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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

II: Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono

By
A. H. Gayton

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PREFATORY NOTE

"Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography," of which the present paper forms Part II, was prepared originally as a single publication. In Part I will be found a general introduction and certain illustrations relating to the cultural materials described in both parts.

I wish to reiterate here my indebtedness to Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) for the section on the Chukchansi Yokuts: the data are hers, their organization mine.

A.H.G.

November 8, 1945

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

*** J.A. Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu
** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
* F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
B.J A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelmani and Hometwali
D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

*** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawi (blind)
** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
** M.G. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
** J.P. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
* J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
M.S. Mary Sanwihat, 100, Yaudanchi
J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
P.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

* E.M. Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
* B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
* N.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
* J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
* P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
M.N. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

*** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

*** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
* Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
* G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

PHONETIC KEY

a, e, i, o, u as in Spanish

ɛ	as in met
ɩ	as in it
ɔ	as in off
ü	as in German für
ö	as in German schön
ə	the obscure vowel of about or idea
ai	as the vowel sound of eye
ei	as the vowel sound of hay
oi	as the vowel sound of boy
iu	as the vowel sound of you
ᶦ	raised vowel, whispered
g	as in gig
j	as in jig
n̆	as in sing
š	as in share
č	as in church
r̰	trilled r
ṭ	postalveolar or palatal placement
x	deep or gutteral aspiration
h	simple aspiration, as in hand
ʾ	glottal stop
·	raised period, protraction of a vowel sound
´	accented syllable

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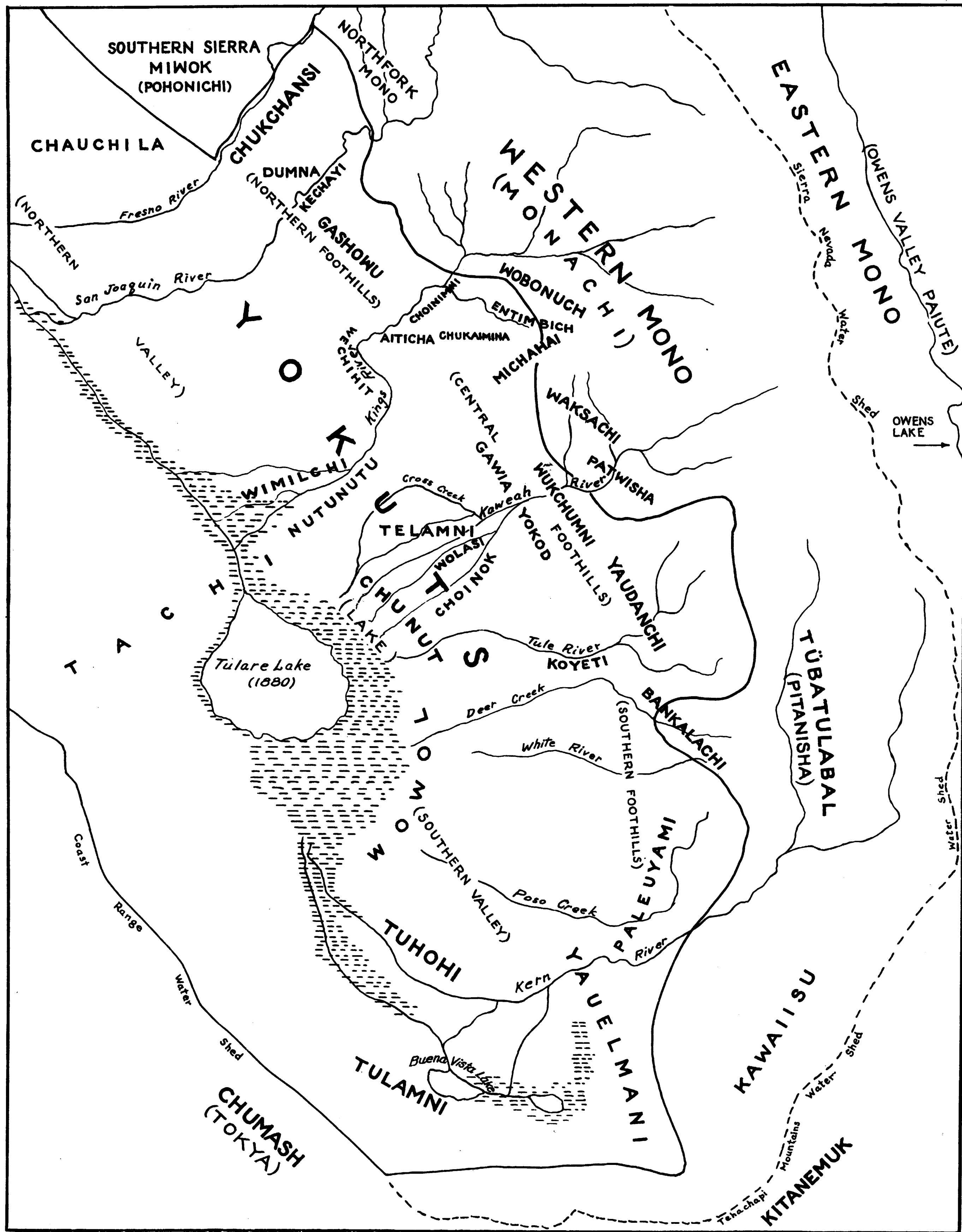


Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO ETHNOGRAPHY

PART II: NORTHERN FOOTHILL YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO

BY

A. H. GAYTON

YOKUTS: NORTHERN FOOTHILLS

CHOINIMNI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wɩč was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

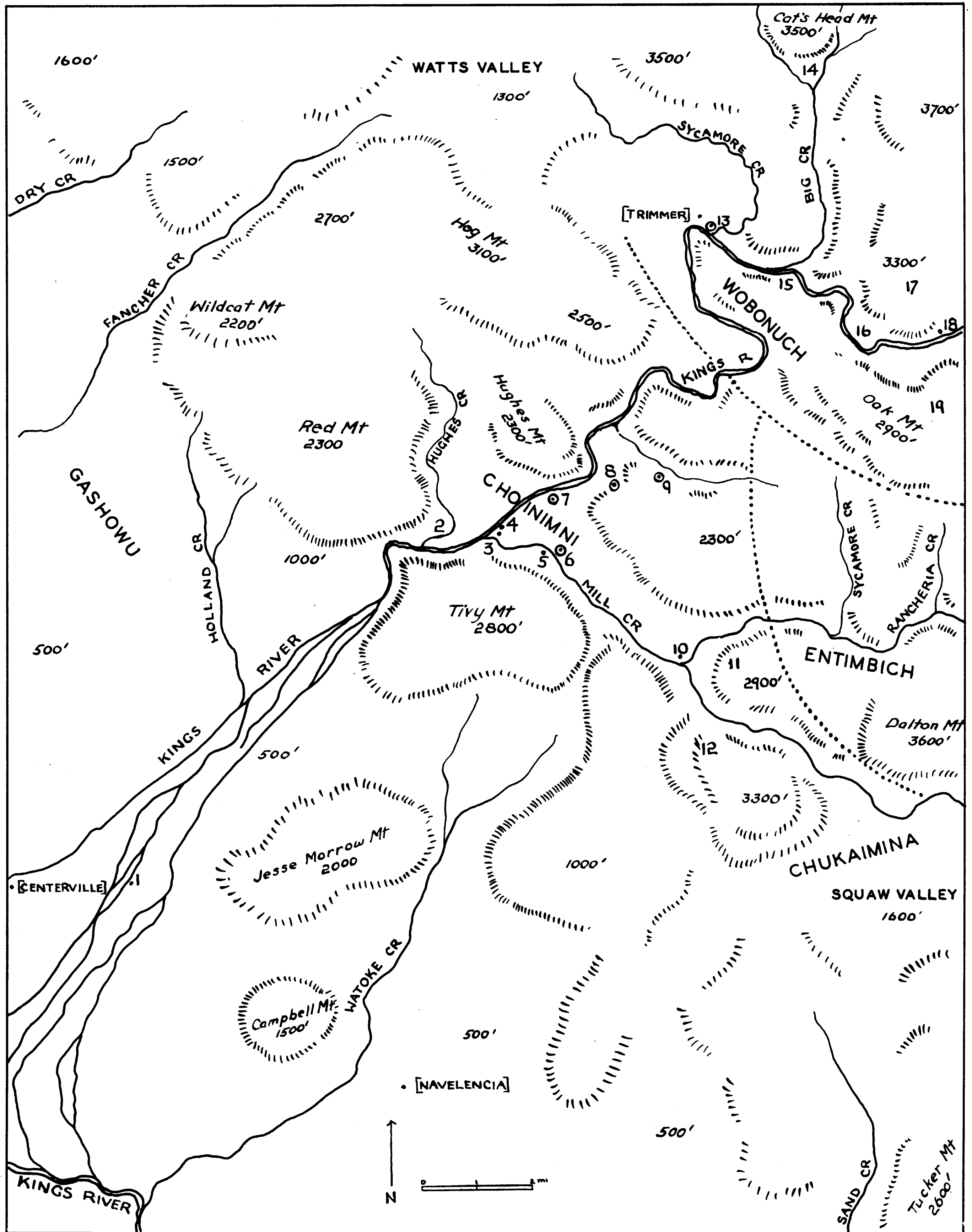
What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

[3] Ibid.



Map 2. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošə´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɩn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as nɔt. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɩn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); nɔt (east, mountainwards); ti´pɩn (up); atɩ´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɩ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɩč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

Wobonuch sites:

14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɩn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha´wet^u: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewet^u: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wet^u: fishing camp; given as sasi´we by D.S.
19. wiya´ma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

Dwellings.--A house was called tomo´'hɩš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu´wɩts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai´ač, which was tied on with ho'. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place"(possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti´šɩč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henao´ɩša) was played there.

Storehouses.--Little thatched storehouses (wiči´ti: literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

[6] Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u´na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

In discussing the preparation of acorns, Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or collander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Waksachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

Ground squirrels were smoked from their burrows, but the fan used was a basket or piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

[7]Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

Meals were irregular, save for a late afternoon supper just before sundown. Snacks were taken by workers as they came home from tasks away from the village. Mayfield claimed all persons ate from a central basket by dipping in three fingers, but used small baskets for drinking.

Traps and weapons.--The fish trap was a cone-shaped net of milkweed fibre. Its round mouth gaped in a weir facing upstream; the fish were driven downstream into it. In shallow pools fish were caught by wading in and pouncing an open-bottomed basket over them; they were then extracted by putting a hand through the opening.

A double-pointed harpoon, one tip of which was detachable, is described by Mayfield; the pole handles were often 20 feet long. A scaffolding was constructed to spear the fish from: two poles, crossed like shears, were set butt down in deep water 10 to 15 feet from the bank, the crotch about level with the land. In this crotch were lashed the tips of two long poles whose ends rested on the bank and were some 10 feet apart. Across this frame were laid poles and leafy branches, amongst which the fisherman lay face down. As he could see fish in the shady water below, he speared them through an opening between the poles.

Mayfield, when a lad, was given a fine sinew-backed bow. This was about 3-1/2 feet long, wide, flat, with handgrip in center and recurved ends, and was "painted in pretty colors." The string was of sinew, tied at one end and looped at the nocked end, which was unfastened when not in use. These bows were all bought from the Monachi by the Choinimni and taken back to them for repairs, in fact, to a certain skilled individual north of Sycamore Creek.

The Choinimnis' own simple bows were without recurved ends.

Excellent details of hunting, of the making of weapons, etc., are given by Mayfield in a passage too long to reproduce here. The essential points are: arrow release with two fingers, three fingers for heavy bow; arrows with obsidian-tipped foreshaft for warfare and heavy game, hardwood foreshaft for light game; simple arrow for practice; bird-arrow tipped with four cross-pieces; foxskin quiver; the pigeon booth (see Michahai below); and the deer disguise. Deer and elk were snared, but the method is not described.

Clothing.--The man's breechclout was ten inches wide, cut from a full length of deerhide, held in place by a buckskin thong over which the clout was doubled at the back and over which the two front ends hung in a flap. Women wore a "rabbit skirt woven together like the blankets." This consisted of two knee-length aprons, the larger one in front. Cougar skins were worn about the shoulders in cold weather. Mayfield claims footgear was unknown.

Both sexes wore the hair long, banged across the forehead by women, parted in the middle and held back with eagle-down cord by men. Women tattooed their chins, and a few wore a bone through the nasal septum; both sexes had pierced ears. Men plucked beard hairs with split-twig tweezers. The hair was brushed with a soaproot brush which had curved tips on its bristles. White paint put on over red paint was used ornamentally.[8]

A hairnet served as the foundation for feather head ornaments, the usual ču and sema, but it was also used by any man who wanted his hair held compactly for practical purposes. P.D.W.'s net, made of grocery string, is now University of California Museum specimen no. 1-27001. The method of putting on the net is as described for the Central Foothill region and shown in figure 7, Part I.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Means of transport.--As with all Yokuts dwelling upon the lakes, sloughs, rivers, and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley, the Choinimni were expert swimmers. Infants were immersed in icy waters before they were able to walk and learned to swim from that time. A swimmer in the San Joaquin used "a long overhand stroke."[9]

The Choinimni at Sycamore Creek made small tule rafts for use on the river near their village; these carried one or two persons.

The large barges of tule, made for the journey to Tulare Lake, were constructed in sloughs about ten miles downriver from Sycamore Creek. These were 50 feet long, of three long separate bundles bound with willow withes; the two outer ones were raised slightly as a sort of bulwark above the level of the center bundle. Each end of the boat was pulled up 2 to 3 feet higher than the deck. Along the center was piled all the equipment, which "included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, meat, skins for bedding and many other things." Eight to ten persons, usually of one or two families, sat along the sides while four men stood and poled, though this was mainly for guidance as the river current carried the craft. The return trip was made toward summer while the river was still high enough so the boats could be poled upstream to the original point of departure. From there the dunnage was carried afoot up to the village at Sycamore Creek.[10]

According to Jeff Mayfield, the carrying net of milkweed twine was used to support the conical burden basket on the back, though it is implied that this was done only with an excessively heavy load, such as acorns. Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.--The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kɩč; the act of singing, or songs, ɛ´lkaš.

Paint.--White paint (ho´sɔt) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.--A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sə´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kɩl (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

[8] Ibid., 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 38, 39, 40-42.

[9] Ibid., 29, 12.

[10] Ibid., 29-31, 37.

[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[15]

Pottery (ki´wɩš).--Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwɩš; the clay pipe was šəkmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe´šɩn, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

Firemaking.--Striking a fire (šike´tɩl) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu´pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called šɛ´ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.--The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.--A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

[15] Ibid.

Women's dice game.--This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.--The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

Football.--A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.--This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahačɩn wɩnatum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything," i.e., in moiety, totem, and official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´'i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

An official speaker was called di´'e´le; magpie was his totem. This official is obviously identical with the Chunut pine´ti. He was a kind of "consulting attorney" or go-between; if persons had a proposition to lay before the chief, they would consult the di'ele, who would report to the chief. There was such an official at Kulušao when P.D.W. was a boy, but P.D.W. cannot remember his name.

Moieties

The moieties Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich divided the Choinimni into groups which functioned reciprocally at the mourning ceremony. All attempts to get information on the relation of the lineage to the moiety and to the nature of totems resulted in confused mutual misunderstanding. The following "animals" were readily assigned to one or the other moiety by P.D.W. He thought anybody could eat any of them so far as moiety regulation was concerned. He did not recognize a description of "first fruits" eating by either moiety.

Tokelyuwich, west

to´hɩl: eagle
naho´'o: grizzly bear
iwe´yɩt: long tail cat[18]
hɔts: buzzard
ka´nkas: crow
o´i'o´i': roadrunner
hu´šu: coyote
hu´ñhət: weasel
lɩ'mɩk: falcon ["bullet hawk"]
di'kwi´lɩts: fisher [or martin]
ta´tčai: mudhen[19]
la´la: goose
oi´'ɩk: blackbird
ma´o: tree [grey?] squirrel
hoi: deer
ki´sɩn: "red-bell" seeds[20]

Nutuwich, east

wɛts: condor
tono´hɔp: black bear
wehu´šɩt: cougar
ho´toi: raven
upye´'i: dove
to´ñol: wildcat
so´hup: "chicken" hawk
te´pɩš: beaver
šo´'šo': kingfisher
wa´twat: duck
šɩ´čɩl: ground squirrel
soi´yal: antelope
o´čoč: magpie
ti´pɩn: acorns

[18]Undoubtedly the large or mountain coyote called iweyɩt, colloquially known as wolf.

[19]P.D.W. recognized the "pun" on Tachi and said, "Those people lived in the water too" but the "words were not the same."

[20]Calendrinia.

BURIAL

If it were thought a man would die within a day or two, the chief of his moiety would be asked to send a messenger to notify and assemble his relatives. Burial was made the morning after death occurred. The deceased's own family washed the corpse, put it in its best clothing, adding ornaments of "money" beads and personal talismans, such as those of eagle-down string. Then the body was wrapped, with flexed posture, in hides.

Meanwhile official buriers (tono´čɩm) had dug a grave, and they came to carry away the corpse and bury it. P.D.W. thought that this occupation "went from father to son," but he was uncertain under questioning. He emphatically denied that they were berdaches: "they were just plain men and women." They performed no dance, nor did they make a speech at the grave.

The story of the man who followed his wife to the afterworld was not known to P.D.W., and when told of this legendary trip, he evinced great surprise. (This lack of information was one of the many peculiarities of this informant and his knowledge.)

Mayfield reports the usual shortening of hair and the smearing of pitch and charcoal on women's hair and face as evidences of mourning.[21]

SHAMANISM

This subject was a difficult one for P.D.W. From others I had learned that he had been a doctor's winatum and, like most of them, had acquired considerable knowledge of doctors' ways. With the disappearance of true doctors among the Indians today, he had attempted to practice himself. While not eminently successful, he at least had the respect of neighboring Indians, who often appealed to him for help. It was also said that he had been put in jail twice by white authorities because of this practice, a punishment which the old man bore with fortitude, stating that "they can put me in jail, but they can't kill me." Consequently, questions on his own methods of doctoring had to be avoided, and he even hedged away from queries about specific doctors of earlier times. However, in a sudden excess of confidence he got out his martenskin talisman to show me. This he stroked with a kind of loving abstraction as we were talking, and he voluntarily gave it to me to hold and stroke. In old times evil shamans were dispatched, with public approval, as elsewhere in the San Joaquin.

To be a doctor you had to have a dream (ana´tsiwal)[22] of an animal or bird, which was

[21]Latta, op. cit., 39.

[22]To be sleepy is ɛn´tɩm. The name of the tribe Entimbich was mentioned here, and P.D.W. denied any pun or meaning in this connection.

prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (šo´gən) was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to; P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

Ghosts frequently caused sickness called hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wɩs.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwɩs (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

[23]Latta, op. cit., 38.

There was a doctor named Ho´datpa·na,[24] who could dance and predict earthquakes. P.D.W. was living at Kulušao in 1872. He remembers the quake of that March, which preceded the Ghost Dance episode. The cause of earthquakes (pa´ʼan wokoi´aš, ground shake) he did not know, but thought "the old people" probably knew.

A peculiar method of curing is given by Mayfield. "They [the doctors] would twist together some wormwood leaves and set them afire. With the glowing end of this firebrand a strip was burned along each side of the spinal column of the patient."[25] The purpose of this treatment is not explained.

VARIOUS DANCES AND CEREMONIES

Pleasure dance.--A dance (hɛ´šɩš na´mɩt) performed largely by Choinimni, Entimbich, and Wobonuch was described by J.B. He said "no one to the south had this; the Wukchumni paid them when they went down there as they had none of their own," i.e., hɛšɩš namɩt dancers. It was performed after the washing rite at a mourning ceremony and at no other time.

The dance group was composed of four to six youths and two singers. Often two or three girls would take part. Besides the usual dance regalia the men wore quivers on their right shoulders and held bows in their hands. The women held a short stick (či´wɩt) between their hands. They stood at each end of the group of men or in front of them and swayed back and forth while the men engaged in a continuous trembling. The singers used clapper accompaniment.

The participants whom J.B. recalls were all Choinimni, he thinks. The dancers were Wa´tun (P.D.W., Pony Dick Watun), Ko´lon, and Sɩ´nči; the singers were Modu´ča and Wo´kuč. J.B. did not know the totem or occupation of any of these save P.D.W., who "was a winatum and doctor."

Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken about March. Both men and women used it, women particularly if they were ill from some unknown cause. Shamans took it but, like others, only in the spring. It could be taken each year if one wished.

The participant ate no meat for six days, and then ate nothing at all for two more. But P.D.W. said even so, the jimsonweed should be dreamed about and talked to before one dared to take it. The night before the drinking the participants went out alone and prayed saying, "Tanai, you're going to doctor me. I don't like to be this way."

[24]A metathesis of Hopodno's name? Hopodno, in 1870, went as far north as Kings River on his weather-predicting tour (see Powers, Tribes of California, 372). The earthquake of 1872 may in some way be associated in P.D.W.'s early memories.

[25]Latta, op. cit., 40.

The following morning the old man who was going to administer the drink brought out the plants on a tray. Holding this he ran two or three times around the village. Then he mashed up the plants and left them to soak in water. In midafternoon the participants drank, and by the following morning their narcosis changed into active behavior. Then "they saw everything and it was all pretty." The causes of illness could be seen: a man might see another bleeding from his nose or he might see sickness on himself. An animal would talk to him and tell him about it. When he saw something [supernatural] he would blow it away if he did not want it. Sickness on others the "dreamer" might brush off with hand feathers. He brushed it onto a basket; it was removed and buried, and the basket washed by a winatum. All that was seen was told about afterward, as the drinkers returned to their normal condition: onlookers could ask them about it. This visionary ability during the narcosis was called tanai ṭɩ´pni (jimsonweed supernatural power).

The participants waited six days before touching meat, then they had a little party (wi´te luni´ša) with kam dancing at night. This was probably given by the participants' families, as it was the parents of young drinkers who paid the administrant for his services. If the drinker was an independent adult, he paid for himself. Persons of both moieties engaged in the drinking and party without differentiation.

Tanai was not taken by many Choinimni as "they were afraid of it; it was used more by the Wechihit." Two Choinimni men made the grave mistake of taking jimsonweed in the summer, and died as a result; these were Gujam, the chief, and Wokoi [his brother?]. The case is well known and is spoken of even by Lake and Southern Valley informants.

The plant was used medicinally, especially for broken bones, when it was drunk as an anaesthetic or wrapped on the injury in poultice form. (No splints were used.)

The mythological source of jimsonweed was not known to P.D.W.: he had never heard that the plant was two brothers [a Wobonuch belief of which I told him] or two girls [as believed by the Chunut].

<u>Mourning ceremony</u>.--This ceremony (luni´ša) lasted for a six-day week called ču´lipi laka´n. The order of events, given as follows by P.D.W., differs considerably from the Central Foothill Yokuts norm. The first day, as elsewhere, was largely devoted to settling visitors in their camps. On the second and third days the host chief might ask to see the Bear Dance (as described by P.D.W.), which might be performed in the afternoon or evening. Then the Pleasure Dance (kam) might be displayed by one or two doctors. The fourth day the Shamans' Contest was held. The "Cry Dance" took place on the fifth night. Ceremonial washing was done on the morning of the sixth day, the Huhuna Dance in the afternoon, after which the usual games and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest (hɛ´šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušlɩlɩn and Kaplɩlɩn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyəš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hˣ! hˣ! hˣ!" The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplɩlɩn.

The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha´na. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta´wɩts nao´ša, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

they were really aboriginal because he "couldn't figure out what they were made of before we got clothes -- the real old-timers had nothing but skin." While the mourners were parading about, the chief made a speech, which P.D.W. would not attempt to paraphrase. Then the images were burned or given away, but the informant was unable to say to whom or why.

On the following morning, the sixth day, the ritual washing (ɛpla´o'iša) was performed. The system of reciprocal washing was like that of the Chunut: the reciprocant was another tribe whose Tokelyuwich members washed the Nutuwich of the mourning or host tribe, and the visiting Nutuwich washed the local Tokelyuwich. P.D.W. thought the actual washing was done only by the chief of the "washing" moiety, assisted by his male and female winatums, which again is like valley practice. They dressed up the cleansed mourners in new breechclouts, aprons, ornaments. The old garments were burned. Payment was made to the washers in money or articles of use -- again, P.D.W. said, "because there were no clothes in the old days." [Bolts of calico, blue jeans, etc., are the usual return gifts in modern times.] The chief made a speech and told everybody to be happy, especially those who had been mourning.

Then Huhuna danced. This was done by La'haiya, whose costume consisted of a feather wreath (sema) on the head, and a "sack" covered with feathers. The face and eyes were not covered. He held a bone whistle (pusač) in his mouth, but carried no cane. He danced with the "shimmy" step, as did other Huhuna dancers, and found hidden money. There were no singers or any sort of accompanist with him. Nor was he "killed" by a doctor. P.D.W. stoutly insisted on this, and reverted to the Shamans' Contest when I persisted with inquiries on the point. It seems clear that this Huhuna performance was aberrant in both costume and execution, which probably explains its position in the mourning ceremony as a pure display for entertainment <u>after</u> the washing ritual.

<u>Guksai</u>.--This informant had never heard the word gu´ksai, or any variation of it; nor did he recognize any ceremonial figure which might be identified as guksai: "Huhuna was the only one."

<u>Bear Dance</u>.--As described by P.D.W. this dance is like the form reported from the Lake tribes, and does not resemble that of the Wukchumni or Western Mono. A man named Ko´wo, a Chukaimina at Squaw Valley, made this: people went over there to see him, as did P.D.W., or he visited around at Kings River villages and gave a performance. He had Bear as a dream helper; he danced "in the spring because Bear was going to come out." Most positively, P.D.W. asserted that the dance was never done in the fall of the year and that, if requested, it could be performed at a mourning ceremony. He did not learn or inherit the dance from anyone, "it was his own know" (i.e., learned through dream power). It had no reference to acorn eating.

Kowo wore the usual doctor's dance regalia -- feather skirt, feather bunch (ču') skewered to a headnet, and feather crown (sema). Singers with cocoon rattles accompanied him; he danced "half the night."

P.D.W. said he had never seen any Aiticha or Wechihit make this dance.

<u>Rattlesnake ritual</u>.--This rite (le'a´la) was held at Kulušao in the old days. Sometimes a doctor who had Rattlesnake as a helper would dream; the snake would tell him to hold the rite, and he would do this immediately.

A Choinimni, Pušlɩ´lɩn, was a Rattlesnake shaman. He would tell the chief that they should have the dance in six days. Then he would get some other snake "doctors." In three days they went after their rattlesnakes. They brought them home in cagelike baskets which they hung from a tree branch.

The ritual lasted three days. On the first two days the men danced with the snakes on their shoulders, displaying their imperviousness to snake bites. On the third day, the reptiles were put in a hollow in the ground, where they were symbolically "stepped on" and given "payment" in beads and eagle down. When the rite was over, the men returned the snakes to their dens.

P.D.W. said that Keya, the Wukchumni, J.P.'s grandfather, was the "best snake handler ever known" (see Wukchumni account, Pt. I). He and Pušlɩlɩn most frequently gave this cermony; Pušlɩlɩn was known and witnessed as far south as Tule River. The powerful shaman Kaplɩlɩn did not participate, "it was not his know." The Wechihit did not have a snake handler among them.

<u>Deer Dance</u>.--No dance representing or referring to deer was known to P.D.W.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

A man (not identified) went over to the "Paiute" to visit; there he learned two songs. Then he went up to Table Mountain and to "a big rancheria behind Pine Ridge [both places in Posgisa, Western Mono, territory. There, presumably, they were talking of or already holding Ghost Dances.] Then a man came down here [to Kulušao] and told them about it; he went on and got the Toihicha, Wechihit, and Tachi. A lot of Choinimni went to Uplinao, a Wobonuch village, to attend their first Ghost Dance. The people put black and white paint on their faces."[26] The true purpose of the dance P.D.W. apparently did not care to reveal; he insisted "they made that dance just for fun."

[26]Shown in Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, fig. 2, c.

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɩt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɛ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´ìču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɩn and Salo´knɩč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

[27]The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no. 4
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´'omtɩlao; 11, ya´pɩk'nao; 12, yɩmšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, tɩne´lao; 16, kočo´yu; 17, ti'če´niu; 18, hogo´nɩlao; 19, hutu´nɩlao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamxɩ'nšiu; 24, paxɩ´kčiu; 25, šɔ´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´tɩlao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nepɩnwa´šu; 33, šišɩ´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

The tribes at the eastern edge of the northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

The Chowchilla were believed to be the ringleaders in resisting white domination, and their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomkɩt, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomkɩt and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

[28]Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29]B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30]Bunnell, 140-141.

Of interest to our current ethnography is Bunnell's estimate of stored foods encountered at or near villages. I believe the quantities he mentions can be taken as typical for the entire east side of the San Joaquin Valley. These were seen in March, 1851.

In the Yosemite Valley (Southern Sierra Miwok) the caches in native granaries included principally acorns, also nuts of bay (California laurel), piñon pine, chinquapin, grass seeds, parched wild rye or oats, dried worms, scorched grasshoppers, and dried larvae of insects gathered from the waters of lakes "in and east of the Sierra Nevada." There were indications that dogs were eaten at feasts. "The acorns found were alone estimated at from four hundred to six hundred bushels." This was at one camp; numerous other caches were found. When José Rey's "Chowchilla" village was found on the upper San Joaquin River, nothing of value was left but the stores of acorns near by.

In exploring the region north of the San Joaquin River toward Black Ridge they came upon more stores.

> There were in the country we passed over some beautiful mountain meadows and most luxuriant forests, and some of the sloping table-lands looked like ornamental parks of an extensive domain. These oak-clad tables and ridges were the harvest fields of the San Joaquin Indians, and in their vicinity we found an occasional group of deserted huts. These, with their adjacent supplies of acorns, were at once given to the flames. The acorns found and destroyed by the scouting parties here and on the South Fork were variously estimated at from eight hundred to one thousand bushels; beside the supply of Piñon pine nuts and other supplies hoarded for future use.
>
> From the total amount of acorns estimated to have been destroyed, their supplies were comparatively small, or the number of Indians on the San Joaquin had been, as in other localities, vastly overrated.[31]

A few remarks are made on numbers of men. In the first engagement on a high peak up the Fresno River in January, 1851, the tribes represented were "the Chow-chilla, Chook-chan-cie, Noot-chu, Ho-nak-chee, Po-to-en-cie, Po-ho-no-chee, Kaweah and Yosemite." The number of fighting men or warriors was estimated at about five hundred. Later on "a body of Indians, numbering about two hundred" was seen on a distant mountain about to join the previous group.[32]

A participant in the same battle wrote:

> "He [Major Savage] found it was a town of the Kee-chees [the village on Battle Mountain], but that there were about one hundred and fifty of the Chow-chil-la warriors with them and several of the Chuk-chan-cies...Never did I hear before such an infernal howling, whooping, and yelling, as saluted us then from the throats of about six hundred savages..." This group of Indians included a total of 400 warriors "as near as could be ascertained."[33]

War behavior and tactics are mentioned. Besides the yelling and howling, which may have been intended to terrify the enemy, the native warriors indulged in derisive shouting, obscene gestures, and eructations, when they sighted their white pursuers.[34] In direct encounter between the Indians and American troops, the natives continued their traditional method of battle, in which a single warrior stood forth to fight another. This resulted disastrously, of course, as the whites neither understood the intention nor would have sent out a man to fight under such circumstances.

