values of animals and plants, they can put us to shame in matters of patience, fairness, honor, and kindness.

X. THE TERM "DIGGER" AS APPLIED TO INDIANS

During the past seventy-five years the term "Digger" has been applied loosely or specifically to the Shoshone, Piute, Gosiute, Bannok, and Washoo tribes of Indians inhabiting various parts of the western United States, particularly in the states of Idaho, Oregon, Utah, and Nevada.

In California it has been applied officially by the Government in the reports of the Indian Office to such widely separated and wholly unrelated tribes as the Wintoon of McCloud River, the Pomo of Russian River, the Midoo of the Northern Sierra, the Southern Mewuk of the Yosemite region, and the Yokut of the Tulare country; while in the literature of the state and in the everyday usage of the white people it is forced to do duty for practically every tribe from Humboldt Bay to San Diego. Obviously, therefore, it is an utterly meaningless and confusing name, devoid of so much as a shadow of tribal significance. Not only is this the case, but what is far worse, it is a term implying inferiority, if not contempt, and is highly objectionable to the Indians. Is there any reason why the Government should humiliate intelligent, friendly, and law-abiding Indians by continuing the official use of so offensive a term?

The term "Digger" has been applied to:

Indians of eastern Oregon (1854);

Wintoon of upper Sacramento (1871, 1876);

Napa Valley (1858);

Yosemite region (Brace, 1869; Kneeland, 1871; Bunnell, 1892);

Mewuk of Amador County, Northern Midoo of Plumas County, and the Northern Pomo of Russian River (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1908, 1909);

California Diggers, Washoe Diggers, Shoshone Diggers of Utah (Bancroft, 1874);

Shoshonies, Utahs, Bonacks, Sosokos, and Washano tribes living on Humboldt River and tributaries (Schoolcraft, 1855);

Pah-Utahs of Humboldt River and Goshoots of Goshute Mts., Nevada (Beckwith, 1855);

Mary's River, Nevada, and Mud Lake, Idaho (Webster, 1917); Shoshones of Fort Hall, Idaho (Schoolcraft, 1851); Shoshone and Piute of northern Nevada (Kelly, 1851).

XI. VICISSITUDES OF ETHNOLOGICAL FIELD WORK

In field work among Indians one has many surprises, many disappointments, and some real joys.

In California, which at the time of the occupation by the Spanish Mexicans had a very large aboriginal population, there are still believed to be about 18,000 Indians. Of these, a large proportion live in remote and inaccessible places—among mountains, in canyons, or on deserts.

Those of us who have spent years of our lives working among them have learned to keep an open ear for clues, dropped at random, that might lead to the location of a survivor of some unknown or little-known tribe. In most instances hints of this kind lead merely to an Indian speaking a language unknown to the informant, but sometimes to mable value.

From time to time one is told of an Indian man or woman in some out of the way place who is said to speak an unknown language, a language described as utterly unintelligible—"a dreadful kind of talk, different from that of anybody else." Search for this important person often means a trip of five hundred or a thousand miles, and usually ends in failure, for if the home of the Indian is reached, the prize is likely to be away, no one knows where. Most often these people are very old, too old to work, and if able to walk, wander about visiting Indians of other tribes. In searching for them I have more than once continued the quest for several successive summers, traveling thousands of miles before finding the one I sought. In most cases this person turned out to be a member of a well known though distant tribe; in a few others the reward has been great, more than compensating for the time, risks, cost, and physical fatigue of the pursuit.

In five or six instances the person found proved to be the sole survivor of an otherwise extinct tribe, a tribe whose language—and in some cases the tribal name also—were unknown to anthropologists.

Some years ago I made several trips in the country about Mt. Diablo, hoping, without success, to discover a descendant of the tribe that formerly lived there. Then something happened that gave me a great thrill. I received a letter from Miss Wanda Muir (now Mrs. Thomas R. Hanna), daughter of the late John Muir, telling me that she had located an Indian on Mt. Diablo and could take me to him! The man was found as stated. After a few preliminaries I asked if he would be good enough to count ten

in his native language. He did, uttering the numerals suddenly and with great emphasis. They were the strangest counts I had ever heard. In response to my inquiry as to where he came from he replied, "I'm a Yaqui from Mexico!" It was a warm day, but my temperature fell many degrees.

Other trails were more productive, a few leading to unknown tribes: to old men; to two old women; and one or two others that took me to Indians whose tribal names and home country were known but of whom no individual had been found and the language had been only inferred.

In another case it was known that a tribe, now long extinct, dwelt on the upper part of New River, a northern tributary of the Trinity, but neither the name nor the language were known. After several visits to the region I was told of an old man, said to have been born on New River. On finding him, he told me that when a little child his parents and others of his people had been killed by the brutal gold miners and that he had been saved and adopted by the Hoopa, whose language he had learned, forgetting his own. He had learned also the language of a neighboring tribe, the Chimariko.

Not accepting the statement that he had entirely forgotten his language, I asked him to try to remember certain words, such as fire, water, mountain, river, father, mother, and so on. In most cases the result was negative. Nevertheless, after repeated visits at intervals of several years, my daughter Zenaida and I succeeded in obtaining thirty-five words and also the name of his tribe—Tlo-hom-tah'-hoi. This he knew perfectly and repeated again and again, often slurring it to Tlo-hom'-toi and even Tlom'-toi.

Thirty-five words do not make much of a vocabulary from which to determine the status of a tribe, but they are something. And when, as in this case, they differ radically from corresponding words in any known language, and cannot be assigned to any known linguistic stock, they surely are important.

On the Salmon River, a tributary of the Klamath, several members of a tribe—the Konomeho—said to have been long extinct were discovered, and an excellent vocabulary of a previously unknown Shastan dialect was obtained.

Later a remnant of still another Shastan tribe of unknown language and unknown name was located in the deep canyon of South Fork Salmon River, immediately north of the lofty, snow-clad peaks of the Salmon Alps. This tribe, whose name is Hah-to-ke'-he-wuk, proves to be closely related to both Konomeho and Shasta.

One more tribe whose name and affinities seem to have escaped the inquiring eye of ethnologists is the Ni-i'-che of the South Fork Trinity River, a Wintoon group related to the Norrelmuk of Hay Fork. The rugged region among whose canyons dwelt these strange peoples proves to be the center of distribution (or concentration) of an amazing number of tribes, for in this northwestern corner of California, within a radius of a hundred miles from the little mining town of Weaverville, may be found the homes—at least the former homes—of sixty-four tribes speaking distinct dialects of no fewer than fifteen linguistic stocks. It may be doubted if in any other part of the world there are in so small an area so many tribes speaking different languages.

Once, after traveling up and down the coast of Mendocino County, as I had done at intervals for three or four years, searching for the sole survivor of a tribe about which next to nothing was known, the reward came. From time to time the man had been seen, but no one knew where he was. Finally, after the last vain search I left the coast at Westport, and drove easterly over the mountain to Long Valley and camped in a grove of Ponderosa pines near the southernmost Athapaskan settlement in California. Next day, in the course of work with an old resident Indian woman, I asked if she knew the Coast Indian I had been looking for. She replied that the only survivor of that tribe was "Old Tony Bell." On inquiring if she knew where "Old Tony" was, she answered, pointing, "Why out there, chopping wood." One can imagine my feelings on unexpectedly finding the object of so protracted and hitherto unsuccessful a search.

On going to "Tony" the first visit was rather discouraging; he said he knew what I was there for—as he had seen me working with the woman—but would not give me one word of his language. His people had been persecuted and finally destroyed by the whites until he was the only one left, and he did not intend to give a white person any information. Failing to make headway, I changed the subject and told him where I had camped. He replied that he knew already. I noticed that he was whittling a plug of tobacco with a very poor knife, so I handed him my knife, adding that if he liked it he might keep it, which he did. Then I suggested that he had better come to my camp at suppertime and have something to eat with us. He agreed. The knife and supper proved entering wedges. I didn't press him that evening more than to ask the names of the trees among which we were camped, and of a few birds we saw or heard, but when he left at dark I remarked that we would eat at daylight and would be glad of his company. He came, and we spent the day together. Breaking his promise of the day before, he talked freely and gave me a fair skeleton vocabulary of his language—Oo-kot'-ontil'-kah—which during later visits with him (and with an old relative discovered by accident) was materially increased.

In September 1903, while working with an old Mokalumne Indian in Amador County, I asked if he knew of any survivor of the Poo-soo'-ne tribe formerly living at the mouth of the American River. He replied that a woman born at Poo-soo'-ne had married a Kanaka who belonged to a dredger crew working along the channels of the Delta region, and now living in a houseboat anchored in the Sacramento opposite the mouth of American River.

On attempting to see this woman and finding no obvious means of reaching her without swimming, I called from the bank and a girl on the houseboat replied. I told her I wanted to go to the boat, whereupon, after some disparaging remarks, she loosened a small rowboat and took me over. Her mother was not at home, but the girl verified the fact that the mother was born at Poo-soo'-ne.

On my next visit I was more fortunate, securing an interesting vocabulary from the mother. When about to leave, the old woman seemed disturbed, and told me with some trepidation that the language she had given me was really not that of Poo-soo'-ne (whose inhabitants had been destroyed by the whites) but of the No-too'-mus'-se rancheria called Kah'-de-mah, some nine or ten miles distant on the mainland, where she had lived during her girlhood. On inquiring if there was any other survivor of the Poo-soo'-ne tribe, she said that her older brother, "Blind Tom," born and raised at Poo-soo'-ne, talked this language, and was now living near a hop ranch on the south side of American River, nine miles from Sacramento.

I hired a horse and buggy and drove up there, and after some difficulty located "Blind Tom." He was totally blind and was cared for by a Negro woman. He was the most bashful man I ever met and it was only after a number of visits at intervals during several years that I succeeded in securing a fairly good vocabulary of his language.

He told me that the name of his tribe is Nis'-se-pa'-we-nan, usually slurred to Pa'-we-nan, adding that the principal village was Poo-soo'-ne, on the north side of the junction of American River with the Sacramento, where he had been born and raised, and whose language he spoke. He also said that another of their villages, one called Sah'-mah, was situated on what is now the cemetery in the southern part of Sacramento City, south of which were the Hool-poom'-ne, a tribe speaking an entirely different language—the Mewan.

During successive visits much information was obtained about his tribe and villages. They held the Sacramento only as far up as the forks

at the junction of Feather River, beyond which their settlements followed the Feather to Nicolaus. In addition to names of sites of his own tribe, he gave me the names and in some cases the exact locations of a number of Pat'-win and Ko'-roo rancherias on Sacramento River.

XII. THE NAME "WYLAKKE"¹

The term "Wylakke," variously spelt as applied to an Indian tribe, has the disadvantage of ambiguity. Indians of the Wintoon stock south of the Northern Wintoon apply it to the Northern Wintoon, but the Northern Wintoon do not recognize it as a term for themselves.

In the Round Valley region of northern Mendocino County, on the west side of the Yolla Bolla Mountains, it is applied by the Yuke to the Athabaskan tribes immediately north of themselves. In both cases it was adopted by the early white settlers and its use in the two senses indicated is common today.

The confusion caused by applying the same name to tribes of two distinct linguistic stocks is too obvious to require argument. And since its use must always imply doubt as to which people were meant, the name should be abandoned.

It would be interesting to know how the term came to be applied to the Athabaskan tribes of the Round Valley region. Inasmuch as it is a Wintoon word meaning "northern talkers," it is hard to understand how and by whom it came to be applied to the Athabaskans in question.

Another peculiar feature is that in the case of the Round Valley region, the Athabaskans to whom it was applied not only recognize it as a distinctive name for themselves but many of them use it for themselves.

In the case of both groups, it is not only a local term but pervades the literature, both historical and anthropological, and in very many instances is so loosely used that it is impossible to determine which tribe was meant.

The Tinton term Wi-lak-ke, meaning north language, is used by several Wintoon tribes to designate people living farther north.

In 1851, and doubtless for several years earlier, it was used by Major P. B. Reading and other white settlers of the upper Sacramento Valley as the proper name for the Wintoon tribe living on and north of Cottonwood Creek, and the same year (1851) was officially recorded for this tribe by the California Indian Commissioners.

¹ Variously spelled, as Wailakki, WiLaekee, Wylacker, etc., Uye Lackee, Y-lac-ca, Oy-lac-ca, etc.

Having appeared in Government Reports, it soon found its way into the writings of ethnologists. This would not have been objectionable if it had been confined to the tribe in question, but unfortunately it came to be attached also to a widely different tribe—one belonging to the Athapaskan stock—so that in the literature of American Ethnology the name Wi-lak-ke may be found attached to tribes of two linguistic stocks, Wintoon and Athapaskan, thus giving rise to endless annoyance and confusion.

The name Wylacker is written on a map of California published in 1851. This and other names of tribes were placed on the map in 1851 and 1852 by Henry B. Brown, an artist who at the time was engaged in obtaining sketches and other Indian material for J. R. Bartlett. The position of the map is just above Cottonwood Creek, on the west side of Sacramento River. Brown's information was mainly from Major R. B. Redding (or Reading).

On Brown's map the principal division of the Wintoon territory is shown by a strong east-west line following the course of Grindstone and Stony Creek from the mountains easterly to and around the north (or So-nan-muk) bend five or six miles northwest of Orland, and thence leaving Stony Creek and cutting directly across to Sacramento River. North of this is the "Wylacker and Noemuc" area (colored salmon red). It is embarrassing to confess that their main line does not correspond with the principal division as now known. The key to the trouble may be found in the No-mel-te-ke-we tribe, whose northern boundary (north of the mouth of Stony Creek) appears to agree with the Redding and Brown line which also appears to be the southern boundary of the Tehama tribe.

- Wi-Lak-ke: Published reference uncertain as to tribe, whether Wintoon or Athapaskan.
- Uye-Lackes: Nome Lackee Reservation, Stevenson in Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs for 1856, 802. 1857.
- Wilacki: A. H. Keane in Append. Bates Central Amer. West Indies (Standford's Compend. Geog. & Travel), London, 465. 1878.
- Wye-Lackees: Nome Lackee Reservation, Geiger, Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs for 1859, 806-7. 1860. Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs for 1862, 359. 1863. Taylor (after Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs for 1862), California Farmer, June 12, 1863.
- Wye-Lackees: Clear Lake, Geiger in Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs for 1859, 438. 1859.
- Wylaskies: Smith River Agency, Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs for 1865, 579. 1865.

Trackes: Smith River Reservation, Stevens, Rept. Commr. Indian Affairs
for 1867, 130. 1868.

Wylaks and Noobimucks of the mountains of Trinity Co.: Taylor, 1860.

XIII. VOCABULARIES AND WHAT THEY TEACH

I have ample vocabularies, obtained by myself, of the Northern Wintoon of the McCloud and Sacramento Rivers, the Wintu or Numsoos of the Trinity River, the Nor'-rel-muk of Hay Fork Valley, the Nom'-lak-ke of Paskenta, the Ko'-roo of the Colusa region, the Pat'-win of Grimes and Grand Island, the Win (Ko-pa') of Capay Valley on Cache Creek, the Choo-hel'-mem-sel of the Ladoga-Sites region, the Kletwin (Klet'-sel) of Cortena Creek, the Chen'-po-sel'-win of Long Valley, and the Poo'-e-win of the southern part of Sonoma Valley.

I have never taken vocabularies of the three river tribes Noema, Tehama, and No-mel'-te-ke'-wis; my long continued efforts in search of living Indians of these tribes have failed. Unfortunately, all three are believed to be extinct. It becomes necessary, therefore, to fall back upon fragmentary lists of words gathered by persons unfamiliar with this kind of work. Of such, the only ones known to exist for the river strip under consideration are two from Tehama¹ and two from the Noema.²

These vocabularies, when contrasted with those of adjoining tribes on both sides (north and south), seem to demonstrate the validity of the Central or Nomlakke group—a group relatively small in geographic area but comprising six tribes, three on the Sacramento River (Noema, Tehama, and No-mel'-te-ke'-wis) and three in the interior (Nomlakke proper, Wier-ker-ril, and Dah'-chin-chin'-ne).

It thus appears that the most complete break in the dialects of the Wintoon stock, all the way from near Mt. Shasta to San Francisco Bay, is along an east-west line passing just north of the towns of Norman and Princeton—a line separating the river tribe Koroo from the No-mel'-te-ke'-wis, and the interior tribe Choo-hel'-mem-sel from the Dah'-chin-chin'-ne.

This substantiates the statement often made to me by aged Colusa Indians from both Dah-chil and Wi-ter-ry rancherias; namely that the tribe immediately north of themselves spoke a language wholly different from their own—one they could not understand.

It appears therefore that the material at hand is sufficient to admit of positive and apparently final results so far as concerns the classification and distribution of most of the numerous tribes of Wintoon stock, though still lacking the No-mel'-to-ke'-wis.

¹ See p. 51 for end notes.

Notes

1. One of these, a short vocabulary by Alex. S. Taylor, was published in his "Indianology of California" (California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences [San Francisco], Vol. 13, No. 16, March 23, 1860). The other, likewise called Tehama, was collected by H. B. Brown in 1852 for General J. R. Bartlett, and was published in Stephen Powers' Tribes of California, Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, Washington, 1877.

2. In the original manuscripts in my possession the headings of these vocabularies are clearly written: Noemuc and Wylacker, by Major Redding; Noe-ma and Wy-lac-ker, by H. B. Brown.

Schoolcraft, in 1854, published in his Indian Tribes (vol. 4, pp. 414-415) a vocabulary received from Adam Johnson, an Indian agent, without information as to the authorship or tribe except for the mere remark that it came from near Major Redding's ranch. It is a verbatim copy of Major Redding's manuscript of the Noemuc and Wylacker, with a few typographical errors but no additional words. And Powers, in 1877, published a copy of Brown's Noe-ma vocabulary under the double name Noema, Wylacker (Tribes of California, Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, 520-528, 1877).

XIV. DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF WINTOON TRIBES

The Wintoon tribes collectively occupied the western part of the floor of the Sacramento Valley and the bordering foothills on the north and west from about 29 miles south of Mount Shasta and from the high mountains at the head of Trinity River southerly to the northern shores of San Francisco Bay (San Pablo and Suisun Bays); and on the east side of the river lapped over for a few miles most of the way from their northern limit to Knights Landing.

In the early days of the American occupancy the Wintoon were a large and powerful people. They were represented by numerous tribes, some of which spoke dialects unintelligible to their nearest neighbors. But the brutal attacks and steady, long-continued aggressions of the whites resulted in the extermination of several tribes and the reduction of others to a few scattered remnants.

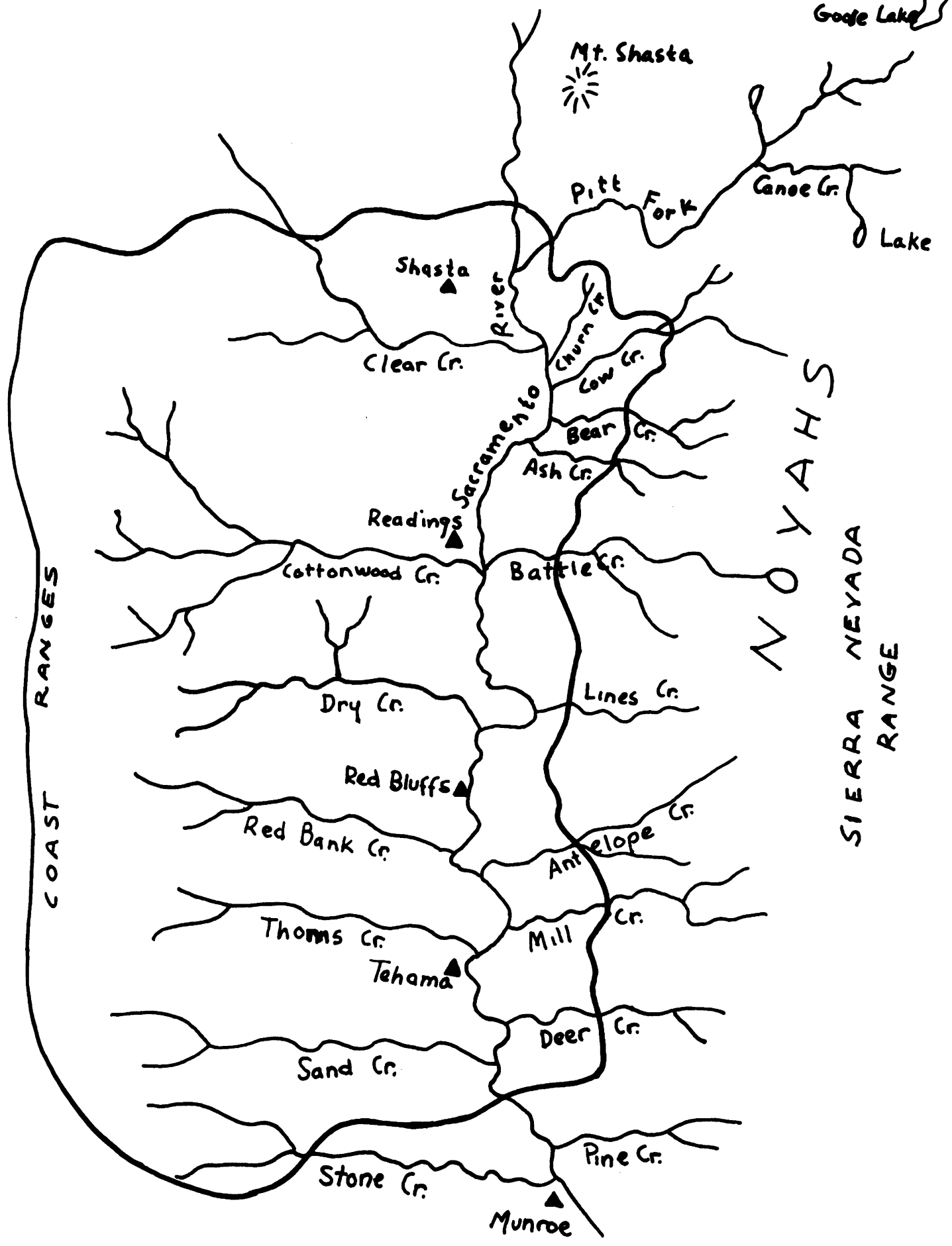
Even half a century ago it was too late to ascertain the boundaries and dialects of several of these tribes (witness the investigations of Stephen Powers, 1871 to 1877, Tribes of California, 1877). And during the past quarter of a century the painstaking investigations of Barrett, Kroeber, and myself, while adding much to previous knowledge, are scarred by many gaps.¹

Nevertheless the unexpected sometimes happens. Some years ago I received a letter from a person unknown to me, inquiring if I would be interested in a portfolio of original sketches, maps, letters, and odds and ends found among the possessions of the artist, Henry B. Brown, who in 1851 was sent to California by General J. R. Bartlett to make illustrations of Indians and gather other material for a work on California tribes which General Bartlett then had in preparation—but which, unfortunately, was never completed nor published.

I naturally acquired this material, some of which is incorporated in the present article. Of priceless value are two manuscript maps: one, a small sketch by Major P. B. Redding [map 4] showing the upper half of the Sacramento Valley and tributary streams, with the boundaries of the extensive area occupied by the Northern Wintoon tribes distinctly marked; the other, a copy of Butler's "Map of California and the Gold Region" published in San Francisco in 1851. This is a most precious document, for it is the very copy owned, annotated and signed by Henry B. Brown. It not only shows his routes of 1851 and 1852, with tribal

¹ See p. 58 for end notes.

Deer or Gode Lake



Map 4. Exact copy of sketch map drawn by Major P. B. Redding in 1852 of boundary of Wintoon language.

names written in various places (mainly after Gibbs), but also presents hand colored areas indicating the tribal possessions of the "Wylacker and Noemuc" (Northern Wintoon), "Nosahs" (Nosse or Yahnah), "Cushna" (Midoo), and "Coluse" (Koroo and Patwin) as understood by him.²

Brown's map, by which is meant Brown's copy of the Butler map of 1851, hand colored and sparsely sprinkled with tribal names, obviously represents the joint knowledge of Major Redding and Henry Brown. The northern limit of the "Wylacker" area (Northern Wintoon), copied from Redding's sketch map already mentioned, was definitely located on the Sacramento River at the junction of what he called Salt Creek. But the stream entering the Sacramento from the west at this point is now called Slate Creek.³ At its mouth is the small settlement of La Moine (by air line 19 miles north of the city of Redding, and about 7 [miles] above the mouth of Pit River). For the past 25 years, old Indians on the McCloud have told me that their northern limit was in this neighborhood, usually placing it at the junction of North Salt Creek with the Sacramento, a point two miles north of La Moine. It is gratifying to know that Redding located it in the same place three-quarters of a century ago.

This proves that Major Redding is entitled to the credit of definitely fixing the northern limit of the Wintoon stock, which, in spite of later attempts to place elsewhere, is now I trust finally established.

It is a fine tribute to Major Redding's knowledge of Indian tribes that he was able 76 years ago to establish the most important boundary of the Wintoon tribes—a boundary that stands today and must ever stand as a corner stone in the geography of the great Wintoon Nation.⁴

The unfortunate circumstance that his observations and those of Brown have remained unpublished for three-quarters of a century has deprived anthropologists of much basic information, thereby delaying the final recognition of some of the major territorial divisions.

Nevertheless, subsequent field work has developed many of the essential facts. Powers treated the (Northern) Wintoon and Patwin in separate chapters, regarding them as distinct groups. At the same time he says, "The Wintun language has many words in common with the Patwin, a third or more according to my brief vocabularies" (Tribes of California, p. 232, 1877). His large colored map of California, made apparently after the text had been written (doubtless with the assistance of the Bureau of American Ethnology), unites the two under the word "Win-tun," separating them by a heavy dotted line which follows the course of Stony and Grindstone Creeks—thus agreeing with the boundary as given by Redding and Brown.

Barrett, in 1908, on his map of the "Southern Territory of the Winton Linguistic Stock," indicates the division by a straight dotted line running easterly from the junction of Stony and Little Stony Creeks, frankly stating that "only the extreme western portion of the boundary between these two dialectic areas could be determined" (p. 289). This agrees with information obtained by me from several tribes during many years of field work.⁵

The distance between Redding's and Barrett's lines is less than 20 miles, and although the change of language is much more strongly marked along the southern, the choice between them might easily result from the direction of approach. If from the north, as in the case of Redding and Brown, the Stony Creek line would naturally be chosen, while if from the south, as in the case of Powers, Barrett, and my own informants, it would be the one running easterly from the junction of Stony and Little Stony Creeks in southern Glenn County.

Both lines represent changes of dialect: the Stony Creek line near to the river marking the separation of the Tehama on the north from the No-mel'-te-kě'-wis on the south, and farther west the Nōm'-lak'-ke proper from their close relations, the Dah'-chin-chin'-ne; while the more southern line [is] the divide between major linguistic groups of the stock—the Dah'-chin-chin'-ne and No-mel'-te-kě'-wis of the Nōm-lak'-ke group on the north, and the Choo-hel'-mem-sel and Koroo of the Koroo-Napa group on the south.

On Brown's map the territory of the Northern Winton from Salt Creek to near Stony Creek is colored a uniform pale sage green. On the northern part of this area, above Red Bank Creek, the name "Wylacker" is written; on the southern part, the word "Noemuc." Between them, following the course of Red Bluff Creek (Red Bank Creek) is a distinct dotted line. This would seem to imply that Redding and Brown recognized the Noemuc as differing from the Northern "Wylacker" (Northern Winton), but did not consider the difference of sufficient magnitude to warrant a different color on the map. Apparently they assumed, from the number of words common to the two dialects, that these were closely related tribes or bands speaking essentially the same language. This would account for the inclusion of many Northern Winton words in their vocabularies.⁶

Much more information is needed, but I fear not likely to be secured, concerning the boundaries and dialects of the River Tribes Noema, Tehama, and No-mel'-tě-ke'-wis.

This is the more important since Redding evidently based the southern

boundary of his Wylacker and Noemuc division on personal familiarity with the river tribes.

In this connection, it may not be amiss to express the hope that Brown's Sacramento Valley material, gathered for Gen. Bartlett in 1851 and 1852 with the help of Major Redding, may yet come to light.

The southern boundary of this area—the dividing line between their northern or "Wylacker" and southern or "Coluse" divisions—is shown as crossing Sacramento River a little north of the mouth of Stony Creek.⁷

On the south side of this line on Brown's map, the large southern area called "Coluse" (here meaning Koroo and Patwin) is painted salmon red, leaving no question about its boundaries as then understood. Crossing the Sacramento at or immediately below the Munro Ranch, it is shown as continuing easterly across Butte Creek and spreading broadly southward to the junction of Feather River with the Sacramento, thus completely enclosing not only Butte Creek sink but also the Marysville Buttes and Sutter Basin.

Allowing for inaccuracies, the east-west breadth of the Koroo-Patwin strip on the east side of the river as located by Brown could hardly have been less than twelve miles.⁸ This is of great interest, showing that in 1852 it was known to Brown and Redding that the Coluse tribe (Koroo) held a strip on the east side of Sacramento River reaching more than halfway from Coluse to Marysville. Powers, writing in 1877 of the aggregation he called Patwin, mentioned that they extended in a very narrow belt east of Sacramento River from a few miles below the mouth of Stony Creek down nearly to the mouth of Feather River (Tribes of California, p. 218). But this is not shown on the large colored map prepared in the Bureau of Ethnology to accompany his volume.

Another noteworthy feature of Brown's map is that in the Chico region on the east side of Sacramento River the "Cushna" (Midoo) area is correctly shown as breaking through the territory of other stocks and pushing westerly all the way to the very banks of Sacramento River. This remarkable extension of the Midoo, not indicated on Kroeber's maps, is the western part of the territory of the Mitchopdo tribe. It is wedged in between the "Nosahs" (Yahnah) an eastern extension of the Northern Wintoon on the north, and the eastern extension of the Coluse (Koroo and Patwin) on the south. As a matter of present knowledge this Chico tongue is materially broader than shown on the map, extending northerly to Rock Creek.⁹ On Brown's map it is narrowed by the Yahnah area, which he allows to come too far south.

The short vocabulary collected by the artist H. B. Brown for Gen. J. R. Bartlett in 1852 and printed in Powers' Tribes of California (1877), together with the even shorter one obtained by Alex. S. Taylor (published in California Farmer, March 23, 1860), indicate for the Tehama a dialectic difference from other tribes of the Wintoon stock. It is nearest Noema, and both belong to the Nōm'-lak'-ke group—a group much more closely related to Northern Wintoon than to the tribes farther south.

Omitting words common to all Wintoon tribes (so far as our vocabularies go), it appears that more than half of the Tehama words are the same as corresponding words in the Noema and Nōm'-lak'-ke tribes; while comparison of the Noema, Nōm'-lak'-ke, and Tehama collectively as a group with the Northern Wintoon¹⁰ shows that about half the words are the same. But when the dialects of the Nōm'-lak'-ke group are compared with those of the more southerly tribes of the stock, they are found to differ radically, for, exclusive of words common to all dialects, neither Noema nor Tehama has a single word like those of the southern tribes, while the Nōm'-lak'-ke (of which our vocabulary is much more extensive) has only 10 words like those of any of the southern tribes.

