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A SUMMARY OF YUKI CULTURE

BY
GEORGE M. FOSTER

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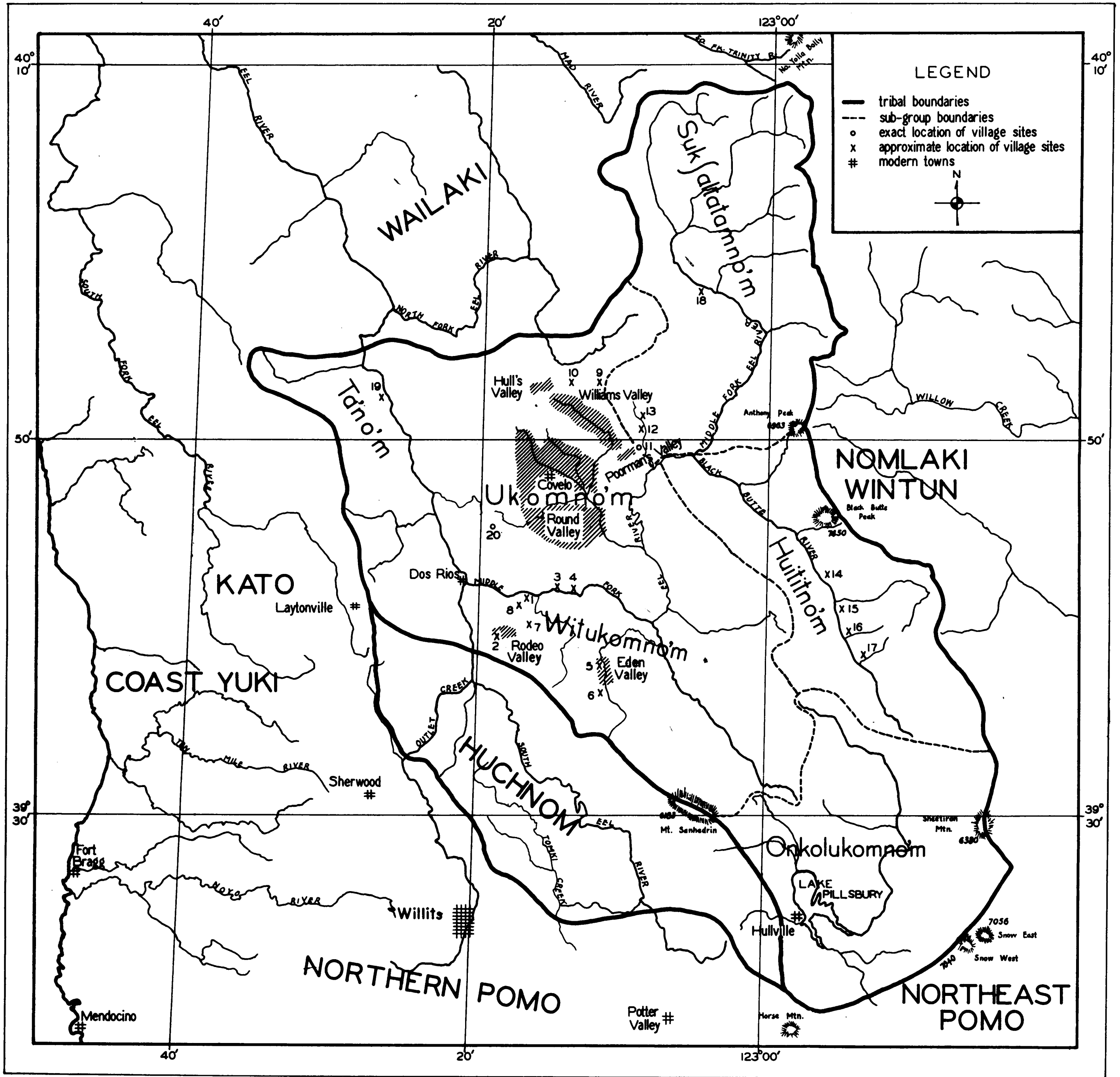


Map 1. The boundaries and principal subgroups of the Yuki, with village sites located. Key: 1, ukšišmulhá^{n}t; 2, muniúkom; 3, hasikat; 4, uklámol; 5, witúkom; 6, ukomtítam; 7, suk'á; 8, úkpi; 9, núnlač; 10, lilta'; 11, kíčil; 12, nuíčkat; 13, yúkat; 14, huitít; 15, suk'húi; 16, pilíl; 17, títam; 18, múlčal; 19, k'ášasič; 20, sonlál.

A SUMMARY OF YUKI CULTURE

BY

GEORGE M. FOSTER

INTRODUCTION

The Wappo,[1] Coast Yuki,[2] Huchnom, and Yuki comprise the Yuki-speaking peoples of northern California. The Wappo are dialectically most divergent and also geographically separated from the main body, being located south of Clear Lake, in contact with Pomo, Patwin, and Miwok peoples. The remaining three groups occupy contiguous areas extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Coast Range divide, lying to the north of Pomo land. Numerically, and probably culturally, most important were the Yuki proper, with whom this paper is concerned.

These people are interesting from both cultural and physical standpoints. Possessed of a poor material development, even for California, they display a fairly elaborate ceremonial organization. Artifacts and techniques are of the simplest. Rituals include the Taikomol-woknam, or children's school; the secret Hulk'ilal-woknàm, or ghost dance; an obsidian ceremony, Kičil-woknam; and a complicated series of girls' puberty rites magically coupled with acorn-fertility observances. Besides these, there is a surprisingly strong belief in a personal deity, who not only created the world but punishes and rewards human beings according to their conduct. This probably accounts for the unusual emphasis laid upon religious matters by the Yuki today.

Physically, the Yuki are noticeably different from the remaining Californians. Gifford describes them as "low-faced" with a high nasal index, relatively low cephalic index, and short stature.[3] The cephalic index is 76, the lowest in California except for the adjoining Wailaki (74). Stature is 157 cm., likewise the shortest except for the Wailaki (154 cm.). The Wappo and Huchnom approximate surrounding peoples in physical measurements; measurements for the Coast Yuki are not available. The Yuki themselves are aware of their physical difference, and profess to have been able to distinguish strange Yuki simply by appearance.

The Yuki are generally considered to constitute a separate linguistic family.[4] This idiomatic isolation, plus somatic dissimilarity, leads Kroeber[5] to believe that the Yuki are nearer to being autochthonous Californians than any of the other modern natives of the state.

The primary aim of this report is to reconstruct as fully as possible the life and manners of aboriginal Yuki culture. This culture exists today only in the minds of a handful of septuagenarians, and even to them many points are hazy or forgotten. For this reason, I write principally in the past tense, save when referring to present-day carry-overs which are sufficiently interesting to mention. Acculturation was not studied formally, but the reader will from time to time find present life contrasted with ancient ways.

Kroeber estimates the aboriginal Yuki population at about 2000. Today, ten full bloods and several dozen mixed bloods--white-Yuki, Yuki-Negro, and crosses between Yuki and other Indians--are found. Most are living on the Round Valley Reservation on land allotted by the government; those more than sixty-five years of age receive the state old-age pension, and in recent years many have worked on Work Projects Administration projects, principally recording folklore. On the first of each month, the Indian Service distributes limited food rations to families needing aid; this includes nearly all. Men work in the hayfields for the white ranchers, receiving three dollars a day, and tend small gardens of their own. I know of no Yuki who now hunts or fishes. Most informants felt that the thirty-five cents an hour I paid was too low, but when not otherwise employed found it better than nothing. Most of the Yuki, as well as Indians of other tribes in the valley, live in wretched cabins, containing iron bedsteads, a few chairs, a marble-topped mahogany table, and an incredible number of photographs, a few of which are always surrounded with heavy gilt frames. Coal ranges are usually in a shed directly adjoining the back of the house, though a few still prefer to cook in a separate shelter removed from the dwelling. Running water and electric lights are impossible luxuries. The Indian Service has recently built several substantial cottages with concrete foundations, running water, plumbing, and electric lights, which become the property of the inhabitants upon payment of three dollars a

[1]See Bibliography, under Driver.

[2]See Bibliography, under Gifford, 1939.

[3]Gifford, 1926:224.

[4]Radin, 1919, suggests that Yuki is related to Penutian.

[5]Handbook, 159.

month for twenty years. In spite of extreme poverty, almost every family has an old automobile. The modern Yuki are as confirmed travelers as their parents were stay-at-homes, driving over most of northern California to attend camp meetings, to make the acquaintance of new Indians, and to renew old friendships. The present-day Indian regrets the passing of the old way of life, of Indian tradition and standards, but he admits that the white man's way of life is probably easier. And he realizes that he has no choice but to accept whatever is forced upon him.

The material herein presented was gathered in the summer of 1937 with the financial aid of the University of California. I wish to acknowledge the kind aid of Dr. A. L. Kroeber, both in preparation for the field and in writing the manuscript. I wish also to thank Mrs. Gwendoline Block, Editorial Assistant in the Department of Anthropology, for her help in the preparation of this manuscript for press.[6]

ORTHOGRAPHY

A simplified phonetic recording is employed throughout. Symbols requiring special explanation are as follows:

č, as in child
š, as in show
ŋ, as in sing
a^{n}, nasalized vowel
', glottal stop
·, long vowel
γ, sonant velar spirant
á, accent
/, ascending tone (recorded only in songs)
\, descending tone (recorded only in songs)

Tonal quality, discovered by Mr. H. Uldall, is slight, even to the ear of the trained linguist, and with the exception of several instances in songs, no attempt has been made to render it.

[6]Assistance in the preparation of these materials was furnished by the personnel of Work Projects Administration Official Project No. 65-1-08-62, Unit A-15.

INFORMANTS

Principal informants were Eben Tillotson and Ralph Moore.

Tillotson, age 71, is of a Witukomno'm mother from Ukšišmulhá^{n}t and a white father. (See "Subgroups," p. 159.) His information came from his mother's two brothers, Lamskačmi Tom and Sišhuluk, called in English Tom Henley. Both were graduates of Taikomol-woknam (see p. 210); both had been dead about forty-five years. Tillotson was a very conscientious informant, and took a real interest in "setting the Indian word down right." He told only of what he was sure, admitting that there was much he could not answer.

Moore, age 63, considers himself Witukomno'm because he was born at the Hop Ranch. His mother's father was Wailaki, his mother's mother Ta'no'm, his father's mother Ukomno'm, his father's father Lalkútno'm. His information came principally from his mother's father's brother, Pike, his father's father, Hunčomč'omi, and Old Pike, a Witukomno'm. Veteran of all California informants, and victim of many an anthropological onslaught, Moore knows most about ceremonials and religion, but has the bad habit of sometimes telling the ethnologist what he wants to hear, and not what is necessarily true. He claims to have been put through the Taikomol-woknam by Pike, a fact denied by all other Yuki.

Subsidiary information was acquired from the following:

Charles Dorman, age 76, of a white father and Ukomno'm mother.

George Moore, age 65, no relation to Ralph Moore. His mother was Titumno'm, his father a Mexican Indian of unknown affiliation. He was born in Nomlaki territory and brought to Round Valley when a child of six or seven.

Jessie Moore, age about 50; wife of George. Ukomno'm father, Ta'no'm mother.

Cecelia Logan, age about 60. Witukomno'm parents.

Little Toby, age about 75. Alniúkino'm father, Ta'no'm mother.

ECONOMIC LIFE

ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

In the minds of the Indians exact boundaries were never known. It is not surprising therefore that eighty years after the breakdown of aboriginal life it is necessary to approximate boundaries and sometimes location of places. Size and relative importance of the different subgroups and villages also cannot be determined accurately.

Most of the Yuki territory is in northeastern Mendocino County, California, occupying the central and roughest part of the Coast Range Mountains, and covering about 1100 square miles. Altitude varies from less than 1000 feet on the lower Eel River to 7500 feet at the crest which divides the Sacramento Drainage system from that to the west. As is frequently true in California, this phenomenon of drainage, and not the surveyor's precise marks, determined tribal occupation. Appearing curiously irregular on the map, Yuki geography in the mind of the Indians was compact and logical, each place and area bearing an obvious and simple relation to all others in a unified aquatic framework. Waterways were too shallow and rock-strewn to serve as commercial arteries, and trails from one village to another did not necessarily follow them. But it was in terms of rivers, streams, and rivulets that the Yuki kept his geography straight.

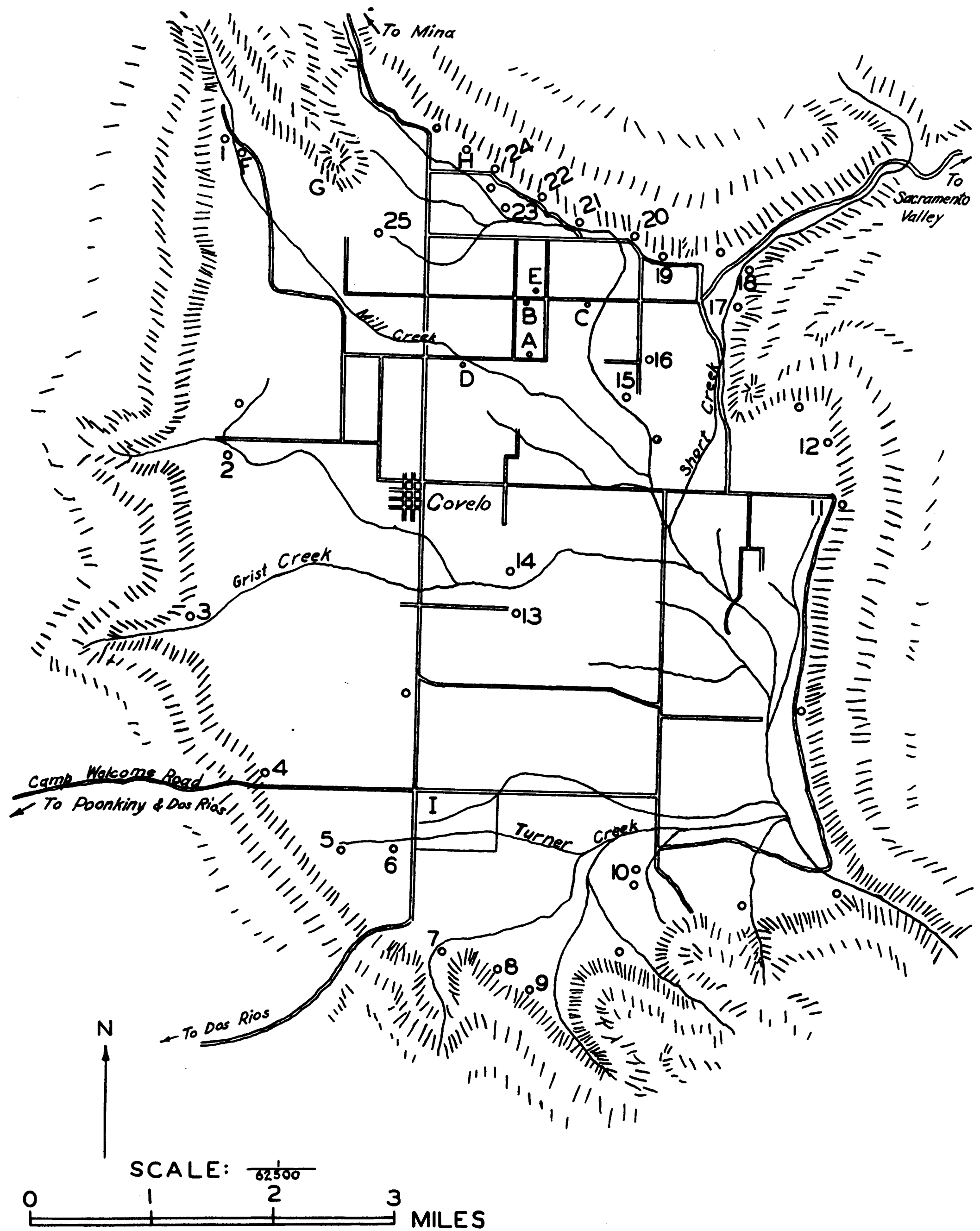
Map 1 (facing p. 155) indicates as closely as can be determined the boundaries and principal subgroups of the Yuki, as well as the important natural features of their habitat. When a reasonable degree of certainty exists, the probable boundaries of the individual subgroups are indicated by a broken line. For the Ta'no'm, Ukomno'm, and Huititno'm, such distinctions did not prove practical. A number of village sites are also given. I have personally visited those indicated by a circle; those indicated by a cross are approximations based upon hearsay. Map 2 (see p. 158), shows in greater detail the human and natural features of Round Valley, the focus of Yuki life. It shows particularly well the importance of watercourses: in the dry west half of the valley few sites are found, contrasted to the well-watered and densely populated eastern half. Obviously, the favored site was at the edge of the valley floor near a stream.

Round Valley, with an area of 40 square miles, is the largest expanse of flat land, and with the exception of William's, Hull's, Poorman's, Rodeo, Eden, and Gravelly valleys, each containing from 2 to 8 square miles, the remainder of Yuki territory is a jumble of mountains, cliffs, swift streams, falls and cataracts, mountain meadows and oak groves, pine forests and rocky summits--as beautiful to the civilized eye as to the eye of the Indian, to whom it was a paradise of game and fish.

The primary unit of Yuki social geography was the rancheria, which most nearly coincides with "village." Actually it included all places of habitation, whether a single isolated dwelling or a large grouping of twenty-five houses, outbuildings, and dance house. A large grouping was known as a no'hot (to live big). Based primarily on geographical proximity, rancherias tended to group themselves into larger, unnamed units. These usually centered around a no'hot, in which dwelt the principal chief and subsidiary officers. These unnamed assemblies were in turn grouped into larger units, without political unity but conscious of a sense of sameness through dialectic similarity. Definite kinship to these larger groups was and still is felt, in spite of the complete informality of the arrangement. "I am Witukomno'm," "Toby is Ta'no'm" are phrases still heard. Names of rancherias were taken from geographical features, and the name of the principal rancheria might serve for the group name, as in the case of Huitítno'm. Or a general geographical name, such as Ukomno'm (valley people), might come into use. To indicate affiliation with a place or group, the suffix no'm (person of) is added to the place name. Ukomno'm indicates "persons of the valley," in the same sense that we say "American," "person of America."

Of these major subdivisions, each characterized by minor linguistic variations, six seem to have been recognized in aboriginal times. The grouping is not to be thought of as we think of city, county, and state; these concepts are far too precise. Rather, it is in the sense that we say "I am a Middle Westerner," "I am a Southerner," or "I am a New Englander," and differences in speech were probably about as marked. But instead of a national governmental organization for the whole area, the Yuki had only consciousness of kind to bind them together.

A Yuki felt a strong attachment to the special area in which he was born. I first became aware of this when doing ethnogeography with Eben Tillotson near ukšišmulha^{n}t, his old home. Eben's great delight upon seeing places where he had once lived, and walking over the ground again, was not easily concealed. "In this canyon I lived with my father and sister for four years." "I once killed a deer on that hillside." "My, I remember how thick the berries used to grow on that slope." He then explained how good it seemed to be on home ground again: it felt right and natural. The rocks and the trees knew him, and were glad to have him back; they were friendly toward him. One finds harmony in one's home that cannot exist in an alien place. It is best to die and be buried in the ground that knows a person, the ground that is waiting to receive home its children.



Map 2. Round Valley. Numbered circles indicate village sites, unnumbered circles, village sites the names of which have been forgotten. Letters indicate homes of informants and other incidentals. Key: 1, hák'i; 2, onwís; 3, totimúl; 4, alniúki; 5, yúksa'ut; 6, ólkat; 7, soípit; 8, milíti; 9, totima^{n}t; 10, two ontít sites; 11, onús; 12, probable site of títwa; 13, olámtu'; 14, nu'; 15, ukšat; 16, hulpótinha^{n}č; 17, sonkáš; 18, mulkús; 19, lilt'am; 20, námol; 21, čočhohanuk; 22, probable site of muthót; 23, u'wít; 24, mamolšíšmol; 25, ólkat. A, Ralph Moore's home; B, Charlie Dorman's home; C, George Moore's home; D, Little Toby's home; E, Pentecostal Church; F, old gristmill; G, Medicine Hill; H, site of new houses erected by U.S. Indian Service; I, Hop Ranch.

Subgroups

1. The Ta'no'm (slope people; name derived from an open hillside on the east side of the Eel River, opposite Spyrock) included people living along the lower reaches of the Eel River from Spyrock south to about the site of Dos Rios. Six place names (probably districts named after the principal rancheria), of which two only could be accurately located, were recorded:

k'áš̌asic (red butte), a no'hot near Spyrock, possibly the largest in the area. (Map 1:19.)
lilši'ík (black rock), the area around Berger Creek.
kičilpit (flint hollow).
pomahá^{n} (under pepperwood tree).
má^{n}t (brook).
uklámol (water crossing).

The Ta'no'm lived in close contact with the Wailaki, and in spite of sporadic warfare, much intermarriage took place, with the result that most of them were well acquainted with the Wailaki tongue. The extent of this contact is indicated by the fact that the southern Yuki groups call the Ta'no'm "K'o'il," the generic name for all Athabascan-speaking peoples, and, while acknowledging their claim to Yuki affinity, regard them as strongly Wailaki in flavor.

2. On the Middle Fork of the Eel River, and on the tributaries to the south, lived people variously known as Witukomno'm and Ukšišmulhá^{n}t-no'm. The former is the name for Eden Valley and the latter is a site on Coal Mine Creek, a short distance south of Dos Rios. In prewhite times they seem to have come little north of the Middle Fork, but after the arrival of the first settlers, they crept north (or, more properly, were driven by the soldiers) to the site of the Hop Ranch. There they founded ólkat (tree flat), their largest rancheria. Fifty years ago this was said to number fifty houses--twice the size of the average no'hot. Today it is visible only as a shallow depression surrounded by a slightly raised rim of earth--all that remains of the dance house.

Old village sites, called ha^{n}č, are distinguishable as a series of marks of this type, some 10 feet across for common dwellings, and twice that for dance houses.

The available list of Witukomno'm rancherias follows:

ukšišmulha^{n}t (crayfish creek fork), on Coal Mine Creek, a no'hot with a dance house. (Map 1:1.)
muniúkom (grapevine valley), in Rodeo Valley, a no'hot with a sweat house. Name also used for smaller surrounding rancherias. (Map 1:2.)
yúksa'ut (chaparral hole), a small rancheria a short distance west of ólkat, and politically linked to it. (Map 2:5.)
soípit (buckeye-soaking hole), a small rancheria at the south end of Round Valley where main road leaves for Dos Rios. (Map 2:7.) Probably politically united with:
milíti (white-oak flat), a no'hot, 1/2-mile east of preceding at the edge of the valley floor. (Map 2:8.)
totima^{n}t, a small rancheria 1/2-mile east of milíti and politically related to it. (Map 2:9.)
hásikat (live-oak flat), a no'hot on the north side of the Eel River at the old ferry site of the Hop Ranch--Eden Valley road. (Map 1:3.)
uklámol (water crossing), a small rancheria directly east of above, probably the place at which Yuki crossed the river before there was the white man's ferry. (Map 1:4.)
witúkom (side hill valley), a no'hot in Eden Valley. Entire valley, as well as this Yuki subdivision, called by same name. (Map 1:5.)
ukomtítam (valley hills), a small rancheria in the hills to the south of Eden Valley. (Map 1:6.)
suk'á (edge of pine trees), a no'hot near Rodeo Valley. (Map 1:7.)
úkpi (many springs), a small rancheria near ukšišmulha^{n}t. (Map 1:8.)
u'tít (water mountain), a no'hot of the Rodeo Valley area, but probably not in the valley itself.
alniúki (tough crooked stick); proper classification is here difficult. Primarily the name of a no'hot with a sweat house, at the southwest edge of Round Valley where the Poonkiny road leaves the valley floor for Dos Rios. (Map 2:4.) Broadly speaking, all people who lived in the general vicinity of the road as far as Dos Rios were called alniúkino'm. I could not ascertain whether dialectically they should be classed with Witukomno'm or Ukomno'm.
sonlál (tule lake), alniúkino'm rancheria on the north side of the Poonkiny road at the divide between Round Valley and Dos Rios. (Map 1:20.)

3. The third major subdivision, Ukomno'm (valley people), inhabited Round Valley north of the Hop Ranch, as well as Hull's Valley, Bluenose Ridge, William's and probably Poorman's valleys. Place names follow:

onús (red ground), a no'hot at McCombre place at the edge of Round Valley and due east of Covelo. (Map 2:11.)
títwa (wide hill), either a smaller rancheria slightly north of onús, or another name for the same rancheria. (Map 2:12.)
ukšát (cool water), a big rancheria, but not a no'hot, at Frank Logan's in the northeast part of Round Valley. Named after an unusually fine spring. (Map 2:15.)
hulpótin (grass snake rancheria), a small rancheria at Frank Logan's gate to the main road. (Map 2:16.)
mulkús (short creek), a rancheria on Short Creek at the place the Sacramento Valley highway leaves Round Valley. (Map 2:18.)
sonkáš (tule point), a rancheria 1/2-mile south of mulkús, at the edge of the valley floor. (Map 2:17.)
ukomkúšno'm (small valley people), the term for all inhabitants of Poorman's Valley.

lilt'am (falling rock), a small rancheria at Mark Hurt's place at the northeast edge of Round Valley. (Map 2:19.)

námol, a site at Jim McGetrick's place, 1/4-mile west of lilt'am. Probably not a rancheria. Women from the surrounding area came to gather and bake Indian potatoes. Until recent years a hole 4 feet in diameter and 3 feet deep was visible evidence of this activity. (Map 2:20.)

čočhohanúk (little oak under water), a spring and rancheria at Felix Pina's place west of námol. (Map 2:21.)

muthót (gulch big), probably a rancheria slightly west of the preceding. (Map 2:22.)

mamolšíšmol (acorn soaking), a rancheria at the old Indian boarding school in the extreme north end of Round Valley. (Map 2:24.)

nu' (sand), a no'hot at Melinda, 1 mile southeast of Covelo. (Map 2:14.)

olámtu', a rancheria 1/2-mile south of nu'. (Map 2:13.)

totimúl, a rancheria at the edge of Round Valley, due west of nu'. (Map 2:3.)

onwís (land old), a no'hot due west of Covelo near present airport. (Map 2:2.)

ólkat (tree flat), a rancheria of the same name as the Hop Ranch group, situated 1 mile northwest of the present Indian school on the valley floor. (Map 2:25.)

hák'i (north), a no'hot at the site of the old gristmill in the extreme northwest part of Round Valley. (Map 2:1.)

u'wít (bitter water), a no'hot slightly northwest of the old Agency. (Map 2:23.) Kroeber lists Hunchisutak (holding forehead) as its last chief.

unkíts (small valley), Hull's Valley.

lanhámiš, either a rancheria in Hull's Valley, or a synonym for the same.

impaláč (open ridge), Bluenose Ridge. Either rancherias or place names here are the two following:

lilta' (rock on a hillside), at the west end of Bluenose. (Map 1:10.)

nuńlač (black-oak acorn top), at the east end of Bluenose. (Map 1:9.)

kičilúkom (flint valley); no rancherias are remembered. Kroeber (Handbook, 164) lists six.

kíčil (gravelly flat), a no'hot on the south bank of William's Creek (which is not in William's Valley), 2 miles above the junction with the Eel River. One of the largest rancherias yet to be seen. About twelve house pits remain, and an equal number have been destroyed by highway grading. Strangely, the dance house is situated on the opposite side of the creek; there is no known reason for this irregularity. (Map 1:11.)

nuíčkat, short distance above kícil on William's Creek. (Map 1:12.)

yúkat (chaparral flat), a rancheria above nuíčkat on William's Creek. (Map 1:13.)

Occupying most of Round Valley and surrounding lands, the Ukomno'm, from the standpoint of Indian economy, were the most favorably situated. Judging from rancheria sites still remembered they were also the most numerous, with the Witukomno'm next. The subgroups in William's Valley were considered culturally inferior to the others, and reputedly possessed no dance houses, indicating a meager ceremonial life. Popular belief likewise credited them with being poor hunters and fishermen, who maintained themselves principally on Indian potatoes.

4. Situated along Black Butte Creek and surrounding slopes were the Huititno'm (middle-ridge people), named after one of the largest rancherias. They shared with the Sukšaltátamno'm the most lofty and rugged of Yuki terrain--the mountainsides from the crest of the Coast-Sacramento Valley divide to the west. Though lacking the flat grounds and lowland oak groves of the other groups, they were blessed with a superabundance of deer. Names of only four rancherias could be obtained:

huitít (middle ridge), a no'hot on the east side of the stream, below Black Butte. (Map 1:14.)

suk'húi (fir thicket), a rancheria south, or upstream, from the huitít. (Map 1:15.)

pilíl (snow rock), a rancheria still farther south than the preceding. (Map 1:16.)

títam (mountain), the no'hot farthest upstream on Black Butte Creek. (Map 1:17.) Titamno'm is used interchangeably with Huititno'm as a name for this Yuki subdivision.

5. Farthest north lived the Sukšaltátamno'm (nicely shaped pine tree people). This group occupied the uppermost reaches of the Eel River, from the Eel River ranger station north. All inhabitants have long been dead, and surviving Yuki know little about the area, which was probably always sparsely populated. Steelhead fishing is good here, and Indians (mostly non-Yuki) still journey up at the right season of the year. The only place name recalled was múlčal (creek white), a rancheria 15 miles upstream from the ranger station (map 1:18). It is popularly called "fish town" because of the abundance of fish.

Culturally these people had intercourse most directly with the Pitch Indians, a Wailaki group living to the west, and with whom they are often confused by the surviving Yuki.

6. The Onkolúkomno'm (ground in another valley people) lived at the headwaters of the South Fork of the Eel River, separated from the rest of the Yuki region by a 4000-foot ridge. There are no survivors of this group. Geographically favorably situated, with Gravelly Valley and Lake Pillsbury in the center, they were undoubtedly numerous. Early contact with white invaders however, plus physical separation from the main Yuki body, has resulted in the virtual nonexistence today of data.

From the outlet of Round Valley to the Eel River lived a group, Lalkútno'm, that is difficult to assign to any of the six major divisions. They comprised a number of rancherias and no'hots.

The Ontítno'm (tableland people), including a no'hot of the same name (map 2:10) and surrounding rancherias, lived about 2 miles to the west of the Lalkútno'm, at the edge of the valley, and are also unassignable to a major subdivision. Linguistically they were most like Witukomno'm, but their

geographical proximity to both Ukomno'm and Huititno'm makes this affiliation uncertain.

Designations of other tribes.--The Yuki applied similar terminology in naming alien groups:

Pilšimtíno'm (rock black people), Orland, Elk Creek, Grindstone Creek Nomlaki.
Titkáinino'm (long mountain people), Paskenta Nomlaki.
Kúmno'm (salt people), Stonyford (Salt Pomo).
K'o'il (no translation), Wailaki and Athabascans in general.
Lalši'íkno'm (lake black people), Kato.
Onpotílno'm (ground dust people), Sherwood Valley Pomo.
Nukónimi (fast talkers), Little Lake Pomo.
Húčno'm (outside people), Redwood Indians (Huchnom).
Palunúkom (leaf under valley), Potter Valley Pomo.
Ukpótno'm (water gray people), Lakeport Pomo.

Speech variations.--Dialectic differences among Yuki subgroups included speed in speaking, different words for the same thing or act, and slightly divergent accents. The Ukomno'm and Witukomno'm were regarded as fast talkers, while the Ta'no'm and Huititno'm spoke more slowly. An example of phonetic difference follows: small, ónsil (Titomno'm), únsil (Ukomno'm). An example of word difference is: hot, pukhólt (Witukomno'm), šúmlil (Huititno'm and Ukomno'm). An example of different expressions is: to quiet a child, úlai (Witukomno'm), čiči[6+](Ukomno'm), k'íha (Huititno'm), k'oš (Ta'no'm; Wailaki word). In calling a child there are the following: my child (either sex), ik'ili (Huititno'm); my son (lit., "my child my father"), ik'il-eŋk'un, and my daughter (lit., "my child my mother"), il'il-eŋk'an (Ukomno'm and Ta'no'm); my son (lit., "my child father"), ik'il-k'un, and my daughter (lit., "my child mother"), ik'il-k'un (Witukomno'm).

Many words of Spanish origin pertaining to houses, clothing, and domestic animals have crept into Yuki speech. Examples are (Spanish in parentheses): sapáto (zapato), shoe; calisiéta (calcetas), socks; maskála (mascada), handkerchief (Spanish word means an elaborate, decorative piece); kamísa (camisa), shirt; pantóla (pantalon), pants; kapóta (capote), overcoat; kawáyo (caballo), horse; wóha (oveja [lit., "ewe"]), cattle; kučía (cuchillo), knife; hádo (jarro, a pottery cup), cup; šíya (silla), saddle; rančerí (rancheria), house or village (group of buildings); mais (maiz), corn; pihóli (frijoles), beans; kaláwas (calabaza), pumpkin; šántia (zandia), watermelon; pápos (papa), potato; túnika (tunica), dress; bukero (vaquero), cowboy; papel (papel), paper. The word for "sun," recorded variously as pilóti (Tillotson), pilánt (Ralph Moore), piláti (Toby), and pila^{n}t (Kroeber), may possibly be derived from the Spanish pelota, meaning "ball." Still, it is strange to find for "moon" a true Yuki word, lask'áwol, and for "sun" a borrowed one.

The word hálsi (to put more with) was used with reference to the language of subgroups other than that of the speaker. Strange dialects sounded complicated, and their speakers were thought to make them so simply for the sake of effect. Tillotson thought the Huititno'm were especially guilty of this; conversely, they considered their dialect to be the most pure of all Yuki speech.

Those who spoke the k'oni hót (talk high) were also said to hálsi. K'oni hót was a refined speech, spoken by the well educated--those who had gone to the Taikomol-woknam. It was not a secret language, since some of both sexes knew it thoroughly, and those of lower class were acquainted with some of the expressions. The distinction is similar to that in our own society between a college graduate and one whose schooling has ended at the fifth grade.

An interesting commentary concerning language came to light while Tillotson was trying, mostly in vain, to make me understand Yuki grammar. Teaching me the language was not to be thought of in the same sense as everyday ethnography--it was a special gift of a magical nature which he made to me as a token of friendship. Just as the ability existed for a famous singer to pass on his songs to a protégé at his death (see p. 192), so could a man pass on his knowledge of language to a student from another culture. Tillotson explained that for the present I would learn a little Yuki, but not very much. But in a few years he would die, and his knowledge of the language would pass to me. Then I would think about it, have it on my mind constantly, and if I should be in company with other Yuki, could join right in "just natural like," even though I had never heard many of the words I would use. Though a man might instruct several people in the art of Yuki conversation, only the one to whom he passed on the power would ever really understand it.

FOODS

Yuki economy was one of hunting, fishing, and gathering; no form of agriculture was practiced. A first-fruits ceremony was not observed but an acorn "sing," held winter and spring (p. 192), was believed to insure abundance of vegetal crops. A youth avoided eating any of his first kill of game or first catch of salmon. Violation of this taboo would result in poor luck for the remainder of his life.

Hunting

Deer.--Two principal methods were used: (1) bows and (2) snaring. In spring and early summer, deer travel in groups, making practical communal hunts. Snares of rope were placed in deer paths, frequently in series in low gaps between hills. The hunters then advanced up the hillside, singing and shouting, driving the terrified quarry into the dangling loops, to be strangled immediately, or dispatched with blows from stones or clubs. Group stalking of deer was also practiced, several men advancing from the leeward toward a grazing or otherwise unsuspecting animal, and letting arrows fly at the same instant.

[6+] Spanish origin.

A less common method was that of running down deer, a practice made possible by the animal instinct to travel in a wide circle. One hunter took up the chase, and others spread themselves at intervals along the probable course of the prey, taking up the chase in turn until either the catch was made or the animal escaped. Driving game over cliffs, or into snowbanks, was reported, but the technique was distinctly secondary.

When several men made a kill, slaughtering took place immediately, each man carrying home one portion. The killer took the heart, head, and shoulders, giving the choice haunches and loins to his companions as a mark of friendship. The kidneys were removed first to prevent spoiling of the rest of the carcass. Great care was taken of the eyes, which were sucked out of their sockets and swallowed; if they were to break and the fluid fall on the ground, it was believed that bad hunting luck would persist for years to come. Other than this, there seem to have been no definite slaughtering restrictions.

In individual hunts a man frequently made use of a deer-head disguise--the head, antlers, and nape of a buck placed over the hunter's head. Creeping from the leeward side, leisurely and cautiously, a skillful imitator could often come within range of his prey. It was not without attendant danger, however, even as in modern deer hunting, as the following account indicates: Once while stalking deer, Lamskačmi Tom, with only his head showing above the brush, was sighted by Frank Peters. His disguise was so good that Frank thought he was a real deer, and was about to shoot him. Only his timely emergence into an open glade, revealing white man's pants beneath the antlers, saved Lamškačmi Tom from an untimely end.

In killing, no distinction was made as to sex and age of deer, fawns being especially prized by old people lacking a full complement of teeth. Since it was believed that deer souls were immortal, there was no thought of depleting the supply--for each deer killed, another would be born to take its place. This belief still persists among the older Yuki, who consider the white man's game laws both burdensome and ridiculous.

To insure luck in hunting, some general precautions were followed. The taboo on a boy's first kill and the care to properly dispose of the eyes have already been mentioned. Ordinarily, before hunting, a man avoided his wife for one night, arose early, sweated and bathed, and departed without breakfast. Though considered of magical benefit, the first three practices are of obvious physical benefit, and the last gave incentive to the hunter to persist until successful. In cases of loss of hunting luck, a doctor sang over the hunter's paraphernalia. He received no pay, but expected choice cuts from the deer if luck followed. Singing and rubbing the body with scorched pepperwood leaves before hunting were also considered beneficial. No deer songs were remembered. Some women reputedly possessed power to bring good luck by washing deer nets in deer licks. Ralph Moore's mother, Sally, was so gifted, and habitually received for her work part of the catch, a basket, or similar small article. In view of the general fear of woman's contamination, this practice seems contradictory to the usual hunting pattern.

Roasting of deermeat in strips was common. The best parts were cut in pieces from 12 to 16 inches long, 2 inches wide, and 3/4-inch thick, and dried in the sun with or without smoke, depending upon the relative number of flies. From three days to a week was required to properly jerk venison, which was stored in baskets till needed, then roasted. Old people pulverized their share and ate it in soup. Scraps and entrails were eaten immediately, and bones roasted and cracked for the marrow. Thin slices were pounded, wrapped around hot rocks and roasted, or a hand spit used when one desired to keep off ashes. Blood sausage, a special delicacy, was made by filling the paunch with blood, scraps of heart, liver, and other edible entrails, adding salt, and closing the top with a skewer. It was then roasted in warm ashes for about two hours, tested with a sliver inserted to the center, and when blood no longer adhered, the mass had solidified, and was ready to be cut and eaten.

Eating restrictions were imposed upon young females. Heart, ears, and tail were taboo. Touching a tail caused bad luck to the hunter, preventing his seeing the white spot on the underside of the tail, a valuable method of spotting game. Touching ears prevented their twitching on live animals, and thereby a hunter would not notice the quarry.

Bear.--Bear were occasionally hunted, but were not favorite objects of the chase. With only clubs, bows, and spears, it was a risky business, and there was more than an even chance to be unsuccessful. George Moore described one method requiring a five-man team:

A hibernating bear was located, and at the den entrance a hole about 1 foot deep was dug, into which were placed two 6-inch staves long enough to reach above the cave entrance, where were stationed two men, each holding one of the staves. Two other men, bows in hand, stood on each side of the entrance. Another man, the bravest, armed with a burning torch, entered and prodded the sleeping creature. Aroused, the bear, still groggy with sleep, ambled toward the light, the hunter just ahead. As the hunter reached the entrance, the stake men spread the poles to form a "V" through which he stepped; then the poles were brought to the vertical position again, closing the entrance. The bear, halted by the barrier, pondered on his next step, and was in the meantime shot.

When bears were killed in the open, it was

usually a matter of chance; a hunter was surprised, and there was not time to run. Stories still persist of the terrible, slashing wounds made by enraged animals in hand-to-hand conflict.

Grizzlies were never eaten, both because they were considered semihuman, and because they ate human flesh. A more rational Yuki volunteered that, anyway, a grizzly bear was too tough for even an Indian. Brown and black bears were occasionally, but not often, eaten.

Small game animals.--Rabbits were snared with small nooses suspended in paths, shot with arrows, or stunned with slings. Cottontails, when found in nests, were speared with long, sharp sticks--a practice still followed by Yuki boys today. Communal drives were not employed.

Wood rats were killed with slings, bows, or burned to death in their inflammable houses.

Ground squirrels were killed with bows, slings, or smoked out of their holes with tufts of grass and clubbed as they emerged.

Gray squirrels were killed with bows or slings.

Raccoons were hunted with dogs, which treed the quarry until the hunters arrived. Since dogs were known in prewhite times, this may be an aboriginal trait. It is also possible that it was introduced by the first white settlers.

Mice were eaten, but details are lacking.

Rabbits, wood rats, and squirrels were sometimes withdrawn from their dens by thrusting in a stick until it came into contact with the animal, then twisting it, catching the fur and skin. After heavy downpours, drowned or half-drowned rodents were sometimes found at the mouths of their holes.

The cooking of these small animals was simple: usually the entire carcass was thrown on coals and roasted; a more careful method was first to clean and skin the animal.

Various.--Animals killed, but not eaten, were: panther, fox, wolf, coyote, flying squirrel, otter, mole, gopher, and weasel. All were valued for their hide. Snakes and lizards were killed, but were used principally by sorcerers in the preparation of their potions. Beavers and dogs were not killed.

Elk were supposed to have been occasionally found in the hills in prewhite times, and tradition is that they were hunted much as deer. No Yuki today has ever seen an elk in the wild state.

If a freshly dead animal was found, it was eaten. The term "freshly dead" was used in a much broader sense than that which one is likely to use today.

Birds.--Numerous birds were hunted for food, the most important of which was the quail. Two varieties were recognized, valley, which was the larger and fatter, and mountain, which was the less shy and easier to catch. Special arrows, with a crossed stick point 4 inches in diameter in place of a flint point, were used. A hunter shooting into a covey could stun three or four birds with one shot, which he picked up before they recovered. A sling was also used.

Quail fences were never used, though the Yuki were aware of the practice in the Sacramento Valley. Simple snares were placed in quail paths. Corrals of brush 1 foot high and 4 feet in diameter were made, and quail lured inside with scattered grain and then clubbed. A trap consisting of a 4-foot hoop covered with a net was laid on the ground and raised on one side with a trip. Seeds scattered beneath attracted a covey, and when the concealed hunter deemed he had sufficient number, he released the trip with a string.

Other edible birds included blackbird, lark, grouse, pigeon, dove, and robin. Birds killed but probably not eaten included bluejay, redheaded woodpecker (feathers used for baskets), yellowhammer (feathers valued), duck and geese. Slings, blunt arrows, and in later days, poisoned grain were used. Little attention was paid to cooking: birds were thrown on coals, and, in the process of cooking, most feathers burned off. The viscera congealed and, on opening, dropped out in a solid ball; this as well as the flesh was eaten. Roosting birds were taken at night by building a fire under the trees and clubbing them.

Birds not eaten included buzzards, crows, eagles, hawks and owls.

Fishing

Salmon, of which there were three main varieties, appeared at various times throughout the year, providing a year-round occupation. Black salmon in the fall were followed by winter and spring salmon in those seasons. Trout and steelheads were more plentiful in summer, and were more easily caught in lower water. Although ignorant of the use of fishhooks, the Yuki possessed adequate techniques for taking fish--gigging (spearing), nets, and poisoning.

The gigging fisherman stood or sat, often on a crude platform composed of several poles laid on flat rocks at the edge of the stream. When a salmon appeared broadside, he grasped his spear shaft in both hands, lunged forward, pierced the fish, drew back quickly to loosen the detachable gigs from the shaft (see p. 171 for gig description), swung the catch to the shore and removed the gigs. Fish were also gigged at night by firelight. Gigging was great fun, an efficient method for taking large fish, but had the disadvantage of bruising much of the meat, making preservation more difficult.

Brush weirs or dams, with a small opening at one end for the fish to pass through, were built at likely places. A dip net 18 inches wide and 3 feet long was placed at the downstream side,

and the fisher lay on a platform waiting for salmon. Night fishing was made easier by placing white rocks on the stream bed around the opening, the dark shadow of the prey thus being made more visible. No firelight was used. Fish descending the stream reached the dam, nosed along until the opening was reached, and passed through. Once safely inside the net, the fisherman swung it to shore, and dispatched the catch with a blow on the back of the head.

Use was also made of a corral, a circular brush pen 4 feet in diameter, built on the downstream side of the dam opening. When a salmon had entered the corral, the fisher clamped a large, coarse basket similar to a pack basket on the upstream side of the hole and, with a 2 foot stick, prodded the fish through the gate and into the basket. Although efficient, this was considered a cold, wet way.

A salmon trap of woven willows 6 feet long, 8 inches in diameter at the mouth, and tapering to a point, was sometimes placed on the downstream side of the dam opening. A trapped salmon found itself in quarters too cramped to back against the force of the stream.

After a couple of days of weir fishing the brush was removed to allow fish to ascend and descend the stream.

Two types of nets were used. Dip nets with 12-foot handles were employed to catch salmon as they fell back in an attempt to jump a falls. Seining nets, with rock sinkers and tule floats, were made from 3 to 4 feet deep and sufficiently long to cross from bank to bank--20 to 40 feet. One man at each end held the net, while others from upstream splashed and shouted, frightening the fish toward the seine. Thirty fish in one drive was considered a good catch. This method was used principally for spring salmon--the stragglers who had remained until the low summer waters. At this time salmon are sluggish and easily driven.