"To kill him [Major Savage], many of them sacrificed their own lives. They would come out one at a time and, standing in open ground, send arrows across at him until shot down; one old chief who used to cook for Savage, would ask him after every shot where he had hit him. They would talk to him to try to find out where he was, and as soon as he would answer, the balls and arrows would fly thick around his head."[35]

At this battle an old squaw who was wounded seized a bow and lodged three arrows in a soldier: normally, women and children were sent to hidden safety.

Signal fires were used, as well as other signs of communication.

> By a peculiar arrangement of these fires during the night, and by smoke from them during the day, they are able to telegraph a system of secret correspondence to those on the lookout. An arrow shot into the body of a tree at a camp ground, or along a trail; or the conspicuous arrangement of a bent bush or twigs, often shows the direction traveled. A bunch of grass tied to a stick and left at the fork of a stream or trail, or at a deserted camp performs the same service Upon the treeless deserts or plains, a mark upon the ground, by camp or trail, gave the required information; thus proving these people possess considerable intelligent forethought.[36]

[31] Ibid., 134.

[32] Ibid., 21.

[33] Ibid., 31, 32.

[34] Ibid., 14-15, 127, 143. Garcés thought himself acclaimed when, on White River, natives there "gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs," and shouted "Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba!"; undoubtedly "Va!" (go!) as there was one who spoke Spanish among them(Coues, On the Trail, 287).

[35] Bunnell, 33. See the battle between Lemonda and Tabsa (Pt. I, pp.10-11), and also the running conversation in mythical battles (Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 3, 88, 89).

[36] Bunnell, 125.

The type of country in which the Northern Foothill Yokuts dwelt was praised by Major Savage. He described it as land of the "Chowchillas," but in recent times Western Mono have occupied the area and may have then.

> This belt of country [Sandhill Crane Valley on North Fork of the San Joaquin] beats the region of the Yosemite or the Po-ho-no Meadows for game, if the Indians tell the truth; and with the exception of the Kern River Country, it is the best south of the Tuolumne River. It abounds in grizzly and cinnamon bears, and there are some black bears Deer are very plenty, and a good variety of crane, grouse, quail, pigeons, road-runners, squirrels and rabbits -- besides, in their season, water fowl. This territory of the Chow-chillas has plenty of black acorns (their favorite acorn), and besides this there are plenty of other supplies of bulbous roots.[37]

SHELTER, FOOD, IMPLEMENTS

Structures.--There were six different sweat houses (mos) at B.W.'s Dumna village; they were of different ages and sizes, two of them in disrepair.[38] When a new sweat house was completed, a "fandango" was given by the chief. B.W. could not describe this, save that there was "plenty to eat and everybody had a good time. Then they could sweat."

The houses (saˊmɩs), large and spherical, were covered with "brush" thatch, not tule.

Foods and beverages.--Pine nuts (paˊsan) were obtained on trips up to the mountains or were brought down for trade by the Kechayi. The pine cone and pine tree were called ton; pasan also meant the split pine cone.

Manzanita cider (aˊpču) was made of the ripe berries which were mashed and freed of their seeds. The pulp was put in water for several hours, then the liquid was strained through a basket sieve. A hot tealike drink (čiˊtɩl) was made by pouring hot water on the pulp; the pulp, with a little water, was eaten as a "mush" and called čaˊpi. A thickening material called čaˊnɩt was pounded up and added sometimes [čanɩt not identified].

Implements.--The plain bow (mikoˊn) was made of pine, but was gotten by trade from the Kechayi or Posgisa, as was also the sinew-backed bow (pikiˊl). All kinds [sic] of arrows were called tuyoˊs.

A knife for scraping was made from the rib bones of a deer or any other large animal.

For fishing, a hook (mikeˊ) was made of "some piece of bone which was boiled to make it soft and then it was bent." This was used on a string for angling [European introduction ?]. Small fish eaten were: polhuˊi, (sucker), wɩsčaˊ (lamprey eel), and luˊpɩč (brook trout).

[37]Quoted, ibid., 116.

[38]"Too old to be any good, just like I am now," said B.W.

Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called pičeˊkamni, the handle, tiˊmɩs, the hooks or detachable points, mikeʼ, and the strings, hiluˊs. Speared fish were: eˊpɩs (lake trout), ṗoiˊyəm (whale [sic], pike?), and gaiˊhɩt (salmon).

The carrying basket (aˊn̈aš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi·čɩˊn).

The carrying net (waˊlak) was made and used by men only.

Women pounded acorns (paiˊyɩn) at bedrock mortars (tinɩl), using a large pestle (čeʼ; paˊlui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called kiˊnɩm (tiˊpɩn, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Tobacco.--Tobacco (paˊʼom) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šoˊgən. When dried this tobacco was smoked (paˊmon, to smoke) in little pipes (suˊktao, pipe of elderwood [suˊkut]; siˊkɩlao, pipe of cane [sikɩl]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koiˊwɩš) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeuˊči; cexɩˊna, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called suboˊn.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin River, which is swift and deep. For this purpose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called teˊwɩč (taskaiˊ, Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39]The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

Calendar.--Each moon "had a name just like the months," but B.W. would not attempt to recall them.

Nature, stars, directions.--B.W. was interested in categories and liked to volunteer this information.[40]

He gave the following terms: soko´wa (wind); mɛ´mi'ač (thunder, ta´lak, Gashowu); wa´lma (lightning). Op (sun); hapi´l (heat of the sun); hai´li (day). Hača´mi'op (new moon, lit. young); pime´mat (full moon); toyonu´mni (dark of the moon, waning moon?). Se´yal (rain); čom (cloudy condition; fog?); ye´le'a´yɛla (big rain from the west). Wa´la (sky or firmament); če'a´tas (stars); tawa´nɪs (morning star); čomo´loalo´hi (evening star); yeše´yɛš (Pleiades); kačpe´la (a constellation, "husbands of the Pleiades"); hata´nhun (eclipse of sun or moon). Ho´lki (the ground or earth); ši´lɪl (rocks, embedded rocks); i´lɪk (water).

Directions were particularized as follows: ho´šim (north); homo´ti (south); ta´nɪn homoti (to go south); to´xɪl (west; toward the plains): toxɪl tu´nulao (westward downhill); notu´ (east; toward the mountains); notu tunulao (eastward up hill); toxɪl pa'a´su (the plains); tunulao (hill, hillwards); a´tɪl (directly down, also downhill); tanɪn atɪl (to go down); atɪl tunulao (down hillwards); ṭi´pɪn (up, directly above). Wakai´yao (downstream); ṭipɪn wakaiyao (upstream); hami´ni (near side of any stream); hada´miu (far side of any stream). Ho´ ho (ocean, which B.W. had never seen). In connection with directions he added the following: hihi´mɪt (to run); witi´nɪt (to fall down); haswɪ´nɪt (to fall down dead or to be dead).

Life span.--The life span B.W. divided as follows: pai (baby); hača´mi (pre-pubertal boy or girl); muke´la (mature woman); no´no (mature man); moha´lo (aged man or woman, like himself, said B.W.). He added: hoi'i´lɪt (to be well after being ill, convalescent, again "like himself"); haswɪ´nɪt (dead person).

Burial.--When a man died, all his relatives, even his distant cousins, came and cried for one or two days. They would not keep the body longer than that. If it were buried, the grave was 3 to 4 feet deep. In the old days all bodies were cremated on a pile of brush and heavy wood; the pile was about 4 feet high. During the burning the relatives and others sat in a circle around the fire and wept. About one day later, when all was cool, the bones and ashes were gathered in a basket, and the receptacle and its contents were buried. B.W. could not say who officiated on these occasions. The Chowchilla tribe also cremated.[41]

[40]Later, when in recovered health, he became Dr. Stanley Newman's informant for linguistic material, an experience I feel sure the old man enjoyed to the utmost.

[41]Bunnell, 122.

MOIETIES

The informant was quite unable to formulate the concept of the moiety or to describe its functions, although he recognized its presence in his culture. He claimed that he himself, his father, and his father's brother and sister were Nutuwich, and that his mother and his sister's son were Tokelyuwich, which is correct if moiety regulated marriage, as it probably did. He volunteered the following classification of animals, but claimed that vegetable foods and fish were not dichotomized, which does not agree with more reliable information from the neighboring Kechayi.

Tokelyuwich, west

to´hɪl: eagle
wəhe´šut: cougar
a´luwəts: crow [blackbird?]
ho´toi: raven
humi´x: jackrabbit
na´čəč: rattlesnake
te´'ɛl: rattlesnake, Gashowu
ko·lonki´: king snake
oi´u'i: roadrunner
tono´l: a large, red, wildcat
te´pək: beaver
u´'wək: osprey (?), a diving bird, white head, "catches fish all the time"
wa´hat: crane
ši´kəl: ground squirrel

Nutuwich, east

hihi´'ina: horned owl
po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
naho´'o: bear
čai´čai: bluejay
hoi: deer
hope´l: gopher snake
koto´nɪč: gopher snake, Gashowu
o´čoč: magpie
upla·li´: dove
čawaču: wildcat, smaller than tonol
naha´'ɪt: otter
šo´kšok: kingfisher
če´ha: dog
hɔts: condor

SHAMANISM

Curing

Persons who wanted supernatural power (ṭɪ´pni) acquired it by dreaming, swimming, and praying. When a significant dream (ana´ts) came, the person rose, went outdoors and prayed to that which had visited him in the dream. At dawn he went to swim, regardless of how cold it was. When B.W. was a small boy, his father carried him down to swim at the same time he did. Beyond this, B.W.'s description of the acquisition of power was quite incoherent. A doctor was called te´'is; B.W. claimed a´ñtu was the Gashowu word.

Of doctors, he said that in earlier times no doctor was bad because he feared "that the people would get mad and kill him" [the statement itself indicates that there were evil doctors and that they were killed]. A bad doctor "had all kinds of poison; if he got mad he sent this at you." Such projection of poison could kill trees: a shaman would hit one and the following year it would be seared and dead.

A good doctor did not take money unless he was sure of curing his patient. If he was unsuccessful, he was expected to return the fee. [Naturally there must have been much difficulty in defining a cure in many types of sickness.]

A shaman's display dance was usually done outside. If such a performance were scheduled, and it rained, the shaman took one or two singers and went into a dwelling house (samɩs), not into the sweat house (mos). As many spectators as could crowded in to watch him. This dance was probably comparable to the kam: B.W. could neither name nor describe it.

There was a prophetic and curing dance called mi´yɩn wa´tiyɛ to´se ("the to-tell dance") performed by several doctors. Sometimes as many as five doctors participated at once. People assembled at a big fire in the early evening. The doctors were there with their singers and winatums. Persons already ill were brought in and disposed near the fire. The doctors danced while the singers sang. Then they told who was going to be sick. They had a big basket of water [each had?] in which they dipped their hand feathers (wača´m), and brushed off the patients and the "patients-elect." "They blew the sickness away before it came." Onlookers would say, "Wihe´lɩt a´mam hača´ka'ɩč" ("doctoring-process him [does] good"). "A big doctor knew everything, especially about sickness that was far away. If we had those doctors now they could stop this flu [epidemic] we've been having."

The doctoring activities of the Choinimni, P.D.W., were witnessed and experienced by B.W. While doctoring B.W., P.D.W. sat in front of him. He could see the sickness. He sang:

oyo´wi ki·ka
ha´na·na·
ṭe´pi ni´hi ti (ṭɩpni)

(B.W. could not translate it; thought it meant he was asking ṭɩpni to help him.) P.D.W. sang this over continuously before and while he was cutting at painful spots. "A doctor could do nothing without singing to his tɩpni." The incisions were made with a piece of glass and the "sickness" sucked out. P.D.W.'s curing outfit consisted of the glass, magpie and owl feathers, and a weasel [?] head ornamented with beads. The day following this treatment B.W. "got up and walked all around" [cured].

Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipɛč), Te´wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka´na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

ṭe·pɩn i te'i (ṭɩpni)

ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´lιk) and supernatural power (tιpni).

When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

He conceived God as God (not tιpni or Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´yιl hawk and son of Eagle.

Thunder is the result of noisy behavior by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´olιč, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

Jimsonweed ritual.--Jimsonweed (ta´nai) was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully to the jimsonweed. Three days before taking the decoction they ceased eating and drinking entirely. Then when they drank, "one little basketful was enough." Women relatives administered the drink and watched over the sleeping partakers during the narcosis; B.W.'s sister did this for him. There was "some kind of singing and dancing" first, but B.W. could not describe it. The drinkers sat in a row to receive the drink. The drink was consumed in the evening, and by morning was in full operation. Then the drinker "could see everything, far away, and everywhere." He could see sickness on other people and this he would blow (not brush) off them.

B.W. did not know of the use of jimsonweed as an anaesthetic or as a poultice for fractures. He could not recall any racing or hoop-jumping in connection with the jimsonweed ritual.

Snake ritual.--"No one up this way made it; Co´konιk and Pušlιlιn are the only ones did it." (See Choinimni account.)

ANECDOTES

A Visit to Heaven

This elderly informant had just returned from a stay of four months in the Madera hospital. Soon after he was taken there he had a dream or vision which he regarded as an actual experience, a visit to heaven.

A big dog came up to the side of his bed. It was very large, standing about 4 feet high.[44] It put its head close to B.W.'s and breathed a [heavily aspirated] "h-c-h!" sound into his face three times. A hospital attendant asked B.W. if it were his, but he said no.[45] They offered the animal some crackers to eat, which it refused. It was taken outside and there it lay down on the steps; by evening it had disappeared.

Missionary X came to visit B.W. He stood beside the bed. B.W. said he was always thinking of God, and for this the missionary commended him. When Missionary X left he offered B.W. his hand, to shake hands, but he really only stuck out his little finger, so B.W. just grasped it as best he could. B.W. could not see plainly because the big dog was there and was licking his eyes; its tongue covered his eyes. It was God who was shaking hands and had given his little finger.

B.W. could see into heaven. He saw every one of his dead relatives; he saw his father and his brothers and sister. They were all beautifully dressed and had flowers stuck all over their clothes. All the country was green.

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[42] Wobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

[44] There is a large celestial dog which lives in the sky and makes thunder; B.W. thought this was his visitor.

[45] B.W. had just bought a small dog at that time, which he still had at the time of my visit.

He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

Then he continued his narrative:

Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had never seen any white people or Mexicans before; they were all scared and hid around in the hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s father, his brother, and himself A bullet had hit his brother. They went back into their village B.W.'s father was the headman and he asked the white men to leave their guns at home unless they wanted to have fights. The white men said they just wanted to make friends. Then his father called all his people together and told them to go down [where?] to the "white fandango." About twenty or thirty went and were given food, hats, and coats. Then others went down. They had been told to come once a month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi, everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his father. The government wanted to make schools. Each morning two white men and [native] interpreters told them what was going to take place. Then a white man (Dover?) went over to Kings River to see the Indians there, but he got killed. The Indians called him Ča´wɩs. The government sent no money at this time. But this was the beginning of all bad things -- sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians went.

On another occasion B.W. declared that the high price of native basketry was due to the fact that some white land owners charged Indian women for the privilege of coming on their property to get the grasses and roots needed. He said that "over on Kings River" some men charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basketry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would feel the wrists of their partners in the dance. If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono conversed with the Yokuts through their linguistic and cultural kin, the Western Mono people (Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them alone.

E.M. recounted the story of a war with Mono people which occurred before she was born.

Long ago [before E.M. was born] a number of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant. They had all gone there for acorn-gathering. It was the general practice that the men, immediately after the morning meal, went out to shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be collected by the women, they then went off for the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

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[46] B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his boy not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47] Gayton and Newman, 28.

Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come over the mountains: their chief had told them to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

Next morning the Yokuts men went out very early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so´nɩl) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her complaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

It is clear from the account given above, that people from several tribes might be camped together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɩs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɩ´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɩn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mɩč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɩč: got liquor

koko´hɩp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

[48]The exact nature of these E.M. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

[49]See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50]Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

Poles (lo´kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka´pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (<u>not</u> conical) form. The last ring (awa´nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo´pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [<u>sic</u>] (ko´'osnɪl).[51] This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu´an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the framework, the woman after the thatch. Men tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any arrangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

<u>Dance house</u>.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or ceremonies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

<u>Pottery</u>.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

<u>Tobacco</u>.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po´'om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a´sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo´gən. The fine tobacco, pulči´na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke´wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

<u>Ferrying</u>.--Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta´okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

<u>Posture</u>.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

[51] There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

Star lore.--Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pɩš: sun
toiyu´nəm u´pɩš: moon (lit., night sun)
tawa´nɩš: morning star
tomo´lo'o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]
soiyo´lui yawačɩt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.
wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."
wɛ´čɩn čano´'ɔnɩt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

Calendar.--The year was divided into moon months (yɛt u´pɩš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai´ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčɩn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lɩpi, six).

Earthquake.--E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

Snake-charm.--In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

Paint.--The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.
hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.
ša´lu: black. Charcoal.
wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt
2. po´noi
3. so´pɩn
4. hatpa´nai
5. yɩčɩ´nɩl
6. čo´lɩpi
7. nu´mčɩn
8. mɔ´noš
9. no´nɩp
10. te´yao
11. yɛ´čam
12. bo´čtɔp
13. so´pi'ɔp
14. ha´čpam
15. yɩ´čam
16. čo´lpɔp
17. no´mčom
18. mu´nčum
19. no´mpɔm
20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɩn, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

Shinny.--This game (ko´nɩč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

other, and returned. Both sexes played. Pairs of men with two balls often played against each other.

Walnut dice game.--While this (hučuˊša) was primarily a woman's game, men occasionally played. It was tabu at night. As usual, the eight nutshell dice (hoˊwač) were tossed on a broad coiled tray (čaˊpɩt). The dice are nutshell halves, filled with pitch. In the old days a round root called kaˊuhai, which grew in the mountains, was cut in a hemispherical shape and painted.

The count as given by E.M. was: two face up or down, 1; three face up or down, 1; all up or all down, 4.

Twelve counters were used and were handled by a scorekeeper (wičeˊlɩtɩ).

Stick dice game.--This too was a woman's game (daˊlag) which men occasionally played. There was no limitation on the hour of play. There were eight stick dice of split elderwood (wiseˊta). The flat face was unornamented; the back was decorated with streaks of red paint. All the sticks were bunched in one hand and thrown down on a deerskin (in later years on a blanket). The motion was an under- or backhand one: the sticks were not dashed directly downward. The count was the same as in hučuša (above).

Hand game.--Both sexes played this game (we·helaˊoča), either apart or mixed. As many as wished played on each side. Each side had its own pair of bones. These were about two inches long. The one to be guessed for was wrapped at its center with a few strands of a black root (the one used for black pattern in basketry).

As the guessing progressed, singing was kept up constantly. Men hid the bones behind their backs, women under a skin or blanket on their knees. The bones were passed to one's neighbor only after continual losses on the hider's part (i.e., winning by the opposing guesser), but no accurate explanation of how this operated in practice could be made by E.M.

The counters, kept by a scorekeeper, numbered twenty.

String figures.--E.M. claimed she had never seen these, but a Chukchansi (Dolly) who was listening volunteered the statement that her people used them to predict the sex of an unborn child.[55] The trial was made by the sister of the prospective father. Dolly did not know how to make the figures.

Cup and ball.--E.M. had never heard of this game.

[55]See the figures "baby girl" and "baby boy"(Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, pl. LXIX, figs. 5-8), which probably are similar to those meant. It was not clear, however, in what the element of prediction consisted.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

The chief (tiˊya) functioned as among the Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholuʼi, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s father's brother, Gaidaˊna, was chief. After him came Huhutuˊtu,[56] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

[56]The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

Čo´kɛt, Nutuwich, and his wife, Čɩnkɩ´lwɩt, Tokelyuwich, are the only other chiefly persons E.M. recalls.

Another official, who made announcements and managed festivities and ceremonies, was the yate´'ɩč (talker or manager). He seems to have been a superwinatum, serving as a go-between for the chief and people; the chief addressed the people directly only when the yate'ɩč was absent. At gatherings such as the chief's "party," the yate'ɩč "prayed" before each meal, saying, "Come close to the table [sic], we are going to have a good feast. When this supper is over, we will play and have a good time."

The only Kechayi manager whom E.M. remembers by name was Ko´čon, a Nutuwich; one of the Posgisa was E'uki´yi. The office was paternally inherited, but moiety affiliation did not affect its functions.

The winatum "ran errands for the chief," gathered wood for public fires, carried messages. He was paid for his services. The position was inherited in the male line, but not all sons of a winatum had to function as such. The family chose one or more of its sons to take up the work, but if a lad were incompetent or unwilling, he did not have to undertake it.

Moieties

The classification of animals, birds, and some vegetable foods as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich is given below. The informant was certain that no natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, or even land, sky, and water, were classified in this way. These were asked about indirectly, and also more directly, along with animals and plant names. Most of the items below were given voluntarily in response to a general question.

Tokelyuwich	Nutuwich
to´xɩl: eagle	po´hiyon: Cooper's hawk
pu´nal: hawk (Swainson ?)[57]	ya´yɩl: falcon[58]
upla´li: dove	ho´its: buzzard
a´luwut: crow	hi·hi·´na: horned owl
ho´toi: raven[59]	so·´tɔt: white owl
u´i'ui: roadrunner	'o´č'oč: magpie
wa´twat: duck	hu´mnul: quail
bučo´nhal: redwing blackbird	ṭai´'ṭai': blue jay
ulu·´ju: meadow lark	naho´'o: bear
ča´pitɩ´tna: kingbird	hoi: deer
wihe´šɩt: cougar	kawai´yu: horse (Sp. caballo)
ki·´či: raccoon	hu´'ušu: coyote
te´pɩš: beaver	a´oja: fox
xu´mix: jackrabbit	čo´i: skunk (large)
te´u: cottontail rabbit	če´ču: California spotted skunk
ši´txɩl: ground squirrel	ma´o: grey squirrel
homu´ča: wood rat	gai´hɩt: salmon
te´'ɛl: rattlesnake	ma´mɩl: blackberries
ta·la´tai: lizard	kisi´'ɩn: small black seed
ta´nai'əwɩts: grasshopper	
pu´tus: "round" acorns	
e´šɩn: a "mountain" acorn	
te´pɩn: acorn mush	
li´mɩn: acorn gruel	
a´ptu: manzanita berries or cider	
taxa´ti: sourberries	
ča´nɩt: seeds from a blue flower	
xe´lɩs: a seed	

The functioning of the moiety division is not one of mere reciprocity, as it is with more southerly or westerly Yokuts. Here, for the Kechayi at least, it seems there is no lineage totem which is recognized as a family symbol, even for that of a chief: all moiety animals are regarded as "totems."[60] The specific functionings are given under headings dealing with those situations in which they operate, such as "Annual Mourning Ceremony," "First Fruit Rites," "Marriage." A peculiar set of behavior patterns, which E.M. could not clearly formulate nor I grasp, was associated with each moiety. Thus, to partake of one's moiety animal or vegetable food would make one ill, hence the Nutuwich never ate deer or bear meat.[61] Yet, after the First Fruit Rites, salmon and blackberries, also classed as Nutuwich, were eaten by members of that moiety. On the other hand, a Tokelyuwich man, having been hunting, could not partake of the first deer he had killed but could eat the meat from some other (see "First Fruit Rites"). E.M. said, "The

[57] Light, with black shoulders and head.

[58] Younger brother of Cooper's hawk.

[59] Larger than a´luwut.

[60] Kechayi social organization needs thorough analysis with other informants.

[61] This was an absolute statement.

Nutuwich come first in everything. That's why the Tokelyuwich call them 'coyote'. The Tokelyuwich are slow." Thus in a household like E.M.'s, where she herself was Nutuwich but her mother was Tokelyuwich, E.M. could go after the new seeds as they ripened, whereas her mother had to wait and, along with other Tokelyuwich women, take what was left. The Nutuwich [men] knocked down the acorns, but the Tokelyuwich [women] picked them up. When the Nutuwich danced, they used fast steps; the Tokelyuwich danced lethargically. Dogs were given one of two names: tapa´liš, if they belonged to Nutuwich people, wu´isu, if owned by Tokelyuwich. Whether these modes of behavior are part of a generalized larger moiety pattern or whether they were special cultural idiosyncrasies, so to say, with no abstract motivation behind them, it was impossible for E.M. to convey.[62]

Redemption of totem animals.--When an eagle was killed, all the Tokelyuwich people put in some money to pay for it. The feathers were removed. A shaman kept the head, which he ornamented with beads to keep as a supernatural talisman. The legs were made into whistles. The carcass was buried. (E.M. did not know the details of this, how the ritual actually operated.)

A Nutuwich man, Či´pɩt, the paternal grandfather of E.M., raised a pair of eaglets until they were able to fly. Then they were put in a willow cage and an assembly called. Tokelyuwich people came from other villages, even from Koko´hɩp (Sycamore). They all contributed money, which Čipɩt received, and took the birds. As the visitors returned homeward, the birds were passed to the more easterly travelers; when the most eastern had reached home, the birds were released.

When a Tokelyuwich person killed a bear (a Nutuwich, of course, would not), it was redeemed by the Nutuwich moiety. All the Nutuwich contributed a little money, but the bear-killer was the only Tokelyuwich who received it. E.M. was uncertain what became of the bear hide and what was done with the carcass. Any Nutuwich person could wear a bear-claw necklace. It seems probable that a bear dancer would obtain one.

Pets

Eaglets were raised sometimes, and sold to Tokelyuwich people.

A falcon (ya´yɩl) was kept, in a specific instance known to E.M. The bird was captured alive by He´čač [moiety?] who "gave it to another old man." Its new owner caught salmon and squirrels for it. He would put a piece of meat on the end of a stick, and the falcon would fly down, sit on the stick and eat the meat. The bird cried out when it was hungry.

E.M. recalls that her father (Nutuwich) kept a white owl for a pet. The children were amused because it appeared to be headless when it was asleep.

E.M. herself raised a flock of baby quail, but they were devoured by a snake.

So far as E.M. knows, no cubs were ever raised as pets.

An old Kechayi man, Hečač, who caught the falcon, had two fawns which he raised. They came when he called.

One man raised a pet coyote, but "it got too mean" so he took it to the hills and released it.

First Fruit Rites

These rites were all called nahala´oša, the term used for a girl's first menses ceremony. At least three were held, for acorns, seeds, and salmon, all having the same name and same essential procedure.

Acorns.--The Nutuwich men knocked down all the acorns, which were gathered and stored, as usual, by Tokelyuwich women; many of the women were, of course, wives of the Nutuwich men. When the correct month arrived,[63] the Nutuwich chief sent word to the Tokelyuwich chief that it was time for the ceremony. This the Tokelyuwich prepared for by grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns of the recent crop, and arranging the food to be served in front of their chief's house. Then the Nutuwich people came. The Tokelyuwich host-chief made a speech about the new food,[64] and his winatums and their wives served the food to the Nutuwich chief and the people with him. Thereafter the Nutuwich people could make use of the new crop, but the Tokelyuwich continued to use nuts from the old crop until the spring salmon ceremony.

There is no association of the Bear Dance with the gathering or first eating of acorns.

Seeds.--In the summer the winatüm went about telling people that it was time to gather the seed crop. The Nutuwich people went first and took all they wanted; when they were through, the Tokelyuwich gathered what was still available. The Nutuwich "ate the seeds right away," but when the Tokelyuwich were free to do so is not clear.

Salmon.--When the Pleiades were on the western horizon at dusk it was time to watch for the first salmon. When the Nutuwich chief learned that the run was approaching he sent

[62] Comparable attitudes and behaviors are recorded for some Southern Californian moieties (cf. Gifford, Clans and Moieties in Southern California, 178, 192).

[63] E.M. thinks this was November.

[64] On one occasion B.W's wife made the speech.

"all Nutuwich men out to catch salmon." Meanwhile the Tokelyuwich got out their "new" acorns, of which they had not yet partaken. Members of each moiety cooked the foods which they were responsible for, and a general feast was held at the river's edge. Everyone dressed in his best.

The first salmon caught was laid on a basket tray. This the Nutuwich chief held in his hand while he made a prayerful speech to the salmon, asking it "not to hurt the Nutuwich who were going to eat it." He told the people to be happy because many more fish would be coming. The Tokelyuwich chief, holding a basket of acorn meal, made a comparable speech to the acorns on behalf of the Tokelyuwich people. Thereupon, the Tokelyuwich all ate salmon with the acorn mush. Immediately after them the Nutuwich partook of salmon also.

During the rest of the day games were played, and at night more games and dancing served as entertainment.

A salmon ritual held at Očo´po, a Gashowu village, was recalled by E.M. The village was not directly on the river but they all went there for the feasting and returned to the village for the games.

Deer.--Deer and bear meat were tabu to the Nutuwich, which somewhat "balances" the "new" acorn tabu which the Tokelyuwich suffered. It seems difficult to believe that a staple meat such as deer could be eschewed entirely, but E.M. was positive in her statements. The tabu included antelope. "They used rabbits instead," E.M. claimed.

When a man killed a deer (the hunter would necessarily be Tokelyuwich) the camp manager or spokesman (yate'ɩč) went about "telling the women to get their acorns ready because there would be deer for supper." He said that "deer is the best meat and, if any one failed to come, a little piece would be saved and taken to him." The deer were then cut up, the head roasted in ashes, and the other parts broiled. The chief was given a ham, considered the best part.

The hunter who had brought in the game could not eat meat from the first deer he had killed on this occasion, but took meat from some other. This tabu held for all hunting occasions, according to this informant, and was not merely the "first kill" tabu for a young hunter on the occasion of his first hunt.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

Only women who had to did heavy work during the last three months of pregnancy. There were no definite food tabus before birth, although some women ate only soft food from preference. After the birth occurred, the mother drank only warm acorn soup (li´mɩn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu´kɩn) for two months.

The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clamshell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

When the baby was born its paternal grandfather brought the first cradle (bi´'ɩč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɩ´lɩč), and the mother was cleansed.

When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

could see the newborn twins they had to give the parents a bit of money, to be kept for the infants, "to make them strong." If one twin died, the other was sure to die soon too. However, twins were tịpni and had supernatural power if they lived to adult life. E.M. could give no idea of how this power was manifest.