Brown's and Taylor's Tehama vocabularies, together containing 71 words, have 18 distinctive words which appear to differ from those of any of the other Wintoon dialects. These are:

Distinctive words of Tehama dialect

man	ke'-osh*	earth	both'-ter
woman	push-aw	snow	ke-thlue
boy	poo'-e-ton	acorn	widdock (Taylor)
head	cash	deer	shummit (Taylor)
foot	ko-leet	beaver	memlook (Taylor)
big	gum-mo-sher	grasshopper	weelik (Taylor)
black	loot-er	yes	ugh
tomorrow	tep-per	8	she'-clar-wit
mountain	cholth	9	shou-clar-wit

*All these words are by Brown except the four marked Taylor

The following are distinctive words of the Noema dialect which appear in Brown's and Redding's vocabularies:

Distinctive words of Noema dialect

	Brown	Redding
father	puk-e-ta-han	
mother	puk-e-na-han	
elder brother	pum-e-soh	
little boy	kleye	pis-tet win-e-ke
little girl	we-e-pen-it	pis-tet dock-e
wife	puk-e poc-an	pah co ni
baby	crus-tit	cru-tut
arm	shar-lush	
whole body	chalth	
valley or flat	hape	
land (ground)	kosh	kosh
summer	pam'-pel-e-kin'	
today	por-tur keh	paw tu hah
tomorrow	hon'-sah-tah	hon sat-she
daytime	ho-lo-en'-kin	ket toko
big	com'-mor	cum wa sah
little	pish-tet	cru tet
here	pi	
beaver	mat-tule	mat-tuse
grass	clac-us	clack us
mosquito	ait	
red	ta-re	tar-de
bow	chit-ar-mis	chi-ta-mus

Notes

1. [For citations to the literature on the Wintun language see H. Pitkin, A Bibliography of the Wintun Family of Languages. Internat. Journ. Amer. Linguistics, 28:43-54, 1962. Ed.]
2. [A photostat copy of Brown's map is in the Merriam files but the "hand colored areas indicating the tribal possessions" are not visible. Brown's route from San Francisco to Sacramento, thence to Culloma (Coloma), Nevada City, Marysville, and up the east bank of the Sacramento River to Salt Creek is shown, but this is of no help to us in connection with Brown's determination of tribal boundaries. Ed.]
3. Since Redding's time there have been several unfortunate changes and transpositions in the names of streams tributary to the Sacramento

River. On the west side of the river the present Slate Creek was called Salt Creek; Red Bank Creek was called Red Bluff Creek; the first sizable creek to the south, now Elder Creek, was Thoms Creek (spelled "Tooms" on the B. F. Butler map of 1851), while the present Thoms Creek was Sand Creek. There are other errors, the most serious of which is the misplacement of McCloud River, the largest stream in northern California. It is shown as entering the upper Sacramento some miles above the mouth of the Pit River, whereas it is the main branch of Pit River.

4. I like to use the term "nation" for such an outstanding series of related tribes, tied together by blood and language, in spite of the fact that they lack political unity.

5. In this connection it should be stated that the evidence as to the affinities of the Dah'-chin chin'-ne is not absolutely conclusive. I have no vocabulary of the tribe and have placed it with the Nōm'-lak'-ke on the strength of assertions by Indians of neighboring tribes that their language is the same as that of the Nōm'-lak'-ke of Paskenta—which has the advantage of agreement with Barrett's information.

6. I have the original manuscripts of both vocabularies: Brown's of 171 words; Redding's of 105 words and 14 sentences. Both were written in 1852. They were titled "Noe-ma & Wylac-ker," by Brown; "Noemuc & Wylacker," by Redding. That the difference in spelling is of no consequence is proved by Brown's own writing, for he wrote the name "Noemuc" on his map, and "Noema" on his vocabulary.

7. On this map as published, the positions of Stony Creek (printed "Stone Creek") and Sycamore Slough are transposed.

8. On the west, where the country was practically unknown, it was allowed to extend too far—far enough beyond the foothills tribes to include the Pomoan territory of Clear Lake in Lake County. On the south, where neither Brown nor Redding had worked with the Indians, it faded out in the region west of Sacramento.

9. The boundaries of this Mitchopdo area on Sacramento River were given me in great detail by members of the tribe—particularly by Jack Frango, the oldest member of the tribe.

10. The significant fact must not be overlooked, that both Brown's and Redding's vocabularies are headed Noema and Wylac-ker (or Noemuc and Wylacker), thus implying that both authors regarded the two names as indicating bands of the same group. Bearing this in mind, it is easy to understand how so many Northern Wintoon words found their way into the Noema vocabulary.

XV. HOW I CAME TO LOCATE THE NISSIM PA'-WE-NAN OF POOSOONE

In September 1903, while searching for Indians in the vicinity of Buena Vista Peak in Amador County, I visited Ione, Jackson, and neighboring localities and finally located an old Indian named Casus [Jesus] Oliver. He was a friendly old man and told me much concerning the early inhabitants.

I asked if he had ever heard of Poo-soo'-ne, an old rancheria mentioned by Dana in 1846 under the spelling Pujune (the "j" standing for "ss" as formerly customary) and which I had learned from other Indians had been situated on the north side of American River near its junction with the Sacramento.

I had been told that the inhabitants of Poosoone had been extinct for many years, but old Oliver assured me that they were not all dead yet, stating that a full blood old woman from that rancheria had married a Kanakah (working on the Sacramento River levees) and was then living in a houseboat anchored in the Sacramento opposite the mouth of American River.

Going to Sacramento and following the east bank of the river northward, I saw the houseboat anchored as described. In answer to my call, a girl came up on deck, untied a small rowboat, and took me over. On asking for her mother, she said her mother was not at home, that she had gone to see her old blind brother then living near the old Hop Ranch, about nine miles up American River.

During later visits at the houseboat, I succeeded in obtaining from the mother a very interesting vocabulary which I had every reason to believe was the language of Poosoone. But at the end of my last visit she became greatly disturbed and finally broke down and told me that the language she had given me was not that of Poosoone but of the No-to-musse, a Midoo tribe of the mainland some distance east. On asking if anyone were still alive who could talk the language of Poosoone (which she called Pa-we-nan), she replied, "Only one, my old brother, Blind Tom." He, as just mentioned, lived a little north of American River, about nine miles from Sacramento.

Guided by her directions, I drove to the Southern Pacific railroad station at Ben Ali, and thence easterly for some miles through open fields. Arriving at the place indicated, I found the old man, Tom, living in a small cabin with a negro woman. He was totally blind and was the most bashful person I have ever known, speaking in a low, hesitating voice,

obviously much embarrassed. Still, I made a beginning, and in the course of subsequent visits (at intervals until he disappeared), I succeeded in obtaining a fairly full vocabulary of his language, which he invariably called Nis-se Pa-we-nan, Nis'-sim Pa'-we-nan, or simply Pa'-we-nan. He said that the language of his tribe differed much from those of other tribes of the region, and that the Poo-soo'-ne territory was limited to a rather narrow strip embracing the flood lands bordering the east side of Sacramento River from Sacramento City northward to the junction of Feather River at Vernon, and continuing thence northerly, on both sides of Feather River to Yo-kul'-me, not far from Sutter's Hock Ranch. Next south of Yo-kul'-me was Hol'-lah, at the junction of Bear and Feather Rivers. Their southernmost village, Sah-mah, was on the east side of the big river in what is now the old cemetery in the southwestern corner of present Sacramento City.

He named the mounds along the river, stating that they were formerly rancherias of his people, and gave me the names of their villages as follows:

Patwin rancherias on Sacramento River

Lil'-ke, three miles above Fremont, on west side Sacramento (none between Lil-ke and Knights Landing).

Cha'-che, a little above Knights Landing on same (SW) side of river, two and a half miles above Howell's Landing.

Pahl'-hu, on east side river above Cha-che (called Pa-lah by the Patwin).

Kus, on east side river above Pahl-hu (Kos-im-po?).

No'-is-ap-pe, across the river from Kus (on west side).

Sah'-kahs (Sah-kah), on east side river five miles above Kus (about one and a half miles below Grimes).

Ko'-loos (Ko'-roo), on east side river not far from Sah-kahs and near present Colusa.

Til'-til, on west side river above Kol-loos.

Taht'-nah, on west side above Til-til.

Si-yi, on west side river above Taht-nah.

Kah-sil', on east side river above Si-yi (on west side)

Above Kah-sil', on west side of river, is Pedow'-kah, the lowermost village of another tribe speaking an entirely different language.

Chi'-mus-se, in the language of the Pa-we-nan, is the general tribal name for all the Patwin people of all the villages from Lil'-ke up to Kah-sil'.

Blind Tom of Poo-soo'-ne was the last survivor of the Nis'-sim Pa'-we-nan tribe. He was born and raised at Poo-soo'-ne, a rancheria situated on the oak flat at the junction of Sacramento and American Rivers, just north of the mouth of American River.

The Pa'-we-nan territory extended down Sacramento River only to Sah'-mah, a rancheria later covered by the old cemetery immediately south of Sacramento City on the east side of the river of the same name.

Just below Sah'-mah began the territory of Mewan tribe—the Hool-poom'-ne.

About nine miles easterly from Sacramento City is the old Spanish-American "Rancho del Rio Americano," now known by two names—Horse Ranch and Hop Ranch. Formerly it was the site of Pa'-we-nan rancheria Hah'-kon.

On November 28, 1905, October 27, 1906, and later dates, I found Blind Tom (cared for by the old negro woman) in a little house near this old Pa'-we-nan rancheria of Hah'-kon.

The earliest mention I have seen of any Pa'-we-nan village is that of the British captain Sir Edward Belcher, published in 1843 in his Narrative of a Voyage Round the World.¹ In the fall of 1837 Capt. Belcher took two rowboats up Sacramento River to the junction of Feather River with the Sacramento, at which point he found on the east side of the river some Indians of the Wallock rancheria, both name and location being the same as given me by Blind Tom of Poo-soo-ne nearly 70 years later. Belcher adds that he landed at the Fork, above which there was not enough water for his lightest boats, and "found the natives had but shortly fled, leaving a large stock of acorns, and all their provisions, fires, &c, behind.... They were termed the Wallock tribe by our Indians."² His boats "stopped at a point where the river forked at a ford where the Indian hunters cross."³ Belcher named the place Point Victoria. It is now called Vernon.

Blind Tom told me that the Indians of Wahl-lok were called Wahl-lah-kum-nes (which he sometimes pronounced Walagumnes). He stated also that

¹ See p. 63 for end notes.

the next largest village of his people was We-se'-nah, situated on the east side of Sacramento River, one mile above O-pok-ki'-pi.

Notes

1. Vol. 1, pp. 121-122, 1843.
2. Senate Ex. Doc. 47, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 1850.
3. This ford crossing between Vernon and Fremont is shown on Lt. Derby's map of Sacramento Valley, 1849; on Philip Tyson's map of his "Geological Reconnaissances in California," published in 1850; and also on the Vernon sheet of the U.S. Geological Survey, 1910 edition.

* * * * *

Editor's Note: Dr. Merriam and J. P. Harrington had an exchange of letters in 1930 over whether Merriam's informant, Blind Tom, was the same person as Tom Cleanso, who served as informant for A. H. Gayton in 1925, and A. L. Kroeber and C. D. Forde in 1929, and from whom the bulk of information appearing in A. L. Kroeber's, The Valley Nisenan (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, 24, pt. 4, 1929) was secured. Harrington was of the opinion that Kroeber's Tom Cleanso was not the same person as Merriam's Blind Tom (apparently because Blind Tom intimated that he had not given information to ethnographers), but certain facts make it seem certain that the two were the same person. Both are described as being blind, aged, having a living sister, and being connected with the Indian village of Pushune. Merriam had Blind Tom born at Poo-soo'-ne; Kroeber understood that Tom's father was born at Pushune and Tom himself at Kadema. There are other correspondences and inconsistencies, but one must conclude that Blind Tom and blind Tom Cleanso were the same person.

XVI. SUGGESTIONS FOR LEGISLATION FOR RELIEF
OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS¹

Two articles of Federal legislation appear to be needed for the relief of California Indians: one, a provision for the compensation of surviving California Indians for lands taken away from their tribes by the Americans without payment or recompense of any kind; the other, an interpretation of the clause in the Enabling Act of the California Land Claims Law of 1851 which requires land claimants to present their claims to the Federal Land Commissioners within two years.

Compensation for Lands

In the matter of legislation intended to compensate Indians for lands confiscated by the whites, attention should be called to the Raker Bill, passed by the last Congress but not signed by the President. This bill gives California Indians the right to bring suit in the Court of Claims for compensation for certain lands set apart as Reservations by California Indian Commissioners under treaties executed with eighteen California tribes in 1851 and 1852. Said treaties were never confirmed by the Senate and therefore are without legal status. Why should a measure intended for the relief of Indians concern itself with unratified and legally nonexistent treaties?

Furthermore, the Raker Bill contains an offset clause providing for a huge deduction from the amount due the Indians, charging against their equity the full amount of expenditures through the Indian Office for schools, teachers, agents, doctors, salaries, traveling expenses, and incidentals of all kinds amounting in the aggregate to millions of dollars, a sum so large in the opinion of the Indian Office that nothing would be left for the Indians.

It is generally admitted that great injustice has been done the Indians of California in that we have confiscated their lands, driven them into remote and inhospitable parts of the State, deprived them of their natural food, imprisoned them for killing deer or taking fish, inoculated them with fatal diseases, and, for a period of at least fifteen years

¹ [This article illustrates Dr. Merriam's deep concern over the responsibility of the Federal Government to compensate the California Indians for the taking of their land. Dr. Merriam appeared as a witness in behalf of the Indians in hearings before committees of the Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Congresses (March 23, 1920; April 28-29, 1922). The present article was probably written about 1922. Ed.]

(1849-1864) we hunted and shot them down by hundreds. The United States took possession of California in 1846, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, confirming absolute sovereignty to the United States, was executed in 1848. From that time till the present, citizens of the United States have occupied millions of acres of land belonging to the Indians, have profited by hundreds of millions of dollars from the use of these lands, and yet to this day neither the white citizens of California, the State of California, nor the United States Government has paid the Indians one dollar for any of these lands.

At the time of the invasion of California by the Spanish Padres, the whole of the land now included in the State was owned and occupied by Indians, and the boundaries between the tribes were as definite and fixed as those between our states and counties.

During the period of Spanish and Mexican control (up to 1846) many thousands of acres of Indian lands were seized and the Indians themselves killed or carried away to work at the missions.

The area occupied by the invaders consisted almost wholly of what came to be known as "The Mission Strip"—a coastal belt extending from the Mexican border northward to a little beyond San Francisco Bay. Farther north, on the coast, the Russians had established a settlement known as Fort Ross, while at a few other points outside the Mission Strip the Spanish or Mexican Governments had made concessions or grants to certain early settlers. The most important of these was the one to General Sutter, who, on the site of the present city of Sacramento, had built a fort called by him New Helvetia, but universally known as Sutter's Fort.

Hence, at the time the United States took possession of California, the Indian lands within the Mission Strip, and a few small areas elsewhere, were already in the possession of foreigners.

It follows that the accountability of the United States in the matter of Indian lands began with the period of American dominion, and that so far as the Mission Strip and other Spanish or Mexican concessions are concerned our Government may be exonerated from responsibility (except in the fulfillment of the terms of the Treat of Guadalupe Hidalgo).

The responsibility of the Federal Government is thus materially reduced, but still includes by far the greater part of the State.

Is it not the duty of the Federal Government therefore to compensate the surviving Indians, not for a few mythical reservations, but for the lands actually held and occupied by their tribes at the date of the American

possession? The rate of compensation might be fixed at the low value of the lands at that time.

Assuming that Congress is willing to compensate the surviving Indians for these lands, why incur the expense and delay of a suit in the Court of Claims? Why not dispose of the matter once and for all by a direct appropriation, to be placed in the hands of: (1) A Federal Commission; (2) A joint Commission, consisting of representatives of both the Federal Government and the State of California; or (3) The State of California—to be disbursed under State auspices, the State to assume future obligations.

In the latter case, it is suggested that an appropriate agency might consist of a commission made up of the heads of the following existing departments, boards, and offices, to serve without compensation:

State Board of Control
Public Health
Public Welfare

State Department of Education
Agriculture
Public Works

And one additional member to be appointed by the Governor.

Interpretation of Land Claims Law of 1851

In the matter of interpretation of the Land Claims Law of 1851, attention is called to the fact that in recent years several cases intended as measures of justice to California Indians have been decided adversely by the courts on the ground that the Land Claims Law of 1851 specifies:

"...that each and every person claiming lands in California by virtue of any right or title derived from the Mexican or Spanish government shall present the same to the said commissioners...within two years after the date of this act," in default of which said lands shall be "considered as part of the public domain of the United States."

The Indians knew nothing of this law—which, in fact, was not intended to apply to them at all—and of course failed to appear before the commissioners. Nevertheless, it has come to pass that suits brought to recover for lands taken from Indians have been thrown out of court because claims for said lands had not been filed with the Land Commissioners three quarters of a century ago!

To persons familiar with the history of California, particularly with reference to the Land Grant System prevailing under Spanish and Mexican rule, it is obvious that the Land Claims Law was intended to apply solely to Mexican and other whites then holding land in California, and not to the native Indians. This is not left in inference, but is conclusively proved by the phraseology of the law itself which refers to persons "claiming lands in California by virtue of any right or title derived from the Mexican or Spanish Governments." The lands belonging to California Indians were held, not "by virtue of any right or title derived from the Mexican or Spanish Governments," but by right of prior possession and occupancy.

Section 16 of the Land Claims Law provides that:

"It shall be the duty of the commissioners herein provided for to ascertain and report to the Secretary of the Interior the tenure by which the mission lands are held, and those held by civilized Indians, and those who are engaged in agriculture or labor of any kind, and also those which are occupied and cultivated by Pueblos or Rancheros (Rancherias) Indians."

The provisions of this Section have never been complied with—no report having been made to the Secretary of the Interior as to the tenure of land "held by civilized Indians, and those who are engaged in agriculture or labor of any kind, and also those which are occupied and cultivated by Pueblos or Rancheros Indians."

The last clause is of great importance for the reason that it applies to practically all the Indian lands of California. For Indian lands were held collectively—as tribal or rancheria (village) possessions—not as personal or individual holdings. And furthermore, from the nature of the case it was impossible for the Commissioners to carry out their instructions as to lands "occupied and cultivated by Pueblos or Rancheros Indians," for the very good reason that at the time of the Commission there were in California hundreds of occupied rancherias or villages, utterly unknown to the Spaniards, the Mexicans, or the Americans.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Land Claims Law of 1851 cannot in justice be appealed to as authority for ignoring the land rights of California Indians—rights made sacred by centuries of possession and occupancy. But because it has been so cited by the courts, and because by reason of a misunderstanding of its provisions, cases have been decided against the Indians, and in order to forestall similar injustices in future, Congress should be asked to enact a clause specifically exempting California Indians from its provisions.

XVII. PLAINS YOKUTS DATURA CEREMONY¹

The big roots [of Datura meteloides] are soaked for two days. They are dug out of the ground carefully so as not to injure or bruise them. Then they are washed and cut in four lengths with flint knives, then soaked in a large soapstone mortar (found near O'Neal's). Then they are put in a brand new globular basket with a small hole on top.

A frame is made of four stakes, on the top of which is placed a big new basket called "ap." Both baskets must be absolutely new—never used. The "ap" basket containing the datura roots is put in the center of a cedar bark hut which is covered outside with adobe mud.

Four men come and take positions around the basket, two on each side, the basket in the center. Another man sits inside the hut so no one can see him. Then the four men shout and the other man comes out naked, with only a loin cloth. He makes a bee line for the big basket standing on the frame of four stakes, takes hold of it, and carries the small, round, empty basket in front of his chest, holding it with both hands, his hands clasped around it in front.

All the other Indians stay to windward so their wind will not blow toward the basket.

Two middle aged women (40-50 years), usually relatives, stand behind and sing. They sing these words:

Wah-kahn'-nah-nah
 Yā-hah'-no-nun'-ke
 Hah'-ān-hah
 No-nun'-ke
 Yā-hah

The man carrying the small, globular basket dips it into the big basket containing the datura drink and drinks, turning toward the sun and revolving around following the direction the sun takes. He immediately begins to sing, saying, "hoo^{ch}-wah," his hands still following the course of the sun.

Then he seizes the big basket and drinks all the remaining solution and immediately begins to run and jump.

¹ Recorded from Mrs. Mary Teaford of the Monache Nim tribe at her home 9 miles north of North Fork, San Joaquin County, August 17, 1930.

Two boys have been stationed about a mile apart in the foothills. The man runs and these two boys follow, keeping close. He runs so far and so fast that the boys become tired and two others who have been waiting take their places and continue running. They follow him way down the plain to a turning stake, around which he makes two turns and then runs back.

He says he feels as light as a feather and can see all kinds of people and all kinds of places. Table Mountain, near Friant, was covered with people watching him, and he ran out of their sight and back again. Mrs. Teaford and about 500 other Indians were there and saw it. The man who had drunk the datura was running very fast, but the people called to him, "Don't go so slow. Stay with it. Run faster." He carried in his hands rattle bones and rattled them, dancing around and singing a song. He said the song was that of the dead people down below.

Finally his relatives caught hold of him and he sat down, and they gave him acorn soup, which he drank. He said he had been to another world.

His running so far and so fast worked off the effects of the poison so that it did not kill him. Then all the people came back to the starting place where a line of big baskets of cooked acorn mush, seeds, and other food was waiting. The people had been months in preparing this food for the spectators. The men used to help the women gather the acorns, manzanita berries, and other food to provide for so many people.

The ceremony here described was performed by the Ol-we'-ah [the Monache Nim name for the Plains Yokuts living between Friant and Madera] tribe, but the Mono had the same ceremony which was performed on the other side of North Fork, at Yow-ě-ten-noo' (Joe Good's place).

XVIII. A SHO-TE-AH (POMO) CEREMONY

July 20, 1907

Visited the small rancheria of Shamen Indians on a chaparral knoll on the north side of Stony Creek about 2 1/4 miles west of Stony Ford, Colusa County. They are just beginning a ceremonial dance to last tonight, tomorrow (Sunday), and tomorrow night, and the invited guests are continually arriving. The guests are Wintoon Indians from Grindstone Creek on the north, Win from Kabal'-men and Cotena and Rumsey on the south, and Long Valley (Lol'-sel and Chen'-po-sel) on the southwest. There are, also, one woman from Coyote Valley on Putah Creek (O'-lā-yo-me tribe) and the chief and others of the Ham'-fo or Lower Lake tribe.

We are in great good luck to be here at just this time. We are going, after supper, to spend the night in the ceremonial round house.

Sunday, July 21

Clear and hot, with some clouds in P.M. We spent the entire evening and night (till 3 o'clock this morning) and nearly all day in the ceremonial round house at the rancheria, witnessing the most weird aboriginal dance-ceremonies I have ever seen. The dancers were dressed mainly in feather costumes of extraordinary construction, and some of them wore headdresses of feathers stuck full of slender rods about 2 feet long, each bearing one or more tufts or plumes of red or white feathers, so that the diameter of the headdress is fully 4 feet—so great that the wearer cannot get through the entrance-way of the round house except by backing in with head bowed, so as to bring the rods in base first. Only two dancers wore robes—most curious affairs. All the others had naked bodies with red or black breech-cloths and broad feather belts of brilliant colors—red (woodpecker crowns), yellow (meadowlark breasts), blue (bluejay), black-green (mallard necks), and so on. Some of the belts are 8 inches broad. Some have the headskins of the California woodpecker sewed on in squares, others have the separate feathers woven into the belt. They are wonderful affairs. All of the dancers who did not wear enormous plumed headdresses wore frontal (forehead) bands of red flicker (Colaptes cafer collaris) feathers which covered the forehead down to the eyes and usually projected on each side of the head 8 or 10 inches. Some wore crowns of wild white geese down; others, of upright plumes. All wore occipital masses of plumes. Some wore curious skirts—one of dangling strips of the inner bark of the maple tree (Acer macrophyllum) which made a swishing noise as he moved, like silk, only more so. One wore a red skirt with white border and zigzag at bottom.

Throughout all the dances the singers stood at the end of the plank drum (between the drum and center-post) and sang and beat time with the elder clapper-sticks, while the drummer stood on the raised plank and beat it with the big end of a thick manzanita club (2 1/2 inches in diameter), pounding straight down (instead of beating with his feet). The time and rhythm were perfect, the singing weird and, in several cases, beautiful. The dancers also sang and beat time with their bare feet. The head dancer struck the ground furiously with his feet, and kept it up so long during each dance that one is amazed that a human being can stand so much strain and jarring, not to mention the physical endurance necessary. The head dancer is a slim, agile man of iron frame, nervous and graceful, and wonderfully quick in his movements.

In nearly all of the dances the dancers wore in their mouths slender bone whistles (of goose and eagle bones) which they blew gently, making a chorus of pleasing music in perfect harmony.

The finest dances of the Grindstone Creek and of the Cotena (Cortena) Indians were held on Sunday afternoon and were wonderful beyond description.

The round house here is different from others I have seen. It occupies an excavation varying from 1 1/2 to 4 feet in depth, according to the lay of the ground. The vertical wall of the excavation forms the outer wall of the round house, and is supplemented by a series of horizontal poles resting in forked posts about 4 1/2 feet high, on which the outer ends of the roof poles rest. These outer wall posts are called *chi-ek'-she-mah*.

The centerpost is about 2 feet in diameter and 18 feet in height, and is forked at the top to receive the accumulated tips of the roof poles which converge to this common center. The center-post is called *sah-bah*.

There are seven posts in the circle separating the dancers from the audience—four on the south side and three on the north side. These posts are only 5 or 6 feet from the outer wall, giving just enough space for a person to lie down in the outer space. The seven posts are called *too-dit'-ke*.

The drum is about 5 feet long by 2 1/2 feet wide, and its long axis agrees with that of the round house. It is of plank, elevated nearly 2 feet in front (where highest) and one foot behind. It is called *chil-lo*.

The entrance-ways are about 4 feet wide and 6-8 feet long. They slope downward and inward from the outside level to the inside level. The doorways are called *how'-wah*.

The smokehole is rectangular (about 3 by 4 feet), and is directly over the fire (between the center-post and east entrance). It is called o'-ho shūt'-ko.

The floor is bare, hard earth swept clean and sprinkled; that of the outer circle (for the audience) is covered with fresh green willow boughs and leaves.

The long roof-poles (about 34) converge to rest on the forks of the center-post. On the basal part (resting on the horizontal poles which connect the tops of the circle of 7 posts) are many short poles occupying the interspaces between the spreading long roof-poles. The roof-poles are covered with tules and brush, making a compact, thick roof which is usually earth-covered, but in this case only a little earth has been put on. The roof and roof-poles are called hel'-lā-ti'-ke.

Outside of the round house and in the line of its long axis are two flagpoles, each about 30 feet in height. The one in front of the east entrance is about 30 feet from the outer end of the entrance; the one in the rear is 54 feet west of the outer end of the west entrance. The inside diameter of the round house (east and west), not including entrance-ways, is about 36 feet, the diameter including entrance-ways is about 50 feet, and the distance between flagpoles is about 134 feet.

The two flags at top of the flagpoles are just alike. The ground color is white. Upon it are 7 vertical bars of red, straight on the edge toward the pole and serrate on the edge away from the pole. The bars seem to be about 2 1/2 inches broad.

One of the dancers, a very old man, Chief of the Sulphur Bank Ham'-fo tribe, sang and shook his double-headed rattles, standing on the roof of the east entrance. He did this repeatedly, sometimes facing outward toward the rising sun (east) and sometimes facing the round house. All of the dancers carried something in their hands—rattles, wands, feather tridents, or bows and arrows.

The head dancer always carried his bow and a couple of loose arrows in his left hand, and a red fox skin quiver of arrows in his right hand. Sticking in his belt behind and hanging tail down he wore the skin of a gray fox (Urocyon).

In the evening we returned to the round house to spend the night.

July 22

Clear and hot, with some clouds in north and overhead. The Indians went home today—those visiting Stony Ford for the ceremonies. I got from them a lot of information about the animals of this region, and lists of names of animals and plants.

The ceremony last night was full of interest and different from the others. The Stone Ford Shamen tribe danced. The chief (San Diego) and two other men and two women danced strange and weird dances, one of which was wild and fierce. The singing was particularly fine.

The women wore beautiful feather headbands and belts, and each held a colored handkerchief in her hands as they stood side by side and beat time with their feet, swaying their bodies to and fro and singing.

The men were naked except for the headdress and breechcloth and the golden eagle aprons two of them wore. The suits of eagle feathers had three long plumes standing up against the back—one in the middle and one on each side—and a full apron of eagle plumes worn over the buttocks and hanging down behind (only the breechcloth in front. Each man wore a red flicker on his forehead, the long projecting sides flapping, and each carried a trident of three white plumes which he held outstretched in front or depressed to the ground, with muscles rigid while he danced and stamped and leaped about violently, often crouching. They danced around the fire and also around the center-post. They blew bone whistles. The two dancing women kept on the north side.

The man on the drum beat time with his manzanita club, and three men standing at the end of the drum sang and beat time with the split elderberry clapper sticks.

This last, very old-time dance is called Kek'-o-de by the Stony Ford tribe, and Hin'-te-lak'-ke by the Putah Creek O'lā-yo-me. They say it is the oldest and most ancient of all the dances.

To lie on one's back at night in the outer circle of the dark round house, sandwiched in between the Indians of the audience, and witness these ancient ceremonies by the dim light of the flickering fire, is a great privilege as well as an entertainment never to be forgotten. The intense earnestness of the dancers and the hearty appreciation of the lookers-on give the ceremonies a very real character. The time and rhythm of the music and dancing were simply perfect.

XIX. LOCATION OF LEVANTOLOME OR LIVANCACAYOMI

There has been a good deal of doubt as to the correct name and whereabouts of a certain Indian rancheria mentioned many times in the Books of Baptisms of the Missions of Sonoma and San Rafael (1818-1839) and in the records of Arguello, Altamira and Sanchez (1821), Amador (Exp. edition prior to 1823), M. G. Vallejo (1838), H. H. Bancroft (1885), and Theodore Hittell (1885).

The Books of Baptisms of the Northern Missions, covering the period from 1818 to 1839, present various spellings. The commonest, Livantolomi,¹ occurs 39 times in the San Rafael Book, and appears also in the Book of Mission San Francisco Solano at Sonoma (1824 to 1837). Next in favor is Livancacayomi, which occurs 26 times in the San Rafael book.

M. G. Vallejo, in a letter to Governor Figueroa dated May 6, 1823, locates "Livantuliquini" as about four leagues from Arroyo Sayomi and "west of the Arroyos of Santa Rosa and Laquiyomi," and adds that in "its surroundings are found large tule lakes and an abundance of beaver."²

Arguello and Altamira, in 1821, located it as about 3 1/2 leagues northwest of Petaluma;³ Amador as between Santa Rosa and Bodega;⁴ and Bancroft as about 9 leagues north of San Rafael Mission on "the plains of Livantonome" where, in 1828, "the gentiles were being reduced."⁵

Hittell mentions it on authority of the 1821 expedition of Altamira and Sanchez, in connection with the Petaluma Indians "who were hiding from the fury of a neighboring rancheria called Libantilogomi."⁶

All the citations that give any clue to the locality point to the same place, the region of Santa Rosa Lagoon which is 5 or 6 miles north of Sebastopol; and Vallejo fixes it on the west side of the lagoon (or series of lagoons).

Evidence as to the tribe is even more specific for its name is given as Cainomares (various spellings), and we are told that it belonged to the Nacion Chujuluya, which Vallejo says is the same as the Cainomares, a tribe occupying the Santa Rosa Plain from Healdsburg to Sebastopol and Santa Rosa.

¹ See p. 75 for end notes.