Trout were caught in a variety of ways. A special fine-meshed net 8 inches long with a string fastened to mouth and tip was placed at the dam opening downstream. A school journeying downstream entered, causing the string to vibrate, thus indicating its presence to the fisher, who then lifted the net to the shore. As many as three dozen fish were caught in a single evening of this kind of fishing--night was best time for this method since trout ran thickest then.

Poisoning was another favorite method, several weeds being used: lílmil, best, but unidentified; kičilwoímuk, unidentified; lip, tarweed; nuš, soaproot. A quiet pool in which there was little or no flow of water was essential. The weeds were pounded between rocks to a moist pulp, and thrown into the water in large quantities. About an hour, depending on amount and strength of the narcotic, was required to stun the fish, which then appeared floating belly up on the surface. Poisons were used either singly or together, depending on what happened to be growing near the stream; they did not spoil the meat for use as food. Soaproot was considered the least powerful, but because of its ubiquitous growth was most often used, quantity making up for quality.

Diving after salmon in large pools and bringing them to the surface in the swimmer's hands showed aquatic proficiency, but was not a major method of providing food.

To preserve it, a salmon was gutted, head and tail removed, split into two halves and the backbone removed, leaving two filets. Netted fish, with unbruised flesh, were less likely to spoil than gigged ones. The filets were dried in the sun on rude frames, bushes, or rocks, flies being driven away by smoke from small fires.

All guts and bones were burned or thrown back into the river, not because of magical reasons but because dogs and babies might choke on them. Trout were not stored, but eaten soon after taking while still reasonably fresh.

Fishing was an important social event. Several families frequently went together for two or three days, fished a length of stream, prepared the catch for storage, and divided the produce before returning home. Like deer souls, it was believed that fish souls were immortal, and for each one caught, another would appear to take its place. There were no elaborate individual precautions followed to procure luck, though a fisher might avoid his wife for a night or two before fishing.

Cooking of fish: Fresh fish were roasted on coals. Dried-salmon filets were warmed in the ashes, sprinkled with water, wrapped in leaves, and roasted, resulting in a soft, tender consistency and delicate flavor. Dried fish was also crumbled and boiled; this was considered an inferior method. Small fish were neither scaled nor cleaned; they were simply thrown on the fire and cooked, then eaten, bones, heads, guts, and all.

The Wailaki were considered to be better fishermen: they could "feel" the presence of fish in muddy water with their gigs, which the Yuki could not do. More and better fishing waters is probably the reason for this skill, a reason recognized by the Yuki themselves. A few Wailaki still fish in the old manner, but I know of no Yuki to do so.

Two types of lamprey eels were known, a small gray and a large black. Only the latter was eaten. It was taken with bare hands, or flipped to the bank with a short stick. Suckers, turtles, snails, frogs and toads were not eaten.

In aboriginal times the Yuki did not journey to the coast, but mussels and surf fish in small quantities were traded through the Huchnom. Between the years 1875 and 1925 it was a common thing for a wagonload of Yuki to travel to the coast to spend several days camped on the beach,

taking surf fish, night fish, sardines, abalone (haliotis), mussels, and kelp. Mussel Rock, a short distance below Westport, was the favorite place. Whites in the vicinity have recently brought such strong pressure to bear that the practice has been virtually given up.

Vegetable Food

An abundant crop of acorns was insured by the la^{n}l-há^{n}p (acorn sing), a ceremony consisting of two four-day periods of dancing, winter and spring (see p. 192). Acorns were gathered in the fall after the first frost; the season lasted normally about two weeks. Entire families, or groups of several families, went out together for two or three days. Private ownership of trees was unknown. The land and its produce around a rancheria belonged to all inhabitants, and trees farther back in the mountains were simply stripped by the first to arrive.

Acorns picked from the ground are superior because they are ripe. However, when slow in falling they were knocked down with a "seven"-forked stick, or an ordinary pole. In aboriginal times, pack baskets were used to gather acorns; in more recent times horses and prosaic gunny sacks have been used. The few acorns still gathered are brought home in motor cars!

Hulling and drying was a tedious process. Seeds were cracked between two rocks, or with the teeth, the shells pulled off with the thumbnail, and the kernels spread in the sun. One or more days were required for drying.

Acorns were stored in a variety of ways: (1) In outside pits normally situated behind dwellings; they were 2 feet across, 2 feet deep, and lined with oak leaves and pine needles. The different kinds of acorns were kept separate. (2) Criblike baskets 4 feet high and 4 feet wide and woven with small pine branches on a framework of upright sticks. These were found in very large houses. Only unshelled acorns were stored in them. (3) Rough baskets of odd sizes and shapes were also used for storage.

Several varieties of acorns were known, each recognized to be best for certain purposes:

Valley-oak acorn (kaími). The largest variety. Best for "black" bread. Good for soup, though slightly bitter. As the name indicates, they grew principally on valley floors, especially in Round Valley.

Black-oak acorn (mám). Good for both soup and bread. Bread is of the "brown" variety, so named because of light color.

White-oak acorn (milk). For soup only, which is slightly bitter.

Mush-oak acorn (mošom). Same type and use as for preceding.

Tan-oak acorn (šókiši). These trees grew higher in hills, requiring traveling to obtain. More bitter than black-oak acorn, thus requiring longer leaching. For soup only.

Scrubby-mush-oak acorn (mili). For soup only.

A miniature oak (móyi). About 5 feet high, with equally miniature acorns. Rarely used because of small size.

Acorn flour was prepared in the typical and often-described Californian manner. A basket hopper, mortar and pestle, winnowing basket, and several watertight baskets were required. A woman seated herself on the ground, the hopper between her legs and resting on the mortar, legs crooked on the hopper rim to steady. She used right and left hands alternately to stir and pound. The resulting meal was placed in a winnowing basket and "fanned"--tapped gently with fingers, causing the coarse particles to rise to the surface. These were put back into the hopper and pounded again with the next batch. Fine flour was placed in another receptacle. A half-day of pounding was average for one batch.

Leaching was done in a creek bed in a shallow sand basin. If in no hurry the leacher used cold water; otherwise hot water. Each basinful was tasted to tell when sweet. The resulting soggy mass was scooped out with the hands, the sand washed off, and placed in a basket receptacle. Water used in washing was caught in another basket, the sand settled to the bottom, and the liquid, containing a weak solution of acorn, poured into another container, to be used as a base for soup.

About fifty years ago, when all houses were not near streams, a substitute leaching technique appeared. Four forked sticks were placed in the ground in a rectangle 3 feet square, and standing about the same height. Rim sticks connected the forks, and on the resulting elevated frame a shallow basket was woven. Leaves and sand were then placed on this, resulting in a satisfactory artificial basin. When built near a well, this arrangement worked as well if not better than the earlier original after which it was patterned. At present, the small quantity of flour made is ground in a handmill and leached in a washtub on a gunnysack-cheesecloth foundation.

Soup consisting of wet mush and water was boiled in baskets with hot stones. About one hour was required. It was eaten with crooked fingers or mussel-shell spoons. At following meals it was eaten cold until the supply became exhausted, when more was prepared. Not all of one leaching was cooked at one time; each batch was divided into about three cookings. Lacking salt, acorn soup was flat tasting, but to the Yuki it was the staff of life. Yuki soup was thicker than that of the Sacramento Valley Nomlaki and the Concow Maidu, resembling that of the Wailaki in consistency.

Acorn bread was a great delicacy. Paradoxically, the black variety was made from valley-oak acorns, and the brown variety from black-oak acorns. Earth ovens 2 feet deep and as wide were

rock lined, fired, the ashes removed, leaf lined, the dough added, more leaves put on top, then sticks and dirt, and finally a fire built on top. All night was required for proper baking. The average loaf was 1 1/2 feet in diameter, and 1 foot thick, and lasted, with other food, four days for six people. Larger loaves were baked for festive occasions. Black bread was "black as a crow's inside, and very sweet." The last baking occurred about thirty-five years ago. Since then, hogs have been fattened on valley acorns, thus destroying the supply. Red earth was added to the dough to serve as a leavening agent.

Clover was eaten raw or steamed in flat baskets with hot rocks. The season lasted from the first of April until June. Early in spring, when the food supply was nearly exhausted, it was not uncommon for the Yuki to graze on all fours. White residents in Round Valley report that this practice was abandoned about ten years ago. Several varieties were eaten:

Bear clover (p'ots).
Salt clover (sakúmil). Resembles alfalfa; tastes salty.
t'am. Red blossoms. Tastes much like salt clover.
Mountain fillery (naí'). Grows in hills.
pin. Grows in valleys and hills. Much like t'am.
pínmi. Small, red flower.
hušpál. Doubtful category. Bitterish leaf, but sometimes eaten.
Anise "clover" (músan).

All varieties of seeds were called pinole. Women gathered them in summer and fall into a tightly coiled basket,[7] dusting the seeds with a twined beater. Pinole was stored in baskets in dwellings; different seed varieties were kept separate. When needed, seeds were pounded like acorns, placed in a winnowing basket with hot coals, tapped to insure even parching, and the resulting sweet-tasting flour eaten with the hands. Pinole seeds included two varieties of tarweed, various sunflower seeds, dandelions, and clover.

Anise root was dug in fall, dried, crumbled, and eaten like pinole, but it was not a common food. In recent times, barley and wheat have been used for pinole.

Various tubers, called "Indian potatoes," and usually the size of one's thumb, were dug with a sharpened wild mahogany stick. Baking was the principal means of preparation. Frequently several women went in together, baking their gathering in one large oven. In taste, tubers are said to resemble the sweet potato. Owing to the short season, May and June, this food was of limited value. Soaproot shoots were roasted in ashes and eaten like celery. Angelica was eaten raw like celery.

Several varieties of berries were gathered. These include: the red manzanita, the long-nosed manzanita, a sweet, sticky manzanita, elderberry, huckleberry, raspberry, deer berry, and holly berry.

Manzanita berries were eaten directly from the bush, or allowed to dry. Women gathered them as pinole, pounded them, after which they were eaten without parching. K'učúk (manzanita water) was a cider-like nonalcoholic drink made by mashing fresh berries and adding water. Elderberries were sun-dried, and boiled as needed. Holly berries (probably toyon berries), a starvation food, were parched. The Yuki believed that fewer berries grew in their territory than in that of their neighbors. Distant fields look greener to primitive as well as civilized peoples.

Nuts used include the sugar pine, digger pine, hazelnut, peppernut, and buckeye. Men gathered pine nuts, frequently climbing trees to knock them down. They were scorched, causing the cone to open out, allowing removal of the seeds by tapping the scales loose with a rock pounder. The seeds were stored for winter. Hazel and peppernuts were gathered in the fall, dried in the sun, hulled, and roasted or stored as occasion demanded. Buckeyes were roasted, causing the hulls to drop off. They were sometimes pounded and leached like acorns, longer soaking being required because of their poisonous quality. Another method was described: after hulling, slice, place in a basket and submerge in running water for several weeks; then boil, mash with a stick, and serve hot. This sounds like a recent innovation patterned after mashed potatoes.

Miscellaneous Foods

Under this general category comes a wide variety of worms, insects, fungi, eggs, and such. Most interesting from the standpoint of gathering and eating is the so-called "army worm." This worm is little more than an inch long, hairless, with a black back and reddish underside. It appeared every three or four years, in May, and was believed to be a special gift from Taikomol (principal deity--see "Religion"), indicating that he had been pleased with the conduct of the Yuki. Its approach was heralded by a loud clap of thunder, and immediately afterward it appeared in profusion on all ash-tree leaves. This was the signal for everyone--men, women, and children--to rush out, carrying all possible containers. Holding shallow baskets partially filled with water, the people stood beneath the trees, called "pu, pu, pu, pu, pu," and the obliging worms slowly crawled down to the lower limbs from where they were shaken off into the water and drowned. Unlike their Pomo neighbors, who maintained the utmost gravity on the arrival of the army worm, the

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 2,a.

Yuki were gay and joyous. People went to the trees laughing and singing--to be other than visibly pleased would offend Taikomol. When enough worms had been gathered, a clap of thunder like the first occurred, and lo, the few remaining worms disappeared. "Sounds funny, but it's true. I know; I've seen it."

The only really strict food rule observed had to do with the army worm. The first worms were cooked and eaten communally after a mitslamšími (sky doctor; see "Religion") had thanked Taikomol for his generosity. Furthermore, they had to be baked, and eaten unsalted. Were this ritual violated, they would not reappear.

Grasshoppers were taken in fire drives. A large group of people assembled on an open hillside in a circle, and fired the grass in a ring. The advancing flames drove the insects toward a common center, where they were finally burned to death, and in the process, parched sufficiently for eating.

Fish worms were taken on rainy spring days by driving a short stake into the ground, moving it back and forth to disturb the earth, thus driving the worms to the surface, where they were picked up, and boiled, baked, or parched. An unidentified worm, called "bible worm" because of its "leaflike" appearance, was roasted. Caterpillars and slugs were not eaten, according to informants' statements.

Two types of mushrooms were eaten raw or roasted in ashes. Tree fungi were boiled or roasted. Seaweed and kelp in small quantities were traded from the Huchnom before the period of Yuki journeying to the coast. Eggs of quail, duck, and grouse when found were roasted and eaten. Honey was taken from hollow trees. Yellowjacket larvae were eaten. The insects were smoked out with dry grass and the "eggs" (probably larvae) gathered. There were two varieties of chewing gum known: hámčak from milkweed and t'uí from pine gum.

In prewhite times salt was obtained from the Kumno'm (the Stonyford Pomo). During the lives of the oldest living Yuki and those of their parents, this transaction was amicable, but according to legend it was necessary to fight for the privilege (see p. 190 for an account of this). Whatever the veracity of this tale, the Yuki and Salt Pomo have been on good terms for many years. Every summer numerous Yuki journeyed to Stonyford, where they remained for a week or ten days--the honored guests of a dance invitation from the Kumno'm, returning home laden with the season's supply of salt. To show their good will, the Yuki left behind presents of beads, baskets, and skins.

Sometimes the Stonyford people returned the visit, coming to ólkat with presents of salt, remaining for a few days of dancing and "big time" celebrating.

The salt itself came from the kumlíl (salt rock), a surface crust of almost pure salt near the village of Cheetido. Cakes were broken out, and pulverized with a pestle and mortar. It was "the same as table salt, only dirtier." Salt that came from the Pacific Coast was whiter, and very strong. In true aboriginal times, the latter source was unimportant. Salt was eaten chiefly on meat, and frequently small chunks were eaten straight.

Incidentals pertaining to food.--Famine was relatively rare among the Yuki, though the end of winter usually found food supplies running low. Two meals daily were eaten, the principal one at sunset, and the other in the morning. The former might consist of meat, soup, pinole, and special delicacies depending upon the particular seasonal offerings. For breakfast, cold left-overs were consumed. "Piecing" during the day, or roasting part of a catch while hunting was common. At big gatherings men were usually served first, but at home all persons ate together. If the gathering were small, all assembled around the soup basket, dipping in with crooked fingers or mussel-shell spoons; if large, separate baskets were provided for every two or three people.

A Yuki grace is given on page 205.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Yuki material culture has almost entirely disappeared. A few pestles, hopper baskets, patched winnowing trays and beads comprise the list of things I observed in Round Valley. In the course of this paper, mention is made of the use of various articles, and limited descriptions are given. Here I give fuller data, based principally upon informants' descriptions, and checked by museum specimens when possible.

Clothing

In aboriginal times, clothing was extremely sketchy. Men went naked, or at most wore a short deerskin covering around their hips. In really freezing weather, a deerskin cape was pulled over the shoulders and fastened in front with a buckskin thong; more rarely, a rabbitskin blanket was employed. Moccasins were uncommon, and possibly did not exist in prewhite times. Those described had a hard sole of elkskin and pulled up around the ankle. Ralph Moore stated that a few wealthy people imported them from the Sherwood Pomo, but did not make any themselves. Hair nets were sometimes worn; chiefs and other respected men might let their hair grow long and braid it. Ordinary men singed theirs off at the shoulders. Deer marrow was used to grease both skin and hair. Facial hair, rare, was plucked out as it appeared.

Women wore a fringed apron, either in one piece tied at the side or in two pieces. The 2-inch

fringe served a dual purpose: it was decorative and, being soft, would not chafe the thighs as would a rough leather edge. Women allowed their hair to grow long, coiled it in two braids, one on each side of the head, and tied the ends with buckskin.

Both sexes might wear buckskin wristbands and headbands as ornaments. Combing was done with the fingers, or with a piece of fish vertebra. Both the nasal septum and the ear lobes were pierced, and bones the size of one's little finger, polished and undecorated, inserted in the holes. Hairpins of manzanita were used, but seem to have been principally employed along with hair nets in supporting dance headdresses. Tattooing styles and techniques are discussed in the section "Infancy and Childhood."

Weapons

Bows.--Wild mahogany, briarberry, dogwood, and yewwood were used. A shaft of correct size was seasoned by drying and rubbing with deer marrow, and then worked to desired dimensions with a flint knife. To make more limber it was placed in a tree fork and bent back and forth, or worked in a like manner over the knee. Final polishing was with coarse joint-grass (Equisetum ?). Bows were from 3 to 3 1/2 feet in length, oval in cross section, and tapered toward each end. Deer sinew chewed to make it soft and sticky was applied to the back, and additional wrappings were made at the grip and the ends to make them firm. Some bows were painted red or gray. The string was made of tendons from both sides of a deer's backbone. These were chewed, rolled on the thigh, and a loop knotted on each end while the sinew was still moist, which became strong when the string dried. Cruder, unbacked bows were used as toys and for small game.

Arrows.--Elderberry and dogwood shoots averaging 2 1/2 feet in length were peeled, dried, straightened by hand, worked with a flint knife, and polished with joint grass. No stone straightener was used but two short sticks held in one hand were used to apply greater pressure at a given point. Eagle or yellowhammer feathers from 3 to 4 inches long, split from the quill, were fastened three to an arrow with chewed sinew. This sinew wrapping also strengthened the butt, notched to receive the bowstring. Besides accuracy, feathers were believed to give greater speed. Percussion-chipped flint points from 1 to 2 inches long were mounted by inserting the pitch-smeared stem in the end of the shaft, from which the pith had been gouged out, and wrapping with sinew. Bone points also were reputedly used. Several types of arrows were made: hunting arrows for large game were heaviest and had the largest points; war arrows with points of more moderate size were longer and thinner, resulting in greater range; smaller arrows with blunt points have been described in connection with quail hunting. No distinguishing marks of ownership are recorded--"a man just naturally knows his own arrows"--but most arrows were painted red around the feathers. Allowing for drying, placing of feathers, hardening of the pitch, and painting, four or five days were required to complete a batch of arrows.

A Yuki held his bow in the left hand, palm upward, thumb and little finger inside the grip, and the other three fingers outside, curved up and over. The arrow butt was grasped with the thumb and index finger of the right hand (primary release), and the shaft laid between the thumb and index or index and middle fingers of the left hand, the flint point vertical. At the instant of release, the bow grip was relaxed so the string hit the bow, and not the hand.

Quivers.--Quivers were made of foxskins, or the skins of other small animals. Coyote's skin was never used; it was feared he would "hoodoo the whole works." The animal selected was flayed from rump to head, resulting in a seamless bag with the hair inside, to be suspended over the left shoulder. This position made for extremely rapid shooting--the hunter reached over his shoulder, grasped the arrow butt with his right hand, and as the arrow fell into place on the fingers of the left hand he drew and released the bow.

Spears.--Spears, used for bears and against enemies, were reputedly from 5 to 10 feet long, with blades from 3 to 6 inches long. Shafts were adorned with eagle feathers on each end, and painted around with red circles.

Daggers.--Daggers were described as flint knives 1 foot long with rounded handles. Traditionally they were used only by Indian "bears." (See p. 218.)

Clubs.--Mountain mahogany was preferred because of its hardness and because of the natural knob formed by its root. A club was cut 4 feet long, scraped and polished, and painted with red rings when used in war.

Slings.--Slings for war and hunting were made of a diamond-shaped patch of elkhide (if available; otherwise buckskin) 2 inches by 4 inches. Buckskin or cord 2 feet long was tied to each end by folding the ends of the diamond over the cord and wrapping firmly; cutting would weaken the diamond where strength was needed. Sometimes a small diamond-shaped hole was cut in the center to prevent the stone from slipping out. A loop on the end of one cord passed over the middle finger of the right hand, and the knot on the end of the other was seized with the thumb and index finger. A sling was swung around the head several times,

the knotted cord released, in turn releasing the missile; the loop remained on the thrower's middle finger ready for reloading. Good sling-men made equisized, sun-dried, clay pellets and carried them in a general utility buckskin bag. Balls of the same size, shape, and weight were necessary for continual accuracy. A novice or nonspecialist simply used stones. Ordinarily only those with a special knack for it were sling-men. Evidently slings were deadly missiles in the hands of experts.

Poison was not used on weapons; it was considered a dangerous material best left alone for fear of accidentally injuring oneself.

Tools

Mortar.--Any roughly round rock about 12 inches across and 3 inches thick, with a slight natural hollow on one side, might serve as the bottom piece for the hopper-mortar combination. Continual use deepened the natural hollow, but no attempt was made to do this before using.

Pestle.--Fifteen specimens in the University of California Museum range from 4 to 16 inches in length. Some regional peculiarities existed; the Witukomno'm favored a 16-inch type, and the Ukomno'm a 10-inch size. The "bulbed" shape is most typical, but the simple, tapered shape occurs. The 4-inch specimen is tapered, and was probably used by a poison doctor (magician) in pounding ingredients to make poison.

Mush paddles.--The typical form is "barbed." Two museum specimens are shown in figure 1: a, the barbed form, b, the unbarbed. Both are undecorated.

Brush.--Soaproot was soaked, pounded, shredded and fastened to a 3-foot stick. The brush section proper was 8 inches long, and from 2 to 3 inches in diameter. Chicken-hawk tail feathers on a 2-foot stick were used to dust feather costumes tumes.

Spoon.--Mussel shells, traded in through the Sherwood Pomo, were used.

Knife.--Any stone possessed of a natural edge, or one that could be easily touched up, was employed. Most valued were 8-inch blades; shorter blades from 4 to 6 inches were reputedly hafted.

Awl.--A deer ulna from 3 to 8 inches in length was used for basketmaking and buckskin sewing. A museum specimen is 5 1/4 inches long, sharpened on the distal end, with the knuckle forming the awl butt. Two postwhite specimens consist of nails, one inserted in a 2-inch wood handle, the other in a 2-inch horn handle; these are listed in the catalogue as basket awls.

Wedge.--Anciently elkhorn wedges were used; no informant had ever seen one.

Maul.--Stones crudely shaped like a large pestle, but with shorter handles, were used.

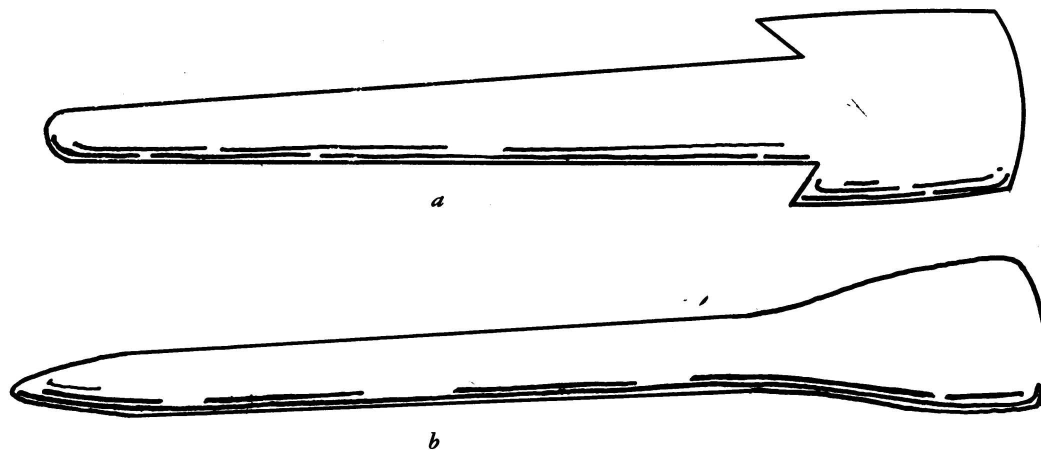


Fig. 1. Mush paddles. a, typical, "barbed" form; 18 1/2 in. long, 3 1/4 in. wide at the blade, 4 1/2 in. long from barb to bottom. b, unbarbed form; tapers gradually from handle to 2-inch wide blade; 23 in. long.

Basket hoppers.--These were said to be twined in a clockwise manner contrary to the usual counterclockwise fashion for basketry.[8]

Skin scraper.--These were made from oak or mahogany wood about 7 inches long, 2 inches wide, flat on one side, and slightly convex on the other.

[8]Kelly, pls. 125,g, 127,a,b,d.

Fire set.--A buckeye hearth, a 2-foot elderberry spindle, and dry grass tinder comprised a palm drilling set which was carried in the same utility bag used for sling balls. Flint and steel is postwhite. "Best of all just get fire from a neighbor." Fire was carried on trips and across rivers in a basket (with earth hearth ?), but could not be transported far this way.

String and cord.--String and cord were made from a nonnarcotic variety of "marihuana," that is, hemp, by rolling the fiber downward on the thigh.[9] Light string served for nets, string figures, and general utility; heavy cord was "strong enough to hold a horse."

Sinew cord.--Sinew cord was chewed, shredded out to the right length, rolled on the thigh, spliced with additional sections, and tied between two trees to prevent shrinking and curling while drying.

Rabbitskin blankets.--These were rather rare, even in aboriginal times. "Rabbitskin blankets are mighty warm--warmer than deerskins."

Tule mats.--Tule mats, in checkerwork style, reputedly were woven in aboriginal times.

Pipes.--Four museum specimens of wood are illustrated in figure 2. Kroeber[10] shows a fifth type evidently somewhat longer.

[9] Barrett, 1908:249, gives the botanical name Apocynum.

[10] Handbook, pl. 30,f.

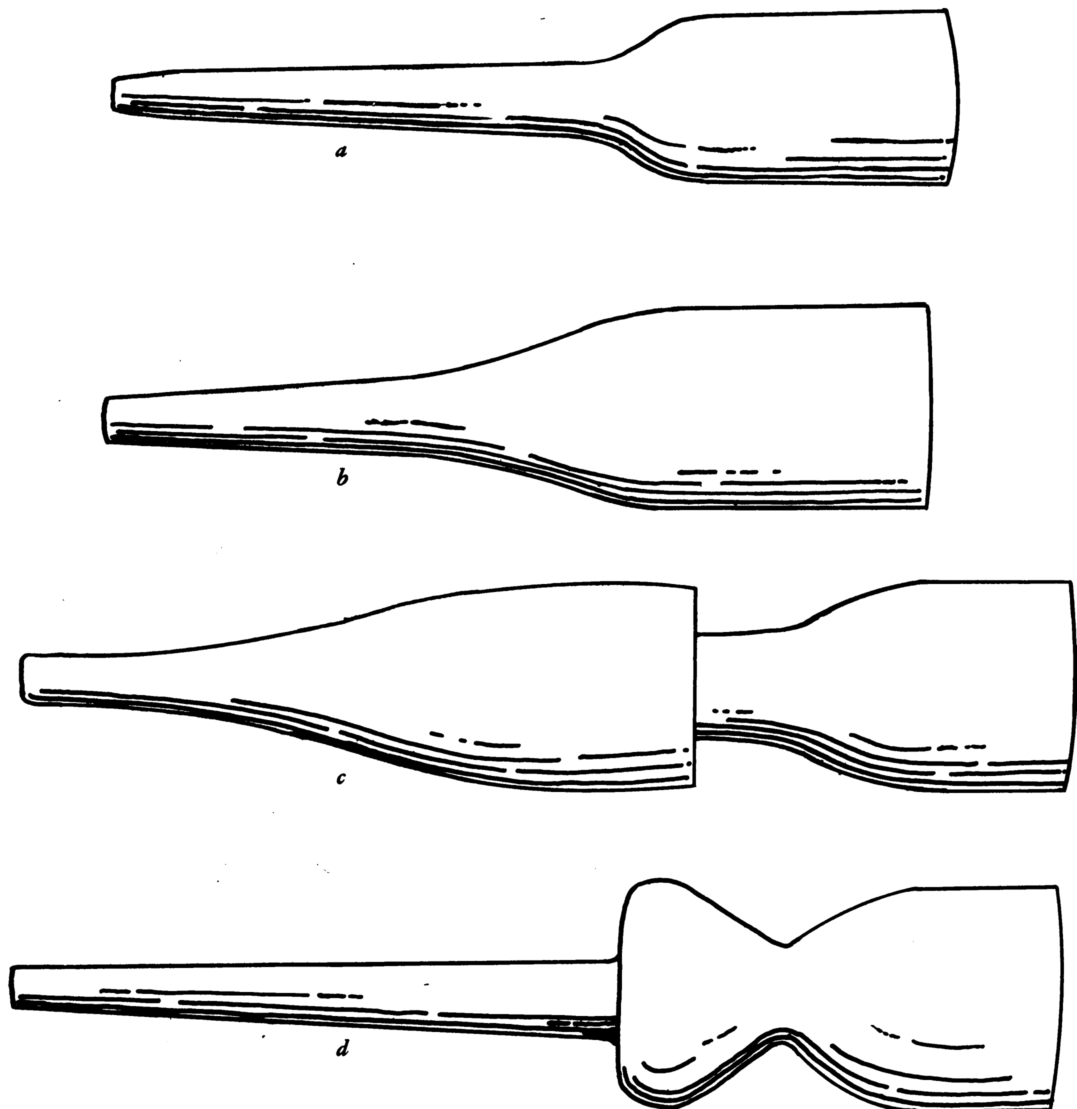


Fig. 2. Pipes. Lengths: a, b, 6 1/2 in.; c, d, 8 in.

Fish spear.--A fir pole from 8 to 12 feet long was peeled, smoothed, and charred to make invisible in water. The gig proper (from museum specimens) consists of a nail about 3 inches long, to which are tied two antler barbs; pitch has been added and burnt on with hot rocks to make tight. (See fig. 3.) A cord runs from each

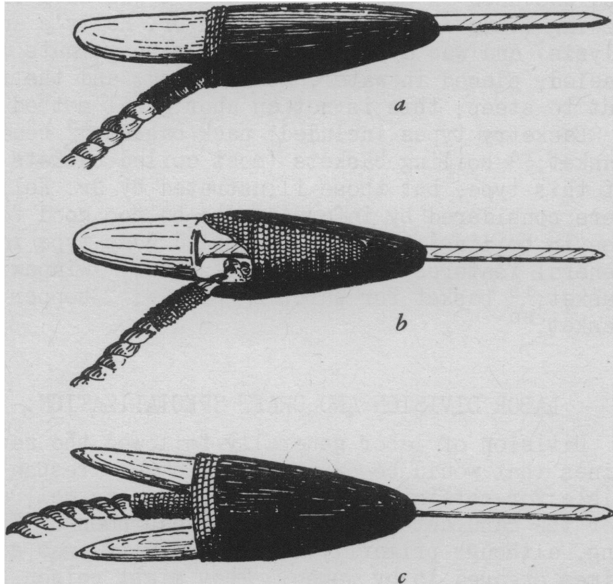


Fig. 3. Fish-spear gig. a, side elevation; b, cross section; c, top elevation.

gig to the spear pole proper. Fastened to the end of the pole are two 1-foot sticks 1/2-inch in diameter, carved on the end to fit the hollow butt of the gig. When a spear is driven into a salmon, the gigs stay in place, and when the spear is pulled back, they slip off and the barbs embed themselves in the meat. Gigs are from 2 1/2 to 4 inches in length. Aboriginally, bone points were used before nail points were substituted.

Nets.--See "Fishing."

Carrying nets.--These consisted of plaited sacks 18 inches long, with ropes on each end. They were fastened around a pack basket, or tied directly around loads of firewood.

Bead drills.--These were pump drills of the Pomo type.

Musical Instruments and Dance Accessories

Split-stick rattles.--These were used in common dances and in the Taikomol initiation, and consisted of split elderberry sticks, undecorated. A museum specimen is 23 1/4 inches long and 1 inch in diameter. Cocoon rattles, used only by doctors, were made by fastening four or five gravel-filled Attacus cocoons on the end of a stick from 14 to 18 inches long.[11]

Cane whistles.--Five museum specimens range in length from 7 1/2 to 8 3/4 inches. The pith has been removed, pitch used to stop one end, a notch cut in the top, and a pitch lump placed below the notch to tune. Two cane whistles were sometimes tied together forming a double whistle, or simple Pan's pipe. (See fig. 4.)

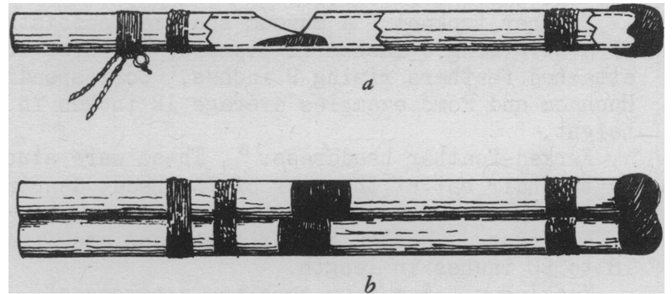


Fig. 4. Cane whistle. a, cross section and side elevation; b, top elevation.

Bone whistles.--These were of deer or panther bone, and were made like the common cane whistle. They were used in the Taikomol initiation and blown by the chief to represent the voice of Taikomol. (See fig. 5.)

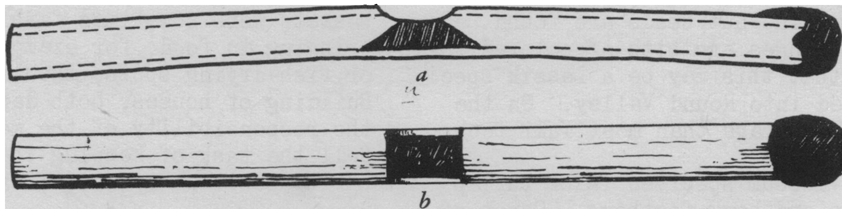


Fig. 5. Bone whistle. a, cross section; b, top elevation. Length, 6 1/4 inches.

Flutes.--Elderberry shoots from 12 to 18 inches long were bored, four holes drilled on top, and mouthpieces cut obliquely. The index and middle finger of each hand covered the holes in playing. They were evidently played simply for fun; no mention is made of use in courting.

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[11]Kroeber, Handbook, 420, fig. 37,d.

Drum.--Half of a hollow log 6 feet long and 2 feet wide was placed over a corresponding excavation in the ground behind the dance-house center post. These were danced upon or beaten with a club.

Dance paraphernalia.--Dance paraphernalia are similar to those of the Pomo, but generally cruder in workmanship. They include the following:

Yellowhammer headband.[12] Museum specimens indicate great uniformity; they average 21 inches long, 4 1/2 inches greatest width, and from 2 to 2 1/2 inches for width of quills. Tips are black, quills a dull orange.

Eagle-down headband. Eagle down was woven into a string some 20 inches long, forming a soft mass about 1 inch in diameter which was tied around the forehead.

Hair nets. These were 20 inches long and doubled. They were tied on the head as a base for all other accessories.

Feather topknot. A museum specimen consists of a twig ring 3 inches in diameter to which are attached feathers rising 9 inches. Corresponding Huchnom and Pomo examples average 12 inches in height.

Forked-feather headdress.[13] These were stuck in the hair net at the rear of the head; dancing caused the forks to vibrate.

Hairpins. Wooden museum specimens are from 18 to 20 inches in length.

Necklaces. A museum specimen consists of seven haliotis pendants, about 1 3/4 inches in diameter, fastened with black thread to the neck.

Woman's dance skirt. A museum specimen consists of four rectangles of thin buckskin, 13 inches across and 22 inches long, fringed to within 1 inch of the top which forms the waistband. For the first 2 inches four fringes are wrapped together in Xerophyllum, then a 1/2-inch unwrapped space, another 1/2-inch of wrapping, and then the four strands separate, each being individually wrapped. Four inches from the bottom two dark brown pine-nut beads are found. On the ends of some fringes are bits of colored rag. Kroeber suggests that this may be a Lassik specimen that was traded into Round Valley. On the whole it is more elaborate than most Yuki technology.

Dance cape. A museum specimen is of burlap covered with eagle and hawk feathers. Capes of this type were said to be tied around the shoulders in such manner that the back was covered. Another cape consists of a net covered with eagle and hawk feathers, with two holes through which the arms are passed, so that it covers a dancer's chest.

[12]See Kroeber, Handbook, 267, fig. 20,c.

[13]Kroeber, Handbook, 268, fig. 21,a.

Basketry Notes

Many more Yuki baskets are to be found in the University Museum in Berkeley than in Round Valley. Dr. Isabel Kelly has described this collection,[14] and illustrations are given of the most important types. A few odd notes follow:

Dogwood was used as foundation material. Redbud was used in sewing. Knife root was used in sewing (this does not check with Dr. Kelly's analysis) and was dyed as follows: ripe walnuts were peeled, placed in water, ashes added, and the root put to steep; this is not an aboriginal method.

Basketry types included: pack basket;[15] beater basket;[16] boiling baskets (most coiled baskets are of this type, but those illustrated by Dr. Kelly were considered by informants to be too good for use in boiling); cradle, resembled Pomo type in general features, but less well made;[17] winnowing basket;[18] basket for parching pinole;[19] hopper basket.[20]

LABOR DIVISION AND CRAFT SPECIALIZATION

Division of labor generally followed the sex lines that would be expected. Men were responsible for obtaining all animal foods, as well as for the manufacture of necessary equipment. Fishing, although primarily a male activity, was sometimes engaged in by women. They might poison trout, but rarely gigged or netted fish. Cleaning and drying of salmon was the work of both sexes, while the preparation and care of nets, spears, and gigs was the task of males. Gathering was principally a female occupation, but men aided, especially when it was necessary to climb oaks to shake down the acorns. However, men would never deign to dig for roots. Collecting firewood and carrying water was practiced by both sexes. Bundles of sticks 4 or 5 feet long were tied, and packed home with the aid of a tumpline. Water was transported in baskets on the shoulder or the head. Women were the best basketmakers, and held a monopoly on coiled ware. Coarse pack baskets were sometimes fashioned by men. In bringing in food, for example from acorn grounds or fish-drying spots, the labor was shared by all. Building of houses, both dance and dwelling, was the responsibility of the male sex; upon the women fell the task of keeping them clean.

The position of women, though arduous, was not

[14]See Bibliography.

[15]Kelly, pl. 125,h.

[16]Kelly, pl. 126,d,f.

[17]Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 35.

[18]Kelly, pl. 125,c,d.

[19]No illustrations; were similar to shallow winnowing baskets.

[20]Kelly, pls. 125,g; 126,a,b,d.

greatly inferior to the men. Life was considered a coöperative venture, and its success depended upon continuous hard work on the part of both sexes. Women probably worked somewhat harder than the men, simply because of the nature of the economy. But they were individuals, just as much as their husbands, and had their place in council, the dance house, and ritual. A society which looked down upon the female sex would not accord to one of them the status, even theoretical, of chief.

Craft specialization was about as limited as is possible and still be said to exist. Certain men, notably chiefs and doctors, neither hunted nor fished; their position allowed them to live off the efforts of others. In the preparation of some utensils there were recognized experts, but they can hardly be considered true professionals because they also engaged in the regular daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Likewise, nonexperts were able to and did make serviceable, if inferior, objects.

Specializations of men included bowmaking, the manufacture of mortar and pestles, netmaking, and the use of slings. Good bows were highly valued, and were paid for with clamshell beads or with bearskins. Specializations of women seem limited to midwifery and basketmaking. Individuals of either sex might specialize in storytelling and cradle making.

OWNERSHIP AND PROPERTY

A strict sense of ownership did not prevail. That anyone should want when others had plenty was unthinkable as evidenced by the distribution of deermeat to relatives and friends at the conclusion of a successful hunt, and by the feeding of hungry persons by neighbors.

Territorial ownership, specifically for the village, and more generally for the major subgroups was communal. Though unmarked, boundaries were known by all, and social disapprobation minimized poaching. Within the subdivision, land and its produce was the property of all, and private claiming of acorn trees or seed fields was unknown. "First come, first served" was the rule. The position of good fishing spots is not quite clear, but apparently prior rights were recognized. Statements such as "Only a selfish man went fishing without asking others to go with him" suggest that so long as a man stayed at a certain spot no others could join him except by invitation.

If one group had a bad year, it went to an adjoining area bringing small gifts and asked permission to gather. This procedure was known as icóutami (to burn with), and is most nearly translated as "to sponge off." Permission was never refused, but a group from the host party always went with the visitors, ostensibly to show them the best grounds, but actually to prevent them from taking too much.

Springs were owned by villages, and were cleaned, deepened if necessary, and lined with rocks. A good spring was thought to be a gift from Taikomol, and its waters superior to rivers and wells. Ralph Moore's father refused to drink pump water, preferring to walk half a mile to his favorite spring.

The concept of true private property within the family was ill developed. Certain things were naturally used by one sex, and others by the other, but ownership in the usual sense of the word was unknown. Houses were the joint property of a man and his wife, with emphasis upon the former's claim. The wife owned most of the baskets, including all coiled ware, pestles, mortars, her own clothes, inherited beads, and skins. The husband owned bows, arrows, fishing paraphernalia, dance regalia, and his inherited beads and obsid--ian. Material possessions of the Yuki were not such as to make property concepts an important factor in society.

WEALTH; VALUES; TRADE; TRANSPORTATION

Wealth was represented by a variety of utilitarian and nonutilitarian objects. A rich man owned hides of beaver, otter, mink, panther, bear, and occasionally elk. The last mentioned was usually made into armor as soon as it was acquired. Existing in memory only are very fine bows, traded in from the north through the Wailaki, and too valuable for practical use. Though no living Yuki has ever seen one, their universal and positive belief in them indicates their existence at one time as true wealth articles. Baskets and hunting and fishing equipment were all considered of value, though because of their utilitarian nature, of a low order.

Clamshell beads, magnesite, dentalia, and obsidian formed perhaps the true standard of worth. Clamshells from Bodega Bay were traded in from the Huchnom and Sherwood Pomo, both as raw shells and as finished beads. Two sizes were recognized, a thin variety, worth about $1.00 per hundred, and a thicker, valued at $2.00 per hundred. They were strung in lengths of from 2 to 8 feet, both types being kept separate. Since the larger beads were about twice the thickness of the smaller, it was really length that determined value. When used in payment, both counting and measuring were done. The long sets were double looped and placed over the head and one arm; shorter loops were worn in the customary fashion. Clamshell beads are the only ones that the Yuki speak of in English as "money"; other objects were of the nature of jewels.

Baked magnesite cylinders known throughout central California as "Indian gold" were obtained, ultimately, from the Southeastern Pomo. Two colors were known, ivory and white, as well as various

gradations and mottles. They were from 1 to 2 inches in length and 1/2-inch in diameter. Only the finished product was known to the Yuki; although all informants were conversant with the preparation of clamshell beads, none knew how magnesite beads were made. Magnesite beads were valued at from $5.00 to $20.00 each.

Dentalia were obtained from the Sherwood Pomo. Lengths were from 1/2 to 1 inch, the latter size being specially prized by women. They were strung on short loops, never with other types of beads. Whereas even the poorest families had clamshell beads and a piece of magnesite, only the wealthiest possessed dentalia.

Small pieces of obsidiań (wai') were worked into arrow points and awls; larger chunks were kept for their own sake. The origin is unknown. Tillotson thought they came from the Nomlaki; Ralph Moore suggested Mt. Sanhedrin, lying to the south of Witukomno'm territory. In view of the Yuki name for the mountain (wái'lil, obsidian rock), this seems more likely. Wai' was so rare that it possessed no definite value. It was not used in trade or payment, and was buried with the person who had obtained it.

Theoretically, through luck in hunting, skill in trading, and industry in the manufacture of beads, a poor man might become wealthy. Actually, this never happened. Wealth stayed in families, and the phenomenon was recognized by the Yuki. Rich men remained rich, and their children likewise; poor men died poor, and their children occupied the same status after them. The custom of burning or burying articles of value at the death of a person (see "Death") was the principal factor which prevented any Yuki from becoming really wealthy.

The principal trade, as has become apparent, was with peoples to the south. Salt from the Northeast Pomo, clamshell beads, kelp, and sea food from the Huchnom, and dentalia from the Sherwood Pomo comprise the most important articles. Relative poverty of the Wailaki, and the formidable barrier offered by the Coast Range separating Yuki from Wintun, probably prevented any great interchange with these peoples. The extent of aboriginal exchange is difficult to determine; with the tribes to the south it seems to have been at least regular, if not heavy. Credit, at least with the linguistically similar Huchnom, was mentioned. A Witukomno'm, receiving a gift from a Redwood, would give nothing at the moment, but later he would make the just return. This was actually an extension of the Yuki friend-to-friend trade. Gifts were freely made from time to time, as evidences of friendship, and no formal mode of repayment was expected. But if after a reasonable length of time the donor had not received a present of approximately equal value, he would not hesitate to show his contempt toward the donee.

Possessed of no natural articles prized by outsiders, the principal Yuki exports were dried venison, fish, skins, and rope. Within the territory, trade consisted mostly of distribution of that which had been obtained from aliens.

Transportation was via the human back, a factor which necessarily limited transfer of goods. Dogs were small and temperamentally unsuited for loads. When entire families moved, as for the summer, everyone shouldered what he could. Boats or rafts were unknown. In summer, those wishing to cross rivers waded or swam. In winter, men transported live coals in a watertight basket, swimming and pushing it ahead of them. Once across, a fire was kindled, the swimmer warmed himself, then returned; loaded his wife, children, and as many of their implements as possible, ferried them across, and repeated the process until everything had been safely brought over.