Childhood

The training of children "just came natural." Girls and boys both played at activities which later became duties. Boys were given verbal instructions in the sweat house, but this was entirely informal: there was no puberty rite for boys. There was no defined "first entrance" into the sweat house; boys hung around it, played in it "until they got chased out" [by men going to sweat], and remained to sweat when they were "old enough to stand it" [fifteen to eighteen years]. The verbal instructions, given by older men, told them how to be good to their wives, to abjure intercourse during menstruation, to have a home of their own and not live with their parents-in-law, and how to respect and deal with the supernatural.

Puberty

A puberty ceremony (nahalaoša) was given for a girl at her first menses. There was no separate menstrual hut. The girl did no cooking, ate no meat, and used a scratching stick on her head as "her fingers were hot and her hair would fall out if she touched it." Otherwise her life was as usual. At the first menses these tabus held over a two-month period; thereafter they were observed each month for six days at the end of which the girl bathed and ate meat.

The actual puberty ceremony, which was looked upon as a betrothal ceremony, a declaration of intentions by both families concerned, was made by a boy's mother. The parents had previously reached an agreement in the matter.

On the first new moon following the two-month tabu period, the prospective mother-in-law brought a ceremonial washing basket, new clothes, and beads to the girl's home, where she washed and clothed the girl. Then the official spokesman (yate'ɩč) made a speech saying that this girl "had come out all right, she was going to be healthy." Everyone in the village came to call on the girl and eat a little meat with her. The food for this was supplied by the boy's parents.

Marriage

When parents of a boy and girl had agreed that they wanted to become coparents-in-law (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

Then a marriage "party" (yewɩnu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wɩša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wɩt (husband), yi´wɩn (wife or any woman one slept with), yawɛ´nɩš (to have intercourse), yewɩnuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

[67]There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68]The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

When a death was imminent, a winatum was sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ιč). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

The corpse-handlers had prepared the cremation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponιk. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lιt, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

An unusual burial.--To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain, they saw a falcon's nest One of the boys was determined to go up and take the young; the other tried to dissuade him. The older boy started up anyway; the younger climbed more slowly, as he was afraid. Just then the parent birds returned and attacked the older boy. He was far up where there was no protection; the younger crouched behind some bushes. The birds beat at the boy until he lost his grip and fell down the face of the precipice. "He was a rag when he landed at the bottom." His companion crawled down and went after the seed-gatherers. They approached cautiously as they were all afraid of the angry birds. There was nothing could be done for the mangled lad, so the women put his remains in a carrying basket, dug a hole with their digging sticks, and buried the whole thing on the spot.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power and Curing

The doctoring profession ran in families: E.M. claimed the profession was always inherited. But this does not refer to an inheritance of power, which was not transferable, but to the mere fact that a doctor's son usually became a doctor and that, in tangible terms, he acquired the accumulated wealth in his father's cache (pa´čki). A son did not invariably become a shaman because his father was one; among several sons one might become a doctor. If no sons followed him, a shaman's cache was "lost forever" as no one else could touch it (see below).

The supernatural creatures helped only members of the moiety with which they were associated. For the Nutuwich moiety Horned Owl and Bear were the "strongest" helpers; for Tokelyuwich, Eagle was the "strongest." "Sometimes Eagle would try to get a Nutuwich man and he would die quick." [Apparently he would die whether he "accepted" or not.] Water was a very powerful helper, and a large stream, like the San Joaquin River, particularly so.

Women usually were not doctors. E.M. remembers only one, Wojilit, who sang at funerals and with doctors in the sweat house dance.

At his death a shaman's outfit was burned, or buried with him. If anyone else, even a shaman's son, tried to use it, he would die. Nothing was left to the son save the objects in the pački which were pure wealth, not supernatural talismans. It is not clear whether these objects were those the father had secured through his practice or whether they were gifts bestowed by his animal helpers; probably the former.

Doctor's cache.--It was thought that a doctor's cache (pački) was always located in a hill with a rock as a door. There was no mark of ownership. After the shaman's son had received his power, he could enter the pački at will. He accomplished this by dancing outside

the door and calling on the name of his father or grandfather, to whom the cave was supposed to have belonged, and the door opened. Within were baskets, money, feather ornaments, skins -- all valuable things. He could take anything he wanted from the left side of the enclosure. The right side was filled with articles that belonged to his most ancient ancestors, and these "had too much power." They served as guardians of the place, for their power would kill anyone who touched them. Thus, if a stranger should succeed in entering the pački, he would be afraid to take anything as he would not know which ones he could safely touch [sic] (see below, Čipit's death). After a doctor had acquired much power, his helpers might tell him to use some of the tabu things, "but if a doctor did that he would get mean and care no more for people or being a good doctor."

Procedure.--A man who wanted to become a shaman would seek dreams from adolescence on. When a supernatural helper visited him in a dream, he rose and went out into the hills, where he "lay down to dream some more." The dream helper, usually a bird or animal, came to him, gave him a song and instructions about curing, and told him what talismans to use. The man stayed out all day, fasting and talking prayerfully to his assistant. As the man dreamed more, his power increased; the "animals" came more readily, so he was often away for days at a time. It would be said of such a man, "pana´nɩt a´mɩn časa´šti (coming his helper; če´saš, the supernatural helper, lit., dog).

When a man had dreamed sufficiently, all the animals of his moiety gathered on a hill near a [his father's ?] cache. The man was there too, and the animals opened the pački, telling him to enter. He stayed in there four days. No one at home knew where he was, and often people went out in search of him. While he was in the pački the animals told him what to do. They gave him more songs and danced with him all night. They gave him his regalia: "this just appeared on him, nobody knew where it came from." Later on, when he needed more things -- baskets, beads, or feathers -- he would go back to the pački to get them. At the end of four days the animals sent him out, but instead of going home he remained in the hills two more days [total, six]. The animals instructed him to do this as "he would die" if he went home too soon.[69] When he did go home, he made his first dance (Shaman's Debut), announcing the beginning of his career. He did not again dream of his helpers but called on them when he needed their aid.

Shaman's debut.--When a man felt that his power was sufficient (and usually he had tested it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a´nuṭùn ti´ša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

A distinction was made between the doctor (a´ñṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču´duñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

There were no other special classes of doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty of ṭɩpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

[69]This is the pattern often found as a codicil to tales of supernatural experiences from the southern half of California. They must be told of at a certain time, usually not before six days have elapsed. (See Gayton and Newman, Myths, abstract 139, note 21.)

Theoretically, there were no "bad" doctors in the San Joaquin River region. Those who made "poison" were said to be south of Kings River.

Cures.--The term for sickness in general was toi´yoti·yaš he´ba (night into [?] blood). E.M. could not describe specific sicknesses and their cures. Usually the doctor cut and sucked, drawing out a pebble or "button," which was exhibited.

Once a Chukchansi woman, Sai´hu, went out to gather milkweed. Soon she got sick; her throat was sore. "That bush had made her sick." The shaman Čokonɩk sucked at her clavicle and produced a worm that had come from the bush.

Consumption, sane´naš, was due to "not growing right from the start" or, if the symptom of coughing blood was present, it was thought to be caused by a doctor. There was no cure for this "though the doctors always tried everything."

Dreams of the dead caused sickness.

Long ago E.M. dreamed constantly of her dead mother and sister. A Kechayi doctor, Wewu´ki (Old Dick) was sent for. He was Tokelyuwich, but he could cure people of either moiety. He told everyone in the village to assemble for an all-night ceremony for the dead. With a cocoon rattle he sang for a very long time. Then he asked everyone there to tell their dreams about dead people. When it was E.M.'s turn, she told hers. He put ashes on her head, as he had done for the others, and called out the names of the dead who were bothering her. He told them to go away and never come back to bother the living. Then he blew the ashes off her head. Never again did she dream of the dead.

This doctor did not do any other kind of curing: "he was tɩpni by dead people." Both his parents were Tokelyuwich.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Dreams

E.M.'s brother, Hai'ai'ɩč, had power from Bear; he was reckless and liked to make spectacular use of it.

Once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear; he pretended to jump into the fire. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away.

On another occasion he wanted to get something to drink, and went to kumku´mɩč (hummingbird place) where there was a little saloon. He came back, drinking along the way, and finally fell by the roadside. While he was unconscious, two bears came. They said, "Let us pack this man to our den." They took him home and kept him all night. When he woke in the morning he was frightened. The bears were dancing; they told him to join, and all danced together for some time. At last they let him go, but told him to be sure to return in four days. As soon as the door opened "he ran out as fast as he could and never went back."

When talking of the doctor's cache or pački E.M. was asked if she had ever seen any of the objects said to be in them. She told the following story.

Long ago E.M. and her mother went blackberrying in the direction of Kings River. The old woman was taken with an acute diarrhea, and died about one week after her return home. At that time E.M.'s brother Hai'ai'ɩč was "just beginning to get his power." He had gone up to visit the Chukchansi, but he knew by supernatural means what was happening at home, so returned. But his mother died before his arrival. Then he went to his father's pački and brought back a large handsome basket. This he placed over his mother's head, and he talked, saying where he had got the basket and that it was to be buried with her. This was the only object that E.M. ever saw which she definitely knew [sic] was from a pački.

To illustrate the danger of a layman entering a pački she related the following.

E.M.'s paternal grandfather, Čipɩt, and his wife went out to dig roots. The old man went toward his father's pački. Though he was not a shaman, he danced in front of it and called to his father. The door opened a wee bit. He squeezed in and saw the wealth: he put a koikoi belt around his waist and strings of humna around his neck; he took many baskets. He returned to his wife and hung beads on her. They took these things home. Immediately Čipɩt fell ill. His face and eyes became swollen, a rash covered his body. He died in six days. He was a plain man and had tampered with power.

Another old man who was not a shaman but had a dream helper was Wu´'us, "another grandfather" [great uncle?] of E.M.

When E.M. was young, the children were very fond of this old man, they played around him frequently at his house. On one very foggy morning he told them to run outside because he was going to die. The fog cleared suddenly and Wu'us rose to walk around a bit. He fell down dead. Live oak was his power; it had told him he was going to die that day.

Plain people who did not seek to become doctors were sometimes visited by dreams of a supernatural helper. Often they did not know what procedure to follow to accept the proffered power, or possibly, even knowing the procedure, they did not want to go through the period of apprenticeship to follow the shamanistic calling.

It was difficult and, strictly speaking, impossible to define in native terms the distinction between a supernaturally significant dream and an ordinary one. Both types were called ana´tsawu. Even ordinary dreams were thought to have some prophetic value, which E.M. exemplified as follows.

A dream of winning at a game means winning in reality.

If one dreamed of dying he would rise exceptionally early, go to a creek or spring and say to the water, "Don't take me yet. Let me live a long life." Water had immortality and the power to bestow it.

Dreaming of quarreling with a friend would cause or permit one to chide the friend about it next day. Sometimes such dreams would lead to accusations of enmity between people who were in wholly peaceful relation. Dreams were usually told to the persons appearing in them under any circumstances.

Dreams of reversals, precipitous falling, or loss of teeth were unknown to E.M. (but see below).

It was not customary to seek dreams as omens with respect to some specific project; however, a fortuitous dream of ill luck would probably cause a person to change his plans.

E.M. could not define the nature of dream experience. She knew of no word for soul, did not recognize the concept. She willingly related the following dreams, which all date from her early life.

1. E.M.'s mother once went off for several days and left her alone. She was scared and nervous by herself. One night she dreamed that her mother returned, which made her very happy for she knew her mother was coming. She did return the next day. When she came, E.M. told her of the dream. [It was not necessary to tell; it was done for the emotional pleasure involved in recounting it.]

2. Once E.M. dreamed she was a dove. She was on a hilltop and tried to fly from there, for she felt just as if she had wings. Twice she succeeded in leaving the hilltop but both times fell down [with no sense of shock, however]. When she woke up she said to herself, "What did I want to do that for?" The next morning she told her mother of the dream, and was advised not to eat dove meat. But E.M. did not "believe" the dream [did not want to accept supernatural aid] and did not observe this or any other tabu, and no harm resulted.

3. The only dream of teeth which E.M. recalls was one which came to her when she was very sick and weak. At last she was able to sleep but "was bothered by dreams" when she did. She thought her teeth grew very large; they were all like tusks, they filled up her mouth and bulged out. While in this condition she noticed a buckeye tree before her. The tree "threw one of its nuts" at her, striking her between the shoulder blades. Then she woke up. Her mouth felt numb and stiff; she could hardly talk. But immediately she began to recover from her illness. She "watched for another dream but did not have any [significant ones] for a long time."

Group curing.--This ceremony (mai´ʼi kama, people dance) was usually held in the late fall (tomo´ksiu to´bxɩn, winter beginning) after all the vegetable foods had been gathered and stored. The doctor who was responsible consulted with the chief (or chiefs) of the village where it was to be given and, when a time was specified, the chief's winatums went out with messages. Everyone near by came, and many people from far off [not more than one day's journey, however].

The ceremony, like all others, was held outdoors: "all doctors danced outdoors so they could have more power." A fire was supplied by the chief's winatum, who assisted also in collecting payments. The doctor's winatum helped with the curing, handling of patients, and paraphernalia.[70] There was an attendant singer who used the clapper accompaniment. Persons already suffering an illness were laid near the fire, the other people sat around in a circular arrangement behind them.

The doctor did some preliminary dancing near the fire "to make his 'power' stronger." As he danced, his dream helpers spoke to him telling not only how to cure those now ill, but specifically which persons were going to be afflicted with sickness during the ensuing year.

When ready to cure, the doctor took off his vertical feather headdress (čuʼ) and dipped it in a basket of water. He treated the sick people first. With the wet feathers he gently brushed them off, then he squeezed the "sickness" off the feathers onto a flat tray covered with sand. The doctor's winatum exhibited the "sickness," which looked like a viscous mixture of blood and albumen; then he buried it, put fresh sand on the tray, and returned. Most of the patients cured at this time were those already ill, but a patient-elect, designated by doctor's supernatural insight, was given preventive treatment in exactly the same manner. "In this way any kind of sickness could be cured except consumption."

The relatives of the afflicted persons paid the doctor for his services and the chief added a sum "for keeping his people well."

[70]P.D.W., the Choinimni, was a doctor's winatum and had helped on such occasions.

BELIEFS

Wainus.--This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭιpni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭιpni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

Ghost-wailer.--Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

Ritual or lucky number.--E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

Flood.--When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

Pleasure dance.--This dance (hιčι´šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata´mιš [?]) who used the clapper (ta´wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokonιk and Ha´tιš, the shamans, and Ke´mas and Ku´ba´ldιč, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other ornaments they possessed. The women wore eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and carried hand feathers (sonιl) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

Sweat house dance.--This dance (mosla´osaho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside. So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Ši´lat and Wojilιt (the corpse-handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The headband was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich participants were supposed to look like Eagle; their faces were painted solid red with white dots scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

Bear Dance.--This dance was called no´’ιn ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´hιl and Te’e´wus, had power from Bear (noho’ιn ṭιpni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[71]Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72]There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Gohɩl and another Bear dancer named Joˊnɩš do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (šaˊnači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokonɩk's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Gohɩl turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai'ɩč, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.--At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.--E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owoˊniu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.--This E.M. saw Čokonɩk do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.--A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were always that way [south]." But in spring everyone wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

The ritual (tañiˊša) of drinking jimsonweed (taˊñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoiˊyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭɩpni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'ɩč) was present: he told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

[73]Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

[74]A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

around" before falling unconscious. Some persons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week, but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limɩn) diet for twelve days.

Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

The chief set the date for this ceremony (luniˊša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (gi·ʾi) which, for the Kechayi, was always the Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were gi·ʾi for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (taˊowɩč anoˊša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna [guksai], Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Guguˊsia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character [Gugusia] was dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čukuˊya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M. could not or would not describe this coherently. The reticence may have been due to the fact that her maternal grandfather, Peˊbiyu, was a participant. There were usually "four or five doctors on each side." The fires for their "airshot" were made by their winatums. "Some people cried while this was going on but they didn't have to."

Crying ritual.--This rite (yuyaˊhixo) was performed on the night of the fifth day. The reciprocal tribe had their winatum build a large fire. Four times during the night the mourners filed in and around the fire. The chief mourners carried effigy dolls representing their deceased relatives; these were distinguished by sex, and a man carried a male doll, a woman a female one. Other mourners carried baskets, beads, and objects of value. While they were marching around, the visiting spokesman (yateʾɩč) rose and said, "Cry! This is the last time you will cry for a long time." After the fourth circuit of the fire had been made, the visitors' winatums took the effigies, stripped them of their valuables [calico, beads, feathers], which were distributed among the visitors, and burned them.

Washing ritual.--This duty (ɛplaˊoša) was reciprocal by moiety.[75] First a woman from the visiting chief's family washed the face of the mourning chief: these two persons were of opposite moieties. Then the others were washed, each family by some other family of the opposite moiety of the visiting tribe. The mourning families had with them money or food which they gave the washers, and in turn received new clothes.

Celebration.--Thereafter all tabus were lifted from the mourners and the rest of the day and night was spent in feasting, games, and dancing. At night a dance would be made by some doctor dressed in a short feather skirt, wearing vertical head feathers, feather bracelets, carrying "hand feathers," and having white paint on his body.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

The account given by E.M. of the Kechayi participation in the Ghost Dance has been published in full elsewhere;[76] a summary statement will suffice here.

The Ghost Dance (soiwiša kam, round dance; abbreviatedly called suˊyu) was introduced to the Northern Foothill Yokuts by a Paiute [sic] named Čuičui (Joijoi), and a Western Mono (Pajoˊʾoj) companion. They urged everyone to come because "the father" and all the dead relatives would appear, and further, anyone who did not join would die. The visiting Paiute

[75]Here E.M. made a confused and contradictory statement, that if both T and N were mourning, the Choinimni came too, "because the Posgisa were gi·ʾi only for the Kechayi Nutuwich."

[76]Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 66, 72.

carried a long painted cane so people would recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die," and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

The dancers all used moiety paint patterns on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'anᵉu: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement
wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

People would move around, perhaps two or three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

[77]Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78]E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79]Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

J.R. claims that when he was a boy the Indians throughout this region set fire to the brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.-- A.H.G.]

[80]Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[81]The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever necessary for camping. There were bedrock mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[82]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

[82]J.R. probably had not yet been born.

here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting. These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

All informants said that all members of a family present ate simultaneously at meals. Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat; cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

If the women of a household were off getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

When men went out on a long hunt they returned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family, each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

Not much clothing was worn by the Chukchansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

[84] Handbook, 519.

used a little sharp stick run through the overlapped front corners "just like a pin."

All informants said moccasins were little used; most people went barefoot (as do most children today). Moccasins were used only when walking a long distance. These were in two parts, a sole and upper, and were decorated with beads or bones which were tied on. Possibly a sandal type was known, for F.M.'s interpreter, said "Some who knew real how would make them like yours [Oxfords, i.e., a moccasin with solid upper], and some would just put straps like."

For dress occasions or dancing, eagle, bluejay, and woodpecker feathers were arranged around the head and neck, said J.R.

Tattooing was indulged in by Chukchansi women, who so adorned the breast, abdomen, arms and legs, according to Kroeber.[85] [Inferentially, the chin was tattooed as usual.--A.H.G.]

Foods

Acorns.--Two accounts of the treatment of acorns were given, the first by Jack Roan with Polly Roan interpreting, the second by Nancy Wyatt, Marian and Lillian interpreting.

Acorns were picked when green; put on rocks to dry in the sun for about one week. Some were stored in sacks in the house, others in a granary covered with pine needles. At Picayune there were mostly white oak and water oak.

Black oak acorns were picked from the trees while green. Green acorns can be peeled, whereas ripe ones must be cracked. At the proper time about September, men climbed the trees and cut off the limbs.[86] Acorns fell off easily, were picked from the ground and put in commercial sacks. A barley sack holds nearly two hundred pounds. Before they had white peoples' sacks they used baskets. If a woman had no man to climb trees for her, she would do so herself. Picking acorns was an all-day job for many days, a month perhaps.

Toward sundown the people went home and had their evening meal. Immediately after, the acorns were brought in and evéryone in the family sat around peeling them. They would finish all they had got that day, which might yield two basketfuls. Next morning, before setting out, the women spread out the peeled acorns to dry on rocks. This procedure continued for a week or ten days; by that time the acorns on the trees were growing too ripe for peeling. Hence they were taken directly to the drying rocks. When all were dried they were stored, the peeled ones in sacks in the house, the others in outdoor granaries. [At Thrall's suggestion J.R. opined the sacks were of milkweed fibre, which I doubt. -- A.H.G.]

Now some of the new peeled acorns were dry and ready to eat. The fine skins of these were scraped off and they were taken to the bedrock mortar. As the woman pounded up acorns in the holes, she took the flour out from time to time, piling it up beside the hole. When she had a sufficient quantity she took up a handful, put it on a circular, flat, winnowing tray. The meal on the tray was then shaken in such a way that the coarse particles came to the surface, rolled off onto a similar tray. The fine flour stuck to the basket surface. The finest flour was set aside, the coarser returned for further pounding. This routine was repeated about three times with the same batch of flour. Nearly a whole day was spent at this work, producing a quantity sufficient to last an average family two or three days: "pretty near a bucket full, a little more than half a [50 lb.?] flour sack." At the end, there should not be more than a handful of coarse meal remaining in the mortar hole; this was discarded. Leaching of the flour was done at another place [near water?] where the men had already prepared a fire of manzanita wood to heat water. Cooking stones, usually of soapstone which did not crack, were piled on the fire. Meanwhile the flour had been put in a watertight basket about two feet deep and cold water stirred in to make a thin gruel. There might be two or three baskets like this. On the ground there had been made a shallow basin of earth formed both by slightly digging and by building up the sides. A half-inch layer of white sand was spread over it as a lining and packed down by pressing with a winnowing tray to prevent the flour from being carried through into the earth foundation. When this was ready, some acorn gruel was carefully poured in from a little basket. Over this were laid some small fir boughs to break the flow of water to be poured on. First some cold water was poured over the branches, then hot. The water was heated by putting in the hot stones, which first had been cleansed of ashes by dipping quickly in water. They were handled with sticks four or five feet long. Hot water was poured over the acorn gruel two or three times. The acorn food was tasted occasionally to see if the bitterness had disappeared. When cleared, the acorn flour was lifted off, the top layer (the finest which came to the top) being kept separate, as was the next, and the third or last layer. The first layer was choice, was the first cooked, was usually taken up for the men to eat at once. The rest was for general use.

The fine meal which was cooked first was put in a cooking basket and some hot water was poured over it and stirred up; the mixture was quite thin like milk. The water was boiling hot: it took three hot stones to boil a basket

[85] Ibid.

[86] Undoubtedly a misunderstanding: they had no wood-cutting tools. -- A.H.G.

of water. Then hot cooking stones were put in this acorn gruel to cook it; they were stirred constantly to prevent burning the bottom of the basket. This process was continued for two to three minutes. Each time a cooking stone was lifted out the mush was scraped from it to prevent waste. The gruel became thicker in cooking. When done, it was poured into three mush baskets and taken up to the house where the men of the family were waiting for it. "Men don't come around while acorn is being cooked." [Never, or only when this first of the season was being cooked? -- A.H.G.] They ate it while it was hot. The whole hand within about one inch of the wrist was dipped in. It did not burn: "it was just hot enough not to burn."

Then the women cooked the second layer of meal the same way. The gruel produced was a bit thicker than the first. This mush was poured into baskets to cool and kept for eating during the next few days. When cooled it was quite stiff like cold cornmeal mush.

The third, bottom or "dirty," layer of meal was then treated. It was thrown in a basket of water; the meal floated, whereas the sand it unavoidably contained sank to the bottom. The floating meal was poured off, but even when so cleansed the third grade of meal was darker than the others. The mush produced was cooked like the rest but was even thicker and when cool was quite hard, making a sort of tough dark bread. Sometimes this thick mush was made into individual loaves by placing little mounds of it in a cold spring of water. There might be ten to twelve such mounds which, when congealed, were taken home and put away.

This work took all day. Meanwhile some of the men had been hunting and had brought home some game. "It is pretty near sundown now. Perhaps some fellow got a squirrel maybe a rabbit, a bird, or something. Whatever the meat, the men would cook it.[87] The women bring up the cooled acorn mush. Now it is supper time. They all eat together inside the little house."

When acorns were plentiful a family could get ten to twenty sacks in two or three days, said N.W. The entire family participated. White oak acorns were difficult to keep so were shelled immediately and soon used. When shelled, they were spread on flat rocks to dry, then stored in sacks which were placed on a layer of grass in the outer edge of the house. They must be kept dry. Black oak acorns were stored in their shells in granaries, but they too must remain dry.

Cakes of acorn meal dough were sometimes made before cooking of the whole batch was started. These were shaped in the hand and baked on hot stones. Such a stone (seen by Thrall) was about 5-1/2 inches in diameter and 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken.

Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

<u>Seeds</u>.--Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (xale). This, said N.W., was the same shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

[87]Men usually cooked meat, unless they were too busy; then the women did it.

[88]Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

Greens.--Clover leaves, young and tender, were eaten in the early spring, said J.R. They were eaten alone or as an accompaniment to acorn mush or manzanita cider. Clover was never dried.

Roots.--Not many roots were eaten, said J.R. Of this type of food the so-called "wild potato" was most abundant and favored. In the spring, when the grass was just beginning to turn yellow, women went out to dig these roots. The season lasted about two weeks, for soon after the roots ripen the ground becomes too hard to break. They grow about three inches underground, are a little larger than one's thumb; the plants do not look like a potato plant. [Probably the Eulophus. -- A.H.G.] The roots were laid out on rocks to dry thoroughly, then stored for winter. They were hung up in the storehouse in containers, as they spoil if allowed to get damp. They were boiled in water and mashed when eaten: "they taste just like potatoes."

Berries and fruits.--Elderberries were eaten, said J.R. A larger and sweeter type was got up in the mountains when they went up for pine nuts. They were gathered, dried on rocks up there, and brought home. They were boiled and eaten about once a week during the winter. They were never mashed. Dried berries kept a long time.

Thimbleberries[89] were picked when ripe and eaten at once, never dried. They were picked into an ordinary seedbeater held in the left hand.

Gooseberries which grow locally are very thorny, but a better, less spiny kind grows up in the mountain, larger and juicier. They turn red when ripening, and when brownish but not yet black are ready to eat. They were consumed at once, never dried. They are J.R.'s favorite berry.

Wild grapes were eaten, but never dried. Sometimes the fruit was crushed, producing a red juice which was drunk at once.

Nuts.--Nuts of the sugar pine were got around Coarse Gold, said J.R., but most came from higher up in the mountains. The nuts were ready about August, and whole families went up there to camp. Hazelnuts and a fine quality of elderberry were got at the same time. Deer meat was also enjoyed then.

When the pine nuts were ripe, men climbed the trees, knocked down the cones, while the women below collected them in piles. Pine needles were laid around the piles and ignited to burn off the pitch. When cool, the cones were split open by setting them butt down on a rock and striking the tip with a heavy stone. They split into about three sections and the nuts fell out. The nuts were gathered up and carried home in burden baskets. The nuts to be eaten were first parched with coals on a basket tray. Care was needed to prevent scorching. Sometimes, after being cooked, they were pounded in a mortar hole, the greasy mass then being rolled into balls and eaten as an accompaniment to acorn mush.

According to N.W., when pine nuts were wanted men climbed the trees and twisted them off; today they cut them off with a rock [sic]. Ripe cones, probably those left beyond reach, shed their nuts on the ground. The whole cones were set on the fire to burn off the pitch. Then their "leaves" were knocked off to get out the nuts. Good nuts are brown at one end; those black all over are "no good." The nuts were kept in sacks made of milkweed string. They were shelled as needed, eaten directly, or pounded and mashed into balls to eat with acorn mush.

This year M.W. climbed trees and got pine nuts. Sometimes these are sold to visitors at the hotel in Coarse Gold.

Meat.--The meats commonly eaten were gray squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, jack- and cottontail rabbits, fox, wildcat, and deer, said J.R. Gopher snakes, but not rattlesnakes, were eaten.

Bear meat was eaten by some, but others thought bear "too human." "He lies down just like a man when he is dead, has breath like a man." Moreover, bears sometimes killed and ate men; hence, a bear, having possibly done this, was not fit to eat. This was the Chukchansi attitude.

Meat definitely not eaten was that of eagle, buzzard, chicken hawk, coyote, and dog. However, J.R. said that to the south the valley Yokuts ate dog meat.[90] Elk was not eaten by Chukchansi, since it was not available, nor was buffalo (sic; antelope?).

Horse meat was eaten in the old days. Men would go to the valley. They made a gear of wood[91] which was put on a horse's nose. Then the captor would jump on its back, without saddle or blanket, and bring his prize up here. Some people kept horses to ride; others, after getting them here, shot them through the heart with an arrow to provide food.

Meat was roasted on coals; was never cooked in a basket. Deer meat was cut in pieces about twelve inches square. As it swelled during cooking, it was punctured with sharp sticks "to let the steam out so it won't burst."

Meat cut in strips was hung over a pole to dry into jerky. It was turned every two or

[89]A red berry a little larger than a man's thumbnail, growing on a bush 3 to 4 feet high, the leaves the size of one's hand, the stems finger thick. The berries are not round [spherical?], are thinner than strawberries, grow in clusters at the ends of the bush and are easily picked; "something like a raspberry."

[90]This bears out the statement of a neighboring Kechayi, that dog meat was not eaten, while an eyewitness saw it eaten farther south (cf. Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72, and Estudillo among the Yokuts, 75).

[91]Not identified. The shrub grows around Coarse Gold, "it won't break -- is just like leather."

three days. Fish was treated the same way. Any kind of meat could be dried, said J.R., and would keep for two or three months.

Grasshoppers, a wingless type, were got in the plain of the valley. They were caught by setting a fire in a circle, driving it inward. When the grass was burned over, the grasshoppers, killed but not cooked, were collected. Taken home, they were roasted on a tray with live coals.

Angleworms were got in winter and cooked in a soapstone dish. A little water was added, "just enough to make a little gravy." Some people dried angleworms to keep for later use, a practice which J.R. and P.R. both decried.

Grubs of a small black butterfly[92] were also cooked in a soapstone dish with a little hot water; they were not cooked long. These were usually dried on trays in the sun and stored in sacks for later use.

Yellowjacket grubs were dug from the ground after the live insects had been smoked out. Dried weeds were stuffed in their holes, lighted, and blown upon. The holes were about two inches across, the nests some twelve inches below the surface. A number of holes indicated many nests. The grubs were cooked in ashes, then sifted from the ashes in an open-twined basket.

Salt.--Salt was not always available to the Chukchansi. Their supply came from the Paiute (probably Eastern Mono) of Nevada who came over about once a year to trade and even then did not always bring it. J.R. did not know where they obtained it. The salt was paid for either by bead money or by baskets. If the payment was a basket, this receptacle would be slightly larger than the lump of salt for which it was exchanged. The basket, however, was thought to be the more valuable because of its durability: "it holds water, lasts a long time; it may look old but it will still hold water a long time." For a piece of salt say four by six inches, not many beads were paid; roughly, it would be about 50 cents in American money.