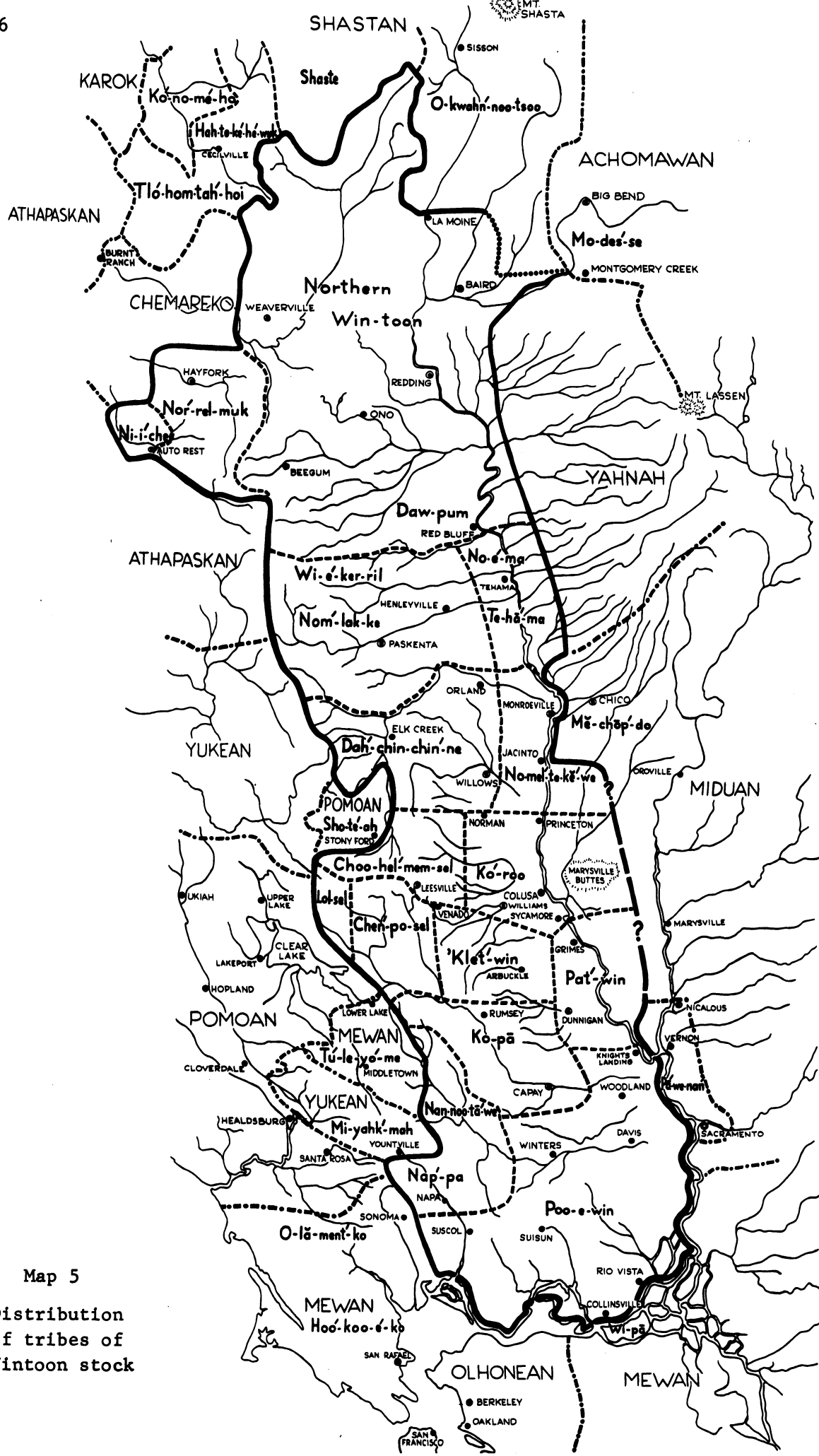
In the Book of Baptisms of Mission San Francisco Solano at Sonoma (1824-1837) the same identification is made, namely "Nacion Chujuluya (vulgo—Cainameros)."

The proper name of this tribe, I have been told by survivors, is We'-shum-tat'-tah, a tribe occupying the southwest part of Alexander Valley and the whole of the Santa Rosa Plain from Healdsburg south nearly to Petaluma, and from Sebastapol easterly to Santa Rosa, Rincon Valley, and Sonoma.

Up to the present time I have not found among the few survivors anyone who knows anything about Levantonome, but the foregoing references leave no doubt as to its approximate location. Obviously it was on the west side of the Santa Rosa Lagoons, 5 or 6 miles north of Sebastapol.

Notes

1. Various other spellings, as: Livantonome, Livanluli-yomi, Livan-toloyomi, Livantalomi, Livantuyolomi, Livantuliquini, Lihuancacayomi, Huilantuliyami, Libantiliyami, Libantiloymi, Libantiloquemi, Libantilogomi, Libantone.
2. Documentos para la Historia de Calif. Bancroft Library MMS, Vol. 2, 143. 1833-1834.
3. Bancroft, History of California, II, 449 and footnote. 1885.
4. Bancroft Library MS 49. 1877
5. Bancroft, History of California, II, 597 footnote. 1885
6. Bancroft, History of California, I, 496. 1885



Map 5
 Distribution
 of tribes of
 Winton stock

SKETCHES OF INDIANS MADE BY H. B. BROWN IN 1851-52

Robert F. Heizer

Elsewhere in this volume (p. 52) Dr. Merriam has described how he came into possession of a series of sketches made by Henry B. Brown, an artist sent to California in 1851 by General J. R. Bartlett to make illustrations of Indians and gather material for a book on California tribes which General Bartlett was preparing, but apparently never completed.¹

The drawings by Brown are here reproduced (pls. 1-5) from photographic copies found in Dr. Merriam's files. The originals have no doubt been otherwise disposed of since Merriam's death.

There is not much that can be said about the sketches beyond noting that they provide us with a most interesting contemporary record of the Wintun Indians of the Upper Sacramento River within three or four years after the discovery of gold in California, and are therefore as close as we can hope to come to true illustrations of aboriginal California Indians. The United States Exploring Expedition, under command of Wilkes, has a few small sketches of the Shasta and Upper Sacramento River Indians, and J. Goldsborough Bruff² gives us some sketches of the same period as those of Brown for the Feather River Maidu.

¹ Bartlett's main book, which does include much on the California Indians, is Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in California ...1850, '51, '52, and '53. New York, 1854.

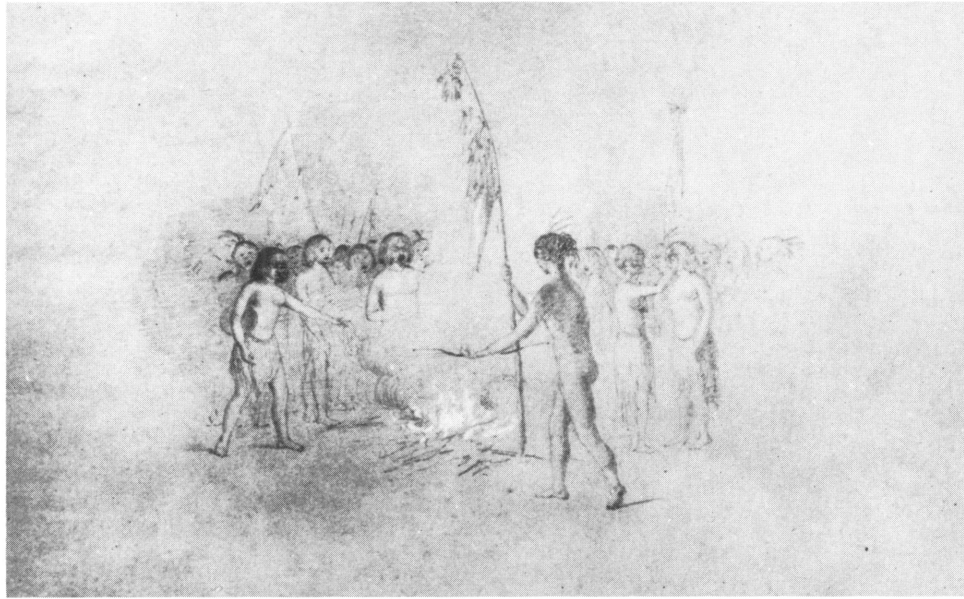
² Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff. G. W. Read and R. Gaines, eds. 2 vols. Columbia University Press, 1949.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

- Plate 1a "Uba [Yuba] River Indians gambling," 1851
1b Indians around fire along Sacramento River near Colusa, 1851-52
1c Man mending a net. Sacramento River, 1852
- Plate 2a Sacramento River Indians near Colusa, 1851-52.
2b Indian hunter. Sacramento River near Colusa, 1851-52
2c Sketch for 2b
2d Woman pounding acorns in basket mortar at Tehama on Sacramento River, 1852
- Plate 3a Village scene on Sacramento River near Colusa, 1851-52
3b Sketch for 3a
- Plate 4a Chino village on Upper Sacramento River near town of Shasta, 1852
4b Interior of semisubterranean dwelling of Upper Sacramento River Indians, 1852
- Plate 5a Earth-covered dwellings and acorn caches in Indian village on Sacramento River near Colusa, 1852
5b Indian women on Sacramento River near Colusa, 1852



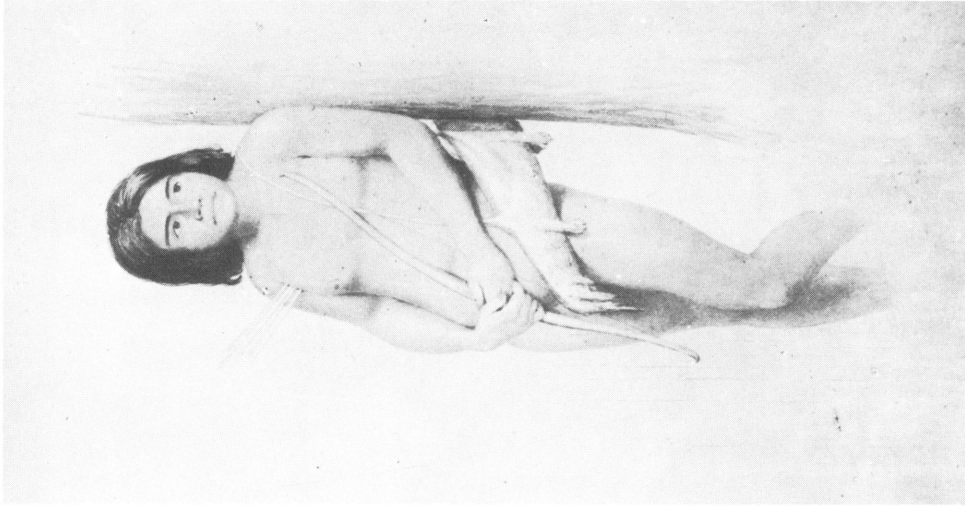
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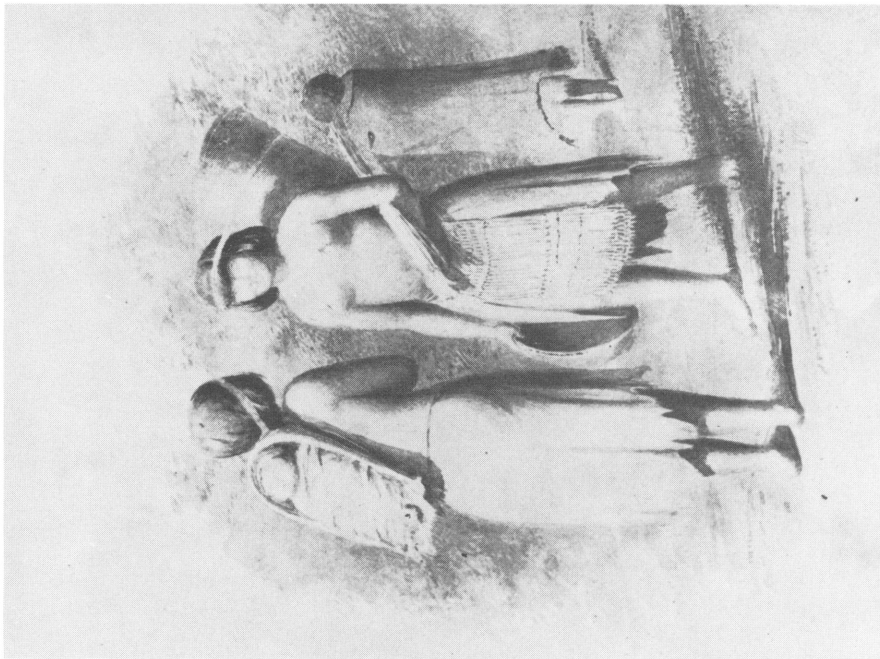
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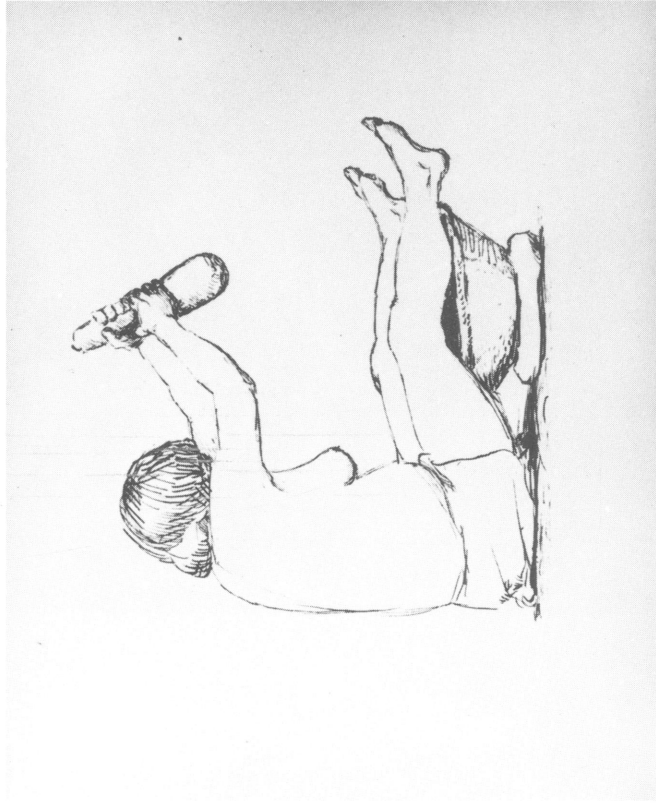
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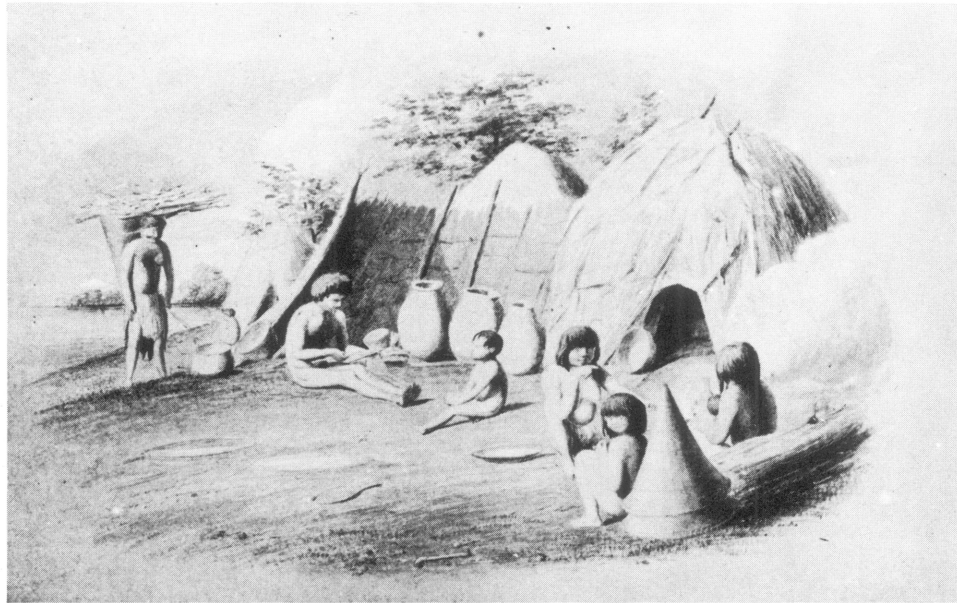
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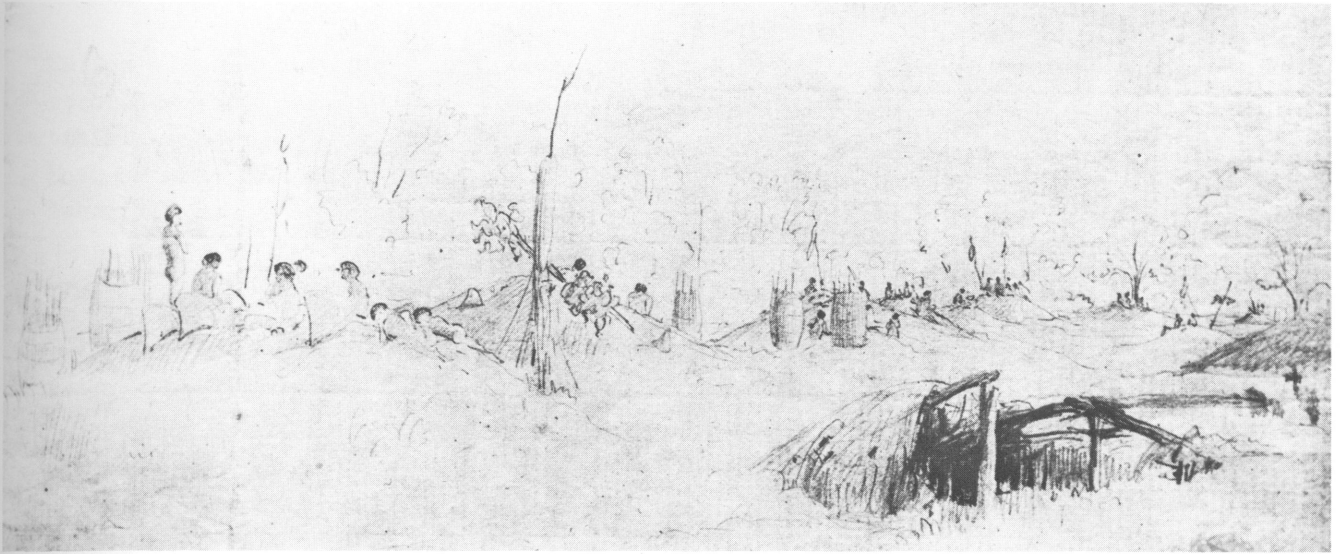
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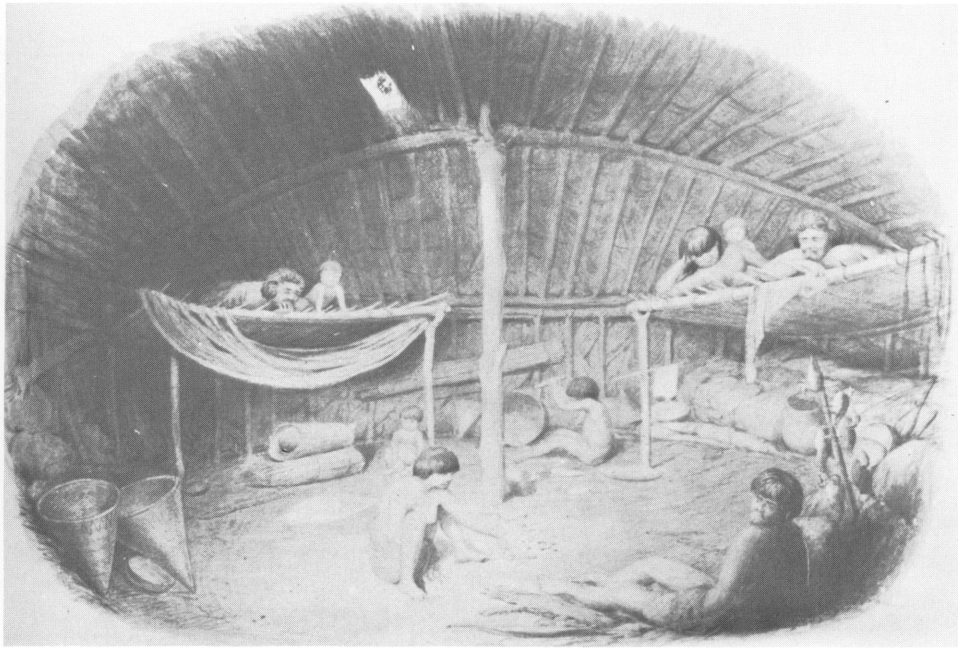
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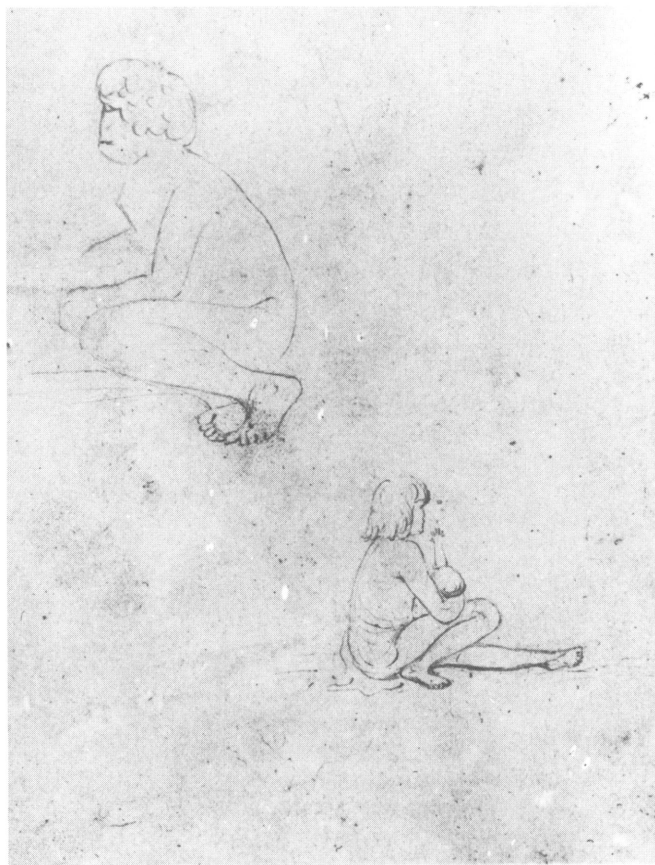
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Sacramento River - 1852 - H. A. Brown

b

TATTOOING AND BODY PAINTING

Editor's Note: Dr. Merriam appears to have had a special interest in recording body painting and tattooing, perhaps because these were visible aspects of culture which might be plotted on distribution maps.¹ Most of what has been found on this subject in checking through the materials has been extracted and is presented here under tribal headings.

* * * * *

Panamint Shoshone: Most of the women tattoo their faces and some of the young ones paint their cheeks red. One had a cross on each cheek. Several had interrupted dots in a vertical row on the chin. One freshly painted squaw had brilliant red cheeks with a zigzag across each cheek, and a double zigzag running out from each angle of the mouth—the upper line red, the lower black. The chin had a vertical row of large black dots, on each side of which was a vertical red band, all of which is indicated in the diagram (fig. 5a). Several of the women have three black lines under the chin. (Recorded at Keeler, October, 18, 1902.)

Choo-e-nim-ne: Old women used to tattoo chin and body. At the Choenimme camp on Kings River I saw an old woman who was tattooed all over her chest and breasts and also on her cheeks and chin. (Recorded at mouth of Mill Creek, Kings River, October 23, 1903.)

Chowchilla Mew'-wah: Sometimes girls are tattooed on the chest, around the breasts, and on the arms, as well as on the chin. (Information from the Yosemite Mew-wah, October, 1910.)

Yo'-kotch: Double lines running slightly down from corners of mouth; two lines vertically below mouth to chin. Wrist tattooed with three parallel zigzag lines running parallel to line of arm and bounded by encircling lines. Zigzag about 3.5 inches long. (Observed at Savage Monument on Fresno River on an old woman who says she is the last survivor of her tribe, October 15, 1905.)

¹ For additional published information on face tattooing see A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, 1925 (figs. 45, 46); J. Powers, Tribes of California, 1877 (figs. 10-18); E. Sapir, Hupa Tattooing, in Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Alfred L. Kroeber, 1936 (pp. 273-277).

No-to-mus'-se (subtribe of Nis'-se-nan): Both sexes used to paint the face with red, black, and white when dancing. Face tattooing is called bo'-no-pe, body tattooing is called ya'-lis. Only the women tattoo the body. An old woman had three lines below mouth (fig. 2a). (Recorded at Kah-de-mah village on north bank of American River about 9 miles above its mouth.)

Bo'-yah: The Bo'-yah of the California Coast who live in the area from Navarro Ridge to Gualala River call tattooing ah'-che. The men tattoo across the chest on one or both sides. The women tattoo the chin with from one to three vertical stripes, and usually also with a line from each corner of the mouth running obliquely downward and outward. Women of the tribe did not originally tattoo their faces, according to the informant, but when the white men came into the country the mothers tattooed the faces of their daughters to make them repugnant to the white men who were in the habit of confiscating girls. (Information from Stephen Parish living near Point Arena.)

Katch'-ah-we'-chum-mi: The daughter of chief Sebastian at Sebastapol has her face tattooed as shown in Figure 2c.

Me-tum'-wah: Tattoo marks are called buh-she'. Both men and women tattooed their bodies across the breast. The women tattooed their faces in an unusual manner: a narrow bar ran horizontally across the face between the upper lip and nose, in addition to which were three lines on the chin—a broad vertical median band with a narrow sloping line on each side. The material used for tattooing was burnt soaproot, called ahm'-mah-sit' (from ahm, soaproot; and mah-sit, charcoal).

Yokiah Pomo: The women tattooed their faces with three straight lines, one descending vertically from the middle of the lower lip to the chin, the two others running out diagonally from each angle of the mouth. These marks were called oo'-e-che'. There was no tattooing on the body or arms. The material used for tattooing was juice from green oak galls. After this juice was put in the scarified lines to produce the desired color, poison oak was rubbed in to make the cuts sore so that the markings would be more distinct.

Choo-hel'-mem-sel: The soot used for tattooing is called te-che-shoo-dook. It is made by burning pitch under a stone, on which the soot is deposited. In tattooing the skin is cut till it bleeds, then the soot is rubbed in. Tattooing in zigzag markings is called duk-ko'-duk-ko',

chin tattooing is called wah-ken. Sometimes these zigzag markings are tattooed on the chest, and in some cases a sugar pine tree (soo'-moo or shoo'-moo) is tattooed on the chest, the trunk of the tree along the median line of the body and the branches outspreading.

Poma: The Mah'-kah-mo chum'-mi of Cloverdale Valley on Russian River call tattooing cho'-te. They say that the men formerly tattooed their bodies across the chest and on the arms, and that the women had one or several vertical lines on the chin and one or two extending outward from the corners of the mouth. The material used in tattooing, instead of the usual soot from burnt stems of poison oak or other plants, was obtained by burning the pitch or resin, called kow'-he, from pine or fir trees. It was pricked into the skin by means of a fine bone needle called tsah'-tsama, made from the foreleg of a squirrel.

Chuk-chancy: On September 22, 1902, on the way from Fresno Flat to Coarse Gold Gulch, a visit was made at two camps of Chuk-chancy Indians. In one was a blind old man and three very old women. Two of the women were elaborately tattooed, and on payment of two-bits each pulled off their shirts and showed me their body decorations. The simpler of the two consisted of two broad rings low down on the neck or upper breast, from which broad straight lines ran down between and over the breasts as shown in Figure 4a. All of the markings are broad, about one-half inch wide. After I had examined this one, the other antiquated relic of Chuk-chancy humanity pulled up her shirt and held out her hand for her money, which I promptly gave her. Her thoracic and abdominal decorations were most remarkable and complicated, and far more elaborate than those of the other woman. There were numerous cross bands and rings and short vertical lines and circles and all sorts of things, but she would not let me make a diagram or take a photograph, so I could not record the wonderful things. They had a number of vertical and oblique tattoo lines under the chin and one had curious markings on her arms.

At the camp called Picayune, about five miles down the road, was an old woman whose face was tattooed with two vertical lines on the forehead over the nose, two vertical lines on the chin, and one horizontal line on each cheek passing back from the mouth.

Shaste: During the last week in September, 1919, I visited the old Shaste Chief, Bogus Tom, at his home on Deer Creek on the south side of Klamath Canyon. His aged wife was present and was conspicuous at some distance because of a brilliant red ring on each cheek. This ring, which had been recently painted, was at least two inches in diameter and nearly half an

inch wide. It enclosed the cheekbone (its upper edge reaching almost to the eye, while its lower border touched the ascending arm of the outer tattoo band just above the corner of the mouth).

This woman, like most of the old Shaste women, had her chin tattooed in three broad vertical bands—one median, and one lateral on each side. Each band is at least double the breadth of the interspace between the median and outer bands. All three are curved in over the underlip, and the outer pair is so broad that they extend out beyond the plane of the corners of the mouth, and send up above the corner of the mouth on each side a vertical projection about half an inch in length by a quarter of an inch in breadth.

On questioning the old chief as to the meaning of this brilliant scarlet ring, I was informed that it was for the purpose of attracting the attention of the Indians' god. He stated that when Indians were troubled or in distress and did not know what to do, the women painted a red ring on each cheek while the men painted the forehead white and the top of the head either white or red. The Indian god, on seeing these conspicuous markings, would come to the Indian and give him instructions as to what was best to be done.

In tattooing fine cuts are made with the sharp edge of an arrow or flint blade. The act of cutting is called mah-si'. The substance used to produce the blue-black color is made in an interesting manner: a small fire is made of grass and pine pitch, over which a stone is placed. Soot is deposited on the underside of the stone. This soot is scraped off and rubbed into the cuts. The tattoo marks are called keep'-tik.

Konomehoo: Coyote said that women should not look like men, and must therefore paint their chins. Konomehoo tattoos made by pricking the skin with a flint and rubbing in sweathouse soot mixed with bear grease.

Washoo: Both sexes tattoo their faces, but the women more than the men. The men usually have three vertical marks on the chin. The women tattoo the chin, cheeks, and nose. There are three vertical straight lines on the chin, three lengthwise on the nose (a serious disfigurement), and a Y- or T-shaped mark on the middle of each cheek. Some happily omit the nose lines which are particularly horrid, being two or two and a half inches long.

Hoopah: A number of Hoopah women have their chins tattooed bluish-black. This is a mark of pure blood as none of mixed origin are permitted to wear it. (Recorded at Hoopa, September 5, 1898.)

Karok: In painting the face or body, the paints used were red (af-saf'-foon), black (thun-toot'), and white (am-toop).

The women commonly tattooed the chin with three broad vertical bands similar to those of the Shaste. Such tattooing may be seen today on practically all women above middle age. It is called oo-soo'-kin-hit. Some of the men have cross-bars tattooed on their arms to indicate their wealth in rash-pook, each bar representing not only a string of the precious Dentalium but also its exact length. Bars on the inner side of the forearm show the number and lengths of strings of five measured from the hand; those on the inner side of the upper arm, strings of ten. At Orleans Bar I saw an old man with a number of these cross-bars on both lower and upper left arm. This arm tattooing is called trah-ah^{ch}-hoo thoo'-kin-hit (from ah'-trah^{ch}, arm; and thoo'-kin-hit, tattooing).

In olden times some men had a small cross tattooed on the cheek.