MEDICINE

Causes of illness are discussed in the section "Doctors." Here are considered ailments of a nonmagical and nonsupernatural character, treated on the basis of empirical knowledge. It is impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line of demarcation between the two classes of disease, for even the simplest of afflictions may have explanations savoring of the supernatural; nevertheless, a fundamental distinction remains: some diseases required the assistance of doctors, while others could be self-treated, or tended by members of one's family. The basic axiom for home remedies was "try anything, try everything," and in the course of time certain plants were discovered to contain efficacious properties. Angelica, wormwood, and pepperwood were most common, and were employed in the treatment of almost any pain. Specific ailments and treatments follow.

Headache. Rubbing to ease pain; wormwood and pepperwood leaves crushed and the aroma inhaled; tea, made from an unidentified weed with a pink flower, drunk. A rattlesnake button tied on a hatband supposedly prevented headache.

Earache. Wormwood leaves wrapped in hot coals, and the steam allowed to rise into the ear; warm rock placed on ear; warm bear oil when available, or lukewarm water, put in ear passage.

Toothache. Believed a worm entered the jaw and bit the tooth nerve, causing pain. Mole paws kept for such an emergency and placed on aching tooth. Also, manroot cut, dried, and put in the cavity.

Stomachache. Wormwood-bark tea drunk.

Sore eyes. Eyes washed in wormwood-bark infusion; young, juicy oak galls squeezed into eyes; a wild-sunflower-root infusion also was effective. Irritated eyes were distinguished from cataracts. Stewed manzanita leaves and oak-gall juice were remedies for the latter.

Sore throat, cough, cold. Drank wormwood tea; placed a poultice of wormwood ashes on throat; crushed wormwood leaves and inhaled; smoked angelica leaves, either with tobacco or alone.

Diarrhea. Boiled and chewed manzanita and willow leaves. In olden times, periodic plagues swept the tribe.

Constipation. An unidentified plant was used for a laxative.

Boils. Steam from wormwood leaves brought it to a head.

Sprains. The patient was steamed and forced to remain quiet until improved.

Broken limbs, unset, were put in bark splints and bound tightly, the victim hoping for the best

Wounds were washed with wormwood tea and if serious an attempt was made to bind them with leaves. Cut arteriés were recognized by spurting blood, and inevitable death accepted.

General aches and pains were treated by steaming. A shallow hole was made, a fire built and allowed to die down, angelica and pepperwood leaves laid on top, and the patient, wrapped in a blanket, thus allowed to steam. Several magical home cures were known. The navel cord of a baby was saved, and for headaches, toothaches, and other minor ailments was moistened and squeezed over the baby's head. A mother and her baby wore a necklace of roots and twigs of angelica to ward off disease.

The Yuki practiced tattooing to remove or prevent pain; this usually took the form of marks on the arm to cure rheumatism. Ralph Moore once treated a bad arm by tattooing his initials on the spot that was most painful, and claims that he has not been bothered since.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Village organization was an enlargement of the basic social unit--the family. Clans did not exist, and blood relationship was the strongest bond the Yuki knew. All branches of one family did not live in the same village, but in the small rancherias few people not related either by blood or marriage were to be found. Since there was a strong taboo against marrying a blood relative (see "Marriage"), village exogamy, with the exception of no'hots (the largest rancherias), was found in practice if not formal theory.

These large rancherias consisted of as many as twenty-five individual dwelling houses, and normally were comprised of several lineage groups. It was here that the ti'ol hót (chief big) and lesser functionaries lived, that the dance house was situated, and that most of the major social and religious activities of the immediate neighborhood centered. Inhabitants from smaller rancherias, often no more than a quarter of a mile removed, considered themselves a part of the no'hot almost as much as those who lived there, and had free access to all of its facilities. Just how many of these parasitical units clustered around the host is difficult to determine. The number possibly ranged from two to six or eight, and fluctuated from time to time depending upon the popularity of the captain (chief). The number of dwellers in one group ranged from single families up to a probable maximum of a hundred and fifty in the largest no'hot.

Individual houses were crude bark and pole shelters, some 10 feet in diameter and 8 feet high, dug out to a depth of about 1 foot, and without center pole. Dirt was piled part way up the outside to keep out drafts and rain, and a pack basket weighted with a stone served as a door in cold weather. A fire pit was placed in the center, beds of leaves and pine boughs covered with skins on the sides, and storage baskets in the rear. Such a dwelling accommodated as many as eight people. Old Yuki recall them as fairly warm and comfortable.

A few larger houses resembling a small dance house were built with a center pole. A chief might dwell in such a home or perhaps two families--brothers, their wives and children, and older dependents. Structures of this type were probably confined to the Witukomno'm and Onkolúkomno'm, the subgroups in closest contact with the Huchnom who favored such buildings.

Behind most houses was a small, rough shelter used principally for preparation of acorns in bad weather. Present-day Yuki cabins usually retain this feature in the form of a crude lean-to against the back wall, where washing, cooking in hot weather, and minor jobs are performed.

The dance house (iwil hán, poison house) was of the typical central California type, though of more simple construction than some. It was from 30 to 40 feet in diameter, dug out to a depth of 4 or 5 feet, provided with one stout center post, fir beams, earth covered, and possessed of an entrance, smoke hole, and wood opening. Preferably it was situated beside a stream, where bathing could take place after sweating. There was no sweat house as such; the iwil hán served all purposes of singing, dancing, doctoring, sweating, and lounging.

In the summer months, families went out for days or weeks at a stretch, gathering, fishing, and hunting. From time to time some returned home with the fruits of their labors, but most of the summer rancherias were comparatively deserted except for very old people. Toward fall, groups began working homeward, and preparations for winter began. Acorns were hulled and stored in baskets, meat and fish dried, firewood gathered, and repairs made on buildings. The term šonósili (to winter) referred to the season when all families were at home--the time of the Taikomol-woknam, of storytelling, of singing and dancing. This does not mean that there was a formal dichotomy between warm and cold seasons; certain seasons and certain weather simply lent themselves best to different economic and social activities, and it was perfectly obvious to follow such natural dictates.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

The power of the Yuki chief (tí'ol, translated through Spanish into "captain" by modern Yuki) was considerable--more so, I feel, than among neighboring tribes. Old Yuki today feel that the old order worked smoothly because of the stabilizing effect of the captain's power, and his recognized ability to make offenders fall into line.

Principal qualification of a chief was facile speech. When asked what a tí'ol did, the Yuki reply that he "preached" to his people. His main function obviously was that of harmonizer of disputes. Standing on the roof of the dance house he told his villagers to be good, to help one another, not to fight, to respect others and to respect authority, to gather acorns and kill deer, to watch out for danger and to work for the general good of all. "And they minded him, too." At social and religious functions it was the chief who managed affairs. It was he who dispatched messengers to invite guests, he who saw to it that food was abundant, he who decided on the time for songs and dances. When people were hungry it was his duty to see that they were fed; at times of death he visited the bereaved family, asked if he could help, and offered the services of his office to make things easier. All evidence points to the captain as a leader who was looked up to and loved by his people. Character was required in such a person, for unless he led an exemplary life public

opinion would force him to resign. Some men elected to the position preferred to decline rather than live up to the requisites of such a position--an indication that chieftainship was a status demanding no ordinary man.

Disciplinary powers of the tí'ol are difficult to determine. Since the government has handled serious cases for the past eighty years, no Yuki can remember actual cases in which the chief used his supreme authority. Nonetheless, all informants agreed that a criminal could be ordered put to death by men appointed for the task. Actually, it is more likely that the chief let the aggrieved party know that he did not object to their doing away with the offender. In lesser cases of lawlessness the chief's decisions backed up by public opinion sufficed to cause justice.

The waging of war fell in the special province of a war chief (see "Warfare"), but the captain presided at council meeting to determine if cause for war was sufficient, to consider offers of peace and indemnity, and to arrange all general executive matters. Only rarely did he fight. Frequently a principal concern with war was to prevent unauthorized raids by younger hotheads. The chief's function in the Taikomol-woknam is discussed in the section on ritual.

The captain is always thought of as having been a rich man, but whether this was due to continual gifts from his people, or whether he became chief because of his wealth, it is difficult to say. He hunted and fished little, and food, choice pelts, baskets, and rope were presented to him by his people.

One informant mentioned that a chief spent much of his time making beads; leisure afforded by freedom from necessity of the daily chase would allow him to so maintain his wealth.

In prewhite times a chief probably had several wives, which, because of the nature of Yuki economy, would have been of material advantage. But the tendency toward polygamy, for chiefs as well as rich men, seems to have been less marked than for neighboring tribes. Within the memory of living Yuki no chief has had more than one spouse. A chief's wife aided him by supervising female tasks connected with preparation for "big times." Food had to be assembled, cooked, laid out and apportioned, and the overseeing of this fell to her lot.

A tí'ol was recognized by his dress. Whereas most men went virtually naked and had their hair cut short, he often appeared in a bearskin robe, beads and other finery, and wore his hair long. Ralph Moore told of an eagle-down "pad" some 3 inches in diameter worn on the forehead as a chiefly insignia; possibly this refers to the eagle-down headband described on page 172. More extensive use was probably made of yellowhammer feathers by the chief than by others.

A chief, as all distinguished men in a village, was addressed as "my father, you." When he came to visit a family, food might be offered, and the people maintained respectful silence until he explained his visit. To ask why he had come was the worst possible breach of etiquette.

Descent through the male line was, in theory, the rule. But the number of other possibilities indicates that the line of succession was not too strict. When a new chief was to be selected, qualifications of several eligibles were considered and the one best suited elected. In aboriginal times the potential captain was decided upon while he was still a boy, and his entire training directed toward giving him the best possible background for the job. During the Taikomol-woknam, while other children learned to sing, dance, and to better themselves in crafts, he was instructed in the responsibilities of chieftainship and the art of harangue. In selecting his successor the chief called a meeting in the sweat house of all important men and women from the no'hot and surrounding rancherias. Sweating and smoking occurred before deliberations were begun. When the candidate was finally decided upon, and it seems probable that the choice of the old chief was most often the deciding factor, he was henceforth called "chief," even though he might not assume duty for many years.

Unfortunately this ideal picture did not always work out. Old chiefs might die before the successor was chosen; the elected boy might be killed through accident; or there might be no especially suitable heir. Men were preferred, but at times women served. Thus, while a new captain was young, his mother might act as regent. Or a dead chief's sister might serve until a male successor could be appointed. Even daughters are supposed to have held this position. All informants agree that female captains never harangued the populace in the manner expected of a male; they named a man to do this for them.

One puzzling fact not entirely explained was the belief that young boys were preferred to older men as new chiefs. I believe that the habit of selecting a tí'ol's successor while he (the tí'ol) was still in his prime and his sons necessarily youthful, coupled with possible instances of passing over an older brother in favor of a more capable younger one, may be the cause of this illusion. Certainly when a man assumed chieftainship he was ordinarily an adult with many years of experience behind him.

The connection between the chief and dance house is clearly brought out by events taking place at his ordination. At this time it was customary to erect a new building, and the procedure followed definite rules. A mits-lamšími (sky doctor; see "Doctors"), upon the advice of Taikomol, indicated the most auspicious spot, and the men set to work digging out the hole, carrying dirt away to the edges in baskets. Meanwhile a suitable oak tree for the center post was decided upon,

and the new chief mounted to its lower branches, where he remained while the tree was felled. This was considered a test of bravery, though pains were taken to cause the tree to fall uphill, thus minimizing the danger. The man remained astride the trunk while it was cleared of branches, and rode it into the no'hot, dismounting only upon its erection in the center post hole. Upon completion of the new structure the sky doctor blessed it; if he did not supervise the building it was feared it would fall in on the dancers. On this occasion the chief took an oath pledging himself to the service of his people, and then assumed his full role.

The number of Yuki captains at any one time is impossible to tell. In aboriginal times there were certainly more chiefs than major subdivisions; possibly the people under one man ranged from fifty to three hundred, but this is admittedly the roughest of estimates. Captain John Brown was the last, and he held sway over all the Yuki, since by his time they had concentrated in much reduced numbers, in Round Valley. The presence of other tribes on the reservation at the same time helped to make the Yuki conscious of their unity in a manner not realized in earlier times. Since his death about 1900 there has been no central authority. As mentioned, lack of the integrative force of the tí'ol is believed by the old-timers to be the cause of the present sad state of the tribe.

Actually, two separate levels of chieftainship were called by the term tí'ol. The tí'ol hótek (for short, tí'ol hót, chief big) was the important official, and all remarks heretofore have been with respect to him. The tí'ol únsil (chief little) or tí'ol miwá'ol (chief helping) is rather obscure as to function. He may have been the head man in a small rancheria which recognized the authority of the tí'ol hót. Ralph Moore suggests that he was directly appointed by the latter, and served for life, or during good behavior. Or possibly the tí'ol únsil was simply recognized as the most important man in the small rancheria. Since such a group normally consisted of blood kin, no formal appointing machinery would be necessary.

KINSHIP NOTES

Kinship terminology agrees substantially with that recorded by Gifford.[21] The sibling-in-law class and the grandparent class are omitted by Gifford since his data agree, as do mine, with those of Kroeber[22] on these points. Minor additional points follow.

[21] 1922:119-120.

[22] 1917:372-373.

Uncle class.--The term kup, recorded as "man's sister's child" by Gifford, is actually a nickname for a sibling's child.

Parent class.--The term k'ili is used for child addressed; k'il, for child spoken of; k'ilipsak (son) and k'ilmusak (daughter) when distinction is necessary.

Spouse class.--Gifford records tiwop (husband) and tmusp (wife). On the basis of text material and formal inquiry, I am sure the terms are merely iwop and musp. The term it-iwop means "my father," and it-musp, "my mother."

Parent-in-law class.--Gifford's four terms (excluding nicknames) contain the suffix kima. According to my informants, this is a plural form. Thus, when a man speaks of his father-in-law, he uses the term owil; when speaking of his father-in-law and one or more of his brothers, or of two or more brothers, he uses the term owil-kima. The same holds good for the other three terms.

The convenient form mos-kima is used when speaking to either or both parents-in-law plus brothers or sisters; mos is the second person plural, and a term of respect.

Grandparent-in-law class.--The term osmopka^{n} equals son's son's wife or son's daughter's husband; amča^{n}ka^{n}, daughter's daughter's husband or daughter's son's wife.

The prefix "i" normally indicates "my" and is usually compounded with the noun. Exceptions are "eŋ" before k'un, k'an, k'ic, and k'ikan and "it" before iwop and musp, which also mean "my."

The term i-kai^{n}t is used as a mark of respect in addressing any older, unrelated man.

BIRTH

Pregnancy and birth accounts related indicate a variety of possible procedures, depending upon individual superstitions and special conditions surrounding each birth. The Yuki seem to have been fully acquainted with the physiological processes of conception. No informants knew of any supernatural methods of inducing pregnancy; all agreed that it was necessary to have intercourse. Only one contraceptive was recorded--mistletoe. When eaten, it was believed to cause abortion and temporary sterility.

A woman knew of her pregnancy through cessation of the menstrual flow. If physically able she continued her daily chores until the sixth or seventh month. There seem to have been few specific taboos beyond general and obvious precautions. A woman would not pound acorns, not from fear of magical injury but simply because the work was too heavy for her. The Wailaki cat's

cradle divination to determine the sex of unborn children was unknown. One informant stated that if a woman's abdomen rapidly grew large, her child would be a boy, whereas if it remained small, a girl would be born.

Birth occurred in dwelling houses, the mother attended by several women, and men ordinarily being excluded. If possible, a girl went to her mother's home for her first parturition. Midwives formed a special class; the chief requirement was that of having given easy birth to children herself. If a woman's time arrived while she was away from the village, and no qualified women were present, her husband might assist her through labor. My informants said that women gave birth reclining, but Kroeber[23] reports a sitting position. It is possible that a sitting delivery was the earlier method which gave way in reservation times to the reclining position

Supernatural means of assisting delivery were slight. Besides the midwife, it was good to have present other women who had gone through labor without complications, as well as a person whose birth had been easy. The midwife might hasten delivery by kneading the mother's abdomen, and in case of serious difficulty she was steamed over a bed of wormwood coals in a shallow pit covered with wormwood or angelica leaves and a skin or blanket on which the woman's hips were placed. Doctors were never called in to aid parturition, nor was any drink given the woman.

The umbilical cord was cut with a special flint knife used for that purpose only and kept with the family heirlooms; string or sinew was used for tying. The child was washed in warm water and placed in a basket--not the cradle--lined with moss, fur, and soft buckskin. A buckskin thong or necklace of angelica root was placed around the neck of mother and child to ward off illness.

The afterbirth was taken outside and buried deep to prevent animals from unearthing it and to prevent its becoming cold. If the former happened, the woman would henceforth be barren, and if the latter, the child would catch cold. One informant said that if any small rodent dug out the placenta the child would sicken and die.

When the navel stump dropped off, it was salted, wrapped in leaves and buckskin, and put safely away. If this procedure were not followed, through accident or some other reason, the child was supposed to become nahámahili (half witted, crazy), and he was called by this term, as a mark of derogation. If a child became ill, the stump was moistened and squeezed over his body. Adults treated headache by folding it in a damp cloth or skin and wrapping it around the head.

Immediately following birth, a mother and everything she touched became unclean. This was most strongly marked during the first ten days, on each of which she was steamed, as described above, to remove the remaining blood. Certain restrictions lasted for three months, however. During this period the mother remained at the back of the house and performed no labor other than attending to her baby. The woman was limited to a vegetal diet, and had to eat apart from the rest of the household. Meat and grease were taboo, not because of danger to the mother, but because, through woman's contaminating influence, if eaten they would bring bad luck to the hunter who had made the kill. A salt restriction was not recorded.[24] Hair combing and washing were forbidden. A scratching stick or the palm of the hand substituted for scratching with fingernails. (See "Girls' Puberty" for beliefs concerning this procedure.) A bird-quill drinking tube used during the unclean period prevented contamination of the food basket--an important factor if there was a shortage of baskets in the family, necessitating their use for other purposes.

At the end of the ten-day period the mother washed in warm water scented with wormwood or pepperwood leaves, as did all women who had come in contact with her. At the end of three months the mother washed in a stream, after which all formal restrictions were considered removed.

The father observed a mild couvade, both for his and the child's well-being. For the three months he engaged in no important activity. If he touched the mother during the ten days immediately following the birth, he became unclean and had to remain absolutely quiet, following the same food restrictions as she, and bathing at the end of the period. Otherwise there were no food limitations. Hunting and fishing were forbidden. Were this rule disobeyed, the man would have bad luck for the rest of his life. If he should kill a deer through some fluke, the child's eyes would roll upward, as do those of a dying deer, and always be weak and watery. One informant stated that the baby would turn into a rock. If the father chopped wood, the child's head would split open. Unlike his wife, he could sweat and bathe in the stream, but could not smoke, travel, or gamble.

These paternal restrictions, common to many northern California tribes, were among the first things to be disregarded following white contact--more so among the Yuki than neighboring tribes. Tillotson was married to a Pomo woman from Upper Lake, and was visiting his wife's parents when their first child was born, about 1898. He was amazed and annoyed at the strictness with which he was forced to obey the old customs. At that time it was customary for a Yuki father to rest

[23]Handbook, 180.

[24]Kroeber, Handbook, 180, is in disagreement.

only two weeks instead of the former three months. After this, hunting could be followed with good results. The explanation affords an excellent example of Indian rationalization: so much white blood was already in the tribe that the old magic was no longer very powerful.

Beliefs and attitudes concerning birth.--Twins (mólsam) were considered lucky. Mothers of twins were held in high esteem, and were denoted by a special word: molsamsác. Nevertheless, twins were more work than single children, and ordinarily not preferred. Immediately following intercourse, a woman lay on one side for it was believed that if she lay flat on her back, the male semen would divide, forming twin embryos. Likewise, a prospective mother would not lie on her stomach; the pressure would cause a dichotomous fetus. The Yuki consider twins among themselves to be more rare than among whites, and none knew of any cases of triplets.

Ralph Moore said that twins had only one soul between them, and were thus actually a single person. If one died, which frequently happened, due to the hazards of primitive childhood, his strength would pass to the survivor, making him doubly strong. Tillotson disagreed, saying that if one twin died, no matter what his age might be, the other would soon follow.

Small babies were preferred to large ones. Women were sometimes angry at their babies if they were unusually large, "but then, at that time one can't do much about it," one mother philosophically remarked. No special significance was attached to babies with cauls. Breech presentations were considered extremely unlucky, probably because of obvious physiological dangers.

Very rarely babies were born with one or more teeth. This was not considered unlucky as such, but was somewhat dangerous, or at least uncomfortable, to the mother, since the child was likely to bite when nursing. Such babies were weaned as quickly as possible.

Birthmarks were believed to be caused by contagious prenatal influences. If a pregnant woman were cooking and got a smudge of soot on her face, her baby was likely to bear a similar mark. (For an example, see under "Humor.")

All informants denied infanticide under any circumstances, although they believed other tribes practiced it. Tillotson told of a Coast Yuki who smashed his two children's heads against rocks, because their crying irritated him. He died in San Quentin prison a few years ago. The Huchnom were also accused of occasional infanticide.

When a woman bore a child of questionable paternity, her husband built a fire of fir and tarwood leaves and steamed himself, thereby claiming the child as his legal offspring.

Midwives received no stipulated compensation, but it was customary to give them a present--a basket, deerskin, or beads. A special bond, of the godmother-godchild nature, existed between the child and the midwife. She called him ítin (mine), and he called her i-ka^{n} (my aunt). Both did favors for each other, exchanged gifts, and when the woman was old, she looked to the now grown child for support. Thus, though the initial present was small, an able midwife with many progeny found herself in an enviable position in her declining years.

When a chief's wife gave birth, it was customary to give a feast at the end of her three months' confinement. The chief supplied the food, supervised the arrangements, and invited those in his own rancheria. The feast was not definitely required, and depended upon the whim of the chief. As feasts went, it was considered unimportant.

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infants were placed in a cradle after three or four months. This was a semi-Pomo type, differing in that the top bow curved out horizontally instead of vertically. It was made by either sex, and certain persons were recognized to be experts. Children were nursed for from two to four years. A man and his wife resumed intercourse three months after the child's birth, but it was believed that the woman would not become pregnant so long as nursing continued. "But now things are different. Babies come every year." Whereas formerly three or four children was the maximum number, ten and twelve are now not unusual. A mother who has had many children is called sa'nák and is said to sa'któm (to catch children easily). Old people are amazed at the number of their offspring who fall into this category.

Illegitimate children (hilikóči), today increasingly numerous, were aboriginally rare. The same word was used for an orphan, and to be called this was as great an insult as mocking one's dead relatives. True adoption did not occur. If a mother died during labor and the infant lived, it might be cared for by her parents or a sister. But the child never became the legal heir of anyone other than its true parents, as was the case, for example, with the Huchnom. The strictness of this rule was made clear when portions of the reservation land were deeded to the Yuki and their heirs. Indians reared by others than their parents tried to claim title to their benefactors' land, but were firmly and not too politely reminded that the land, due to the Indian taboo against adoption, could not possibly be theirs. An illegitimate child was frequently reared by its grandparents, who regarded this as the best solution to an unfortunate circumstance. In return, they expected the child to care for them in their old age.

Mothers rubbed their infant babies in ashes to

make them grow strong. During the full moon, a mother might carry her baby around the house to expose it to the moon's rays, or a group of children would hold hands and circle a house, singing and dancing. This was supposed to aid growth, and was the Indian substitute for cod-liver oil. Each milk tooth that fell out was held in the hand with charcoal, swung around the head three times, and thrown toward the rising sun. This practice was believed to insure the appearance of a new tooth.

After the usual primitive custom, children were seldom chastised. This is one of the few habits still in force today, and George Moore volunteered that the present generation of bewildered youths would be better off if they were kept under closer parental surveillance.

Children's play was designed to fit them for the duties of adulthood. At the age of five or six, girls were given miniature pack baskets and made to accompany their mothers into the field on food and firewood quests. No mention of dolls was recorded, but it is hard to believe that children did not play with effigies of some type.

Boys followed masculine pursuits. Toy bows and arrows were fashioned, with which equally harmless "deer" and "bear" were hunted. One boy would start a boulder rolling downhill, shouting, "Deer, deer," and his companions below would release their missiles as it passed by them. Rotten stumps served as bears, and were attacked with probably more enthusiasm than the genuine article. Oak galls thrown into streams made excellent salmon, and from the banks were speared with toy gigs.

Simple toys were few. Deer scrotum were cleaned, stuffed with gravel, sewn together and tied onto sticks which could then be used for throwing. Bull-roarers, at least in postwhite times, were used as toys. Arrow shooters were made of a 2-foot willow switch. A short length of string was knotted on one end, and a wooden arrow notched to receive the cord. This was evidently a recent innovation (since reservation days).

The age at which tattooing was first done is not certain. Probably it was started at some time before puberty, and continued until the individual had endured the pain as long as he felt it to be worth while. Women were tattooed with both straight and jagged lines on chins and cheeks, and few or no marks were placed on the rest of the body.

Kroeber says that women's facial tattooing was prominent on the cheeks, and less precisely dictated by fashion than in the Northwest where it was customary to cover the chin almost solidly, leaving the remainder of the face clear. Cheek tattooing seems to have reached its climax in the region of the Yuki and Wailaki.[25] Facial tattooing served both to beautify young women and to prevent wrinkles from showing up plainly on old women.

[25]Kroeber, Handbook, 173, fig. 45,g.

Men were rarely if ever marked on the face. Horizontal bars were incised on the chest, arms, and around the wrists. To tattoo, a flint needle or deer bone was used--in postwhite times, a steel darning needle. The skin was scratched, an ink composed of charcoal and grass juice, or pine gum rubbed in, buckskin bound over the wound, and in a few days the healing was completed. "It hurts a little, just like a vaccination." The exact person who tattooed and the compensation are not known. Women were considered most skillful, but men sometimes took over the task.

NAMES

The manner in which names were given and used is not entirely clear. In postwhite times at least, a great amount of latitude was allowed. Names served two primary purposes: means of identification and means of addressing a person. Among the Yuki, there were three possibilities in referring to or speaking to a person: (1) his real name; (2) his nickname; (3) a term of relationship. The first was probably used least frequently, although names do not seem to have been considered secret. Friends ordinarily used nicknames, while related people addressed each other with kinship terms. Tillotson could not remember having been called anything except i-kíli (my child) by his mother.

Until a person was named, he was simply called sak (baby). Naming was done by the one who first asked for the privilege, either a relative or a friend. Boys were commonly named by males, and girls by females, though this was not an invariable rule. The name given was either that of the bestower or one which he liked, and seems to have had no special social significance. Children of important families were named earlier than those of ordinary families; many persons would want to name the child, so all tried to ask for the privilege first without running the risk of offending the parents by rushing matters. The name bestower was expected to present the child with a gift, the value of which depended upon the importance of the child's family.

George Moore was given his Indian name, Nótwita, a Wintun word meaning "go to Round Valley," when he was three years old, by an old Nomlaki chief. The chief, who was a friend of his mother, gave him a string of beads 8 feet long, including a small piece of "Indian gold" (magnesite). In return, his mother the following autumn gave several baskets, including a large one. This reciprocity was simply a mark of friendship, and was neither required nor expected. George's wife Jessie was named by her older sister when she was about five years of age, and has never had an Indian name. George's oldest daughter was to be called Georgia,

but the doctor who delivered her, a white man partially but not fully acquainted with the Indian custom, immediately requested that the child be named Garnet. The Moores did not like it, but bowed to tradition. This particular case was doubly hard to bear, too, because instead of sending a present the doctor sent a bill for fifty dollars. (The figure quoted by Moore is probably high.)

A feast might be given at the time a child was named, the size of which again depended upon the relative importance of the parents. For a chief's child, everyone in the rancheria contributed and partook of the food; for a common family, the affair was limited to close friends and relatives. Examples of real names follow:

Male names (probable): a^{n}síumnának (woodpecker head); listahá^{n}si (find him quick); ipsaká^{n}sič (red boy); lilpalhóplam (light seaweed) (lil pal, rock leaf = seaweed); čuumi (pick up acorn mush); wašit má^{n}til (bear shooter); milkí (cutting meat); hulpálmi (eye digger); húlpash (sore eye); šilpákil (take hide off); lačamtaísi (grasshopper cutter); kukisniúsi (little stick roaster); alkúkis (small wood stick); simptk'oímil (buckeye talk); šišhúluk (squirrel eye); hančamčómi (crow down feathers with); čalh'olmi (dance feathers with); á^{n}smi (blood with); milmučičmi (deer play with).

Female names: mumohl'púhic (short spirit); musak'šo^{n}li (little cedar girl); musak'šáki (rough little girl); musak'pótra (roan little girl); šálil (shell come off).

Nicknames were, and are, informally given by anyone who thinks of one that tickles public fancy, and once accepted they are rarely changed. Following the Indian idea of humor, these names are usually obscene, referring frequently to the act of sexual intercourse, or to some bodily peculiarity. Vulgar nicknames were used by both sexes without any feeling of indecency; this is not so today.

Male nicknames (probable): šonúsomi (wrinkled skin), refers to a woman's genitalia; pilwási (standing in the snow), refers to intercourse; tátkoi (that's good!), applied because the expression was constantly used by the namee; šampalhółsi (wags his ears); mipan-wilak (toes together), refers to the webbed toes of the man so named; sišúhi (sitting on his buttocks); malwósak (penis bent over); k'ask'á^{n}si (buttocks chafing); minsilkaówok (big liar); malhót (big penis); ha^{n}čtántstil (shakes his forehead); ust'ót (low pressure urine).

Female nicknames: silpitnaóhil (looks at genitalia); sitinlíli (quivering buttocks); šiltašómi (crackling vagina); čílak (legs spread out); hatámi (small vagina); hu^{n}wolp'ú (wringing deer snare net).

A man might call his wife ot (old woman), or itin-hawoi^{n} yúimol (mine who cooks food). Women called their husbands itin-íwap (my man).

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL OBSERVANCES

For boys there was no ceremony that signified formal entry into the status of manhood. For girls, however, puberty was the most critical period of life, and if custom was not strictly adhered to by observing the hamnam-wok (menstrual dance), misfortune would befall both girl and tribe, for the size of the following harvest varied in direct relation to the success of the dance. Thus, a girl's first menstruation was a matter of concern, not only for her immediate family but for the entire local group, and everyone gathered both to enjoy the festivities and to make sure that nothing occurred that might anger the gods.

When a girl's first menses appeared, a brush shelter was built and in this she was placed, covered with a deerskin or blanket. During the bad winter months she remained in her home. An old woman, known as the hamnam ha^{n}pyošal, was appointed by the girl's mother to take charge, and the smoothness with which the hamnam-wok was carried out depended upon her. The ceremony was divided into three principal parts: (1) a four-day period of singing and dancing, followed by rest until the appearance of the second menses; (2) a second four-day dance period, culminating in (3) a feast known as mamiúki.

Three or four times every twenty-four hours the girl was removed from under her cover and made to dance. She and the old woman faced one another, placed their hands on each other's shoulders, and danced back and forth and around and around. Sometimes a third woman placed her hands on the girl's shoulders from the rear and the three danced. Surrounding them would be a circle of women who held hands, sang, and danced in position. One woman kept time by beating a mush paddle with a small stick, and others aided by tapping on upturned baskets. Sometimes the girl and her "manager" (as the old woman was known) seized opposite ends of a mush paddle and danced. Behind the circle of women were the men, seated or standing, singing acorn songs, patting their thighs in unison, but never dancing. Dancing was reserved primarily for the girl and secondarily for the assisting women. At night firelight was prohibited--it was dangerous to the acorn crop--and thus ample opportunity was afforded the men for caressing the women. However, the extreme licentiousness that has been reported[26] was vigorously denied by all informants.

Songs sung by the women were wordless, as are most Yuki songs, and to ears accustomed to Western music they sound childishly simple. One song runs in a monotone, alternating e, o, e, o, e, o, e· o. Another is slightly varied: e he ó, e he ó, e he ó,

[26] Kroeber, Handbook, 195.

e he ó, è· ó, and ends with the same startling exhalation. The purely hamnam-wok songs were sung only by the women; when singing, the men chanted acorn songs. If the girl became exhausted, she returned to her bed, and the assemblage of people continued to sing until they too were tired.

During the intervals between dances, and between the first and second four-day periods, the girl was supposed to lie as nearly motionless as possible. When it was necessary to go outside, she was accompanied by her "manager," and her head was kept carefully covered with a basket or blanket to prevent her seeing "things." The sun was considered most dangerous of all. But just what she might see in it is not clear. "About seventy years ago a girl was being hamnamsied. Once when she went outside she wasn't careful and looked up at the sun. She screamed and immediately went crazy, and remained that way for the rest of her life. She saw some kind of a man, I guess." Cecelia Logan stated that it was dangerous for a person to see the girl's face during this period, so the head covering served as a dual protection. A girl could not scratch herself with her nails, but must use a scratcher consisting of a 2-inch piece of willow tied to her wrist with a short length of string. Use of fingernails was believed to cause sore streaks on the skin. Combing of the hair and bathing were forbidden. Food taboos were after the central California pattern--meat and grease. Hot foods were not allowed--their use might cause the teeth to loosen and fall out. The girl had to eat out of special baskets and use a drinking tube for liquids; there was danger of tuberculosis if this rule were violated.

The mamiúki was held at the end of the second dance period and, including its preparation, required several days. Women brought baskets which were inspected by a mits-lamšimi (heaven doctor) to determine which were satisfactory; any that had been made or touched by a menstruating woman were thrown out. Those approved were filled with acorns, which the women immediately began to pound, winnow, and soak, a procedure requiring two days. In the meantime the shaman consulted heaven to determine the proper places for the pit ovens, which were then dug by several young men, filled with the freshly prepared dough, and left to bake overnight. On the following morning the last dance was held, at which time the doctor danced with the girl. Before the assembly could begin to eat, the mits-lamšimi was required to offer bread to Taikomol, which he did by extending his hands skyward, holding in each a fragment of a new baked loaf, and saying, "This is yours, father. We bring it to you." Upon this invitation the ha^{n}waií-no'm (food people), the spirits who were responsible for the production and control of food, would appear, first swarming over the doctor and then spreading to the people, whom they lightly stung. They were invisible to all except the shaman, but no one ever expressed disbelief in them. The doctor was willing to show them to skeptics, but since blindness was supposed to result, no one ever requested it.

The girl was not allowed to partake of this feast. But she doubtless felt compensated at the prospect of being allowed to come out from her month's confinement, from which she emerged "light as a white girl." This release was accomplished ritually by first steaming and then washing her in warm water mixed with acorn gruel. Food taboos, however, lasted for at least a year more, at the end of which time a second washing took place, terminating the last vestige of puberty.

If there were two hamnamsi girls in a rancheria at the same time, they went through the ceremony together. There was no taboo against taking more, but the small size of each village made it an uncommon event.

Throughout this description, the close association with vegetal food supply as exemplified by acorns has been evident--acorn songs, acorn mush paddles for singing and dancing, acorn pounding, winnowing, soaking and cooking, and acorn ritual bathing. If the performance were properly carried out, "God" would be well pleased and there would be an abundance of acorns, manzanita berries, worms, and other foods. If it were not, famine would result. Old people today explain the current scarcity of acorns as being due to the abandonment of the hamnam-wok; the last one occurred about forty years ago, and that in much modified form.

In addition to collective danger, the girl faced individual evils through neglect of any or all parts of the hamnam-wok. She would be sickly, her menses would be irregular, she would have difficulty in parturition, she might become a transvestite, and would probably end up by being struck by lightning, or at least meet death in some form. "Girls today aren't doing it, and lots more die than used to."

The dire results that might follow failure to observe these rules are illustrated by two accounts:

1. Once a girl didn't follow instructions carefully--several times when she went out she uncovered her face. However, the singing and dancing continued as usual. But the spirits told the doctor, who already knew it, that things weren't going right and that the girl was going to die. The doctor was sad and said, "Take me, O spirits. I am old and the girl is young. Let her live. Take me." The spirits listened to the doctor, and immediately he fell over dead. The girl lived to a ripe old age.

2. One girl didn't believe in the hamnam-wok, and didn't do things the way she was supposed to. While she was camped by a lake, she went for some water, and a water devil pulled her under. She lived with the water people for a year, and they told her if she didn't tell her people where she had been she would live for a long time. But on her return home, her people urged her so much to

tell them where she had been that she finally did. In a week she died. The hamnam-wok is very strict.

At subsequent menses women were considered unclean and required to follow certain rules. Menstrual huts were not used; the woman retired to the back of her home, where she remained until she was ready to rejoin her family. Bathing was forbidden until the last day, as was cooking and eating out of utensils used by the rest of the family. Special bedding--tule rushes when available--was brought in fresh each day, and the old removed and burned. A man could not have intercourse with a menstruating woman; it was believed that he absorbed her blood, which was exceedingly poisonous. Consumption or other sickness would result, and if a man developed a wasting illness with no apparent cause, he was suspected of having violated this taboo. While his wife was ill, a man was supposed not to hunt. Even though he would not touch her, her blood would somehow contaminate his, and he himself would not be quite normal. It was believed that a deer could smell this in a man, and would not come near him.

In a manner not quite clear to the few remaining Yuki the moon was connected with menstruation. A girl would not look at a new moon because "it has sharp horns which would cut her [vagina] causing the blood to flow," thus bringing on her period before it was due.

Soon after white contact, menstrual rules were relaxed so that women were not forced into complete seclusion. Eventually they were even allowed in the dance house for dances, but could never participate because "the whistles and voices of the singers would choke up."

After puberty a slight brother-sister taboo was enforced. This was chiefly evidenced through restrictions on vulgar joking, which, as one informant pointed out, is not really unique among Indians, where we have dignified it with the term "taboo." "It's the same as with white people. You don't say vulgar things in front of your sister," and I had to admit that many men, at least, are more restrained in the presence of their sisters than among other women.

MARRIAGE

Three types of marriage were recognized by the Yuki: (1) tr'ósili marriage, in which gifts were exchanged by both families; (2) association resulting from either sororate or levirate; (3) "common law" unions. Although the first was considered most ideal, all three were socially sanctioned, and children resulting from any were legal.

Age at the time of marriage is difficult to ascertain. Most informants insisted that men were from twenty-five to thirty, and women from twenty to thirty. This seems excessive, and I am inclined to accept Cecelia Logan's estimate of eighteen for boys and sometime soon after puberty for girls as being more nearly correct.

Matches were arranged either by families or by the young people, and considerable latitude was allowed. A boy could inform his parents of his choice, and if they approved, they approached the girl's parents with formal overtures. Frequently parents made matches and informed their children of them. It was considered generous for the children to accept their parents' decision, but if they had a serious objection, they were allowed to refuse, "and the whole matter was dropped." The absence of tales of elopements substantiates this statement. Sometimes a grown man took a liking to a young girl, and from time to time would make gifts to her father on the understanding that he (the father) use his position to induce her to marry him. But if upon reaching puberty the girl rejected her suitor, it was his bad luck, and he was out the gifts he had made to her father.

After the preliminary arrangements, the parents of the groom visited the girl's parents, making presents of pinole, game, skins, and baskets, which were returned in kind on subsequent visits by the latter. This process was known as tr'ósili (to give things). Periodic exchanges occurred until the wedding--an interval of from three months to one year. On this day, both families gathered at the girl's home with their most precious treasures. The groom began by placing beads around his bride's neck, and she reciprocated in like manner. Following this, the groom's parents placed beads on the bride's parents, who reciprocated. A further exchange of gifts took place--skins, baskets, and feathers, after which the couple were considered formally married.

The amount of property that changed hands was commensurate with the economic position of the parents, and the idea of bride price was not involved. Residence after marriage followed no strict rules. It was apt to be matrilocal for a time, then patrilocal, and as soon as feasible the young couple set up their own household--usually after the birth of their first child.

A moderately strict parent-in-law taboo existed. Men did not talk to their mothers-in-law more than was absolutely necessary; they were not supposed to be together unless other people were present, and would not look one another in the face. If they met on the trail, they greeted each other briefly or turned their faces and acted as if they had not noticed each other. A girl avoided her father-in-law as much as possible. The respectful second person plural of the personal pronoun mos was used when addressing parents-in-law and children-in-law. A boy and his father-in-law, and a girl and her mother-in-law, although on easy terms, nevertheless showed respect by the use of "mos" in addressing each other, and refrained from obscene joking. The restraint is evident, but it was due to deference and not dislike. After

middle age, husband and wife conversed with their parents-in-law more freely, but the "mos" address continued, now firmly ingrained in the speech pattern, as well as avoidance of improper talk.

Between husband and sister-in-law there existed a moderate joking relationship, extending even to vulgar remarks. Bodily contact, which a man and his sister would avoid, was allowed, but intercourse was forbidden.

In courting, love songs were used and a form of divination was employed to determine the outcome of one's suit. A youth doubled a 12-inch length of Indian potato stalk, wrapped it tightly around a small stick named after the girl, laid it on the ground, and watched it slowly untwist. Taking the free ends he unwound it, and if the result were a loop around the stick it was a favorable omen. Girls also used this device. After puberty, children were watched to see who would be the first object of their wrath, for it was believed, half seriously, that a boy or a girl would fall in love with the first person of the opposite sex whom he or she cursed.

Marriage between blood relations, even as distant as third cousins, was forbidden. No mention of cousin marriage, even rarely, as reported by Kroeber,[27] could be elicited from informants. If this taboo were violated, deformed children would be born of the incestuous union. Ralph Moore knew of a case in which a man lived with his cousin's daughter, and their one child is covered with sores--the obvious result of their disregard for Indian law. Since in time of war they caused divided families, intertribal marriages were generally rare. Women captives taken in war formed one of the two exceptions to this rule. The other was the Ta'no'm, who frequently intermarried with the adjacent Wailaki. Unrelated persons living in a no'hot might marry, but in small rancherias the consanguine character of the inhabitants made it necessary to choose from another village. The local exogamy which existed in small rancherias was thus a logical result of the blood-relative marriage taboo, and not a primary restriction in itself.

Monogamy was the general rule, and polygyny was usually limited to chiefs and wealthy men. Ralph Moore denied polygyny completely, and insisted that although four women besides his grandmother lived in the house of his grandfather, a chief, they were wives neither in name nor fact. This denial may be explained in two ways: the women were old, and hence undesirable; the informant's religious bent caused him to distort the truth. In at least a few cases, as a result of the levirate (see below), men had second wives. In general, however, the Yuki did not share the semi-polygynous character of surrounding tribes.

Premarital chastity was considered a virtue, and mothers admonished their daughters to have nothing to do with men. Promiscuous girls were whipped by their parents--"especially if the man were not approved of"--and were considered somewhat less desirable as wives. After marriage, faithfulness on the part of husband and wife was hoped for. Marriage, apparently, was not the fragile phenomenon reported for other California tribes, and once married a couple were expected to live together until death. In Yuki there is no word for divorce. The stern measures adopted by both families made the thought of separation even more distasteful than living with a nagging and faithless spouse. In a tr'ósili marriage or the levirate, if a man beat his wife the best possible solution involved large payments to her family; if this was not immediately forthcoming, he ran the risk of being killed by her irate male relatives. A girl's parents however were responsible for her conduct, and if she misbehaved they might beat and even kill her. Actually, each occurrence of disharmony presented special problems, and was settled in the particular way that seemed easiest. Often a chief used his office to effect a reconciliation. If a husband loved an adulterous wife--and it was by no means rare--he might forgive her and take her back. It was considered generous of a man to overlook faults, even to the extent of losing his wife. Sometimes a husband might say to an erring wife, "Live with the other man. He may treat you better than I." In a situation like this, the form of marriage might be of significance. One informant, impressed with his magnanimity, volunteered: "I lived with a woman for several years, but then she ran away with a man from Little Lake (i.e., Pomo). I had a big heart, so I just let her go--besides, I wasn't married to her so there was nothing I could do about it."

Following a death, several courses of action lay open to the spouse of the deceased, most commonly involving the sororate or levirate. If a dead woman was survived by a sister, the sister was expected to live with her brother-in-law. No formal exchange of presents occurred, but the marriage was considered thoroughly legal. If the sister refused to have the man, he was free to go elsewhere. Provided there were no children he might marry another girl in the tr'ósili fashion, but if he had children it was difficult to find a girl willing to be stepmother to another woman's children. Under such circumstances the widower would simply live with another woman of about his own age, who might herself be an unattached widow, with or without children; this is the above-mentioned "common law" marriage.

Following the death of a husband, the levirate was the rule. If the dead man's brother had no wife of his own, he was expected upon penalty of social contempt to take his sister-in-law and her children as wife and stepchildren respectively. If he were already married, under the Yuki rule of monogamy this was less probable, but he was expected to contribute to the children's support

[27]Handbook, 179.

until either they were grown or the widow remarried. If the widow had no children, the duty of the levirate was optional rather than proper. "A man lived with his dead brother's wife more for the sake of the children than of the woman."

Orphans and illegitimate children found it more difficult to marry than other persons, since they had no families to make the necessary gift exchanges. The obvious solution of marrying each other in the common-law manner was often employed. Girls were better off than boys since sometimes they were taken as wives by men of at least moderate means. These men considered them good and devoted mates. It would probably be more exact to say that inasmuch as they had no family to back them up in event of trouble they could be subjected to more abuse than the average wife without fear of reprisal.

Present-day marital conditions reflect little of the ancient ideal. One old couple, married in the Methodist Church, have lived together for fifty-three years, but they are the wonder of the reservation. Frequently a couple will be married once, but the union lasts only until one or both parties wish to dissolve it, which is done without recourse to law. Many old Yuki have lived for periods of years with as many as four wives or husbands--in tandem--switching from the old to the new whenever the spirit or circumstances moved them. The present paper is not an acculturation study, and no attempt was made to determine the exact proportion of illegitimate children--known as "brush rabbits"--which is appallingly high. One informant considered the absence of a chief with tribal authority as the principal reason for present conditions. "In the old days, people would be afraid to live like they do now."