The salt so obtained was mixed with water, "just enough to stick it together," and put on ashes to heat, left overnight. When taken out it was hard, "just like some kind of rock." When struck, it broke in little pieces. The flavor, however, was changed by the treatment: "it was kind of weak, you know, not like it was before the burning."

According to N.W., rock salt was got from the Eastern Mono who lived "the other side of Tuolumne, down Mono Lake way." They brought it from "the other side of Seventy-Seven, Basalt Meadow." They brought crystals about one-half to three-quarters of an inch in diameter, carrying them in burden baskets. The salt was paid for in baskets or shell money. A quantity of salt about as large as a pine cone would be worth 50 cents in American money, in native terms, a basket about the same size (as a pine cone) or a kelan of beads (a strand the circumference of the flat hand). The Mono came over several times a year.

Rock salt was ground to varying degrees of fineness and eaten with meat, nuts, or seeds, but not with acorns. Rock salt to be eaten with acorns was "burned black" first. A layer of salt was covered with hot ashes, then pounded in an acorn hole and mixed with a certain "grass" that grows in or at the edges of the river. The grass and salt were mashed together then formed into balls about six inches thick. Water was added if needed to make it stick together. The grass was wrapped around the balls, making a thick covering. Several such balls were put in a hole filled with very hot ashes and left all night. In the morning the balls, from which the grass wrapping had burned, were dug out and brushed hard with a soaproot brush. A ball might be struck a blow and the pieces given to various people. Three to five balls would be made at a time, which would last an average family a whole year. [Just how this type of salt was used with acorns was not stated. -- A.H.G.]

The salt called 'alit' was derived from salt grass which is covered with a white incrustation when growing. It was gathered by hand, spread to dry on flat rocks, then pounded in a mortar hole. Then it was winnowed from a circular winnowing tray, the grass particles wafting out and the salt grains remaining. The salt was dampened and pressed into balls, but these were not baked. The balls were broken as needed for use. This salt was eaten with clover and sour berries; if it was unobtainable, then rock salt was used.

The Chukchansi "went to the plains to scrape a sort of alkali off the ground," says Kroeber.[93]

Beverages

When manzanita berries are nearly ripe, women specify certain bushes as theirs, said J.R., and no one else can take the berries from them.[94] When the berries were thoroughly ripe, the ground under a bush was raked clean of all leaves and twigs, until the ground was bare. The woman took a long pole and, standing close to the bush, knocked all the berries to the ground. Then she took a flat short stick to

[92]These are grubs of a small black butterfly which does not come every year; there were none this year (1938) but they were plentiful in 1936. They come very early in the spring on trees where new leaves are budding. [Possibly a moth? -- A.H.G.]

[93]Handbook, 530.

[94]It is not clear whether a woman claimed the same bushes each year or specified them anew according to the crop promised by various bushes. -- A.H.G.

scrape the berries into piles; then, dust and all, she put them in a basket.[95] The dust was said to prevent stickiness and dripping while the berries were being handled. The berries were winnowed by being tossed on the same basket, freed of leaves and twigs that fell with them, and taken back to the temporary camp in a burden basket. There they were again picked over for further cleaning and spread on rocks to dry.

When dried the berries were mashed on a special type of stone, thin, flat, and a bit wider than one's hand. The fruit was mashed, not pounded, to loosen the seeds from the skin and dried pulp. The mashing took all day. Then the mass was put on a sieve basket which permitted the seeds to fall through; they were discarded. The desirable part was sacked and taken back to the home village where it was stored in a dry spot. This activity continued for about one week up in the mountains.

When cider was wanted three or four handfuls of the berries were put in a watertight basket about one foot deep. After they had soaked a while they were squeezed with the hands to extract all the dried juices. A sieve basket was then set over the top of a larger watertight basket and the liquor and berries poured in. When the pulp was well drained, more clear cold water was poured over it very slowly. Then the liquid was ready to drink: there was a basket about one foot high, full of cider for the family.

Grapejuice, red in color, was made from crushed wild grapes and drunk at once, said J.R.

A tea was made of "peppermint," the regular mint plant, said N.W., which grew wild. The leaves were gathered, spread on a flat basket to dry. The dried leaves were crushed by hand and stored in a covered basket. Sometimes the plants were dried, then tied in bundles up in the house roof. When wanted, a piece was broken off and put in water. Mike Wyatt said he thought this tea was not a native beverage, although it was made when his people were still living in native-type houses.

A drink which J.R. called dowunnil was first used by the Indians when tortillas were introduced, which was a long time ago (about 1840-1850). It was thought to be "good for something in the stomach." The plant was dried and hung up in an undisturbed spot as the leaves dropped off too readily. A few leaves were taken when wanted and put in water. [This sounds remarkably like the "peppermint tea" described by N.W. The cooling effect of the mint might have been desirable with the strange tortillas. -- A.H.G.]

[95]The basket was described as 3 feet long and 1 foot wide, but this does not fit any known Yokuts basket type. It may have been an extremely elongated twined basket of the seedbeater type. -- A.H.G.

Medicines

Medicinal plants and materials were not stored but were gathered as needed. Ordinarily, when a person was hurt or slightly ill, people would tell him about medicines they knew, would get and prepare them, and either give instructions or apply them themselves. American medicines are bought now: "it looks like they work better," said J.R. Several medicines were known to this informant.

A plant called pasal (Miwok?) which sprouts in spring, has leaves three to four inches long shaped like beech leaves; the leaves are always sticky. A leaf of this was placed in the mouth, but not chewed, and the saliva swallowed when one had a cough or cold. The same plant was used as a boiled decoction for rheumatic pains. About a handful of leaves would be cooked in a pint of water to make a strong dark liquor; this was washed, not rubbed hard, on the afflicted part at night.

Another bush, called lokot'i, was like pasal, but a bit larger with larger leaves. It was put to similar use. The bush grew along creeks and in rocky places in the mountains.

A plant called 'opkule, with yellow flowers and roots a foot long, was boiled to make a soothing medicine. Leaves and roots, but not the flowers, were cooked and the hot liquor was rubbed on painful spots. "It will stop pain pretty quick." All these decoctions were used on open wounds, but they were not potable.

A vine which climbed "just like a grapevine" was boiled and the liquor used to wash cuts, which were said to heal quicker and not to be painful when so treated.

A medicine for rattlesnake bite was known but not considered as effective as a shaman's cure (see "Rattlesnake Shaman"). This was a plant "which grows with a little bunch on the end of it, called s'ono'." It was boiled and the liquor washed onto the wound. It "usually" cured the bite. When this method was used, the shaman's services were not.

To prevent snake bite women who were going seed-gathering would rub the flower and leaves of the tea plant (dowunnil, peppermint?) over their feet, ankles, and legs. The smell alarmed the snake so it would not strike, or at least would rattle a warning.

Wormwood (mesini) was used for rheumatism, said N.W. It was rubbed between the hands to extract the juice which was then rubbed on the sufferer. Sometimes the plant was soaked in water and the solution used to lave with: "you took a bath in it." The same solution was used for ceremonial washing at the Mourning Ceremony.

Peppermint tree (?) was "good for rheumatism and for swelling up."

A drastic cure for rheumatism was the application of fire to the painful area. The

area was covered with dry wormweed which was then fired. Mike Wyatt once had rheumatism in his shoulder. His relatives made a bowl of this medicine, applied it to his shoulder, and lighted it. They did this several times, whenever the pain came; then it was cured.[96]

Hunting

Mice were trapped between flat stones by propping the upper stone on an upright stick resting on an acorn. Inferentially, these traps were set out at night. In the morning the owner went out, collected his quarry, then threw them on the coals to cook just as they were. A little mouse made just two mouthfuls, said J.R. Only mice were caught this way.

Tree squirrels were shot with arrows or captured by trained dogs.

Ground squirrels were drowned out of their holes in wintertime by digging drains to run water into their runways. When an animal emerged, it was struck on the head. J.R. many times helped his father at this, which was a common resort in winter when food was scarce.

To obtain deer, drives were organized by several men in a community. At a deer drive each man knew his position and the territory he had to cover. The usual method was to drive "around a mountain" [probably a large hill] in circular formation. As the men were closing in they shot any deer that came within range. Of those encircled, they killed all they could, although some invariably escaped. "What they shoot, never gets away. They die pretty quick. I have seen them shoot with the bow and arrow, you know. They die quicker than with the bullet. When they shoot the deer, you know, he gets sick and dies, just a little way off." So said J.R.

Up at Wowo·na (Miwok territory) the deer-drivers deployed around a mountain which had a flat rock on top and one precipitous side. They pressed the deer up the mountain until they were forced to huddle or jump off. Those that did not destroy themselves by leaping were shot.

In the evening as much of the game as possible was packed home. Often this method netted more meat than could conveniently be carried. Hence some carcasses were left overnight, hung head down by the hind legs, in trees. In the morning the hunters would return to skin them.

A man could carry one deer by means of a tumpline. The animal was skinned, all save the legs from foot to knee [and the entrails removed?]. The legs were tied together and the carcass packed on the back. The blood was saved, being carried in the stomach and the stomach carried in the skin [by the same man?]. At home the deer was hung up, perhaps for one night, the next day [it is butchered?] it is cooked in the ashes. A single deer would be consumed in two days by the average family. Everyone helped skin the animals, and everyone in camp [every household?] was given a piece of meat about "as big as your hand and wrist."

Men hunted all the year round; even in winter they would go out all day with their dogs.

A few Indians had dogs trained to hunt foxes. These followed the fox whenever they smelled one, and treed it. The master followed with his bow and arrow and shot the beast as it watched the dogs below. The dogs jumped the fox the instant it fell but were immediately beaten off, otherwise the skin would have been torn and the meat bruised. Wildcats were got by the same method. For fox and wildcat but one or two dogs were used at a time.

A small breed of dog, about twelve inches high, was used for hunting rabbits. They were trained to track rabbits to burrows or rock shelters. The owner had a slender stick, three or four feet long, which he ran into the hole until he felt the hiding animal. Then he poked and twisted the stick in its fur, pulling it out. It was killed with a blow on the head. "A man would be gone all day hunting like that," said J.R.

Gray squirrels were abundant. The dogs would pursue these, perhaps catch them, before they got up a tree. The owner was immediately behind to secure the quarry for himself.

These hunting dogs somewhat resembled coyotes: they had long tails, some had long, slightly woolly fur, "coyote color, pretty near yellow." There were also black, white, and spotted dogs. Some had short fur. Some were as high as a man's knee: the rabbit dog was smaller than a fox dog. A hunter would possess both kinds. These pets were fed acorn soup, bones, feet of squirrels, rabbits, and the like, also entrails. They also were permitted to hunt for themselves and ate whatever they caught.

"When a man takes his dog out, the dog knows what he is going to do. He hunts. He watches the animal, but he would hunt whatever he saw first. He would jump anything. The dog knows what he is hunting. They run after anything, these dogs, after they learn what to do, you know. But they can't catch the coyote. They get away every time. Nobody ever ate _them_." (This, and all hunting information is from J.R.)

Horse Stealing

A man named xo'šin (M.N.'s father-in-law, said the narrator, M.W.) was the ringleader of

[96]An elderly white man told me of his own experience. He propped his rheumatic leg near a hot stove; he fell asleep and woke to find his leg painfully burned and blistered. However, the rheumatism was not felt thereafter.--A.H.G.

a group of Chukchansi who went over to the Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

They would first steal clothing and horses to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to steal horses from another but nearer locality. Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a horse, got on it, drove a bunch of horses this way, back across the water at the same ford, and so on across the valley and back up here. Maybe at Picayune they would kill two horses for the Indians there. Brought the rest up here. Maybe some people wanted a horse, so they didn't kill that one, but kept it to ride. When those horses were all eaten up, some time, they would go down again.

When they had horses here, they would go down below Raymond to the valley for elk. There they would separate into two parties and go around in a circle. Maybe they would see the elk going ahead of them. The elk would go faster than the horses. So they didn't run after the elk, but went sideways to head them off; drove them, thus, in the direction they wanted. They could see a long way, for this was on the plain. They never chased the elk directly, but at an angle; made them go in the direction they wanted. Then they closed in on them. The riders had no saddles, only a little rope [a jáquima, presumably]. But they had guns. When they had caught up with the elk, they couldn't get away. When one tried to break through, a man would shoot it through the heart. Then they let it go. They would find it later. They had to attend to the others that weren't yet shot. Later, when all had been caught or had got away, they went back to find those that had been shot and left to fall. They left none of that meat there; it was all brought up here.

Such raids were made occasionally in the summer, possibly in the spring, but J.R. thinks only in the summer season.

Fishing

Chukchansi people used to go down to Gashowu and Kechayi territory [near Friant] to spear salmon on the San Joaquin River. They had their own fish camp, as had other tribes, right at the river. Salmon were always speared with a harpoon. J.R. did not know what was used for a point before nails were introduced; sharply filed nails are now used. In the harpoon, the point is loose in the shaft head but fastened to the pole with a string five or six feet long. When a fish is speared the point comes off the shaft head and the pole, remains in the fisher's hand. The pole (spear shaft or handle) was about six feet long. When the fish was pulled in, it was knocked on the head with a stone; then the forefinger was inserted in the wound and the toggle-point extricated.

When several men fished together they divided their catch at the riverbank; there might be about two fish to a man. The fish were run through the gills by a withe, which was then twisted onto itself and slung over the shoulder. At the camp a good coal fire was ready, and one salmon would be slit open and roasted for immediate eating: this would serve

[97] Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98] Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

four or five men. [No mention was made of a first salmon ceremony, but this may be what the informant, J.R., had in mind. -- A.H.G.]

The fish were dried at the camp. The implication is that men did all the work connected with salmon fishing, but it was not so stated. The fish were cleaned by slitting full length down to the backbone. For better drying, the flesh would be slit again so the sections would be thinner. As a supporting rack, slender sticks were laid across the lower limbs of trees or sturdy bushes. The fish were hung horizontally on these, the flesh hanging down each side. They were frequently turned around so the sun got at all parts. They were put in a sack [skin?] and packed home with a tumpline. A man carried about two hundred pounds of fish. At home, the fish were taken out and hung on sticks across the roof of the storehouse, so they would not spoil. Such dried salmon were eaten before they got too dry: "they don't keep all winter," said J.R.

Creek fish, trout, were stupefied with the leaves of a plant called s'ikahi that grows in the lower foothills. The bush is six to eight feet tall, has leaves round and a bit larger than elderberry leaves. These were pounded, mixed with mud, and tossed on the water of pools. "It makes the fish sick. It kills them." But it did not affect the quality or flavor of the food: "it doesn't get into the meat." When the fish come to the surface, "everybody" came out with baskets and dipped them up. "You get the basket right under them, throw them out." Sometimes men and women caught them with their hand [presumably when the fish were stupefied, not by underwater diving as described for more southerly Yokuts].

These fish were small, three to four inches. They were cooked in hot ashes (not coals), which cooks but does not burn them. Some fish were eaten at once, for supper, but the majority were dried for later use.

In preparation for drying they might be cooked first or not [perhaps depending on weather conditions], though usually they were not. When drying, they were laid out [cleaned?] on flat rocks and took two or three days to dry. "They are dry just like a cracker." As much as half a sack of these would be put away by a family for winter consumption. Enough for a meal was taken out, cooked in ashes, and then pounded up to be eaten with acorn mush. "They are a little bitter, not much, when you eat them." said J.R. [There was a suggestion, not clearly stated, that fish meat was dried, pounded, and put away like pemmican.]

In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which the fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep like that of the Wobonuch (see below). The Chukchansi also speared fish from a booth over the water such as Mayfield described for the Choinimni (see above).[99]

Firewood, Firemaking

Pine, oak, manzanita, chaparral, live oak, "any kind" of wood, was used for making fire, said N.W. To fell a tree, it was burned around its base. Baskets of water were kept at hand to control and eventually to quench the flames. No stone ax was used. Both sexes carried wood, which was bundled up with string and then ported by tumpline. A piece of flat bark was laid on the back and held in place by the load, to protect against bruising. A person could carry about five logs, four feet and eight inches in diameter, or more if the logs were smaller, N.W. thought.

Dead trees were felled by putting live coals at the base. When a tree burned through and fell, the fire was extinguished with earth. Logs were severed by burning through, leaving lengths suitable for transport. House, assembly, and sweat house fires were banked, so coals were readily available for relighting, said J.R.

Buckeye wood, for fire-drill hearths, was collected and stored. The fire drill [wood?] was worked in a hole at the edge of the hearth; the drill was rotated until smoke issued. [Continuing, or another method;] A piece of oak gall was set on the hearth and the drill rotated in it until it ignited. This was picked up and sparks from it were blown on dried grass or leaves. The process took two to five minutes. J.R. saw his father make fire this way; he himself never did it.

There is a growth on an oak tree "something soft and thick, maybe like rubber," which is essential in preparing fire, said N.W. This is laid on top of a buckeye board hearth, which in turn is laid over some plant material (mesini, wormwood) which has been dried and rubbed into powder. A buckeye (sic) drill is twirled between the hands on the hearth; both the oak growth and mesini catch fire. "It takes both to make the fire, neither one will ignite by itself." It took about thirty minutes to start a fire; it ignites suddenly "just like gas going off." Then the burning material was moved onto a rotten log, or whatever firewood was to be started. People who had no fire got it from this, took it to their own home. Ordinarily fire was got from neighbors, and it was only on rare occasions, when all fires had gone out, that firemaking operations were necessary.

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[99]Powers, 376.

STRUCTURES

Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick [number not mentioned]. The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old and very young men did not use it. Some men slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an example of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All informants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top [the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent], "so water couldn't come through."[101] About four horizontal withes were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of course, each side of the doorway. To these were lashed bunches of tarweed (a'mas, N.W.; tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and another pine growing at a higher altitude (inil, N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An additional bark covering was mentioned, but not described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and horizontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.]. Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also thatched, over the main roof. The door was just high enough for the average Chukchansi to walk through; tall people stooped. A door covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.] was leaned, not tied, against the door. It seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

The fire was placed about two feet inside the door so the smoke went up through the opening above it. The fire itself was small, mostly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log which extended out through the door, its tip in the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up as the tip burned away. About five feet back from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square or, really a three-sided rectangular form. These served to keep the pine-needle floor covering away from the fire, and also as sitting places. People sat on the logs, their feet toward the fire. People also slept with their feet toward the fire, lying back on the pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the grandfather," sat either side of the door to keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear center. Dogs were allowed in the house. Around the extreme back and sides were stored sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and possessions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with construction of a new house. The men secured the poles, dug the holes for them with digging sticks and set them up, while the women got the tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the thatching.

The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.--A special storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house, was built near the family home. One such storehouse might serve two or three adjacent houses occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on crosspoles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse was expected to serve at least one family throughout the winter. A large family with many children would be tided over lean periods by their neighbors, should their food become exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt every day, and women found late seeds, or some which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

[102]Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

J.R. described a granary covered with pine needles which shed water; the top was covered. The contents remained dry all winter. To get at the acorns a little hole was poked at the bottom which allowed them to drop into a sack or basket. This type of granary was used here (Chukchansi) and at Awa'ni· (Miwok).

MANUFACTURES AND UTENSILS

Baskets.--The following basket types were described and named by the informants N.W. and J.R. Cooking baskets (soiyun) were from 1 to 2 feet deep. Gift and washing baskets (ʼtewis) for the Mourning Ceremony were about 2 feet in diameter at the bottom, 3 feet in diameter at the top, about 3 feet deep. Small basket for pouring washing water (kʼolis ʼtewis) was said to be the same shape as the big basket. Winnowing trays (poʼo¹yi) were flat, circular. Burden baskets were 3 to 4 feet deep, of conical shape; carried by means of a tumpline 2 inches wide. Seedbeaters were about 10 inches across at widest part of their oval, four inches deep, and had a little handle.

Several Chukchansi objects appear in plate 1, Part I, which shows a Yokuts ethnographic collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These are the bowl-shaped coiled basket with feather and red wool ornamentation (toward upper right, second from top); the open boldly striped twine basket (left center) which was a strainer used when making manzanita cider.

Also Chukchansi are the six gambling sticks (bottom center) and the two pairs of hand-game bones lying at the tips of the Chukchansi arrows (bottom horizontal).

Cradles.--In N.W.'s house there is a grandson, Kenneth, about eight months old (1938). All the following information was derived from that situation, N.W. speaking, Lillian, the infant's mother, interpreting.

A baby's first cradle was not made until it was born "so they would know how big to make it." The work was done by the paternal grandmother. It took N.W. three days to make K.W.'s cradle, which is described below.

The first cradle was about 20 to 26 inches long, the back being a stiff twined frame, just as for the later cradles. The foundation was a single layer of sourberry-bush roots, twined with strips of roots of a water plant.[103] The horizontal twining was in groups of three rows. The foot end was left unfinished or covered with a piece of soft hide. The whole cradle was edged with a chaparral brush (Ceanothus?) binding, bound on with monoxil.[104]

[103]Roots of a river plant with sharp edges like grass, but no flower [carex?].

[104]A plant with purple flowers which "grows north some place" [redbud?].

The top was bound with the water plant root. About four inches from the top was a horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

The first cradle had a band hoop extending forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight; for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge of the frame with milkweed string. Large cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

[105]Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106]Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

Cordage and nets.--Milkweed plants were gathered when dry and the bark on the stem stripped off, said J.R. This is easily accomplished when the plants are dessicated. To spin this into string, two strands of the inner fibre were held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, while the loose ends were held on the left (sic) thigh under the palm of the right hand. As the right hand rolled the fibres forward, the left or gripping fingers twisted it along [in which direction?].

This string "never breaks"; long strings were made by tying short ones together.

The carrying net was made of milkweed twine. J.R. described it as "with strings at the four corners, by which it could be gathered together, to carry on the back by means of a tumpline." The net was made "by tying two strings to two sticks equal distances apart (to make a fabric 18 in. to 2 ft. wide) and tying other strings to these first two about 2 inches apart." (The recorder doubted that J.R. had seen a net made in many years.) [J.R. may have been describing the fine mesh bag of Miwok type, which may have been used by the Chukchansi rather than the coarser Yokuts type of carrying net.[107]]

According to N.W. a string called s'atip was made of the bark of "trees with yellow flowers, just like those apple trees, I think they are, straight, tall, with bunchy branches like almond trees." The flowers grow up the stem "just like hollyhocks, that size, but yellow." The bark was taken in two-inch strips off straight trees selected for the purpose. -- [Fremontia? -- A.H.G.]

Woven sacks were made in which pine nuts were stored, said N.W. These were made of milkweed string cloth, woven by the same technique "as the string that holds the baby in the cradle," and sewed up the sides. No dimensions were given; a big wide piece was woven (sic).[108]

Rabbitskin blankets.--Rabbitskins were torn into strips and woven into blankets almost as large as modern bed blankets. The feet and tails were fastened around the edge, said N.W. No informant could describe their manufacture. Such blankets were expensive and owners did not want to sell them. In sleeping, one lay under them, did not roll up. Not many rabbits were available at Coarse Gold; most were obtained in the foothills at the valley's edge, said J.R.

Woman's equipment.--The digging stick (č'opu¹) was 3 to 6 feet long and 1 to 2 inches in diameter, said N.W. (3 to 4 ft., 1 in., said J.R.). The wood, yellow and hard, was from a long straight limb of a tree growing more abundantly at North Fork than at Coarse Gold. (It was mountain mahogany, grew around Coarse Gold but not at higher altitudes, said J.R.) The limbs were straight, grew close to the ground. The point seldom became dull. The stick was operated with a paddling motion, the digger bending over; "sometimes one stood up but that was too tiring" (N.W.). All types of digging were accomplished with this instrument: for all root materials, postholes, graves.

Long poles for shaking down acorns were made of "peppermint wood." They were crooked at the end by heating and bending while pliable, said N.W.

Soaproot brushes were used for all brush requirements: hair brushes, sweeping up acorn meal at mortar holes, washing and scrubbing baskets, sweeping the house floor, etc. They were made in several sizes, from one foot wide down to little ones of one or two inches. About midsummer, July, women went out with digging sticks and obtained sackfuls of the soaproot plants. These were made up into brushes at once as they do not need to be dried. First the fibrous exterior was removed; then the bulbous interior was put on a bed of coals, buried, and left to roast at least half a day. When removed, the bulb is "like potatoes"; the skin will rub off. Actually the bulb is layered, onionlike, and the inside of each layer contains a soapy substance. Layer by layer the material was scraped off with the teeth (today a knife is used) and chewed. It turned white; it was then deposited in a basket to be used later as the platic handle of the brush.

The fibrous exterior was then taken. The bottom, coarser ends, which served as bristles, were pinched together firmly and bound between two sticks.[109] The upper end, which became the interior of the handle, was twisted tight, squeezed, and bound up. Two or three layers of root fibre were needed for an average-sized brush. All were bound firmly together, through and through. The binding cord was not specified; presumably it was milkweed string. Finally, the handle was wrapped round and round. Then the soapy plastic was smeared on; its gluey quality allowed it to be perfectly smoothed. The two sticks on the bristle end were still in place and by these the brush was hung up to dry, either in the sun or in the house. One week was needed for the complete hardening process.

Sometimes brushes were made from fibres of uncooked roots which were used for washing purposes; they have light-colored bristles. The bristles are said to turn dark in cooking. [But, above, they were also said to have been removed before cooking; an irreconcilable state-

[107]Barrett and Gifford state that a netted bag was used by the Central Miwok, and imply that a carrying net for large burdens was not employed (Miwok Material Culture, 247, 196).

[108]The technique for making tumplines was not described. Presumably it was like that of the Wukchumni (see fig. 13, Pt. I) particularly as the Miwok method is identical (ibid., pl. LXXVI). It would be possible to make a cloth in this manner, but further evidence is needed before N.W.'s statement can be credited. -- A.H.G.

[109]Barrett and Gifford illustrate soaproot brushes at this and other stages of manufacture (ibid., pl. XXXVI).

ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the handle was taken from another uncooked root.

Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head, baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes." [The inference is that some varieties of soaproot were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

Cooking stones were made of soapstone, said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used for cooking larvae and worms.[110]

Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Arrows were of an unidentified wood.[113] For the sinew-backed bow they were about two feet, six inches in length. Three split feathers were fastened on with wet sinew; these were slightly spiraled to make the flight straight.

The same type of bow and arrow was used for fighting as for hunting, said J.R. "You can't shoot very far with an arrow; it doesn't go straight. You have to shoot high, let it come down on the target. They can shoot farther but can't kill anything if it is very far off."

The recorder saw four arrowheads at the Wyatt's place. These were called flint, but Thrall thinks they were of obsidian.

Four Chukchansi arrows in the Peabody Museum (specs. 76475) are of cane with inserted foreshafts. Their dimensions are: (1) shaft, 26-1/2 in. plus 5-in. foreshaft; (2) shaft, 29-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (3) shaft, 30 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft; (4) shaft, 30-1/2 in. plus 7-in. foreshaft. Sinew wrappings on forward ends where foreshafts are inserted measured: (1) 1-1/4 in., (2) 1-1/4 in., (3) 1-1/2 in., (4) 1-1/2 in. Three vanes of feathers, not spiraled, on each arrow are trimmed straight off at the butt ends. They ride free from the arrowshaft except for the binding at each end; their free lengths are: (1) 2-1/2 in., (2) 2-1/2 in., (3) 3 in., (4) 3 in. All the shafts are 3/8 in. in diameter.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

Boats and weirs.--There were no boats or rafts for crossing rivers. Only in play would boys sometimes get logs, roll them in the water, and ride downstream on them.

In Chukchansi territory Powers saw fish weirs with inserted traps into which fish were driven from upstream by means of a brush sweep similar to that of the Wobonuch (fig. 3, b); see below. They also speared fish from a booth over the water like that described by Mayfield for the Choinimni.[114]

Money.--Several kinds of beads were shown Miss Thrall by N.W. and C.D. who said they were "grave beads" and named them as follows. The descriptions are Miss Thrall's.

šupna: cylindrical white bead, 1/4-in. long, same diameter, small hole through center. Said to be cut from a larger bead about an inch long. One bead [long or short?] was worth a

[113] From a bush which grows beside creeks, is something like willow, but has a nearly round serrated leaf. The wood is straight and tough. It is not common, just a few bushes grow near J.R.'s place. It grows about 8 feet tall "like an elderberry."

[114] Powers, Tribes of California, 376.

dollar:[115] The informants were uncertain about the material, merely saying that the beads were made far off at the ocean. Later N.W. said a string of these beads, which would encircle the flat hand, was worth 50 cents. This standard measurement of beads, the circumference of the flat hand, was called kelan or k'ečan.

hakemesha: darkish red, white center, 1/4-in. long, 1/8 in. in diameter, though Emma Pumpkin said they "used to be about 3 inches long". These were said to be of "a bone naturally white inside and red outside." Thrall thought they looked like china.

lišaniu: blue, looked like glass with cut facets. Informants claimed they were "some kind of bone that lives in the ocean" and that the facets were made by being cut with obsidian.

Unnamed: black inside, brownish red outside. Thrall thought these looked like baked clay. One was pinkish inside and speckled red outside, which the informant said happened when the bead was burned [fired clay or in cremation?]. These beads were pointed out as especially old.

A dark green bead which came from the sea was described by J.R. He said these were strung with long white beads in between "to make it pretty and hold the beads together." He said this cylindrical bead was a certain rabbit bone, long, straight, hollow, and white [possibly the clamshell hinge; possibly a local substitute. -- A.H.G.]. A length of bead money which was measured from the center of the wrist around the edge of the extended hand was worth a fixed sum. Such money, in definite units, was used to pay for baskets and for any object, services, etc. While goods were used for payments or for trade, money was the preferred tender.

Soapstone beads 1/2 to 3/8 in. in diameter and 1/8 in. or less long, with a 1/16-in. perforation, were "made in a belt" and traded for a basket, said M. M. had ten such beads she had found on the ground around Picayune. She did not know how they were made, but claimed they were native. [Perhaps these beads were worked into belts like those of Yokuts to the south; perhaps however, M. really meant strings of bead money. -- A.H.G.]

Tobacco.--Old people watched for the tobacco plants to ripen. When full grown but still green, the leaves were gathered, dried out somewhat; it remained a greenish color. The leaves were stored in a dry place, a little being taken out to smoke as wanted. "It smelled pretty near like white [man's] tobacco," said J.R. A tobacco of sweeter variety than that at Coarse Gold was said to grow farther north.

Cakes of tobacco were made from the dried leaves, pulverized and mixed with water. These little biscuits were two or three inches across, took about one week to dry out on rocks. This type of tobacco was eaten with powdered oystershell lime. The shells came from Friant (Dumna, Gashowu territory) where they grew abundantly along the river.