Ner'-er'-ner: The Ner'-er'-ner tattoo their chins in the same way as the Polikla, in three broad vertical bands (Poi^{ch}ko). The material used in tattooing is soot (carbon) obtained by burning pitchy wood under a rock and scraping off the deposit, which is pricked into the skin.

The outer chin stripe sometimes is extended above the corner of the mouth, and all three stripes reach up onto the red surface of the lip.

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES

- Figure 1 Facial tattoos
- a. Washo men
 - b. Washoo men
 - c. Karok women
 - d. Wintoon at Baird Hatchery
- Figure 2 Female face tattoos
- a. No-to-mus'-se (Nis-se-nan)
 - b. Bo'yah Pomo
 - c. Katch'-ah-we'-shum-mi
 - d. Me-tum'-wah
- Figure 3 Female face tattoos
- a. No'-to-koi'-yo Midoo, Lake Almanor
 - b. Ta-bah'-ta Pomo, Anderson Valley
 - c. Chowchilla Mewuk
 - d. Hoo'-koo-e'-ko, Coast Miwok of Phelan Valley, Putah Creek
- Figure 4 Body and face tattoo designs
- a. Chuk-chancy Yokuts near Fresno Flats
 - b. Shaste
- Figure 5 Female face tattoos
- a. Panamint Shoshone
 - b. Washoo
 - c. Yokotch, Fresno River
 - d. Chuk-chancy at Picayune

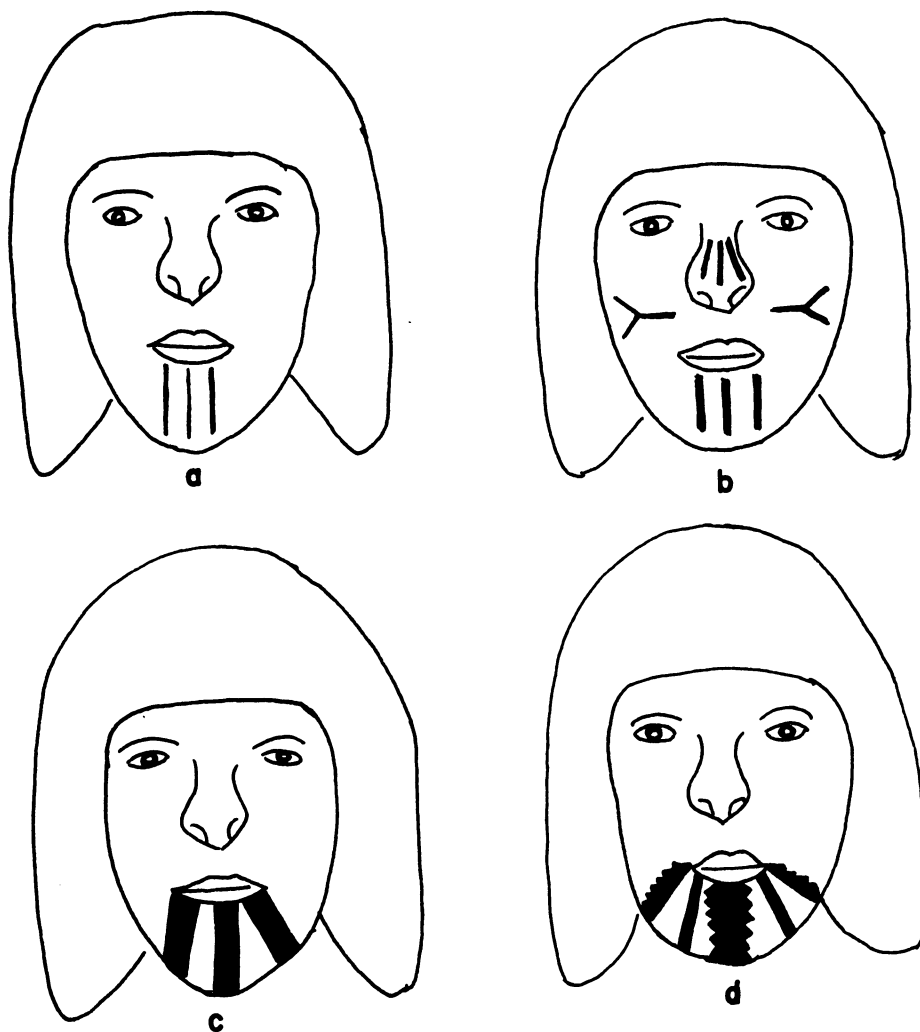


Fig. 1. Facial tattoos. a, Washoo men; b, Washoo women; c, Karok women; d, Wintoon at Baird Hatchery.

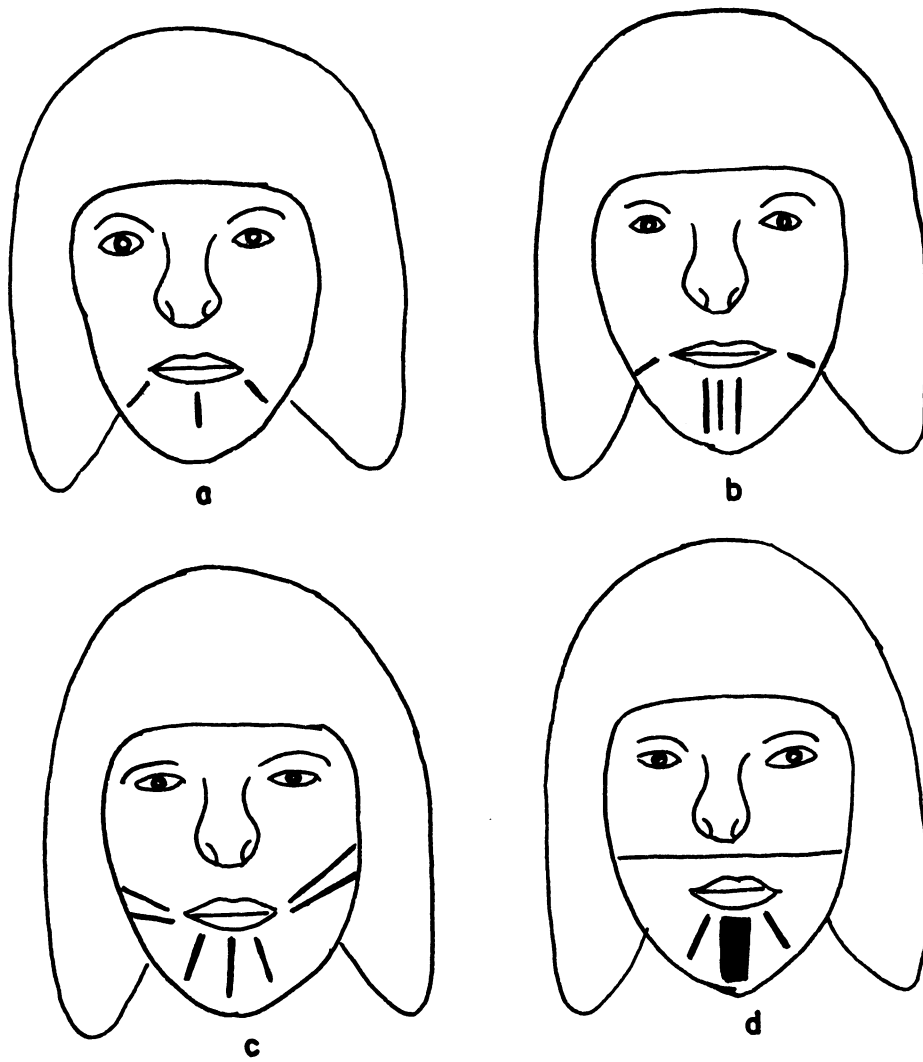


Fig. 2. Female face tattoos. a, No-to-mus'-se (Nis-se-nan);
b, Bo'-yah (Pomo); c, Katch'-ah-we'-shum-mi; d, Me-tum'-wah.

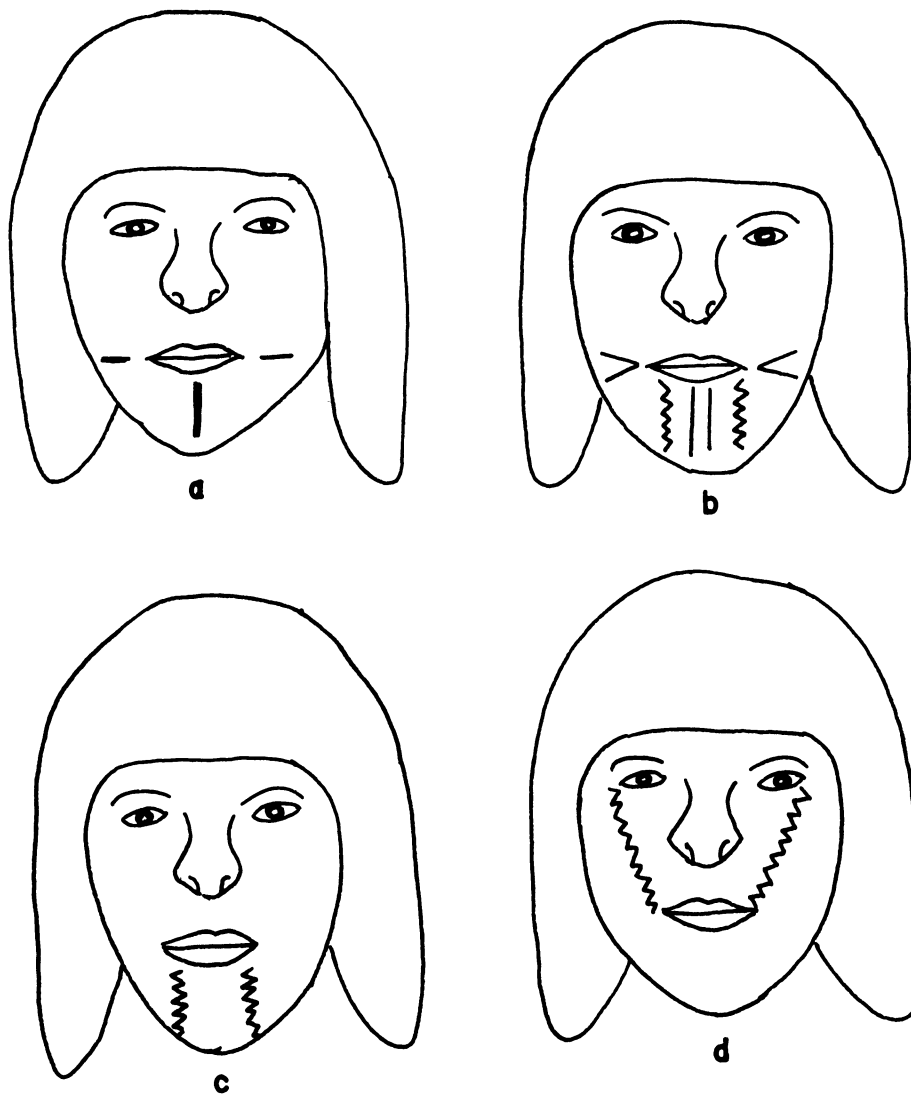


Fig. 3. Female face tattoos. a, No'-to-koi'-yo (Midoo of Lake Almanor); b, Ta-bah'-ta (Pomo of Anderson Valley); c, Chowchilla Mewuk; d, Hoo'-koo-e'-ko (Coast Miwok of Phelan Valley on Putah Creek).

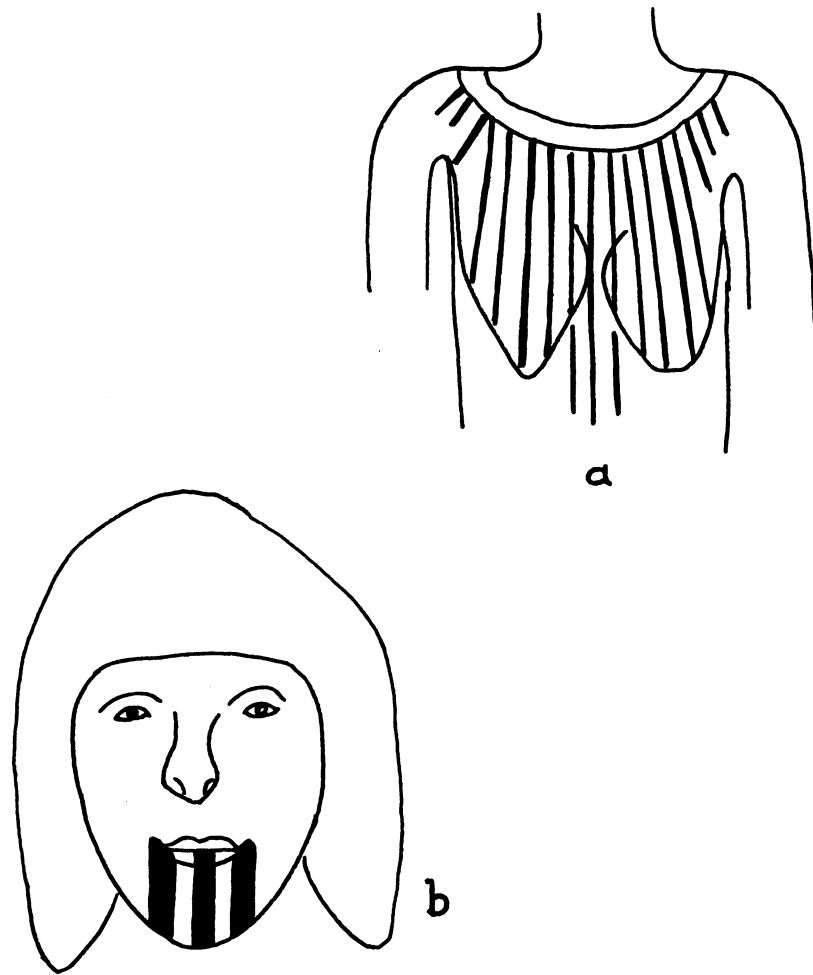


Fig. 4. Female face and body tattoo designs.
a, Chuk-chancy Yokuts near Fresno Flat; b,
Shaste.

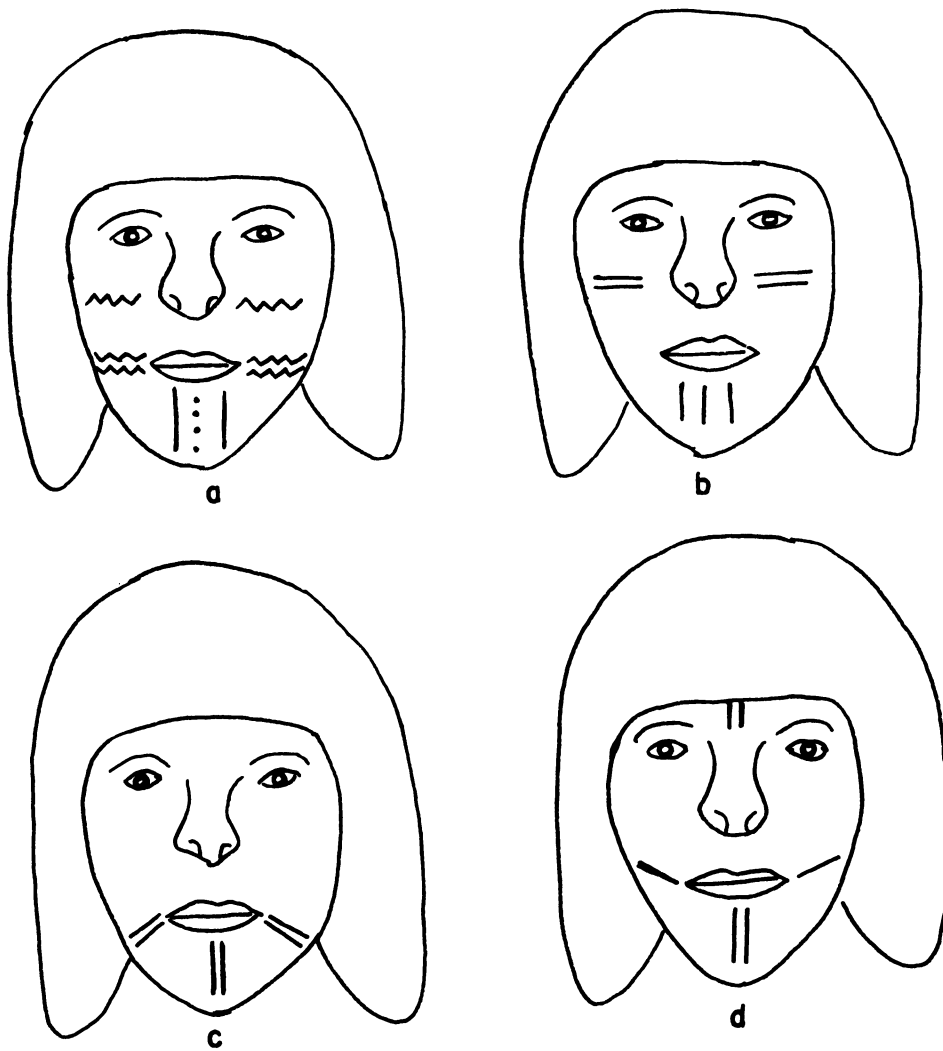


Fig. 5. Female face tattoos. a, Panamint Shoshone; b, Washoo; c, Yokotch of Fresno River; d, Chuk-chancy at Picayune.

MYTHS

Editor's Note: A few myths were turned up when the data files were searched and are presented herewith. In view of Dr. Merriam's strong interest in myths, as judged by two collections of these published by him (The Dawn of the World: Myths and Weird Tales Told by the Mewan Indians of California, A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1910; An-nik-a-del: the History of the World as Told by the Mo-des-se Indians of California, Stratford Co., Boston, 1928), it is curious that there are not more recorded myths from the numerous tribes investigated by him between 1910 and 1935.

* * * * *

NER-ER-NER

1. The Young Fellow whose name is unknown lived at Big Lagoon and had two dogs, a male and a female. The whole world was water, nothing but water. He went hunting on Rogers Peak and killed six deer and one elk. The place (rancheria?) at Big Lagoon is called Be-pa. The world was dark and foggy. By and by it suddenly cleared up and he saw the ocean all around. The ocean was hot. It swelled up and came in (surf?) and swelled higher and higher. There was no grass or anything, only water. Dogs wound round and round him. He said he better climb up. He climbed Rogers Peak and climbed a tree on top. The male dog was drowned but the Young Fellow took the she-dog in his lap and climbed higher in the tree with her and climbed up to the top of tree and held her in his lap. About midnight he felt the water lap the tree; then he cried, but still held the dog. Then the water went down. Then he mated with the she-dog and she had a litter of five pups. They had no hair but still looked like dogs. Then he mated with her again and she had a second litter. There were two like people, a boy and a girl. These he saved. Then Young Fellow killed their mother, the she-dog. The boy and girl (born of the she-dog) went together and had children—lots of children and they scattered all over and were the people. This was the beginning of Indian people.

When Young Fellow was in the tree he had nothing to eat but had thirty sacks of tobacco. He smoked all of the tobacco while still in the tree. He made fire to light his pipe by rubbing dry leaves from a plant that grows on Bald Hills.

2. Coyote was a mischief maker and never did anything toward making the world or people. Sa-gup, the coyote, came from way off in the mountains to

Cone Island to speak to Young Fellow. Coyote took his elk horn and took out something. He said to Young Fellow, "Here is money. Did you ever see this kind? Everybody is going to have money."

Young Fellow replied: "No, this is not money, only little bones. I'll show you real money." He went into his house and got his bag of real shell money (Dentalium?) and showed it to Coyote, and said he got it ten miles up the coast. He said to Coyote: "If you can run ten miles to the beach I'll show you, but first you must run four miles and back so I can see how fast you can run." Coyote spit on hot ashes and ran four miles and back so quickly that the spit on the hot ashes was still wet. So Young Fellow said he could go.

Next morning Young Fellow took Coyote and went north for the ancient money. He told Coyote that the money was in small baskets, each basket full, but that they must take only one piece from each basket. But Coyote took the first basket he came to and ran away. But Coyote didn't get half way (back?). Everybody went to sleep. They went in the sweathouse.

The Young Fellow took Coyote down to the beach at low tide and swung his arms and bent down and plunged down (apparently sank into the land and came up far away in the forest).

3. Young Fellow "went after" his own sister because she didn't want to marry. She wanted to go away. He told her she could go for a few days. She went a long way and stayed a very long time. After a while she came back, and he saw her camp in the forest. He was angry, she had stayed too long. He said he was going to the lagoon. She said she was going too, and followed. But he walked fast and she was far behind; he kept going and she kept following, but was always far behind.

KAROK

1. Coyote once had a quiver made of the skin of a fisher. It was old and badly worn so that he wanted a new one. One day when walking in the forest he saw a fisher. "I will kill him and make a new quiver of his skin," he said, so he immediately took hold of his old quiver and cut it and tore it to pieces. Then he went after the fisher and shot his arrow at it but missed and the fisher got away. Then he had to pick up the pieces of the old skin quiver and sew them together. It made a poor job.

2. Coyote was excessively amorous and was always "after the girls." He had a wonderful penis, at least one hundred and fifty feet long, which

when not in use was wound around his neck and body, and which he could project in any direction to copulate with unsuspecting women. Once, when two girls were gathering driftwood along the river, he turned himself into a block of wood near where the girls were and they brought it in for firewood. In a short time they both found themselves pregnant.

3. A long time ago there was a dam across Klamath River opposite the Che-nitch rock which now stands on the north side. The grizzly bear became angry and tore out the dam in order to let salmon up the river. He threw the dam to one side and what is left of it is now Che-nitch Rock.

4. At the time of the Flood the Indians turned into animals. Only one man came through and lived in the form of a man. He had two wives. He turned into stone at A-ma'-ke-ah'-rahm, and every spring in early April an old man digs him up and feeds him. His legs are deformed and crooked and his arms are akimbo. He is somewhat smaller than live men. When he is fed every spring, the old man whose business it is to feed him builds a fire, making a great smoke which rises high into the sky. It is dangerous for anyone to see this smoke, so people look the other way or go down into deep gulches or canyons until the time is past. The man who feeds him is Old Joe who lives near Nelson's place.

At the time of the Flood the old man's two wives began to climb the south side of the canyon to escape the rising water. They also turned to stone and may be seen to this day as light-colored rocks rising on the south side of Klamath Canyon not far from A-ma'-ka-ah'-rahm.

KAHWESIKTEM (CAHUILLA)

In the beginning of the world light and darkness came together as man and wife and to them were born two sons, Moo'-kaht and Moo-kah-tem'-mi-at.

They were conceived in darkness in the bottom of the world, for at that time there were neither land nor water. The mother, darkness, was not in human form, and when the time arrived for the children to be born they climbed out of her womb on hoo-nahch-kaht, the magic wand, the sharp end of which rested insecurely in the darkness at the bottom while its upper end swayed about as the twin boys Moo'-kaht and Moo-kah-tem'-mi-at climbed upward and cast off the foetal sack, which afterwards became the source of sickness.

They climbed in darkness, for there was neither sun nor light, and finally reached the top of the swaying wand. Moo'-kaht rested on the north side of the top; Moo-kah-tem'-mi-at on the south side.

Then Moo'-kaht asked, "Who is the older, you or I?" His brother replied, "You are the older, for you were up first." And Moo'-kaht was the older.

Moo'-kaht then called out in the darkness for yu-lilch, the pipe, and it came; and for pe'-vaht, the wild tobacco, and it came; and for kut, the fire, to light the pipe, and it came also.

Then Moo'-kaht, the older, smoked first, and when he had done told his brother to reach down and take the pipe and smoke. But instead of holding it down, he held it up over his brother's head, and the brother stretched out his hand and groped about in darkness but could not find the pipe.

While they were doing this, the wand they were on continued swaying about for it had nothing solid to rest upon, and they could not make it stay still. They put all kinds of ants on the material below to see if they would not make it still, but they had no effect. They put Mo'-maht, the ocean, on one side, and that held the material down and the wand became still.

They sent E'-sil to Coyote to fetch various things they wanted.

Moo'-kaht made himself fingers and toes like ours; Moo-kah-tem'-mi-at made his like a duck's foot.

They tired of the darkness and wanted light. They worked together and made stars, but the stars did not give light enough to see by. Then they made Men'-nil, the moon, but the light of the moon was not sufficient. They then tried again and tried to make Tahm'-yat, the sun. They spat upon their hands and rubbed them together and worked the material over until it changed and grew and became light, when it escaped and they could not get it back. But the next morning it rose as the sun and has made light for the people ever since.

Then they set to work to make people. The younger made people, but Moo'-kaht didn't like them and said that they were no good.

The younger said the people should live always and never be sick, but Moo'-kaht said they would then become too numerous and cover the whole world; he said they had better die when they grew old.

The elder asked what the people should eat. The younger replied that they should eat the earth. The elder said this would be bad; they had better finish making the earth and have it grow things for the people to eat.

So the brothers quarreled, and Moo-kah-tem'-mi-at, the younger, went away, leaving Moo'-kaht.

After a while the first people became very numerous and quarreled among themselves, and they threw stones at one another and killed one another. Then they made bows and arrows to fight with, and finally poisons. So many were killed they did not know what to do with the dead.

They called Moo'-kaht "father" and wanted to get rid of him.

They called upon the witch doctors—Tah'-koots the shooting star, and Tah'-vish the red-shafted flicker. They said they would send Wah'-hah'-chil the frog to kill Moo'-kaht.

Wah'-hah'-chil the frog went down into the ocean. When all the people were asleep he came out of the water and took some of Moo'-kaht's excrement and made poison of it and gave it to Moo'-kaht to eat. Moo'-kaht ate the poison and died.

(Recorded at Palm Springs, November 13, 1909.)

HOL-KO-MA

Johnson and I visted (about half a mile north of Cole Spring) a huge granite slope or hillside in the middle of which (facing south) is a short slit (say one and one quarter inch long by one quarter in width) which happens to resemble a woman's vulva. The Indians are said to come here in numbers and make speeches and perform ceremonies and go through all sorts of performances. I asked the chief about it and he said that a long time ago there were two virgin sisters who would not get married and never had anything to do with men. A number of the young men of the tribe who had failed in their attentions got together one day and chased the girls up to this hill, where they caught them and raped them. When they had finished they found that the girls had sunk into the rock and disappeared, and only the vulva remained. The young men then urinated on the rock and each pool of urine made a large whitish blotch which remains to this day.

The girls' names were Pigeon and Dove (So'-we and Ha'-we).

(Recorded at Cole Spring, Pine Ridge.)

NEK-KAN-NI

The dove Et-choo'-ah-se, is fond of te'-mah, the red berries of the coast elder (Sambucus callicarpa). A long time ago the dove's grandmother ate too many of these berries and died. This made the dove feel very badly and she still cries every day for her grandmother.

(Recorded at Cape Mendocino.)

WASHOO

There were two girls. They went up on the mountains and were lying down looking up at the sky. It was night. Their mother and father were dead. They just had an old grandfather. They looked up at the stars and began to talk and joke. They were sisters. One sister said, "I wish I marry Big Star because it has big bright eyes." Then the other sister said, "I wish I marry Little Star." After a while they went to sleep and these stars came down to them and pulled the girls up into the sky where they live. One girl married Little Star and the other married Big Star. One sister had a baby star child. They have everything up there just like we do down here, deer hunts, the same kind of food, and everything. Every day Little Star brought deer meat to his wife to eat. But Big Star didn't bring deer meat. He went some place and cut fat out of his own side and took it to his wife to eat. They ate together and Big Star's wife asked her sister if her meat tasted good. She said yes. So Big Star's wife said, "My meat tastes funny. There is something funny about this." So she put the fat near the fire and it didn't melt like fat but got hard in a ball. Her husband would try to get further away from the fire and that was because when she burnt fat it burned him.

One sister had a little star papoose. The sisters would go out every day to get wild onions to bring home. They took the baby with them. The little baby always sucked on deer sinew and then it wouldn't cry.

Big Star said, "Don't go to dig at the place where ants have sand piles, or ant hills, because if you dig there you will fall through to the other country."

There was lots of green food there. They used a digging stick to

dig up roots and things. The girls walked a way and came to the ant hill. One girl said, "I am going to dig in the ant hill anyway." So she took her digging stick and stuck it in the sand pile. The bottom fell through and she could look down to the other country. Both sisters looked in the hole and could see their old grandfather on earth. He was walking around the streams and roads like he was looking for something.

They decided to go down to him. They talked together. Then they began to gather up sinews, lots of them, so they could make a rope to reach to the earth. They told their husbands the sinew was for the baby so it could suck on the sinew and wouldn't cry. Then they made a ladder out of sinew. Later they tied one end to a tree and put it through the hole. Then they told the men to go off and hunt deer and when they were gone they took their lunch and started down the ladder. They took the star child with them. They were about half way down and were coming close to earth when baby star began to cry. The baby was in a papoose basket and the other girl said to her sister, "You better unwrap the baby and carry it in your arms so it won't cry." So the sister unwrapped the baby and held it tight in her arms, but all of a sudden "Snap," just like that, the baby jumped out of her arms and went back up to the sky to its father. There the baby started saying, "Going on sinew, going on sinew, going on sinew," until its father heard it and came up and looked at it and said, "What's the matter? What are you saying? Where is your mother?" Then the tree that the ladder was tied to started to shake and he saw what had been going on.

Big Star brought his long knife (tah'-gil) and began to saw the sinew. While he sawed he said, "Keh-keh, keh-keh, keh-keh," and then when he cut it in two he said, "Koom!"

And when he cut it the whole thing fell down onto the grandfather and they were all killed. The place was on a mountain near here and some of the sky plants came down too and you can still see some of them growing over there, and lots of ant hills too!

(Carson Indian School, June 20, 1935.)

HOOPAH

Once there was an Indian girl who turned into a bear because she was always in the brush hunting for hazel nuts and other kinds of nuts and berries.

A long time ago the first people were changed into animals. When the change came the animals had the same habits as the first people from whom they came. Thus the Flea-Man of the first people, who used to be a man-eater, became the flea, and even now he is still a man-eater.

In those days people wished what they would become, and they became that animal. The girl's people wished her to become a bear, and she became a bear.

There is a high mountain back of the forks of Salmon River now called Orleans Mountain. There was an Indian who was a great hunter who came from a long way off. He hunted all over the country. On one of his trips he came to this mountain and found a cleared place in the forest, a place swept clean and smooth. It was on top of a knoll. He stood still and looked. After a while he saw something; he saw some branches woven into a sort of no-now'-o-tsa or door in front of a hole. He lifted the door off and saw the girl who had turned into a bear.

She still spoke her language all right, and invited him to some in. He went in and she placed a block for him to sit on and said, "I have been looking for you a long time."

She roasted hazel nuts and seeds for him and gave him acorn soup and other food. He ate and filled himself up. He liked her and stayed and lived with her a long time, satisfied and contented.

Finally she became pregnant and had a child, and by-and-by another child. He stayed two years, satisfied and contented and pleased. His relatives were all the time looking for him. They looked everywhere but could not find him.

One day, after he had been away two years, his wife told him he had better go home to see his folks. He belonged to the Martins Ferry people on Klamath River.

So he went and told his folks. He took his little boy along but left the girl child with her mother. He told them about his bear wife and children. They understood. His people were pleased to see him and were still more pleased to have his boy with them. He said his wife and little girl would be there in a day or two, and told them he didn't want his people to hurt her if they happened to see her coming in the woods, because she was a bear.

A couple of days later his wife and daughter arrived. They stayed a few days. She rustled all kinds of food, for when the people could not

find food, she found plenty of nuts and berries and other things to eat. The people were pleased with her.