Transvestites of both sexes were found among the Yuki. Males were known as íwap-náip (man-girl) and females as musp-íwap náip (woman man-girl). The former were more common. An ípnaip (abbrev. of íwap-náip) dressed like a woman, parted his hair in the middle, spoke in a falsetto, cooked, sewed, and lived like a woman. George Moore stated that they married and lived with men, but Tillotson denied it. Some ípnaips were simply men with feminine bents and talents; at least one case reported was definitely a physical anomaly. It was believed that offspring of close relatives might be ípnaips. Girls who did not properly follow the hamnam-wok ran the risk of becoming transvestites. According to Ralph Moore, these hunted and fought like men, but Tillotson insisted that, in spite of masculine voice and appearance, they lived like other women. Transvestites played no special role in the Yuki social pattern, as they did among the Huchnom where they were stretcher-bearers in time of war. "People felt sorry for them, but then, ordinarily, it really wasn't their fault."

Powers records[28] one, who wore a dress, was tattooed and had a man's querulous voice and unmistakable though sparse whiskers. Through the Indian agent, he was able to give the man a medical examination which showed him to be without malformation, but apparently void of desire and virility. He lived with a family and voluntarily did all the menial tasks of a squaw. The agent is quoted as saying there were at one time four of these men on the reservation.

[28] Powers, 132.

DEATH

After a death, messengers were dispatched to neighboring villages to inform friends and relatives, while those remaining at home set up a loud wailing. The corpse, following the closing of eyes and mouth, was washed in warm water, preferably by a near relative of the same sex. Before rigor mortis set in, the body was folded, knees under the chin and hands on ankles, in which position it was firmly tied. It was then bound in a deerskin, or a burial basket, about 3 by 3 feet, of coarsely coiled redbud.

Ordinarily, burial occurred on the following day, although if relatives from afar were coming, the event was postponed another day. Those dying of contagious diseases were buried immediately, as well as those dying in hot weather. (Temperatures above 100 degrees F. are common during July and August in Round Valley.) Custom and sentiment did not prevent the Yuki from being practical.

Burial occurred in a graveyard situated several hundred yards from the rancheria. If a chief resided near by, he might appoint four or five gravediggers; otherwise friends volunteered. For this service they received no recompense. The corpse was carried through the regular door, which sometimes had to be enlarged for the awkward bundle, to the grave, where it was passed to two men standing at the bottom. These lowered the body into the grave which was 4 or 5 feet deep (to prevent animals from digging down), and placed it facing east. One informant said that he thought this was because the soul would then be awakened by the rising sun, but this belief was not commonly held. Property of the dead was buried: beads were heaped on all bodies, a famous hunter had his favorite bow, a dancer his whistles, and an expert weaver her finest baskets. Other objects of value were placed on top, and the whole covered with a deer- or bearskin. Dirt was then replaced, one man stamping continually to insure a hard-packed crust. In aboriginal times there was probably no funeral oration; the loud wailing of both men and women was the only accompaniment to the noise incidental to the replacement of the earth. Members of a family were buried together--"the Indians like it that way"--but not in a row because it was believed that if that were done the survivors would follow, one after the other, in death.

All those who had had contact with the corpse purified themselves by washing and by switching

their bodies with wormwood and pepperwood leaves. Probably everyone who had been present chewed angelica root; the dead body was believed to give off fumes, which, though not necessarily poisonous, were best avoided.

Cremation apparently occurred only under one circumstance. If a person died away from home and it was impractical to return the body, it was placed on a pyre and burned, the charred bones then being returned and buried beside the other members of the family.

Today (1937), burial occurs either in a purchased coffin or in a homemade wooden box, the head to the west. This is relatively the same position with regard to the compass as if the body were sitting up and facing east. Interment of property has become rare, though beads are still saved for this purpose for the older Yuki. One account tells of a twenty-dollar gold piece placed in the mouth of the corpse, but this was, I believe, unusual, reflecting neither modern nor aboriginal custom.

Mourning was complicated and prolonged, the exact procedure again being determined by circumstance and the individual. Women relatives cut or singed their hair short and smeared pitch over the scalp and face. The exact persons who did this could not be determined accurately. Mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters were probably forced to do so by public opinion, but with grandmothers, granddaughters, aunts, and nieces personal choice was the principal determinant. Ralph Moore thought possibly that only the widow put pitch in her hair, while the others simply singed theirs short. Hair was sometimes buried with the body, or saved among the other family keepsakes. Slashing of arms and body was not practiced.

The average period of mourning was a year, but it varied greatly. Young people and social rebels stopped sooner; old people sometimes mourned for five years or longer. Often old people spent their last years in continual mourning, a new death occurring before release from the self-imposed restrictions of the last. Exact taboos for mourners were impossible to obtain; avoidance of any semblance of a good time seems to have been the principal requisite. Gambling was not practiced, due to both sorrow and the more practical belief that luck would be poor anyway. Sexual intercourse was avoided for several days, simply because "at a time like that, one naturally doesn't think about such things." Sometimes when a man wished to signify publicly that he had finished mourning, he went to the dance house, put on his feathers, and danced. Friends and relatives understood the significance and all assembled joined in a final wail.

Burning occurred any time up to a month after the burial, depending on how much time was required to collect a worthy pyre. Its purpose was twofold: (1) respect for the departed; (2) to destroy his possessions that might remind survivors of him, thereby causing them grief. All property of a dead person not buried with him was left outside, to permit sun and air to remove natural contamination. Friends and relatives brought gifts--baskets, beads, hides, and the like--to be burned. If a friend did not bring a gift, it was assumed that he did not care for the deceased--a serious charge. If a family could make no gift at the time of death in another family, they might apologize, and make a present at some later date. A wealthy family usually returned all gifts in kind, but it was not an obligation. For poor families, death was a double tragedy, for it also meant destruction of most of its wealth. Well-to-do families buried enough to do honor to the deceased, but were left with sufficient reserve.

Destruction of houses presents a problem. Some informants insisted that the house was destroyed--burned on the day of the burial--while others maintained that this was not necessarily so. Sometimes an ill person was taken outside, ostensibly because of fresh air, and placed in a position where he could see his grave being dug. In some cases, fear is said to have effected a cure. If a person had been removed from his home before death, the house need not be burned, since little "poison" was left in it. Sometimes a house was turned around so that the door faced in the opposite direction, and other times it was deserted for a month or so and then reoccupied. Motives behind house burning are obscure. Honor to the dead is one reason advanced; fear of contamination another. Reversing the door suggests fear of return of the spirit: if it found the door on the opposite side, it would not recognize its old haunt. As with other aspects of death, house burning was governed by the special circumstances surrounding each case.

A taboo against mentioning the dead by name in the presence of surviving relatives was enforced; its reason was said to be to avoid reminding a person of his loved ones. This is difficult to reconcile with the obviousness of a shaved and pitched scalp. On the other hand, fear of calling spirits of the departed can hardly have been the reason, since the Yuki had little fear of ghosts as such. Nonrelatives could converse freely. If it were necessary to mention a deceased relative, for instance in a business transaction, permission of relatives was first asked. Circumlocution was much used. Thus, a dead brother might be referred to as "your brother who is no longer here." If a person inadvertently forgot himself and called by name a dead man in the presence of survivors, he apologized: "My friend, I am sorry. I didn't mean to hurt you," and the apology, if sincere, was accepted. Intentionally calling by name a dead person was the greatest of insults, and might lead to feuds between families, to be settled only by further deaths and payment.

The strictness of this taboo was clearly brought out when land was allotted to the Indians. Only fear of not gaining title to coveted plots induced many older Yuki to name their parents, and present survivors who acted as interpreters remember vividly the painful sessions required to elicit this information. The practice today has almost died out, and old Indians are rather ashamed to admit their feelings, not for fear of white ridicule, but because of fear of being made fun of by the younger generations. Tillotson, upon direct question, insisted that he did not mind mentioning dead relatives by name, and when asked about them, did so. But in ordinary conversation, his most recent wife, Lizzie, dead two months, was always referred to as "this woman," with a gesture toward her house across the road.

CRIME

Crimes ranged in seriousness from wife whipping to poisoning (witchcraft) and murder. In most cases the chief acted as intermediary advisor to both sides and as final judge. In a case of wife beating, he tried to arrange a reconciliation, and suggested gifts on the part of the husband to his wife's people, in order to satisfy their anger. A husband's family, anxious to avoid conflict, might likewise contribute. Theft required return of the stolen property and an apology. Further payment was not the rule. A satisfactory substitute for the article might also be made if for some reason the original could not be restored.

In cases of poisoning, the poisoner was likely to be murdered by the aggrieved family, in which event most people considered the matter settled, and no further official action was expected. The biggest crime was murder, which in theory was settled by payment of wergild. Actually, the sum demanded was often so great as to preclude possibility of payment. Here the chief entered in his conciliatory role, trying to effect a compromise. Often the family of the murdered person interrupted proceedings by killing a member of the murderer's family, thus complicating matters, and since no actual case of murder could be followed through to its conclusion, it was difficult to say just what would happen. The murderer, if he escaped with his life, had to cleanse himself with angelica and wormwood, just as a warrior who had killed an enemy.

The chief had power to authorize other men to kill an obstinate troublemaker, but this was exceedingly rare. More often he simply let the injured party know that he had no objections to his doing away with such-and-such a person, recognized as a liability in the community. But the general consensus of opinion is that in aboriginal times, when a strong chief existed, crime was comparatively rare.

WARFARE

The Yuki have long been considered the most warlike and ferocious of all California tribes, with the exception, possibly, of the Yuman peoples. Powers poetically describes them as constituting "a pure democracy, fierce and truculent....and indisputably the worst tribe among the California Indians."[29] Seen in the quiet of modern reservation life, it is hard to imagine this quality of the mild-appearing people one now finds. But the Yuki are intensely proud of their earlier fighting propensities and of the recognized terror they inspired in both neighboring Indian tribes and the early whites. For a people who have little around which to orient the shreds of their shattered culture, it is a source of great satisfaction to be able to recall abilities that earned for them respect from friends and fear from enemies. Because of this idealization of the past, myth sometimes takes the place of fact, and the individual details of a particular skirmish may be grossly exaggerated. Kroeber's account of the Yuki wars with the Kato[30] indicates a state of affairs in which the Yuki came out on the worse end; this period of fighting has been virtually forgotten today, and emphasis of glorious deeds in battle is placed on the Nomlaki engagements, in which the Yuki were more often victorious.

Causes of warfare were: murder by a foreigner; suspected witchcraft or depredation of Indian doctors; poaching upon tribal lands; an insult, such as breaking of the death name taboo; the kidnaping or molesting of women. However, no cause was so serious but what it could be met, theoretically at least, with the payment of wergild. When an event serious enough to cause war had occurred, the chief called a meeting of all men in the rancheria, and as many as possible from surrounding ones. Obviously, the more men who could be interested, the greater the probability of success. First of all, a satisfactory claim for payment was decided upon, and a messenger dispatched to the offending tribe. Usually a period of dickering followed, with the offender countering with a lower offer. If the chief felt that a satisfactory offer was made, he advised the offended family, who had the final say, to accept it and thus avoid bloodshed. The outcome depended upon the general mood of the people. If the injured family desired blood revenge, and felt that antagonism toward the enemy was high, they refused the offer, thereby starting hostilities. If, however, they sensed reaction on the part of fellow tribesmen to be halfhearted, and knew that the number willing to join a war party would be small, they accepted the offer.

In the first contingency, preparation for war got under way immediately. Bows were made ready, new arrows finished and old ones repaired, and everything put in readiness for the campaign. This

[29] Powers, 125.

[30] Handbook, 157.

feverish period terminated in the t'au^n-wok (war dance), held under the supervision of the t'au^n-huyakil (war chief), who was a graduate of the Taikomol-woknam, where he had learned the arts of war. Men dressed as for battle, painting cheeks in red smudges, and carried quivers, bows, clubs, or slings. Both sexes danced. Standing in a circle, they held hands and revolved in a clockwise fashion. Special singers (tau^n-ha^n-pyošál), likewise taught in the Taikomol-woknam, led with cocoon rattles. The dancers, who likewise sang, set up a great shout at beginning and end of each song. Then the men danced, shuffling their feet and grasping arrows in each hand, hurling missiles and brandishing clubs against imaginary enemies. Blunt arrows were shot at the dancers who dodged as the semiharmless shafts came by. This imitative dancing had two values: it magically gave the warriors ability to function in their respective roles, and gave actual practice as well.

Powers[31] reports a war dance observed first-hand by one of the early settlers in Round Valley: The warriors were naked, covered with pitch and eagle down, and wore bushy plumes and large feathers. They rushed over a hill yelling, leaping, brandishing weapons, and singing.

The war dance was considered very terrifying, and has not been given in many years. Once, in early reservation days, the army officers requested that it be put on as an amusement. Even so, uneasiness resulted among the other tribes, who felt that the Yuki might lose control, and the dance was never again attempted. Likewise, a taboo on the war songs followed, so that all have been forgotten. "If we sang them, other tribes might not understand, and think we were going to make war on them."

Actual fighting occurred either on a prearranged spot or took the form of a surprise attack. Scouts were sent out to locate the enemy, and report back. Since the opposite side was presumably doing the same, surprises must have been difficult, and were probably limited to attacks upon small, unsuspecting parties.

In battle, the two sides approached each other, singing and shouting, painted and making as much noise as possible; if the enemy could be terrorized, half the battle was won. Warriors marked their group identity with feathers in their hair, so that one could not mistake friend for enemy. Women and older men, unable to fight, came with the party, to shout encouragement and to aid the injured. At the approach, bows and slings were the principal weapons, but a fight usually ended in a hand-to-hand combat, and for that clubs and knives were most effective. Women, too, sometimes fought. If a wife saw her husband killed or wounded she might enter the fray and be even more dangerous, due to her utter disregard of personal danger, than a man. Finally one side retreated and the other pressed its advantage, killing the wounded and massacring the onlookers. Neither age nor sex was spared in such a fight. Male prisoners were immediately dispatched. Women were also killed, or, more rarely, taken back as captive wives. Occasionally a child was spared and brought up as any Yuki child. Nevertheless, prisoners were the exception, the result of a chance quirk in battle, and no definite rule of behavior had ever grown up around them.

People who had remained at home were expected to dance continually during the fight, to bring strength and fortune to the home team.

After battle, the wounded and dead were carried home on stretchers made of grapevine lashings between two poles. Ralph Moore stated that if the distance home were great, bodies were cremated and only the bones returned for burial. The winners, returning to camp, announced their victory with loud shouts, the signal for preparation for the victory dance (t'au^n-wok, the same word used for the prefight dance). If defeated, the survivors straggled into camp with no comment, and immediately the village broke into mourning.

The victory dance centered around scalps. These included the face from chin to the back of the neck, or even the entire head. The account of the war with the Nomlaki indicates that in more recent times, at least, the true scalp, though of larger size than a Plains scalp, was also taken. Scalps were rubbed with deer marrow to make skin and hair soft, and then stretched on frames; heads were also rubbed with marrow and mounted on tall poles. The populace taunted these symbols, as well as the enemy. Widows or orphans of warriors might pick up the trophies in their mouths and dance until exhausted, or until the scalps began to go to pieces. Scalps were not kept permanently, and the person who took the scalp seems to have received no special honor. Kroeber reports[32] that not all of the slain were necessarily scalped, and that even one specimen was sufficient to express the dominant feeling of revenge. This is in line with the general tenor of attitudes toward war and victory. After the victory dance came the feast that terminated all Yuki group undertakings.

Actual peace negotiations were carried out in the rancheria of the victors, and implied, curiously, payment on the part of the winning side. Satisfied with winning, a side would not want to jeopardize its position through further warfare. The losers, however, would be burning with a desire for revenge, and anxious to fight again after renewing their forces. Thus, the payment was actually a bribe to the losers to accept settlement.

Men who had killed others went through a mild purification, bathing and rubbing the body with

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[31] Powers, 129.

[32] Handbook, 179.

angelica and wormwood. Afterward they sweated and then bathed again.

Elkskin armor was evidently used by war chiefs and a few others, but information is completely lacking concerning its nature. No Yuki has ever seen a suit, though informants insisted it was used. Powers states[33] that it consisted of a wide elkskin belt tied around the waist of the fighter to protect his vital organs.

The Yuki fought with most of their neighbors. Kroeber has described a series of hostilities with the Kato.[34] From Lulu Johnson I obtained an account of a Huchnom-Yuki war which may have been one of the series reported by Kroeber, since mention is made of periodic help from the Little Lake Pomo and the Kato.[35] (See p. 229.)

An unauthorized raid upon the Kumno'm, or Salt Pomo, resulted in trade relations and subsequent friendship. A group of Witukomno'm went to get salt one October, before the whites came, around 1830. They met with a band of Kumno'm who tried to prevent their obtaining any salt, and succeeded in driving them off. Upon returning home, they told the story to the chief, who recognized their guilt in trespassing and roundly chastised them. But some younger men insisted the Yuki boundary included the salt deposits--an obvious falsification--and so, without the consent of the chief, and without a war leader, they left camp, engaged a Kumno'm war party in battle and won. Contrary to the usual pattern, the Yuki obtained, as a result of this victory, the right to trade with the Salt Pomo, and to take salt from the deposits when they so wished. And the two peoples have been friendly ever since, small groups of Witukomno'm going to Stonyford from time to time, and receiving return calls from the Kumno'm.

DANCES

The position of social dances in the pattern of Yuki culture is of extreme importance. From time to time, when there had been no death or serious illness in the village, when food was plentiful and everyone in a good humor, the chief in conjunction with the "mole"[36] sent out a call to attend a dance. This was a time when people mingled with each other, with close friends and with acquaintances from more distant villages whom they saw less frequently. Cares were forgotten, and for several days everyone gave himself up to a spirit of fun and friendship. The purpose of such "big times" was, in the words of informants, "fellowship." "Dancing is the most enjoyable of all sports," expresses the general feeling. This function is today filled by the Pentecostal Church, which itself forbids dancing as a medium of entertainment.

Dancing took place in the dance house when the weather was unfavorable, or in a brush shelter when it was very hot. Ralph Moore once had helped build one 30 by 50 feet, supported by a row of 9-foot posts down the center line with corresponding posts on the edge, and covered with poles and brush.

The term kopa-wok was used generically to describe all common, or "feather," dances. Individual dances had specific names, songs, and steps, but for the most part there was no strict stylistic pattern. Some feather dances had been acquired from neighboring peoples within the past one hundred years, and it is difficult to tell which were the oldest among the Yuki. Actually, since style was more or less the same for all dances, the particular variations, whether imported or autochthonous, were of lesser importance.

A development of postwhite times, heralding the cracking of the old esoteric structure of aboriginal society, was the presentation of the "Big Head" dance to spectators, for pay, by members of the Taikomol-woknam. The incorporation of this feature into the profane dance schedule will be later described.

In the common dances, both men and women participated, and children, from infancy on, could come and look on. Necessary paraphernalia included the log drum, which was standard equipment in the dance house, and which was used for both profane and sacred events. Yellowhammer (red-shafted flicker) headbands 18 inches long were worn across the eyes in such a manner that the dancer saw through the quills. The ends projected on each side of the head and, because of the elasticity inherent in their construction, waved with each motion of the body. Each new headband, before being used, had to be hung on the center post or laid on the ground beside it while a singer sang to consecrate it, to bring luck so that its wearer would dance well. After being consecrated, it required careful attention and periodic repairing. At these times, the owner gave a small dinner to his close friends, "to keep the peace with the feathers." Further headdress consisted of a hair net and elderwood pins to fasten feathers to the hair. A "feather duster" consisted of black and white hawk and buzzard feathers bound at the butt in a 3-inch ring, and split at the top to make a fuzzier mass. A forked feather headdress was stuck in the rear of this

[33] Powers, 129.

[34] Handbook, 157.

[35] Four Yuki stories of engagements with the Nomlaki are given in an article published in the Journal of American Folklore (see Bibliography under Goldschmidt, et al.). A theoretical discussion of the aspects of Yuki-Nomlaki fights is included.

[36] The "mole" is described as the "manager" of the dance house, a kind of prophet who could foretell the proper time to hold a dance. He was a graduate of the Taikomol-woknam, but it is impossible to state how he obtained his position. Having decided on the date, he stood on top of the dance house and in a loud voice announced it. Then he visited neighboring rancherias with a similar invitation.

ornament. Each motion of the dancer set the duster quivering, and the greater the agitation, the more successful the article. (See "Material Culture.") Split-stick rattles were crude and unornamented. They were believed to make songs come more readily to the minds of the singers. Whistles, either single, or dual in the form of pipes, were also used by the dancers. Small sticks, or batons, with feathers on one end were preferred by others. Faces, arms, and chests were marked with charcoal, either in horizontal lines or in circles.

As the crowd assembled all laughed and joked. Finally, the dance-house manager called the meeting to order, and picked out the singers and dancers to participate first. While the singers, standing with backs to the center post, were unlimbering their voices and beating time with split-stick rattles, the dancers stood at the back of the room, faces to the wall, putting on their costumes. A li'l-há'ol (rock carrier) called the various movements, and might himself drum with either his feet or a stick. The dance here described is the noi-mok, perhaps the most typical of the feather dances. At the signal from the rock carrier, or "caller" as he is referred to frequently, the manager led in the men, from four to six in number, and circled the fire several times. At this point, the singing suddenly ceased, the manager returned to the rear of the dance house, and as the singers resumed, led in the women--about twice as numerous as the men--and placed them in a circle outside the men, as indicated in figure 6.

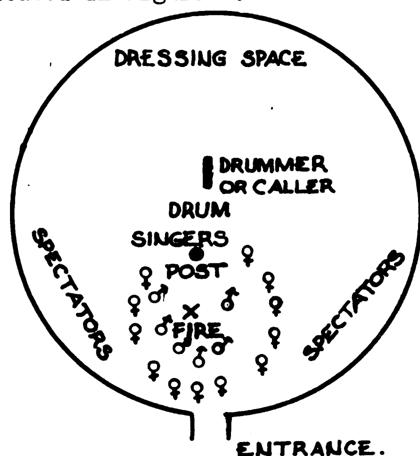

Fig. 6. Floor plan of dance house during feather dance.

Then, as the singers commenced a new chant, the men revolved around the fire. At a repetition in a higher key, signifying the chorus, they stopped and danced in place. The women continually remained in the same spot. This procedure lasted an indefinite period, until singers and dancers were tired, when all retired to make place for new participants.

The spectators laughed and joked, remarking on the good or bad dancing of So-and-so. The manager circulated among them and received suggestions as to who should dance next. No woman danced unless requested to by a man; being asked was a privilege, though an expected one, and a girl rarely refused. Dancing was among the greatest of life's pleasures, and no one passed up an opportunity. Both married women and younger girls danced without discrimination or restriction (except during menstruation, when dancing, but not attendance, was forbidden).

Each dance had its special songs, which were for the most part repetitions of one line of meaningless words. The chorus was indicated by changing the next to the last two lines to a higher key.

Other nonesoteric feather dances include:

The kúm-wok (salt dance). All participants danced very rapidly and stamped the ground with their feet, as if they were breaking up salt cakes. This dance evidently came from the Stonyford people who used to attend Yuki dances, in post-white times at least.

The híntil-wok or "old-fashioned dance." Ralph Moore believes this is the oldest of all Yuki feather dances. It is similar to the noi-mok.

The hóho-wok[37] was danced only by men. Drummers, singers, and caller functioned as described, the caller shouting, "ho ho ho," and the dancers replying, "he he he"; then all dancers whistled on bone or wooden whistles in time to the drumming.

The wiló'l-wok may be the result of acculturation. The description of men and women holding hands, circling, then revolving in alternate directions, passing first in front and then behind the approaching person suggests our own round dance. No drums or rattles were used, but everyone sang.

It is uncertain whether the Yuki had a coyote dance. George Moore described it as the hulk'oi-wok, and said that one man wearing a coyote skin on his back danced. Spectators were required to pay. Lulu Johnson (a Huchnom informant) said the Huchnom had a coyote dance, and called it wu-é-wok, while the Yuki referred to it as a hulk'oi-wok. Tillotson however said that the Yuki had no coyote dance.

Contrasted to these simple social dances is the bastardized version of the "Big Head" dance that came to be presented at regular gatherings by graduates of the schools in return for pay from the spectators. It is known as the tóto-wok or "buckskin dance" (significance unknown), or the Huchno'm-wok, indicating the immediate origin of the Big Head concept. This dance was very "strict"

[37]The hóho-wok is reported by Barrett (1917:435) for the Pomo. It is described as a common dance that can be given any time of year. Both sexes danced, contrasted with the Yuki limitation to males, and the rhythm was unusually rapid. Singers made use of split-stick rattles, and the dancers employed bone whistles.

(i.e., only graduates were allowed to participate). Dancers were of both sexes. Drums and whistles were not used, and time was kept by clapping the hands and beating on the thighs. The dancers faced the audience, backs to the singers, and danced in position. At a known point in the song--a rock carrier was not employed--the dancers whirled around, faced the singers, and fell to their knees, remaining there until another song was begun. When women danced, they did not squat or come to their knees as the men did. Large feather headdresses and feather capes were used, in imitation of the Big Head. At the end of the dance, all spectators were supposed to throw beads into the center of the room, where they were picked up by the manager.

Kroeber[38] lists the tóto-wok as being ultimately of Patwin origin. It is recognized by informants to have been, in its last form, a recent acquisition, and probably reached the Yuki along with the Bole dance. Nevertheless, the underlying concept, that is, the connection with the Big Head, is aboriginal.

The lólo-wok may be of Patwin origin also.[39] The name is widespread, and appears among all of the Maidu branches variously as "lole" and "loli." Kroeber considers it a common dance. Gifford reports[40] that it reached the Southern Maidu prior to 1872 from the north, died out, and was reintroduced from the south in 1872 and made over by a certain Yoktco, who brought the modern Ghost Dance. Among the Yuki it apparently was a common feather dance and, as a result of competition from other more exciting dances, was losing popular favor. This is the only dance recorded that had not been seen by informants, and was known from hearsay only.

ACORN SING

Closely akin to the hamnam-wok was the semiannual la^{n}l-ha^{n}p (acorn sing). It took place during the winter (probably January), lasted for four nights, and was repeated again in May. Complementing the girl's puberty dance, it also pleased the gods and assured abundant harvests. Although its successful carrying-out was all important, it was a time of fun and merrymaking looked forward to eagerly, and its practice was continued until about 1925. This is in contrast to the cessation of the more exacting and less interesting hamnam-wok some twenty-five years earlier. The crusading influence of the new Pentecostal Church was the principal cause of its destruction, as with most of the other surviving Yuki rituals.

[38] Handbook, 385.

[39] Kroeber, Handbook, 385.

[40] 1927:220.

The best singer in a rancheria informally had charge of the la^{n}l-ha^{n}p, and at the proper time he sent messages to neighboring rancherias informing the inhabitants of the impending event. Knotted strings or sticks were not used for invitations. Sings were held in the dance house, though in recent years the largest private house available was employed.

On the first night after all had gathered and been welcomed by the chief, the head singer began chanting:

hi·ii ho·oo hi·ii ho·oo hi·ii ho·oo
hi·i ho·o hi·i ho·o hi·i ho·o yuík γà.

This was repeated three or more times, growing faster and faster, with the assembly joining in for the last round or rounds. Then it was not repeated during the remainder of the sing. This unnamed chant had to be sung at the commencement; otherwise nobody would be able to remember songs, there would be embarrassing pauses, and the entire sing would be a dismal failure. Now the sing was under way, and the chief singer, or ha^{n}p-lik'-umi (song warbler) commenced another, being followed by the chorus, and continued his repertoire until he wished to stop. At this point he called upon a neighbor: "Well, brother, maybe you've got several songs," and the new singer carried on.

The fire, burning brightly at the beginning, was allowed to die down, until the glistening bodies of the participants could only faintly be seen, swaying with the rhythms. Some slapped their thighs, and others tapped on the bottoms of upturned baskets. A man was proud of the number of songs he knew, and of the length of time he was able to hold the floor. Nevertheless he would budget his supply so that he could introduce new ones on each of the succeeding nights. Tillotson thought he knew about fifty songs in all. Songs were learned at the sing from others, or at neighboring rancheria sings, but most efficacious were those that came to one in dreams. A man might dream he was at a dance, and new songs would be sung which he would remember and sing at a future dance.

Likewise, a person might inherit songs from other singers. Tillotson received his best ones from an old uncle, Lago. Lago promised Tillotson, who until this time had been a mediocre singer, that on his death, all of his repertoire would pass to him. And sure enough, upon the death of Lago, he (Tillotson) found his head ringing with new songs, and since that time he has been recognized to be the most able singer in the tribe. Songs were not strictly private property, but a person who had learned a song from another refrained from introducing it if the originator were present.

After several hours of singing, wood was thrown on the fire, and the head singer would commence the following air.

(1) hana hayo hanaíyo
(2) hana hayo hanaíyo
(3) hana hayo hanaíyo } Raised chorus
(4) hana hayo hanaíyo }
(5) hana hayo hanaíyo yúík ɣa

This was the signal for all those who wished to dance to arise. No definite steps were used, and the idea of dance motions was to imitate actions associated with crops; the singers bent, as if picking acorns from the ground; they struck with imaginary sticks at imaginary acorn-laden boughs; they imitated the actions of people filling sacks. At the same time the rock carrier arose and danced, first in position, then stepping forward and retreating, and finally in wild animation, circling the fire. Contrasted with the other singers, his imitations were those of squirrels and birds, pests who if not magically treated would make off with the near-ripe crops. He did not sing, confining his sounds to squeaks and twitters--those of the animals and birds imitated. He was evidently somewhat of a clown, for he made no attempt to keep time to the music, and attempted to throw the other dancers out of step. Some of them would follow his lead, but a really first-class dancer was supposed to pay no attention to him. While dancing, no feathers, rattles, or other paraphernalia were used. The following song was typical of those used when dancing--they formed a separate category from those sung while seated, and were never used at that time.

yo·he ya ha
yo·he ya ha
yo·he ya ha
yo·he ya ha yo·he yáh há ɣá.

When the fire again died down, the dancers seated themselves; though dancing was a welcome relief from sitting, the songs were of the most importance and could not be neglected in favor of the dancing. This song-dance cycle was run through several times during the night, lasting until morning, or until the supply of songs seemed exhausted.

While all songs were equally efficacious, some were harder to learn than others. Tillotson was especially proud of the fact that no one could follow his lead entirely through the following song:

ma· čalaí· há· hut ána hut áne
ma· čalaí· há· hut ána hut áne
ma· čalaí· ká· mal nal hut á·na hut á·ne
(high chorus) li· wi· ti li· wi ti ha·a
hut á·na hut á·ne
ma· čalái ká hut ána hut áne
ma· čalái ká hut ána hut áne

Most songs had no words at all--simply rhythmical sounds. The following is interesting because it contains the verb yuni (to hang down) and is a request that acorns hang down thickly on the trees.

(1) hé naho yuni he yuna ha
(2) hé naho yuni he yuna he
(3) hé naho yuni he yuna he } Raised chorus
(4) hé naho yuni he yuna he }
(5) hé naho yuni he yuna he

Contrasted with these two rather sophisticated songs is the next. It follows the usual pattern in having no meaning, and in rising to the next key for the two-line chorus and returning to the original for the last line.

(1) hólo hólo má·na
(2) hólo hólo má·na
(3) hólo hólo má·na } Raised chorus
(4) hólo hólo má·na }
(5) hólo hólo má·na

While most songs were for acorns, the staple food, there were also songs about Indian potatoes and clover.

A potato song (álic-ha^{n}p, potato song):

háni noyána (Repeated 5 times.)
noi no noyána (Repeated 2 times.)
háni noyána
háni noyan.

A clover song (ma-há^{n}p, clover song):

ma cáila ká hani ani
ma cáila ká hani ani
ma cáila ká hani ani

Just as there was a song to commence a sing, there was a song to bring it to an end, sung only on the fourth morning.

ho·a man aku yan de
ma·a man aku yan de

(Repeated in the same key about six times.)

The spring sing was an exact duplicate of the winter event. A feast (mamiúki) followed this sing, as at the conclusion of a girl's hamnam-wok. The intimate association of the two rituals, and their influence on crops is evident. "Taikomol gave us this way to ask for acorns and clover, and if everything goes right, we please him and will have lots of crops." This, in a nutshell, expresses the function of the hamnam-wok and the la^{n}l-ha^{n}p in Yuki society.

SMOKING

Smoking was both a social function, in which a number of people participated, and a private af-

fair. Since wild tobacco is so "stout" (strong, harsh) and generally disagreeable, it seems that the feeling of group solidarity and friendship arising from a communal smoke was more important than any actual pleasure derived. A few puffs were about all anyone could stand, and these were likely to be followed by giddiness bordering upon intoxication, causing the smoker to sprawl upon the floor until sufficiently recovered to sit up. Wild tobacco (woi-yok') grew, and still grows, along river and stream beds. Leaves were plucked and washed before being spread in the sun to dry. Tobacco so prepared was sweeter and milder than when the whole plant was uprooted and dried without washing. Leaves were then crumbled in the hands and stored in small baskets or leather pouches. Pipes were of the Pomo type (see p. 170). Manzanita wood was considered the best for pipes. Little Toby said that in ancient times pipes were made of an unidentified stone found near Dos Rios.

Only old men, and some old women, smoked; it was too severe an experience for young people. Gatherings in the dance house or, if the party were smaller, in a dwelling, was the usual custom. The smokers either sat up, tilting the head back to avoid spilling ashes out of the bowl, or reclined on the floor. The first smoker took a few puffs, then passed the pipe to a neighbor, saying, "šú-ti-ka," meaning approximately, "Have a drag." The recipient replied, "yo-šo-mé," a formalized phrase of thanks not translatable. In this fashion, the pipe made the rounds. Sometimes an old man and his wife smoked a little before going to bed, and old men might smoke when gathered in the dance house listening to someone tell stories. Smoking was done only at night, and was not considered an everyday affair.

Chewing was evidently not an aboriginal trait.

SWEATING

Sweating resembled smoking in that it was an opportunity for group action; like tobacco, it was an integrating factor in the social life of the community. Often it took the form of a contest in which men and women vied against each other in an attempt to stand the smoke longest. Sweating was of the "dry" type; steam was not employed. All participants gathered in the dance house, and a big fire was built. Each side took turns in fanning the heat and smoke toward the other side with a skin or rabbitskin blanket fastened to a pole. One by one the sweaters emerged from the underground house, sweat running from hot bodies, tears streaming from half-blinded eyes, and ran to the near-by creek for a plunge. The women, it is said, usually were victorious.

Smaller groups sweated from time to time, but it was by no means an everyday affair. Sweating was considered beneficial to the health. In reservation times steam sweating was learned from the Achomawi; this was more of an individual affair, since the simple equipment precluded numerous participants. A willow frame was covered with blankets, hot stones from a near-by fire placed inside, and water thrown upon them. Steam sweating was also followed by a cold plunge. For some reason, puzzling to Yuki and ethnographer alike, early Government agents forbade this activity, so it was carried on furtively only at night. Normally, sweating occurred either by day or night.

GAMBLING GAMES

Grass Game

By all odds the favorite Yuki gambling game--for that matter, competition of any type--was the grass game (áltoi-móltmil, stick tied [in middle] gamble). Its manner of play differed only in minor details from that of adjoining tribes.

The game was played with four bones, comprising two pairs. One bone of each pair was wrapped in the center with string and blackened with charcoal; it was called áltoi (stick tied). The other bone was unmarked; it was called altíkam (stick smooth). In olden times, deer and wildcat bones were preferred, but in more recent times, sheep bones were substituted. Judging from the names of the bones, it seems possible that the game originally was played with wooden pieces. No male-female designation for the bones was recorded. Score was kept by means of counters (alkáčam, wooden splints) about 3 inches long and undecorated. Twelve was the usual number, but if a longer game were desired, sixteen were used.

Four players participated, two on each side, in addition to a counter-keeper for each team. The players faced each other, squatting or kneeling, and flanked by their partisans. No blanket or skin was placed between them. The stakes were placed between and to one side of the players. The challenging side hid the bones first, shuffling them in fists full of straw. Four combinations were possible, as follows (0 = plain bone, I = marked bone):

1. 0 I I 0: the marked bones in the middle position.
2. I 0 0 I: the marked bones in the outside position.
3. I 0 I 0: the marked bones in the left hands of both players.
4. 0 I 0 I: the marked bones in the right hands of both players.

Guessing was either vocal or by gesture, or both. To indicate the first position, the guesser, decided upon mutually by the two guessing players, pointed toward the center hands, or simply said, "húyit (in the middle)." To indicate the second position he raised two fingers on one hand, or both hands, or said, "háli (on the outer edge)." Sometimes the phrase mílilalmik (deer comes) was

used. This was because of the supposed resemblance of the upraised fingers to deerhorns. Tillotson volunteered that old people usually used this form, indicating that it may have been the aboriginal mode.

To indicate the third position, the guesser made a sweeping motion with his hand in the direction from unmarked to marked bones, saying "he" or "haíke (toward the back of the room)." For the fourth position, the gesture was the reverse, accompanied by "he" or "níhini (toward the door)." Positions were evidently not named as such, since in the case of the last two, níhini (toward the door) for one team would be the equivalent of haíke (toward the back of the room) for the other when figured on the basis of right and left hands.

If the guesser guessed wrongly for both players, the keeper for the hiders took two counters from the other keeper before the process of reshuffling was begun. If one player only were correctly guessed, only one counter was passed, and the correctly guessed hider dropped out while his partner repeated, until he also was guessed. At this point, the bones were passed to the other side; one set only was used, probably to discourage cheating.

At the beginning of the game, the keepers each held six or eight sticks, as the case was, in their hands. Sticks in this position were known as alšai and were kept separate from those taken from the opposition, which were placed on the ground in front of the keeper. In a game, assuming side A to be hiding and side B to be guessing, B might guess all alšai sticks from A, and its luck continue. The keeper for A then passed his alšai sticks to the keeper for B, who held them until his side guessed all correctly, and was entitled to hide. Then he passed the remaining alšai sticks back to keeper A, the original possessor. Side B might then win all the remaining alšai sticks, which were placed on the ground before its keeper, all counters now being on the ground. The counters then passed back and forth until one side gained all, thereby winning the game and stakes. Obviously, the result of using counters in this manner was the same as if all were placed in the center to begin with, and each side drew when entitled to from the central pot. This rather complicated system seems to have developed to insure greater honesty on the part of the players.

The grass game was an important social event that was often anticipated for several days. In prewhite days it was played either in the sweat house, a large private house, or, if weather permitted, outdoors. In the latter instance, "toward the door" and "toward the back of the room" directions were agreed upon before play was begun. Night was the favorite time of play. Formerly women never played. They were allowed to watch, but were required to stay at a respectful distance. Under no circumstances was a woman permitted to pass behind the players; she might be menstruating and this would cause immediate loss of luck. Women had just begun to take up the game when it was finally abandoned. Sides were evidently formed on the basis of known ability. Competition determined by social or geographical distinction seems to have been unknown.

To start, two men recognized as able players made an introductory bet, which was added to by their adherents. Two other players then "tapped" the bet with stakes put up by them and their friends. While the challenging team shuffled, they sang, accompanied by their backers, who slapped their thighs in time to the music. The excitement rose to its highest pitch when the hands were extended and guessing begun. Singing confused the guessers, and thus brought good luck, and it added to the general festive air of the occasion; "it makes the game lively." A single game might last an hour or half the night. When one game was finished, the losers immediately put up another bet, and the game was begun anew. If a series of games proved especially exciting, it might last over several consecutive nights. If the luck of one or both players was poor, others might take their places, though it was considered best to wait until the end of the game, and not to break a team in the middle of play.

In early days, beads constituted the principal stakes; in more recent times, American currency. Twenty dollars on each side was considered an average pot, but at times the pot rose to as high as $200, that is, $400 in all. Tillotson recalled with great glee one occasion on which he bet $45 and won.

When honestly played, the grass game was one of real skill. The hider, who could of course control the bones, looked his opponent in the face, decided where he would be likely to guess, and arranged accordingly. "You can pretty nearly always judge where a player is going to guess."

In prewhite times informants felt that play was usually honest. "But today the object is to cheat whenever possible." This was accomplished by keeping a duplicate set of bones hidden in the loose straw, and by sleight of hand displaying bones with markings opposite to those guessed. One player had a trick pair, both bones plain on one side and marked on the other. When guessed, he always showed the opposite side, and of course invariably won. The chronicle does not relate what was done to him when he was finally discovered. When cheating was detected, the guilty side automatically forfeited the stakes. There was no special stigma attached to cheating, but a player who was known to play unfairly had difficulty in finding opponents.

The grass game was played by tribes adjoining the Yuki. The Maidu and Wailaki were reputed to use more straw than the Yuki. The Wailaki game also differed in that two, and not four, bones were used; in this case wooden billets. The Huchnom and Pomo game differed in that each player

kept one hand behind his back and one in front while being guessed; this was generally conceded to make cheating more difficult. In recent times, all tribes have played together on the reservation, English being the means of communication. The last game occurred about 1930.

Marked-Ace Game

Two men only could play alkuš-móltmil (stick small gamble), a type of marked-ace game. Equipment consisted of two bunches of splints slightly longer than matches. Each bunch contained from thirty to forty splints and an ace marked by a central band of white. Each team consisted of a player, a scorekeeper, and a singer; the latter kept time by tapping on an upturned basket, and might be aided vocally by players and spectators. The challenging player took his splints, shuffled them between his palms, and separated them roughly into halves in his two fists. An average player would do this behind his back, but a skillful player would flaunt his ability by doing it in plain sight of his opponent. No straw was used for this. The guesser chose by shouting "hé," and pointing toward the suspected hand. Or he simply said "toward the door," or "toward the back of the room," as in the grass game. The hider then slowly and rhythmically threw down the splints from the indicated hand, one at a time, singing "he^{n}: e^{n}: e^{n}, he^{n}: e^{n}: e^{n}," until either all were gone, which then meant he had won that round, or the ace appeared. In the former situation, to prove his honesty, he repeated with the other hand until the ace fell. Score was kept as with the grass game, but since there was only one player to a side, one counter was the maximum that could pass for one play. This made for a longer game, but notwithstanding, players were expected to last the entire game without substitutes. Gambling was as in the grass game.

The marked-ace game was purely one of chance, since the hider himself did not know where the ace was hidden. For this reason it was more difficult to cheat, and if a player were known to be dishonest, his opponent would insist upon it in place of the grass game. Contrary to the grass game, Tillotson believed that in the early days women sometimes played the marked-ace game.

The Wailaki and Pitch Indians played this game with the Yuki rules. The odd-even game (wičli) of the Pomo, Nomlaki, and other central California Indians was not known to the Yuki.

Women's Dice Game

The women's dice game (alčá', stick split) was played after the central California pattern. Dice were made of three sticks 12 inches long and 3/4-inch in diameter, charred and split. The six resultant staves were convex and black on one side, and flat and light on the other.

A blanket or deer hide was spread on the ground and the women took their places on each side; one woman aided by a counter-keeper formed a team. Occasionally for big games a singer was employed. The challenger held the dice in one hand, shook them, and threw them on the blanket. If all six turned up one color, the player received two counters; if half and half, only one. For all other combinations the throw passed to the other side. The way in which the dice fell seems to have been largely a matter of luck. Count was kept in exactly the same manner as for the grass game, twelve being the usual score.

The game was played outdoors or indoors, usually in the daytime. For big games, spectators contributed to the stakes, and betting and excitement ran high. Sometimes two women played it alone, simply to pass an idle hour. Men never played it in the old days, but, as the women adopted the grass game before its discontinuation, so the men seem to have played alčá' for a short time before it was given up, some ten years ago.

Dice games played with deer knuckles were not known.

GAMBLING LUCK AND SUPERSTITIONS

Luck in gambling was obtained in several ways. A strange-looking rock or lizard was a potential luck charm; for best results it had to be doctored by someone knowing the correct formula. Before a game, the possessor rubbed his body with his amulet. Tillotson at one time had an extremely lucky object: "Once while cutting wood by an old stump I saw a common black lizard. It had a forked tail. I killed it and took it to Jim Shelton, a white man. I don't know what he did to it, but whenever I went to a card game, I rubbed my body with it, and always won. It just works that way for Indians. I certainly did hate to lose that lizard."

Angelica herbs found growing in unusual places brought luck. They were gathered, the surplus destroyed to prevent anyone else finding them, and kept at home to be used as described above. Hummingbirds, and particularly their eggs, were connected with gambling luck in a manner not entirely clear.

Not everyone had a luck charm. A person so favored attempted to keep his good fortune a secret; if it were known that he had powerful gambling aid he could get no one to play with him who did not also have power. Before a big game players without a talisman took a cold bath in the morning and fasted all day to bring luck.

Besides the positive elements of gamblers' luck there were also negative elements. Danger of being "poisoned" was the principal one. The taboo against a woman passing behind players, for fear she might be menstruating, has already been mentioned. Players might also be "doped" by poisoners during a game.

Gamblers were supposed to be gentlemen. "Well,

my friend, you win. I give up," a loser should say to a winner. Unfortunately, in latter years when the Indians had access to white man's whiskey this fine tradition was not always followed.

It is not due simply to chance that all gambling games were given up simultaneously about 1930. It was at that time that the Pentecostal Church with its taboo against all worldly pleasures, including gambling, appeared from the Sacramento Valley (see "Modern Religious Developments") and was eagerly embraced by many Yuki. To the best of my knowledge gambling has largely been given up since then--a feat which the combined efforts of the Indian Service and the Methodist Church had failed to accomplish during the preceding seventy years.