Old people made a practice of eating tobacco and lime frequently. They would gather at various houses. The host had the tobacco and shells. The shells he put on hot coals where they "softened" and "burned black." The shells were crushed in a small mortar, and an equal amount of cake tobacco was added, the whole pulverized together and enough water added to make a thin soup. The pestle, which was about six inches long and one inch thick, remained in the mortar as it was passed around. Each guest took a lick off the pestle, the host receiving it last. As the old people sat around, one might say to the person partaking, "How's that? Sleep well tonight!" The partaker might commence to hiccough. He'd say, "One more." The mortar was at once passed to him; he might want three or four more mouthfuls. When he had enough to make him vomit he went out, went off a little way, vomited, and continued home where he "slept all night."[116] It was done about every three days.

Old men and women used tobacco this way. A young man might try it, as did J.R. in his youth. But a young woman, up to middle age, would not take it. N.W., too, had tried it and like it: "it tasted good, it tasted like pine nuts."

Elderly men and women indulged in smoking more than young ones, usually just before retiring. However, one could smoke any time if he wanted to. A man would carry a small buckskin pouch "a little bigger than a store Durham tobacco sack" which contained crushed leaf tobacco and his little pipe. J.R. said an inveterate smoker, like his father, would carry a small firemaking set with him consisting of hearth, drill, and oak gall. One smoked by taking two or three puffs and then laying the pipe aside: "they don't smoke like this white, smoke it all out," said J.R. Clay pipes were not made, just wooden ones, of manzanita "which has the same hardness all the way through." A stem about an inch in diameter was cut to the desired length (2 to 2-1/2 in.) and scraped down, tapering toward the mouth end. This was slow work, took two or three days. The larger end for the bowl was scraped out and finally a hole punched through to the bowl from the mouth end. J.R. knew only of using a piece of hot iron, like a nail, for punching the hole. [Presumably, in old times an obsidian drill point was used. -- A.H.G.]

[115] An exorbitant sum, perhaps named in the hope that Thrall was going to buy. The impression is made that none of these informants knew anything about bead money. Their statement that the obviously Spanish beads came from the ocean is entirely reasonable since that was the aboriginal source for all bead money, and Spanish beads came via the same trade route in native hands. -- A.H.G.

[116] Neither informant mentioned the inducement of dreams as the motive for this practice, the usual motive of Yokuts farther south. Wizards could be detected by a tobacco-eater, Kroeber states (Handbook, 538). The Miwok used the tobacco and lime emetic, apparently without religious connotations (Barrett and Gifford, 195).

A short-lived pipe of elderwood could be quickly made by removing the pith, work of a few moments. There are no wooden pipes about today, said N.W., because a man's possessions were always burned at his death.

N.W. has a pipe, which Thrall could not positively identify as of clay or of soapstone. Its weight was in favor of clay, as was its form and appearance: N.W. contended that it was soapstone, which in the past was used for pipes more than wood. N.W. found the pipe in the garden of her present home at Picayune; it lay under an apple tree; at first glance she "thought it was a big acorn."

Thrall concluded it was pottery, saying: "The pipe looks as if made of clay, by the process described in Gayton's pottery-making paper. It is brown-gray in color -- dark gray with a brownish tinge on smooth parts of the surface, slightly reddish brown on one side." Claiming that it was of soft stone like the cooking stones, N.W. said Lillian's great-grandmother, who was a Chukchansi and lived in this neighborhood, used to make stone pipes. She said the stone became hard after being fired: that it was allowed to "cook" a long time. N.W. called tobacco baˊʼom, the pipe šokut.

Cigarettes were in common evidence by the early 1870's, at least on important occasions.[117]

Gum.--Green milkweed plants were pulled up and the leaves stripped off, said J.R. This caused the milklike fluid to run down the stalk. The stripper held a lump of mud in his hand and, rubbing this, up and down the stalk, collected the gummy juice. When enough had been accumulated, the lump was immersed in a spring or creek, where the sticky juice clung together and the mud dissolved and washed away. The lump of gum was chewed for pleasure, like modern chewing gum.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

"Some people would have children right away after marrying and some would wait longer. Some people would wait for years," said N.W.[118]

One abortive, so-called, was known. A woman who did not want an offspring would drink a decoction of boiled mistletoe. It was bitter. This killed the embryo, or perhaps was thought to cause sterility, for the informant claimed "nothing came out" as a result of drinking the medicine. A shaman's help was never sought for abortion.

Some women had a child every year. Of twelve or thirteen births only "one, maybe six, maybe nine" would live to become adults. Some died in infancy, a disaster blamed on evil shamans.

There were few cases of sterility: "most people who married had children; some didn't."

Birth took place in the dwelling, not in a special structure, said N.W. Normally, the woman's mother and sister or an aunt helped her; her mother-in-law might also do so. No men nor childless women were allowed in a house where a birth was taking place. [The birth procedure was not described.]

If parturition was difficult, scrapings from a bear's claw were put in water for the woman to drink, and the decoction was also rubbed on her head and hands. N.W. said this was "better than a doctor." It was a common practice; the scrapings might be got at any time from someone who had killed a bear and would then be kept on hand for use as needed. J.R. said that when a bear was killed some man, not a shaman, would get a claw. He would keep it, hang it up to dry, until it was needed to help some woman in childbirth. If labor was unduly delayed, the claw would be got, scraped into a basket of water. The parturient drank this decoction, and immediately the baby came. It was thought that the bear-claw drink so frightened the infant that it came out at once. This medicine was never used for any other purpose.

Another method to help difficult labor was to hold scorched whippoorwill feathers (wulˊwul, whippoorwill) under the woman's nose.[119]

The baby was bathed at once in wormwood water. The first cradle was not ready, but was started as soon as the paternal grandmother got the baby's size. The cradle-making took about three days. The umbilical cord was buried.[120]

Naming.--"It was one year or so, sometimes longer, before a young couple had their first baby. There were more children then [in old times] than now," said N.W. Neither sex was preferred.

The infant was named shortly after birth, according to N.W., and kept that name throughout life. The paternal grandmother usually selected the name, which would be one from the father's side of the family. If the person for

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[117] Powers, 389.

[118] If this means that some couples voluntarily denied themselves sexual relations, it is significant as being similar to a practice of the Yumans and Eastern Mono (Forde, Ethnography of the Yuma Indians, 156; Steward, Panatübiji, 187); there is no hint of unnatural sex abstention from Yokuts to the south. -- A.H.G.

[119] The bird, later identified as whippoorwill, was described as follows. "It is a brown bird a little smaller than a pigeon, but with a big mouth. The color is like dirt; you don't see it. It swallowed a deer once. It is speckled white, just a little. It has short legs. When it flies it makes a noise like wal-will (♩♩♩). It doesn't make a whirring noise with its wings when it starts to fly but is silent like other birds. It flies in the evening, not much in the day. It has black legs and beak. It stands 5 inches or so tall."

[120] Kroeber, Handbook, 499.

whom the baby was named was dead -- and names of dead relatives were often given -- a large feast was supplied by the paternal family. When the name was announced, everyone present cried; then they feasted and rejoiced. If the mother had died in childbirth, the grandmother might name the baby, if a girl, for her; everyone would cry at this. If the person whose name was chosen was alive, no feast was held, nor, of course, was there weeping.

Children were named [by whom?] at about the age of one year, said J.R. The name endured for life. Sometimes an aunt or another relative would bestow her own name on the infant. In such circumstances the name was not tabu after the death of this relative; normally the name of a dead person was not mentioned. Also, usually, names were individual, so the name tabu caused no awkwardness.

A certain woman was nicknamed "skunk" because she quarrelled all the time. The name had no totemic or dream reference. [Is this use of "skunk" possibly white?]

Mother's cleansing ceremony.--About one month after the birth of the first child (but not after subsequent births) a celebration was held for the mother by both parental families, said N.W. A special three-pole structure had been built and covered with blankets (sic; mats?) within which the woman's mother-in-law made a round hole about two feet deep and the same in diameter. Hot rocks, about three, were put in the bottom and over this a filling of wormwood. Then the young mother was placed on this to "steam"; the steam filled the little hut "and made the woman well." Inside with her were her mother and her sister or, if these were lacking, an aunt or cousin: whoever was the girl's closest female relative. The girl's mother was continuously cooking acorn meal. The other woman assisted the young mother. They all remained in there about an hour.

Outside the shelter relatives and friends were assembling. Two fires were lighted, at which the paternal and maternal families were preparing food for feasting. Gifts of food, baskets, and other treasures had been assembled by both parties. The girl's mother, relatives, and friends "covered the tent (shelter) with cooking baskets (soyun) and blankets for the husband's mother." Her father called the husband's parents to come get those things. After taking off these objects, the husband's mother replaced them with washing baskets, blankets, money, meat (one sack of dried rabbit). Then the wife's father took these things away. When he returned, he got his daughter who was still within the shelter, picked her up and set her on her feet. A large washing basket ('tewis) full of boiled wormwood liquid was brought, and with a smaller basket (k'olis 'tewis) the husband's mother poured the liquid over her daughter-in-law to cleanse her: "so she wouldn't be ashamed, bashful." Other women relatives of the man's family did the same for the wife's attendants (mother and sister) who had been in the shelter with her. Then the man's mother gave the washing baskets to the wife's mother, who poured out the liquid and took them home. At the same time the man's mother was presented with a large gift basket filled with the acorn mush which the wife's mother had prepared in the steaming shelter. This the man's mother took away to eat with her visitors.

After the bath the young mother was arrayed in all her finery. She wore a deerskin apron, and strings of beads around her waist, neck, and forehead. On her wrists she had bracelets of rabbitskin [sic; probably a more valued fur, possibly even weasel or otter skin to prevent magic intrusion of sickness. -- A.H.G.]. The two women relatives of the girl were also dressed in their best. It is not stated that the girl's mother-in-law provided the girl's attire, though such was normally Yokuts custom.

Then the paternal grandmother bathed the baby with wormwood liquid. The maternal grandmother received the washing basket. Like his mother, the infant was dressed in ornaments. He was shown to all the visitors.

A further exchange of gifts took place. The young mother's family had assembled quantities of acorn meal, seeds, manzanita berries, etc., while the young father's family had provided meat and baskets. The paternal and maternal grandmothers then told each other that they had these gifts, and to go get them and take them home.[121]

Then feasting commenced around the two families' fires, which were not far apart. The young mother's family entertained all her relatives and friends who had come to celebrate with her, while her husband's family did the same for him. The young man's family feasted on the acorn meal provided by his wife's family, while the girl's family enjoyed the meat provided by her husband's father. However, both groups had acorn meal, seeds, meat, manzanita cider, etc., to compose a full menu for feasting.

Today gifts are given at a child's birth, e.g., money, bead belts. But, inferentially, the cleansing ceremony for the mother is omitted. The interpreter L.W., herself a young mother, said, "I guess that's why we all get skinny now when they don't do that to us," at which N.W. and L.W. both laughed.[122]

[121]It is not meant, of course, that recipients trotted home with each set of gifts exchanged. It can be assumed that, if the man's parents came from another village, they did not go home until after the affair was over. "Home" in such a case merely means their quarters or camp in the village they were visiting.

[122]The meat tabu for a new mother is not mentioned, but it is implied in the subsequent feasting and in L.W.'s remark: some form of ill-health was thought to result from carelessness in such matters (cf. Wukchumni).

Childhood

Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if for some reason they could not be nursed, said N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel (warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth, as it was thought to aid the production of milk. She did not resume a full normal diet until about two months had passed. She could, however, have quail soup, which was also a special infant's preparation.

Quail soup might be given an infant two or three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it," though usually it was not given until the child had reached the age of at least two months. The purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the child will walk early. A bird was pounded up and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm broth given the baby.

Children nursed several years. Though nursing was supplemental to the basic diet after the age of three to five years, they might continue to take the breast, evidently as a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years. Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who had been out hunting, would come home and go to the mother's breast, as would girls of equal age, said N.W. From two years on, children were permitted to have any type of food they cared for and could manage. From a month on a baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing amounts. To start the child on solid food the mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it to the young one. "They look at the mother, then open their mouths, just like little birds." After the meat the child would have acorn gruel, the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips. By the age of five the child could hold its own basket when drinking from it. Sometimes children were given ground rabbit meat, but it was thought to make them lazy.

When children were old enough to talk, they were trained to go outside to urinate [they were in the cradle a good part of the time up to two years of age, of course]. If they did not learn readily, a medicine was prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?]. This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure [informant could not elucidate]. A child would be about five or six when this was done; "accidents" occurred as late as the age of thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

When a child was too slow learning to walk, the mother or someone of the family would hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed with it. If the little one looked back and showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks away. After that he keeps right on walking [sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her grandchildren?].

Small children went naked, but those of good family, i.e., not lazy, might have skins fixed as clothing. By the age of fourteen [both sexes?] clothing was worn. It was about 1890 that European clothing was put on children.

Up to the age of eight or nine children played around, in and out of the house, with some, but not entire, irresponsibility. Both sexes played together in the family, even when older, but large numbers of village children tended to play in groups aligned by sex. Apparently it was the effect of numbers and the differing interests of boys and girls, rather than formality, which determined this separation. N.W. did not know of any special, e.g., plural, form of address between the sexes.

Little boys of six to ten would stay at home, would help carry wood and do odd jobs for their mothers or other people at home. Little girls of that age helped care for the tiny children. Children of both sexes at about this age (six to ten) would be taken out by older boys who were hunting to pack home the load. Sometimes the woodrats, squirrels, and birds would be tied around their wrists and waists, the loads would be too heavy, the rodents' fleas would bite them, and they would all cry. The little ones were always relatives of the bigger ones they were helping. When a father was late getting home with food, the children would be hungry and cry.

From about ten or eleven on boys and girls were taught the useful pursuits of their fathers and mothers. A man took his son out to hunt, provided him with better weapons as he became more skillful, showed him how to care for the game they killed, make bows and arrows, and collect pine nuts. A woman showed her daughter how to pound acorns, gather seeds, berries, and dig roots. She instructed her in their uses and treatment after gathering. A girl did not learn to sift meal, a more skillful task, or to cook until she was about fourteen. The art of basketmaking was begun from about ten years on.

Parents made their children learn whether they wanted to or not [by what means?]. The constant admonition was, that if they failed to learn they would go hungry in later life.

Old or childless persons also taught their young relatives how to do things. Particularly, old people taught songs and stories.

Some children had dreams of supernatural significance, but normally a person did not commence shamanistic efforts until fully adult.

During these years of learning, say ten to fifteen, arrangements for marriage would be made by the parents. A girl's "bride price" would be accepted by her mother, a young man's future wife paid for by his father, and both young persons were then told of and entreated to accept the union. Actual marriage did not take place until the girl was nearly twenty, however.

After a girl had reached adolescence, she stayed close to home or companions. Undesired sexual intercourse was feared, and the independent attentions of young men were discouraged, apparently. A girl was expected to remain in the heart of her family "until her mother-in-law came after her."

"The mother would tell the girl about having babies when she was small," said N.W. [Presumably the lore, so to say; there was no concealment of sex in this intimately housed society. -- A.H.G.]

Marriage

Arrangements for matrimony were normally made by a young man's parents. Sometimes a man could buy a baby girl for a future wife; when she matured, she would have to marry him. Shamans frequently secured women merely by threatening them with sickness or death.

A boy's family would decide upon a girl for their future daughter-in-law -- the mother's choice, usually. The girl would be the same age as the youth or a bit younger; she might be thirteen or fourteen years old. These young persons had to marry whether they wanted to or not, said N.W. (Yet her own experience makes it clear there were exceptions. Perhaps if her parents had been living, she would have had to marry the man she refused.) Money and other gifts were bestowed on the girl's family by the boy's parents. By accepting or even touching these the girl bound herself to marry the young man. The average amount of money paid for a girl, whether by parents or a man acting for himself, was 20 strings of the long cylindrical beads called humna; these totaled about 120 individual beads, each string being the length of the circumference of a hand. If the girl's family wished to withdraw from the agreement before the wedding, they were expected to return the money and other gifts. However, sometimes it happened that the money could not be returned "even if they did ask, because it was already spent."

In N.W.'s case, a man had given clothes, beads, rings, and baskets for her, which her elder sister, in lieu of parents, had accepted. These N.W. refused to touch. She knew what kind of a man he was: "he had been married before and all." She would have to marry him if she had taken any of those things. The man's mother then tried to take back the things, but N.W.'s sister declined to return them claiming "it was the man's and mother's own fault, because the man had given them to Nancy, but she wouldn't take them, wouldn't touch them." Meanwhile N.W. married another man named Mike. Then the rejected man's mother came and tried to take N.W. away. N.W. said "she was scared but didn't go."[123]

Something of a wedding ceremony took place in the form of the usual Yokuts feast. The groom's father [and presumably his male relatives] went hunting until they had a large quantity of meat. The bride's mother [and relatives ?] pounded acorn meal, cooked this and other seed foods. On the day of the celebration the groom's father brought the meat already cooked, and other gifts of beads and baskets, and in return received from the bride's mother the cooked meal and baskets. Then they all feasted, but each family ate in its own group. "Then the man would take the girl to live with his mother." (J.R. said residence was matrilocal for the first year or two after marriage.)

When a girl married, she went to live in her husband's home: her mother-in-law came after her. Thereafter the daughter-in-law was, so to say, the housekeeper in that family. Her mother-in-law devoted more time to making baskets and only occasionally assisted at pounding acorns or with other labors. The bride, if properly trained for her domestic tasks at home, was competent to assume her duties in her husband's household without directions from his mother. It was she, for example, who said when acorns were to be pounded, food gathered, and so on. When there were several daughters-in-law in one family they shared the work, but it was the young woman who had priority in marrying into the family who directed the others. The mother-in-law was always helpful, advised her daughter-in-law: "she was just like her own mother."

Concerning residence after marriage, there was a difference of opinion; J.R. claimed that it was matrilocal. Perhaps this is a reflection of his Miwok background; perhaps both customs were followed by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts. His information on marriage follows.

A girl lived with her mother, father, and old people, i.e., in the normal family group. She would begin talking about how she would like a certain young man to come live with them. The youth's father then would bring gifts of baskets, beads, etc., [The intervening events, inferentially an understanding between the two young people, was not explained.] He would talk to the girl's mother, saying that they would like their son to live with her daughter. "That is all. They just offered some good baskets and got the girl."

The young man came to live with the girl in her home; they stayed there "a long time." Then perhaps they would move to live with the

[123] The situation is not entirely clear. Evidently the suitor presented the gifts but did not reclaim them, or claim Nancy, until after she had married Mike. Yet it had been apparent from the outset that she would not accept his gifts or him.

young man's family. Even after children were born, they would still live in a family home, not their own.

When people married there was no ceremony, said J.R., but qualified it with the amendment that sometimes they [which family, both ?] gave a little feast for which deer meat was especially obtained.

Some people married within the tribe, some outside, N.W. said. No couple who considered themselves related would marry. Bonds of relationship were equally strong on paternal and maternal sides of a family; the father knew who his relatives were, the mother hers, and prevented their offspring from making mistaken alliances. N.W. categorically stated that relatives never eloped, nor did a girl ever get married "by herself," i.e., without the ramifications of family consent and gifts from the suitor's family.

Today the young people have marriage connections with relatives that would not have been countenanced in the past [first, second, and third cousin marriage, probably. -- A.H.G.], and often a girl gets married "by herself" without the consent of her family.

Moieties, Eagle and Coyote, regulated marriage for the Chukchansi and for the tribes at Friant, said J.R. The levirate was not practiced, he thought; he never knew any man who married his dead brother's wife: "they didn't do that."

The informant N.W. stated that there was no divorce, but instantly contradicted herself saying, "If a man is good, and stays with his wife, they stay together always. If they are bad, and want to go away, they don't live together. They can both marry someone else. That was all right." Stepchildren were thought to belong to the second union, not to the first; the spouse who runs away leaves the children behind. If a parent of a stepchild returned and claimed him, the child might recognize the legitimate parent as such and go with him. (This appears to be on the volition of the child rather than on that of either of its biological parents.) When a deserted woman remarried, her children by her first husband behaved toward their stepfather as they would to their actual father.

A widow did not inherit her husband's possessions: his things were divided among his children.

<u>Parent-in-law tabu</u>.--A man never speaks to his mother-in-law, said J.R., or a girl to her father-in-law. If it is absolutely necessary that they converse, a plural form is used. With a parent-in-law of the same sex, speech is permissible but restrained, i.e., conversation is confined to only such speech as is necessary.

Death

When a person was about to die and nothing further could be done to save him, his attendants raised him up a little bit, said J.R. Then when he expired they said, "Now, that's the last breath. Lay him down." Many people were around watching. Immediately these spectators burst into tears and their crying was continued for two days. "A big bunch of people comes, looks at the corpse's face, then cries three or four minutes. Then a relative tells them to go sit down -- take a rest. No one sings at this time."

According to N.W., at a death the whole tribe assembled. The corpse was not dressed, but wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and adorned with a bead belt and necklaces. All the people who came sang, wailed, and danced continuously for three days and nights.[124] Alternate periods of rest and activity lasted about thirty minutes. There were four official singers who sang the same songs over and over. The dancers moved, sexes mixed but not holding hands, in a single file with high stamping step around the corpse, crying as they moved.

In earlier times cremation was done; by the time N.W. was a little girl burial was the established practice [probably about 1860, after white influx. -- A.H.G.] Only those dying of snake-bite or by violence were cremated, according to Powers.[125] The old cremation place was g'o'wo'neu (on Coarse Gold Creek near the present power house). It was said the ashes were not buried, "just left there for the wind to blow away."

Since burial became the practice, the graves have always been made in the present cemetery. These were never far from the village to which the dead had belonged. The grave was about two feet deep; with digging sticks it took at least one day to excavate. The cavity was not lined.

After the body was put in the grave, its clothes and possessions were added. Gifts from relatives and friends, usually baskets, were added, the baskets being placed one over the head, another over the feet, and little ones along the body. These were always deliberately despoiled by cutting. Then loose beads were scattered over all. There was no special song for burial; the same as that of mourning was sung while the mourners cried and "danced" around the grave. The grave was then filled with earth.

Cremation was the normal disposal of the dead in old times, according to J.R. Nevertheless he continued his discussion with references to interment, perhaps unconscious that he

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[124]The corpse was kept but one night, then carried to its pyre on a litter handled by 4 men, according to Kroeber (Handbook, 499).

[125]P. 383.

was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

Many people feared to approach a graveyard, especially at night, for they said they could see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means of a hot coal stick.[127] They also put pine pitch on their cheeks:[128] a little near the nose for temporary grief, larger amounts for greater mourning, and a deeply devoted woman kept a bit in front of each ear for the rest of her life. A mixture of charcoal and water was put on the face about every two weeks during the year of mourning by those excessively grieved. These indulgences were by women; men did not observe mourning with these symbols. They evidenced grief by playing the musical bow, says Kroeber.[129] Neither sex had any special mourning garb, nor were clothes torn or bodies mutilated.

During the period of mourning, between the time of death and the next annual mourning ceremony, the bereaved relatives did not participate in any ceremonies or festivities. If they attended at all, they came as unobtrusive onlookers.

Inheritance of such possessions as were not deposited with the dead was from parent to child: a wife did not inherit her husband's possessions. They were divided equally among his children without regard to age or status.

Omens of death.--Several items which may be classed as omens were mentioned in course by the informants N.W. and J.R. as follows.

When a dog chokes on something and wheezes, someone in the family, probably the dog's owner, is dying.

If a fox howls at dusk, just before sundown, a woman is dying. This omen is still regarded as true. J.R. had a more elaborate rendering of this belief. He said news of a distant death was portended by the barking of a fox at sundown. Perhaps in a certain village, it would be known that someone in another village five or six miles away was very ill. When the fox barked, it was realized that the person was dead or would be dead before morning. Probably the very next day a messenger would come announcing the death, and people would dress up and go over to mourn. These foxes, which are not uncommon in the locality, are shy and never seen in the daytime. Just how they learned the esoteric news which they signaled, J.R. could not explain.

When the "billy-owl" (brown owl) hoots at night, it is telling that someone is dying and even says who it is.

A coyote will howl whenever someone dies, but this omen is not infallible at night, "because at night they usually howl anyway."

A pestle should not be left in a mortar hole. If a woman leaves one there, her brother, or even her son, will be killed: "some enemy might cut them up or something."

A modern belief is that if a rooster crows at midnight "someone is being cut up." This omen is so disliked that the offending fowl is

[126]Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

[127]Kroeber states that the singeing was controlled "with a natural comb of tumu, which has close-set parallel branches" (Handbook, 519).

[128]Mentioned also by Kroeber (ibid., 500).

[129]Ibid., 542.

immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a woman is dying.

A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

Afterworld.--The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul or shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals. [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

Each captain had an official messenger, called winaˊtum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be here that [specified] day. Maybe in two or three days." The messenger did not stay down there; he came back the same day. He could not say that the event was to be a mourning ceremony (or whatever it was to be) but just told the people to be there at the proper time. The captain told them what it was to be when they got there, maybe that night.[130] Nevertheless, people usually found out before they came what it was they were going to. "Everybody finds out some way, some place. Then they commence talking about it all over."

Moiety and Totemic Animals

The Chukchansi were divided into two groups, Eagle and Coyote, said J.R.: they are not the same kind, but two kinds, like the French and the Dutch. Later he said, "It is just like white man's parties, Democrat and Republican, just two names of it. That's all." Some Chukchansi were of one moiety, some of the other. So were the people at Friant (Gashowu). This division regulated marriage: an Eagle man had to marry a Coyote woman, and vice versa. Today this regulation is not always followed. (N.W. alone maintained that persons with the same totem could marry.) Children belonged to their father's moiety, although matrilocal residence prevailed the first years of marriage. If a woman had more than one husband, the children followed their biological father's moiety.

The two moieties had the usual Yokuts names, Nutuwus and Toxilewis, each with its symbolic or totemic animals. These animals were limited to four: coyote, bluejay, eagle, and bear. ("There is one woman called 'Skunk'", said N.W., "but that is a nickname because she quarrels all the time. It is not like a person having Bear or Eagle.") Two animals were assigned to each division and both were paternally inherited by a member of that division. Said N.W., "It is like children having the father's name the white way." These animals are not the ones people dream about; they could dream about any others [including these?--A.H.G.]

The moiety name Nutuwus meant mountainward, uphill, or upstream; Toxilewis meant valleyward, downhill, or downstream. There was disagreement between informants as to the animals assigned to each division, thus:

[130]It is possible that there was some misunderstanding between the informant, interpreter, and recorder. That is, just possibly J.R. meant that the people in the invited tribe did not get the details of the information from the messenger but from their own captain, who would announce it that evening, an interpretation in accord with Yokuts practice. Also in accord with Yokuts practice would be the repetitious announcement by the host captain at the time the guests arrived. -- A.H.G.

Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	coyote, "because he lives up in the mountains" eagle bear	bluejay, "he lives down in the valley"
S.B	eagle coyote	bluejay bear
J.R.	coyote deer	eagle bear bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant	Nutuwus	Toxilewis
N.W.	Nancy Wyatt Mike Wyatt Nancy's father	Nancy Wyatt Susie Brown Chicago Dick
S.B.	Mike Wyatt	
J.R.	Jack Roan	

Although J.R. said moiety division was not followed in playing games, N.W. spoke of a game in which a child must tell his family's totemic animal [to choose sides ?]. In this connection, she said their father would tell them what their animals are: Coyote, Bear, or some other. The animal is referred to as one's "dog." See also the spear-throwing game described by M.N.

For the Eagle moiety, at least, there was a weeping ceremony at which the totemic bird was redeemed.

The terms Nutuwus and Toxilewis were also freely applied to persons with reference to their geographical location, i.e., a person from the valley on coming up into the hills was called toxilewis by the Chukchansi and would be so called even if he went on up beyond them into territory which was directionally nutuwis. In the same way, a native from the north or mountainward from the Chukchansi was called nutuwus. When the terms were applied to the Chukchansi themselves, however, the reference was always to the inherited moiety.

"Long ago," said N.W., "when people started, those names came to be used. The people kept on growing in numbers. Nowadays, young people have mostly forgotten about their names, won't ask what they are, don't know them."

Redemption of totem animal.--When a man of the Eagle moiety gets a young eagle he "packs it on his back like a baby," said J.R. He takes it to another place, "where they are crying for the eagle." These people pay well for the young bird with beads, acorns, sourberries, and manzanita berries.

Pets.--Bear cubs were not raised by anyone, said J.R. Young eagles were captured in their nests before they could fly. The birds were fed and reared, and were eventually used in the redemption or weeping ceremony.

A man who had a bear for a pet [a living animal or a tutelary "pet" ?] was heard of by M.W., but he had never seen him. He was told that, "if you said 'Bear' to that man, he would always holler." M.W. thought this was due to dreaming.

MOURNING CEREMONY

The accounts of the three informants differ so much that it does not seem wise to combine them to make a single picture of the Mourning Ceremony. Summarizing comments will be made at the end of this section.

A terminal mourning ceremony was held a year after a person's death, said N.W. This rite was sponsored by the deceased's relatives. Should there be no actual relatives, probably a very rare situation, there would be no ceremony. On the other hand, a person who dwelled with or had been cared for by an unrelated family would be mourned by that family. If the deceased were an extremely old person, and none of his age mates or parents (sic) were living, the burning of gifts, and even the fire, would be omitted.

The ceremony lasted six days. On the morning of the sixth day, about 2 to 4 a.m., offerings [of baskets and other valuables] were

burned. Then the active mourners, but not others, had the charcoal washed off their faces with a solution of wormwood. Thereafter they did not think of the dead or cry again. Games and dancing were enjoyed that day; everyone was happy.

Only people whose relatives had died a year or more ago, attended a mourning ceremony, said M.N., herself a professional mourner. A death was not so noticed until a full year had passed; moreover, each death was individually celebrated even when several deaths occurred within the same family. Deaths occurring even within a week of each other were individually recognized. Hence the mourning ceremonies took place at various times throughout the year, as opposed to the annual group ceremony made by Yokuts to the south.

At the ceremony, only the relatives of the deceased participated in the marching "dance," although everyone present wept. Two men would sing. The mourners, carrying baskets aloft, marched twice around a central fire, then cast them in. "This is like giving them to that dead person."

The chief of the mourning family's community decided the time for this ceremony "whether they wanted it or not." About one year after a death the chief would say that it was time to have the Mourning Ceremony, said J.R. Everyone came to see the affair, but a widow had to stay close to her own house until the final crying was over. When the people came, they cried for perhaps one night. After that, everyone was permitted to have a good time. This normal freedom was enjoyed until there was another death in the community. When this occurred, all citizens were expected to maintain a decorous mien, to refrain from participation in singing and dancing until the chief declared it time -- several months later -- to hold the Mourning Ceremony. [Such a general proscription was not enforced or, apparently, expected in any Yokuts or Mono group to the south. The Chukchansi communities were small and closely knit by blood, which may explain this general tabu. -- A.H.G.]

The captains (chiefs) would plan the big time, supply the food, and have their people cook it. They had three chiefs here, at one time; two were brothers. Sloknič and his brother, and Dawil, of Picayune, apparently. These three would discuss the coming affair: "They planned that it should be well done, what people outside the tribe to invite. They would send a man down to Picayune to invite them to come."