Finally she went back to her home and he went back with her. But he left word with the Martins Ferry Indians that no Martins Ferry Indian would ever be hurt by a bear.

KONOMEHO

1. The panther and his brother the wildcat lay down together at the head of Little North Fork of Salmon River near the place where the white man's tunnel goes in.

They said, "We are going to turn into rocks and make a ringing sound when the water drips on us."

Anyone can see these rocks and hear the noise like a white man's bell when the water drips on them. They are not really rocks, but are the panther and his brother the wildcat, turned into stone.

Water dripping on rocks is called hoo'-ah-tin-tin'-nik.

2. Coyote Man was in the beginning. He had grown up in the center of the sky. He went out every day to look over all this world. Nothing was showing. There was no world yet. He went out every day for nine days and nothing was showing.

On the ninth day he saw little mountains sticking up. On the tenth day the shole world showed up.

Then he said, "I am the best. I grew up first."

He went out again at noon and looked all over the world again. He saw smoke arising from Ahf-fum (Orleans Bar).

He said, "This is going to be bad." He saw another smoke rising from Ik-ne-sish (Bald Hills). By evening ten smokes were to be seen.

Then he said to himself, "What are we going to do?"

Then he said, "Now, Ground Children (meaning Indians) are growing, so there is going to be sickness."

Then he said to his children, "Let's try to make some kind of sickness."

Then he went out and took all kinds of roots. He came out at Plummer Creek. He had with him all kinds of roots.

When he returned to his place in the middle of the sky, he saw that all of his ten children were dead. Blood and other stuff came out of their mouths, ears, nose, and all over.

Then he said, "That is what people are going to get—that kind of sickness. They will be all cramped up and twisted and everything."

Then he took the medicine he had collected from all kinds of plants and gave it to all of his dead children. He opened their mouths and gave it to them.

Then all the children began to cry out at the same time, and all came to.

Then he said, "This is the way people are going to be if they know my medicine."

Then he said, "Ground Children are going to grow up and be people."

He said to the Deer, "Look out, they are going to kill you."

They were all animal people then. The Klamath Indians were Mice people. Our Konomeho people were Wolf People, but they had turned into Indians. The world had grown then.

Coyote Man said, "Everything is going to grow. Indians are going to grow up on the ground. These are going to be Indians now."

Coyote Man had first made some little people—Ant People and other insect people. These he scattered all around and said they are going to be deer and bear and all kinds of animals. Then all kinds of animals came, and among them the grizzly bear.

Then Coyote Man went back up into the sky to visit his own people. When he arrived there he found ten million little girl quails up there.

He thought it all over and said, "Those are the stars." And he threw them about in the sky and they became stars. The father quail became the moon and the grandfather quail, the sun.

Then Coyote Man came back and turned himself into a wild animal, Coyote.

He said, "I will eat people if I can catch hold of them. If they are bad to me, I will be just the same to them. The grizzly bear and I will be sneaking around close to Indian houses. If they are mean to us we will be eating their children when we see them running round."

HAH-WUN-KUT

Skum, Coyote Man, made the world.

When the sun dropped down the coon caught it up and it was hot and blackened the insides of his hands.

When the world first floated there was just one big white redwood tree called Kus-choo'-ke. A big eagle was sitting on the tree and was king of the world.

The falcon (tah'-tes) won the battle for the people.

(Fragments from the tribe otherwise known as Tolowa.)

DWELLINGS, SWEAT HOUSES, AND CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

Editor's Note: The following notes and illustrations of California Indian architecture constitute one of the fullest records we possess. Dr. Merriam apparently took a special interest in this subject, and future students will find these data a rich source of information. Of particular value is his account of the building of the ceremonial house of the Pit River Achomawi in which the number of workers and time required is detailed.

* * * * *

COMMUNITY HOUSES, CEREMONIAL HOUSES, AND SWEAT HOUSES OF THE YOKIAH POMO

The large ceremonial houses were called shah-ne; the sweat houses, ho shah-ne. They were similar in many respects. Both were circular and domed; both were excavated to a depth of three or four feet; both had a single doorway, a large center pole, and a fire between the center pole and the door. The roofs of both were supported by either six or eight posts (informant not sure which) and were covered with brush overspread with earth.

Ceremonial Houses

The ceremonial houses were very large—about sixty or seventy feet in diameter—big enough to hold several hundred people. In addition to the doorway and smoke hole, they had small openings around the sides for ventilation. The door, if informant remembers correctly, was on the south side. The hollow drum-log was suspended over an excavation by means of stout buckskin ropes from four posts so that no part of it touched the ground. It was near the back side of the house, opposite the doorway.

Sweat Houses

The sweat house, which in most respects was similar to the ceremonial house, was of smaller size, though still large enough to accommodate forty or fifty people at a time. The door was on the east or the west side (fig. 6); informant thinks usually the east.

It was the custom of the men to go to these houses twice a day, morning and evening. Each man carried a log or an armful of sticks for

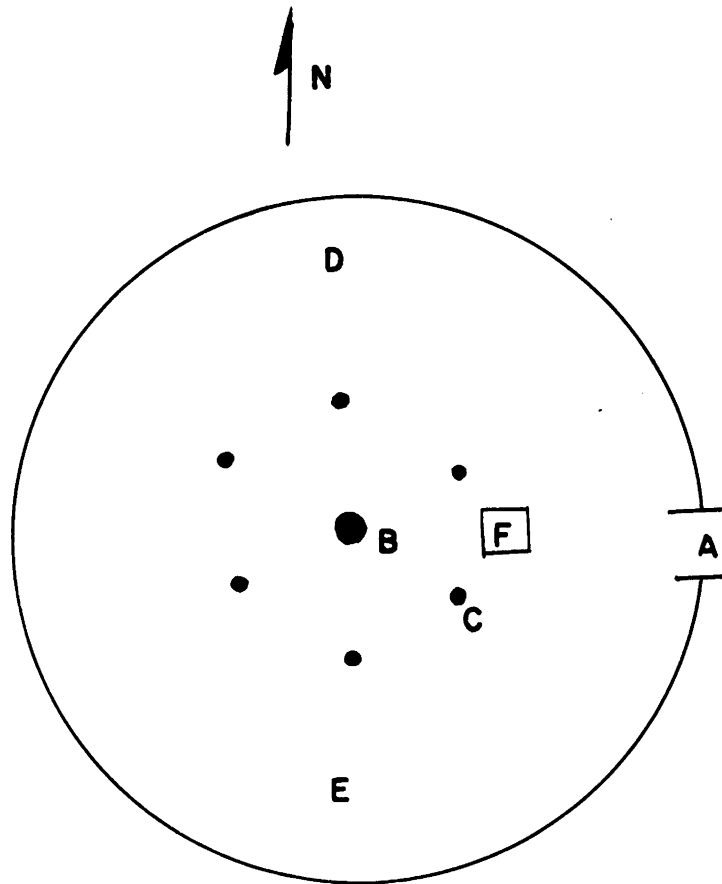


Fig. 6. Floor plan of Yokiah Pomo sweat house. A, entrance; B, center post; C, secondary posts (6); D, E, sweating areas; F, fireplace.

the fire, which was of large size. The heat soon became very intense. When the men had stood it as long as they could, they ran out, lay on the ground a while to cool off, and then plunged into the river.

The men were divided in two parties or sides—one on the north, the other on the south. The division is hereditary, not optional, and is of deep significance, suggesting the curious division of the southern Mewuk into similar sides (described in my article, *Indian Village and Camp Sites in Yosemite Valley*, Sierra Club Bulletin, 10, 203-204, 1917).

While the men are lying on the ground in the heat of the sweat house, a man from each side, provided with a pole to which is attached a deer skin or blanket, steps to the other side and fans the heat against his opponents,

the effort being to make the place so hot that it cannot be endured. When any person who can stand it no longer runs out, his side is declared vanquished, the other side the winners.

Women did not go to the sweat houses.

Community Houses

The old-time houses (chah) of the Yokiahs were circular and stood on top of the ground, the ground not excavated (fig. 7). They were made of long willow sticks thatched with straw. The sticks were set in the ground with the tops incurved so as to form a large domed structure, with a large opening in the center which was not roofed over.

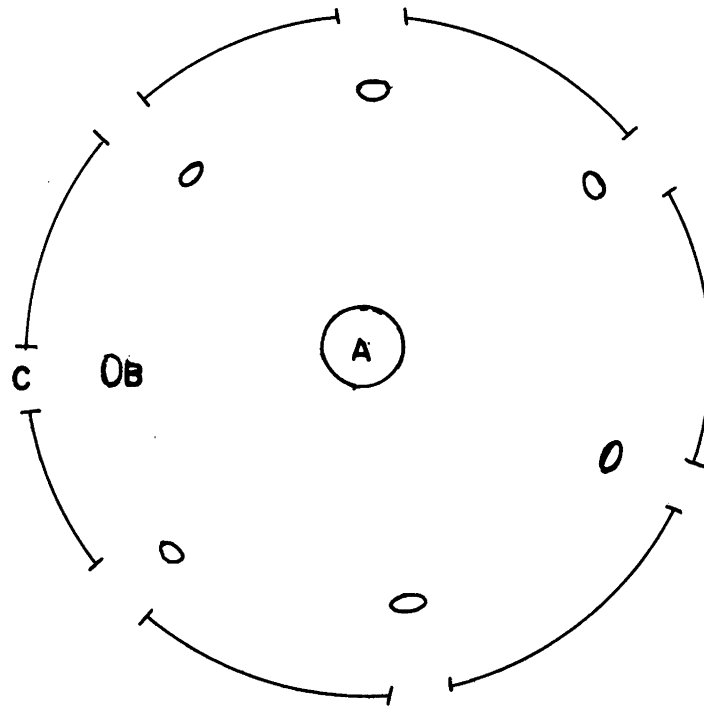


Fig. 7. Yokiah Pomo communal house for seven families. A, community fireplace; B, family fireplace; C, family entrance.

The houses were large, some of them forty to fifty feet in diameter. A number of families, usually relatives, occupied the house. From seven to twelve families usually lived in each house. Each family had a small fire for individual cooking, and each had an entrance of its own leading out of doors.

The large circular area in the center was used for community cooking, as for making acorn mush and bread, and roasting meat. The acorn mush was cooked in baskets by means of hot stones in the usual manner; the acorn bread was baked in ground ovens, the meal or flour having been mixed with red clay water to give it flavor and color. (A few years ago one of these community houses was still standing at Sha-nel, i.e. Hopland.)

THE OLEYOME ROUNDHOUSE ON PUTAH CREEK

Editor's Note: On October 24-25, 1905, Dr. Merriam visited the Oleyome rancheria in Coyote Valley at Putah Creek, Lake County. He observed the Indians grinding acorns and made measurements and recorded details of the roundhouse there. The Oleyome village is one of two main settlements of the Tuleyome tribe of the Mewan linguistic stock (C. H. Merriam, Studies of California Indians, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1955, pp. 43-48).

* * * * *

The roundhouse is called lah'-mah. The eight posts arranged around the center post were all painted with the "dance marks" (too-sah) which were the same designs as were painted on the cheeks of the women. The flag which was displayed outside was called wahn-ta-rah, and the smoke hole was over the firepit (see location at "D" on fig. 8). The orientation of the plank drum seems unusual, and normally for this area its main axis would run opposite to that shown in "C" on the floor plan.

No record was made of the diameter of the house or the measurements of the posts. The roof construction is shown in Figure 9.

[Dr. Merriam here noted the process of acorn grinding as follows:]

The Indian women at their rancheria on Putah Creek in Lake County, California, at the time of one of my visits were actively engaged in gathering fresh ripe acorns and making them into flour. The mortars were heavy rectangular blocks of stone, called too-koo-le, set firmly into the earth with the upper surface flush with the ground level (fig. 10). Unlike

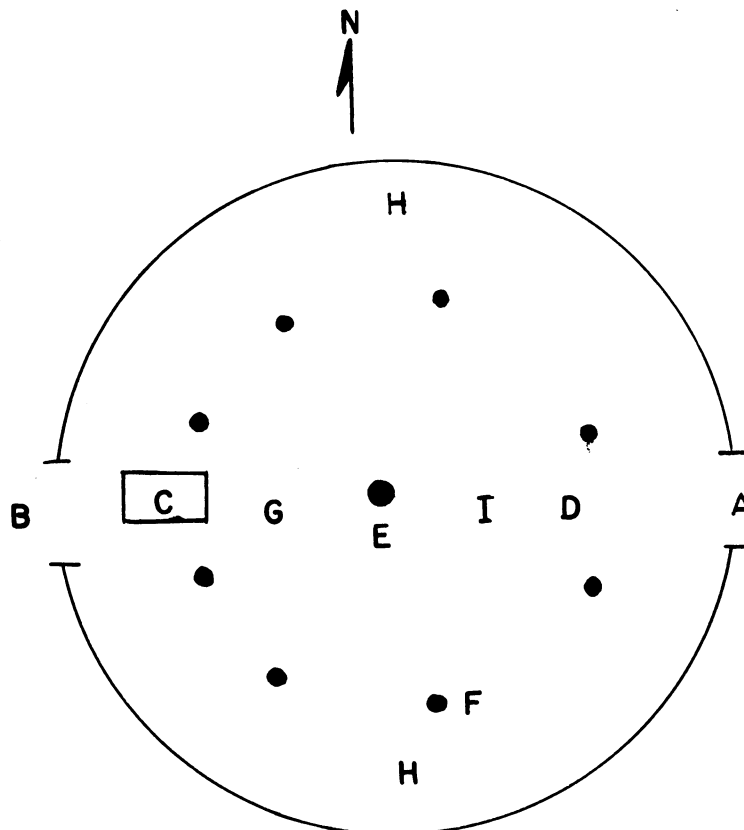


Fig. 8. Oleyome roundhouse on Putah Creek, Lake County. A, east and main doorway (kah); B, west and rear doorway; C, foot drum (tal'-len); D, fireplace; E, center post (hoi'-put-too-yah); F, side posts (8), called te'-ah; G, space for singers (kwa'-ok-kant-tal-tah'-ne); H, outer space for spectators (el-lew'-we-ah, or wah'-ah); I, space for dancers (hoo'-ke-wa-ah).

the Pomo mortar stones, each of these contained a definite mortar hole, approximately four to five inches in depth. Over this, to keep the acorn fragments from flying off during the pounding, rested the milling basket, called Kah-we, which was pressed down against the stone and held firmly in place by the calves of the legs of the woman operator.

A broadly conical winnowing basket of twined weave was placed on the ground just beyond the mortar basket and facing the operator. This basket, called Ken-ne, was used to shake off the dry skins of the split acorns and also to separate the coarse meal from the fine. It was grasped by both hands, a hand on either side, and given a tossing motion. If the wind were not strong enough to carry off the flakes of acorn skin, broken and loosened

by the shaking and tossing, the operator blew them off by blowing across the top of the basket immediately after each toss.

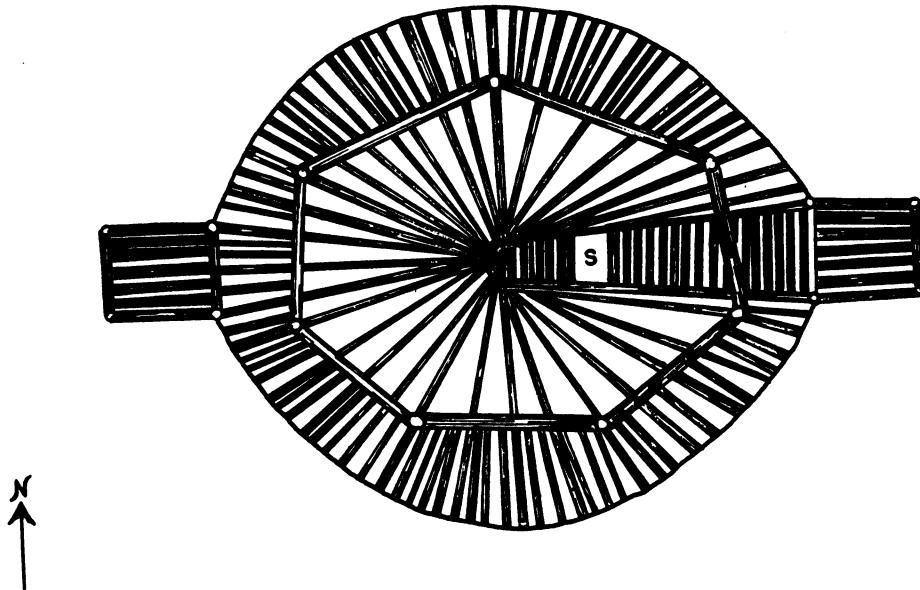


Fig. 9. Sketch plan of roof structure of dance house as seen from below. S, smoke hole (o'-ho-sut'-ko). Roof poles are called hel'-la-ti'-ke.

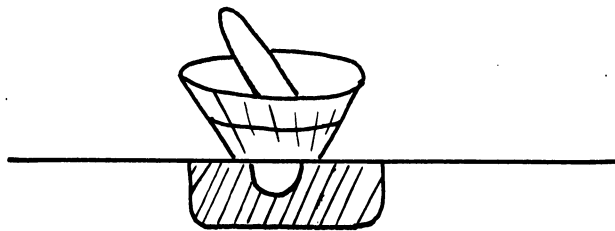


Fig. 10. Oleyome basketry hopper slab mortar set in floor of house.

SOUTHERN MAIDU (NISENAN) ROUNDHOUSE

Editor's Note: The following notes were made by Dr. Merriam in 1907 at the rancheria of Koot'-bah belonging to Chief Hunchup, which lay on the ridge between the north and middle forks of the Cosumnes River, El Dorado County, California.

* * * * *

Nisenan Roundhouse at Koot-bah, Eldorado County

Chief Hunchup (pl. 6)¹ says (August, 1907) that his people, the Nis'-se-nan tribe, reached westerly only to the lower edge of the timber composed of digger pine and a blue oak forest belt. Their territory included Latrobe (Yah'-lis) and Wi-me-sa-pa-kan, located a little below Latrobe. It ended along an irregular line passing southerly from Salmon Falls (Yaw'-dok) on the South Fork of the American River to Michigan Bar (Pa-lah-mool, meaning water oak) on the Cosumnes River. Below and west of the Nis'-se-nan were numerous rancherias of tribes speaking a widely divergent language, Mokozzumme. These tribes the Nis'-se-nan called Ti'-nan, meaning west people. The Ti'-nan extended from Slough House on Deer Creek (and adjacent parts of Cosumnes River) down to the tules. The Pa'-we-nan or Poo'-soo-ne call the Mokozzumme tribe Kaw'-so, so Blind Tom (of Poo-soo'-ne) tells me.

Chief Hunchup gave the following tribal and place names of the Nisenan:

To'-se-win	people in the Folsom area
Pus-soo'-ne	lived at the junction of the American and Sacramento Rivers. Their language is similar to Nis'-se-nan but somewhat different
Chah-pah'-mus-sy	name of the place and people at Gold Hill on the American River
Es-nah-kah'-mus-sy	name of Hunchup's place and band between the North and Middle Forks of the American River
O-no-cho'-mah-mus-sy	place and people at Mud Springs or Eldorado, west of Placerville

¹ Plates 6-33 follow p. 144.

Hunchup's roundhouse (pl. 7a) has a diameter of about forty-five feet. There is no center post. A fire hole in the center of the roof measured about four feet square.

Four large posts separate the interior into inner and outer spaces (fig. 11). These posts are about ten feet apart east to west, and about fifteen feet apart north to south. They support four heavy horizontal timbers on which the roof poles rest. These roof poles are forty-five in number and measure six inches in diameter at the butt end. Each of the forty-five roof poles is supported at the butt end by a vertical slab or post of heavy split pine driven into the ground; these form the outer wall.

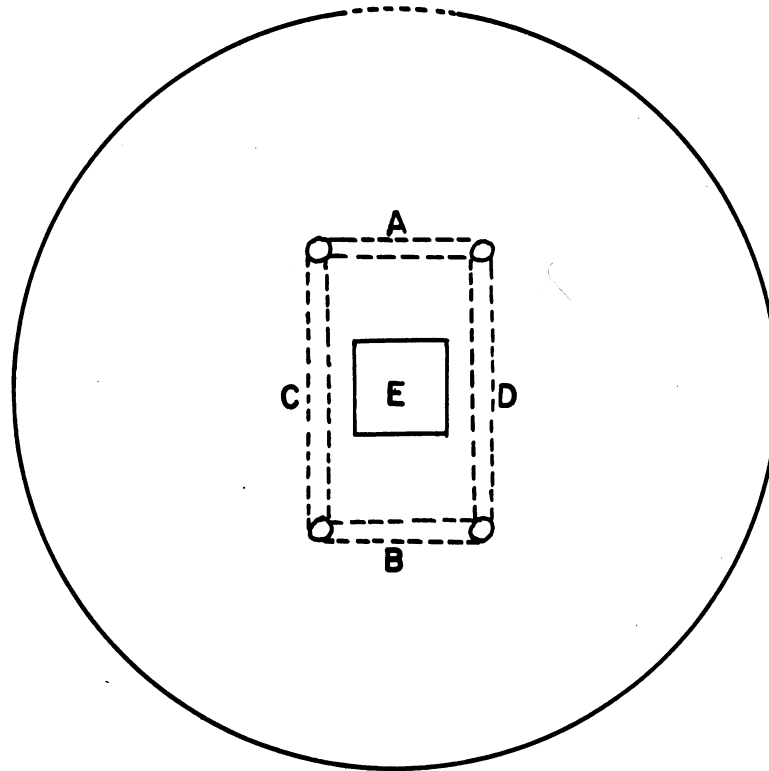


Fig. 11. Chief Hunchup's roundhouse at Koot'-bah rancheria, Eldorado County. A, B, north and south horizontal beams; C, D, east and west horizontal beams resting on center posts; E, smoke hole in roof. Entrance shown by dotted line on perimeter.

The roof poles rest directly on the north and south horizontal cross beams because these beams are relatively short. But on the east and west sides the corresponding beams are too long to conform to the rising roof poles. Consequently, the roof poles rest on a series of a dozen short blocks which are themselves supported by the horizontal beams and lean outward to meet the roof poles. The largest is, of course, in the middle of the horizontal beam. The top of the roof is of split pine shakes.

A cooking hole in the ground under a neighboring oak is twenty-two inches in diameter, about a foot deep, and half full of small stones, two to three inches in diameter. A globular stone mortar and a bedrock mortar in use by Hunchup's people is shown in Plate 7b.

Chief Hunchup died on W. C. Sheldon's ranch on the Cosumnes River near Slough House on the night of Sunday, November 3, 1907. He had no noticeable fever, and Sheldon was not able to tell what ailed him. Hunchup told Sheldon a few days before that he thought he was "gone." He was over seventy-five years old.

THE CEREMONIAL HOUSE OF THE MOKALUMNE

The following notes were recorded near Buena Vista Peak, Amador County, from Casus (Jesus) Oliver in October, 1905.

The roundhouse is called han-na-boo' and is circular, about thirty feet in diameter, and is earth-covered (pl. 8a). The door (oo-koo'-yah) faces east and consists of a narrow entrance with steps leading down from the surface (fig. 12). The roof of the entrance passage is practically on the level with the outside ground surface and one must stoop over to enter (pl. 8a, b). The floor is natural earth and is sunk about four feet below the surface level (pl. 9).

Four rows of short posts (tol-la) which are notched at the top support the main rafters (chow-wik'), which in turn are covered by smaller poles (lo-lah'-pah) laid at right angles, brush (switch-ah'-pah), and earth (fig. 13). The brush is held down by long sticks (muk'-koe). The earth roof is called yuk-kahp'. The two inner rows of supports each have six posts; the two outer rows each have four posts; and there are on each side against the outer wall two short posts connected to each other with a beam. The four middle posts are the largest and rise nine feet, eight inches above the floor. The earth wall is about four feet high. The rectangular smoke hole (kah'-poo) is in the center directly over the fire-

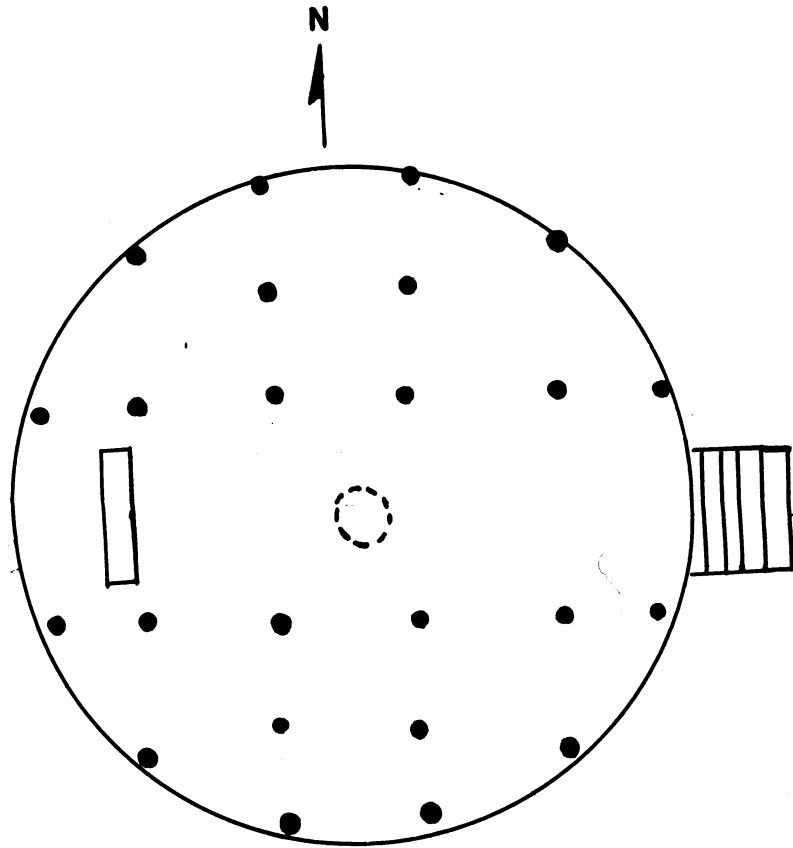


Fig. 12. Mokalumne roundhouse, floorplan.

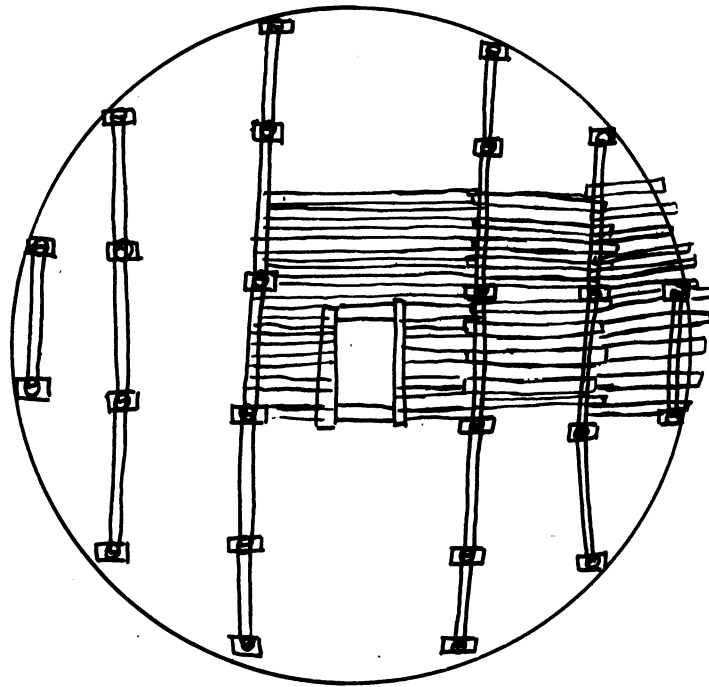


Fig. 13. Mokalumne roundhouse near Buena Vista Peak. Looking down on roof, showing main rafters set in notched posts, pole covering on which brush and earth are placed, and rectangular smoke hole.

place (wuk'-ke). The drum (too'-mah) is a wooden plank sixty inches long and twenty-seven inches wide, set over a pit dug in the floor.

When a dance is in progress, a hollow elder stick from one and a half to two feet long is used by the singers to beat time. These sticks are called mut-tah-tah. The fan (wil-lah), consisting of a stick with a cloth attached, is used to drive the heat from the fire into all parts of the house. The drummer is called too-mah-peh; the singer, hu-te-ko; the men and women dancers, la-mok.

The open area between the fireplace and the door is called hah-wah-nah; the open area between the drum and the fireplace is called wal-lem.

[Dr. Merriam's brief account of his visit to Casus Oliver's rancheria follows:]

September 30, 1905. In early evening had my driver leave me at the Indian home of old Casus Oliver at the foot of Buena Vista Peak on the south side of Jackson Valley, with instructions to call for me early Monday morning to take me to the morning train at Ione.

Old "Casus" is one of the few living Mokalumne Indians. His wife is a good type of Nesenon, originally from Gold Hill on American River, only a few miles north of Placerville. The old home of Casus was the old Mokalumne Rancheria (pl. 8b) on the bottomland on the south side of the Mokalumne River, about one and a quarter miles west of the present town of Lockeford.

The wife formerly lived with a white man named Jameson, by whom she had six children. She has also had six by Casus, making twelve in all. Her youngest, a girl of nine, died a few weeks ago and the poor mother's heart is broken. She has "thrown away" (doubtless burned) a lot of Indian beads and other articles, and has the little girl's doll sitting up on a box where it harrows her feelings constantly.

Sunday, October 1. Spent the entire day and night at the Indian camp talking with old Casus and his wife. Got a good vocabulary from the old man and a fine list of names of animals and plants in the Mokalumne language.

In evenings got him to tell me the story of the origin of the Indians in this country. By a very dim firelight and by writing as fast as I possibly could, I got the whole thing down, and find it fills twenty-one pages. It is a good story and a new one to me. We were both mighty tired when he got through.

He has one of the old type of earth-covered, partly sunken in the ground, ceremonial houses close to his house. He gave me the name of the different parts today, and told me about some of the exercises. But the day and evening were both too short. I'd like to spend a week with them. He gave me also the names of some of the stars and constellations.

His real name is Lan-na-wis'-tah. His wife's name is Ho-wuk'-me in Nesenon. Her English name is Amanda.

October 2. Before leaving Casus and his wife I gave them some presents. As usual at old Indian rancherias, a good deal of wild tobacco grows about the place (Nicotiana attenuata).

THE NORTHERN MEWUK ROUNDHOUSE AT HACHANA RANCHERIA
NEAR RAILROAD FLAT, CALAVERAS COUNTY

The house is round and stands on top of a low knoll. The main door faces nearly northeast. I believe this orientation was due to an error, since customarily the door faces north, and several Indians with whom I spoke about it thought in fact that the door did face due north. The second door is at the opposite side of the structure, facing southwest, and is closed during ceremonies. The exterior walls form a twelve-sided polygon about forty feet in diameter.

The vertical walls consist of twelve upright posts, spaced equally around the perimeter, these vertical posts being connected by two horizontal rows of peeled poles, the lowest circuit measuring fifteen inches above the floor, the upper row being sixty-eight inches above the floor and running flush with the tops of the vertical posts (fig. 14a). The horizontal poles lie in notches cut into the uprights. The vertical exterior sheathing is nailed to the horizontal poles.

Arranged in a square in the center are four tall center posts (fig. 14b) with four large, smooth, peeled horizontal beams laid from the top of one to the other to form a square. Resting on the corners of this square are the ends of four curved or bowed poles upon which the mid-point of the radiating roof rafters rests. The curve is supported by two blocks set under each of the four bowed beams. The fireplace is in the center of the floor equidistant from the four center posts.