OTHER GAMES

Shinny

Shinny (tóts-lele) was the favorite field sport, and was played at all large social gatherings. The size of the playing ground varied, depending upon local conditions; a modern football field would have been considered ideal. Likewise, the number of players varied, ranging from five to ten on a side. Each was equipped with a stick from 3 to 4 feet long, crooked at one end, and resembling a modern hockey stick. A fire-hardened wooden ball 2 to 3 inches in diameter was used; in postwhite times, a rubber ball was substituted.

Goals were marked at each end of the field by placing two upright sticks about 20 feet apart. Since, in spite of one or more guards, it was decidedly easy to hit such a wide opening, the emphasis was on getting the ball to the end of the field rather than on accuracy of aim.

Two good players started the game by standing in the middle of the field facing each other. One of them dropped the ball, and both struck at it simultaneously, trying to send it toward their respective goals. The other players stood in strategic positions on the field, and endeavored to continue the pursuit. It was permitted to pick up the ball and strike it, as with a baseball, or to tee it up on a small rise before striking; carrying the ball was forbidden. The practice of wrestling with one's opponent, to prevent him reaching the ball, seems to have been minimized among the Yuki. The side which first put the ball through its goal won the game.

In early times, shinny was played purely as a sport. In postwhite times, gambling on a small scale crept in--knives, handkerchiefs, tobacco, and beads were wagered. It was an extremely exhausting and rough game, and players not infrequently collapsed on the field. Cracked shins was another hazard. The aboriginal method of determining sides is unknown. Probably it depended, as in gambling, on choice.

The hoop game (t'amilhíp) was played in early times, but no one was able to explain the method of play. Ralph Moore said that the hoop was 3 feet in diameter and was made of dogwood. Any kind of stick would do for the players.

Various other competitive sports, including archery, were known.

Shooting for distance: shooting was done standing up, and it was actually a contest to determine who had the strongest arms. A powerful man and bow reputedly could send an arrow for a quarter of a mile.

Shooting at a target: in olden times, a bunch of tules formed a target; in postwhite times, a player's hat was more of an incentive. The range was about 50 yards, but might be varied if the players so wished. Contrasted with distance shooting, the archers sat down to shoot. Both feet were placed on the bow, the arrow was laid on top of the grip between the feet, and the string pulled back with both hands. This method was steadier than free-hand shooting, and thus made for greater accuracy.

Spear throwing for both distance and accuracy was at one time a sport. Training for warfare and hunting seem to have been more important objectives than direct competition.

Foot racing was favored because of the excellent training it provided for hunting, carrying messages, and scouting in war. Both short sprints and long-distance contests were known. The favorite course for the latter began at the site of the present Indian school, ran south to the Hop Ranch, east to the edge of the valley, north to the Charlie Hurt highway, and west to the starting point. The distance is fifteen miles, and required a half-day to complete.

Wrestling was practiced. Two men stood opposite one another, seized each other's hands and arms, and attempted to throw each other to the ground, the one doing so first being declared the winner. Wrestling on the ground was not practiced.

True boxing was unknown. The nearest approach to it was a pastime which consisted in one player crooking his arm in front of him, and allowing the other to hit it as hard as he could. If the recipient were still able, he then returned the blow. The man who was hurt less was the victor. Because of the danger of broken arms, it was hard to find an opponent for this sport.

The tug of war was the only competition to which women were admitted. Two strong men took the key positions, grasping each other's hands. Teams formed behind them, each person seizing the player in front around the waist. Sometimes only men played, and sometimes both sexes together, men and women being found on each side. Tillotson said that, due to the reputed superior strength of the male sex, women never competed as a team against men.

Gambling was not a part of these contests; personal glory and the satisfaction that came from winning were the only recompense.

In the summer and fall, swimming was a common diversion, the breast stroke and dog paddle being

the principal modes of propulsion. Diving contests were won not by grace but by the ability to travel farthest under the surface. U'nusilno' (sulk under water) was a contest involving holding the breath under the water. To aid in these aquatic competitions, swimmers swallowed the air bags of suckers, which were supposed to impart to divers the characteristics of the fish.

Simple water fights were frequent; opponents informally splashed water in one another's faces. Girls and young women formed circles in waist-deep water, held hands, and revolved in either direction, dancing and singing. At the conclusion of each song, all ducked under the water.

STRING FIGURES

In aboriginal times the Yuki, in common with most neighboring tribes, played string-figure games. They were indulged in simply for amusement at odd times, and had no divining nature, as is recorded for the Wailaki. Yuki string figures are all shared with surrounding peoples. Mostly the the old names for them have been forgotten and descriptive English terms, such as "diamonds," have been substituted. The terminology used below is that suggested by Kathleen Haddon.[41]

"Rat House" (nučiam hán).--(See fig. 7.) This figure is the same as that known by some adjacent tribes as "dance house." Place a loop around the index and middle fingers of the left hand, with the opposite end around the right wrist. With right index finger reach between the index and middle fingers of the left hand, grasp the loop and return, allowing the loop on the right wrist to slip off the hand and on top of the resulting loop. Place the loop held by the right index finger around the right wrist. With thumb and index of the right hand, take the ulnar string of the index finger and the radial string of the middle finger of the left hand and return, allowing the loop on the right wrist to slip off the hand and on top of the resulting double loop. There are now loops around the index and middle fingers of the left hand, held together with a knot about 2 inches above the palm. Numbering the four strings above the knot from thumb to little finger, insert the little finger of the left hand between numbers three and four from beneath and return. Insert the thumb between numbers one and two and return. Drop the strings held by the right hand, and with the thumb and index finger of that hand, grasp the knot holding the four strings together and draw above the palm of the left hand. The resulting figure consists of four loops on thumb, index, middle, and

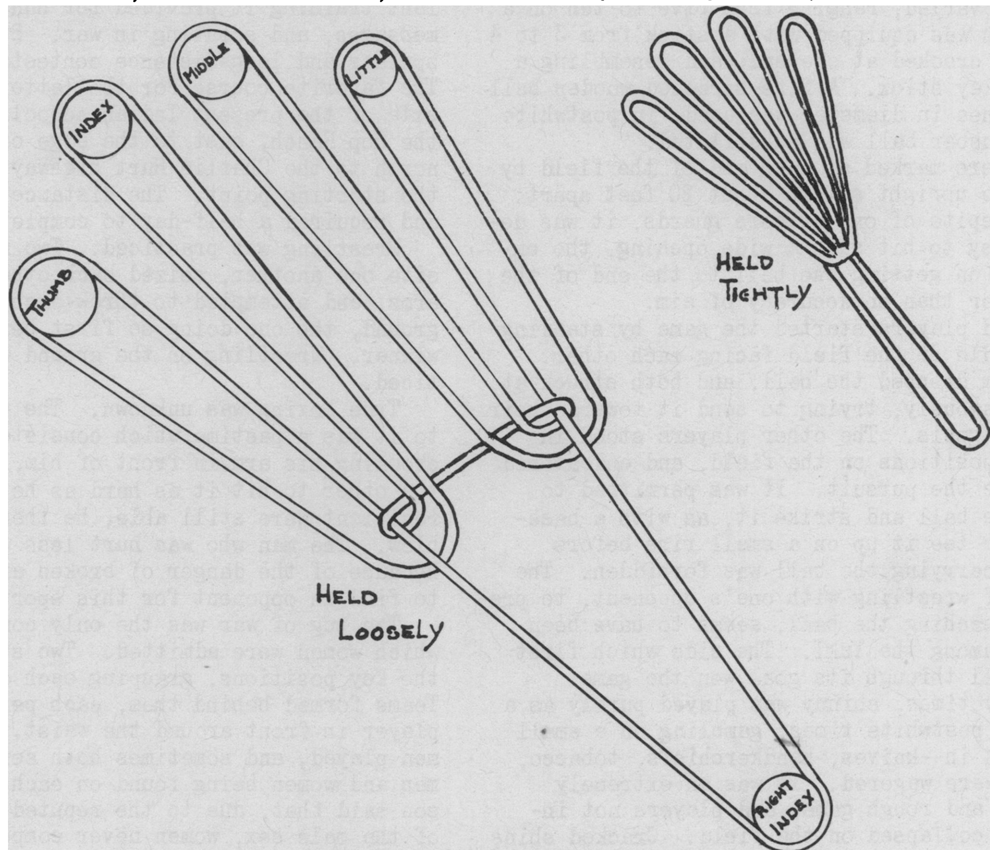

Fig. 7. String figure known as "Rat House."

[41] Haddon, 153.

little fingers respectively, joined in a pyramid approximately halfway to the right hand, which is directly above the palm of the left hand holding a fifth loop reaching downward to the junction point. A series of short jerks with the right hand will cause the figure to fall apart.

A similar figure, the making of which could not be remembered, is called hančam mipán (crow foot).

"Diamonds."--(See fig. 8.) The figure referred to as "deer snare" by the Huchnom and Wailaki is known today as "diamonds." It seems probable that the aboriginal Yuki name was also "deer snare." Position one, opening A with index fingers (see Haddon for terminology). Drop thumb loops. With thumbs catch the ulnar string on the little fingers and return under the other strings. With thumbs, catch the ulnar strings on index fingers from beneath and return over the radial string on the same fingers. Drop little finger loops. With little fingers catch the ulnar string of the proximal loop on the thumbs from beneath, and return over the strings on the index fingers. Drop thumb loops. With thumbs catch the radial strings of the little-finger loops from beneath and return over the index loops. With teeth catch the loop on the right index finger and extend it to encircle also the right thumb. Repeat for the left hand. Again with the teeth, remove the proximal thumb loops. A figure 4 now results in front of each thumb. Place the index fingers in the 4's, letting both index- and little-finger loops slip off. Stretch the figure on thumbs and index fingers.

"String Your Fingers Up."--(See fig. 9.) Place a loop on the radial side of the left thumb, with one string hanging behind and one in front of the hand. Insert the index finger of the right hand under the palmar string between the thumb and index fingers, catch the dorsal string from the distal direction and return. Rotate this loop

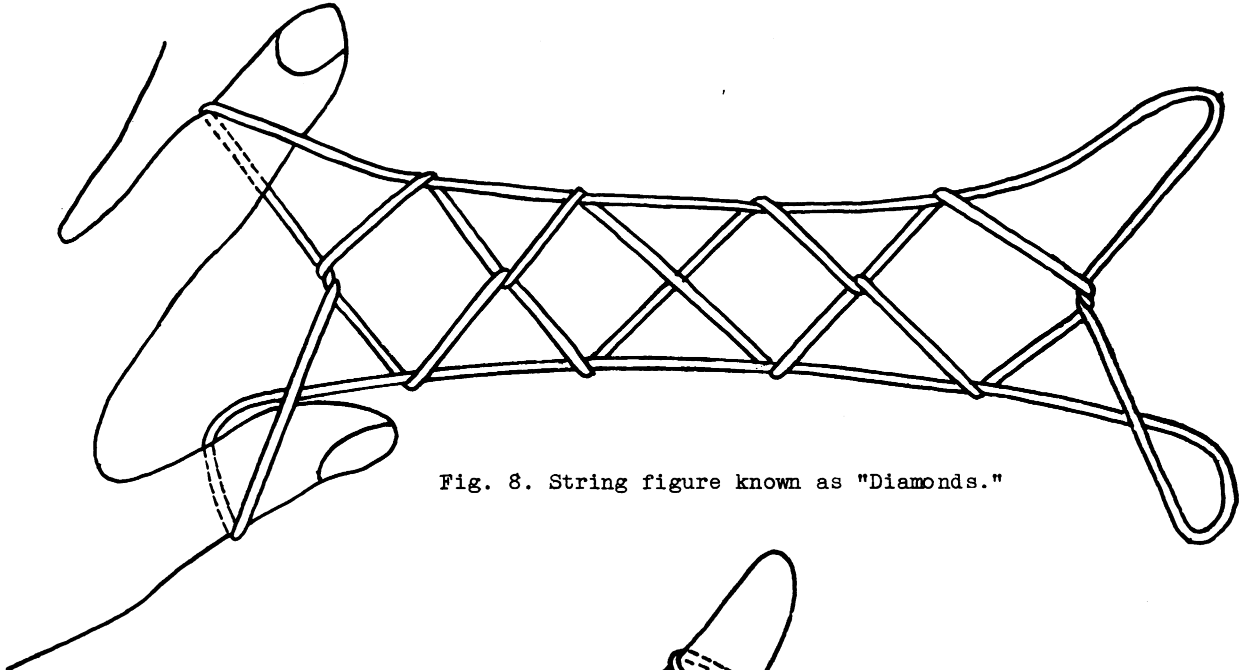

Fig. 8. String figure known as "Diamonds."

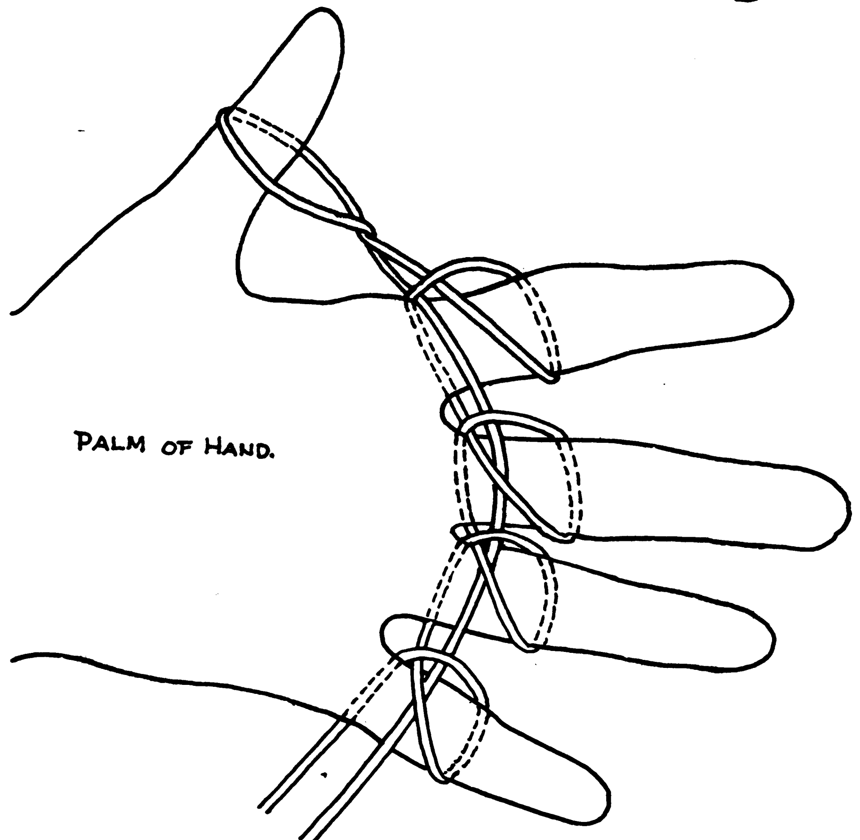

Fig. 9. String figure known as "String Your Fingers Up."

on the index finger in a clockwise direction until upside down from its previous position (one-half revolution). Place the index of the right hand against the index of the left and allow the loop to slip onto it. Draw the string firm. Repeat the procedure, this time between the index and middle fingers, dropping this loop onto the middle finger, and so on for the ring and little fingers. Remove the thumb loop, pull the palmar or front string below the little finger, and the strings fall free from the fingers.

Wrist loops.--(See fig. 10.) Place a loop on the left wrist, with thumb and index finger on top. With dorsal string of this loop, make two additional complete loops around the wrist, and catch the string between the thumb and index finger of the left hand. Now make three loops in the opposite direction around the hand. Drop the string held by thumb and index finger. From beneath, take the wrist loop closest to the elbow and draw. All loops should drop from the wrist. This same figure can also be made around the neck, using an 8-foot string.

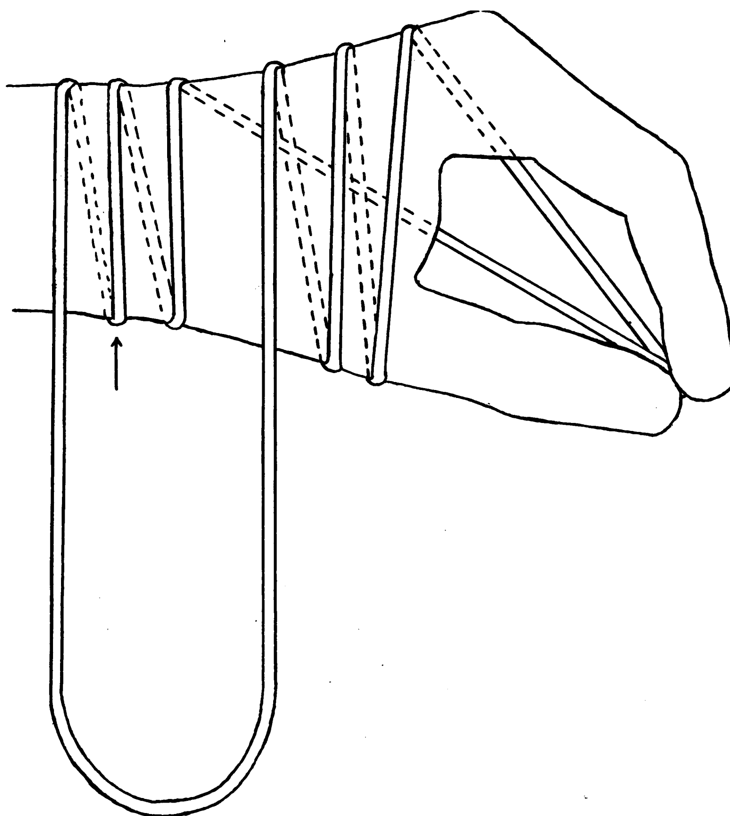

Fig. 10. String figure made by wrist loops.

Informants were unable to complete two other figures. One is known as "Ladder"; the other, played by two persons, is called "Sewing."

It is probable that Yuki figures resemble those made by most other tribes in North and South America. I have noticed that Roth[42] gives a picture of a figure made by the Makusi and called "Palm Tree" that is identical to the figure here described as "Rat House." The same author also records for the "Arawak and most of the British Guiana tribes" a figure identical to the Yuki one "String Your Fingers Up," and called there "Cutting the Fingers."[42]

STORYTELLING

Aboriginal stories are no longer told. Fortunately, Kroeber obtained thirty pages of Yuki myths, which have been published in Anthropos, volume 27, 1932, and these comprise our principal source of Yuki stories. My few notes on the subject are with regard to the time and method of telling.

Certain old people were recognized storytellers, and at night they held forth, either in the dance house or in their own home. People gathered round them and listened, and he who stayed awake became the storyteller of the next generation. If stories were told other than at night, the narrator would become hunchbacked. Stories were divided into two groups: (1) recent happenings, which may be called "folk tales"; (2) mythical stories of

[42] Roth, 549.

long ago, referring to the creation of the world and subsequent events. During this period, animals and birds had the attributes of man, assumed human form, spoke human languages, and acted in every way as humans. This period is believed to have been ended by a great flood. Stories of this category were introduced thus: "koi^{n}t mia húki onwís namlakí, long ago us before story what they said" (i.e., "This is a story they told long ago"). The listeners knew that such a story demanded silence upon the part of all, and interrupted only to say, from time to time, "That's been done," "It happened like that." Whereas persons could smoke while listening to the profane folk tales, they could not during the relating of this type.

The following story is the only one I can add to those already published.

In olden times hummingbirds were considered as people, and were able to talk and move very rapidly. Coyote, who could run better than anyone else, once asked Hummingbird to race with him: "Grandchild, race with me." "No, grandfather," said Hummingbird, "I can't race. I've never raced." But Coyote coaxed him, and finally he consented. They decided to race around Round Valley. Coyote started out 'way ahead, leaving Hummingbird far behind. Hummingbird waited until Coyote was out of sight, and then flew ahead, and at noon tired Coyote came up and found him. "What, you're here?" he said. After a rest, Coyote started out ahead, and again Hummingbird waited until he was out of sight before flying ahead. As he passed Coyote, he said, "My, grandfather, but you're slcw." Once more this was done, and Hummingbird came in first. Coyote was angry and said he didn't feel well. Finally he found out that Hummingbird had flown, and not run, but he still had to admit Hummingbird was faster.

HUMOR

The Yuki indulged in practical jokes and other forms of humor, some of which were obscene. When it was suspected that a man had slept with a woman other than his wife, attention was called to it by loud speculation as to who was the guilty party, and then with mock seriousness a perfectly innocent man was accused of the deed.

A joking relationship existed between brother and sister-in-law. A man would tell his wife's sister that she ought to find a fine man for a husband, and then name the village idiot. Whereupon she would reply with mock anger that the idiot and her brother-in-law put together would not measure up to her standards. Jokes more vulgar than this were also the rule.

Tillotson and his stepson have similar birthmarks on their cheeks, and for this reason he is the butt of his friends' remarks, who accuse him of being the father of his stepson.

Sometimes while fishing, a dead fish would be put in the water to float down past another fisherman, in the hope that he would spear it and thus become an object for derision. More often this was a pastime of boys, since real fishermen did not want to take the chance of offending their good luck.

It is possible that the art of riddles was weakly developed at one time, though aboriginal ones have been forgotten. Tillotson thought that they existed, and said that a loser was required to climb a tree as atonement for his stupidity. This, however, may be a postwhite development

MISCELLANEOUS

When two people met on the trail, the greeter said, "heó, heó (yes, yes)," and was answered by, "a^{n}h, ha^{n}h," an affirmative meaning the same. After talking briefly they would part, and repeat the same words, adding "kó'ata, kó'ata (go along, go along)."

The plural form mos was used when addressing one's father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law. However, when speaking to distinguished men in the tribe, one said, as for chiefs, "eŋ-ku'n (my father, you)."

No word for "please" existed. Yošimi for "thank you" is thought by Kroeber[43] to be of possible Spanish derivation, from "Dios." If the Nomlaki really use the same word, as Yuki informants told me, this theory is strengthened.

Dogs were not common in prewhite times. Only one type, small, like a fox terrier, existed; these dogs are remembered as being "much smarter than dogs today." Men had a real affection for their dogs, and buried them when they died. A rough shelter was made for them by leaning bark against the walls of the family dwelling. They were not wanted inside, because of their savageness and the fear that they might bite babies. They were useful in hunting, but also "had a bad habit of biting people, too." Names recorded were: lut (no translation), poti (roan colored), hulk'ol (coyote), and nuni (no translation; frequently used for bitches).

[43] Handbook, 181.

CALENDAR, CARDINAL DIRECTIONS, COLORS, COUNTING

SEASONS--MONTHS

The new year was considered to begin during the winter. The season, or month, was named by a word indicative of the temperature or the condition of the flora at that time. I do not know whether these terms correspond to lunar months, but, because of discrepancies between two informants, I suspect the contrary. Tillotson and Ralph Moore both gave calendars, of which the former's is more complete and, I feel certain, more accurate. Both are included for comparison. The indicated month is not to be taken literally--it is simply the informant's guess of the approximate time of year. The translations also suggest the general time of year.

Month	Tillotson	Moore
January	uk-šá^{n}wan-uk (water winter)	t'áwiš hot (bad beginning [weather] big)
March	čačólmol únsil (sprout little)	on-hohin čačólmol (underground sprouts)
April	čačólmol hot (sprout big)	
April-May	hilk'ači (everything sprouted)	
May	lot sákam (grass young)	lot sákam (grass young)
May		hil hólimol (everything opens out)
June	hil hólimol (everything opens out; everything in bloom) pílwan (snow all gone); summer	miakoi^{n}tústik (already getting hot)
August	la^{n}l šímimal (acorn to ripen)	
September	la^{n}l hak'ólimol (acorn to wash) la^{n}l kónimol (acorn to dry); applied to "Indian" summer	
October-November	pal kušu'haihimol (water floats dry leaves down)	pal kušu'haihimol (leaves float out on water)
November	mul ná^{n}t únsil (creek freeze little)	
December	mul ná^{n}t hot (creek freeze big)	t'awišúčič (bad beginning weather)

Names were collected for only two phases of the moon: yúkitik (he's up there), new moon; šátili (he's big), full moon.

DAYS OF THE WEEK

Aboriginally, a check on individual days was limited to today (ka inái'), tomorrow (hao, morning star), day after tomorrow (wá^{n}k haó, next morning star), yesterday (sum), day before yesterday (husám, before---). Later the white man's week was adopted, with the following Yuki names:

Monday	witpa' (work get up); get up to work
Tuesday	wit opí (work two); second work day
Wednesday	wit mólmi (work three)
Thursday	wit omahá^{n}t (work four)
Friday	wit huik'ó (work five)
Saturday	wit pawiwístik (one day left to work)
Sunday	wit kasnó (work rest); rest day

CARDINAL DIRECTIONS

Great confusion exists in the minds of informants on the names of the cardinal directions. Tillotson, Ralph Moore, and Little Toby gave names that only remotely correlate. Barrett's list[44] likewise shows disagreement. I reproduce here in tabular form all four sources.

[44] 1908:77.

Directions	Tillotson	Moore	Toby	Barrett
North	há'e	hák'i (up top)	kútk'i	ku't
South	kúti'ít	kútk'i (to the bottom); onk'ol (earth mortar basket)	enk'okma	haki, onhali
East	hao molit (morning star toward)	pilant kánkmol (sun comes up)	pilati-kamahóhin (sun under)	on-k'ol-am (earth mortar basket)
West	piloti lúti (sun goes down)	pilant lút-mol	pilati-lut'ma (sun goes down)	uk-hot-am (ocean)
Up, skyward .	k'ai	mit	---	mit
Down, under, earthward. .	hóhin; k'ak	on-hóhin	---	hut-cuk

Actually, it was more convenient simply to point in the direction desired and say "Over there," or "That way." The fact that direction names, such as kutk'i and on-k'ol, have become interchanged in the minds of informants indicates that the English appellations came into use at an early time.

TIME OF DAY

George Moore said that time of day was estimated from the length of one's own shadow. Tillotson indicated the time of day as follows:

hao lamik (morning star rises)
hao (morning star); same as "tomorrow"
pilóti kókitik (sunrise)
k'auláⁿk (in the morning)
inaí'-tik (noon)
inaí'-hawai wankil (day eat after); afternoon, one o'clock
sam lámik (toward evening)
pilóti lut (sunset)
hušámtik (dusk)
naⁿktik (dark)
naⁿk (night)
inaí (day)

COLORS

Names of colors were obtained indirectly by asking informants to indicate the color of various objects, such as clothing, paper, and the like. Grays, yellows, browns, and other intermediate colors caused the greatest difficulty, and were variously indicated.

The following colors were named: red, t'uí or aⁿsič; white, č'al; black, šíik; blue, sik; gray, suk or pot; brown or yellow, pot; green, sičal.

COUNTING

The aboriginal octonary system of counting has been completely forgotten by present-day Yuki; retained is merely the memory that sticks were placed between the fingers to aid in counting. Likewise, with the passing of this system went the terms themselves, the decimal system with English terms being substituted. Tillotson could count only to six, Ralph Moore knew an additional word, for ten, and Little Toby went straight through to ten. The principal interest in the numeral system today lies in the fact that it is an example of how completely one phase of aboriginal culture can disappear. The following are numbers from one to ten:

1, páⁿwi
2, ópi
3, mólmi
4, omaháⁿt
5, huik'ó
6, mikačilkí
7, mikaskó
8, pompát
9, hučampáŋ
10, hučam-omahaⁿtsúl

Moore gave the term mipat-aⁿlwa (hands all even) for ten. This may have been a transitional term used for a time during the switch from the old to the present system.

Though their material culture was crude, even for California, the Yuki had elaborate ritualistic practices and well-developed religious and cosmological concepts, most interesting of which is the belief in a powerful Supreme Being. Yuki religion and related supernatural concepts must have formed a well-integrated, functional whole.

Unfortunately, the culture has been so destroyed that it is impossible in many instances to get even semicomplete information. The original shock of contact and forced subservience to the whites caused drastic changes in the Yuki way of living. Some ceremonies have been abandoned for fifty or more years, and others have struggled through the years in broken form. The final blow came about 1930 when the Pentecostal Church appeared upon the scene. This has brought, be it said to its credit, a new lease of life to the maladjusted Indians, but has proved to be the ethnographer's undoing. Old beliefs are considered bad, and must be forgotten as soon as possible; the new beliefs are the true beliefs, and must be embraced with wholehearted fervor. All games, dances, and ceremonies consequently have been abandoned, and the new focus of life is the church. With these handicaps, it is small wonder that vagueness and doubt will be expressed many times in the following pages. The reconstruction is simply as near an approximation to the old pattern as it seems possible to make.

THE SUPREME BEING

To aid in an understanding of the position of Taikomol (he who walks alone) as creator and supreme being, the reader will find it profitable to consult Kroeber's Yuki myths.[45]

In the beginning, there was only water, upon which floated a down feather. As Coyote (hulk'oi) looked on, this feather emerged in human form--Taikomol. Taking from his body material for sewing, he proceeded to make the world, somewhat in the manner of a coiled basket, while Coyote helped by running errands. The earth in order, mankind was created by giving life to sticks, the largest becoming men, smaller ones women, and the smallest, children. Then he brought the Ghost Dance to man, but the real ghosts were so powerful that the initiates could not survive the test. So, disguised human beings were substituted for real ghosts (see "Hulk'ilal-woknam"). Various other incidents occurred: the placing of other tribes in their habitat, teaching them their languages and ways of doing things, and the introduction of death through Coyote's desire that his dead son should not be resurrected.

More rarely, Taikomol was called by two other names: onúhaknamliki (one who sewed the earth together), the reason being quite evident from the above creation summary; miatk'onitatisi namliki (our language which is made in the beginning by him).

As can be seen, Taikomol was envisaged in anthropomorphic form. His home was the sky, from where he looked down upon all that went on below. By many he was thought to be in the clouds. When big thunderheads rolled up, the people said, "ká'-ahik ([he's] looking out [at us])," and they were vaguely uneasy. "Maybe he's going to do something." Perhaps he was looking for a wrongdoer. Thunder (alámol), the voice of Taikomol, was heard when he was angry. Lightning (p'áhi) resulted from thunder, and might strike down one who had incurred the wrath of Taikomol. By some it was understood to be the eyes of the Supreme Being, flashing with anger. Normally, only trees were struck, as a warning of the displeasure of Taikomol, but there was always the possibility that persons would be struck. To guard against this, doctors were called upon. Ordinary men could not understand Taikomol's voice, but certain doctors, mitš-lamšími, could. They would stand in the rain, hands upstretched, and plead, "Please stop. My people are afraid. Why are you doing this?" Or, "Father, be careful. We're living here. Be easy with us. We're doing the best we can." Gradually, after such entreaties, the clouds would disappear. One informant said that Taikomol was placated through the smoking of tobacco and scattering of the ashes in the wind by the doctors.

Mixed feelings accompanied clouds and rain, since it was recognized that blessings as well as dangers came with thunder. Mention has been made of the army worms, which were announced by thunder. Rains also were sent so that things on earth could grow. Thus, Taikomol was not always angry when his voice was heard.

A corollary concept of Taikomol was that of a giant eagle or condor, referred to as Pal or Mitlíli (heaven noise), who guarded a large heavenly block of flint or obsidian, from which he chipped small flints, packed them on his back, and from time to time threw them to earth. This was the source of all flints in existence. Mitlíli was also one source of spiritual power for doctors.

Today, the Yuki Supreme Being has become integrated with the conception of God. In accounts of Taikomol, the term "God" or "Our Father" is more frequently used than any of the aboriginal terms.

To summarize, we find Taikomol to be anthropomorphic, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent, pleased with his children when they lived by his word, and angered when they did not. This surprisingly Christian interpretation is not the result of contact with whites; the concept is too deeply ingrained in Yuki culture to be other than extremely ancient. With this in mind, it is not

[45] 1932b.

surprising to find that the Pentecostal Church has received its most enthusiastic support from the Yuki remnants in Round Valley. They represent by far the largest and most faithful unit in the church, out of all proportion to population, though of course members of other tribes are also attendants. Apparently this is the incorporation of a new trait into the old, well-established Yuki religious pattern.

PRAYER

Prayer is an expected corollary to the Yuki conception of a Supreme Being and Taikomol was definitely the object of these supplications; they were not of the animistic nature of other California tribes. "Rain" prayers by doctors have been mentioned above. In the discussion of the hamnam-wok there is mentioned the plea of a doctor for Taikomol to punish him rather than a misbehaving girl.

Ralph Moore gave the following grace, invariably said by his father before a meal:

> Eŋ-k'un ká asát ha^{n}wai tat asát t'u op tat asát čaó^{n} op tat mi p'amiki eŋ-k'un asát t'ú tat k'o t'il.
>
> My-father that (dem. adj.) our food good our heart on good our insides on good us will-be my-father our heart good set right.

A prayer said in one's house before setting out on a hunting trip:

> Tat eŋ-k'un mi naó^{n}hink us tútop melčki.
>
> Good my-father us watch we hunt are-going-to.

And for building a fish dam:

> Tat eŋ-k'un mi nánsa ká kila mi hot ha^{n}waikil p'amiki.
>
> Good my-father us help this at-this-time us plenty-(big) to-eat will-be.

Springs were recognized as being both bad and good. The possibility of drinking by chance out of one containing vague, ill-defined power for evil was met by the following brief prayer:

> Tat eŋ-k'un ká úk námsa.
>
> Good my-father this water lay-out.

OTHER SPIRITS

The Yuki pantheon included in addition to Taikomol a number of lesser spirits, some good, some bad, some indifferent. Most important were the múmolno'm, who were conceived of as little men, about 2 feet high, with gray beards and hair. They lived in the mountains in inaccessible places, and their importance lay in giving power to doctors; also they caused illness by shooting pains into the victim's body. Though supernatural, they were dealt with without fear by doctors who at times were very rough with them. Moreover, they controlled in some vague manner the spirits of deer.

Three specific places are recorded as the homes of múmolno'm: (1) "eagle noise rock," situated below the Dos Rios-Covelo road about one mile from Dos Rios. Because of its sharp conical shape, it was considered a múmolno'm dance house. (2) Round Mountain, south of the Hop Ranch above Eel River. (3) Another conical rock on the south side of the Eel River, a short distance above the Etrel Ferry. Múmolno'm also lived in other places, which have been forgotten.

Supplementing the múmolno'm, though less important, were the sút'omol, known as "deer mistresses." They were small, like the múmolno'm, and could cure or cause illness and bring hunting luck. They were not, as one might imagine, wives of the múmolno'm. A woman doctor-to-be received her power from them in dreams. Since women doctors were less common than men, it is not surprising to find less developed ideas concerning their guardian spirits.

"Mil" spirits may be another term for múmolno'm, since they are said to control deer souls. Kroeber records[46] the term "milili" and equates it with the eagle guarding the flint rock, who had control over deer.

Creatures known as uksa (water eagle) lived in the waters under the mountains, and made their appearance along river courses in deep pools, caves, and under overhanging rocks. Several places were believed to be entrances to their home: a spot several miles above the Eel River Ranger Station; on Willow Creek beside the road; and most definitely a spot, lil hučós (rock sharp), a short distance above the Etrel crossing of the Eel River. This is a high, sharp rock that looks like a sitting woman, and on the water level a deep crack runs into the mountain. If one listened carefully, singing and drumming could be heard. This was the sound made by the uksa in their home under the mountains. A legend is connected with the spot:

> A woman was jealous of her husband because he always went around with other women. One day she became angry, took their small baby on her back, and sat down on the hillside where the rock is now situated. "I'm going to kill myself," she said, and thrust her arms forward. On the third movement she jumped into the water, but, instead of dying, an uksa took her, transformed her into its kind, and there she still lives.

The uksa, a sort of "were-eagle," could assume human form, the most common guise being that of a beautiful woman whose long hair flowed behind her in the water. Attracted by this siren, an unwary Yuki was likely to be lured to her home, from which in all probability he would never return. If by chance he should return, death resulted if he told of his experience. The uksa controlled the spirits of fish, whom they directed and with whom they spoke. Because of this it was useless

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[46] Handbook, 196.

to fish in the vicinity of a spot known to be frequented by uksa. Múmol-lamšími and mits-lamšími had power over uksa, who also caused illness.

Other spirits, though of lesser importance since they were not connected with doctoring, were objects of common experience. They were:

alčoyam ata. These people were smaller than humans and spoke an unknown language. They lived within the mountains, and came out from time to time to gather acorns. Able to hypnotize, alčoyam men captured Yuki women, and alčoyam women Yuki men, whom they took to their homes as mates. They seldom killed people, but also seldom allowed an Indian once under their influence to return home. The description suggests múmol-no'm, but informants insist they were not. Since no mention of spirit control is made, a fundamental difference becomes apparent.

ukámol (water panthers). Ukámol were water creatures similar to the uksa, but controlled no spirits. The following is a Ta'no'm ukámol story.

A group of women were gathering, and the small boy of one of them tagged along. Pretty soon they came to a river, which the women crossed, leaving the boy, whom they did not want along, behind. He cried and cried, but they paid no attention to him. By and by a water panther came and took the child under the water and beneath the mountain. Here the panther people lived, just as Indians, eating the same food and speaking the same language. After ten years, the boy was grown to a young man, and the panther people told him he could go home. But they warned him that if he ever told where he had been, he would die. He was welcomed by his people, who thought him long since dead, but soon they began to ask him all sorts of questions about where he had been. These he refused to answer. This went on for about a year, and his people became meaner and meaner--Indians are sometimes like that. Finally he became desperate and said, "All right, my people. All gather around and I'll tell you. I'm going to die if I tell, but I'll tell you all about it just the same." He was desperate by this time. So they all gathered around, and he told the whole story. When he had finished, he simply fell over and died.

musp-wášit (bear women). A type of werebear, they could be seen during the manzanita-berrying time. Women of fine features, beautiful tattoo marks and glorious bodies, they carried their long, flowing hair in pack baskets. Their almost irresistible charms were fatal to the Yuki who allowed himself to be drawn near.

poi'koí^{n}, a poisonous water animal resembling a cow in form. Legend tells about this creature, which inhabited a nonexistent bottomless lake in Titamno'm territory. People camped alongside the lake noticed that children were disappearing and they thought, "They have drowned, but no matter, they'll float to the surface after a while." That is the way it happens when a person drowns. By and by, however, they accidentally saw the monster, so they suspected it of killing the children. They gathered bows and arrows to kill it, but this was difficult because the monster's poisonous blood killed all those who were splashed with it. Finally, however, they succeeded, and no more children disappeared. But it was a great year for poisoning, because the poison doctors made off with the blood, which was the strongest poison ever known.

minkut hót (owl big). These creatures stood as high as a man, pounced upon unsuspecting Indians, carried them to their abodes in dark canyons, and ate them. Legend tells of one in William's Valley who ate many children. He was finally trailed and killed by a group of men, and a big pile of human bones beside him proved that he was the guilty party,

Other spirits no doubt existed, some known only by legend, as the poi'koí^{n}, and others occurring in more general experience. The ones here described are sufficient to give the general picture of the type of spiritual beings imagined by the Yuki. No two Indians had quite the same list, but the general pattern portrayed was common to all. With the exception of the minkut hót and the poi'koí^{n}, all examples given were known to all informants.

THE SOUL AND THE HEREAFTER

The essence of life was considered to be the breath (otum). When a person breathed, he lived; when his breath departed, he died. The heart (t'u) was a secondary seat of life, but the breath more nearly resembles our conception of a soul. When a person died, his soul before reaching its final destination had first to revisit all of the places where he had ever been--each camp site, each hunting ground, each fish pool, each village. This required up to a month. Souls of children accomplished the journey in one week; being younger they had traveled less and consequently had a shorter itinerary. The word for sky (mit) is synonymous with heaven, and it was here that the souls of most, if not all persons went. Beyond the fact that it was a clean, fragrant land, with an abundance of acorns and game, and that the flint rock Pal could be seen, ideas about it were vague. Tillotson believed that all souls, regardless of merit, went to heaven, after first crossing water. Breath was the gift of Taikomol to all babies, so it was natural that all should return to him. The idea of punishment and reward was not considered by him (Tillotson). Ralph Moore denied that the soul crossed water, and was joined by George Moore in insisting that the souls of bad people remained on and under the earth, becoming on-hohin atat (under earth persons), a form of ghost or devil. This concept seems more likely in view of the nature of Taikomol, but the dis-

agreement indicates that there was no complete unity in such a vague matter as final destinations for the soul.

George Moore said that if a person were killed and his blood spilled on the ground, he could not go to heaven, but would be sentenced to remain, forever tormented, on earth.

If a girl died during her first menstruation, it was believed her soul traveled along the rainbow to heaven. It was not known how other people got there. Informants knew that other tribes believed the Milky Way was a pathway, but they denied it for the Yuki.

Spirits of dead people could return whenever they wished, but they caused no harm. Tillotson's wife Lizzie died in 1937. His sister Maggie Dorman had heard her several times saying "hello." Maggie simply lightly scolded her, telling her to return whence she came. While spirits of the dead were not exactly feared, it was felt best that they should not come too often.

One hot summer evening Tillotson heard his wife's mother who had recently died. He was sleeping outdoors beside her old shack, and in the night awoke and heard the sound, "u-hui, u-hui," an expression she had always used, meaning, "oh, my." He was not frightened, and said, "Hello, I thought you were dead and gone a long time ago. It's good to hear your voice. I'm alone here too. Won't you say something?" Evidently she had nothing to say, and after several "u-huis," nothing more was heard, and Tillotson went back to sleep. If he had been frightened, he would have become ill and likely died.

Both of these incidents occurred shortly after the death of the person, within the time limit of one month. But informants said they might return even after reaching the final destination of heaven.

Whirlwinds (čáimol), the souls of dead persons, were not feared. One chided them, saying that they were now dead and should return whence they had come. One might say, "Well, I guess that's you, but we're all right." As a whirlwind brushed by, that was about all one had time to say.

Tillotson knew of no formula to keep spirits away; Ralph Moore said that smoke was efficacious. If their presence were suspected, a smudge could be built outside the house entrance to drive them away.

There is no record of a belief in reincarnation.

MISCELLANEOUS COSMOLOGICAL SPECULATIONS

The earth (on), which was surrounded by water, was believed to be supported on the huge front paws of a giant mole (onpóyam). Another account states that Mole held up the sky only. Once when the mischievous offspring of Thunder (Taikomol), the twin boys (húmilšílči and čiyi), were playing, the former shot at a butterfly with his supernatural sling, and the pellet went so far and so hard that it cracked the heavens, which immediately began to split asunder. Mole, the boys' grandmother, came quickly to the rescue, supporting the sky with her front paws until it grew together again. That is why the paws of Mole bend backward in such a peculiar fashion. As a result of this incident the sky is much farther from the earth than it was formerly.

Two explanations were offered for earthquakes: (1) a mountain at the edge of the world exploded. (2) Mole, supporting the earth, became tired, and shifted position. The people, far from being frightened, rejoiced, for it was believed the earth would now have fresh strength.

The sun (piláti or pilánt) was stolen from its former unknown owners by Coyote, and after many experiments eventually placed in the east, because at this point only it made light when it rose. In the evening, after a hard day's run, the sun was very hungry, and required six deer and four baskets of acorn soup to satisfy its great appetite. Thus, a greedy person was called "sun." After a meal, the sun returned via the water to the east, ready to begin the next day's trip.

An eclipse was believed to be caused by a bear trying to devour the sun, but there is no record of trying to frighten the bear away by shouting or drumming. The sun was thought to be the controller of rattlesnakes.

The moon (lašk'áwol, less to make light; figuratively, to make less light) was the wife of sun, and was also taken by Coyote from its former owners. Its home was in the west, and unlike sun, it did not make a complete circuit of the earth. The new moon rose slightly, just at sunset, became visible only when the sun had disappeared, and then followed the sun back down. The next night it rose a little higher, and so on until when full it appeared at the eastern horizon. It was conceived as being born, growing to fullness, and dying each month. In the dark of the moon, people said, "She is dead." Mention has already been made of the growth-aiding properties of the new moon for young children (see "Infancy and Childhood"). The moon was also an indicator of rain. When the crescent was up, like a bowl, it was a sign of rain, since it was full. When the crescent slanted, there would be no rain--all the water had run out. (At this latitude the crescent is always inclined.)

The morning star (hao) was thought of as a young woman placed by Coyote to announce the sunrise. Rising a short distance above the horizon, it shone brightly, and then returned to its starting point. Properly heralded, the sun began its day's trek.

Various constellations were known, and some, including the Pleiades (tu^{n}p), named; but no special beliefs are known to have been attached to them.

The rainbow (sik-wástlik, blue to stand--significance unknown) was believed to be dangerous to point at: the fingers would become crooked, the hand swell, or the forearm become thin and flat. Likewise a person's eyes would become weak if he looked at it too long. George Moore stated it was made up of three colors: white, blue, and red. The red was caused by the menstrual blood of all the women in the world. These statements tally with other related statements. Menstrual blood was the deadliest of all poisons, so even at the great distance of the rainbow it might well have the bad effects described. The rainbow as the path to heaven of girls who died during their first menstruation has been mentioned, indicating a direct connection between the rainbow and menstruation.

Owls were able to foretell rain, and in olden days, doctors retired to the woods to consult them. Rains were classed as "good" (t'úm tat), meaning those that come in the spring, and "bad" (t'um kačam), those that came at a time that interfered with any activities.

Wind (p'uns) was the breath of Taikomol. "He blows upon us."

Coyote (hulk'oi), the unreliable aid to Taikomol, was immortal. Whenever he was killed, at least a little blood spilled, and from this, like Phoenix, he rose again. Deer and salmon, by the same logic, are still believed to be immortal. Another informant stated that if hunting became too intense, the deer would be called into the mountains by their guardians, the múmolno'm, and come out but rarely. This is what has happened to the elk. Formerly they were plentiful in the mountains around Round Valley. They were not killed off; hunting became so intense that they were forced into the mountains, and are no longer seen.