When a large assemblage was to be fed, as at the Mourning Ceremony, it was necessary to plan for and provide in advance great quantities of food. To do this the host chief would call a meeting to discuss it: he would have a big supper at that time. After the supper the chief addressed the assembled people. He would say, "You people right here now, you want to listen to what I am going to do. I am going to talk tonight, so that you will know when this ceremony is to be. All of you right here now, listen to what I say."

Then he told them, talked a little while, not very long. Then he explained about the deer hunter, a man who had dreamed about Deer. "Here's a man. He can get all the deer we want. I am going to have him go up in the mountains, not very far. He can get all the meat we want. He will." Then he told the man how many days he would have in which to get enough meat for two or three hundred people, possibly even more.

The man went off, and after he had been gone two or three days another man [an official messenger ?] would go up to see how much meat was on hand. He would stay up there overnight with the hunter. He would say; "My captain sent me here to see how many deer you've got already?" The hunter would reply, "Well, you can see that, all those hanging up there. About ten maybe." "Well, I came up here to tell you you have two more days to hunt. After you have hunted two more days, then they are going to send somebody up here to haul all the deer down to the village. When, at that time, they take all the deer meat you have killed, the time left will be pretty short for you to get down there yourself. In about two days, by the time you get down there, perhaps they will have commenced eating. All the people will be there to eat those deer. Already they will be eating this deer meat with the acorns the women have been cooking, when you get down there." The messenger stayed up there that night.

Meanwhile the visitors were being invited. J.R. maintained that, in going to announce the coming celebration to the tribe which was to participate as "washer," the messenger did not take any gifts: "He just tells them they have so many days to come up here." J.R. further stated that the visitors did not bring any gifts to the host: "They just come and eat what the captain has ready for them." They do bring money, baskets, and other valuables with them, but these are for personal use, for paying gambling debts, or to pay a doctor if they should fall ill, etc. [It appears that the extensive money-lending, concomitant to mourning ceremonies of Yokuts to the south, was not practiced here. -- A.H.G.]

Tobacco-sipping was publicly indulged in as a preliminary of the ceremony witnessed by Powers.[131]

A rectangular dance space, surrounded by open brush booths which housed the bereaved and the visitors, was set aside for the affair.[132]

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[131]P. 387.

[132]Ibid., 385.

The Chukchansi at Picayune were the ceremonial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

They would play for a week, in the old times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

Dancing was the chief form of entertainment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

During all this time there were Indian "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be examined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomushim."[135]

Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers witnessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

<u>Football</u>.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take [kick ?] it to the opposite goal.[138]

<u>Hoop and pole</u>.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

<u>Hand game</u>.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

[133]Ibid., 384-391.

[134]Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135]Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136]Powers, 388.

[137]Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138]Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of onlookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

Shinny.--In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.--A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

Shell dice game.--A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.--A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

Spear-throwing game.--A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it, stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Ahwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

[139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

Dancing

No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

[141]The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo [or at Ahwahnee ?], another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

Several anecdotes of illness were told by N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[142]Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 381).

Subsequent to his death N.W. bore three offspring all of whom lived.

These children, at the time Xatali killed them, were from a few months to a few years old. He made them ill by shooting an intrusive object; then he would attempt to cure them, but would fail. "Every time he would pay for the child's death." [Pay or merely return his fee?] One of the children, a little girl about five years old, whom Xatali could not cure, they took to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant (see below, anecdote 6).

The following accounts of sickness were given by N.W.

Dead persons often caused illness by touching a living one. The shade or spirit was usually that of one who had been emotionally close, either an immediate relative, lover, or past enemy: "Maybe you think angrily about someone, then he comes."

1. N.W. had a son at Sherman High School. He died there (presumably from an operation). Once N.W. was sitting close to an axe the boy had used. He touched her hand which was "all cold feeling." Her shoulder swelled. She had a white doctor cut it and at once it got well. The scar is about three inches long.

The usual cause of sickness was an intrusive object shot by a malicious shaman. The object might be bugs, snakes, squirrel's fur, anything, "just so it's something to make you sick; maybe rocks, bones." However, some objects caused a more serious illness than others.

2. N.W. herself was made sick by her father-in-law, Xatali, who shot a cougar's hair into her jaw. "She hadn't given him any presents" [hence the sickness]. Her sister went after the shaman. He came and made five cuts under her chin. He sucked out a lump of blood: "It felt just like fire when it came out." The clot he held in his hand and, after washing it a little, showed a cougar hair, about an inch long and stiff, sticking out of it. The blood was darkish, black; it had collected around the intrusive hair. In about two days N.W. was well. The five scars remain: "Sometimes you had to make lots of cuts, till you get the right place, till you find the hair." N.W. paid Xatali $5.00. Then he went off.

3. Xatali shot a tree bug ("one which eats trees") into the stomach of a woman; this came out on her back causing a lump about one and a half inches across "just like cancer." She was sick for a year. Her family had not sufficient money to pay the doctor to cure her. When at last they had money and Xatali tried to help her, it was too late: "the bug had eaten her inside." They then got another shaman (name unknown) who came a long distance. The patient was laid outdoors. The shaman, while trying to cure her, threw water at the sun, which created a rainbow. He waved an animal tail at the sun, at the same time laying another animal [skin ?] on the woman's chest. The animal was probably the same species as his supernatural helper. But the attempt was fruitless, and eventually the old woman died.

4. Once, while a woman was cleaning out a spring, Xatali shot her in the leg with sand. She cried out in pain (it hurts when the intrusive object strikes) and fell in the spring, unable to help herself out. People came and lifted her out. They got Xatali, who cured her right there, laughing as he did so. She had a bump about the size of one's fist under her knee. Xatali cut it with an obsidian blade three times. At first he got no sand, then he got a little, then all of it. When the blood came out smooth, free of lumps and sand, he knew it was all out. He told the woman she would recover quickly; she did, and was well thereafter. She paid him $6.00.

5. A certain old woman refused to give Xatali food, whereupon he "shot" her near the navel with a lump of blood. To do this, he sent his wife home and himself waited till the old woman went out toward the spring for water. Then he quickly went home; no one had seen him.

Soon the old woman's husband came to Xatali, who asked the man what was the matter. He said his wife was sick. Xatali laughed and accepted $2.00 from the man, saying that he would come in the afternoon and "to have lots of dinner ready." "Then everyone knew he did it."

When the time came for the curing, Xatali told N.W. not to go up there to see it for she had an infant [or was pregnant ?]. However, her parents told her she might go, which she did. Xatali was angry when she arrived and made her sit on a certain rock "so the blood wouldn't hit her when it came out." All other spectators he made stand in a circle around the patient.

The woman was entirely helpless, so her two sisters lifted her up to make her look toward the sun. It was very hot; nevertheless she must look at the sun. Xatali talked to the sun [informant could not say in what manner] and, each time he sucked the patient, he stood up and threw water at the sun. He cut the patient two or three times in the palm of the hand: the blood streamed out. Then he sucked it and got the blood which was making her sick. He got nothing but blood, which he continually spat out. The woman felt prickly pains all over her, and wherever she said she had a pain, Xatali cut and sucked. She had a headache, so he cut her on the nose bridge. However, while he was cutting her, the pain ceased and she fell asleep, and she began to get better. About a week later she was able to resume work, and in about two weeks the numerous cuts were entirely healed. (This woman is Mary See, now about eighty-five years old. She lives at Picayune and occasionally goes to church.

6. When Xatali failed to cure N.W.'s little girl, they took her to Mota (Frank Smith) at Friant. He was able to suck blood without cutting. Mota sucked her nose, fingertips, and toes. But she could not be cured: "all her blood got white." The family stayed there

about two weeks, then took the child home. Although N.W. wanted to pay Mota $20.00 for his services, he refused to take it because he had failed.

J.R.'s only statement concerning curing was as follows. A doctor sucks out blood, or just goes through the motions without drawing blood. He looks at the sun. He finds out what is in the patient's body, causing the illness, then announces this [publicly ?]. He was paid about $20.00.

When sickness resulted in death for several occupants of a house, said N.W., it was believed that a shaman "had put something there to kill them." Thereupon the survivors moved out, and others, even people from other communities, were warned not to enter it. The house was not destroyed, nor did neighbors move away. The informant did not know what was the nature of the destructive force about the house, only that the shaman "would have said some words." Before actually moving, the family would pay the shaman to remove the spell but, if he hated them, he would not do so. If the family themselves failed, no one else would attempt to purify the house. A family would not move, however, until several in it had died under suspicious circumstances; they waited until only one or two were left. The refugees would then live with relatives or friends until they could erect or secure a new house.

Once a shaman sickened this entire community [Picayune ?]. He set up a stick on the top of a near-by hill and talked to it. He wanted everyone to be sick, which they were. The stricken people pooled their money and asked him to remove the stick. No one dared approach the stick or even look at it. That shaman received beads, baskets, and rabbitskin blankets: he took away the stick.[143]

Payment was made to a doctor at the time he was asked to attend a case: "If you didn't pay, they wouldn't come to make you well." Some doctors, more scrupulous than others, returned all or part of the payment if their efforts failed. But some would keep it -- "just like white doctors do when their patients die." Some shamans deliberately caused sickness, killed others by means of their power; those who did not were "good" doctors.

Curing Shamans

According to N.W. there were but two types of shamans recognized by the Chukchansi, curing shamans and rain shamans. The curing shamans were divided into two classes, those who could suck out blood and the accompanying cause of illness without cutting, and those who resorted to cutting to accomplish the same end. Curing shamans treated such things as snake bites and bruises, as well as illnesses caused by ghosts or intrusion of objects "shot" by shamans, or other ailments due to obscure causes. Broken bones were bandaged [by a shaman ?] but "they [shamans] would not try to do something about that" [by sucking]. Kroeber states that the Chukchansi shaman was called teish, "maker"; possibly this term applied to the rain shaman rather than the doctor.[144]

Acquisition of curing power came through dreaming of a supernatural helper, usually an animal. Any animal might direct a shaman: "They believe in all kinds of animals -- snake, bear, squirrels, coyotes." The animal came unsought and sang a song; if the dreamer accepted the offer of power, he sang the song himself. The repetition of the song formed a bond, so to say, whereby the man and the tutelary became subject to each other's power. The animal was subject in the sense that his living counterpart of the fields -- snake, weasel, coyote, etc. -- was controlled by the shaman. But an offended or perhaps capricious tutelary could cause the empowered man to act against his better feelings (thus Xatali and his victimized grandchildren). On the other hand, said N.W., "A doctor might dream he would have to tell a snake to go bite someone, and the snake would have to do it." This informant tended to lay the blame for a doctor's social activities upon the tutelary, once a man fell under its control: "That is the way Indian doctors do; if they didn't listen, they wouldn't have anything like that happen." Even today dream helpers appear, but the young people do not want to accept them. Neither are they willing to propitiate with gifts the few remaining shamans. However, N.W. said she would [does ?] because she "wants to live just as long as they do."

N.W. herself knows the temptation from an animal helper's offer for she was repeatedly importuned by a gopher snake.

A large gopher snake about four or five inches thick appeared to N.W. every night for about a week. And each day, wherever she went -- to pick wild onions or do anything -- she would see him. But each time she said "No"; she did not want to be a doctor. Every time she pounded acorns he would whistle at her. He was on a rock she was sitting on. She would pick up her pestle and look around for the creature but she always looked in the wrong place. Every time she lifted her pestle he would whistle; he did this about three times. She turned and looked up the hill instead of at the rock where she was sitting. Right then he whistled again. Then she looked down and saw him. She reached for a handful of acorn

[143]The shaman's name was not known. The event occurred when only a few whites were in the neighborhood: the Ecker family was at Coarse Gold, but not the Krohns.

[144]Handbook, 511; see also p. 516 for a further reference to Chukchansi shamans.

meal, threw it in the snake's face and told him to go home. She then filled up his hole with stones "so he couldn't come out again."

That night she dreamed again of the gopher snake. He sang a song and told her to sing it. It was very pretty, but she resisted. The snake was angry and demanded that she give him her children [the two living ones]. Then N.W. told him to go away, not to ask her anything again "no matter how good a song he sang." Next night when she went to sleep she didn't dream; the snake did not bother her again.

If she had listened to the snake she would have lost all her children. "That is the way Indian doctors do. If they didn't listen they wouldn't have anything like that [injuring others] happen. Coyote made Xatali do things because of dreams. He dreamed it and he had to do it."

Dreams were not sought. The majority of people did not want them and hence did not attempt to secure supernatural power [as was done by Yokuts to the south]. "It just happened. You dreamed and the animal sang something pretty and then made you sing it." N.W. liked the song sung to her, too, and wanted to sing it, but the gopher snake "asked her for her children right away so she said no." Had he not been so precipitous with the evil demand, she probably would have sung it. Then she would have been in his power. He would have shown her how to do things "just like you show a little girl how to do embroidery or crocheting."

An animal helper for supernatural power was obtained through dreaming, said J.R. It was as if one saw them with his own eyes, but one saw them with his heart [sic; soul. -- A.H.G.]. The dream usually came near dawn. When it left, the dreamer wakened at once and, following the animal's [stereotyped] instructions, went to bathe in cold water -- the creek or some spring. This would be about the time the morning star appeared. The man went to the water and there began a prayerful discourse, saying that he believed all that the animal had told him, asking that the tutelary would continue his dream visitations and that he, the protégé, would be a good shaman. If all went well, the dream animal returned every night for about a month, perhaps a little more or sometimes less.

No person told the novice anything: his dream helper told him everything. He would learn the song the animal sang. Later, when the man had learned more and understood better, he too would sing it. When he had learned all that was possible, the tutelary would tell him so. Then he could go out publicly, perhaps to some ceremony, and sing. This he would do at a chief's request, for it was no secret that he had been acquiring power by dreaming. When there were many people present, the man would sing his song. After that, after all the people heard him sing, everybody would know he was a doctor.

The shaman's debut was described by J.R. When a man was ready to announce his profession, he would sing his song at a public gathering. (Not a special gathering, apparently, but at any meeting when the chief would ask him.) After it was public knowledge that a certain man had acquired curing power, everything was made easy for his first case. Eventually someone got sick and decided to try him; they would send for him. He would go and cure the man. When he had once made a cure, then everyone knew he was a competent doctor and other people asked for his services. Perhaps he would be called down to Picayune or, if someone was sick over at Northfork, people would come down from there to get him.

A man became a fine deer hunter by dreaming of Deer, said J.R. If the deer wanted a certain man to be a good deer hunter, they would go to him repeatedly in dreams. The wild deer told him where he might see the sacred flints. These are seven flints about five inches long; they belong to the deer; they lie under some bushes in Miwok territory close to Ahwahnee. They are not to be touched, but looked at from a distance of five or six feet. J.R. himself has seen them.

After several dreams of the deer, in which they talked to their protégé, the man knew where to find the flints. Then he went. He went gently, gently, watching, watching. The flints make a metallic sound, like metal dropping on a rock. The man would hear them: he could hear sounds no other person could detect, some good, some bad. [What was said or done on viewing the flints was not told; perhaps nothing ?] After such an experience a man became a professional deer hunter; he was called upon to provide meat for celebrations, large assemblies, etc., like the big mourning celebration. He never ate deer meat, but ate any other kind which he killed.

M.W. said he had an aunt who received power from Deer. Once when she was a young girl, she was sitting out some place when a deer came up to her. Deer talked to her, saying he wanted to be her master [supernatural helper]. The girl agreed, but she did not receive a song from Deer. She always said Deer was good, not a malicious tutelary. She used her power only to cure herself when she was ill, not for others. She lived to extreme old age, "over a hundred," and, although blind in her last years, was never ill. She married a white man, but had no children: "She was nice, everybody liked her."

M.W. had heard of an old man who also had Deer as a supernatural helper. Whenever others went out to hunt deer, this man "would step on something and then nobody could get deer." The informant did not know whether this man was long-lived, too.

A doctor's animal helper was a living one, not a spiritual representative. He could not kill any animal of that breed. One actual animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

She did not know whether white people dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

The shaman's cache was attributed only to rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she described concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

Malicious use of poisonous medicines was made by some people who knew the secrets. Once someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at O'Neals who made rain.[145] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region, Soket would put some of his seeds in water, then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[145] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

[146] Handbook, 518.

joint "got rotten and fell off" but this was the only ill effect she suffered. In plate 1, Part I (right vertical) is a dark stick with horizontal markings. This is a Chukchansi "doctor's wand," and is a stick covered with rattlesnake skin; it was "secured from Mayenetz, Coarse Gold." (Spec. no. 76484.)

"The Indian doctor" [any shaman ?] could cure rattlesnake bites, according to J.R. He sang over the stricken person; he looked at the sun, at the same time whistling through a small bone tube.[147] A medicine for snake bite was known, but was not used if the shaman were there. "The doctor did better work. The medicine wasn't a sure cure. The witch [shaman] made a fellow get well, though." A person bitten by a snake should kill it, for if he did not, the creature would continue to send poison into the wound from a distance. "The snake wouldn't bite you again. He would just throw the poison into you from where he was, off somewhere."

People were bitten frequently. J.R. knew of one woman who did nothing for the wound; a large swelling developed. People tried to cure it, but she died.

There were shamans who had learned from their dreams how to handle rattlesnakes, said J.R. These men were told in dreams where to find the snakes and how to appease them so they would never be injured by them. A rattlesnake shaman used down from a squirrel hawk[148] when he was dancing. The down was across his forehead [entwined in strings or glued in place ?] and he wore nothing else except "a little piece around the waist." [Breechclout or loincloth, probably.]

The rattlesnakes, secured in summer, were fed hawk down. They were further quieted by the shaman's spittle. The shaman spat on or near the snake's head. "Spit just light, thin. Do it close to him -- just over his head, on his head, any place. After this he can understand you, when you have thrown spit on him." The shaman handled the snake with bare hands.

This was done at a ceremony, for exhibition, particularly "when someone won't believe they can do it." But the rattlesnake shaman did not prevent persons from being bitten: "They don't ever do anything to keep people from getting snake bite. They can't do anything that way."

Compared to southern Yokuts snake-handling, that of the Chukchansi seems aberrant, amateurish. According to Kroeber, the Chukchansi lacked the rattlesnake ceremony.[149] J.R.'s account may have applied to the Miwok also; it was not clear.

J.R.'s own father, a Miwok, used to handle rattlesnakes. They never bit him. During the night, while others were asleep, the snakes would come into the house and glide around that man's head. He knew it though the others in the house did not. Then he would take the intruders up in his hand, take them away from the village and turn them loose. This sometimes happened after daylight, so others saw what he was doing.

J.R. knew of one snake-handler who failed. H.J.'s father could catch rattlesnakes. When he was a boy he used to play, would run his hands down squirrel holes. He did this for some time. Then he said he was going to catch and handle a rattlesnake, as he had seen the old doctors do. He lived with his mother by the creek, near the present apple orchard at Coarse Gold; his white father was already dead. Eventually he got hold of a rattler. He wrapped it in his big handkerchief and put it in his blouse. As he grew older he continued the practice. He said he could catch any snake and, if they bit him, it would not hurt. He thought he was going to be a snake doctor.

He would go around where the Roans lived, around Coarse Gold, sometimes on horseback. He would have a rattlesnake, not always the same one, around his head or around his arm, rattling all the time. Then he would go away again, maybe come back again. But he was often seen so adorned.

Once he came into the saloon with a very small snake, only a foot long. He had the snake on his hand. He laid it on the table, coiled. He moved his hand around in passing movements over the snake's head to make it sway its head about. Then he lowered his hand a little. The snake was watching him all the time, never moving Suddenly it struck, biting the man on the hand, first finger, second joint. Then the man said he had been bitten, and that he would go home and die. "Before I die, I will go home," he said. He lived, at that time, near the mission at Coarse Gold; he had a wife and two boys there. He went home. He lasted all that night. About morning, just after daybreak, he stopped talking and died. They kept him after he died, maybe a day (not the usual two to three days). Then they buried him a little way from where he had lived.

Bear Control

Some people controlled bears by means of supernatural power but they did not change themselves into bears.[150]

There was a man (name unknown) who would call a bear to come and visit him, and some-

[147] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 517.

[148] The red-tailed hawk? "The squirrel hawk has a red tail and feathers a little different from the tail. They get the fine feathers off the body of this bird, all white, fine, just like cotton. Pull the outside feathers off, throw them away."

[149] Handbook, 506.

[150] This family, N.W., C.D., etc., had never heard of bear transformation.

times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal regalia] and announced that he was going to dance around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were buried at once without delay. Anyone who grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, particularly deer meat from hunters: men feared that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

[151]This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152]Handbook, 516, 517.

[153]I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

when the time for public avengement came, no shaman was immune.

Once there was a shaman of ill-repute who came to a celebration at Picayune He was mean, would kill a person without provocation. Other doctors thought of the evil things that man had done, so they decided to kill him. He got a pain in his side, went home, and died. The people were afraid to bury him. They dug an extra deep grave at his own house, not in the regular burying-place. Such powerful whirlwinds arose they could scarcely handle him. It rained, thundered, and blew. When they got the body in the grave, they put large stones on top, but the whirlwind blew those rocks away "just like blasting." Finally they got the hole filled, put more rocks on top, and went home.

The activities of malicious shamans were curbed by fear of revenge. A family, believing themselves to be the victim of deliberate ill-treatment from a certain shaman, could legitimately seek to kill the man. This might be done by a member of the family or, in some cases, a man was hired to do it. Public opinion upheld the family when their suffering was known to be aggravated by a shaman's malice.

If a chief had a big family and they all started dying, he would think maybe it was a certain doctor who was killing them, said J.R. He didn't tell anyone. He secretly called a brave man, maybe two, not many. He told them that he had lost all his family and that he suspected a certain bad doctor of killing them. The doctor might live in some other community. The chief would have with him some money, perhaps valuable baskets, something worth fifteen to twenty-five dollars. He would say, "I am going to tell you, I want you. Now I tell you boys, I want you to go over to his place tonight. I will send a man over there to get the doctor and bring him where you are."

In the late afternoon, around five o'clock, the chief would send a man over to the shaman's house who, on some pretext, would get the shaman to come out to a prearranged spot. Without losing sight of him, the messenger went off a bit to find the killers who were to meet him. He said to them, "He is right there now. Are you ready? All right. Here he is." Then the hired men approached the shaman. These avengers had their bows, already charged with arrows, in their hands. When they were very close to their victim -- about four feet -- they shot directly at his heart. "That Indian doctor was done for." Then the men departed, leaving the corpse. The dead man's relatives came and took him away for burial. [Revenge by the shaman's family was not alluded to by any informant. Probably here, as elsewhere, the man's guilt was known to his relatives, so they would not attempt retaliation. -- A.H.G.]

Women shamans were known to the Chukchansi, and were evidently more common than among other Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted the following anecdote of the punishment of a witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

The formalized and spectacular contest between shamans, which was so important an adjunct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had bluejay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

According to J.R., the best jimsonweed (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a couple of days." "It makes you dream, just like marijuana. You see things other people can't see. When a doctor wants to see something away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the drug's influence, but sat up, talking to himself. He said that he had seen his mother take it; she chewed a little, "just enough to sit there, see something, know something, talk to herself."

This method, just chewing a small amount of jimsonweed, was the local, common way of taking it in the Fresno River region, according to J.R. A person who has taken it is "jumpy": "If you make a noise he will start, be scared, look just like a dog that has swallowed strychnine. Acts pretty funny. But he will see what he is after." The affected person must not be given any food or water until he has regained a normal physical condition. The mouth looks scabby, slobbery, dry, said J.R.

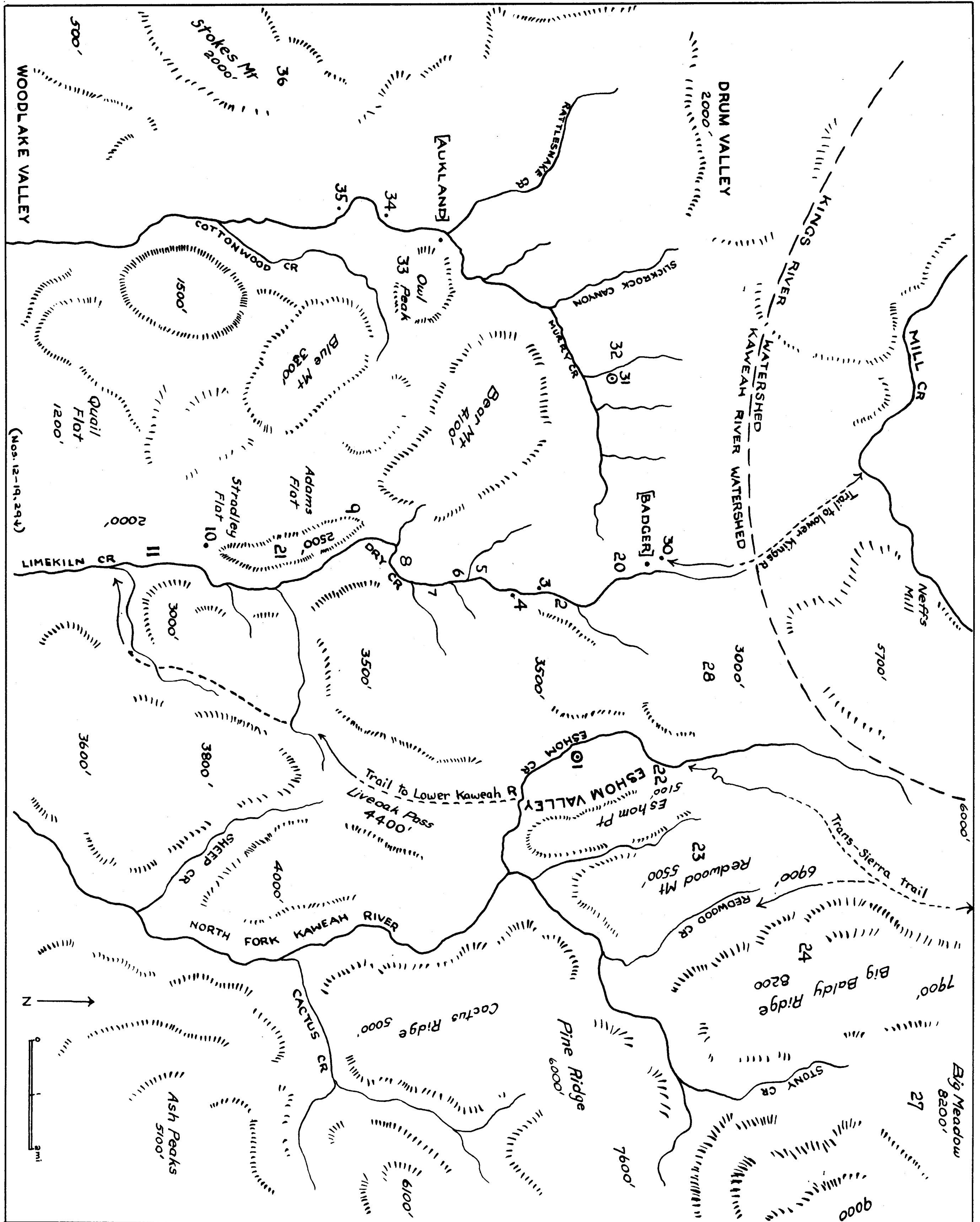
He had never heard of any ordinary person, especially youths, taking jimsonweed. No young person would touch it; only very old people attempted to use it, and these were exclusively professional shamans already possessed of supernatural power. Such men might take it about once a year.

This information was substantiated by N.W. and M.W. They said shamans used dried powdered jimsonweed (t'anai), which they ate dry, to obtain clairvoyant power. When they ate it, they could recall long past events, see hidden objects, and see people and occurrences at a distance. For example, they would tell that a certain person was traveling on his way to their village.

A Chukchansi shaman, said M.W., drank jimsonweed for two weeks and ate nothing. [Presumably, in accordance with surrounding practice, he ate nothing for two weeks and then drank jimsonweed. -- A.H.G.] He acquired more power than he had before. M.W. said shamans, not ordinary persons, used to drink it to have visions. He never saw this [the vision or the practice?]. L.W. said the plant was "just like marijuana, that stuff. Pretty bad!"

The information above corroborates Kroeber's statement that the northernmost Yokuts, specifically the Chukchansi, made but little use of jimsonweed and lacked the jimsonweed ritual.[154]

[154] Handbook, 502.



Map 3. Local Map E: Waksachi Territory

TRANSITIONAL YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO:

ESHOM VALLEY REGION

MICHAHAI AND WAKSACHI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a´ntɩmpɩč]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a´pusowi·'ɩtunü''üm: Toll House
huro´gɩčnü''üm: southeast of last
yui´ninü''üm: south of last

Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o´ču
Michahai: pa´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu´mi; dai'apnu´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češɛ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa´o; čita´tu
Entimbich: kečai´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada´winao; sitɩ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an. Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O´polo'o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´' (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. taveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)
22. na´'an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain [Big Baldy Ridge]
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata·wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger
31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´ᵘwijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Paᵘwijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´'owəts), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

the passes were again open. The Waksachi never went east to trade; on rare occasions two or three young men might go over to visit as a kind of adventure. The Eastern Mono never came to social functions, the Ghost Dance of 1870 being the first contact of a social order.

The articles brought from the east to trade were: rock salt; piñon nuts; mountain sheep skins (diwe´sɩp); moccasins; a sleeveless buckskin jacket sewn up the sides; leggings of foxskin cured with the fur on, which were worn tied above the ankles and just below the knees; baskets; pine sticks for lifting hot cooking stones; sinew-backed bows; unfinished obsidian arrowheads. Payment was made in humana beads and smaller beads, acorn meal, and fine Yokuts baskets. In later days red beads and Spanish blankets were wanted by the Eastern Mono.

When the Waksachi were encamped at Gaines Flat, the Telamni, Gawia, and other valley dwellers would come up to get stone mortars and pestles. They asked the Waksachi to sell those very things they were using; the Waksachi never took any others along for trade. (Perhaps this relieved them of the burden of carrying them home on the upward journey, having had their use of them.) B.O. here interposed a description of the Telamni mortar, which was made from the crotch of an oak tree. The Telamni also wanted small stone mortars of the type used for tobacco. While they wanted stone mortars for themselves, they, in turn, sold their oakwood mortars to the Chunut, Tachi, and Wowol of the lake region.

Warfare

B.O. stated that the Wechihit, Choinimni, and Hoshima (Northerners in general) would come over jointly to fight the allied Waksachi and Wukchumni. These fights were rare and were tactically simple; they were called una´na pi´dikan. There were no special officers of war, but certain brave men would be acknowledged leaders on these occasions. The leader stood back and directed the fighting while the opposing warriors lined up, each man shooting at the one directly opposite. Bows and arrows were the only weapons; no spear or shield was used. There was no waiting for a dream or omen before going into conflict. The causes of these hostile interludes are obscure.

Raiding for horses became a favorite aggressive activity after their introduction by the Spanish on the coast; they were available in the valley in, roughly, 1800 and after. Four or five men would go west to the valley plains, and probably to the enemies mentioned above, to steal a horse, which they would then lead off, kill, cook, and eat. The Waksachi never stole from the Wukchumni. There is a strong desire for horse ownership among these people even at the present time, 1927.