The roof rafters number twenty-four, half being long and half short (short rafters not shown in fig. 14c). The long rafters rest on the upright wall posts. Between each two long rafters are shorter ones which

rest upon the square superstructure raised on top of the four centerposts, and on the uppermost horizontal pole which ties the ropes of the short side-uprights together. The long rafters are cut so that a circular smoke hole about three feet in diameter is left at the point where they converge, and they are here lashed to a circular hoop. On the rafters and at right angles to them are nailed fifteen courses of sheathing boards upon which are nailed the split roof shakes. The rafters overhang the outer wall about six inches.

The floor is level with the outside ground surface (i.e. not sunken) and is thickly covered with fresh green needles of Pinus ponderosa in anticipation of the ceremony shortly to be held.

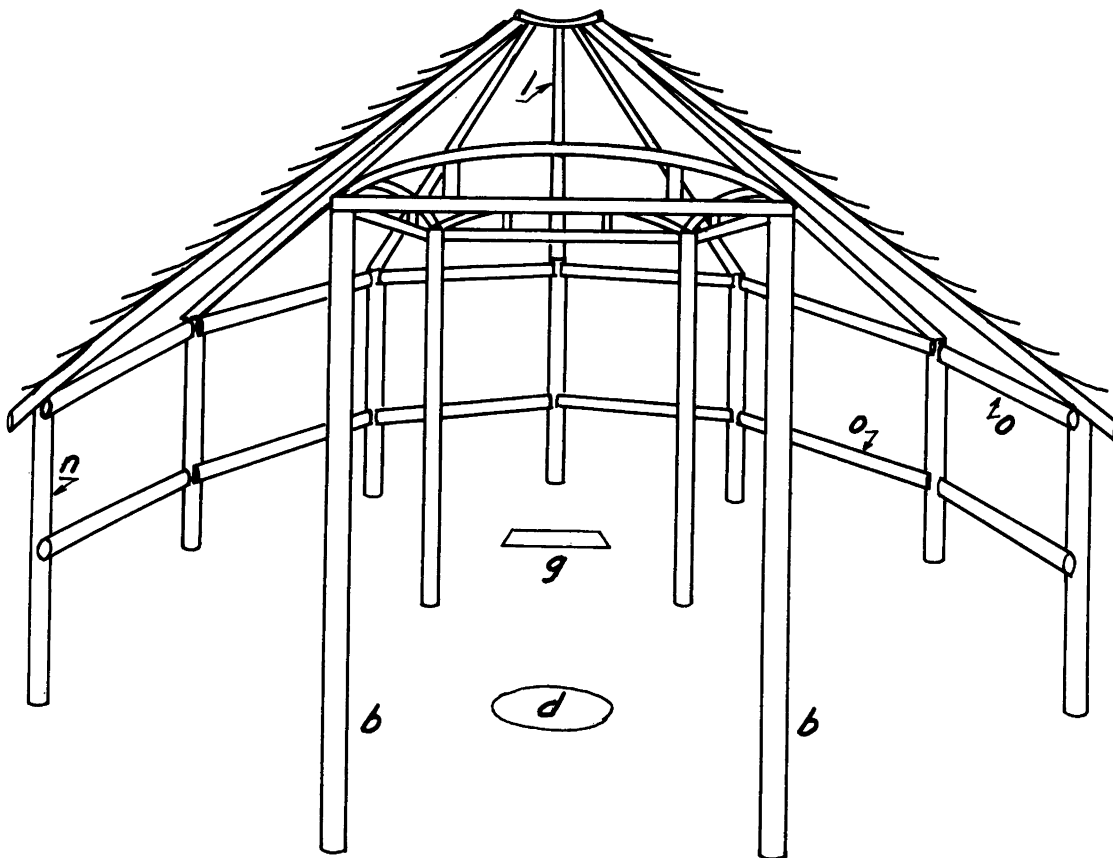


Fig. 14a. Construction of ceremonial house of Northern Mewuk at Railroad Flat rancheria. (Explanation follows fig. 14c.)

The foot-drum, a rectangular plank two feet wide and seven feet long, is placed over a hole four feet deep, situated between the outer wall and the centerpost square.

The singer, moo-le-peh, stands in front of the plank drum. The drummer, too-mup-peh, beats time by dancing with bare feet on the plank. An old man said that a hollow log makes a better drum, and that there used to be one in the older ceremonial house which stood farther out on the promontory and whose location is marked by a pit.

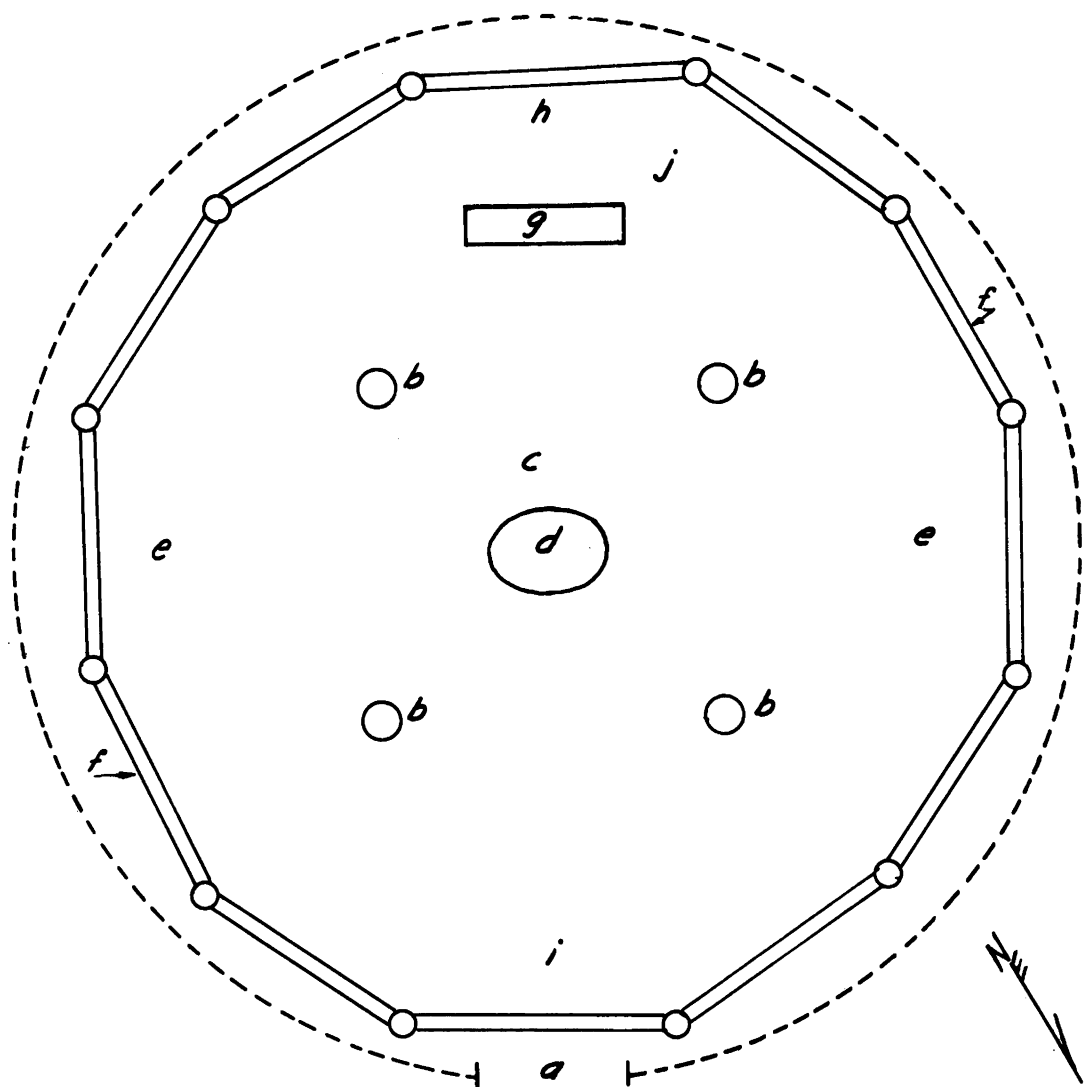


Fig. 14b. Floor plan of ceremonial house shown in Fig. 14a.
(Explanation follows fig. 14c.)

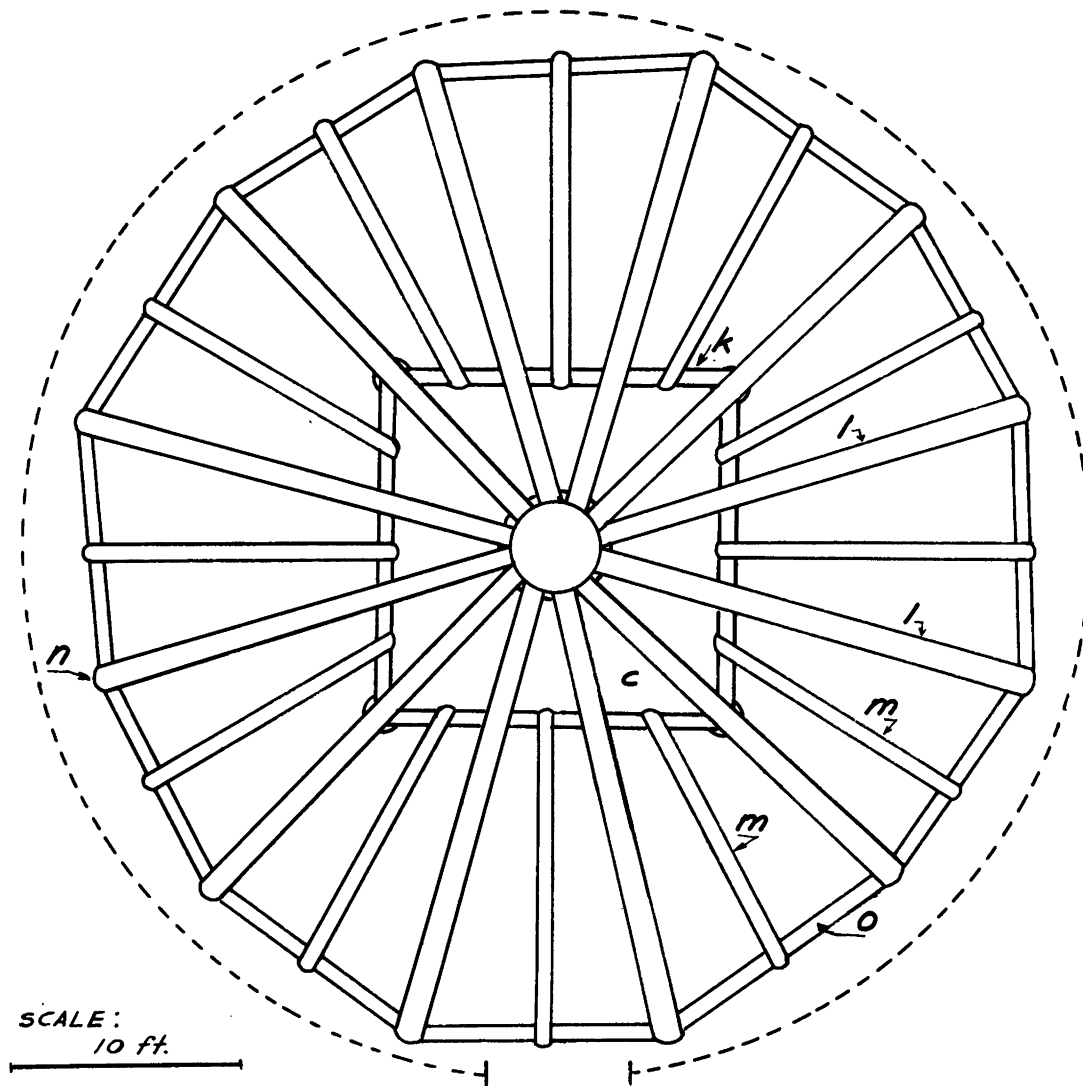


Fig. 14c. Arrangement of roof rafters of ceremonial house shown in Fig. 14a and 14b.

In the three figures the letters refer to specific features as follows: a, doorway (o-lit'-tah); b, center posts (chaw'-num-ma); c, inner space (kal-loo'-tah); d, fireplace (wuk-ke); e, outer circle (et-chat'); f, outer wall (wek-il-lah); g, foot-drum (too-mah); h, space behind drum (wal-la); i, doorway end (o-let-tum); j, south end of house (et-chut); k, cross timbers on center posts (cha-wu-meh); l, long rafters (ho-tah'-pah); m, short rafters; n, wall uprights or peripheral posts (chaw'-num-ma); o, horizontal pole framing for wall sheathing.

MEWUK ROUNDHOUSE AT WEST POINT, CALAVERAS COUNTY

The old ceremonial house, now fallen in, was explained to me by the old chief, "Eph." The roundhouse is called hang'-e, and in old times was an earth-covered house. The doorway should face north and the drum end south (fig. 15).

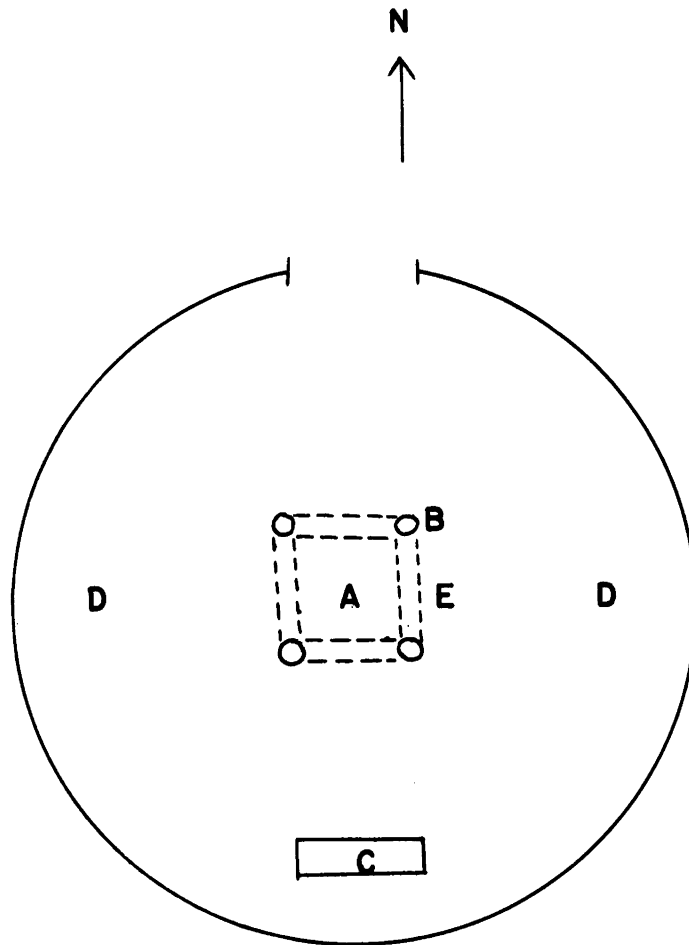


Fig. 15. Groundplan of Middle Me'-wuk roundhouse at West Point(?), Calaveras County. A, the dance space (kah-loo'-tah) within the square formed by four main posts; B, main support posts (chaw'-noo-meh); C, foot-drum (too'-mah); D, space for spectators (et-chat); E, top timbers (wek-ke'-lah).

The following terms were given by Eph for parts of the hang'e and for the people connected with the dances.

O-lit'-tah	the doorway
O-let'-tum	the doorway end of the house
Et-chut	the opposite or drum end
Wuk'-ke	the fireplace in the center of the square formed by the four center posts
Too'-mah	the drum, a plank seven by two feet
O'-lah	a four feet deep hole under the drum plank
Moo-le'-peh	the singer who stands in front of the drum plank
Too-mup'-peh	the "drummer" or man who beats time with his feet on the drum plank in keeping time with the singer
Su-pop-pe	the leader of the dance

The dancers, Kil-ta-pa, are men and women, and there may be a dozen or more of them. They are painted and wear beads and shells. Feathers are worn in their hair and on their cheeks. In most dances each person, male and female, wears in his back hair and projecting outward, four feathers, two on each side. These two on each side are fastened to a slender stick which is stuck into the back hair.

The leader of the dance is elaborately clad in a feather dress or suit, comprised of a headdress and skirt. He is also elaborately painted on his chest, back, arms, and legs, in black, white, and red. His headdress is mainly of red caloptes tail feathers. Chief Eph is the singer and keeper of the dance songs. He makes and owns the feather suit and keeps it in a bag hung up high in a pine tree near camp. He sold one suit to Ch. McCloud for \$30.00.

There are a number of dances:

Te-la'-le kol-la'-ah	the Acorn Dance
Ko'-nok-ko kol-la'-ah	the War Dance
Mel'ng-ah-u kol-la'-ah	the Yellow Jacket Dance
Kam-min'-ne kol-la'-ah	the Singing Dance
O-lah'-ko ko-la'-ah	the North People's Dance
Soo-lek'-ko ko-la'-ah	the Devil's Dance

THE ME-WUK CEREMONIAL HOUSE AT OO-POO'-SAN-NE

On one of the large promontories jutting out into the valley at the base of Buena Vista Butte, Amador County, is an ancient Me-wuk Indian settlement, or at least all that remains of a once large and prosperous village. There are now only two houses and an old earth-covered ceremonial house, like the one I described at Cortina Creek but smaller and lower. This one has only one entrance, and it faces east and is very low. The ground inside is excavated two or three feet below the general level, as usual. The ground plan is oval (fig. 16), and the roof of earth-covered branches is supported by strong posts and connecting timbers. The top of each post is deeply and squarely notched to receive the connecting roof timbers.

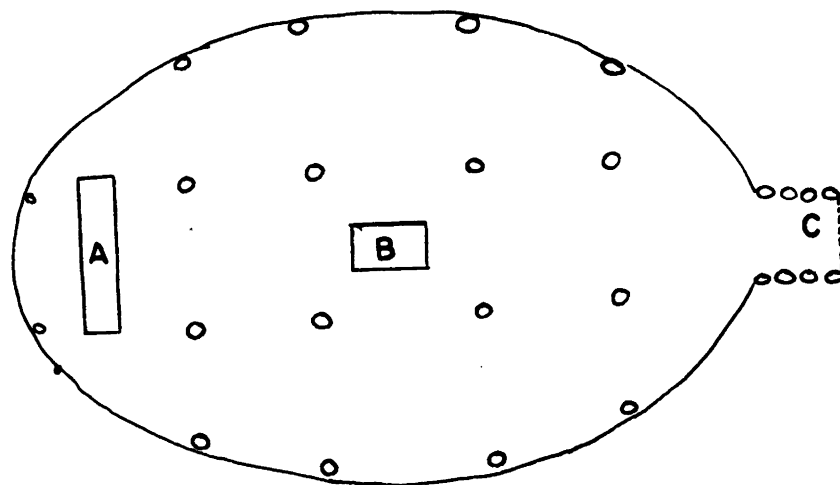


Fig. 16. Ground plan of Me-wuk ceremonial house at Oo-poo'-san-ne. A, foot-drum; B, fireplace; C, low entranceway facing east.

At the west end is a long box, sunk flush with the ground, and placed transversely to the axis of the building. Its top is a single thick board. This is a drum on which some person beats with the feet during the ceremonies.

At the extreme (northern) end of the promontory is a large, shallow depression, now and for many years used as a burial place by these Indians. It was once a huge ceremonial house, but that was long ago. It was used for all ceremonial purposes, my informant said. Not only the mourning ceremony (the "big cry" as it is locally known among the whites), but also feasts

and dances took place here. During dances the dancers assembled at the far end near the drum and started out from and returned to this place.

THE YOSEMITE MEWUK ROUNDHOUSE

The roundhouse (hang-e') has four posts, one doorway which faces north, and is earth-covered (fig. 17). The smoke hole (kah'-po) is directly over the center fireplace. The roof is called hah-ma'-ah.

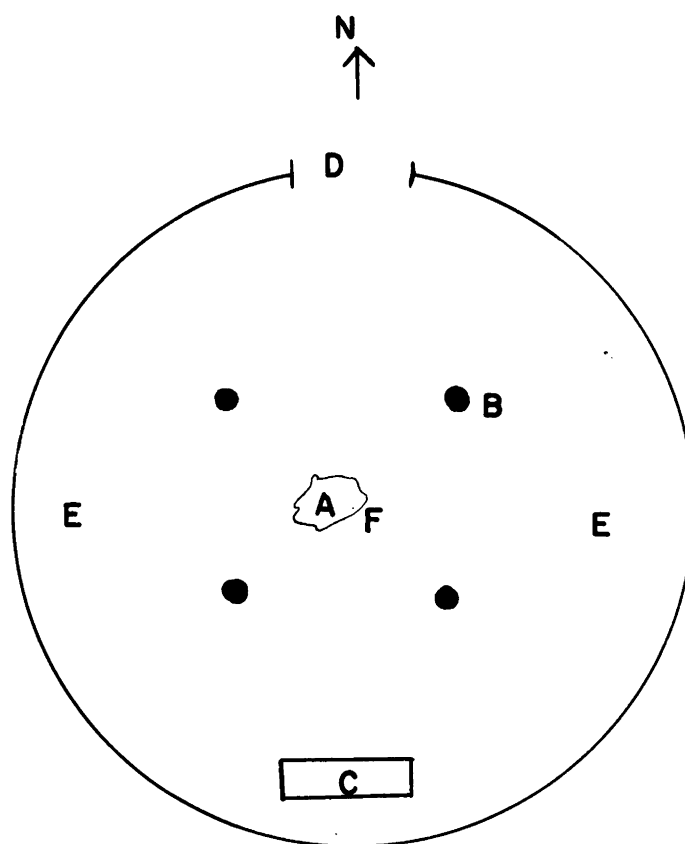


Fig. 17. Yosemite Mewuk roundhouse. A, fire (ho-yoo-choo-pum); B, posts (cho-neh); C, foot-drum (too'-mah); D, door (o-koo'-yah); E, space for spectators (et-cham-mut-tu-cham-ning); F, inner space for dancers (hoi-kim-mut-tah-chah'-ne).

[No details of the ceremonies held in the house are recorded by Merriam beyond some terminological notes as follows:]

toot-toot'-pe	head dancer
ho-pah'-be	caller
kah-ling'-ah	male and female dancers
ah-moot'-pe	singers
ho'-pah	drummer
tem-mak'-ke-lah	flicker headband worn by both men and women
wi'-ye	plumed rods held in hand
yo'-ko	breechclout
hoo-lip-pah'	bone whistles
kah-tah'-tah)	elder wood clapper sticks
tal-la'-nah)	
ho'-ko-hah	rattle
yel'-la-koo	name of "cry" (mourning ceremony)
u-net'-ta-me	"mourning hard"; i.e. mourners with pitch on hair and face
u-ki-yen'-ne	to blacken face with pitch and charcoal
up-pah-nu-koo'-meh	the "wash" ceremony following the "cry"

A YOSEMITE MEWUK BARK LODGE

The sketch (fig. 18) of the framework of a Yosemite Mewuk bark lodge (oo-moo'-cha) was made in 1910. Ten main poles (pine saplings) are set up with their tops inclined inward. Set oppositely are two forked poles (A, B), with a pole laid and lashed in the forks and to which the remaining eight uprights rest and are tied. The door is formed by lashing a short pole (D) to two of the uprights. The structure is about ten feet high and is covered with large, full length pieces of cedar bark.

[A photograph of this lodge was taken by Merriam and is shown in Plate 10a. It may be compared with what is almost certainly an earlier photograph (pl. 10b) labeled "Majella, Yosemite, Fiske," which may mean woman (mahala) in Yosemite, Fiske being the photographer. The conical bark house in the Fiske photo lacks the crossbar feature of the door. Ed.]

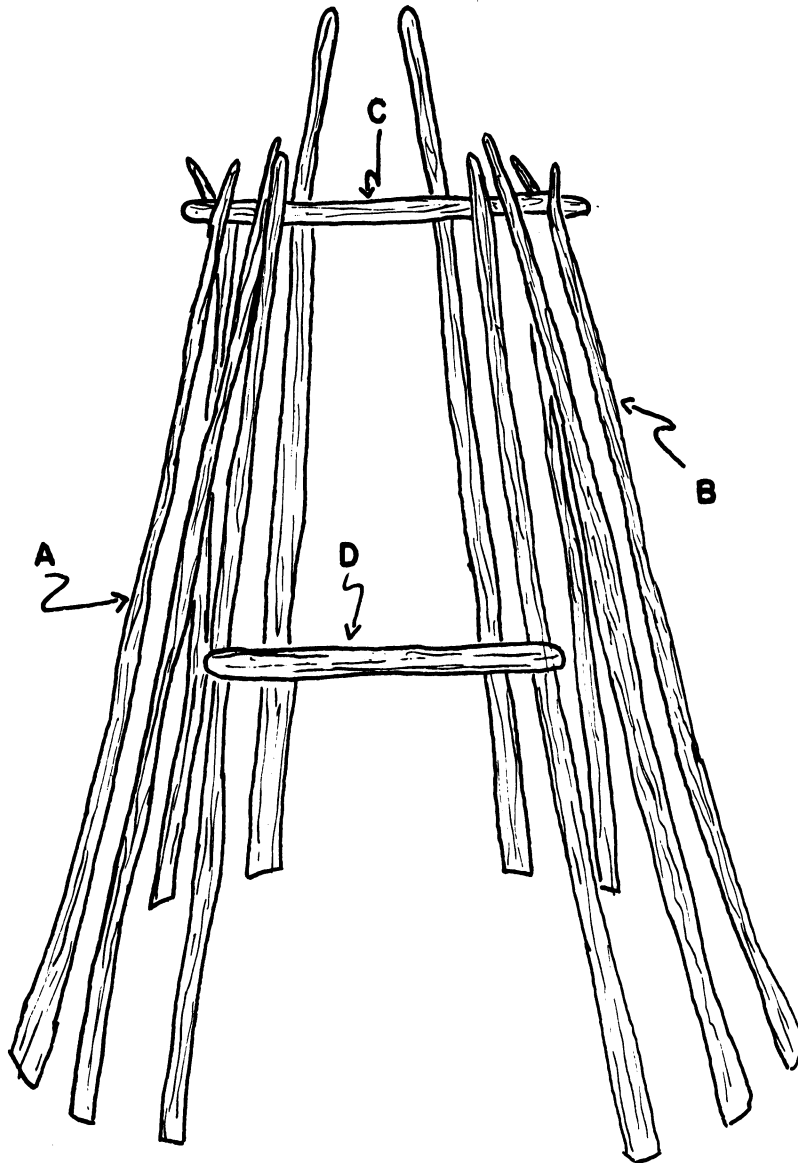


Fig. 18. Frame of Yosemite Mewuk bark lodge.

CHO-E-NIM-NE SWEAT HOUSE

Near Kings River and on the land of the principal man, Pony Pul-low'-oo is a large, earth-covered sweat house called mo-sow. It is of a type once common in the southern foothills country from Fresno County south to Bakersfield-Kern River. It is actually for sweating and not for ceremonials. It is broader than long, and the entrance faces the west. It is about twenty feet broad by ten long. The fireplace is directly in front of the narrow and low entrance. The ground inside is excavated perhaps three feet below the general level (fig. 19a). The house is high enough to enable one to walk about inside without stooping. The sides and roof are of slanting timbers which rest on the ground and slope up to the middle ridge-pole, a stout log perhaps eight or nine feet in length supported on two large posts, forked at the top (fig. 19b). The whole hut is covered with earth except along the ridge-pole where small irregular openings between the poles allow the smoke to escape.

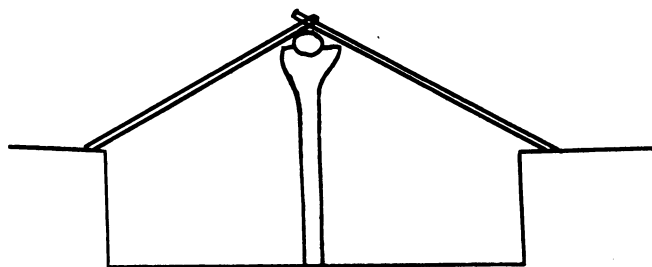


Fig. 19a. Choenimne sweat house (cross section).

On each side of the doorway inside is a pile of stones ready to be heated in the fire, and outside is a considerable pile of ashes. The Indian Pony Pul-low'-oo told me they use it when feeling poorly. They build a good fire in the fireplace in front and sit behind it till sweating profusely, and then run and jump into the river (Kings River) which is only a few rods away.

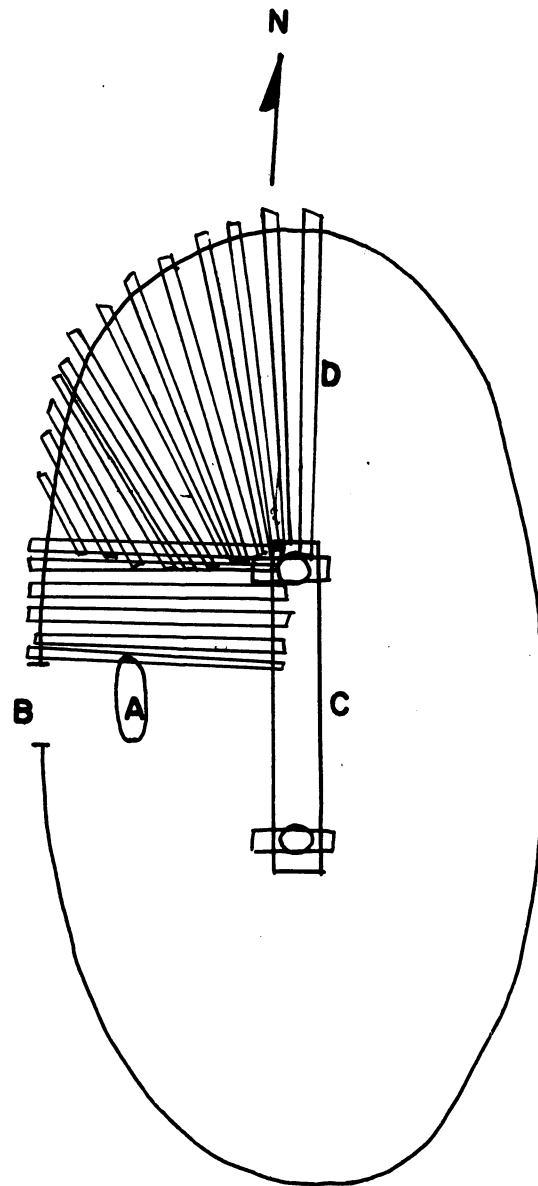


Fig. 19b. Choenimme sweat house. A, fireplace; B, entrance; C, main rafter supported by two forked posts; D, roof poles (incompletely shown).

SWEAT HOUSE OF THE PIT RIVER TRIBES

The small individual sweat house made of an arched framework of willow sprouts over a fireplace of rocks and covered with a blanket or canvas was not used in the Pit River country in early days. Our people copied it from the Piute on the east about thirty or forty years ago. It is now used by all the Pit River tribes.

The sweat house frames shown in Plate 11a and 11b are from the At-wum'-me tribe. The photographs were taken in October, 1925, and 1926.

THE CEREMONIAL HOUSE OF THE PIT RIVER ACHOMAWI

The ceremonial house (ahs-choo'-e) of the Pit River tribes, from the Modesse of Big Bend to the Ham-mah'-we of the Valley of South Fork of Pit River¹ inclusive, differs markedly from corresponding structures of all other California tribes known to me.