Obsidian chips (wa'i ikutam) from the heavenly obsidian rock (kičil lil) were sometimes found in the mountains and were thought to be bits carelessly let fall by Pal, the eagle, from his carrying net. When a man found one, he sang a wordless song and left some slight token--a bit of string or a shirt--as recognition of the kindness of Pal. The obsidian was carried in the discoverer's clothing or carrying net, since if it came into contact with him, or should he fail to leave an offering, it would disappear. Ralph Moore knew of a disbeliever many years ago who failed to observe the strictures and so lost his booty. Though of a supernatural nature and hence highly valued, they appear never to have had a practical use. Before meals, all people turned toward the resting place of a blade, and offered food to it: "ká mihik mit us haⁿwaimiki, this it-is yours we are-going-to-eat." If not "fed" and "watered" in such fashion, it would disappear.

It is possible that Mount Sanhedrin was the source of obsidian, as indicated by its name wa'i lil (obsidian rock).

Quartz crystals (wa'i) were much valued. Kroeber reports[47] that they were used practically in bloodletting.

GHOSTS

There were two principal categories of ghosts: (1) spirits of dead people; (2) undefined spirits referred to as naⁿk atat (night people). Neither was dangerous unless it frightened a person, in which case illness and possible death resulted. Unless a ghost spoke it was impossible to tell to which category it belonged. Ghosts appeared as normal humans, as skeletons, as 15-foot figures, as fire, as animals, as whirlwinds, or as sounds without accompanying forms. In the latter case, the voice was chided, reminded that it was dead, and that it should return to the spirit world. Some people were more disposed to ghostly encounters than others, and had the same experience several times. Several examples of personal meetings with ghosts were given by Tillotson:

Once I was returning from Cap Dorman's in the evening, when I noticed a figure following me. It looked like a young girl of about five, with blond hair and a pink nightgown. When I stopped, it stopped, about 12 feet behind me. When I approached it, it walked backward. Finally I came to the house of Jim Woods, an old man. A house pit was outside, and the figure stood on the other side. I looked at it and said, "What are you, anyway? I want to know." Old Jim heard me and came out, and just at that moment it disappeared. I was in a cold sweat, so I spent the night with Jim. The next day, Santyana, a blind old man that I lived with, who doctored some, sang over me with a cocoon rattle, rubbed me with angelica, and told me not to roam around at night. The night, he said, was made for sleeping, not wandering, and if one did, one might see ghosts. If Santyana hadn't doctored me, I would have become sick and maybe died.

I was coming home from a dance on a misty, moonlight night, when I saw a figure in front of me, kneeling, with its head down and hands clasped. I didn't recognize him, so I spoke, but when he didn't answer, I went up to look closer. I bent over him, looked at his face, but still didn't know him. His eyes were closed, and yet he seemed to be looking at me. Then I began swearing at him, telling him to speak, but still he didn't answer. So I backed up, picked up a rock, and threatened to throw it, but still he wouldn't answer. Finally I hit him in the chest with the rock, and it made a loud thud, but caused no answer. Just then my brother-in-law came down the road, and I shouted, "Come see what I've found." And just at this moment, while I was looking directly at the figure, it disappeared into thin air, but not before my brother had seen it. It was a ghost, all right.

People who don't believe in ghosts eventually

[47] Handbook, 199.

see them. One night two of us had been visiting a couple of girls, and about midnight we started home. It was a very dark night. On the way, it was necessary to pass a graveyard, and as we approached it, we saw a huge light, bigger than a house. As we watched it, animals like big dogs came and jumped into the fire. One after the other they did it, until about a dozen had gone through. Finally the fire disappeared and we went on. The fire was about one hundred yards away. The fellow with me was an unbeliever, but he certainly believed in ghosts after that. That was about fifty years ago (ca. 1887). Another time I was returning from a grass game and I saw the same thing. I walked around the edge of it and watched it for a good many minutes.

People sometimes dreamed about devils (on-hohin atat, under earth person). This was a dangerous thing, and in earlier times, a mits-lamšími doctor was summoned, who talked to the devil, chastised it, and told it not to bother the individual. The shaman's power was greater than that of the devil, and henceforth the dreamer was safe. It was believed that if he "took hold of the devil," that is, allowed himself to come under its influence and learn the songs the devil would teach, he would soon die.

INITIATION CEREMONIES

No feature of Yuki life has caused more confusion than the two initiations, the Hulk'ilal-woknam and the Taikomol-woknam. Both were abandoned shortly after the coming of the white man, and in the course of time, specific events have become blurred in the minds of living Yuki--events which were told to them more or less accurately, and which they never observed first hand. Incertitude as to whether a certain element belongs to one or the other ceremony is one result. Fear of the Hulk'ilal and of the poisoning propensities of some of its members has caused it to be neglected, and even a conscious effort to forget it is mentioned by some Yuki. Common statements are: "It's bad." "We don't like to talk about it." "We are trying to forget it." Other persons even went so far as to deny its existence, an obvious falsehood, but an excellent testimonial to the fear which it inspired. Fear of poisoning by magical or non-magical means has always been strong, and there are those today who have at some time in their lives been poisoned. In view of this well-developed pattern, it is not surprising that information about the Hulk'ilal-woknam is difficult to obtain.

Wok (dance) nam (to lie); the compound is about the equivalent of "initiation," or as the Yuki themselves translate it, "school." The "nam" becomes intelligible when we understand that for a large part of the time the initiates lay perfectly motionless in the dance house. Dancing was an important phase of the Hulk'ilal, but seems to have been absent in the Taikomol ceremony.

Hulk'ilal-woknam

The Hulk'ilal-woknam (eye-striped initiation; significance unknown) was a ghost dance in which members imitated "devils" or "ghosts," and is described as having been given to man by Taikomol. Whether all boys went through the initiation or not is uncertain. Graduates learned poisoning techniques, and certain ones functioned in a curative role in coöperation with certain Taikomol graduates.

Instruction in the creation story and in other matters of tribal lore played a basic part in the Taikomol-woknam. Parents of the students and, at least in later times, women were admitted to the dance house while the school was going on, indicating that it was less esoteric than the Hulk'-ilal-woknam.

Previous data by Kroeber, Loeb, and Curtis indicate the confusion that exists about the two ceremonies and their relationship with the wider Kuksu concept. The following discrepancies give some idea of this, and indicate the disagreement among informants themselves.

Kroeber reports[48] that boys could be initiated and reinitiated into the Hulk'ilal, whereas Loeb states[49] only once. Kroeber reports the ceremony as lasting only four days;[50] Loeb says all winter. Again, in a biographical account, Kroeber has record[51] of a four-day fast and then all-winter seclusion, with subsequent repetitions of the dance. Loeb finds that graduates did not become doctors, whereas Kroeber feels that they might, but did not always do so. My information checks more closely with Kroeber's, and indicates that Hulk'ilal graduates, if not actually doctors, were "doctors' assistants" who aided Taikomol doctors, called hilyulit, by dancing, singing, and ghost-impersonation. This again suggests the relation between the two societies that is known to exist, but which tantalizingly lacks concrete data to demonstrate. The Hulk'ilal ghosts of the Yuki are the equivalent of the Eastern and Clear Lake Pomo hahluigak and of the River Patwin wai-saltu.

A synthesis of my data gives the following picture of the initiations.

The Hulk'ilal-woknam was given by Taikomol, probably to be used as an aid in doctoring. The original Hulk'ilal (ghosts) were genuine, but the shock was too great, and all initiates promptly died. In a second successful attempt, Taikomol taught the Yuki to impersonate the spirits. Later, the society became corrupted, and its great power was put to evil uses by some of the members, producing the curious situation of Hulk'ilal poisoners, diagnosers, and curers, all as members of the same organization.

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[48]Handbook, 185.

[49]1932:66.

[50]Handbook, 187.

[51]Handbook, 189.

It is not certain whether all boys went through the initiation. Ralph Moore's grandfather, Jim Moore, began one of the last performances, but after a time quit; that he was allowed to "flunk out" may have been a reflection of changing times.

To begin, the initiates were thrown into the dance house through the wood hole, and arranged by the witol (janitor) around the fire. During the succeeding four-day fast, several ghost dances took place. Either the ghosts were present when the boys were thrown in, or they entered shortly afterward. For subsequent impersonations, the actors dressed in the woods, painting their bodies in white, black, and red horizontal stripes. Pepperwood and manzanita wreaths and leaves covered their heads, and faces were distorted by twigs in mouths and nostrils. Thus, the concealing function of masks was fulfilled without the apparatus itself. The long cry "pu......." from the hills indicated that the ghosts were ready, and the men in the dance house answered in like manner. The "janitor" mounted to the roof and shouted, "he, he, he, he" while the ghosts approached in pairs from different directions. (My informants said two pairs only, front and rear of the house; Kroeber reports two, three, or four pairs. Probably the number varied depending upon the size of membership at any particular time.) As they alternately advanced and retreated, the "janitor" advised the people below of their actions. Then all men backed to the wall, leaving clear the center of the house and the drum to the rear. As the ghosts entered, they were directed to one side, and if they promptly went to the other, their genuineness was considered proven. Ghosts fulfilled likewise the function of clowns, mocking each other, jumping without regard to the dance rhythm, and trying to mislead the other dancers. After an undetermined time, including a period of dancing upon the foot drum, the ghosts left, and after ridding themselves of their disguises, one by one filtered back into the dance house. It is uncertain whether more than one performance occurred every twenty-four hours.

The bull-roarer (alámol k'ani) was frequently used. It was called "thunder voice" and represented the voice of Taikomol, who was equated with Thunder. Graduates were known as sak'il-hót-no'm (big spring people). Any seepage spot is called sak'il. A large spring in Witukomno'm territory is believed to be the place where the voice of Taikomol emerged, first revealing the ceremony to mankind.

Taikomol-woknam

This ceremony, described as a "boys' high school," was related in some unknown manner to the Kuksu cult. Since it was last observed more than fifty years ago, its nature and function, let alone its details, are uncertain in the minds of surviving Yuki. I do not believe, as Loeb suggests,[52] that it was a "higher education" limited to promising graduates of the Hulk'ilal-woknam. It was rather a ritualistic period of instruction for all youths of the tribe, specializing in the mythology surrounding the creation of Taikomol and his subsequent adventures with Coyote, as well as more practical arts and crafts. In addition, it served to train a few select boys as Taikomol doctors.

At the prescribed time, all participating youths, varying in age from eight to perhaps sixteen, entered the dance house and were assigned permanent places for the duration of the ceremony by the "janitor." For the first four days the boys lay or sat, forbidden to talk or turn until the signal was given by the "janitor." Absolute fasting was required. Food was held out toward them and quickly withdrawn when they reached for it; this taught stoicism for later life. To urinate, the "janitor" conducted the boys outside, heads carefully covered with a blanket or basket. This feature shows an interesting similarity to the girls' puberty rite. (Loeb reports it for Hulk'ilal-woknam only.)

After four days, vegetal food was given to the near-famished youths, but meat, fat, and fish were forbidden until after graduation. Then commenced the instruction proper in lore and mythology, under the direction of an old man. By informants he was sometimes called ti'ol (chief) and sometimes onwisimol; the latter was said by some to be the chief's title during the ceremony. The last Yuki instructor was known as "mipan-wilak," a nickname because of his peculiar webbed toes. Loeb[53] erroneously gives this as the name of the position.

Kroeber's description[54] of the song-prose cycle for unfolding the Yuki creation story is, in spite of its brevity, the best account in existence. The old man sat on a bearhide, illustrating his songs and remarks with eagle feathers, which represented the word of Taikomol. Down feathers were released at the proper moment, symbolic of the foam from which Taikomol spoke, or of Taikomol himself, who is represented as a down feather floating upon water.

My informants said a split-stick rattle was used to emphasize the story, and not, as reported by Kroeber, a cocoon rattle. A rattle was a sign of rejoicing: Taikomol had used one each time he completed a new phase in his creation of the earth. A bone whistle was blown at the commencement of each sentence to give further emphasis, and was symbolic of the voice of Taikomol. The storyteller had a pile of small twigs beside one foot, one of which he transferred to the other foot as each episode of the story was completed, stopping for the day when the last twig had been moved. If a

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[52]1932:167.

[53]1932:67.

[54]Handbook, 184.

restless youth moved and disturbed the account, instruction ceased immediately until the next day.

A full day was long and arduous, and not uncommonly parents came and sat behind their sons to support them, also to review their own mythology. They brought presents of rope, furs, nets, and feathers as payments for the services of the old man. No mention was made of payment to the hard-working "janitor."

Following the creation myth, instruction in other phases of Yuki culture occurred--the making of feather capes and headdresses, singing, dancing, the magical formulae to aid hunting, and the like. Whenever a boy showed special aptitude toward something, he was trained in this line. How a few selected youths could be taught the ritual of a Taikomol doctor without disclosing the esoteric phases to the others is not clear.

The end of the school was celebrated by building a fire, sweating, and tossing the boys out through the smoke hole. Graduates were henceforth known as potilolsil (young one dust).

There was no limit to the number of times a person might go through the "high school," and a few seem to have returned on consecutive years to perfect themselves in the special fields elected.

Some confusion has existed concerning the time of year for the Taikomol-woknam, Kroeber and Loeb reporting a winter, and Curtis a summer season. My first information suggested a summer season, but it later developed that this was true only for the modified cases that occurred before the school was abandoned; winter was the aboriginal time. In the last several Taikomol-woknams, women also were admitted. Curtis reports that originally girls were given a similar period of instruction by other old men in a different house. When interest in the ritual dwindled, due to the breakdown of the old culture, both sexes were taken together in order to have a full school.

This feature of admission of women, and of allowing parents of both sexes to attend is a strong point suggesting that the relationship with the Kuksu was less strong than has sometimes been supposed. It may reflect influence of the Ta'no'm obsidian initiation ceremony, which took both sexes on equal terms. Taikomol, the "Big Head," appeared at no time during the period of instruction, but on the back wall of the dance house was hung the "Big Head" paraphernalia which was explained by the old man. The use of the bull-roarer was denied in connection with the school.

This concludes my sketchy material on both ceremonies. Several points call for attention. The "Big Head" seemingly appeared in neither ceremony, and yet his presence in some dances, and in the Taikomol-lit curing assemblies, is accepted fact. He appeared in some of the more recent "pay" dances, but this was a modern development having as its purpose both the enrichment of dancers and the giving of added attraction to a dying custom.[55]

It is not known whether one performance of each school was attended by all Yuki, or whether each Yuki subgroup had its own instructors and initiates. The last occurrences of both the Hulk'ilal and Taikomol-woknams certainly were attended by initiates from over the entire Yuki territory. In the full bloom of aboriginal culture, larger populations make it seem quite possible that there were at least two or more terms running concurrently.

KIČIL-WOKNAM

The northern Yuki, the Ta'no'm, had neither the Taikomol-woknam nor the Hulk'ilal-woknam. Instead, they had the obsidian school, or Kičil-woknam, a ceremony differing markedly both in function and nature from the other two. The Kato and Huchnom were the point of origin for the first-named schools, and the Wailaki for the last. No living Yuki has ever seen the Kičil-woknam, and had not Kroeber obtained an account of it many years ago, we would be absolutely lacking in information.[56]

In tenor, it resembles a general tribal puberty rite, under the direction of shamans, rather than a secret or semisecret society. Children of both sexes were initiated, and put through a week of fasting, sweating, and severe physical trials. This ordeal was considered beneficial to the in-

[55] Since writing this paper, Dr. Cora Du Bois' The 1870 Ghost Dance has been published. The deeper perspective resulting from this comparative study sheds light on points which, viewed from the Round Valley focus, were not clear. The "Big Head" cult as such is described as a modern manifestation, which "probably detached itself from the Bole-Maru cult and attached itself to a specific set of regalia," i.e. the feather headdress (p. 127). The use of elaborate feather headdresses was, however, an aboriginal feature of Yuki religious ceremonies. In the minds of surviving Yuki the modern "Big Head" development has been confused with the ancient feather headdress used in the impersonation of Taikomol. The appearance of a "Big Head" at "pay" dances, which I had assumed to be a decadent stage of ancient ritual limited to the Yuki alone, turns out to be a modern cult of wider extension, having spread from the Pomo to the Kato, thence to the Yuki, later exhausting itself among the Shasta. Thus, the "pay" dances at which Yuki informants saw dancers wearing "Big Head" feather headdresses actually are identified as belonging to the cult spreading from the Pomo and Kato in 1874 or 1875. But in concept, at least partially, the modern cult was based on an aboriginal trait, i.e. the use of elaborate feather head disguises, to impersonate Taikomol. In certain ceremonies attendant on curing the sick (see p. 217), this function of the Taikomol impersonator is explained.

[56] Handbook, 191-195.

dividual, and at the same time prospective shamans, probably as a result of exhaustion, showed first signs of their future profession. The power for the shamans in charge came from the heavenly block of obsidian, chips of which were displayed during the ceremony. Thus it is seen that the underlying unity in the Yuki area with respect to supernatural beliefs lay not in the particular rituals carried out, but in the basic shamanistic concept of power from a heavenly "rock," ultimately Taikomol himself. Among the northern Yuki this belief actively pervaded tribal life, as evidenced by the position of the Kičil-woknam. Among the more southerly Yuki, it was overlaid by a somewhat more sophisticated development in the form of the Hulk'ilal-woknam and the Taikomol-woknam.

DOCTORING

All persons possessed of supernatural or magical powers are today referred to as "doctors." There is no generic native term for the word.[57] The functions of doctors were primarily to cure and secondarily to cause illness. Two logical categories of doctors are apparent: those who received their power through divine selection--aid by spirits or a deity; those whose power came from instruction by older persons--power without direct divine sanction. This distinction is, for logical reasons, of paramount importance. Doctors of the first class were, in the true sense of the word, "shamans," and for the word there is an exact Yuki equivalent, lamšími. The second class of doctors were not, properly speaking, shamans, and there is no specific Yuki term applicable to all of them. For lack of a better term they will be spoken of collectively as "nonshamans." Powerful men were found in both categories, but there was one important distinction. A shaman ordinarily used his power only to do good, whereas among the nonshamans certain men--but by no means all--were sorcerers, who used their powers to poison victims. Actually, much overlapping occurred. Thus, many doctors who were shamans because of a divine revelation also received additional instruction, and hence were able to cure illnesses normally not considered to be in the province of a true shaman. Shamans, because of training, might even be sorcerers. Within each of the two main categories were various subtypes and gradations, and different informants gave different names for what were probably the same types. This combination of overlapping and varying degrees makes extremely difficult the task of unraveling the several kinds of doctors and their exact functions.

The various doctors can best be understood in relation to the types of disease that occurred, and which had to be combated. Just as no one doctor in our society can cure all types of disease, so it was with the Yuki. Ideally, at least, among civilized peoples a natural predisposition on the part of a young person is developed through careful and skilled training until the new doctor is qualified to take charge of a greater or lesser number of illnesses. Among the Yuki, for the true shamans, at least, this natural predisposition took the form of "election" by spirits who gave the necessary basic power to the novice; careful training under the supervision of practicing doctors completed the needed preparation, prior to actual practicing. Let us first, then, commence with a study of the causes of disease, and afterward consider doctors in the light of the special problems presented.

Broadly speaking, illnesses fall into two categories: those caused by magical or supernatural agencies and those resulting from nonmagical causes. In the latter group are classed such disabilities as broken bones, sprains, wounds, rheumatism, and other aches and pains of less severity. The treatment of these has been discussed under the heading "Medicine."

The more serious causes of disease were:

1. Pains. "Pains" (tihil), generally referred to in literature as "intruded disease objects," were shot into a person by Taikomol, by múmolno'm, and probably by uksa and other spirits. Taikomol shot pains only upon provocation, such as, for example, a breach of taboo (mentioned below). Múmolno'm and lesser spirits usually had no reason. Just as a hornet sometimes stings for no apparent reason, so spirits might shoot an individual with the same motive, or lack of it.

2. Breach of taboo. From informants I frequently heard the expressions, "That's against the Indian way," "He broke the rule of God (Taikomol)," "God has told us how we should do things; He doesn' like it when we go against his rules." The breaking of any recognized taboo was believed to result in illness, sent by Taikomol himself. Frequently the immediate cause was a pain, but I am not certain that this was always true. Tuberculosis was a common form of the wrath of Taikomol, and was believed to result when a man had intercourse with a menstruating woman, or when a woman herself broke any menstrual rules.

3. Rattlesnake bites, and the bites of black-widow spiders. Though the cause of illness here is plain, supernatural agencies were necessary to effect a cure, and for that reason bites are included here rather than among the common, non-magically caused illnesses.

4. Mocking. Those who had no faith in tribal beliefs were likely to become ill. In the discussion of the hamnam-wok there is an account of a girl who became afflicted for such a reason (see p. 183).

5. Bad water. The Yuki believed in good and bad sources of water. Sometimes this was ex-

[57] In 1937 there were no longer practicing Yuki doctors.

plained as due to the presence of uksa or other water spirits, but water not possessing spirits could also be either good or bad.

6. Fright. Fright due to any cause was believed likely to result in illness. (See "Ghosts.") In some respects this category merges with that of bad water; sight of an uksa certainly would have been frightening, and illness might result. Among the Athabascan tribes to the north and including the Wailaki and Kato, soul loss was recognized as resulting from fright, and hence as the true "raison d'être" of this type of illness. The Yuki, as well as the Huchnom and Pomo, were less sophisticated in such speculations and did not have the soul-loss concept. It seems, thus, that we have a peripheral manifestation of the idea of soul loss, embodying the overt action, but without an understanding of the true significance of the underlying belief.

7. Poisoning or "doping." Sorcerers had the ability to make a person ill by poisoning, either through direct contact or by sympathetic magic.

The first five causes were supernatural, the result of Taikomol or lesser spirits. Therefore, the same agencies had to be enlisted to effect a cure. The last two causes might be called "magico-material." Fright had little to do with spirits, beyond the fact that a ghost might be one among many reasons for becoming frightened; it seems to have depended principally upon the susceptibility of the person involved. In "doping," real poisons were required, which might be employed either directly or in a magical manner. To summarize, before proceeding to a detailed explanation, we find five causes of illness requiring treatment by some variety of the shaman, and two requiring treatment by doctors other than shamans.

Shamans (lamšími)

The term lamšími is translated as "doctor" by the Yuki. The particular type of shaman meant is indicated by a prefix.

Most powerful and important was the true shaman, the mits-lamšími (sky or heaven doctor), who could cure everything except cases of poisoning and fright. Men were more commonly mits-lamšíni than women. Power was the result of a supernatural encounter, either in a dream or in a trance, with Taikomol, who was seen in the form of Pal, the eagle who guarded the heavenly obsidian. This power gave the mits-lamšími control over all lesser spirits, principally the múmolno'm, the mil, uksa, and the sun. Other doctors of this category who never received powers from Taikomol were restricted to curing illnesses caused by the spirits they had encountered. The múmol-lamšími, who controlled only the múmolno'm, doctored pains shot by them and restored hunting luck, since they (múmolno'm) controlled deer. Such doctors were also called on-lamšími (earth doctors). Mil-lamšími received power from mil, a vague force in some manner connected with the múmolno'm. They cured people made ill from the breaking of deer taboos and restored a hunter's luck by washing his deer snare in a deer lick, asking the mil spirit the reason for its displeasure, and pleading for the unfortunate hunter.

Pilant-lamšími (sun doctors) received their power from the sun, and were limited to curing rattlesnake bites; between rattlers and the sun there was a direct, if ill-defined connection.

All lamšími doctors cured through the extraction of "pains" by sucking, through the singing of supernaturally revealed songs, and through dancing. Supramundane experiences among the Yuki were of the "elective" type. A person rarely sought an encounter, but once having received the call, it was impossible to refuse. Having seen in a vision Pal and the obsidian rock, the prospective doctor fell into or remained in a trance, bled at the mouth, kicked and jerked. His symptoms were recognized by older doctors, who took him under their care and performed the lámši-wok (doctor dance) in a brush shelter. The doctors, flowers in hair and hands, first danced around the reclining form of the boy (or girl); later, when the novice had recovered strength sufficiently, he joined in the dancing. From time to time he suffered relapses; additional pains were being shot into him by the spirits and, before he learned to control them, their effect was sickening. The doctors sang their songs, and the novice practiced on the one that had been revealed to him, which he would henceforth use in curing. The assisting doctors talked to Taikomol: "Our Father, give this boy a good way of talking ['talking' refers to conversations with the spirits] so that he will be able to save our people. I want you to promise this to me. Please take care of this boy from all danger." The ritual lasted four days, with two main periods of dancing each day. Large crowds of spectators gathered, and, it seems, joined in certain dances. They gladly paid the doctors for their efforts, because it meant a new doctor to help safeguard the health of the tribe. Sometimes several boys received their vision at the same time, or perhaps the sight of a lámši-wok aroused latent tendencies in an onlooker, he would be "struck" by his spirit, bleed, and promptly be taken into the dance. At the conclusion, as for all Yuki ceremonies, a big feast was held. Exhausted by this strenuous ordeal, the new doctor did not begin to practice for some months, and then only slowly, gradually building up his reputation.

At later times he could dream about additional spirits and so gain further powers, but no dance accompanied these experiences.

It is clear that the doctors' dance cannot be considered as instruction in the general sense of the word. Properly speaking, it was a traditionally sanctioned ceremony whose purpose was to "set" the newly revealed powers of the candidate,

and to formally call the attention of the community to the new state of affairs. It should be distinguished from the formal and lengthy training given to doctors of the nonshaman class.

Ralph Moore's father's father, Jim, was a múmol-lamšími and had received his power in an encounter with múmolno'm. Once when he was about twenty, he went hunting, but had poor luck and so decided to stay out overnight in order to get an early start next morning. He awoke early, went to the stream to wash, and upon returning to his sleeping place he heard someone speaking Yuki, but was unable to distinguish the words. Then he wondered, "Who can be around here this early?" As he watched, two little men came out through an opening in a manzanita thicket. He was very astonished, for although he had heard about such men, he had never really expected to see them. They were dressed just alike in fresh deerskins upon which were still to be seen blood stains. Their bows, taller than they, were encased in deerskins, and on each tip dangled a deer tail, which continually quivered in a lifelike manner. One man turned his back, and the other rested on one knee and spoke, "Well, my brother, what are you doing here? We didn't know you were around here. We've been around all morning. You'd best go home." Jim was too surprised to say anything. After a bit the dwarf said, "Well, my little brother, we'll be going along." And the two walked back through the same opening from which they had appeared. Jim heard a crack like that of a small rifle, and saw a cloud of smoke. He started to walk home, and almost immediately fell into a trance. It was like a fit, and he didn't know what he was doing. He rolled on the ground, scattered his arrows, and began to bleed at all his body openings. About four in the afternoon he recovered sufficiently to go on home. He was quite a bloody sight when he arrived, and the people were frightened. But the doctors recognized the trouble, and were much pleased. "Good, we need this kind of a doctor. Everything will be all right." The customary lámši-wok followed, but Jim did not begin to practice until about a year afterward.

When a person became ill, a shaman was sent for; if one so called did not come, he would lose his power. A rope was stretched in the house, and on it beads, blankets, baskets, and other objects of value were hung, the material to be used in paying the doctor if a successful cure ensued. Dissatisfaction with payment offered provided grounds for refusing the case. A doctor could usually tell what was the cause of illness. If he suspected poisoning or fright he referred the victim to the Taikomol-lit doctors (see p. 217); if not, he managed himself. Illness caused by bad water, the breaking of a taboo, or by mockery seems to have required only the singing of curing songs, dancing, and rubbing of the patient with pepperwood and manzanita leaves, prefaced with a short discussion between shaman and spirit as to the best procedure. If pains had been shot into the victim by múmolno'm or other spirits, the curing was more complicated. The doctor addressed himself to the various múmolno'm, facing the spots where they were known to live, and asking each in turn if he were guilty. An honest múmolno'm would confess, whereupon the doctor then asked, "Why did you cause this man to become ill? He has done nothing; I didn't think you would do such a thing. You're no good. You're mean." Then he commenced to sing and dance, and finally sucked on the sore spot. The object extracted was usually not shown, though it might appear as a blood clot that was quickly thrown into the fire. This procedure was repeated on succeeding days, without conversation with the spirits, until either a cure had been effected or the patient died.

If all múmolno'm denied that they had caused the illness, a lively spiritual argument ensued with shaman and spirits hurling invectives at each other. Finally the evidence centered on one spirit, who usually then confessed, and who received a terrific chastising from the doctor. There was no fear in handling spirits, and complete frankness prevailed upon each side. One formality only existed: múmolno'm were addressed as "older brother" and shamans as "younger brother." In rare cases, in spite of entreaty and threat, a múmolno'm refused to confess, and then the patient died.

When a doctor in a trance was speaking with a múmolno'm, a "wire" was conceived as running from the spirit through the top of the doctor's head, and fastening onto his jawbone. The mechanical action caused the shaman's mouth to move, and words to come from his mouth. Sometimes the wire (huškáyemol) was visualized as merely the path by which the talking came. Huškáyemol (one that carries the word) is used today for telephone wires. Ordinary people heard only a whispering sound, or a sound like wild geese far away, when the spirits were talking. The significance of huškáyemol is not clear. At the time of curing, the lamšími was certainly sometimes in a trance, but I do not know if true possession occurred.

A good doctor took no payment until the patient was cured. In case of death, the valuables hanging on the line were buried or burned with the deceased. Sometimes a bad doctor took the payment and continued to doctor even when he knew the case was hopeless. Under such conditions the patient temporarily improved, but then suffered a fatal relapse.

The following accounts indicate the nature of shamanistic curing. Since they occurred in post-white times, the practice is not as complete or exact as the ideal, but nevertheless they give a good idea of the proceedings. The first is from Tillotson.

One winter I came down with the mumps, which

the reservation doctor cured. But the swelling dropped into my stones (testicles), and they got as big as my fists. The white doctor put a burning medicine on them and finally cured the pain there. But then it went to my stomach; I could hardly pass water and felt like I had a stone in my insides. So Rosy [his wife] said, "You'd better let my uncle [Tom King] doctor you." It had been going on for over a year. I didn't believe he could help, but it just happened that he and his wife came up to visit that day. He said I'd better come down to his house. "I can cure you." But I didn't have much faith. But Rosy begged me, so finally we went down to his place. His wife put a blanket in front of the fire, and I lay down on it on my back. Then she put a cup of water beside me. The doctor knelt down, felt all over me, and said, "Yes, here's the pain." He started talking to his spirit, "yi........" After he had done that several times I heard a sound like a lot of wild geese passing over. When that stopped, he talked with the spirits, then rinsed his mouth with the water, and sucked on the sore spot three times. Then I wanted to make water, so I went out and urinated, about as much as a horse, and right away I felt better. The pain still hurt, though, and the next morning the doctor did the same thing again and said, "Now you'll be all well." And sure enough, I kept getting better, and pretty soon was all right. That's how I found out that there is really something to the Indian doctors. He was a real spiritual man. He must have been talking to God. He claims that it was he who made him a doctor. He had to ask God whether he could cure me or not.

Charlie Dorman had a similar experience about 1880 with the same doctor. Tom King, incidentally, was the last of the really powerful shamans.

I had a pain in my back. My aunt was Tom King's wife, and she wanted me to get her husband to doctor me. So I said, "All right, I'll try it. I was pretty uncomfortable." He came and sucked on me that evening and I got all right. It's never bothered me since. First he'd sing and then talk. He said he was talking with his "boss." It seems that his boss told him what made me sick. He just wore ordinary clothes. When he was done sucking, he spit out blood, but no other objects. I didn't pay him because he was my uncle. But if he hadn't been, I'd have had to pay him a couple of dollars.

Little Toby once fell into the hands of a bad doctor who had no intention of curing him.

A long time ago at the Hop Ranch I nearly died. I had a big pain here in my side. The Indian doctor there was no good. He pressed where the pain was and pressed it into me further. He was not a good doctor. He was a bad man. I never paid him anything because he didn't cure me. He didn't sing. Some man came up here (to the north end of the valley) and got another doctor. She was a woman. She sang, and asked the spirits what made me sick. Then she sucked the pain out, and I got well quick. Her spirit came from the mountain. Doctors understand what the spirits say, but the rest of us can't. She said a bad spirit had shot me with a pain; it's kind of like shooting with a bow and arrow. I gave her clothes for curing me because I didn't have any money.

Ralph Moore's grandfather Jim Moore, the múmollamšími whose experience has been related above, once cured Ralph's bad hunting luck caused by breaking a taboo against eating a deer's ear while his wife was pregnant. A rope was stretched in the house and Ralph put blankets and beads on it. In spite of close blood relationship, the doctor demanded pay. Jim then talked to the múmolno'm, explaining that Ralph had never been told about the taboo. Then he rubbed him with pepperwood leaves and blew upon him. The gun was doctored in the same way, and sucking on the barrel produced a blood clot. (This is contrary to the statement that only pains are sucked. Possibly it was thrown in to make the affair a bit more impressive.) "The múmolno'm say they will give deer to you; they are sorry. Go into the mountains and you will come back with a little buck." Ralph went out next morning and killed a deer. Jim received the beads and blanket in payment.

Rattlesnakes were an ever-present menace, and hence it is not surprising to find doctors who specialized in curing their bites. When a rattler gave warning, he was considered to be a good snake and was left unmolested; if he did not rattle he was a bad snake and should be killed. This was the attitude described by informants. Actually, if the snake was found sleeping in the sun on a rock pile, where opportunity favored the Indian, it was promptly dispatched. If found in the brush, where movements were uncertain, it was safest to pass around the snake.

When people went into the mountains they did not speak of rattlers by their ordinary name lilnó'in (rock on it), but instead said, "i-nai^{n}t t'u liús nóhan mi mon kilil komilík us, my-aunt blood-menstrual mouth-(full of) yourself hide are-going-to-walk we," and then no rattlers would be seen. Notice that menstrual blood, the deadliest of all poisons, was the source of a rattler's danger.

In spite of all precautions, people were sometimes bitten. Rattlesnake doctors, pilant-lamšími (sun doctor), received their power through dreaming about the sun, which was the controller of rattlers. Such doctors might be said to major in snake bites, minor in black-widow-spider bites, and as a hobby dabble with sunstroke. Of course, some pilant-lamšími were full mits-lamšími, with curative powers for all disease. The following account indicates the general tenor of a bite-curing episode. The actual curing is prefaced with the account of how the doctor acquired his ability to handle snake bites.

Lamšími Pike was a sucking doctor who began by

specializing in rattlesnake bites. One night when he was about thirty while sleeping in the open his soul went to heaven where it saw a fine big rock [i.e. the obsidian]. It said to him that he would be a sucking doctor, and gave him the song he was to use in curing. He awoke bleeding at the mouth. Doctors sang over him, and he began to doctor a little, but just minor illnesses. One day one of his friends was bitten by a rattlesnake, and since no other doctor was there, they asked him to doctor. He was shy because he'd never done it before, but just then he went into a trance and the "rock" told him he could cure the man. He built a fire and talked to the "rock," who told him the patient should look east and west. He did this, and since milk came from his mouth, Pike knew he would recover. Next he took a flat rock, heated it, and painted wavy lines on it. When the fire died down, he scraped the ashes away and warmed the man's bitten leg. Placing it on the stone, he began to suck, rinsing his mouth several times, and telling the others that if his mouth stuck, they should pull him away. Finally his mouth stuck, and when his friends had pulled him off, he spat a tiny dead snake into his hands. Then Pike sprayed water on the patient a couple of times, and in a few days he was all right. But the patient lost almost all of his property; it's like that when a rattlesnake doctor cures.

The appearance of the sun was the means of telling the outcome of such a procedure; if it were bloody the doctor knew the patient would die, and made no effort to cure him; if it appeared milky, all would go well. Likewise it was a good sign if a milky substance drooled from the patient's mouth.

Mits-lamšími were able to foretell the future by singing and conversing with their spirits, but the manner has long since been forgotten.

The presence of shamanistic contests, widely distributed among certain California tribes, was just hinted at by Tillotson, who mentioned the lamš-há'amam or doctors' "convention," where doctors were thought to try to obtain more power, and where they tested each other to determine who was most powerful.

Nonshaman Doctors

In this category are placed all doctors who did not receive supernatural power as described for shamans. They cured illness caused by fright or poisoning. Two principal types seem to have existed: the iwil-hiltát (poison giver), also called íwilmi, who was at the same time the sorcerer, and the hilyu-lit, frequently referred to as a "singing doctor." Not real doctors, but necessary assistants in curing, were the hilyú-ha^{n}p-nohimal, called "sick singers," and the hulk'ilal-ha^{n}p-yášol, called "devil singers." These may be different names for the same thing, or actually different positions. Information from one informant suggests that the hulk'ilal-ha^{n}p-yášol were primarily devil impersonators rather than singers, and that they participated only in the curing ceremony known as the Taikomol-lit. In this case, the ha^{n}p-nohimal would be simply, as the word ha^{n}p (song) suggests, singing assistants, who participated both in the Taikomol-lit and lesser curing ceremonies. All of these doctors and assistants were evidently men, contrasted with the shaman class that included women. They received instruction in either the Hulk'ilal school, the Taikomol school, or both. From the term hulk'ilal-ha^{n}p-yášol, one would think that these men received their training in the Hulk'ilal or "devil" school.

The iwil-hiltát (poison doctor) secretly received a large part of his training from an older doctor. The ability to poison evidently was handed down from generation to generation within a given family, but not necessarily from father to son. Exact information about poison doctors was impossible to obtain, both because "doping" was never openly talked about, and because of its connection with the feared Hulk'ilal school. Moreover, knowledge about these poisoners was largely theoretical; one rarely admitted he could "dope," much less revealed his professional secrets. Poisoners were sometimes known, but usually it was suspicion and rumor that marked a man as such. Any man who wandered too much alone in the hills was suspect. The practice was extremely dangerous, both because a man might be killed by irate victims and because of the danger inherent in handling powerful poisons. Cases were told in which the poisoner had died as the result of an accident in administering his concoction.

Poisoners practiced to satisfy a personal grudge, or accepted commissions from other persons. They were useful to the tribe because they could be employed against enemy peoples. Fees were very high. Since a disgruntled doctor might poison the schemer, no one ever quarreled about the fee demanded. Poison was reputedly made in the woods at night; snakes, salamanders, lizards, bugs, and various plants were pulverized in a small mortar and brewed over a low fire. Menstrual blood was also utilized. Snakes were charmed by singing to them, and thus could be captured with no danger. Poisoning resulted from either direct contact or sympathetic magic. Poison could be placed in food; it could be placed on a stick and the victim lightly touched while in a crowd; or a poisoner might go to a man's house in the middle of the night, point a poisoned stick at him, and sing in a low voice. Fingernail clippings, spittle, and excrement were hidden, because they could be "doped" by a poisoner, thereby causing the person to fall ill. If an iwil-hiltát died before his victim, the effect of the poison wore off and the man recovered.

Tillotson was mildly "doped" once. During a heated grass game, an old man touched him on the neck. He didn't think anything about it at the

time, but a month later a catch developed in his neck, which he has had, on and off, ever since. It never got worse for various reasons: the doctor was not very powerful; besides, he died before his poison worked its full effect; finally, since Tillotson has white blood in his veins the Indian magic was not as powerful as for a full blood.

The hilyu-lit doctors evidently learned to cure in the Taikomol-woknam. They were not necessarily poison doctors, but probably sometimes were. Their power lay in the songs they had learned and in their ability to summon Taikomol to aid in curing. The poison doctors, the iwil-hiltát, evidently also had this ability. It is curious and puzzling, but evidently true, that the only doctors to cause Taikomol to appear were those who received no power from him. Frank Essene, of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, who has also worked among the Yuki, agrees on this point. The hilyú-ha^{n}p-nohimal and/or the hulk'ilal-ha^{n}p-yášol "were not real doctors at all," but nonetheless necessary assistants.

These doctors cured with the Taikomol-lit, an elaborate ceremony in the dance house involving singing, dancing, and culminating in the appearance of Taikomol, the "Big Head," so named because of the elaborate headdress that he wore. Lesser curings involved singing and dancing, and sometimes the use of an effigy, viz. an animal (as was also on occasion the practice in the Taikomol-lit), to refrighten a patient suffering from fright illness. The Taikomol-lit and the smaller ceremonies apparently were used to cure disease caused either by poisoning or fright. I do not feel that the Taikomol-lit was only for cases of poisoning, and the smaller cures for fright, or vice versa. A governing factor might well have been the ability of the patient to pay.

When a lamšími diagnosed a case as due to fright or poisoning, he called in a hilyu-lit or an iwil-hiltát to take charge. (See p. 214.) A high fever indicated poisoning. The patient was placed in the dance house, head toward the center post, which was endowed with supernatural powers, being equated by some with Taikomol himself. The following account of the Taikomol-lit is compiled from the statements of several informants.

One or more hilyu-lit doctors, or an iwil-hiltát was in charge. In addition, there were about four hulk'ilal ha^{n}p-yášol (devil singers) and/or the same number of hilyú-ha^{n}p-nohimal (sickness singers). The doctor in charge danced and sang around the patient, using a cocoon rattle, and supported by the sickness singers. No mention was made of a drum. Either on hand at the beginning, or called in shortly after the ceremony began, were the devil singers, disguised as in the Hulk'ilal-woknam, who danced and clowned by making grotesque faces, by working each other's Adam's apples, and similar buffoonery. After a time the head doctor climbed to the roof of the dance house and with a bone whistle called the Taikomol impersonator. He arrived completely covered with a long feather cape and wearing an enormous "big head" of feathers. Hesitatingly, he stopped, retreated, reapproached, and finally entered, coming to the side of the patient. To the accompaniment of the singers, he danced wildly, whirling about, gesticulating, and finally jumped over the inert figure. The object was to determine what particular poison had caused the illness, and questions to this effect composed the songs. When the correct song was sung, the patient murmured, "Uh, uh, uh," and Taikomol, having divulged the cause of illness, returned to the woods. The doctor in charge then rubbed the sick person on the spot containing the poison. Whether he actually sucked, as suggested by Kroeber,[58] or simply massaged the poison away, is not clear. The terms Taikomol-lit and hilyu-lit, both ending in "lit" (to touch, to feel), indicate that sucking, if it did occur, was secondary in importance. It might even have been a late transfer from the shaman's technique. Informants did not know how many times the Taikomol-lit was repeated for any given illness, and it is quite possible that once was all. With the cause of the illness known, the doctor could give additional treatment without the entire corps of assistants.

If the cause of illness were fright, the patient was cured by frightening him, preferably by simulating the original event. Thus, a person ill from an encounter with a ghost was shocked back to health by devil impersonators who danced to remind the patient of his first fright. Tillotson knew of a cure involving an effigy of a milk snake. The ability of a harmless milk snake to inspire fright was explained by a short story.

At one time the milk snake was the most deadly of all snakes, stinging his victim with the end of his tail. So the rattlesnake said to him, "You are too powerful. You kill rapidly without letting people suffer; you had better let me take up your trade." Being obliging, the milk snake gave up killing in favor of the rattlesnake, but the milk snake is still considered to be king of all snakes; it reputedly can kill a rattler by tearing it to pieces.

The Taikomol-lit was very expensive, since so many persons had to be compensated.

Tillotson's account of his cure of ghost fright (p. 208) was probably typical of the postwhite nonshamanistic cure that did not involve the Taikomol-lit. Santyana was not a real doctor, but he had learned certain beneficial songs and used the cocoon rattle, as did regular singing doctors and poisoners, and was recognized to have ability to aid a frightened man.

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[58] Handbook, 185.

To summarize, we find that the Yuki had two main categories of doctors. The first, which included the several varieties of true shamans called lamšími, were divinely elected by spirits who gave them power. They cured all types of illness--save cases of poisoning and fright--by sucking, singing, and dancing. The second category was comprised of the hilyu-lit (singing doctor) and the iwil-hiltát (sorcerer), as well as singing and dancing assistants. Poisoning and fright illness were their specialties. Their power came not from divine revelation but from training by older doctors of the same type. Sucking, if employed at all, was of minor importance, and the real ability of these doctors lay in summoning Taikomol and in refrightening patients.

A minor type of curer which fits into neither of the above classifications was the rubbing doctor, a sort of primitive osteopath. Power came from no specific source; a person simply gradually became aware of the fact that he or she was able to relieve pain better than other people through massaging. In 1937 Cecilia Logan still occasionally practiced. Her simple technique consisted in localizing the pain by manipulating the afflicted area until she could gather it in her hands and blow it away. Her usual fee was one dollar. In earlier times, one string of beads was the usual compensation.

Bear Doctors

Since wašit-lamšími (bear shamans) obviously never existed, they are not included with the real doctors. Fact and fancy combine to make difficult a true conception of this phenomenon. They partook of the nature of shamans, as indicated by their name lamšími and by their contact with bear spirits, and they resembled the sorcerer in their malevolent tendencies. Theoretically they received power from real grizzlies, transformed themselves into bear form and marauded over the countryside, killing at will. Unlike the true shaman, who had to await the call of a spirit, the bear doctor could seek power by going into the woods and associating with live bears.

Prospective wašit-lamšími dreamed about bears, and then left for the mountains, often remaining away for a year or more, living with and learning from bears. Part of the time the candidate grew hair on his body, a reputedly disagreeable process, and actually became a bear. At other times, the bears assume human form. Bears--grizzlies especially--were considered to be very nearly, if not actually, human. Their human-like actions--sitting on the buttocks with one leg crossed over the other, the frequent attempts to stand on the hind legs, and the whines uttered, especially in time of pain--no doubt contributed to this belief.

Ralph Moore said that wašit-lamšími could cure bear bites by laying their hands on the wound and talking with the bears (but Tillotson disagreed); also that they gave demonstrations of their power by digging under fires and bringing out a bull snake or a mouse nest. Being naturally irritable, bear doctors frequently killed people by sneaking up to the unsuspecting person, biting and clawing him, and scattering his remains. The only compensation for having such a menace in the village was that he might turn his talents against enemy tribes. Legend tells of both Nomlaki and Kato who were killed in this manner. Surprisingly, the Yuki admit that the Nomlaki, at least, were successful from time to time in similar attempts.