SHELTER, DRESS, BODILY ORNAMENT

Structures

Houses.--The houses of the Michahai and Waksachi were thatched; mats of tule or other materials were rarely used and these only at the houses at the seed-gathering sites at the edge of the plains. The frames were either conical or oval. Bark houses were known and were preferred as more substantial, but these could not often be made because of the difficulty in getting cedar bark.

The conical thatched house (če'ɛ´naho ya´owɩl, house [of] "weeds") was the usual type for Michahai and Waksachi. A circular space 9 to 12 feet in diameter was excavated to the depth of about 1 foot; this depression was called hi·č (sleeping-place). Several long straight poles, willow preferred, were set with their butts inside the edge of the depression and brought together at the top by means of a ring of willow (wi´čɛt soto´li, stick round) some 18 to 20 inches in diameter. This hoop was inserted at the top to hold and separate the poles (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

Around the uprights were three or four horizontal willow withes tied on with ho'o (willowbark rope). The lower ones were stood upon in order to reach the higher. "Men did most of this work but women might help." The women's job was the making of the thatch -- a "skirt" of long grasses (yaowɩl) and fine willow bunched in small handfuls and twined along their butt ends. Another horizontal withe was laid over the bound edge of the thatch to the frame when the outer withe, the thatch, and the horizontal band of the house frame were all lashed together with rope (fig. 5, a, Pt. I).

The doorway (tiše´hi) was about five feet high, "a man had to stoop a little to go in." Usually the top of the doorway was the second horizontal frame withe: the first band ended each side of the doorway The door itself, said to be wholly aboriginal and called ča´kilɩš ača´li (not translated), was a mat -- or, more properly, a screen -- of twined fine willows, which was tied on to one of the side poles of the doorway.

A hollow dug in the center of the floor was the fireplace (u´stun ho'o´hi, fire spot or place). If long fire logs were burning, as they most frequently were, their ends extended far out the doorway. The smoke found its way out the ringed apex, the "smokehole" (mutsa´kan tana´hi, smoke goes).

The interior of the house wall was not finished in any way. When leaks occurred, new pieces of thatch were tied on outside, or tied from within if the leak could not be located from the outside.

People slept and sat close to the fire. Baskets and utensils were set around the very low outer edge. Poles were laid across the

frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat, skins, and other things hung from them. There was no special place of honor for a guest to sit or sleep, though the preferred place was thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on either side. The senior or authoritative woman of the household who was responsible for the preparation of meals usually sat and worked just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

There was no village plan, or defined location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man built his house the size he needed and he never added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the center, the smoke escaping through a slot left at the ridgepole between the last rows of thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, obtainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats. Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering, though these often had to be obtained by trade with the valley people. No type of pillow or head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (ṭoṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their support with ropes. Against these were laid slabs of cedar bark which were tied to the frame at convenient or necessary intervals. Earth was thrown up around the base to hold the slabs in place and to prevent water from running in. Although the bark was hard to get, as cedar grows only up in the higher mountains, it was not bought from the tribes of the Western Mono, living at higher altitudes, or from the Eastern Mono traders.

Shades (ci´nu'ιš) were used only during the summer, when one was put up in front of nearly every home. The construction was a simple affair of four forked corner posts, four tie beams connecting these with transverse beams on which leafy willow boughs were laid. All cooking, eating, and lounging were done there. When visitors were expected for a ceremony, long rows of shades were erected for their shelter. On these, back walls were sometimes added against wind or rain, They also served as shades for spectators at the ceremony.

Storehouses.--The Michahai, like the Yokuts of the valley, may have used a small house for storage. (The Waksachi did not.) Here extra baskets, foodstuffs, hunting and fishing equipment, etc., were kept.

Storage bins.--Two types were described by S.O. and B.O.; both were called suna´'ιts in Michahai. For the first, and apparently the most common, about six stakes, approximately about 10 feet long, were driven in the ground in a circle about 3 feet in diameter. Small willows were cut an even length and twined, top and bottom, into a long mat or strip. One end of this was fastened to one of the stakes, and the whole wound around all the stakes. A packing of leaves was filled in on the ground, and acorns thrown in on it. As the space filled, another turn of the mat was taken around the stake frame. It was about 8 feet high when finished. To fill the upper levels, and also to get out acorns, a woman stood on a forked stick "ladder" propped firmly against the side of the bin. To top off the bin, a conical cover of twined grass was fitted on and tied down. As the contents of the bin lowered, the upper turns of the mat were removed.

When S.O. was talking of this type of bin, he claimed that the wall was formed of a single mat, some 3 to 4 feet deep, wound once around the frame. Sometimes this mat was held upright in a cylindrical form by having horizontal withes tied around it. These bins could then be picked up and carried to some preferred location, usually to the top of a flat rock, for dryness was essential in keeping the acorns: "a woman might have from three to several of these on one rock." The bottom was filled with grass, the acorns filled in, another layer of grass put in, and the whole topped off with a conical cap of grass thatch.

A storage bin close to home was made on a raised framework. A forked post some 6 feet

high was set up, and in a squared position about it were erected four shorter forked posts. Four tie beams connected the corners, and across these was laid a flooring of small logs. Side poles, whose butts rested on the outer edges of the floor, leaned into the forked center post. All poles were lashed in place, and over them was wrapped a grass thatching, similar to that used on houses. How this type of bin was filled and emptied was not learned.

In such bins only acorns were kept. Seeds were stored in special baskets in the house or were put in skin sacks and buried under sheltering rocks. Piñon nuts were stored in buried sacks, made of antelope and deer hides cured with the fur on. The leg parts of the skin were cut off; the skin was folded down the back and sewed up around the edge with sinew thread. An opening, left at the neck, was closed by a tie string. These sacks were often hung from trees, as the hair shed water, making them practically waterproof. They were also used as general carryalls by men.

Sweat house.--This structure (mos, Michahair; mo·sa or mosa´owi, Waksachi) might be made with one or two center posts. B.O. said the two-post type was preferred by the Waksachi, whereas, according to S.O., the single-post type was the common form for both Waksachi and Michahai.

The posts of the two-post type were about fifteen feet apart, and a long gable beam rested in their forks. Long poles, lying as close together as possible, were leaned against the center beam, and into and around the forks of the two uprights. Then brush, willows, and "long weeds" were laid against these, commencing at the bottom and working up. Earth was taken from the interior and piled over the brush cover as it was laid on. In the side of the structure facing the water [Eshom Creek for the one described here] a door space had been left between the side poles. Three upright stakes were driven in the ground on each side of the door space, just within the entrance, so that a log resting upon them was flush with the slanting side poles of the frame. On this log rested the butts of short poles, their tips against the center beam, thus filling in the space above the doorway. The height of the entrance was about three feet, and the interior of the house not quite high enough for an averaged-sized man to stand erect. There was no closure for the entrance.

Two "brush" fires were built, one on each side of the doorway; the draft pulled the fires' heat inwards, it was claimed. Whoever wanted to sweat would get the necessary fuel. The room held ten or twelve men. While any man was free to enter and make use of the sweat house, boys were not permitted to try sweating until they were fifteen to twenty years of age. The prohibition was due to their lack of mature physical soundness, not to any sense of exclusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tušao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile´kɩč) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u´ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

Footgear.--Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

A sewn leather jacket was denied by S.O., yet other informants said a sort of sleeveless jumper with side seams could be bought from the Eastern Mono. (It is possible S.O. misunderstood my query.)

Rabbitskin blanket.--The Michahai and Waksachi, when on their camping trips to the lower foothills, caught jack rabbits. Sometimes they bought rabbitskins from Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni. They also saved and used the upland rabbitskins for blankets.

Dance costume.--The shaman's dance skirt, which he wore on all dress occasions, consisted of many 18- to 24-inch pendent strands of ša' string into which chicken-hawk down had been rolled. Each strand was tipped with a bluejay or flicker quill.

The headdress consisted of the usual two parts, the vertical feather bunch (čuha´o, Michahai; čuha´b¹, Waksachi) made of roadrunner quills, and the soft fluffy crown (se´ma, Michahai; sema´b¹, Waksachi) of crow feathers.

The skirt was made by either men or women, but the headdress was made only by men. An old man at Kičeyu (Dunlap) named Ko´'o was particularly skilled at making headdresses, which he sold at a price somewhat equivalent to $10.00

Ear and nose plugs.--Everyone, said S.O., had his or her ears punched. This was done with a fine pointed manzanita stick. The heated point was pressed from in front against the lobe, behind which was pressed a small flat stone. The stick was pushed on into the hole and left until the wound healed. Then a series of increasingly larger sticks were inserted. Cane tubes were sometimes inserted, and the men's quail-feather ear plug of the Yokuts was used. A women's ear plug, also derived from the Yokuts of the plains, consisted of a ring of abalone shell (li´la, Michahai) which fitted the aperture like a plug, and from which dangled short strands of clamshell disc beads.

Similarly, in the old days, both men and women had the nasal septum pierced. A single humana shell bead was the favorite ornament for this aperture.

Tattooing.--There were no special practitioners of this art, "anybody could do it." The design was pricked in the skin with the point of a fine obsidian blade and charcoal was rubbed in the abrasion. The patterns were stereotyped. Women had vertical lines from lower lip to chin, but these were never used by men. Both sexes used horizontal lines running from the corners of the mouth to the ears, and bandlike lines on the inner wrist. Two old women, Bren and Sugarfoot, were noted for their ambitious decorations which consisted of straight wide lines commencing on the chin and continuing down throat, chest, and breasts. S.O. could recall no other kinds of designs.

Paint.--Face and body paints were hapa´ka o´čɩk (red), toiye´'i očɩk (white), and mutskei´wɩk očɩk (black, i.e., charcoal) [all terms Michahai]. S.O. could recall only two specific patterns and the generally used shamans' pattern. A man with Crow totem would always use black, but this might be arranged any way he chose, S.O. thought. The favorite pattern for a Crow pošam was a horizontal black band on each cheek under the eyes, or sometimes over the eyes. A Deer man's emblem was one to three rows of black dots drawn along the zygomatic arch from nose to ears. Shamans used three horizontal rows of lines or dots on each cheek in the order red, black, red, and the same on arms and legs. At the Ghost Dance gatherings any person could and did use this pattern. [The use of white paint was not mentioned, and I failed to note its omission.]

SUBSISTENCE

Hunting

Bows and arrows.--The following information is from B.O. who was a noted hunter.

The plain bow (e·´dᵘ) was in common use by every man, and was the type first used by boys. It was made of pepperwood (no´jɩb¹; California Laurel), and was of the same proportions and curvature as the sinew-backed bow. It was strung with a two-ply sinew cord.

The sinew-backed bow (ta´muedᵘ) was of juniper wood (wa·p) which only grew up in the mountains, i.e., from Waksachi territory eastward. The length was from 3 to 4 feet, and 2 inches the width at the center: roughly measured from the sternum to fingertips; if wanted extra long, from one shoulder to opposite fingertips. There was no indentation at the grip. The ends were recurved: heated over coals, the end would be braced into some crevice and forced to bend by leverage pressure on the center of the bow. This was a slow task requiring many repeated efforts. After the bow was shaped, sinew (ta´mob¹) from deer legs was soaked in water, then beaten between two flat stones. A heavy glue made by boiling deer horns was smeared along the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was so placed that a piece about one inch long extended beyond the bow at either end. When dry, these curled back, forming hooks for the better attachment of the bowstring. A hand grasp of leather was glued around the bow at the center; sometimes small feathers were inserted around the edges of this. The bowstring was 2-ply sinew cord. In fitting a new string, the looped loose end was placed first and the other end pulled up to the desired tension and tied permanently in position. Bows were left unstrung most of the time. To unstring, the tied end was placed against the right instep, the left hand grasping the upper end. The bow was then pulled inward and downward sufficiently to relax the string, which was slipped off with the right hand.

Not every man could make this kind of bow, but B.O. did not think that the art was confined to families. He stated that the Wobonuch made the best bows; the glue on theirs was clear, that on Waksachi bows murky.

For all types of shooting the bow was held in the left hand, with its left end about 30 degrees above horizontal. The left hand was so held that the joint of the third (middle) finger was slightly higher than that of the second (index) finger so that a groove or slight hollow was formed between the third finger and thumb[156] in which the arrow rode (fig. 10, h, Pt. I). Only one type of arrow grasp was used, that between the thumb and first bent joint of the second (index) finger (primary release); there was no hold on the string itself (fig. 10, i, Pt. I). Arrow butts were not thickened.

Four forms of arrow were distinguished: those for birds (pa·ga); for squirrels, rabbits, fox and other small game (pa·ga); for deer or vicious animals such as wildcat, cougar, and bear (u·´tipa·ga); and for war (gai·´wani). The first was of alderwood (napa·´apª) in a single piece. When scraped down with an obsidian blade, these were straightened by being heated over coals, bent and turned in the hands and over the knee. The self-points were ground down on stone and hardened by heating. The feathering was of three split feathers from a hawk wing. The butt was nocked.

For shooting birds a simple alderwood arrow was tipped with four small crosspieces tied on perpendicularly to the shaft (fig. 10, d, Pt. I); the butt was not feathered.

The deer and war arrows were made of a single shaft of cane (ka´dkɩd, Michahai; ha´obⁱ, Waksachi), the former long, the latter short. Both had obsidian points. To shape a cane arrow a heated stone arrow straightener was used; the cane itself was not heated. The cane, cut to the desired length, was grasped at each end and pulled back and forth across the stone groove with a rolling motion. It was sighted down its length for straightness.

The tip end, which had been squared off, was wrapped with six turns of fine sinew cord about three inches from the end. Then the end was turned on a sharp wooden point to open up the partition in the cane, for it had been cut off just before a joint, (the boring process was called maraso´gomi o'o´homa, to-make-a-hole bone-drill). Into the hole thus made was inserted the flint point (fig 10, f, Pt. I). The points for deer arrows were nearly round in cross section and had a round stem. They were obtained in rough form from the Eastern Mono of Owens Valley and dressed locally. With this type of point no force other than wedging held it in place (fig. 10, g, Pt. I); it remained in the wound. Wood points were often substituted.

The butt end, already nocked, was now feathered. About 1-1/2 inches from the end the butt was wrapped with three turns of sinew cord, then on each of three ensuing turns the end of a feather was inserted. A final turn was taken around all three feathers and the end fastened by slipping it back under the last turn and pulling it up tight. The forward ends of the feathers were tied down in the same manner. The feathers were not spiraled but had an almost imperceptible turn; nor were they permitted to bow up from the shaft.

The war arrows were made in the same manner but were shorter and were tipped with a small obsidian blade. This was nearly flat in cross section and had a flanged butt. The tip of the shaft was treated as described above, but two splits were made into which the flanged butt was inserted. This was lashed in place with fine sinew and smeared with glue.

A composite arrow which was in popular use for small game was made by combining a cane shaft like that of the deer arrow with a wooden foreshaft of white oak shoots (pu·´jabⁱ), the very hardest straight wood, according to B.O. He said spicewood [?][157] was the alternative if oak was unobtainable. Sometimes foreshafts were tipped with an obsidian point, but more often not. The foreshaft remained in the wound, while the main shaft fell off.

Arrow straightener.--The Waksachi form of arrow straightener (te´para·no, Waksachi; tu´padan, Michahai) was usually round or oval and had but one groove, according to B.O. His own was of that type. He had never seen one made; "they were just handed down." While B.O.'s generalization on shape may have been influenced by the aspect of his own, two "Mono" arrow straighteners pictured by Kroeber[158] are ovoid as opposed to the rather squared-off Yokuts type. (See also pl. 1, Pt. I, lower right foreground, and pl. 2, d herein.)

Traps.--A spring trap baited with acorn, which B.O. did not describe lucidly, was used for rabbits, jays, and squirrels. Quail were shot, not trapped. Ducks and geese were seldom seen in this mountain region.

Deer hunting.--Two methods were in use, that of a single hunter wearing the deer disguise, and that of several participants engaging in a communal drive. The former method was like that of the Yokuts. The second was so arranged that one or two accurate shooters hid themselves on known deer trails down which the animals were quietly driven by the other members of the party. Anyone who wished might join such a hunt, and all who did so were entitled to part of the spoils. B.O. said that in dividing the animals the shooters each received antlers, skin, and a rump, the choice

[156]The thumb is regarded as the first finger herein.

[157]California Laurel?

[158]Handbook, pl. 49, a, b, c.

portion; otherwise all parts were regarded as equivalent in quality.

Fall was the favorite time for hunting deer although no seasonal restrictions were observed. In the spring, bucks with soft horns would be killed in order to secure the horns for glue.

Bear hunting.--B.O.'s father's brother, Wanuk, was a fine hunter; he used the following method, as did some other intrepid hunters. A feeding ground of a bear was selected, and during the animal's absence the hunter arranged a crude scaffold of logs in an oak tree above the feeding place.[159] Before sundown the man took up his position on the scaffold where he must remain all night. During the night, usually just before dawn, the bear came, and the hunter, to encourage him, dropped down acorns from above. As the bear fed and eventually turned in a vulnerable position, the hunter shot. Should the bear discover the man above and not be fatally wounded, he might climb the tree in a rage. As the bear died or staggered to a safe distance, the man descended and went home to get help in taking the carcass to the village. The meat was divided among his family, friends, and helpers; naturally no one with a Bear totem was involved in the killing or eating. The hide and claws were "sold to a person with Bear ibuk." The hunter did not indulge in any formulaic address or ritual before or after killing a bear.

Both B.O. and S.O. said it was not essential to have a dream helper to be a skillful hunter. One might get supernatural aid for this from Cougar (B.O.'s dream helper), but normally "if a man was a good hunter, his son would be too." A special term, ha´haš (Michahai), was applied to a hunter "who was so good he could kill anything."

Squirrel smoking.--Ground squirrels (šiti´'la, Waksachi) were plentiful in the foothills. Usually one man, seldom more than two, would hunt them by smoking them out of their holes. Boys often helped. This method was called ili´ni mak šiti'la (fanning we squirrels). All vegetation was carefully removed from around entrances to runways. Then dried grass or weeds "of any kind" were stuffed into the holes, packed in as tight as possible. An area about fifty feet square would be so treated, with about six holes in the center left open. Then the grass was ignited and the men or boys went from hole to hole, fanning into them with feather fire fans. Smoke would ooze out of the open holes and soon squirrels would stagger forth. The hunters grabbed them and wrung their necks. The animals could be heard underground running and squeaking, and when all was silent the holes were dug open to secure those which had suffocated.

Cottontails were sometimes smoked out of their burrows in the same manner.

[159]Mentioned by Kroeber as a Yokuts method (ibid., 529).

The fire fan (ile´tɩl, Michahai; tu'ohi´dano, Waksachi) was made of hawk or buzzard tail feathers. One made by B.O. appears in plate 2, e herein. The handle was about twelve inches long. They were made only by men. They were used primarily for hunting and for fanning coals under cooking or roasting materials (e.g., fish, burning lime), never as personal accessories for fanning the face or body. They are not to be confused with the feather bunches used in doctoring.

Pigeon snaring.--Pigeons (šo´ni, Michahai) flew south in the late fall (about November) and were caught in large numbers by means of a hand noose operated from a blind. Two sorts of shelter for the hunter were used, one a booth on the ground (ṭi toho´noi šoni, house to-catch pigeon) and a brush concealment in a tree (ṭi´pɩn ma ṭe'e´ niši´, up you house build). The booth was usually placed near water where the birds gathered at sunrise.

The booth was about 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and had its floor excavated about 1 foot all over. Long poles of dogwood were set butt down along each side, bent and tied together overhead to form a series of arcs just high enough to clear a man's head when kneeling. The arcs near the front were lower than those farther back in order to make the front opening as discreet as possible. Horizontal withes were tied along the arcs to keep them erect, and over all were tied bunches of brush which, in turn, had more brush and green boughs fastened or thrown on. A grass called paša´ was laid all around the booth on the ground. The arched front was partially covered with long twigs set upright in the ground and fastened at their tips to the arc frame. One opening, or more often two, about twelve inches wide was left in this frontal screen.

Directly in front of the booth was a raised circular platform some 4 feet in diameter and 18 inches high built up of stones, earth, and a final layer of smooth sand. Manzanita brush was laid all around the edge of this to form a low "natural" barricade. On the smoothed sand cracked acorns were scattered. This platform was called pa´nɩs a´tmɩn šoni (place down-their pigeon).[160]

The hunter, concealed in the booth, had with him about six live pigeons which, with strings to their legs, were let out through each of the openings. "Four on each side was best," said S.O., "but three on each side was usual and sufficient." Acting as decoys these birds, which had been kept hungry for the purpose, ate of the acorn meal and lured the wild birds, which came readily. The tame pigeons were jerked or poked occasionally to make them flutter and attract attention. The noose for snaring the newcomers was of ho'o, about 4

[160]S.O. said, "You just said 'pa´namɩn' for short, just like slang."

inches in diameter, and attached to the tip of a 6- to 8-foot light pole. The whole thing was called wi´čɨt toho´na min šo´ne (pole to-catch its pigeon). The noose was stealthily lowered over the head of a bird and instantly jerked back into the booth. Each victim's neck was wrung. Ten to twelve might be taken at a time. The hunter remained concealed until all the wild birds had left voluntarily. The decoy birds he took home in their cages, the dead birds strung on a stick forced through the loose skin under their necks.

things he gave pigeons to Indians, all over; it is the same everywhere. They were told to go to that salt water at Tušao."

The pigeon blind in the tree functioned in the same manner as that on the ground. It was a more crude affair, made of any leafy branches tied up in the tree in whatever way best suited conditions. A beam to sit on was the main consideration. The tree chosen was one in which pigeons were known to roost. The hunter took several of the noose-poles with him and laid them out in various directions in the branches

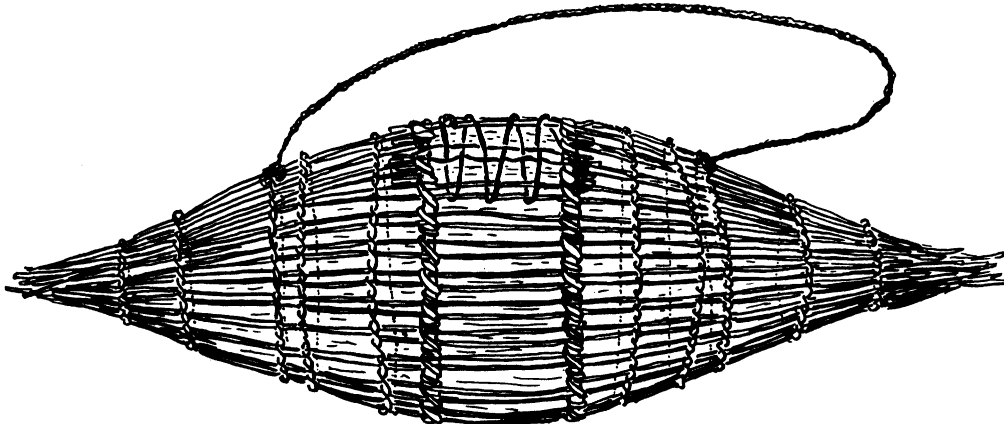


Fig. 1. Pigeon cage. (Schematic drawing after specimen in Kern County Historical Society Museum.)

around him. As the birds came to roost at dusk, they were snared with the poles most conveniently placed. A common practice of men who owned no caged pigeons was to climb such a tree before dawn, get one bird, and then use it as a decoy from the booth on the ground.

The tame pigeons were always kept in their cages (ti min šo´nɨn, house its pigeon's, Michahai; upa´omus ipo´kuɨk, basket pet's Waksachi) (fig. 1 herein). These were barrel-shaped, twined of dogwood (kiče´yu). Cracked acorns and water were fed the birds regularly. Three birds was the limit to a single cage; asked if they ever mated, S.O. said, "He never heard of anybody raising little ones."

The game birds were never sold when caught as game, but the live decoys were sold; more often, said S.O., given away. The game birds were cooked unplucked, either boiled in a pot (never in a basket) or roasted in hot ashes. The feathers were never saved.

The man who built a pigeon booth owned it. No charge was made to another who used it, but the owner's permission was necessary. There were three of these at Tušao, owned by Isham Bill, Bill Tyner, and S.O.'s father. Asked how this was compatible with his father's lineage totem and occupation (winatum), S.O. said that "it didn't matter, that his father never ate the pigeons nor did he himself; he just had that place." One suspects that payment of some kind was involved, perhaps indirectly, for such an owner. It is possible that the winatum's responsibility of seeing food provided on official occasions motivated the ownership. S.O. added, as though possibly condoning the catching and killing of his poša, "When Eagle made

The Waksachi built pigeon booths similar to that described for the Michahai (B.O.). The decoys were always six in number, let out in three pairs. In place of a decoy a simple noose twitch-trap was sometimes set up over the feeding platform, but this method never got more than one bird a day and was used only by a man who lacked decoys.

Some people kept doves as pets (mapuk) as well as for decoys. In either case they were lodged in cages (mapuwu´na) like the Michahai pigeon cages and tamed by the following method. The bird was held between the knees and a few tail feathers pulled out. The feathers were set afire and the bird held, by the feet, head down in the smoke for several minutes. Then it was given a little acorn meal to eat, which it promptly vomited. "Then that bird was always tame" (B.O.).

The pigeon booth is reported by Kroeber for "Southern Foothill Yokuts" (presumably Yaudanchi).[161]

[161]Handbook, 529, pl. 46. He informs me that he there saw a single decoy used.

Fishing

Fish were scarce in the upper streams in Waksachi territory, said B.O.[162] They were captured by poisoning; no spear or harpoon was used (B.O. and S.O.). (Perhaps because of the smallness of the streams in their vicinity.) A plant called ya´ohao (not soaproot, but unidentified) was mashed and scattered over the water. The fish became active, jumping around in the water, then became stupefied, when they were scooped up in fish baskets. Men prepared the poison, merely by mashing the plant leaves, but both sexes took part in capturing the fish.

Foods

Salt.--Salt was obtained from "a bush that looked like a tomato vine." While living at Čoloku (on Fisher's Ranch), S.O.'s father-in-law and his mother's sister used to gather it. To obtain the salt a pit was dug about 2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 1 foot deep. In this a fire was built and let burn down to coals. A grating was made by laying hardwood sticks across the earth's surface and on this the plants were laid. The whole thing was fanned with a fire fan. A material then oozed out of the plants and dropped on the coals forming large lumps. Then the whole thing was covered with earth and left overnight. In the morning the pit was opened and the salt, which was now a hard large mass, was cleaned of dirt. These lumps were trimmed and sold. This salt was eaten in tiny bits with meat; it was never put directly on food or cooked with it. The plant (or grass ?) which produced this salt was called in Michahai, ti´kɩt koi´yo (smells salt), in Wukchumni, a´lɩt, and in Waksachi, u´nabⁱ. It was sometimes boiled and the liquid drunk to cure nausea. Salt or brackish springs were all called tuša´o.

Rock salt (koiyo, Michahai) was obtained in trade from the Eastern Mono.

Manzanita cider.--Manzanita berries were gathered, mashed on a tray with a small pestle, and put into a sieve above a large clean mush basket. Water, poured over the mass, seeped through into the larger basket. A powdered plant called ča´mɩt (Michahai; pasida, Spanish; unidentified) was added as a thickener and flavorer. There were four or five such flavorers known, but S.O. could not name them. The manzanita drink thickened as it stood, and people came to drink it at whatever stage they preferred. It began to sour after twenty-four to forty-eight hours and was no longer thought fit to drink. S.O. insisted that it was in no sense intoxicating.

[162]Trout should be abundant; possibly he meant scarce in comparison with the numerous varieties of the lower foothill rivers and sloughs.

Yucca.--The yucca plants (o·´paᵒdra, Waksachi) which grow on the mountains to the south and east of Eshom Valley (on Carpenter's Hill, B.O.)[163] were secured for food. In the fall men from Eshom Valley, mostly Waksachi, went up to dig up the roots which they brought back to roast. In the spring they again went up to break down with hooked sticks (po´dos) the tall blossom buds (o´bⁱ) and returned with them in back-packs. At home they were cut into 18-inch lengths, and laid on a large coal fire. As the stems cooked, they were turned with a long pole. When removed from the fire, the exteriors were caked with a hard ashlike substance which was scraped off. Then the pieces were split open and the tough pulp of the interior was chewed to extract the sweet juice and the pulp was spat out. The whole process of gathering and cooking was men's work; one fire served for the group who divided up the yucca after it was cooked. B.O. said the cooked food was often dried, pounded up, and stored for winter use.

Piñon nuts.--Pine nuts (pone´diwᵃ, Waksachi) were obtained in the hills east of Eshom Valley, near Ox Springs. Waksachi and Patwisha families went camping there to get them in the late summer (August-September). A long pole with a shorter one tied to it at an angle made a strong hook with which the men hoisted themselves into the trees and hooked and knocked down cones. The cones were full grown but still in a "green" or unopened state.

At the camp the cones were piled on a big fire of coals and turned with long poles until their exteriors were burned and ashy. Removed, they were piled in a big heap where they steamed as they cooled. Sometimes the cones were taken home, but more often the nuts were extracted on the spot. This was done by holding a cone butt down on a basket tray. With an obsidian blade the tip end was cleft four ways; the outside of the cone could then be stripped down in sections by hand. This let all the nuts drop out on the basket. Occasionally the nuts too were cracked on the spot and only the meats taken home.

Piñon nuts from Owen's Valley, brought over for trade by the Eastern Mono were called te´ᵘwa. They were superior to the local variety.

Acorns.--Fine groves of black oaks grew on the floor and slopes of Eshom Valley. It was the men's task to knock down the acorns while they were still slightly green; this was accomplished by means of the wooden hooks used also for piñones and cactus. The women picked them up and carried them home in burden baskets. All returned home in midafternoon. Everyone in the family assisted with shelling the nuts, which were shelled before being stored in the house. Sometimes one person would crack them and another do the shelling. For cracking, the

[163]Probably also on Cactus Mountain.

nut was held butt down on a small flat stone and struck on the tip with another stone. A man would not hesitate to use his arrowstraightener for such a purpose, though other comfortable hand-shaped stones were kept about and so used. The shelled acorns were spread out on rocks to dry, then stored in large covered baskets in the house. Acorns to be stored in outdoor bins were not shelled. Acorn-shelling was a favorite evening occupation while some old person would tell stories.

Acorn mush.--The process of cooking was the usual one with hot stones. The stones were of a dull brownish color, hard and fine grained; granite was never used. The mush basket was always twined and invariably carried four horizontal rows of redbud ornamentation (pl. 2, b herein). The hot stones were lifted from the fire with two pine poles, dipped quickly into water to rinse (if ashes adhered, which they rarely did), and dropped into the mush. They were extracted from the mush with a looped mushstirrer made of grapevine.