It is a low-domed, broadly oval or somewhat snowshoe-shaped structure in ground outline. It narrows slightly toward the front and varies in size according to needs. The breadth is usually three-quarters of the length. The low front looks south in the Modesse house, east in the A-ju-mah'-we and Ham-mah'-we houses. The rear end (e-sa'-too) is higher and more broadly rounded.

The ground inside is excavated to a depth of four or five feet by the Modesse and three or four feet by the A-ju-mah'-we. Seen from the outside, the building is rather low in comparison with its length and breadth, for it must be apparent that while the stout center post is ten or twelve feet high, the floor from which it rises is sunken three or more feet below the surrounding surface level, thus reducing its height as viewed from the outside to only eight or nine feet, and sometimes less.

The center post, a stout tree trunk ten or twelve feet in height, stands well toward the rear (about one-third the distance from back to front). It is a combination of post and ladder. The post itself is called tah-to-pi-o'-me (slurred, to-pi-wum-me). The attached cross bars for the ladder are called lo'-pi-e.

¹ [For further identification of Pit River groups see Merriam's monograph, *The Classification and Distribution of the Pit River Indian Tribes of California*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, No. 2874, 78:1-52, 1926. Washington.]

Two cross beams (dat-doot'-si-ke) slant up from the ground to the top of the center post and support the rear ends of the two long rafters or stringers that extend from the low front to the cross rafters. There is between them an interspace three or four feet in width, abreast of the center post; this space narrows anteriorly.

These two long stringers (lew'-woot-se) slope downward from the cross rafters to the low front opening, where they rest on a cross beam called de-lah-tet'-si. This latter beam is three or four feet in length and about three feet above the level of the ground. Below this is an opening for ventilation which can be closed when need be by a large basket. It is possible for a man to crawl through this hole, and it is used by the aged, infirm, and children. But the usual entrance is the smokehole on top of the roof, immediately in front of the center post, and directly over the fireplace.

The roof consists of three layers: (1) a framework of poles or split tree trunks. Those at the rear rest on the cross rafters, those along the sides rest on the long stringers. (2) A covering of pine branches and brush. (3) A deep layer of earth.

The entrance (ah-pit') is on the roof immediately in front of the center post and directly over the fireplace (taw-yeet'). It is about three feet in width (limited by the space between the long rafters) and three or four feet in length anteroposteriorly.

There is no drum or drum log, which is a striking difference from the usual type of California ceremonial house.

Thus far the description of the roundhouse applies to all the Pit River tribes proper, from the Modesse of Big Bend easterly to the Ham-mah'-we of South Fork Pit River. According to the Fall River A-ju-mah'-we and the likely Valley Ham-mah'-we, there was no important difference in construction within this area, but the Modesse of the densely forested region of Big Bend describe several differences which seem to be of considerable importance.

The first of these is a heavy timber called "the Boy" (al-yool'-tan) which extends from the center post to the ground at the extreme rear of the structure (fig. 20). This appears to be lacking in the roundhouses of other tribes.

The second noteworthy difference is that a flat rock is placed on the roof next to the entrance hole.

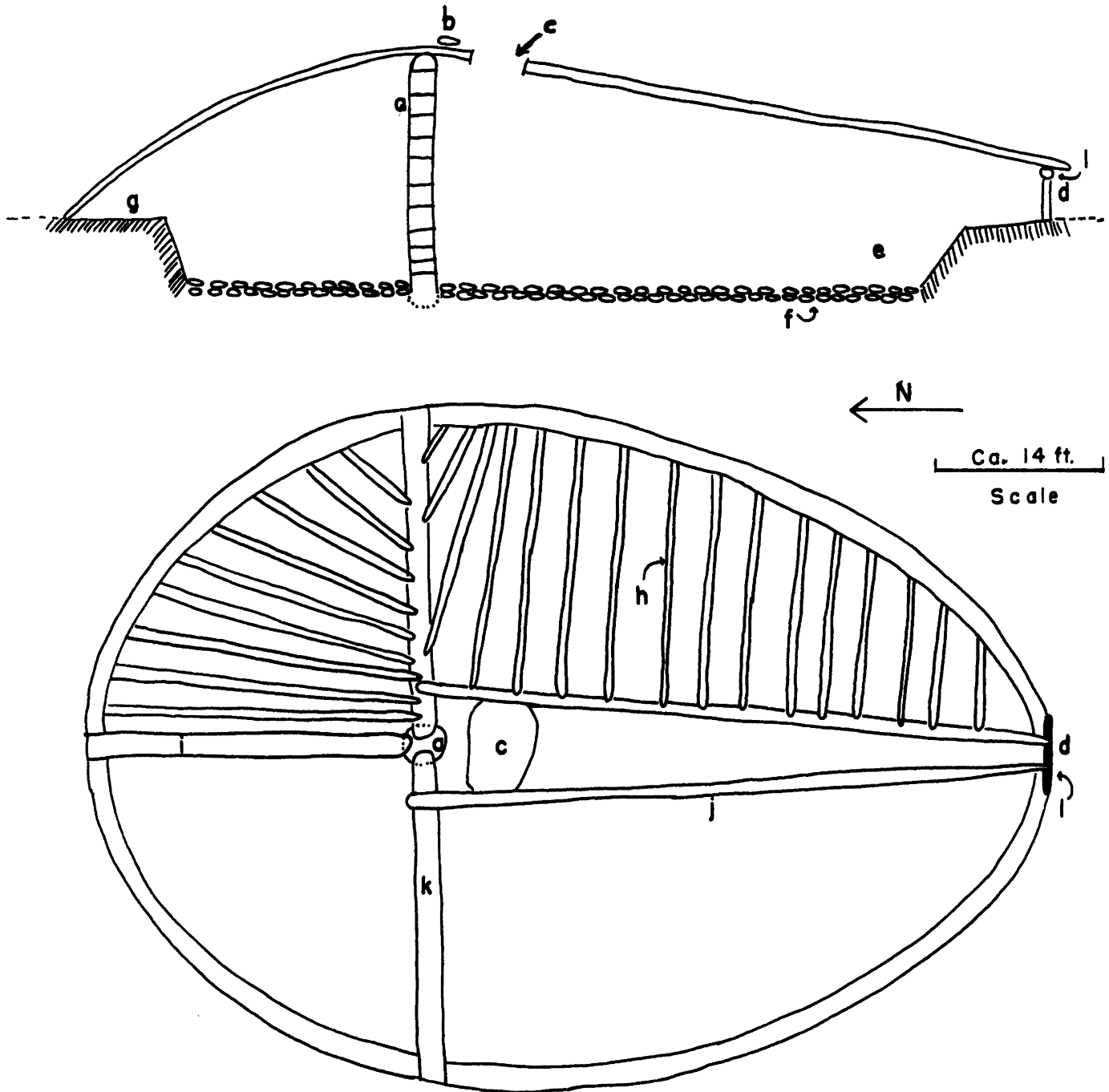


Fig. 20. Cross section and plan of Modesse ceremonial house, Pit River. a, center post ladder; b, flat rock; c, roof entrance; d, low opening; e, excavation 4-5 feet deep; f, log floor; g, broad shelf; h, split roof poles; i, "The Boy" timber; j, stringers; k, cross rafters; l, cross beam on which stringers rest.

The Modesse describe their house as being excavated a foot or two deeper than is usual among the other Pit River tribes. Instead of extending to the outer edge of the structure, this excavation begins some distance inside, thus leaving a broad shelf for the on-lookers.

The Modesse structure rests on a log base, possibly two or three logs high, while the structures of the other tribes appear to rest directly on the ground.

The roof poles in the Modesse house are split. They appear to be whole in other Pit River ceremonial houses. In the Modesse Ahs-choo'-e we find that the two long stringers are not in the same plane, one being higher than the other. This was not mentioned by the A-ju-mah'-we and Ham-mah'-we informants.

A number of interesting details concerning the building of the Modesse roundhouse in the early days were given me by Iset Woiche, speaker of the tribe. The labor of construction began in the spring and was not completed until fall. Twenty-five men were detailed to fell the trees; this was a very tedious process as they had to be cut by means of elk horn chisels. Sixty men were engaged in the building: twenty cut and split the timbers; another twenty carried the timbers to the site; and twenty dug the excavation, carrying the earth away in baskets. Throughout the entire time of building, a hundred men were occupied in hunting and fishing to secure food for the workers, and fifty women were occupied in preparing and cooking acorn mush and other foods. According to this, one hundred and eighty-five men were employed in chopping, building, and hunting; and fifty women were engaged in preparing the food.

The center post of the Modesse ceremonial house was a tree trunk of black oak or incense cedar, two feet or more in diameter and fourteen or fifteen feet in length. It was set four or five feet into the ground so that the exposed part stood up ten feet from the floor of the excavation.

The small front opening was not more than two and a half feet in diameter. In addition to its function as air intake or ventilator, it was used as an entrance by the old feeble and also by the younger children, who were not strong enough to climb up to the main doorway—the smoke hole in the roof.

The two stringers in the Modesse ceremonial house were about thirty feet long. The breadth of the building was approximately forty feet. Its posterior part was two or three feet longer than that of the Ham-mah'-we structure. This would make the total length of the Modesse structure fifty-five or fifty-six feet.

THE KLET-WIN CEREMONIAL HOUSE

Editor's Note: The following description was recorded at the village of Ket-klah, Cortina rancheria, on Cortina Creek, Colusa County, on June 15, 1903. It refers to the Klet-win tribe of Wintoon.

* * * * *

There is a big oval earth-covered ceremonial house (called klot) similar to those seen along the Sacramento at Grimes and nine miles above Colusa (pl. 12a). This one has a door at each end. On one side, where the earth covering has fallen away, large logs may be seen, indicating that it is a log house. This house is about fifty feet long inside, in addition to which the entrances are each about ten feet long. The house is strongly built of logs, large upright timbers, and poles, lined with brush, and covered on the outside with earth. Inside is an oval ridge of clay, about ten inches high, running all the way around parallel to the outside (fig. 21).

Inside, supporting the domed roof, are a large high center pole and seven pairs of large, high posts, each about a foot in diameter. Each of the poles is twenty feet high, and each post is forked at the top to hold the roof timbers. There is a rectangular opening in the top of the roof directly over the fireplace, about five feet long by three or four wide and a little narrower at the north than at the south end. The earth inside is excavated so that the floor is two or three feet below the outside level and is deepest at the north end.

THE CHOO-HEL-MEM-SEL ROUNDHOUSE AT KAH-BAL'-MEM RANCHERIA

On June 22, 1903 my wife and I visited the ruin of a remarkable roundhouse at Kah-bal'-mem rancheria, about two miles east or northeast of Cook Springs, Colusa County.

It was circular and measured thirty feet in inside diameter (pl. 12b). There were two entrances, on opposite sides, one facing north or northwest, the other south or southeast.

The ground inside was excavated about three feet lower than the outside level. The roof was conical and still in good condition; it was of split shakes. It had a sort of cupola over the center, and an opening (smoke hole) with a boxed-up place around it on the middle of the south side. The roof projected all around and was supported by a central pillar

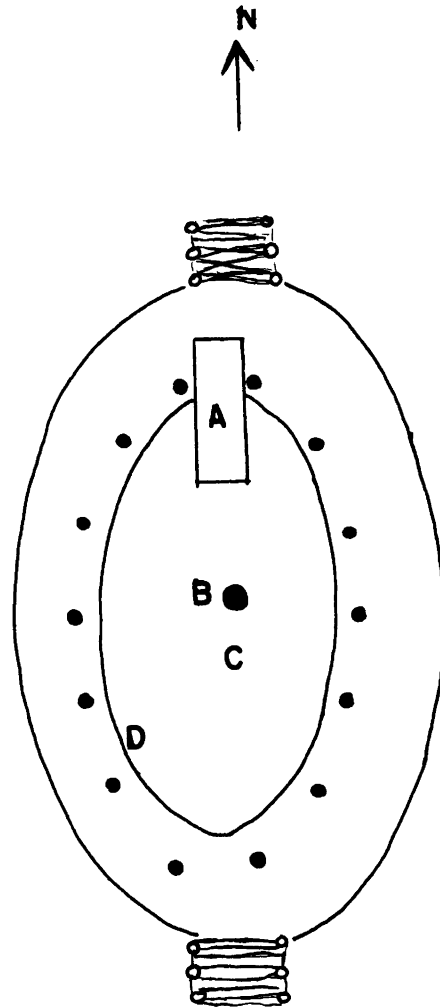


Fig. 21. Cortina Creek Klet-win ceremonial house.
 A, earth platform one foot high; B, center post;
 C, firepit; D, clay ridge ten inches high.

composed of two tall posts (trunks of trees) with a square hollow column between them. The latter had an opening at the bottom, while the top went up to the cupola, and I could not make out how it ended there. Besides this central support (made up of three distinct parts), there were two circles of posts—an outside circle or palisade of short posts standing close together and an inside circle of ten taller posts, two pairs of which were much larger than the others and were opposite the entrances, as shown in the accompanying rough floor plan (fig. 22).

All of the ten posts of the inner circle (four large and six small) were painted in curious ways with black and green and orange, and perhaps one or two other colors (pl. 13). The paintings were obviously symbolic.

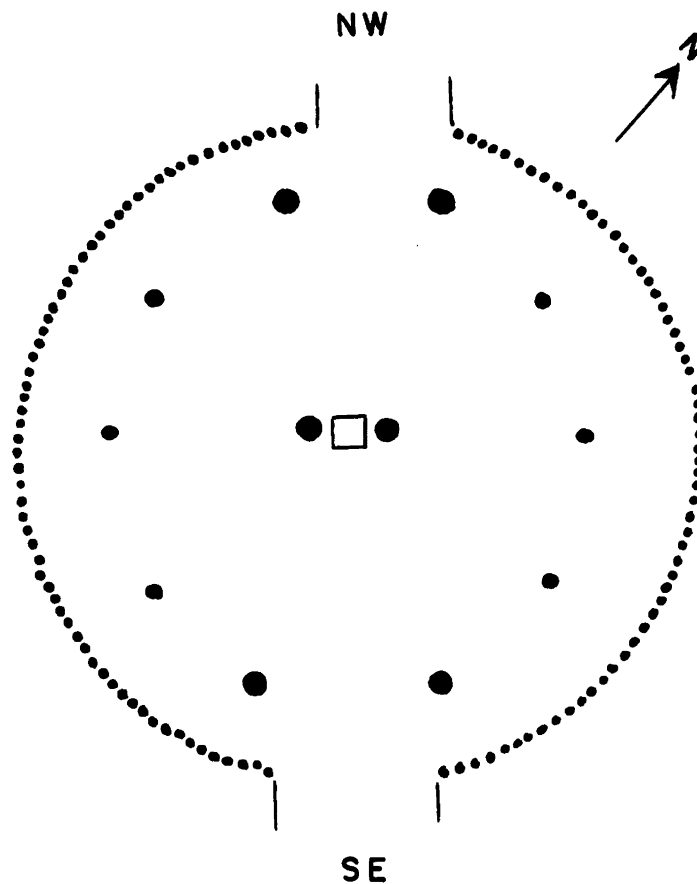


Fig. 22. Choo-hel-mem-sel roundhouse at Kabal'-mem rancheria near Cook Springs, Colusa County.

Some of them appeared to represent bears climbing trees. I had not time to copy them, but photographed the house as a whole.

The palisade of posts which formed the outer wall was still in part plastered with mud or clay, made to adhere by means of cross-ties of willow and oak, an inch or more in diameter, fastened horizontally on the outside of the posts.

The two large center posts (one on each side of the middle square support which was made of four boards) were elaborately painted.

THE CHOO-HEL-MEM-SEL ROUNDHOUSE AT GRINDSTONE CREEK RANCHERIA

Editor's Note: The roundhouse shown in Plate 14a and 14b was photographed in 1922 at the Wintoon rancheria at Grindstone Creek, Colusa County. Merriam did not make his customary detailed notes on the floorplan and native names of the features of the structure. In plan and construction it must have been very much like the roundhouse at Stony Ford (described below). The superstructure over the smoke-hole shown on the roundhouse at Ka-bal'-mem rancheria (pl. 12b) is also present in the Grindstone Creek roundhouse.

THE POMO ROUNDHOUSE AT STONY FORD RANCHERIA

The roundhouse is a nearly circular domed structure covered with brush and earth, with the floor sunken four feet below the surface, and with two low elongate entrances, a front entrance looking east and a rear one looking west. Facing each entrance was a tall flagpole bearing a white flag marked by six vertical serrate bars in red. There were no windows, the only opening in the domed roof being the smoke-hole which, during the greater part of the day, allowed a slanting bolt of sunshine to move part way around the dark interior. At night the only source of light was the fire which cast a flickering glow over the actors as they moved around it in the inner circle.

The roundhouse here is different from others I have seen. It occupies an excavation varying from one and a half to four feet in depth, according to the lay of the ground. The vertical wall of the excavation forms the outer wall of the roundhouse and is supplemented by a series of horizontal poles resting in forked posts about four and a half feet high, on which the outer ends of the roof posts rest. These outer wall posts are called chi-ek-she-mah.

The center post is about two feet in diameter, eighteen feet in height, and is forked at the top to receive the accumulated tips of the roof poles, which converge to this common center. The center post is called sah-bah.

There are seven posts in the circle (fig. 23) separating the dancers from the audience, four on the south side and three on the north side. These posts are only five or six feet from the outer wall, giving just enough space for a person to lie down in the outer space. The seven posts are called too-dit'-ke.

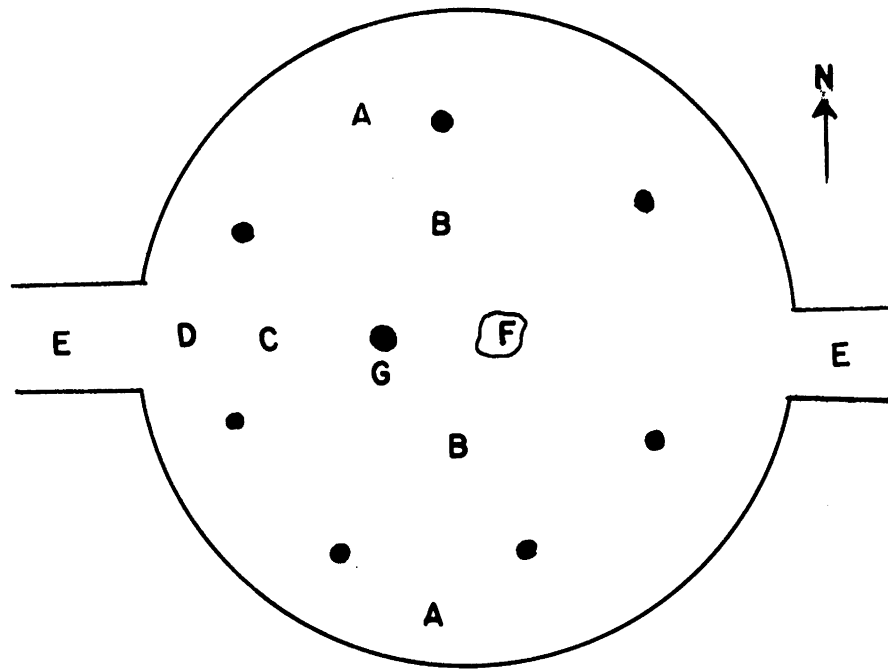


Fig. 23. Roundhouse at Stony Ford rancheria. A, outer space for the audience (ta-te'); B, inner space for dancers (lil-look'); C, singers' space (sa-ba-che-doo'-ah); D, drum (chil-lo'); E, doorways (how-wah); F, fire (o'-ho); G, center post (sah'-bah).

The drum is about five feet long by two and a half feet wide, its long axis agreeing with that of the roundhouse. It is of plank, elevated nearly two feet in front (where highest) and one foot behind. It is called chil-lo'.

The entrance ways are about four feet wide and six to eight feet long. They slope downward and inward from the outside level to the inside level. The doorways are called how'-wah.

The smoke-hole is rectangular (about three by four feet) and is directly over the fire (between center posts and east entrance). It is called o'-ho shut'-ko.

The floor is bare, hard earth, swept clean and sprinkled; that of the outer circle (for the audience) is covered with fresh green willow boughs and leaves.

The long roof poles (about thirty-four) converge to rest on the

forks of the center post. On the basal part (resting on the horizontal poles which connect the tops of the circle of seven posts) are many short poles, occupying the spaces between the spreading long roof poles. The roof poles are covered with tules and brush, making a compact, thick roof which is usually earth-covered; here only a little earth has been put on. The roof and roof poles are called hel'-la-ti'-ke.

Outside the roundhouse and in the line of its long axis are two flagpoles, each about thirty feet in height. The one in front of the east entrance is about thirty feet from the outer end of the entrance; the one in the rear, fifty-four feet west of the outer end of the west entrance. The inside diameter of the roundhouse (east and west), not including entranceways, is about thirty-six feet; diameter, including entranceways, about fifty feet; distance between flagpoles about one hundred and thirty four feet. (All distances paced.)

The two flags at the top of the flagpoles are just alike. The ground color is white. Upon it are six vertical bars of red, straight on the edge toward the pole and serrate on the edge away from the pole. The bars seemed to be about two and a half inches broad.

HRAM-FO ROUNDHOUSE AT SULPHUR BANK, CLEAR LAKE

The large ceremonial structure (roundhouse) of the Hramfo tribe is called hrek'-whan'. It is circular in plan, more than forty feet in diameter, and has a high domed roof covered with earth over which is sprinkled black obsidian (fig. 24). The pit in which the house is built is eight feet deep. The interior wall of the pit is vertical and is lined with laid stones to keep the earth from falling. The roof poles resting on the rafters come down to the edge of the pit.

The center post (ka-yax'-se) is about eighteen feet high and fourteen inches in diameter, and is painted with eight bands of orange, each about six inches wide (fig. 25a). The wide painted strips are called hra'-soon. The seven secondary posts (yos'-ke) are shorter, notched at the top to seat the rafters (fig. 25b), and each bears four painted orange bands. The seven rafters that form the ring resting upon the secondary posts are called ma-dol'-doo-e-ne (fig. 26). The roof is called ho-wahn'-so; the entrance, dah-wah; the foot-drum, ho'-so; and the fire, ho.

The entrance passage is almost ten feet long and faces south or nearly south. It is six feet high at the outer end and slopes down steeply into the pit.

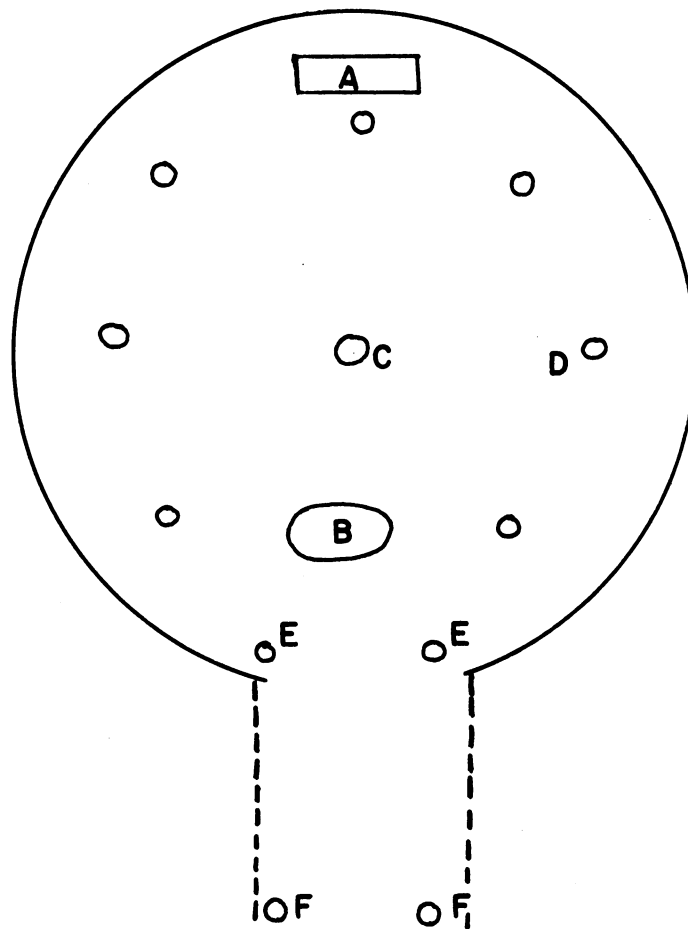


Fig. 24. Floor plan of Hramfo roundhouse at Sulphur Bank. A, plank drum; B, fireplace; C, center post; D, secondary posts (7); E, F, posts for entry passage.

The dancers dance within the circle of the seven posts and spectators sit or stand in the outer area between the wall and the inner circle.

There are remains of three of these roundhouses at Sulphur Bank, the largest being over fifty feet in diameter.

(Observations dated August 18, 1906.)

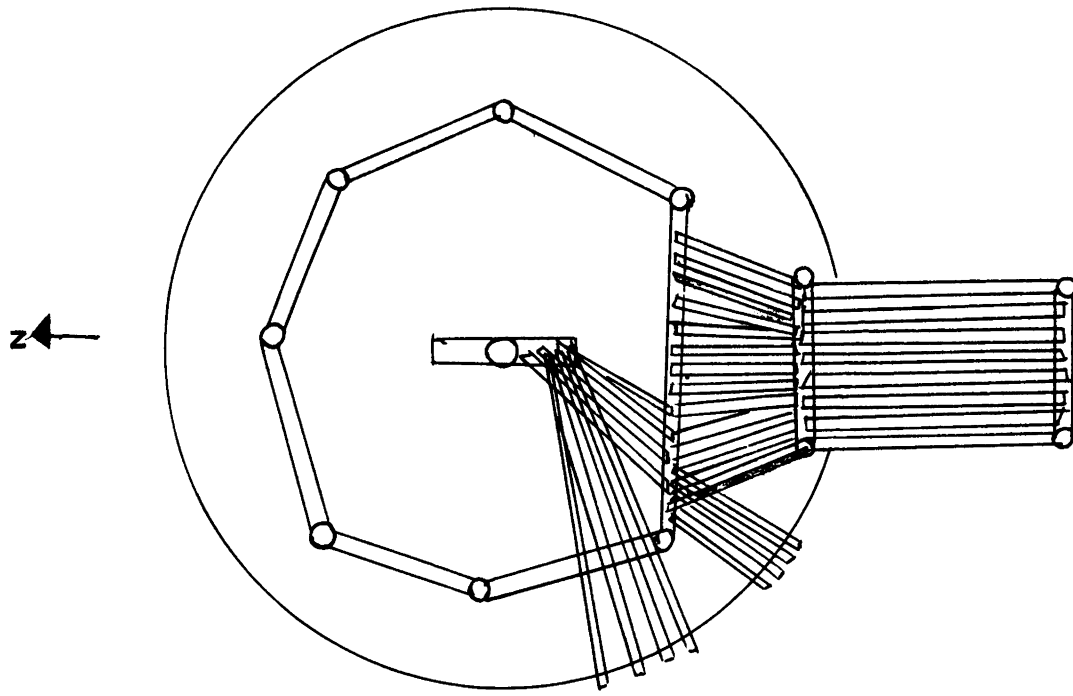


Fig. 26. Roof plan (incomplete) showing rafters and roof poles at Hramfo roundhouse at Sulphur Bank.

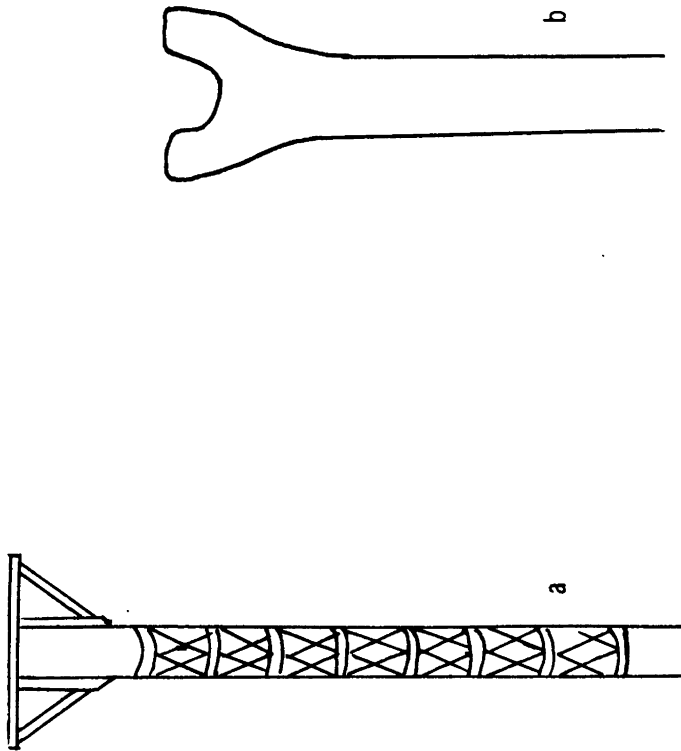


Fig. 25a. Painted center post, Hramfo roundhouse at Sulphur Bank. Each of the 8 horizontal bands is 6 in. wide and painted orange.

Fig. 25b. Notching at top of the seven secondary posts (yos'-ke) in the Hramfo roundhouse at Sulphur Bank.

THE HRAM-FO SWEAT HOUSE AT SULPHUR BANK, LAKE COUNTY

The sweat house (ho'-tsap-pah-whan) at Sulphur Bank is beginning to decay but the roof has not yet fallen in. Externally it resembles the ceremonial house (hrek'-whan'), but it is smaller, has a much lower entrance, and instead of being circular, is oval, the long diameter running north and south in continuation of the low, long entrance. It is about thirty five feet long by, say, twenty broad, and the domed roof rises about ten feet above the general level of the surrounding ground. The floor is deeply excavated so that the center of the roof is 15-18 feet above the floor.

In construction it is very much simpler than the ceremonial house. There is a large, high center post, but no other posts, and the roof poles run from the rim all around to the center post. As in the hrek'-whan', the roof poles are covered with brush and the brush with earth, so that the structure looks like a natural knoll. Likewise, it is liberally sprinkled with flakes of shiny black obsidian averaging perhaps two inches in diameter, and overgrown with grass and weeds.

The entrance passage is long and low, deeply excavated, and one must crawl to get in. The outer end of the entrance passage faces south and is hidden among weeds. The smoke hole (poo-ko'), instead of being at the top, is more than half way down the domed roof slope and just within the inner end of the entrance passage.

THE ME-TUM-MAH POMO SWEAT HOUSE

The sweat house, called ba-shol-chah, was large enough to hold from five to ten people and was used by both men and women. It was built of brush with the leaves on, covered with earth, and was high enough to stand up in. The fire was on a big flat rock in the center, surrounded by a shallow ditch. When the rock was very hot, water was poured on it, filling the sweat house with steam. After sweating, the people cooled off gradually but did not plunge into cold water.

Usually each family had its own sweat house.

Girls at puberty were kept in the sweat house for about three months but were allowed to come out for a short time every evening. They were given acorn soup and fish but were not allowed to eat meat. The Puberty Dance (called Ya-ao-ke) was given at the end of the three month period when the girls came out. After this they could live in their own homes, but were

not allowed to cook while they were sick, usually for a period of five or six days. In the old times it was customary for the women to live in the sweat house during menstruation.