Bear doctors could be killed by a coalition of fighters, but the death was only apparent; the soul returned to the point where the doctor underwent the transformation, and the man reappeared. Naturally, no one had ever seen a doctor becoming a bear. Tillotson recalled the following events, which occurred about 1875.

I didn't see this, but some of my friends did. Old ______ [name forgotten] was a doctor and walked with a heavy stick. He used to go into the hills to dig out ground squirrels, and one day the boys followed him. When he came to a place where there were many ground-squirrel holes, he began to dig in the earth with his stick. Then he began to growl, and fur began to come out on his arms. He threw away his stick, and pretty soon claws came out on his hands, and the hair came all over his body. In four or five minutes he was a real live grizzly bear. Then he began tearing out the holes and eating the squirrels. The boys were so frightened they ran home without waiting to see what happened after that.

As against the true wašit-lamšími, there was belief in the aomol (Indian-bear). This was simply a man who dressed up in a bearskin and killed, using a flint knife to imitate bear teeth. Protected thus beneath a tough bearhide, the marauder could be killed only with difficulty. Theoretically the disguise was so clever that most people could not tell whether the object in question was really a grizzly or merely an aomol. The only distinguishing point was that an Indian-bear's ears did not move, while those of a true bear did. The fact that, if such a practice actually were carried out, the man in the disguise would be so handicapped by the weight of the skin that he would be practically harmless made no difference to the Yuki

In olden times the Yuki certainly believed that some men actually had the power of turning into real bears. It is difficult to tell whether the accounts of Indian-bears existed as corollaries to the principal belief, or whether they represent attempted rationalizations in later years when skepticism arose concerning the possibility of actually undergoing a complete transformation.

Barrett gives a description of Indian-bears among the Pomo[59] where belief in actual transfor-

[59] 1917.

mation never developed and only the Indian-bear was known. A model bear doctor's paraphernalia is illustrated. The Coast Yuki resembled the Pomo in belief only in the Indian-bear.[60] Kroeber gives additional data on bear doctors.[61]

Miscellanea

Here are included odd bits of information that do not fit into the preceding outline under the general headings.

Certain people possessed a "strong mouth curse," by which they could wish bad luck on persons or undertakings. Tillotson was noted for his "strong mouth." Others could wish for good luck in similar manner.

The ability to doctor tended to run in families; if it were still the custom today, Arthur Anderson, a grandson of the famous shaman Tom King, would probably be a doctor.

In reply to questions concerning what happened if a doctor lost several patients consecutively, informants replied that such things never happened. Two people might die in succession, but that was the limit, and even that exceedingly rare.

MODERN RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS

Ghost Dance

Little is remembered about the local manifestations of the revivalistic upheavals commonly designated by the expression "Ghost Dance of 1870" which played such an important part in the lives of many of the Indians of western United States. This suggests that the Yuki were less affected than neighboring tribes like the Pomo and Patwin. Two forms reached the Yuki: the "Big Head" cult (see n. 55, p. 211) which came from the Kato, presumably in 1874 or 1875, and the "Bole" dance which came from the Salt Pomo about the same time.

It was on one of the salt trips to Stonyford that the Bole or "dream" dance was first observed by the Yuki. The dance was brought to Yuki territory by a man named Santiago, presumably a Salt Pomo, and was given at ólkat at the south end of Round Valley. Many people learned and participated in the dance, hoping that the words of Santiago would prove true. Power to drive out the whites and a return of the land to the Indians, coupled with promises of great wealth, were the cardinal points of the doctrine. A return of the dead, or at least an opportunity to see the deceased, was evidently of lesser importance. Santiago, who was a sleight-of-hand artist, illustrated his promises. Filling a pipe with tobacco, he smoked it, telling the onlookers that with the falling ashes would appear a fifty-cent piece. Before the dumbfounded crowd, this happened, and Santiago added, "We're all going to have wealth like this--just this easy."

The dance took place in the dance house, and both sexes participated. One man led the dance, bringing in the women, who were marked with black on their faces, and were blowing whistles. All dancers wore the old-time feather headbands. Interest in the new dance quickly died out when it became apparent that none of the promises were to be fulfilled.

Ralph Moore's father was a skeptic. He went to Stonyford to witness the dance, and there someone stole his horse, forcing him to walk home. As a result he lost faith.

The Pentecostal Movement

Mention has been made from time to time of the Pentecostal Church in Round Valley. It is interesting both because it is the one really vital force in Indian life today (1937), and because it is, in my opinion, merely the latest recurrence of an aboriginal religious pattern which made the Yuki susceptible to the Ghost Dance of the seventies as well as to foreign beliefs associated with the little understood Central California Kuksu cult. Description of the Pentecostal movement, unlike the greater part of the material in this paper, is the result of actual observation and participation during the two months spent in Round Valley.

Interest in Pentecostalism is partly due to apathy toward the established Christian churches in the valley, Methodist and Catholic. The Methodist church was established as a mission shortly after the founding of the reservation, and continues as a mission church with a minister trained in a theological seminary. Because of official encouragement, many Indians of all tribes joined, were baptized, married, and buried by it, and many were--and are--faithful members. But the staid forms of an orthodox Methodist service failed to answer the innate religious cravings of a people who had for centuries associated divine and supernatural activities with singing, shouting, and dancing--in short, with wild and uncontrolled bodily and emotional action. Thus, when about 1930 a man named Wilkes, half Negro and half Indian of uncertain tribal affiliation, crossed the mountains from the Sacramento Valley and began proselytizing the new faith, he found ready listeners.

Today (1937) there is a membership of about one hundred, predominantly Yuki, but representing all tribes on the reservation. This congregation owns a church building, a barnlike structure built and paid for by the Indians themselves. Meetings are held Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday evenings, and last from seven-thirty to eleven o'clock or later. The principal doctrine is purely Christian, "brotherly love toward all," and in this way the present movement differs from the religious revivals of

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[60] Gifford, 1939.

[61] Handbook, 200-201.

the seventies. Though the membership is primarily Indian, a few whites attend, and during the summer of 1937 the minister was a white girl of twenty-five from Los Angeles.

The supreme religious experience striven for is the "baptism of the Lord." "The Bible says you can't enter heaven unless you have the holy spirit." This is accomplished by deliberate "seeking" by the one who desires, in the form of prayer, aided by those who already have received the holy baptism. (This is an interesting reversal of the old pattern. It will be recalled that formerly no one deliberately sought the attention of supernatural forces. A very few persons were divinely selected to receive special power; the greater part of the population was left untouched.) The heart of the seeker must be pure; he must not drink, smoke, gamble, or indulge in other contaminating practices, and he must have confessed all of his sins. If the seeker is sincere and fulfills all qualifications, the Lord enters him and takes possession of his soul. Prayer on the knees is followed by the seeker rising to his feet, eyes closed, hands in the air, and moving from side to side, praying, humming high-pitched monotonous tunes, uttering periodic meaningless exclamations, and finally falling to the floor in a fit, kicking and jerking. Possession is now complete, and the baptized speaks in an "unknown tongue," actually an unintelligible babble. He continues in this state for some minutes. Finally the trance wears off, and the person becomes himself again, exhausted but enraptured. A person who passes through this experience does not remember what happens from the time he begins to dance until he finds himself once more in his seat.

An event such as this does not happen at every meeting, but communion with the Lord, representing the first stages, is the rule. The following description of a meeting is that of my first, late in May, 1937. I suggested to Tillotson, a nonmember but frequent attendant, that we go in the evening, because I was anxious to know more of the new religion. So at seven-thirty o'clock we found ourselves walking down the path to the meeting house.

A dim light emerged from several windows, and flashes of light came from the door as it opened to admit newcomers. We were late, and as we approached we heard singing from within. Entering, we seated ourselves on the right-hand side about halfway toward the front. A young white girl was leading the singing, but upon seeing us and recognizing me as a stranger, she left the slightly raised dais at the pulpit, came to us, smiled, shook hands, and said, "Welcome, brothers." As the singing continued, I had an opportunity to look around. The building was of the roughest construction, some 30 by 50 feet in size, with the framework standing out like a skeleton, revealing the outside clapboards. Two gasoline lamps hanging in the center shed their characteristic greenish light. The rear two-thirds of the building contained rough pews--benches with a single board for a back. These were filled with earnest-faced people, save for the last two rows, where younger Indians, half scornful but not quite sure of themselves, whispered to each other. Though it was already May, the evening was cold, and a wood stove in the center of the room gave a welcome heat. But the front third of the building held most of the interest, for here were the choir-orchestra and pulpit. On the right-hand side was an old-fashioned pump organ, played with might and spirit by a gray old Indian who looked around at the conclusion of each chorus for the signal to continue or cease. Next to him was seated an old man, half blind, drumming a tambourine first on his knee and then with his hands. Beside him sat a younger man with a withered leg who was producing with a guitar the most amazing hymnal variations that the human ear has ever heard, two more tambourinists, then the man Wilkes, who sang only, and finally my friend Ralph Moore. On the back wall hung a small picture of Christ, and on the nail supporting it the battered felt hat of one of the singers. Everyone had a hymn book, but they were hardly needed, as the words were simple and all had sung them many times. "Oh, there's power, power, wonder-working power, in the blood, in the blood, of the lamb, of the lamb. Oh, there's power, power, wonder-working power, in the precious blood of the lamb." Feet tapped in time to the music and thighs as well as hinds were slapped. The rhythm was captivating, and almost before I knew it I found myself joining in. Finally the girl made a sign to the organist, the music stopped, and everyone took a deep breath.

"Brothers and sisters," she said, "now that we're all gathered, I think we should all welcome each other. Shake hands with your neighbor and tell him how glad you are to see him." Thereupon ensued a five-minute interval of hand pumping and friendly greeting. Indians I knew welcomed me, and others I had never seen before did too. One could not help but be impressed with the friendliness of spirit.

The girl minister spoke again. "We have so much to be thankful for, and the Lord has helped us all through so many difficult times, I think we should be proud and happy to publicly tell what he has done for us." A moment's pause, then an elderly woman arose. "You all know me. You all know what a sinner I have been. My life was black and I was unhappy. Then the Lord came into my life, and I have hope again. Praise the Lord!" Testimonials of a similar nature followed, and I later learned that this is one of the most important parts of the doctrine--to publicly confess sins and tell what the Lord has done for one. In the same category are "requests." A person arises, and requests that the Lord grant his, or her, plea: that a sick relative will become well, that a wayward son will leave his evil ways, that brotherly love will mark the dealings of the Indians to a higher degree.

Another period of singing followed, with members of the audience suggesting numbers from the well-worn hymnals, and this in turn was followed

by a period of prayer. The more devout arose and went to the pulpit, falling on their knees in front of it; I noticed that the father and mother of the girl were among these. Others knelt at their pews, and still others sat with bowed heads. Prayer was aloud, and the idea seemed to be to pray louder than the next person so that the Lord would surely hear one's plea. Needless to say, the racket was terrific. Prayers were simple, for the most part repetitions of snatches of the Lord's prayer, bits of other prayers, original and spontaneous additions, all interspersed with "Glory to God," "Praise the Lord," "Hallelujah."

The prayer finished, Ralph Moore arose. "Friends, I was over in the Sacramento Valley some time ago, and a friend of mine taught me a new song that I would like to sing for you. It's called 'The Great Spreckled Bird' which means the Church of God." Unfolding a dirty piece of paper and placing horn-rimmed spectacles on his nose, he commenced in a voice none too strong or true, and continued through all five verses and choruses while the audience listened attentively. Again the girl spoke, "Friends, it is a beautiful thought, and it's just like the words of the song. And Brother Ralph, we thank you for bringing us the new song. Praise the Lord, Hallelujah!" Continuing, "For the sermon tonight, I have taken the theme, 'At the Foot of the Cross,' after that great hymn that we all love to sing. You know, friends, that's where we are. At the foot of the cross. God's cross. Glory to God! And it's only here that we can find peace and happiness, and salvation. Hallelujah! It's only through coming to the cross and confessing our sins, and asking God to help us that we can find salvation. I'm oh, so glad that I'm at the foot of the cross. Aren't you?" And so it went, on and on, in the same vein. She was not too sure of her words, and from time to time faltered, searching for just the right phrase. When all else failed, "Praise the Lord!" provided a ready answer. Now the theme changed to a defense of the church. "They call us 'Holy Rollers' because we fall on the floor, and dance and shout when we sing. But I'm proud of it--we're not afraid to show that we love the Lord and serve him. In those other churches that talk about us the people just sit around and get sleepy. Yes, I'm proud to be called a 'Holy Roller.'"

The sermon ended with a collection, and pennies, nickels, and dimes dropped noiselessly into the felt hat used in lieu of a collection plate. Again we were to sing, and the man with the withered leg quietly strummed his irresistible bars while the worshippers decided on "Neither Do I Condemn Thee," which in turn was followed by the ever-popular "My Lord Hath Done." For both songs the chorus was repeated many times. Several elderly women nervously shifted position in their seats, and unable to remain quiet longer, arose, raised their hands above their heads, and with mincing steps danced back and forth before the pulpit, eyes closed, hands shaking, bodies trembling. They had previously received the "baptism of the Lord," and this was a milder form of the same experience, which would not, however, end with the final consummation. Ralph Moore, too, was obviously strongly affected, and he acted in the same manner on the raised floor, losing control of his singing at times and uttering queer, doglike barks.

"Brother Wilkes, won't you say a few words?" and Brother Wilkes arose, flashed a toothy smile and began. He spoke smoothly and the words rolled rapidly from his mouth. He was a master, and it was evident that it was he, and not the girl, that the people liked to hear. He went on and on, telling what the Lord had done, was doing, and would do, and the young minister enviously looked on. I looked around the room. Young babies were asleep in their mothers' arms, and children drowsily nodded against parents' shoulders. It was now nearly eleven, and after another song, a brief benediction closed the meeting. Again everyone shook hands with his neighbor, and the father of the minister came to me, inquired if I had enjoyed the service, and expressed the hope that I would come again. The girl herself joined us, and left me speechless with "Brother, have you been saved?"

We left the building, and found the cold night air refreshing. Cars began to sputter, headlights flashed on, and gradually the crowd thinned. I dropped Tillotson at his home, and continued the two miles into the village of Covelo.

Such, then, is the type of gathering that holds the attention of many of the Indians three nights a week. The valley whites are much opposed to the entire movement, feeling that the strange antics that go on are neither religious nor conducive to quiet among the Indians. Though the Pentecostal belief has destroyed almost all traces of the old life--games, dances, gambling--and thus made my task doubly hard, I cannot help but feel that it exerts a constructive influence. Even its harshest critics admit that among members it has stopped gambling and reduced drunkenness--evils which the Methodist Church attempted to abate, in vain, for sixty years. Maggie Dorman once said to me, "I've been a lifelong Methodist, and was married in the church fifty-three years ago. But I go to the service, and come out feeling just the way I did when I went in. But when I go to the Pentecostal Church, I come out feeling free and uplifted. I know it's the true religion."

Tillotson would like to join, and he feels that there is much to be gained. But conscientiously he will not seek the holy baptism until he feels he can give up the use of tobacco. This is doubly hard, because it is the only means he has to ease the pain of his rotted teeth.

The following hymns are typical of those sung at Pentecostal meetings.

The Spreckled Bird

1
What a beautiful thought I am thinking,
Concerning the great spreckled bird,
Remember, her name is recorded,
On the pages of God's holy word.

Chorus:

She is spreading her wings for the journ'ing,
She is going to take by and by,
When the trumpet shall sound in the morning,
She will meet her dear God in the sky.

2
With all other churches against her,
They envy her glory and fame,
They hate her because she is chosen,
And has never denied His great name.

3
With all other birds flocked around her,
She, rejected, despised, by them all,
This great spreckled bird in the Bible,
Represents you the great Church of God.

4
When He comes back descending from heaven,
In a cloud as it reads in the word,
I'll be joyously caught up to meet Him,
In the wings of the great spreckled bird.

5
In the presence of all her enemies,
With a song never uttered before,
We will rise and be gone in a moment,
Till the great tribulations are o'er.

Neither Do I Condemn Thee

1
By the proud worshippers scorned, for her sin,
Was the poor wanderer rudely brought in,
Scribes came and pharisees eager to see,
What the meek Nazarene's verdict would be.

Chorus:

"Neither do I condemn thee." Precious words divine,
Falling from the lips of mercy like the sweetest chime,
Wonderful words of Jesus sing them o'er and o'er.
"Neither do I condemn thee. Go sin no more."

2
Told of her wondering, marking each flaw,
Spoke they of punishment, quoting the law,
Sat He unheedingly, head bowing low,
Writing upon the ground, sadly and slow.

3
Still cried the pharisees, "Pray, Master, pray.
What shall we do with her, what dost Thou say?"
Spoke He rebukingly, "Let the first stone
Come from a sinless hand, and thence alone."

4
Cheeks flushing red with shame, turned each about,
And from His presence, went silently out.
Then said He standing there, head bending low,
Her whom the world despises, saw her tears flow.

5
Spoke He most tenderly, "Pray, woman, pray,
Hast thou accusers none?" "Nay, Master, nay."
"Neither do I condemn thee, soul sick and sore,
Go, for I pardon thee. Go and sin no more."

Take Up Thy Cross

1
I walked one day along a country road,
And there a stranger journeyed too,
Bent low beneath the burden of his load,
It was a cross, a cross I knew.

Chorus:

"Take up thy cross and follow me,"
I hear the Blessed Savior call,
How can I make a lesser sacrifice,
When Jesus gave his all.

2
I cried "Lord Jesus" and he spoke my name,
I saw his hands all bruised and torn,
I stooped to kiss away the marks of shame,
The shame for me that He had borne.

3
"Oh, let me bear thy cross, dear Lord," I cried,
And lo, a cross for me appeared,
The one forgotten, I had cast aside,
The one so long that I had feared.

4
My cross I'll carry till the crown appears,
The way I journey soon will end,
Where God himself shall wipe away all tears,
And friend hold fellowship with friend.

Paradise Valley
(Tune: Red River Valley)

I have waited and waited for a long time
But at times days pass swiftly away,
For our Savior to come in the rapture,
Oh, how we wait and we look for that day.

And we'll not be discouraged in waiting,
For the time now it seems can't be long,
When our Lord shall descend with his Angels,
And all earth hear the triumphant song.

When our Lord left this earth for his Heaven,
To sit down on His Father's white throne,
Oh, he left this sweet promise resounding,
In the ears of his Jewels, His own.

'Twas a promise of heavenly mansions,
He'd prepare for a place in the skies,
And though gone for a season, keep watching,
He'll return for His own by and by.

Then have oil in our vessels, my brothers,
Have our lamps trimmed and burning, for soon,
Christ the Bridegroom will come to receive us.
If at midnight, or morning, or noon.

Then for Paradise Valley we're leaving,
To the land of the unclouded day.
Where there never are misunderstandings,
Clouds and sorrows have all passed away.

RELATIVE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE YUKI

A feature of Yuki culture that has attracted attention is the relative simplicity of the material side of life, contrasted with the elaboration of ritual and ceremony. No agriculture of any form was known--not even the desultory cultivation of some variety of tobacco characteristic of many nonagricultural tribes. As shown by museum specimens as well as informants' statements, material objects were less refined and generally fewer than those of many surrounding peoples. Sufficient in summer, Yuki clothing and shelter would seem to be entirely inadequate for the usual cold, snowy winters. A list of foods consumed shows that virtually no sources were left unexploited, though the quantitative yield from many must have been slight. But in spite of the simplicity of this side of Yuki life, there is evidence to show that the means of earning a living were sufficient to provide a substantial base for the drains on economy caused by periods of idleness at times of ceremony and celebration. Round Valley and the surrounding mountains were extremely productive of fish, game, berries, nuts, tubers, and acorns. Tales of famine, so common among most primitive peoples, are rare. Possessed of few of the articles considered as wealth in California (viz. dentalium, magnesite, and clamshell beads), the Yuki accumulated considerable quantities by exporting in exchange food of many varieties. Thus, the anomaly of scanty material culture and rather elaborate ceremonialism appears to be less true than one would suspect at first glance.

The two most prominent Yuki ceremonials, the Taikomol-woknam and the Hulk'ilal-woknam, were shared with neighboring tribes, particularly the Pomo and Kato. The Kičil-woknam of the northern Yuki was shared with the Wailaki. The complex of girls' puberty rites and the acorn sing to insure a constant food supply, while known to the Coast Yuki, Huchnom, Kato, and Pomo, was probably more highly developed among the Yuki. Most interesting of all is the Yuki belief in a Supreme Being. By no means unknown in primitive tribes, it is of sufficient rareness to justify special attention. The recent overlay of Christianity and the resulting confusion of Taikomol with God make it impossible to determine precisely the aboriginal concept of the Supreme Deity. Certainly Christianity has crystallized certain beliefs formerly held in a more general fashion, and some of Taikomol's present attributes were formerly unknown. Nonetheless, all evidence indicates that the Yuki Supreme Being of one hundred and more years ago was unlike that of most tribes, among whom any such deity usually is remote and uninterested in human beings. Taikomol is believed to have been instrumental in creating the world and the beings in it. But, instead of then withdrawing, he kept interest in his creation and maintained a close personal touch with all that went on. People knew that he would punish all transgressors. Similarly, leading a good life would please him, and result in constant blessings. Quite probably direct prayer to Taikomol was a feature of pre-Christian Yuki culture. A similar belief is evidenced by the deity Nagaicho of the Kato and Sinkyone, Madumda of the Pomo, and in a sense, Koyimke of the Coast Yuki. Probably the concept is more highly developed by the Yuki than by any of these peoples.

Attention may be called to other aspects of Yuki culture. Though more intertribal marriage took place with people to the north, particularly between the Ta'no'm subgroup and the Wailaki, most commercial contact was with the south. In this direction, too, war was more common. Intermarriage with the Wailaki probably explains the presence of the Kičil-woknam among the northernmost Yuki. But the most typical Yuki ceremonies, the Hulk'ilal-woknam and the Taikomol-woknam reflect the south.

Social organization was rather well-knit, and chiefs evidently had more power than those in other north-central California tribes. Data show that the chiefs' powers extended beyond mere advice and counsel, and undoubtedly they were important factors in the integration of tribal life. The comparative rarity of polygyny and the latitude allowed youth in selecting mates suggest that women enjoyed a high degree of independence. They participated in most tribal ceremonies (the Hulk'ilal-woknam excepted), played games with the men, went on war raids, were sometimes shamans, and occasionally chiefs, or at least regents. Since women fished, and men aided in gathering acorns, there was not the sharp sex division of labor found in many societies, and this may have contributed to a state of comparative equality.

The warlike propensities of the Yuki may have been a unifying factor in tribal consciousness. Though no chief was at the head of all Yuki, and though one group might fight against another, certain men had wide powers, and under them warriors from all parts of Yuki territory united to attack enemies.

An interesting point is that which may be termed the "Phoenix complex." This is a belief in a racial immortality for many, if not all kinds of living creatures. Thus, for each deer that was killed or died a natural death, another would be born to take its place. For the same reason it was thought that the salmon supply could never be exhausted. From the spilled blood of a slain coyote, a new animal would again arise. And finally, the death of bear doctors was only apparent; the corpse rotted, but the soul returned to the place of transition and the man reappeared.

One has the feeling that the Yuki had made an

eminently satisfactory adjustment to life. The country they inhabited was beautiful and lush; game abounded, fish ran in the streams, and the hot summer sun aided rapid growth of countless foods to be had for the gathering. Routine ceremonial observances, special events such as the building of a new dance house, numerous social dances, and gambling games all helped to break any monotony in the constant, if not too difficult food quest. War raids were looked forward to rather than feared, and if there was no reason for such, a peaceful trading expedition might take war's place. To the members of Yuki society, life must have been full, interesting, and worth while.

APPENDIX I

THE HUCHNOM

I spent several days working with Lulu Johnson, one of the few remaining Indians of at least part Huchnom blood, and probably the only one living in Round Valley in 1937. Actually she is three-quarters Pomo. Her mother's parents both were Little Lake Pomo, her father's mother Sherwood Pomo, and her father's father alone a pure-blooded Huchnom. She was born in Round Valley, and raised by her paternal grandfather's sister, "Grandma Louise." She lived with Huchnom Indians most of her early years, and speaks the language fluently. Hence, from the cultural standpoint she is purely Huchnom. In 1937 Lulu was about sixty years of age.

The notes which follow are sketchy, but serve to fill in certain lacunae in our knowledge of the Huchnom. Kroeber states[1] that Huchnom culture, religion excepted, tended to follow the Pomo rather than the Yuki pattern. My impression is that Huchnom culture resembled that of the Yuki as much as that of the Pomo, and perhaps a little more. The most striking Huchnom deviation was the practice of cremation, in which they followed the Pomo. Birth, puberty, and marriage customs were about like those of the Yuki, and many of the actual names the same. The calendar, mythology, and all of religion were likewise very similar. Above all, however, it should be remembered that cultural similarities between the Yuki, Huchnom, Kato, and Pomo were much more marked than the differences, and it is only when dealing with comparative minutiae that tribal peculiarities become clear.

Ethnogeography

Map 1 (facing p. 155) shows the Huchnom habitat. I was unable to visit Huchnom territory, but between Kroeber[2] and Barrett[3] we have an ample picture of Huchnom territory and villages. Several minor additions follow:

Round Valley was called mah-ukom (ukom valley). mah is the Huchnom and Yuki word for Indian hemp (Apocynum) and for all forms of string made from it.

The Sherwood Pomo were called onpotilno'm.

The Willits Pomo were called nokonmino'm.

The Potter Valley Pomo were called palik'umno'm (eagle salt people).

Food Quest

The techniques incident upon obtaining a livelihood were almost identical with those of the Yuki.

Hunting

Deer.--Night before a hunt men sang deer songs. Bows and arrows, but not dogs. Deer-head disguise, nets across trails. Deer driven toward hunters and nets by shouting "pu..., pu..." To retard deer, hunter chewed onpókam (earth root) and blew after quarry. Arrows stuck in tracks of wounded deer to impair circulation and make animal lame. First deer tabooed to boys. Deermeat cut in 2-foot strips, salted, dried over slow fire.

Elk.--Snared or run down. Two days required for latter technique. Elk considered smarter than deer and more difficult to take.

Bear.--Techniques same as Yuki. Lulu said grizzly bears also eaten; this is contrary to usual Indian custom, and probably inaccurate.

Animals killed for food and pelts.--Beaver; netted in water, shot with bow; good eating; skin saved for quivers. Otter: speared. Raccoon: smoked out of hollow trees, shot with bow. Gray squirrel: slings, bows. Ground squirrel: smoked out, killed with bow or sling. Rat: smoked out. Wildcat (tree cat): smoked out, shot with bow. Gopher: clubbed. Coyote: shot with bow.[4] Jack rabbit: snared, shot with bow. Cottontail: snared, shot with bow.

Animals killed for pelt or other reason, but not eaten.--Mole: clubbed; valued for skin. Wolf: skin for clothing; grease for arrows, sinew. Weasel: skin prized.

Animals ordinarily not bothered.--Skunk. In times of great sickness, such as dysentery, skunks were killed and the scent bags and fat eaten.

Birds of food value.--All the following were taken in the same fashion--snares and basket traps. Mountain quail, valley quail: acorn or berry bait in traps. Blackbird: never poisoned. Lark. Robin. Bluejay. Grouse. Yellowhammer. Pigeon: "main thing to eat."

Birds killed but not eaten.--Owl: shot with bow in day; feathers valued. Chicken hawk: shot with bow; feathers used. Woodpecker (variety unspecified): taken from trees at night; feathers for dance costumes; yellowhammer variety also eaten--(see above).

Birds not molested.--Eagle: feathers saved when

[1]Handbook, 203.

[2]Handbook, 202.

[3]1908:256.

[4]I suspect listing of coyote with animals eaten to be an error.

found. Buzzard. Crow. Crane: "God said never to bother him." Hummingbird: good luck in gambling, hence never bothered.

Various.--Eggs of grouse, lark, duck, blackbird roasted in ashes. Owl feathers used in poison doctor dance, so eggs left alone. Bee larvae found in old trees; put on stick, toasted, eaten. Snakes, frogs, toads not eaten. Rattlesnakes killed when possible; considered dangerous pest.

Fishing

Same techniques, same varieties as described for Yuki. Turtles caught in dip nets, roasted on their back, shell cracked and meat extracted.

Gathering

Acorns.--Six varieties. Valley oak acorn. White oak: not hulled until used, thus preventing loss of moisture necessary for best bread. Black oak: not hulled until winter, to prevent turning black. Tan oak. Live oak: called "cousin" of tan oak because of similar taste. Scrubby-mush oak.

Valley oaks and mush oaks used for bread; the others principally for soup.

Pinole.--Tarweed: tall and short varieties. Manzanita berries: dried, pounded. An unidentified crimson flower, hai. Buttercup seeds. Sweet anise seeds.

"Clover."--Bear clover. Small bear clover. Salt clover. Mountain filaree. Variety similar to salt clover. Another unidentified variety. Sweet anise.

Tubers.--Four varieties of "Indian potatoes." Wild onion. Wild carrot. Wild parsnip. Tubers were usually roasted.

Berries.--Manzanita. Blackberries. "Big navel" manzanita. Huckleberry. Raspberries.

Mushrooms.--Deer mushroom. Pine mushroom: grow near manzanita trees. Fish gill mushroom. A small, round variety; grows around burned logs. A type that grows in clusters. Mushrooms normally roasted on charcoal.

Nuts.--Peppernuts. Digger-pine nuts. Sugarpine nuts. Buckeyes.

Miscellaneous.--Army worms: beliefs similar to Pomo and Yuki; considered the lice on Taikomol's head. Taikomol shakes his head, a clap of thunder occurs and worms appear on leaves; people stand around tree saying, "li li li li li" and worms crawl down limbs into basket of water; talk in subdued voice both when gathering and eating; evidently ceremonial eating with a group of people indoors; parched, steamed. Caterpillars also considered gift of Taikomol. Fish worms (anam): gathered as described for Yuki. Grasshoppers: fired, as among Yuki, or gathered with regular seed beater; receiving basket covered with another flat one to prevent escape; parched, steamed. Sugar-pine gum (uic'ui): balls gathered and chewed.

The foregoing material is far from exhaustive, but indicates the general type of diet to be about the same as for the Yuki.

Unlike the Yuki, the Huchnom observed a mild form of "first salmon" and "first acorn" ceremony. Lulu described a first-salmon observance as follows:

The man who killed the salmon got none of it. When the first salmon was caught, everyone stopped fishing. The salmon was cleaned, cooked, and eaten. Sometimes a lamšém (shaman), sometimes an old man would say thanks: "Father, we're glad you gave us this fish. Take our sickness away. We give this to you." Then he would take a piece, make a clucking sound with his mouth, circle his face four times, and throw it in four directions. Then everyone would go on fishing.

Probably there was a ceremony such as this at each dam or for each group of people within hearing distance of each other. There was an equally abbreviated first-acorn rite. When a man found a richly laden tree at the beginning of the harvest season, he said, "Father, I am glad you have given us this fine tree and many acorns. We're hungry for acorn soup and acorn bread." When the first acorns had been gathered, a general feast occurred. A lamšém offered soup or bread in four directions, and everyone ate. Such a rite seems to have occurred for several of the more important crops as they became ripe. Since hunting was an all-year occupation, no corresponding ceremony was observed.

Grace was customarily said before meals.

The Huchnom observed a la^{n}l-ha^{n}p (acorn sing) once only, about January.

Houses and Villages

Houses resembled the Pomo rather than the Yuki type by the presence of a forked center post. For the winter house a circular excavation 1 foot deep and 20 in diameter was made. The center post of black oak projected from 6 to 8 feet above the ground. Fir pole rafters were run to the edges, and overlaid with fir bark. Pine bark was never used because of its tendency to disintegrate rapidly. Dirt was then packed for a foot or two around the edge to keep out the worst draughts. A long door was made by omitting a bark slab; in inclement weather, this was replaced. Doors usually faced east, because people liked to look at the rising sun. The single fire was between the door and center post, thus being almost under the top of the door, and allowing the smoke to escape without filling the entire dwelling.

Three or four families lived in a house such as

this. No partitions existed. Baskets of food took up the rear of the house, and the families had allotted places on each side of the center post. Lulu lived in such a house about 1890, situated on the Eel River seven miles from Potter Valley. Its inhabitants included her mother, stepfather, brother, father's aunt, father's aunt's husband, and two elderly men and their wives, unrelated to Lulu--a total of ten persons. Her father's aunt's husband, Peter Hudson, was recognized as the leader, since he had supervised construction. This house showed the white man's imprint--it had been built with spades, hammers, and nails.

Houses in groups of two or three were scattered along stream banks; occasionally an isolated house was found. Šipimul, at the mouth of Outlet Creek on the South Fork of the Eel River, was the largest village, but Lulu did not know its population. In summer, people moved away from the winter houses, and individual families lived in rough brush shelters. Powers[5] describes these as dome-shaped wigwams of willow wickerwork construction, thatched with grass. Sometimes they were oblong, with sleeping places for thirty or forty persons. From time to time, while the mothers and children remained in these shelters, the husbands carried the fruits of the summer's gathering back to the villages where storage baskets and pits had been prepared.

Clothing and Ornamentation

For males: sketchy clothing. Rabbitskin apron hung from buckskin thong around waist, fur side out. Unlike Yuki, bottom not fringed. Moccasins and deerskin capes rare. Some men singed hair short; others used nets. Eel grease put in hair, especially for dances. Tattoo: on face, horizontal and vertical lines out and down from mouth, some straight in pairs or in threes, others zigzag, still others dotted. Rarely vertical lines beneath eyes.[6] On chest: from two to four horizontal stripes; these were special prerogatives of future chiefs. Boys tattooed by paternal uncle (see "Society"). Burnt angelica and pitch smeared on in desired pattern, pricks made with sharp deerbone, the mixture rubbed in. At about same age same relative pierced boy's nose and ears; 4-inch stick with feathers on ends worn through nose, and similar one with feathers on one end only through ears; "can't be seen in back, so didn't need feathers there." Nose and ear decorations for dances only.

For females: rabbitskin apron similar to men's. During menses, disposable soaproot apron. Hair braided and pinned with a stick of hazelwood, manzanita, or madroña. Tattoo: on face only, never on chest. Done by mother's sister.

[5]Powers, 139.

[6]Powers, figs. 12-17 inclusive.

Done at end of first puberty sing; ear and nose piercing shortly thereafter.

For both sexes: to protect feet, pitch sometimes placed on soles and toughened by application of heat with a hot rock.

Society

Village organization and society in general were about like the Yuki.

The chief, or captain (te'ol), gave advice, "preached," and saw to it that life went smoothly. A new chief, if not a son, was preferably a male relative of the old chief. Unlike the Yuki, the Huchnom captain gave up his position to his successor before his death. Lulu told the following story:

> Naomiki was an old šipimul captain. When he got old he gave his position to his son, Husmesmas, before he died. There was a four-day "big time" (social gathering) to mark the occasion. There was lots to eat, lots of common dances, and the old chief gave presents to the new chief. Other old people did the same. A white man later took Husmesmas off to Grindstone and he was never heard of again. He was my great-grandfather. It was the custom for an old chief to give his position to a younger man.

A chief was distinguished by his dress. He wore a yellowhammer headband, soft bearhide, "Indian gold" (magnesite) around his neck, and wore his hair long. Though he hunted and fished like any man, he maintained his wealth by accepting presents from his people. Women chiefs (musp te'ol) also held power, probably about like the Yuki musp ti'ol.

There were two assistant chiefs, whose duties could not be ascertained. Perhaps one or both corresponded to the wi'ihli,[7] who had certain powers over the chief. A messenger (k'áhin-komol) took orders from one of these assistant chiefs, and carried invitations to "big times" to neighboring villages. Knotted strings were used to indicate the exact date. Other functionaries included: a janitor (hampin-čúčitilk) who kept the dance house clean; a fire tender (yehim-k'awesk); and a dance manager or leader (lil-há'iki, rock carrier).

A form of avunculate existed. A boy was tattooed by an uncle, evidently his father's brother. This was public indication of a bond henceforth existing between the two. At this time the uncle gave beads and skins to his nephew and in the school that followed shortly aided him by keeping him awake. He also instructed him in hunting, fishing, and taught him any songs or curing techniques he might have. In turn, the boy looked after the uncle in his old age.

Berdaches (iwap k'uti) wore women's clothing, followed feminine daily pursuits, and lived with

[7]Kroeber, Handbook, 206.

a man. Because of their strength they were useful persons. They carried home dead and wounded warriors. Men were afraid to do this since they ran the risk of blood stain, considered to be an omen of death in the next conflict; most women were not strong enough. Lulu believed that berdaches were comparatively rare.

Dancing

Huchnom dancing was similar to that of the Yuki. The term kopa-wok (feather dance) was used to describe any nonesoteric social dance. Specific dances remembered by Lulu were:

The wušé-wok (coyote dance). One man, called wušé, dressed in coyote skins with the tails hanging down his back. He led several women into the dance area, and they danced about him; his actions represented those of a coyote. There is no explanation for the term wušé for coyote instead of the usual word hulk'o. The Huchnom knew that the Yuki called the dance, as would be expected, hulk'o-wok.

The huwiše-wok (dog dance). A man carrying wormwood and flowers led about twelve women through the dance. This dance commonly occurred in summer in a brush dance house.

The toto-wok (rag dance). As explained for the Yuki, this dance was apparently a bastardized version of the Taikomol or "Big Head" dance, given by those possessing the right as a profit-making undertaking. The fact that women were allowed to take part indicates that it had blended with the nonesoteric kopa-woks. Spectators were obliged to contribute beads and other objects of value; sickness was thought to ensue if a person failed to pay.

Dances were under the direction of a "rock carrier" (lil-háhe or lil-há'iki).

Games

Grass game (moluthelike).--This was played, with minor differences, like the Yuki game. The Huchnom usually played with the left hand behind the body, the right in front; in this they resembled the Pomo. The marked bone, or ace, was called t'oi; the plain bone t'oi-tul; the counters al (wood). Guessing was for either the ace or plain bone, the players previously deciding which. If the ace, the guesser said weh; if the plain bone, he said huí. The four possible combinations were indicated as follows ("I" represents the ace, "O" the plain bone):

I O I O. Clap hands, point in direction of ace (or plain bone if agreed upon).
O I O I. Same procedure.
O I I O. Clap hands, point with first two fingers of one hand, or with index of both hands.
I O O I. Raise index fingers of both hands up and out.

Aboriginally women did not play.

Marked-ace game (al-hatch, little stick game).--Described exactly as for the Yuki.

Deer-knuckle dice game (ka^{n}k-pušmol).--Since deer-knuckle dice are unknown to the Yuki, Kato, and Wailaki, it seems probable that their presence is due to Pomo influence. The players, of either sex, sat in two opposing rows, and a counter holder held twelve counting sticks. I was unable to obtain an exact description of the method of throwing dice; Lulu stated that the "idea was to make the dice stand on end." Possibly only one die was employed. Play passed from one team to the other, on down the lines, as in a spelling bee. In case of a successful throw, the team received one counter, and the player threw again. Gambling occurred.

Shinny (molpušt'-okmol).--Playing was similar to that of the Yuki. Women sometimes played, and occasionally mixed teams; in this case, women always lost. Small bets were made between individuals.

Various.--Lulu insisted that the women's flat-stick dice game (Yuki alča') was unknown to the Huchnom. Since it was played by the Pomo, Kato, and Yuki, this is difficult to believe. Loeb, however, states[8] that it was lacking among the Wailaki. Lulu also stated that the ring-and-pin game, known to the Kato but not the Yuki, was unknown to the Huchnom. Contests of skill and endurance included: wrestling, archery both for distance and accuracy, foot racing, swimming (distance under water, diving, floating, surface speed), tree climbing, and pole vaulting for distance.

Cat's cradle.--Lulu insisted that string figures were aboriginal. Designs approximated those of the Yuki (see figs. 7-10). Another was known as "Quail Snare," and another, played by two persons, was probably the one called by the Yuki "Sewing."

Warfare

The Huchnom pattern of warfare was about like that of the Yuki. Principal causes of feuds were poaching by foreigners, murder, and witchcraft. In the peace settlement, the losers received the larger compensation. A dance (tau^n-wok) occurred before a war party set out, and a dance of the same name if the party returned victorious. In the preliminary dance, the warriors sang songs supposed to make the enemy sleep soundly; this increased the likelihood of a successful surprise attack. Angelica and wormwood roots were chewed to bring good luck. The victory dance "didn't last long because the men were tired." Scalps were

[8] 1932:92.

fastened to sticks and held in the mouth by a few dancers. A six-month taboo against eating meat for all who did this reduced the desire for this form of revenge. Principal weapons were bows and clubs. Lulu had never heard of armor of any type. The following fragmentary account of war from Lulu may be part of the series of Kato-Yuki battles described by Kroeber.[9]

My grandmother Louise [actually her great-aunt] was a young woman at the time this fight took place. The Eden Valley Yuki came into Huchnom territory because they were having a famine; they wanted to poach on our land. One Yuki came up to an old Huchnom woman and broke her basket. One month later some Huchnom went to Eden Valley and fought the Yuki, killing a young man, whom they scalped. Another battle followed, and the Kato, the Sherwood Pomo, and Little Lake Pomo joined with the Huchnom. One Yuki was killed, and his face and hair brought back. Another was killed, and his hand taken. Lots of people were injured, but these were the only ones killed. In the victory dance, only one old woman danced with the scalp in her teeth. She also did the same with the hand. About six months later the Yuki attacked the Huchnom and killed one young woman and a little boy. They cut off his hand and took it home. Several other Huchnom were killed, but the survivors kept the bodies, so the Yuki got no scalps. In war the idea is to make as much noise as possible and try to scare the enemy; even the bravest fighters sometimes run. Peace is made by paying for the dead. But even at a peace meeting, the Indians always keep their weapons handy in case of a trick.

Mention is not made of the final victor in this series of fights. Probably the appearance of the whites ended intertribal warfare. The Potter Valley Pomo were continual enemies of the Huchnom, and mention is made of fighting with the Wailaki. This probably is an error, and refers to fighting with the Ta'no'm Yuki, who even by the southern Yuki were considered "half Wailaki."

Medicine

Names of diseases and cures approximated those of the Yuki.

Headache. Temples bled with flint knife. Pepperwood leaves burned, brushed on head. Angelica smoked in pipe; chewed, applied to forehead.

Toothache. Believed redheaded worm was eating from inside. Haliotis-shell powder put in cavity; gums bled with sharp bone.

Stomachache. Constipation recognized to be usual cause. Drank water in which wormwood had been steamed. Angelica poultice put on place of ache, covered with hot ashes in buckskin; believed to draw out pain.

[9]Handbook, 156.

Earache. Child's urine poured in ear. (Wormwood?) leaves steamed, steam allowed to rise into ear.

Dysentery. The name a^{n}s-wolilyakile (blood comes right on through) suggests amoebic variety. Came in epidemics. Tried all possible remedies, including eating of skunk musk bag, but all usually failed. Many children usually died.

Rheumatism. Called melit'ótikai (leg on fire). Steamed over low fire, as for menstruating girl. Poison doctor sometimes bled.

Broken arm. Bound with alder-bark splints lined with pad of wild-pea vine. Wild-pea vine believed to have magical properties making bones grow together rapidly.

Arrow wound. Shaman sucked out point if still imbedded.

Rattlesnake bite. Lulu stated poison doctor cured it. This contrasts with Yuki, who had special rattlesnake shamans.

Hygiene.--Faces and hands washed in morning; gargled with cold water to clear throat. Soaproot used as soap. Fingernails bitten short; sometimes cleaned with pointed bone. Both sexes sweated periodically.

Counting

Lulu was able to count only to seven: 1, púwi; 2, ópi; 3, mólmi; 4, kesópi; 5, upúc; 6, pútal; 7, kesopi-nu.

The first three words are the equivalent of the Yuki, the others entirely different. I am unable to say whether the system is octonary, as is the Yuki.

Calendar

Kroeber[10] gives a rather complete list of Huchnom "months." The general type is similar to that of the Yuki, but with one exception there seems to be no actual correspondence. The exception is mu^{n}l-na^{n}tmol (ice on streams); the Yuki word is mul-ná^{n}tmul, with the same translation. Lulu gave four additional words which she said corresponded more nearly to seasons than months; those for winter and summer are equivalent to the Yuki: šáwin (huddle together time), winter; musen-iótok'ap (sweet anise peeps out of ground), spring; piltwin (sunshine time), summer; olpal-tutok'up (leaves fall down), autumn.

Time of year was partly indicated on the fingers. Hands were held in front of a person, palms inward; mipa'ohot (thumb) represented the first month of winter (December; Kroeber says March); kúskoyam (index finger), approximately January; molsamkús (middle finger), approximately February, and so on. The system is obviously imperfect, since the recorded list of names contains twenty designations.[11]

[10]Handbook, 208.

[11]Kroeber, Handbook, 208.

Cardinal Directions

Hali (to the end), north; kutk'ai (at the bottom), south; piloti-ka^{n}ksike (sun comes up), east; ukhotam-piloti-ilike (water big sun goes down; i.e., sun goes down in the ocean), west; me'ti (heaven), up; onki (earthward), down.

Birth

A prospective mother did her regular tasks until labor pains actually set in. Moving about was believed to make the embryo change position and thus develop fully; otherwise the baby would be born with deformities. Birth occurred in a wife's mother's home, with the mother assisting. If she had married into a distant village, her mother-in-law substituted. The girl half reclined against the house wall and placed her feet on the midwife's knees. Angelica leaves were mashed, boiled, and drunk to ease the pain. The presence of a woman who had had several easy accouchements was desirable. If delivery were delayed, a woman singer was summoned. The afterbirth was buried; if it were simply thrown away it would catch cold, and sympathetically, the child also, who would henceforth be a crybaby. Scrub mush oak moss lined with powdered pepperwood and angelica leaves was used to wrap the navel cord and it was hung on a rafter near the center post. It was believed to prevent all babyhood diseases and to allow the child to nurse until it was three or four years of age. If the cord were lost or thrown away, the baby would sicken, turn yellow, and eventually die.