ME-TUM-KI POMO ROUNDHOUSE

The ground occupied by the roundhouse (shen-ne) was dug out to a depth of about three feet. There was a large center post (called lo), forked at the top to hold the ends of the roof-poles. There were no posts between the center post and outer wall. The roof-poles were covered with hazel brush roughly woven together, with earth spread over the top. The door was on the south side. The smoke-hole was in the roof between the south entrance and the center pole, and on the back side (north) was an air hole for ventilation. The drum (kol) for the timekeeper was behind the center post and consisted of a slab or plank of wood about one and a half feet wide placed over a narrow ditch.

* * * * *

Photographs of structures

A selection of the most interesting photographs of California Indian shelters, dwellings, sweat houses, and dance houses in Dr. Merriam's files are shown in Plates 15 through 33. No written descriptions of these were found, and they stand simply as documentary records of an aboriginal architecture which has since vanished.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

- Plate 6 Chief Hunchup, Nisenan tribe, of Koot'-bah rancheria, El Dorado County, 1907.
- Plate 7a Chief Hunchup (Nisenan) standing beside the roundhouse at Koot'-bah rancheria, El Dorado County.
7b Portable bowl mortar, pestles, and bedrock mortar at Koot'-bah rancheria, 1907.
- Plate 8a Casus [Jesus] Oliver seated near entrance to underground roundhouse. Mokalumme tribe, near Buena Vista Peak, Amador County.
8b Mokalumme village. Note roundhouse at right.
- Plate 9 Interior of Mokalumme roundhouse.
- Plate 10a Yosemite Mewuk bark lodge, 1910. Photo by Merriam.
10b Yosemite Mewuk bark lodge. Undated, but earlier than 1910. Photo by Fiske.
- Plate 11a At-wum'-me sweat house frame, Big Valley, 1926.
11b Same as above, 1925.
- Plate 12a Klet'-win oval, earth-covered roundhouse, Cortina rancheria, 1903.
12b Choo-hel'-mem-sel roundhouse at Ka-bal'-mem rancheria near Cook Springs, Colusa County, 1903.
- Plate 13 Interior of Choo-hel'-mem-sel roundhouse showing painted supporting post, 1903.
- Plate 14a Choo-hel'-mem-sel roundhouse at Grindstone Creek, 1922.
14b Same as above, 1923.
- Plate 15 Mewuk roundhouse at West Point(?), Calaveras County. Undated.
- Plate 16a,b Maidu roundhouse at village of Kum'-mo-win, near Mooretown, Butte County, 1924.
- Plate 17a Nisenan roundhouse at Auburn rancheria, 1936.
17b Maidu roundhouse on Bear River, 4 miles north of Colfax, Placer County, September 1902.

- Plate 18 Mewa ceremonial house at Big Creek rancheria near Groveland, Tuolumne County, July 1903.
- Plate 19a House made of sawed lumber and shake roof—a modern adaptation of the aboriginal house type. Mewuk of Hachana rancheria near Railroad Flat, Calaveras County, October 1905.
- 19b Acorn granaries built against base of pine tree. Hachana rancheria, Calaveras County, October 1905.
- Plate 20a,b Chowchilla Mewuk roundhouse at Was-sah'-meh, Madera County, October 1905.
- Plate 21a,b Tuleyome roundhouse on St. Helena Creek near Middletown, Lake County, November 1928.
- Plate 22a Choo-hel'-mem-sel roundhouse near Stony Ford rancheria, Colusa County, June 1903.
- 22b Shoteah Pomo roundhouse, Stony Ford rancheria, August 1928.
- Plate 23a,b Pole-framed tule-thatch covered house built in 1927 at Clear Lake, Lake County, by Pomo tribe.
- Plate 24a Front view of tule-covered gabled house with pole framing. Kabel village, Dan-no'-kah tribe of Pomo, 1918.
- 24b Rear view of above, showing unthatched framing.
- Plate 25a Northern Wintoon house near Baird on McCloud River, Shasta County, July 1903.
- 25b Northern Wintoon lean-to house made of split slabs. Baird, near McCloud River, July 1903.
- Plate 26a,b Conical bark-slab house, Nim tribe, North Fork of San Joaquin River, October 1902.
- Plate 27a,b Northern Piute domed, brush-covered winter hut near Mono Lake, September 1900.
- Plate 28 Northern Piute camp on knoll at forks of Ruth Creek and Mono Lake, August 1901.
- Plate 29 Monache Piute village near Fort Independence, Owens Valley, October 1902.

- Plate 30 Washoo conical bark slab house. Tallac, Lake Tahoe, 1905.
- Plate 31a Frame of Northern Piute wickiup, south end of Walker Lake, Nevada, October 1902.
- 31b Frame of individual sweat house at Chief Klooche's village, Doney Creek, Upper Sacramento River, October 1928.
- 31c Earth-covered underground sweat house of Central California type made by Eastern Monache, Big Pine, Owens Valley, April 1932.
- Plate 32 Luiseño (Piyumko) dwelling at Rincon, San Diego County, September 1901.
- Plate 33 Willow brush ceremonial structure at Saboba, Riverside County, October 1901. Inside view of one of the enclosing walls, showing doorways of the square compartments. The entire structure is nearly square, made of willow brush, and measures 200 feet on a side. The interior is an open court. The structure was made for the September Fiesta.



Plate 6



a

Plate 7



b



a



b

Plate 8

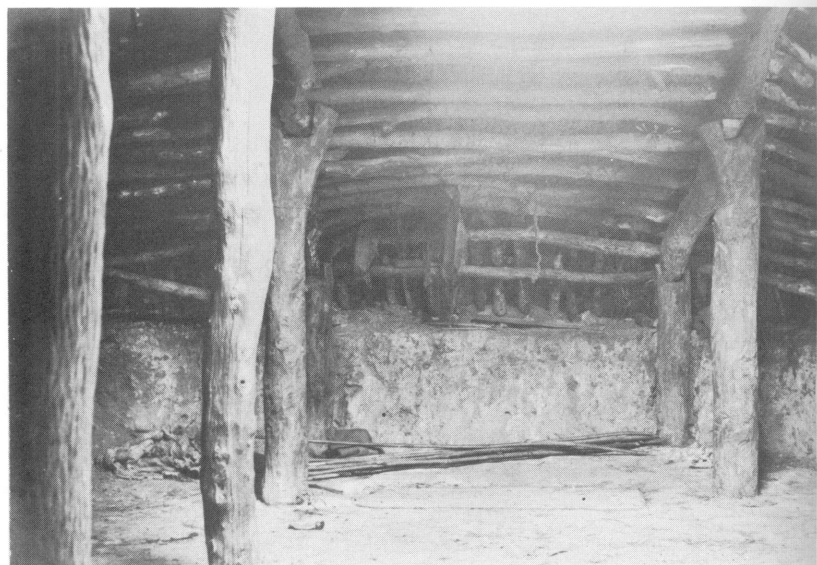


Plate 9

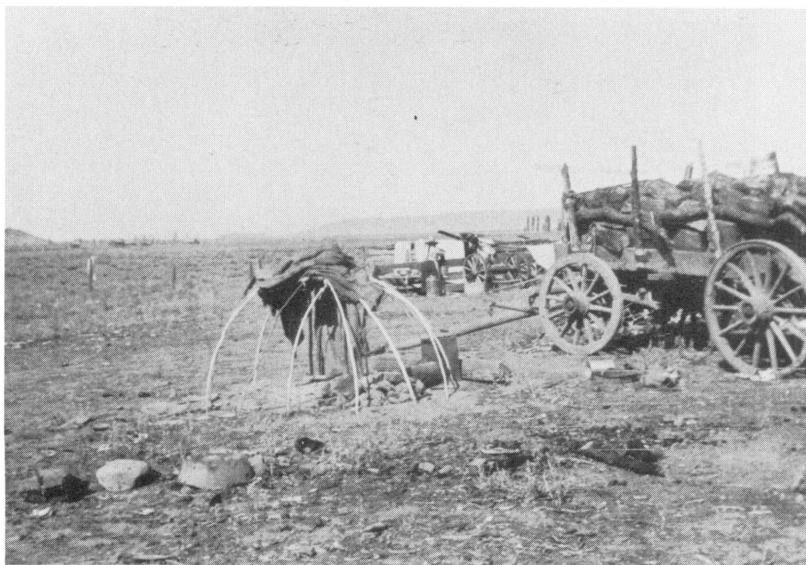


a



b

Plate 10



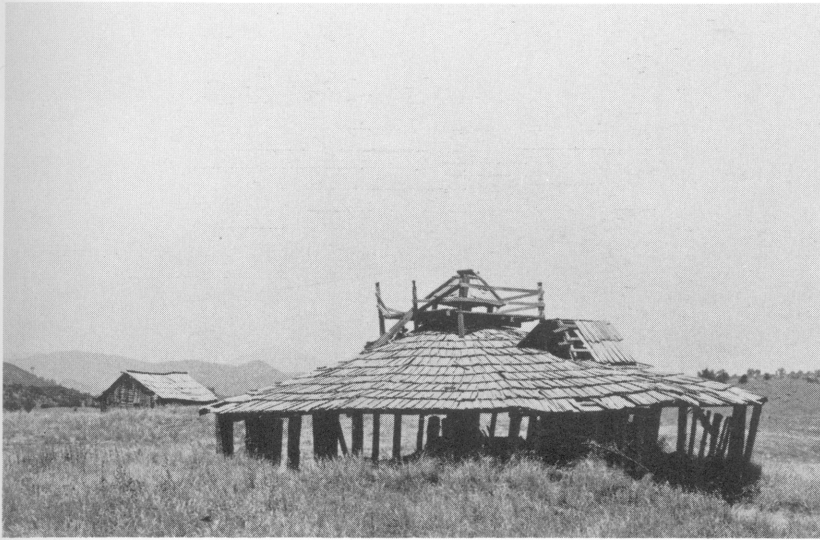
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b

Plate 12

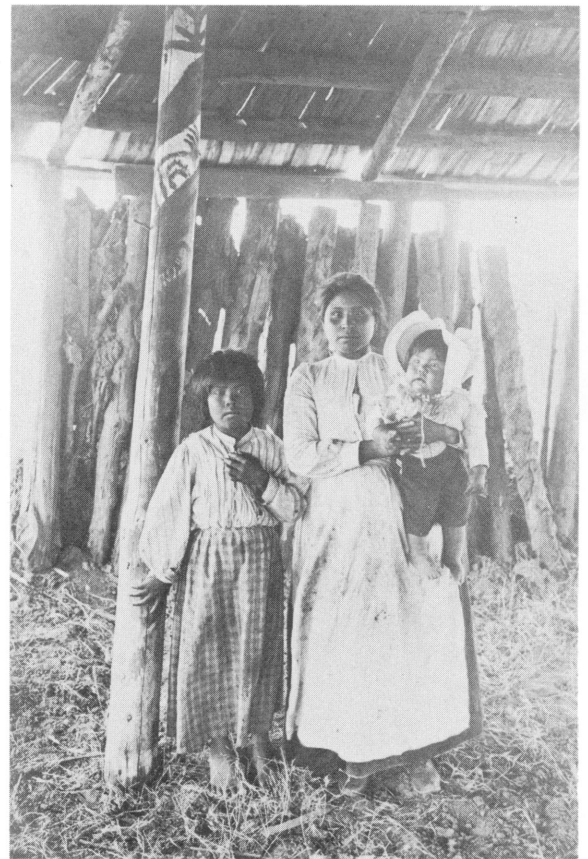
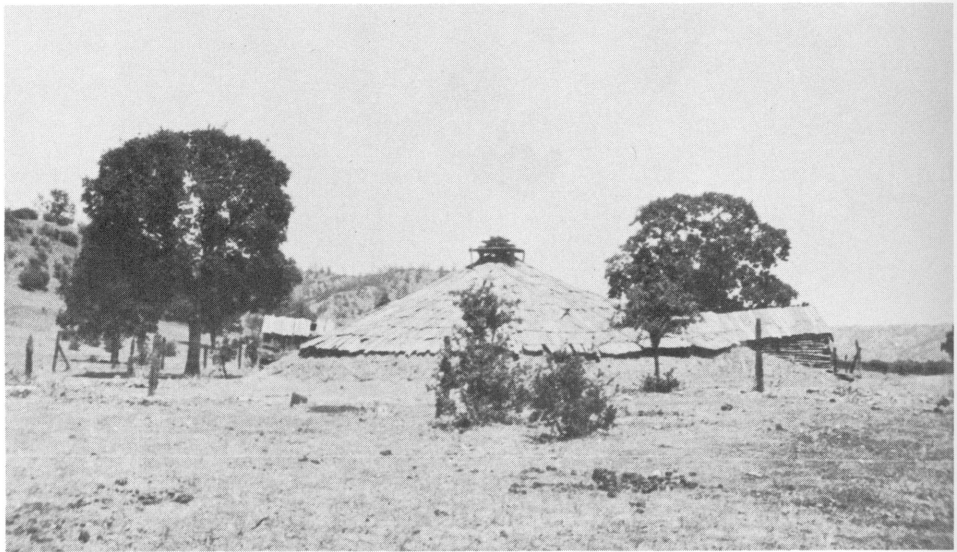


Plate 13

a



b



Plate 14

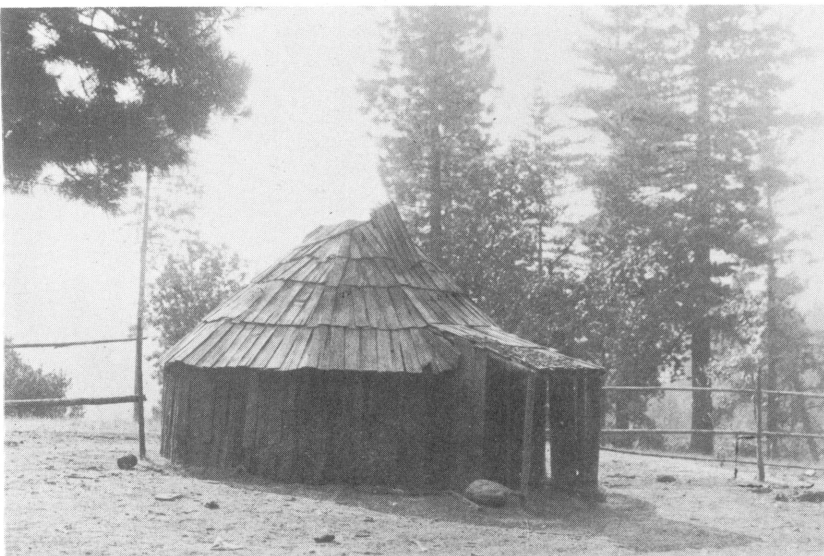


Plate 15



a



b

Plate 16

a



b



Plate 17

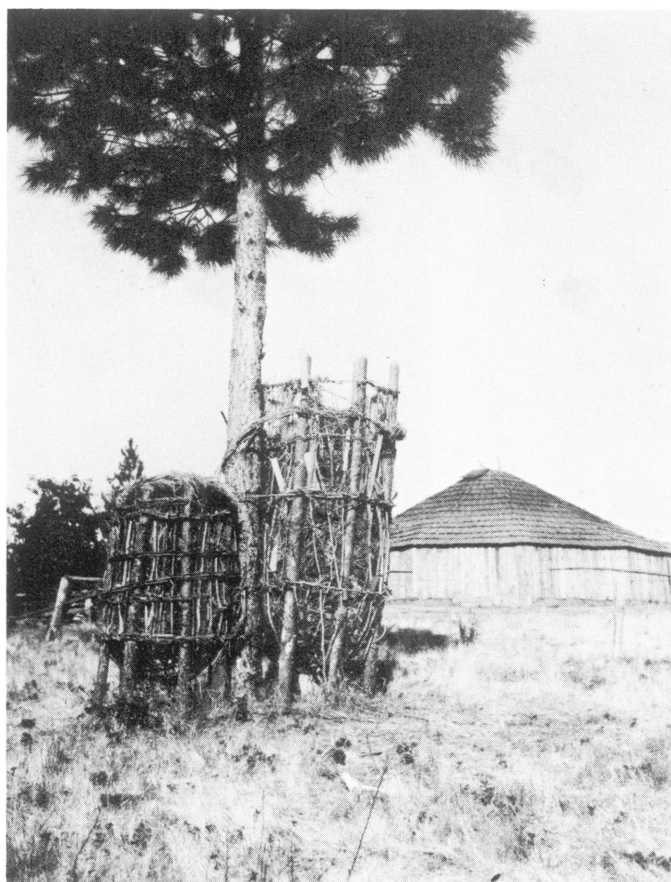


Plate 18



a

Plate 19



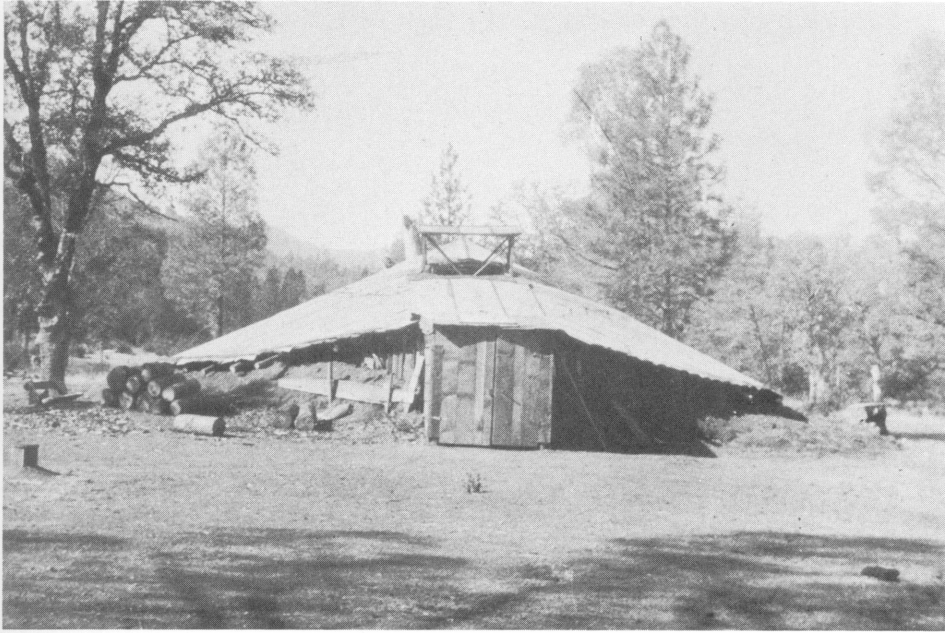
b



a



b



a



b



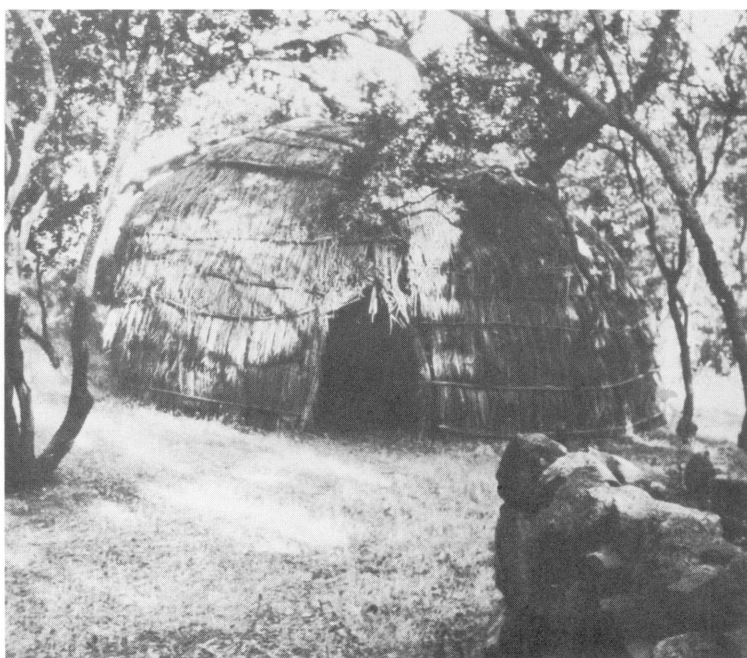
a



b



a



b



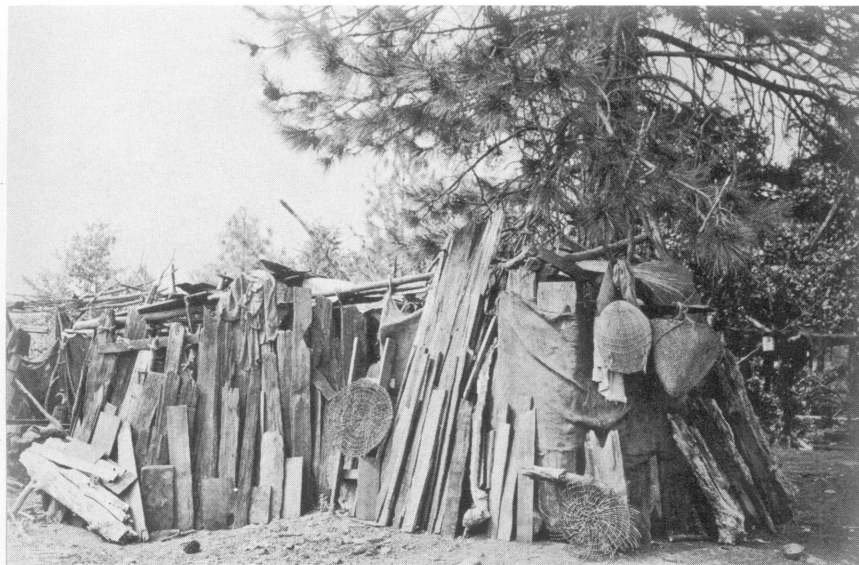
a



b



a



b



a



b

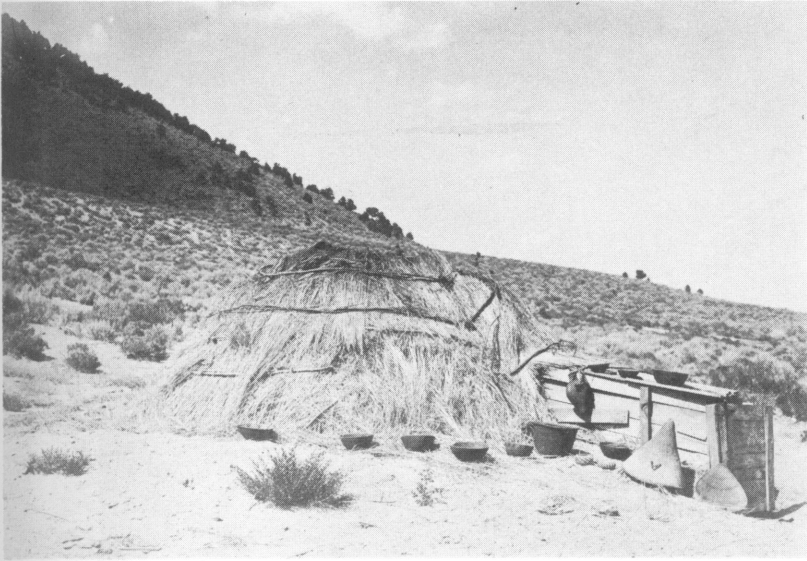


Plate 27

a



b

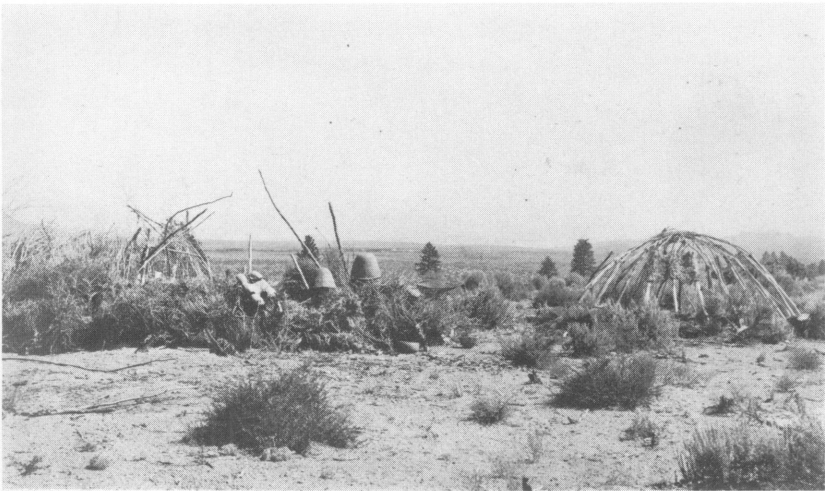


Plate 28

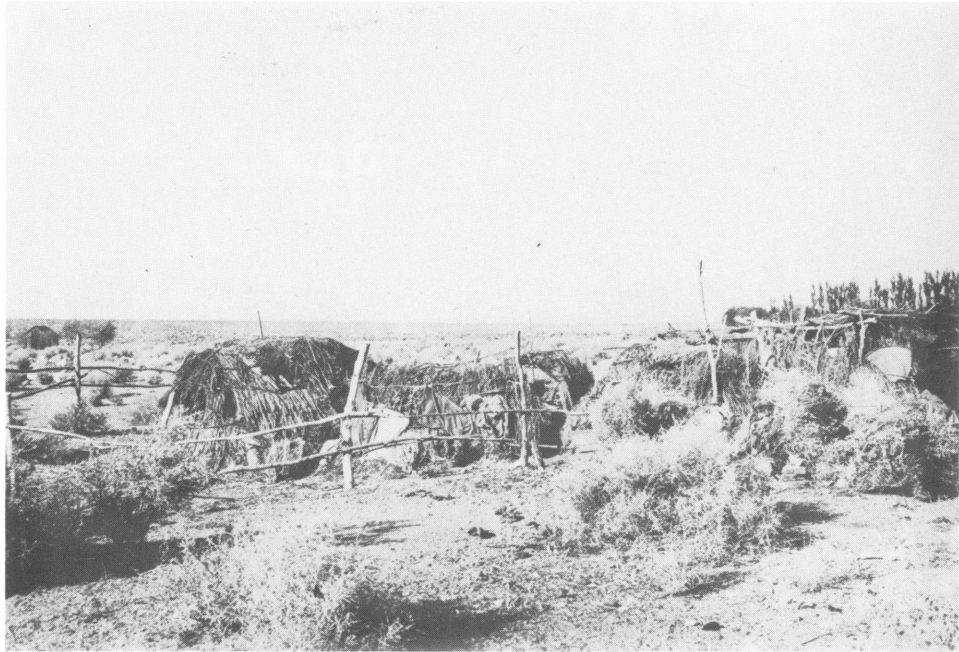


Plate 29

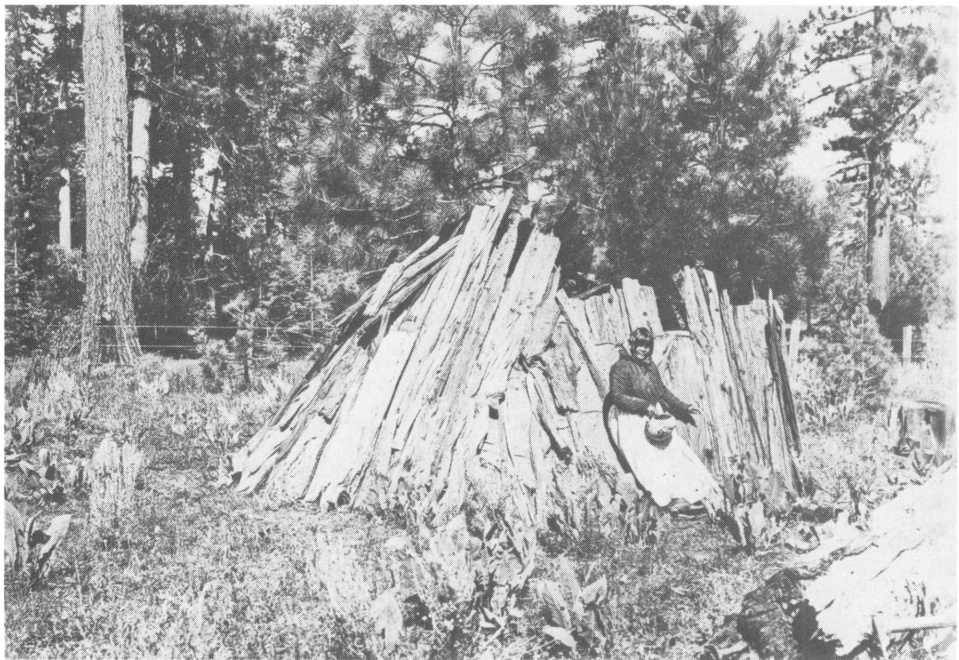
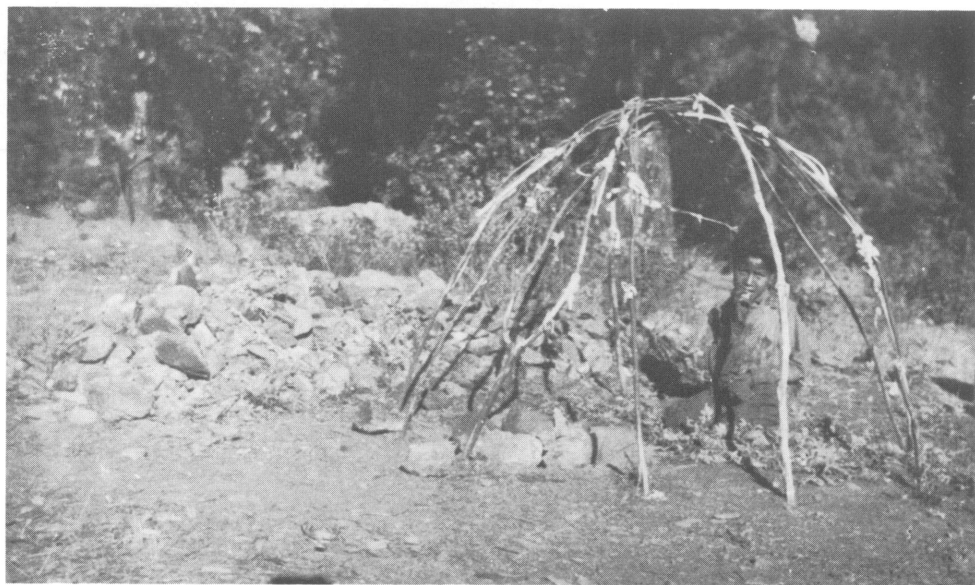


Plate 30



a



b



c

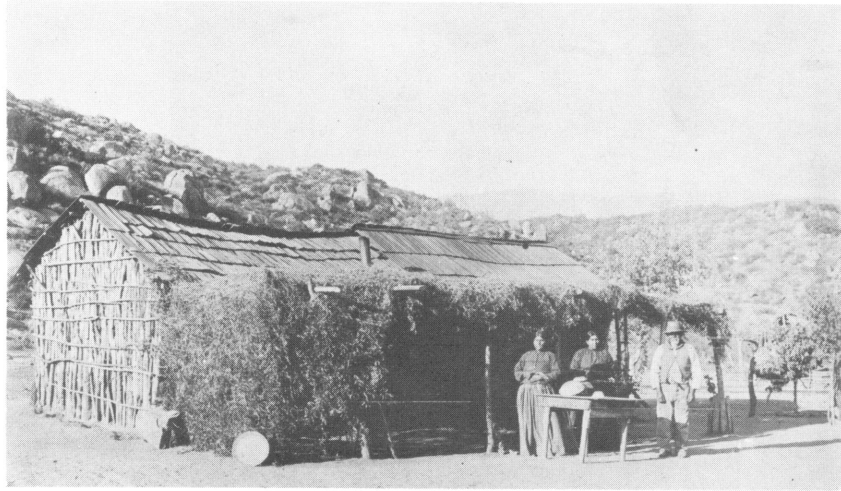


Plate 32



Plate 33