A new baby was washed in an infusion of angelica leaves and placed in a cradle lined with a rabbitskin blanket. Dry moss served as a diaper. Steaming of the mother, as described for the Yuki, took place twice a day for fifteen days. Lulu stated that the baby was also steamed. During this time the mother ate only acorn mush and pinole. At the end of the period the mother washed in warm water and then resumed her regular tasks. The husband observed a mild couvade; he stayed at home and did not exercise, smoke, chop wood, or gamble. Chopping wood was believed to cause the child's head to split. The husband also avoided all forms of contact with his wife. If a man went hunting or fishing, bad luck would probably result. Or, if he should succeed in killing a deer, the child's eyes would roll upward, as do those of a dying deer, and it would henceforth see poorly. Lulu knew of one such case; in addition to having defective vision, the child was feeble-minded, and died at the age of fourteen. During this period a man didn't even go for water; he might see a water monster in a spring that would take him away, or frighten him into illness. Unlike the woman, he followed no dietary rules.

If a baby were born while the father was at war, he would have a bad temper. To remedy this, the chief carried the child around the dance-house center post four times, made a sucking sound with his lips, and said, "Well, my Father, give this child a good heart." Twins portended bad luck for the entire village, and it was customary to kill one, always the girl if they were not of the same sex. Twins were evidently rather rare, and Lulu knew of only one pair.

The new moon was a source of strength for babies, and an unusually lucky child was he who was born at such a time. If a boy, he was called lašk'al-iway (moon man); if a girl, lašk'al-musp (moon woman). All young babies were carried around the house four times under the new moon, while the mother repeated, "It's good luck for you; you will grow fast."

Data on abortion are limited to the statement that steaming and pummeling of the expectant mother's abdomen was resorted to if the child were unwanted. Lulu looked back upon the good old times when all women were chaste, and when abortion, infanticide, and illegitimacy were undreamed of. At present, she stated, infanticide does not occur directly, but "babies usually die if they aren't wanted."

Names

Naming occurred shortly after birth, sometimes on the same day. A relative, usually of the same sex in the grandparent generation, acted as godparent and bestowed his or her name, and presented beads and other gifts. Names of old people were valued because it was believed the child would magically partake of the donor's longevity. Lulu was named by a famous old man dancer who placed beads around her neck and said, "My name, lil-pául, is an ugly one. I give it to you and you will be strong and live a long time. That's because I have lived a long time."

Personal names were known to everyone, and did not change when a person grew up. Magicians could not work black magic upon a person through knowledge of his name. Examples of boys' names follow: Omahá (bent over the rock), for a good hunter. Weltí (large thigh), for a good singer (a person kept time by slapping his thigh). Tuleš-húle (quail eye), for a good quail hunter. K'amólme (wild panther), for a good hunter. Naí'hime (mountain filaree), for a good deer hunter. (Deer eat this bush.) Suk-sénmi (young pine tree), for a good climber. Woýake (limber man), for a good athlete. Naumúki (bumblebee), for a strong, bold man, like the bee. K'olkitél (sore back). With the possible exception of the final name, all are real names, not nicknames. Since an infant's future bents are not known, they did not necessarily fit when adulthood was reached.

Examples of girls' names, the last two of which may be nicknames, follow: Lil-paúl (little rock fluttering in the air). Husúk'i (tattoo on the face). Ušak'e (tiny woman). Šídanok (chubby woman). Suk-túla (no teeth).

Childhood

Babies nursed for three or four years, remaining in the cradle for the first year. A cottontail foot, acorn, or string of beads was fastened to the rim, and the infant's arms were left free to play with these simple toys. Older children played together without restriction. Several children might bury their feet in the sand together, and drop rocks to see whose feet would be hit. Continuing the practice started in infancy, when children were old enough to walk, they danced around the dance house four times at each new moon, asking for health and good luck. When a baby tooth came out, the child circled the dance house four times, sucking with his lips, and threw the tooth at the rising sun, saying, "Grandmother, give me a new tooth; I'm giving you this tooth."

At seven or eight, the sexes were separated, and each began customary educational pastimes. Girls played with toy cradles and clay dolls with facial features, tattooings, and shapeless bodies. Boys played at jumping, shooting at birds with toy bows, singing, and dancing in imitation of their elders. Bears were imitated by standing face to a tree and scratching; pinching of each other's skin determined bravery. Mothers punished recalcitrant minors by switching, ear pinching, or making them stay at home. It was beneath a man's dignity to scold a child.

Puberty

Unless the Taikomol-woknam and the Hulk'ilal-woknam are so considered, there was no real puberty observance for boys. Like the Yuki, all pubescent girls underwent the húmnum-wok. When a girl experienced her first menses she was placed inside her home; if the family were away in summer, they had to return to their winter quarters. Here she was steamed and twice a day made to dance with an older woman. Another woman beat time with two mush paddles; as with the Yuki, girls' puberty was closely connected with the earth's fertility. Friends gathered in the house to aid in the singing. There was no fire; a dark room was more favorable for sparking. In the house, the girl's head was covered with a deerskin; when it was necessary to go outside, with a basket. If the girl saw the sky, she would see "something" and die of fright. The basket, of fine workmanship, also imparted to her the ability to make similar baskets with fine, even stitches, and the ability to create new designs. Scratching was done with a haliotis scratcher, the same beliefs about scratching pertaining as for the Yuki.

Each "sing" lasted four days. Lulu said that subsequent sings occurred each month for an entire year, though this is hard to believe. More likely singing and dancing took place in which the old woman danced with the girl privately each month. During this time the girl lived principally on acorn soup; meat, fish, grease, and salt were taboo. At the end of the year the girl danced, imitating the motions of gathering acorns and pounding, and afterward came a general feast. During the year the girl--or girls, since several might share the ceremony together--was strictly supervised by the old woman. Evidently it was so irksome that girls were apt to break the taboos, in spite of knowledge of subsequent bad luck. Thus, continual guarding was necessary.

Marriage

Love songs were used in courting. One went as follows: "I like you, turn your heart to me. I send this good message to you." A boy mumbled this to himself, uttering the girl's name at the same time. Actually it was more of a magic formula than a song. Roots of the "tiny angelica" were chewed and blown in the direction of the desired person, and wishes for success expressed. For the most part, however, marriage was decided upon by the parents. Before a girl's puberty a boy's parents came to an understanding with those of the girl. Then, at regular intervals, followed exchanges of meat, acorn bread, deerskins, and baskets, as public evidence of good faith. Some time after the girl's húmnum, the boy went with his "best friend" to the house of his betrothed. While the groom sat in embarrassed silence, the friend made light conversation, dropping incidental remarks about the groom's ability as hunter and fisher. Subsequent daily visits were made by the boy alone. Finally he stayed all night with his bride, "and for about a week more," sleeping with her each night. Then the two held hands, and the girl's father put necklaces and armbands around both. The two then repaired to the boy's home, where his parents did likewise. The chief played his bit by admonishing them to "be good to each other." No formal marriage restrictions existed beyond the rule against union with near relations. Residence was patrilocal.

A slight parent-in-law taboo was observed. A man spoke to his wife's mother only when necessary, and then she turned her head away. If the two met on a trail, the son-in-law stepped aside; if the woman spoke, he simply answered "yes," or "no," and proceeded.

Lulu did not know of a prejudice against marrying a sister-in-law.[12] She stated that a joking relationship existed which took the form of wrestling and semiobscene bantering, about as the Yuki did. The girl might become the husband's wife if her sister should prove sterile. Thus, polygyny existed in a society nominally monogamous. Frequently a chief, because of his greater power and influence, had several wives.

A man was expected to show respect to his parents-in-law by continuing the gift-giving practice

[12] Kroeber, Handbook, 211.

existing at the time of marriage. Fish and game formed the usual medium. Premarital chastity in both sexes was considered a virtue. Children evidently followed the wishes of their parents in marriage, and Lulu could not remember an elopement in early times. If a man's wife ran away with another man, like the Yuki he was supposed "to have a big heart" and pay no attention. Should she prove unfaithful but remain with him, he could either overlook the transgression, or send her home. A man's family, learning of such, might employ a poison doctor to kill the girl. Should the man prove unfaithful--which was probably more often the case--the girl's family also had recourse to the poison doctor. In case of separation, children remained with their mother.

Death

In the practice of cremation, Huchnom death rites resemble those of the Pomo rather than the Yuki. A trait evidently foreign to both Pomo and Yuki was the importance of the shaman. When a person died, friends and relatives assembled outside the house and wept. Relatives of the same sex as the deceased washed the body while it was still warm, folded it with knees under the chin and hands on ankles, wrapped it in a deer hide and bound it securely. Relatives watched the body during the night, talking to it, "We'll put you away in a good manner, and Taikomol will take you along the way."

Several hundred yards from each village was a burning and burial ground (húlk'ilal-on-pet, devil ground). The body was removed from the house through the regular door and carried here on the following morning, accompanied by weeping and wailing villagers. It was placed on wood filling an oblong pit a foot or two deep. When all was ready, the pyre was ignited with fire carried from the house of the deceased. Personal property of the deceased was added, and friends and relatives threw on additional valuables. I could not determine whether friends were reimbursed; in view of the custom among the Pomo, it seems probable. When the ashes were cold, the remains were gathered in a new basket and buried in the pit. During the burning, people avoided the smoke, which was considered injurious to the lungs.

Ideas concerning the hereafter were vague. Heaven (me'ti), a land of acorns, clover, game, and flowers, where hard work was unknown, was situated in the sky, and souls of all persons, good and bad alike, went there. For four days a person's spirit hovered about the village, especially the places the person had frequented during life. Finally it went to me'ti in a whirlwind, via the smoke of the cremation, or along the rainbow. The fact that the spirit hovered about for four days after the cremation was not inconsistent with the Huchnom. The rainbow path is similar to the Yuki belief that the soul of a girl who died during her first menstruation followed the rainbow.

The day of the cremation the house of the deceased was burned--nothing except food stores was spared. Survivors lived with friends or relatives until another house was finished. All persons who had had contact with the corpse were purified by a shaman who burned pepperwood and angelica leaves, blew smoke over them, and brushed their bodies four times with leafy branches of the same plants. This precaution was known as "scaring the spirit body away." If it were not done, the people would imagine they were seeing and hearing the spirit of the dead person.

Four days after the cremation a shaman or poison doctor, while singing, placed three pairs of poisoned dogwood sticks over the grave to prevent molestation of the remains by an enemy. In recent times the doctor's fee amounted to about twenty dollars. It is apparent that in the importance of doctors at death we have a feature characteristic of neither Pomo nor Yuki culture, to both of which Huchnom in general is allied.

Close female relatives observed mourning by singeing the hair and covering the head with pitch, which had to be left on for a year. Less ceremony was required for a child; probably no house burning and little destruction of property occurred. When, however, a chief died, the dance house was destroyed and everyone contributed property to the funeral pyre. Unlike both Yuki and Pomo, Lulu insisted that the Huchnom observed no anniversary mourning at the end of one year. As was customary in the area, a death name taboo existed. Speaking the name of a dead person before living kin was the deadliest of insults, and the offender ran serious risk of being poisoned. Unlike the Yuki, Lulu said no excuses were acceptable. Children carrying the names of deceased were unaffected, and continued with the same names.

Religion, Cosmogony, Doctors

These phases of Huchnom culture are roughly parallel to the Yuki. Lulu's accounts are by no means always coherent, but critical comparison of her statements with the other sketchy Huchnom material bears out the general Yuki pattern.

Creation

Unlike the Yuki, Taikomol was not equated with onámol (thunder); "Taikomol is more powerful and important." Lulu dictated the following fragmentary creation myth.

First there was only water, and on it floated a feather. This feather sang, "hé........in. ó; hé........ in. ó; γ," and grew larger and larger until it took the form of a man. This was Taikomol who floated on the water. First he tried to stand with his right foot, but couldn't do it, so he sang some more, and pretty soon he could stand up.

But he saw there should be land, so he made gopher to help him. But gopher was a poor helper; the land he brought up was too soft, and sank back into the water. So he (Taikomol) then made mole, who worked hard, and made the land stand up. Then Taikomol made hills, mountains, trees, and rivers. Next he made people, but these first people were really birds and animals. At this time there was no sun and no fire--the days were all gray. The people at that time had to eat raw meat. But these people didn't do as they should have done--they didn't follow the will of Taikomol. So Taikomol decided to send a big flood to drown them all. When this flood came, everyone was in the dance house. Taikomol whipped raccoon with a charred stick; that's why he has black marks on his head and black rings on his tail. Rabbit got into a fight with another rabbit and got his lip cut; that's why he has a split lip. Buzzard wanted to be a big man, but Taikomol wouldn't let him. So he cried and cried and scratched his head raw; that's why he has a red head. Blackbird wanted to be an eagle, so he scratched his shoulder raw; that's why he has red wings. Finally Taikomol drowned them all.

When the water receded he brought the birds and animals back in their present form. And he made man, too. We Huchnom were made out of the scrubby mush oak; that's why we are short and ugly. The Kaipomo (Kato) were made out of live oaks and are taller. The Yuki were made out of the scrubby mush oak like us; that's why they are short. The Wailaki were made out of cedar, and the Little Lake Pomo out of pine trees.

After that he said, "Well, my children, I give you this (world). You make the best of it you can. I'm going to another world." He only returns now when he appears in a vision to a person who is to be a doctor.

The earth in its final form was believed to be supported by three creatures, elk (milatehen), an unidentified creature (uk-milatehen, water elk), and mole (onpóyam), who stood on rocks surrounded by water. When one of them shifted his position, an earthquake resulted. Their breath floated over the earth in the form of clouds. Rain resulted from the tears of Thunder (onámol). An old man, Pelohot (snow old man), lived at "the north pole." When he shook his head, it snowed.

Lulu explained the moon (lášk'owal) as the eye of onámol. The sun (pilati) represented the eye of Taikomol. When either got on the wrong path, a bear bit it, causing an eclipse. When people arose in the morning they looked at the sun, sucked with their lips, exhaled, and asked Taikomol for a good heart. Phases of the moon were given as follows: new moon, lášk'owal-šimnánhiki (moonlike eyebrows); first quarter, pupúč-haówe-lášk'owal (moon is five days old); full moon, lášk'owal-menikele (moon is getting big); last quarter, lášk'owal-k'olyélike (moon is dying). The translations are probably not literal.

Several stars and constellations were recognized: evening star, hamol-ilyélike (star going down); morning star, hamol-hayélike (star coming up); Milky Way, hulkoiméš (Coyote's path); Pleiades, otwok'-hayike (old woman dancing along).

The stars in the Big Dipper were considered to be young girls who had gone wrong. They started to go west to the coast, but Coyote threw stones at them, forcing them to return. That is why they swing only so far westward before returning, completing a swing around the north star before starting for the coast again.

A falling star (hamol-č'ukiyélike) was considered good luck; everyone spit on the ground. The rolling, booming variety of thunder was said by Lulu to be caused by all the dead playing ball. I do not know whether she had read Rip Van Winkle or not. No special beliefs seem to have surrounded lightning.

Spirits

As with the Yuki, various spirits infested the world of the Huchnom. Lulu remembered only three:

Canyon people (k'iméte) looked just like regular people, and lived underground in tunnels and caves. If a man were hunting while his wife was giving birth to a baby, he was likely to be kidnaped by them--a k'iméte woman would take him as a husband. After a year he could return, but if he told where he had been, he would die. K'iméte were evidently similar in nature to water eagles (uksa). Uksa were just like ordinary people, except that their hair was long. They lived in watercourses and underground, and correspond to the Yuki uksa in all respects. Violation of a taboo was likely to result in kidnaping by an uksa. Girls who did not rigorously follow the rules of the húmnum-wok, and men who did not believe in the "Indian ways," that is, were scoffers, were most likely to be taken away.

Evil spirits (anainó'm) evidently were the Huchnom equivalent of the Yuki múmolno'm. They were believed to be in human form, though small, and normally invisible. They caused sickness, but there was no belief that they made a future doctor ill, as among the Yuki. The center post of a sweat house (hapin-hune, sweat-house post) was believed to be a "good-spirit post." It received its power from Taikomol, and was used in curing.

Human spirits (onhulk'aílel, people ghost), the ghosts of the dead, could return to earth from time to time, looking as in life, save for a sallow complexion. People seeing them were unharmed unless frightened, in which event illness resulted. Sometimes they took the form of whirlwinds. When one was encountered, the Huchnom said, "I have nothing to say against you. Wish us good luck. Take all sickness away."

Obsidian blades (wai) were believed to have fallen from heaven, and hence were supernatural; Yuki belief was the same. Lulu's grandfather once found one in the mountains, but did not believe in its supernatural origin. However, to

make sure, he said a short grace over it and took it home. Eventually he sold it to a white man.

These limited descriptions indicate the strong resemblances to similar phases of Yuki culture. As the following paragraphs will show, shamanism and doctoring in general were also about the same.

Shamans

The true shaman, or sucking doctor, was called lamšém, and corresponds to the Yuki lamšími. Power was divinely revealed, evidently by Taikomol himself, and not by a lesser spirit. Lulu gave the following account of Mose Wright.

Mose Wright was a Huchnom sucking doctor. Once while chopping wood he went to sleep in a barn at night. Pretty soon a wind came up and the doors and shakes (shingles) began to rattle. Mose went out to see what was happening, and sat down by a redwood tree. Coming down the hill was a big man with a big head. Mose was paralyzed with fright and couldn't run away. Pretty soon the man, who was Taikomol, came up in front, and he was so tall Mose could see only his feet. Taikomol said "γ...," and flames shot up from his feet, making everything bright. Mose then fainted, and next morning he was found sick, frothing and bleeding at the mouth. He was taken back to his rancheria, and older sucking doctors sang over him for four days in the dance house. At the end of this time he recovered, and was then a full-fledged doctor.

This last statement is misleading. It means that Mose did not require additional training by doctors, and not that he commenced immediately to practice. At another time, Lulu quoted Mose as saying he felt ill for one year before he began to doctor other people.

In curing, the lamšém addressed either Taikomol (or perhaps onámol) or the anainó'm spirits. Standing over the patient, the doctor said four times, "he...., what is the matter?" A low whisper was heard from outside, the voice of the being addressed. Only doctors could tell what it was saying. It told where the pain was, and the doctor sucked as directed, mumbling to himself. After some minutes, he would extract the pain, spitting it out with lumps of blood. Commonly the pain resembled a small arrow point. If after it had been ejected from the doctor's mouth it pointed at the patient, there was no hope; otherwise the patient could recover. Sometimes Taikomol said the pain had been "shot" by an anainó'm, and then it was necessary to address these spirits, just as the Yuki mits-lamšími addressed the múmolno'm.

Upon direct question, Lulu disagreed with Loeb's informant[13] on two points. The latter stated that a poison doctor (see below) took an object from the patient and held it out "amid appropriate prayers to the nature spirits" to the six directions, north, south, east, west, up, and down. Lulu insisted that the lamšém, and not a poison doctor, held the extracted pain in the six directions before throwing it away. Since appeal to the "nature spirits" is neither a part of the Yuki poison-doctor cure, nor of the Huchnom as reported by Lulu, and since "nature spirits" might well be construed as Huchnom anainó'm or Yuki múmolno'm, I believe that Lulu is more nearly correct. Loeb's informant further states that "all doctoring was done in six-day ceremonies in order to conform to the six directions." Lulu said there was no definite number of days--that it depended upon the gravity of the illness--but that if any number were preferred, it was probably four. Since four is the sacred number of the Huchnom, this seems logical.

Lulu had been doctored twice, once by Tony Metock, a Huchnom, about 1890, and once by a Mattole woman. In the first case, the cure required four days. The other time she had become angry, which was contrary to Huchnom ideals, and as a result fell ill of pneumonia. Spirits put a needle-like pain in her breast and she could hardly breathe. The doctor was aided by her husband, two grandsons, and the wife of one of the grandsons; the younger persons helped sing and rattle. She was doctored four times; after the first she could breathe, and in a few days she was completely well. The Mattole doctor received thirty-five dollars.

Members of either sex could become sucking doctors, but, as with the Yuki, men seem to have followed this profession more often.

Poison Doctors

Poison doctors were called either ewil-háⁿp (poison song) or ewil-ohót (poison old man), and correspond to the Yuki iwil-hiltát. They were also referred to as "singing doctors." They differed from lamšém in that power was not supernaturally revealed; knowledge was imparted by older practicing doctors--usually members of one's family--in the Taikomol, or more probably the Hulkilal school. A poison doctor's power lay both in the secret potions that he learned to make, and in songs. The potions remained known only to those who had received specific instruction, but the songs through attendance at cures became known to nondoctors. They were never sung by other than the owner, however, since this was believed to cause the singer's mouth to become crooked. If a person absent-mindedly hummed such a song, he immediately spat four times and said, "Keep away, old ugly song."

A newly trained poison doctor did not practice for some years. Because of the dangers inherent in such work, and because of the many personal taboos involved, boys ordinarily did not like to train for the profession. Poison doctors were regarded as necessary evils: they were dangerous and

[13] 1932:62.

might cause illness, but at the same time they cured, and were a handy weapon against an enemy tribe. Lulu said that to poison a member of one's own tribe, it was necessary to consult a poison doctor from a neighboring tribe. It seems hardly probable, though, that Huchnom poison doctors were always so ethical.

A poison doctor kept his potions hidden in the woods. While preparing them, or curing a patient, he abstained from meat, grease, and salt, and observed continence. Before returning home from the woods he purified himself by washing and by steaming with angelica and pepperwood.

As with the Yuki, Huchnom poison doctors cured two main types of illness: that resulting from poisoning by another doctor and that resulting from fright. In both the patient was placed in the dance house, head toward the supernaturally endowed center post. It is not certain in which instances Taikomol appeared, but in some, at least, use was made of a masked impersonator. The curing ceremony was known as the ewil-wok (poison dance) and required in addition to the doctor several assistants, usually four, who sang and worked cocoon rattles. Only after the lamšém had diagnosed the case did the poison doctor take charge. He painted his body with dots and stripes, using the blood of "water dogs" (salamander), and sang: "Nána kai ye (to-stripe cross stripes), nána kai ye." He also wore a hair net adorned with owl feathers. Spectators avoided his shadow, which was believed to carry poison.

In one case of poisoning described by Lulu, the lamšém pointed out the exact spot, whereupon the poison doctor soaked a string in his potion, tied it around the infected spot, and then tied three longer strings to the first at the point of pain. Holding these three strings he danced, advancing, retreating, straddling the patient, and making noises in imitation of quail, coyotes, and owls. All this time the assistants sang and rattled the cocoon rattles. Finally the poison doctor cut off all four strings with a flint knife and threw them out through the door. One of the assistants then gathered the remains of the fire in a basket and similarly disposed of them. There was no set number of times for this procedure; each case, depending upon its severity, was doctored as many times as seemed necessary.

In this account, no mention is made of a Taikomol impersonator, as in the case for the Yuki. But when speaking of the Taikomol-wok (see below), Lulu stated that the purpose of the dance was "to scare sickness away." Whether this refers to poison cases or cases of fright illness, I do not know. When speaking of illness caused by fright, Lulu made no mention of effigies similar to that supposed to have caused the original fright, though this omission may be due to an oversight in questioning.

Lulu did not speak of men corresponding to the Yuki hilyu-lít doctors. With the Huchnom this class may have become merged with the poison doctor proper. It will be recalled that with the Yuki the two classes tended to merge, even though distinct names were known.

Drawing together the loose threads of these confused data, it seems to me probable that the situation is very similar to that of the Yuki. The true shaman, the lamšém, received divine inspiration, and his powers were strengthened and guided by a dance in which practicing shamans instructed him. He cured, principally by sucking, illness resulting from violation of taboos, and illness resulting from "pains" shot into the body, either by Taikomol or lesser spirits. He was not equipped to treat illness resulting from fright or from poisoning. For these it was necessary to consult a poison doctor, an ewil-ohót, who had received his power not through revelation, but empirically--by instruction from an older poison doctor. Unlike the Pomo, no "outfits" were involved. In curing the ewil-ohót was aided by singers, presumably graduates of one or both of the Huchnom schools. As indicated by the following account of the Taikomol-wok, a Taikomol impersonator appeared in at least some instances. Though no mention is made of it, in view of the occurrence among the Pomo, Kato, and Yuki, it seems likely that in some cases of fright illness, an attempt was made to refrighten the patient back to health with an effigy. Loeb reports that this did occur.[14] As with the Yuki, the Huchnom do not appear to have been aware of fright illness as a simplified manifestation of the soul-loss illness concept. Contrary to Loeb's information,[15] Lulu insisted that women were never poison doctors. This is consistent with my Yuki data.

Grizzly-Bear Doctors

Lulu believed that the Huchnom did not have grizzly-bear doctors. In this they resembled the Pomo. With regard to Indian-bears, she was uncertain; the only one she had known of was a Laytonville Indian, probably Kato. This particular acaccount is interesting in that the Indian-bear was a woman, a very unusual thing. According to the story, this woman was caught in a snare while dressed in a bearskin, and badly beaten by a number of men. Her husband rescued her, but not before she had been seriously injured. Lulu knew her years later as an old hunchback. In view of the almost superhuman feats of strength expected of an Indian-bear, it is difficult to imagine a woman taking the part. The account, therefore, may either indicate that rarely a woman of unusual size and strength became an Indian-bear, or it may be merely a later rationalization to explain the crippled condition of an old hag.

[14] 1932:62.

[15] 1932:62.

Hulk'ilal-woknam

The little that Lulu knew about the Hulk'ilal-woknam agrees substantially with Kroeber[16] and Loeb.[17] Boys varying in age from ten to thirteen entered in November and remained until spring.

They had strict dietary rules--no meat of any kind, and little water, at least for the first days. The customary haliotis scratcher was used to prevent permanent markings which were believed to result if fingernails were used. From time to time the boys were thrown over the fire to make them brave and strong. At the conclusion in the spring the novitiates danced, sweated, jumped into the stream and washed, and then joined in a great feast. Graduates were forbidden to tell women what had befallen them; if they did so the dance-house roof would fall in.

Probably a given village held the ceremony but once in a generation. With each school, a new dance house was required, which was built under the supervision of the te'ol. A shaman selected the right tree for the center post, sang over it, danced around it four times and gave orders to have it cut down. Before hoisting it into position another song was sung. The dance-house door had to face the rising sun, a source of health and power.

Taikomol-woknam

Lulu knew nothing about the school of this name, but she had seen the last Taikomol-wok (Big Head dance) to be given in Round Valley. Although the principal participants were Yuki, a few Huchnom took part, and she was told that it was the same ceremony given earlier by the Huchnom. Since the dance is sometimes called Huchnom-wok by the Yuki themselves, the identity for the two tribes is apparent. In this dance only men participated. All spectators of both sexes paid in goods the equivalent of fifty cents; refusal to pay was supposed to cause sickness. The dancer who appeared as the Big Head--Taikomol--was appointed by the chief, and for the four days previous to the dance he abstained from meat, grease, observed continence, and remained in the dance house. Should he fail to observe these rules, it was believed that he would swell up and burst.

During the actual dancing spectators remained silent, upon pain of illness. A chorus of about six men sang and manipulated split-stick rattles, while in the rear of the dance house a drummer beat upon the log drum with a stick, sometimes dancing upon the drum itself. A dancer (rock caller?) led the Big Head in from outside and showed him where to dance. He was clothed in a feather cape, high feather headdress, and a woodpecker "blind" (visor?). Across his chest were painted black and white horizontal stripes. For about an hour the dance continued, with the impersonator blowing a bone whistle at regular intervals. A rest followed, and then everyone took part in a profane dance, followed by another rest and a second Big Head performance.

This routine lasted four nights. Toward the fourth morning everyone danced, and finally the Big Head impersonator removed his costume, one piece at a time, offering each to the four cardinal directions, as well as to the zenith and earth. A big feast took place on the following day.

The principle of this dance, said Lulu, was "to scare sickness away," though the particular performance she witnessed was rather of a social nature.

[16]Handbook, 204.

[17]1932:58.

Mythology

Besides the creation account, the following myths were recorded.

Coyote and the Swan Maidens

Once upon a time Coyote came down to the river and made himself a baby basket (cradle) of redbud switches. He left the buds on it, and made it very pretty. Then he got in it and floated down the river. Farther downstream a group of swan maidens, who were human in those days, were making buckeye soup. As Coyote floated by he cried, "Wah, ah, ah; wah, ah, ah." "I hear something," said one of the girls. They listened again. "Wah, ah, ah; wah, ah, ah." "Yes, it's a baby," they said. So when the basket floated by, one of them grabbed it. Then they passed Coyote up and down the line, to see who the baby liked, quarreling all the time as to who should have him. Finally it became night, and as the buckeye soup was still bitter, they lay down to sleep, intending to finish the next day. Then Coyote grew up, and lay beside each of the girls in turn. The last one in line noticed what was going on, and said to herself, "Maybe he's a bad man." So she placed a big rock in back of her hips, and one in front of her thighs to protect herself. When morning came, Coyote had slept with every girl except the one, and she alone was able to get up. And she has carried these rocks ever since, now being known as Turtle.

Bear Woman and the Deer

Bear Woman was mother-in-law to Deer Man. At that time animals were men. Deer Man would snare birds and keep them for his children, giving only the entrails to his mother-in-law. So one day she took all the birds out of the snare, leaving only one grouse. When her son-in-law saw that, he went to take it out, and Bear Woman jumped out

and killed him. So she went to her daughter, Deer Woman, and said to her, "Let's get some bear clover before sundown." So they went. Then she said, "Daughter, there are lice on my head. Will you pick them off?" So her daughter did this. Then she said, "Now I'll take yours off." So she started to pick them, first with her hand, and then with her teeth. Finally she bit off the top of Deer Woman's head, killing her. And that's why deer have a spot on top of their heads. So Bear Woman took the eyes of both deer and mixed them with acorn meal. Little Deer Boy, her grandson, said, "Those look like my father's eyes," and old Bear Woman said, "My grandchild, don't be silly." Pretty soon little Deer Girl said, "Those look like my mother's eyes," and old Bear Woman said, "My granddaughter, don't be silly." So pretty soon the children took a basket and went down to get water. But instead of returning, Deer Brother and Sister floated away in the basket. In the morning they came to the coast, where their grandfather, old Crane, lived. "Grandfather," they said, "old Bear Woman is bad to us. We don't want to go back. Take us across the ocean." So grandfather Crane stretched his neck over the ocean, and Deer Children went across. Next day old Bear Woman came to Crane and said, "I've tracked Deer Children here; what have you done with them?" At first Crane said he had not seen them, but finally admitted what he had done, and agreed to take Bear Woman across the ocean. So he stretched his neck, but when Bear Woman was halfway across he pulled it back, and she had to run back. On the fourth time, Crane was too fast, and Bear Woman fell into the water. Pretty soon she washed ashore, still alive. But Coyote, Rabbit, Fox, and some other animals were waiting, and they threw stones and killed Bear Woman. Then Coyote took a little of her hair and put it on a log, saying, "Just when sun comes up, beneath the fog, you will be a new bear walking around on four legs." Up to this time she had walked on two legs like a human. And when sun came peeping over the mountains, Bear Woman got up. And she still lives.

Another Bear-Woman Episode

Before Deer Children left, Bear Woman gave birth to some children. So all played together at sweating. Four times Deer Children sweated in the dance house, but they made a smoke hole so they got lots of air. When Bear Children sweated, Deer Children closed up the hole, and on the fourth time, they suffocated. So Deer Children pulled the little Bears out, took a pine limb scale, and put it on the Bears for a tail. Next they took a burned stick with white ashes on the end and made marks down the Bears' backs. These Bears became Skunks, and that is why Skunks have white stripes today.

APPENDIX II

WAILAKI STRING FIGURES

The most interesting string figure is that known as "Boy" or "Girl," which was formerly used as a method of divination to determine the sex of unborn children.[18] The following cat's-cradle figures were obtained from John Tip. With one exception he believes that all are aboriginal.

"Catching a Gray Squirrel."--(See fig. 11.) Position one, with strings crossed in center (see Haddon, for terminology). Opening A, using middle fingers. Place thumbs over radial string and under ulnar string of middle fingers and return. Drop all loops except those on the thumbs. Draw firm, and the result is a hitch around each thumb. Caution: In making opening A, care must be taken to use first the middle finger of the hand on which the ulnar string on the little finger crosses on top at the center.

Sun (sa) or moon (ketanagai).--(See fig. 12.) Make an ordinary slip knot, placing each major loop on the backs of the right and left hands respectively. The resulting knot in the center should be grasped as in position one. Operation

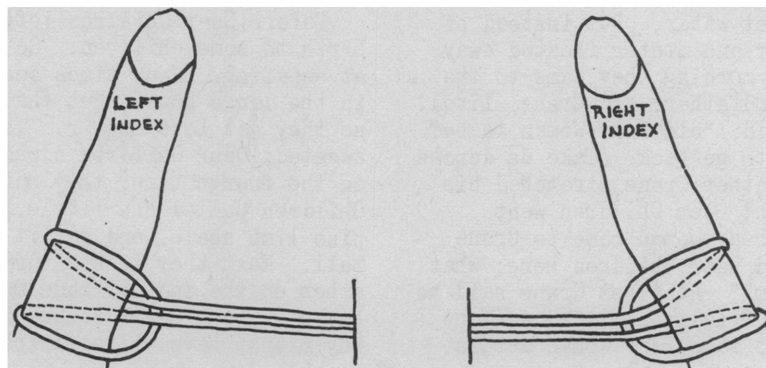

Fig. 11. String figure known as "Catching a Gray Squirrel."

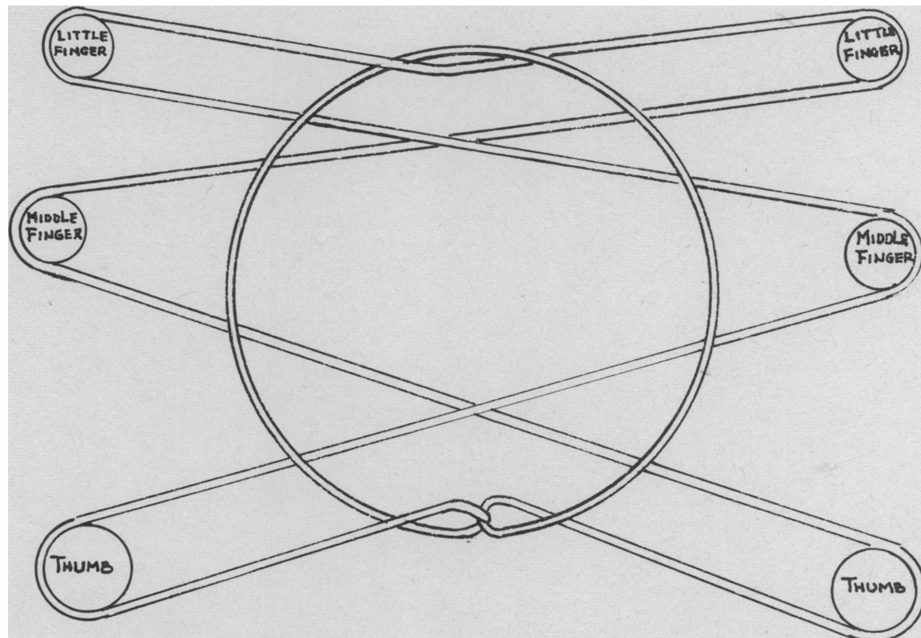

Fig. 12. String figure interpreted as the sun or the moon.

[18] Illustrated in AA 43:126-127, 1941.

A using middle fingers. With teeth, take the dorsal loops on each hand, raise over fingers, and drop on the loops between each hand, drawing up the slack. The result is a circle lying on the frame of the thumb, middle- and little-finger loops of each hand. This is interpreted as both sun and moon. In the latter case, by continuing to draw the hands apart, the loop diminishes--the moon wanes.

Unnamed.--The following game, unnamed, is played by most American children. A loop is placed on the little finger of the left hand, and wound around each finger, the thumb, and back again. By releasing the thumb and pulling the strings the figure falls off the fingers. This may be a postwhite figure, according to John Tip. The lack of a Wailaki name substantiates this belief.

Deer snare (ičítam).--(See fig. 13.) This is considered, and rightly so, the most difficult of all Wailaki figures. Position one, with the string doubled. Opening A using the middle fingers, and removing the distal loop on each hand. With thumbs catch the ulnar loops on the middle fingers and return. With middle fingers, catch the ulnar loops on the thumbs and return. Drop thumb loops. Insert thumbs from the distal position into the proximal loops of the middle fingers, continue on under all loops, catch the two ulnar strings on the little fingers, and return. Drop little-finger loops. Reverse the distal loops on the middle fingers. Insert the thumbs in these loops from the proximal position. With the teeth, pass the double proximal loop on the thumbs over the distal loops, crook the thumbs and catch it, allowing at the same time the distal loops to fall on top of the figure. With the teeth pass the proximal loop on each middle finger over the distal loop, and let them fall on top of the figure. This design is said to resemble the string mesh placed inside deer snares. In reality, the string-figure snare is more complicated than the one used for snaring deer.

A somewhat simpler deer-snare figure is shown in figure 14. Make a loop and insert the index fingers in the same fashion as for "Boy."[19] Now, instead of manipulating palms upward by passing the loops between index fingers and thumbs of each hand, simply turn the palms up and inward. The ulnar string of the thumb loops is now beneath instead of above the radial strings. With the middle fingers catch from the distal position the ulnar strings on the index fingers, continue on and catch the ulnar thumb strings from the proximal position and return, passing beneath the radial index strings, which in turn are caught from the distal position by the thumbs, allowing the thumb loops to slip off over it. Drop the index loops and stretch the figure taut.

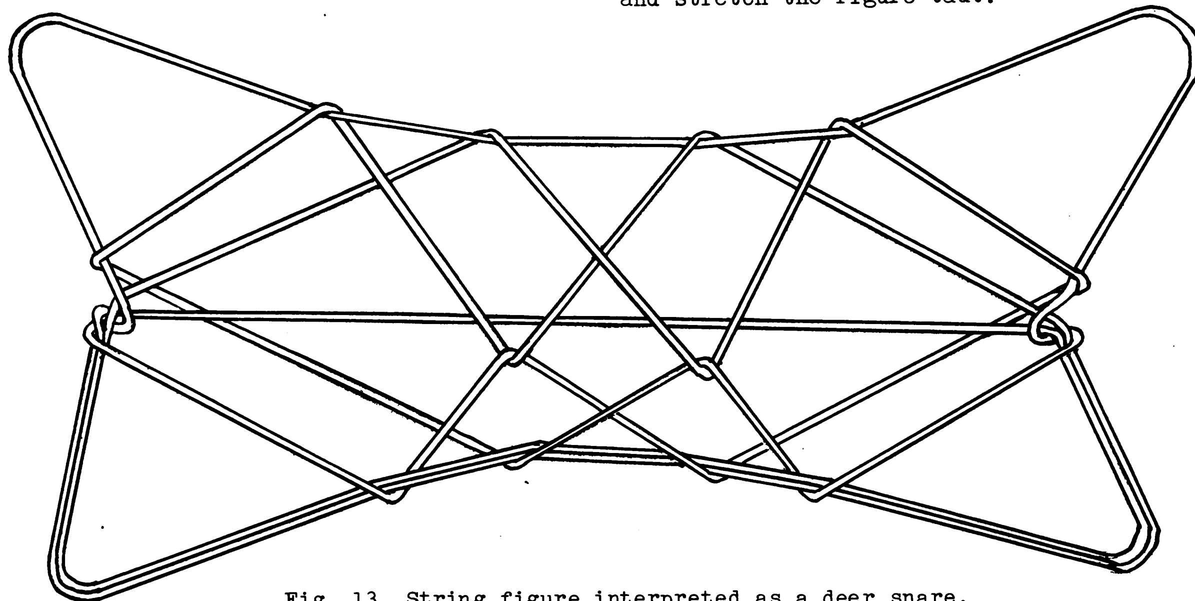

Fig. 13. String figure interpreted as a deer snare.

Bow (k'in).--(See fig. 15.) Position one, opening A, using middle fingers. With the teeth, grasp the ulnar string on the little fingers and pass it over the top of the figure, allowing the little-finger loops to slip off. The ulnar strings of the middle-finger loops now join at the mouth. With the thumbs catch these strings from the distal position, allowing the thumb loops to slip off the thumbs and over the new loop. The resulting figure is held on the thumbs and middle fingers of each hand.

Dance house (neyit).--This figure is identical to the Yuki "Rat House."

[19] String figure "Boy" illustrated in AA 43:126-127, 1941.

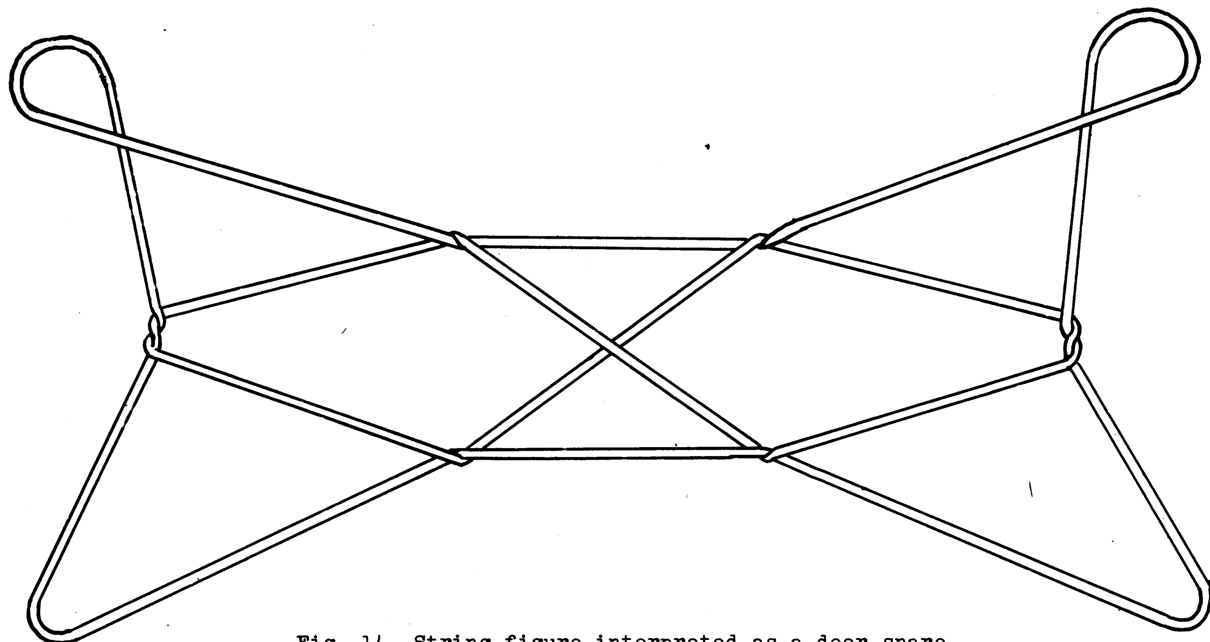

Fig. 14. String figure interpreted as a deer snare.

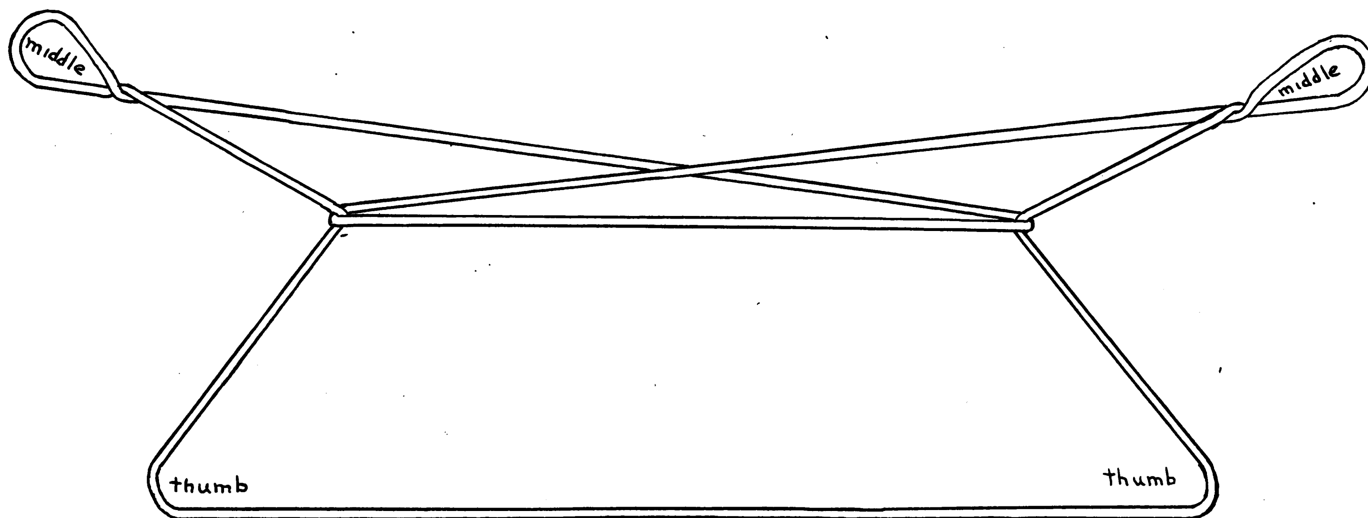

Fig. 15. String figure interpreted as a bow.

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AA	American Anthropologist.
AMNH-M	American Museum of Natural History, Memoirs.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
CU-CA	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.
JAFL	Journal of American Folklore.
UC-AR	University of California, Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
YU-PA	Yale University Publications in Anthropology.

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