If people were in some hurry to eat, the whole basket of boiling mush was set into a larger one filled with cold water. If they were in a great hurry, portions of mush were scooped up in individual baskets or clay bowls and lowered into cold water where they immediately solidified. These agglutinated cakes were removed from the water and served from a big tray. They were eaten "just that way."

A plant called paša was used to flavor acorn much.

Ya´ʼap.--This was a root (unidentified) about 1 to 2 inches long and 2 or 3 inches wide. It was boiled, or baked in ashes, and was sweet, mealy, and fragrant.

Yellowjacket nest.--This was dug up, roasted on a hardwood grating laid over coals, cooled, broken up, and eaten.

Honey.--A bee (?) called in English "big stick bee" (ta´bekoʼot, Waksachi) deposited honey all over a tree -- in its crevices, forks, or splits in the bark. This honey, while sticky, was sufficiently firm to be cut away in small pieces. An obsidian blade was used, and pieces obtained might be as large as a man's middle finger. The honey was taken back to camp on leaves, or in a leaf-lined basket, and was eaten immediately "just like candy." B.O. insisted that this was "old time" and that the bees did not come from Spanish sources.

Fish.--These were usually roasted between two layers of hot coals; the bottom layer was covered with sand. Occasionally they were boiled in a pot, but were less favored when so cooked.

Shellfish.--The only type known for eating was the freshwater oyster (river mussel). When whole, with meat inside, it was called ki´puš; the shell itself, which was burned to combine with tobacco, was known as ke´wi. As a food the oysters were used only by the people near Woodlake (Wukchumni and Gawia) or those of the slough region toward the lake in the tular.

Subsistence materials.--B.O. named the following animals, birds, etc., indicating which were totemic, which used for food and by whom. Many of the words are recognizable as Yokuts, particularly those for creatures not native to Waksachi mountain territory, e.g., soiyo´ti, antelope, e´bis, lake trout.

Animals:

tuhu´ni: deer; everyone ate
soiyo´ti: antelope; only around flats; all ate (no mountain goat known)
u´nu: grizzly bear; many did not eat; a family totem (ibuk)
tuhu´bu: brown bear: many did not eat; family totem
kutu·huza´giti tuhu´bu: black bear; many did not eat; family totem
iša´buč: coyote; no one ate: "might be somebody's ibuk"; was a dream helper
tuka´wɩš: bob-tailed wildcat: "might be somebody's ibuk"
a´otsa: fox; "maybe somebody's ibuk"
tru´nao: badger: some ate; not a totem
tsu´ka: cougar; dream helper for doctors and hunters
ta´bu: brush rabbit; all types of rabbits were eaten by everyone
teʼa´wa: cottontail rabbit
to´hpol: jack rabbit; only around flats
wi´jia: squirrel [kind?]; everyone ate
poho´ʼot: weasel; doctor's dream helper
pučuko´no: gopher; a secondary ibuk for people with Bear totem
a´čkɩt: mole; no one ate
ga´wa: wood rat; some people ate
to·´pi: dark gray wolf [mountain coyote]; no one ate
ti·´bük: beaver
naha´ʼots: otter

Birds:

guiñwa´: eagle; chief's totem
kini´: duck hawk; a family totem
wubuyana: "chicken" hawk; a totem for some families (probably redtailed hawk)
kwiša´ra: unidentified, a big hawk; some old people ate
pikɩ´digi: sparrow hawk; not a totem
wⁱhutzai´ya: buzzard; no one ate
we´ja: condor; no one ate
hutu´ʼdu: a "blue" owl; no one ate; a doctor's dream helper; there was also a "yellow" owl whose name B O. could not recall
pa´ʼaṛa: crow
ka´ṛapuč: raven
ča·k: blackbird
čiʷau´wi: another kind of blackbird
o´čo´eč: magpie
hai´hai: Steller jay; old people ate
šai´go: blue jay; old people ate
hu·phu·´pna: flicker; old people ate
haṛa´ki: old people ate
pana´tat: redheaded woodpecker; old people ate
soṛo´ki: "speckled woodpecker" (possibly Nuttall's woodpecker)
si·´čeč: redbreasted sapsucker; old people ate

čuču´'ai: bluebird; too small to eat
čini´ša: Oregon towhee; too small to eat
tu´mna: chickadee; too small to eat
ču'i´na: Oregon junco
muči'uoi´na: mockingbird ?, thrasher ?
sagikiyi: goldfinch; "first sign of spring"
troti´tɩš: Audubon warbler?
so'o´wi: pigeon; everyone ate
ho´mona: valley quail; everyone ate
či´pɩt: mountain quail; everyone ate
oi'oi´'ina: roadrunner; all ate but winatum
saŗa´ŗapa: kingfisher
šo´'šo': little green heron
wa´kɩts: blue crane
ko´dɩto: sand-hill crane
ka´hi: grouse
kura´vi: duck (kind?)
la´la: geese
huihui´mus: pelican; flew by to and from lakes
sai´ga: mudhen

Insects:
mü·´yɩm: fly
čokoi´'ica: wasp
pe·´na: yellow jacket
hu´biwa: bumble bee
naraposta´ pe´na: hornet
ta´beko'ot: "big stick bee"; kept honey in tree-bark crevices
tsutsu´ñɩp: tarantula
mu´ča: black widow spider

Reptiles and water creatures:
wulu´lu: brown lizard
kumče´ča: black lizard
wasu´'i: a large "brush" lizard
musi´gi: rattlesnake
paso´go: water snake
kolo´lki: King snake
o·´koko: bullfrog
kuai´aki: a small frog
a·natza´na: water dog
ta´lɩm: speckled trout
e´bič: lake trout, not found in Waksachi area
po´lhoi: sucker
aiya´go: a flat fish (perch?), not found in Waksachi area
gai´hɩt: salmon, not found in Waksachi area
ta´kɩts: minnows
a´ñya: turtle

Trees and shrubs:
pohue´dopᵃ: valley oak
ya´kapᵃ: post oak
wi´'upᵃ: black oak; the acorns of this made the "best" mush
sakša´ba: live oak
tikai´ya: acorns of all oak species
a´psoabᵃ: manzanita
to´nap: mountain mahogany (used for plain bow)
no´jibⁱ: pepperwood (used for plain bow)
tso´poip: chaparral brush (ceanothus?)
wo´haba: "Jack" pine
pane´wanɩp: sugar pine
pone´diwa: nut of sugar pine
tu·´bap: "Digger" pine (piñon)
tu'ba: piñon nut
wa·p: cedar
sana´uap: fir
o·´paᵒdra: yucca ("cactus")
o·´bⁱ: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo´honaba: redwood
ye´bɩp: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa´tɩp: slippery elm
napa·´'apᵃ: alder
soho´pᵃ: cottonwood
tanapo´nipᵃ: ash
pa´sitap: willow
sᵘhu´bᵃ: small willow
se·´nowiyap: elderberry bush

Firemaking.--The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

from house to house. "He went the rounds and never declined" (S.O.). This procedure was not followed with persons whose intimate connections in a village took them there frequently.

A person approaching a house shouted or otherwise drew attention to himself. To approach quietly was looked upon with suspicion.

The Waksachi greeting used by B.O. was hani´'iwa'ü´ñwa [one word]. This he claimed was wholly aboriginal although the translation is practically the "How are you?" of European culture. The proper or expected reply was nasu´mi naü´ñwa tsatsa´mo (all of us well, or satisfactory).

Any old man might be called [paternal] "uncle" as a term of good-nature and esteem, much as Europeans call any greybeard "little grandfather."

During the evening, between supper and complete darkness, or after dark in the winter, people sat around conversing. Some would be engaged in tasks such as acorn-shelling or preparing tobacco for the pre-retiring drink. They talked about their plans for ceremonies, hunting, or other occupations; particularly important were discussions of the seasonal moves to other localities for fish, acorns, seeds, etc. Older people told stories, explained the nature of the world, and prescribed conduct for youngsters. This was the only means of instruction.

During the evening young people would shell acorns while some old person told stories or adventures. Stories were told only at night. S.O. recalls Etak and Wilolohi as especially fine entertainers.

The hand game was favorite evening entertainment as it could only be played at night, whereas the women's dice game could be played only during the day.

Persons wishing to induce good dreaming would foregather at a house to drink of tobacco and lime.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets

According to D. the basketry of the Michahai and Waksachi was exactly like that of their Yokuts neighbors. From other informants we know this to be true, yet it should be pointed out that a mutual exchange has brought this about. The Mono-type cradle of twined rods and fan-shaped shade has been adopted by the Yokuts, while the Yokuts circular coiled sifting tray has been taken over by the Mono in preference to their own twined triangular sifting tray. Several shapes and their uses were distinguished by D. and may be taken as typical for all the foothill tribes, both Yokuts and Mono, between Kings River and Tule River. They are shown in figures 2 and 3, Part I. It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li´h'·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti´'i´si na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

Coiled ware.--1. o´sa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a´mat (Michahai), kača´o (Wukchumni), a´po (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

2a. pi´kwo[1] (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a´oki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo´to (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

5. tai´wan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.--6. po·´no (Michahai), tapono´či (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka´ti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, S.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti´'i (Michahai).

7. a´naš (Michahai), wo·´no (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to´hod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča´phai (Michahai), ta´myuk (Wukchumni), ta´neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

Pottery

Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wɩš (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwɩš, wi´či kiwɩš, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all nignt. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

[164]The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

Cordage and Nets

Sinew cord (ta´mowi´ wɩšɩb) was made only by men. Sinew from deer leg and back was saved and dried. When wanted for use, it was soaked in water, then pounded between two stones. A man often used his arrow straightener for this if he had one. The material was worked over with the fingers, smoothed, and finally separated into filaments.

To make cord used primarily for bowstrings and arrow tying three fine strips of sinew of differing lengths were knotted together evenly at one end. The knot was held in the left hand, and the three strands, well separated, lay on the right thigh under the palm of the right hand. The first movement was toward the body: the left hand held the strands taut while the right hand rolled them up the thigh. The left hand then relaxed, which permitted the knot end to roll up. It was drawn tight again. The right hand then rolled the string, which in the portion between the two hands was now a single 3-ply cord, forward down the thigh. This completed the cycle of movements which produced six to twelve inches of cord. The pressure of the right hand was not relaxed from start to finish. The movement of the hand was not straight back and forth. On the back stroke it was a rotating movement, the thumb side of the hand moving but slightly while the outside described an arc. The forward stroke was straight.

The next section of sinew was treated in the same way. The left hand grasped the cord just above the point where the three strands separated. New strands were spliced, i.e., rolled in by overlappings, never knotted. As the basic strands were of different lengths, only one need be spliced in at a time, which not only was easier to handle but obviated excessive thickening in the cord. The strand to be spliced was always placed in the center of the trio as they were rolled up the thigh.

Milkweed string (wi´šibɩb wiši´bi; milkweed, wi´šibɩb, Waksachi; če', Michahai) was made only by women. B.O. thought this string was all 2-ply, but was not certain. Milkweed plants were laid out in masses on bedrock mortars to dry. The stems were then sprinkled with water (not soaked) and pounded. The fibres were smoothed down with the fingers. The rolling process for making it into string was exactly like that for sinew cord.

A coarser cord called sa´hɩp (the Yokuts ša') was also made of willow bark by Waksachi.

The carrying net (tapi´hᵃ) and tumpline (ta·´wap) were made by women, said B.O., but were most used by men. Women carried the line over the head and in so doing used the coiled basket cap (pi·´kuoë) which they never wore at any other time. Men placed the line across the chest and deltoid muscles. Any objects which the net could contain might be carried in it. The material and process of manufacture

were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´čιt, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukečιt), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šilι´mkai in Waksachi.

<u>Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)</u>

1. yɛt
2. pu´noi
3. so´pιn
4. hatpa´na
5. yitι´šnιl
6. ču´lipi
7. no´mčιn
8. mo´noš
9. no´nιp
10. tsi'a´o
11. yɛ´čam
12. po´ctom
13. co´yum
14. ha´čpan
15. yι´čum
16. čo´lpum
17. no´mčum
18. mu´nčum
19. no´npom
20. punoi´ tsi'ao
21. punoi tsi'ao yɛt
22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
23. punoi tsi'ao sopιn, etc.
30. sopιn tsi'ao, etc.
100. yɛt pi´ča
1000. tsi'ao piča

PLEASURES

Games

The following games were played by the Waksachi.

<u>Shinny</u>.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kowιt, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choosing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

<u>Ring and pole</u>.--Two men would play this game (ho'o´tuš, Michahai; na'a´ñapai'šιt, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki´no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

<u>Pitching stones</u>.--This game (nahai´witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both partners' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

<u>Pitching poles</u>.--This game (ai´kaš, Michahai; nahai´wιtho·pima, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

<u>Dice game</u>.--This was a woman's game (hutču´ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

<u>Hand game</u>.--This game (hana´ošiko, Michahai; nai'a´nwιt, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

Musical Instruments

Flute.--This (u´ṭač, Michahai) was made of elderwood (wise´ta). It was about twelve to fourteen inches in length and had four holes. The pith was removed throughout. The instrument was held vertically in front of the player, but was played on one side of the mouth. To a good player one would say: ma pai´yu u´ṭau (you know-how to-play [anything]).

Whistle.--This (pu´sač, Michahai) was made from the shinbone of a "chicken" hawk; eagle bone was never used for this. It was about three inches long and had no reed.

Cocoon rattle.--For this instrument (ča´o'ɩč, Michahai) three or four cocoons of the silk moth with pebbles inserted were tied on a short stick. It was used only to accompany the Bear Dance and Shamans' Contest.

Clapper.--This (ṭa´ohɩl, Michahai) was an elderberry stick some eighteen inches long, split two-thirds of its length and the pith removed. It was held in the right hand and flapped against the palm of the left, never against wood or stone. It was the normal or profane accompaniment to all dance singing.

Tobacco

Tobacco plants grew abundantly in Eshom Valley, particularly on burnt-over ground, but it was a poor variety, "small and dry." Most of the tobacco used by the Waksachi was bought from the Wukchumni and other people to the south (B.O.). Only a few people knew how to prepare the plants for use, but the function was not restricted in any way.

Both S.O.'s parents took on tobacco preparation when they became elderly: it was a favorite occupation of the old. Early in spring (March-April) they would go to the plants and pinch out the center tips "to make them grow bigger." This was the only care given the plants. When the leaves were yellow and about ready to drop off (about June), they went out with large baskets and picked them; sometimes they pulled up entire plants.

The leaves were spread out on a flat rock to dry thoroughly. Then they were pulverized in a mortar hole kept exclusively for this purpose. Meanwhile the stems and roots, which had been washed in running water, were boiled and the resulting liquid was stirred into the powder to form a paste. Sometimes "another weed with a good smell" (S.O. could not identify or name it) was likewise pulverized and added to the paste.

The paste was shaped into round flat cakes (tapi´pɩt) or cylindrical ones (pultu´kɩn). As they were making the cakes S.O.'s parents would say, tapa´lɩn nɩm ti´'ɩs (flat mine [I] make), or, pultu´kus ni´'ɩm ti'ɩs (round mine [I] make). The Waksachi terms for shapes were: a flat disclike cake (ta´kan), a round ball (unawa´ra po´nən co´'og), and little cylinders (pulči´na).

The little cylinder, hereafter referred to as pulčina, had a perforation at one end so it could be worn on a string about the neck. According to B.O., if a man were cold when out hunting or traveling, a bite of pulčina would warm him. But B.O. laughed at the use of pulčina as a "ghost-scarer" by the Wukchumni.

Tobacco was smoked by both sexes, though only men carried pipes in their ear lobes. The favorite pipe was a cane tube (si´kɩl, Michahai; ha´ob[i], Waksachi) about three to four inches long. The best cane was got at Pasiwana (John Crow's hollow, no. 28 on Local Map E). One end of the tube was stuffed with a bit of oak-fungus tender, then filled through the other end with bits of tobacco shaved off a cake. The end with the tinder was then lighted with a twig burned to live charcoal. The cane tube itself scorched and burned slightly as the tobacco was consumed, yet would last through at least a dozen occasions, as a few puffs were all that were indulged in when smoking. A wooden pipe (šu´kmai) of elderwood was about four inches long, somewhat conical, as it was shaped down toward the mouth end. The clay pipe (wi·nab[i]) was a crude imitation of the wooden one. Neither S.O. nor B.O. had ever seen or heard of pipes of stone.

Both Michahai and Waksachi ate tobacco mixed with lime to induce vomiting, which was thought to encourage dreams and insure good health. The tobacco and baked freshwater oyster shells (ke´wi) obtained by trade from Wukchumni and Gawia were pounded in a special small mortar and pestle (pl. 2, d herein). Then a little water was added to form a soupy liquid. The mortar and pestle were passed around among the participants, each person taking a lick or two of the liquid from the pestle.

A second kind of lime [?] (hoso´sɩl), like rock, was gotten out of the ground in Drum Valley. This "turned to flour" when heated over live coals. The fire fan was used during the process to keep the heat even.

Among the Waksachi, men only took tobacco this way, but Michahai and Chukaimina women indulged in its use. It might be taken any time of the year. Some men and women took it every night: S.O. said he took it often, that is, about once a week. The process was called, pa´luwi šoga´ni nɩm naha´hi (pestle tobacco my eating), according to S.O., who gave tobacco as šo´gən (Michahai, Chukaimina, Choinimni, and Chukchansi), so´'og (Waksachi, Wobonuch, Holkuma), and the growing plant as woi´yan šogən or woi´nɩčɩn (Michahai). The mortar and pestle were koi´wɩš and pa´lwi (Michahai) and koiwɩš and pa´ha (Waksachi)(S.O. and B.O. respectively).

The Eastern Mono (Yo´'ots) had tobacco which they smoked in wooden pipes. B.O. said

they had the custom of passing the pipe around a group so each person might take a few puffs. He thought "they had their own tobacco," whereas S.O. said they got it by trade from the Western Mono and Yokuts. Both are probably correct: the San Joaquin Valley tobacco no doubt was desired as superior.

TIMES, NATURE, DIRECTIONS, SEASONS, BELIEFS

The following times of day were designated for conversational and practical purposes by the Michahai:

upiu´: daytime
o´puš ti´ši: sunrise [sun comes]
či´nao: noon [now means "dinner"]
siwɩ´lši: midafternoon [lit., "downing" or "lessening" referring to the sun]
niawa´lči: sundown ["about gone," not literally]
toi'a´nši: night, dark
ču´pao toi'an: midnight [lit., center, halfway between two points]
toi´niu: post-midnight
tawa´niu ti´ši: dawn [lit., morning star comes]

The morning star, sun, moon, and water were all addressed with a prayerful statement which was standardized, the essence of which was, "I am doing thus now, may I continue to do thus."

A well-reared man or woman always rose before sunrise and walked out to speak to the morning star (tawa´nɩč) saying, "I'll see you when you come out as long as I live." The new moon (hača´ main u´puš) was addressed likewise, "I see you at this moment. I'll see you all the time as long as I live." The full moon was called hi´am wate´'ɛša upuš main (now enlarged moon our).

The sun S.O. called upuš main, the same term as for moon, adding that the Wukchumni said opo´lo main. "The sun goes up and comes down always" (referring to its immutability). Shamans of prestige got power from it which they used when making airshot. The sun was addressed at any time, as by a man off hunting, who would say, ɩniša´n nan wan upuš nɩm (good [luck] me give sun my). When the sun sets, it travels back under the earth at night, to the east. The morning star "always comes ahead of the sun to show people that the day is coming." The morning star "switches its place at certain times of the year and becomes the evening star but it is always called by the same name -- tawanɩč or site´lši tawanɩč." When the morning star comes the night rises "right up to heaven."

The Pleiades are called goi´yuma (young women) as elsewhere with the Yokuts, and the same story of their homosexuality and abandonment of their husbands is known to the Michahai and Waksachi.

An eclipse of the moon or sun is attributed to Coyote's eating of the sun and is called by the descriptive phrase, kai´yu a´nahaš opšu´ main (Coyote eat sun-our). During an eclipse people ran out and shouted loudly, some actually said, kaiyu om a´naš (Coyote [do] not eat), or kaiyu om api·´ (Coyote [do] not finish, i.e., leave some). Others said, lo´luš tuna´nuna (leave it alone; not literal). "When they hollered this way, Coyote would let go." The Waksachi terms for eclipse of sun and moon respectively were: taraue´ nawa´rit and ta´owᵘ nawa´rit.

The following four seasons were distinguished: pua´kɩn, fall, acorn-dropping time [October, November]; tomo´kšiu, winter, cold approaching [December to February]; tiša´miu, spring, green coming [March, April]; haia´lu, summer, grass drying up [May to September]. The months of May and June were spent in seed-gathering. In July and August the people went higher up into the mountains to get piñon nuts. When they returned to the permanent village site, the mourning ceremonies were held in September-October. Following this, the acorn crop was harvested, and the Bear Dance held about November. In February-March tañai-drinking took place, and in April the Snake Ritual was seen in the neighboring Yokuts villages.

B.O. gave the following information in Waksachi terms, which parallel those given by S.O. for the Michahai.

Times, stars, nature:
tapewa´no: daytime
ha´nos: before sunrise
motve´sihop: sunrise
tukita´wena: noon
motara´tahikup: sunset
ure´'uñus: after sundown
totsoi´'idi: dark or fully night
tara´ue: sun
ta´owᵘ: moon
nasu´mi te´gi'up: stars, general; lit., "all stars"
tapu´ha: morning star
so´ëso´ë: Pleiades
te´gi'up wa´tseit: shooting star; lit., "star falling"
na´warit: added to sun or moon indicated eclipse
tuo´pade: sky
to·´uare: clouds
u·´'uare: rain
paho´nop: hail
nu´babi: snow
pi·´bɩp: earth, dirt
pasi´wap: sand
patigui´noba: mud
tɩp: granite
pahe´: soapstone

Directions:
pite´kimat: south
quiwi´: north [given as west by other Western Mono]

peda´wi: west by south
paña´ri: east by north
huñwa´rᵉ: wind, might be added after any of the four above to indicate winds from those directions

Seasons:
ta·´wano: spring (approximately February to April); clover, greens, jimsonweed
tasa´wano: summer (May to September); rattlesnakes out; "all kinds" of seeds ripe
iu´bano: fall (October and November); acorns, pine nuts; deer hunting
to·´wano: winter (December and January); men made string; women made pottery and baskets

B.O. insisted that four seasons were aboriginal divisions, as did S.O. Perhaps the interpolation of a "fall" season, omitted by valley Yokuts, is climatically correct for the mountain-dwelling peoples.

Beliefs and Miscellaneous Data

The footprints of the Pleiades girls are in a rock pile called opo´do (Sun place) near Aukland. There is one little rock which, if stepped on, will cause a rattlesnake to come out and bite the offender.

Eclipses are attributed to Coyote's eating of the moon or sun.

Rattlesnakes were admonished not to bite. Some snake doctors, one of them was Pušlɩlɩn, told S.O. to say this every time he went out in March or April: "You get out of my way. As long as I live, all the year round, you keep out of my way." Said S.O., "The rattlesnakes heard this and would not come near you or bite you."

A tarantula's bite was not seriously poisonous, so B.O. was told by people of his grandparents' generation. They were not afraid to allow them to crawl on them and bite them, and "to show off" a shaman would hold one on his tongue and be bitten. The black spider (mu´ča, the Black Widow) was poisonous, and only a "big doctor," to show what power he had, would permit one to bite his tongue.

B.O. once swallowed a fly; this made him very sick. An acquaintance of his, however, would swallow them alive "just to show that it didn't make him sick."

The Hewatsi were prehistoric malicious people who "killed on the spot." They were the original owners of the sun, from whom it was stolen.[165]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

The chief's (tia'a, Michahai; po´ginape, Waksachi) office was inherited in the male line and passed to a brother or son of the deceased chief. To which relative it went depended wholly upon the capacities of the possible successor. Differences of opinion between S.O. and B.O. may actually represent differences in Yokuts and Western Mono culture rather than discrepancies of interpretation of their culture. S.O. claimed that, if the male line of a chiefly lineage were exhausted so that there were neither sons, brothers, nor paternal nephews of the chief to replace him, his daughter would function as chief until her oldest son could take her place. S.O. said this was possible "because everybody in the chief's family was just like the chief [i.e., not only called tia'a but respected as such]. However, B.O. stated that the office was never filled by a woman "because only a chief was called 'chief' although all members of the family had Eagle as ibuk [totem]." B.O. continued to say that, if there were no male heirs in the chief's or his brother's lines (though there might be through daughters), the men of the village would convene, select a man they believed suitable, make up a sum of money for him, and offer him the position. A man so chosen was under no obligation to accept. No positive genealogical or anecdotal evidence was obtainable to support either point of view.

The succession of chiefs at Tušao was as follows: Pa´o'ɩč (ca. 1870), Waksachi, then his son Koto´bɩč (Bill Tyner), and then the latter's son, Si´wa (Tom Tyner), still living in 1927. Contemporaneously there was a Michahai chief, the father of Čite'ɩk, whose son did not succeed him but whose grandson did; this was Wo´tuš (Tom Bacon, also known as Sipu´ja).

The succession at the Waksachi village of Čitatu is shown in an already published genealogy.[166] The order is from Wa´nuk to his son Čo'o´po. Then to two of the latter's sons, first Ča´muč, then Wa´kɩt, neither of whom seems to have had children. A third son of Čo'opo, Pala´ha (the informant B.O.), was not mature enough at the time to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently his parallel cousin on the paternal side, Hɛ´lčap, was selected. When Hɛlčap was approaching death he wanted his son, Claude Osborn, to follow him as chief. But others wanted the office to return to the direct chiefly line, specifically to Palaha who was then a middle-aged man. The age, dignity, and fine character of Palaha were the assets which determined him as chief in the minds not only of the remaining Waksachi but also of the neighboring tribes. In 1927 a few intimates of Claude stubbornly insisted verbally on his chieftancy; as a person of sound character, he probably obtained it upon Palaha's enfeeblement or death.

The secondary chiefs (tuye´yi, Michahai; the Waksachi were said to have no special term)

[165] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38, 32.

[166] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 419.

were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotobɩč (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai´nɩč); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

Person	Tribe	Totem	Dream helper
Kɩlmišɛt, winatum	Michahai	Dove	---
Tčaodɩt	Waksachi	Eagle	---
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)	Dove	---
Takač, chief	Entimbich	Eagle	---
Wotuš	(?)	Eagle	---
Hawanuč	Wukchumni	Eagle	---
Mosus	Entimbich	Eagle	---
Čeči	Entimbich	Bear	---
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch	Dove, Roadrunner	---
Kučum	Choinimni	Dove	---
Hučač	(?)	Eagle	---
Waja, I	Wobonuch	Eagle	---
Kuijal	(?)	Dove	---
Wilolohi	Wobonuch	Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Supana	Wobonuch	Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)	Eagle	---
Etak	Waksachi	Owl	---
Halopča	Waksachi	Owl	---
Palaha	Waksachi	Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch	Fox	---
Pušlɩlɩn, shaman	Chukaimina	Snake	Coyote

Redemption of Totem Animals, Aerie Ownership

Ritualistic payment was tendered for the killing of eagles, falcons, bears, and occasionally coyotes.

Eagle.--Eagles were not often killed although, according to both B.O. and S.O., it was not thought dangerous to do so, nor was it necessary to have permission from the chief if the eagle were a stray one. An eagle known to belong to a chief's aerie would not be killed. However, said S.O., "When a man killed an eagle, he took it to a chief -- Eagle is chief." The chief then sent out word, and everyone, regardless of his poša, came to make a payment to the hunter. The chief contributed a larger sum than the rest, but it was he who came into possession of the bird and kept or sold its valuable parts. The head, skin, and leg bones had ceremonial uses as talismans of supernatural power: the head as it was, the skin for its down, and the bones for whistles [sic]. Wing feathers were used on arrows. (The same parts of falcons were similarly used.) When the chief resold these items, he made a slight profit. Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that neither Michahai nor Waksachi honored the carcass with a special burial in earth or water.

Live eagles and falcons were the subject of redemption more often than were dead specimens. B.O. said people would get young eagles to rear in order to sell them eventually to chiefs. "When a chief heard of a person having one somewhere he would send his winatum to have it brought over." As soon as the day of its arrival was known, the chief ordered all the people with Eagle ibuk (poša, totem) to assemble. They came dressed in their best, stood in a long line, and danced while the eagle was held by its owner. A blanket was then put on the ground and the bird set upon it. The chief who was redeeming the bird had a large basket of beads and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket or other valuables. The other people filed past the bird, each one throwing down a handful of beads on the blanket. Finally the chief put down his basket of beads and gifts and took up the bird saying, "That is my ibuk." The former owner then took up his pay. There was no weeping.

The eagle was then kept "by the chief and his family as long as it wanted to stay." It was fed fresh raw meat daily. B.O.'s father had one: it would go off each year and come back for a while; finally it never returned.

For the same procedure with living birds, S.O. stated that "when the birds were grown they were given [sic] to some neighboring chief, like Wukchumni or anywhere." When the owner was ready to dispose of his bird, he sent his winatum to notify the chief whom he had determined upon as the recipient. If the offer was accepted, he took the bird down[167] and was given a paying ceremony as described above (see also Wukchumni, Tachi). The purchasing chief could keep, resell, or free the bird at his will.

Accessible eagle and falcon aeries were owned by chiefs,[168] and the young birds taken from them each year. S.O. described the procedure of his father, Kɩlmi´šɛt, winatum, and the chief, Pao'ɩč, at Tušao.

In the rocks on the steep hillside above Tušao there was a kini´ hawk's (Duck Hawk, the peregrine falcon) nest. The young hatched about March. Each spring the chief and his winatum went to get them. Although Pao'ɩč was an old man, it was he, rather than the winatum, Kɩlmišɛt, who climbed down over the edge of the bluff. He had a rope of ho' tied around his waist, and Kɩlmišɛt stood above, holding the other end. The nest was in a crevice about forty feet below the top of the rocks and about one hundred feet above the little valley bottom. When Pao'ɩč reached the nest he jerked the rope as a sign that he was safe. He had a deerskin, in which he wrapped the one or two small birds, and put them on his back in a carrying net slung from his shoulders. The old birds usually came back, scolding and making feints at the intruder. Then the chief would talk to the birds, telling them what was to be done with their children, how they were to be honored, and so on. At the same time he would be calling upon his supernatural powers for aid: "Pao'ɩč was helped by all his ainɩč." Then the old man would jerk the rope and Kɩlmišɛt would help hoist him up.

The little falcons were too young to fly off. They were kept in the house for a while, but as they grew bigger they were put out in near-by trees where they sat or flew off a little as they pleased. Pao'ɩč and Kɩlmišɛt "had to go out every day to hunt fresh meat for the birds."

There was another hawk's nest about a quarter-mile farther up the cañon. This was a tua´kini˙, "who went off at night but stayed home all day,"[169] but its young were not taken.

Bear.--Bears were given ritual redemption, but only members of Bear lineages were called upon to pay. When the headman of a Bear lineage, who was usually an elderly man who had acquired dream power from Bear [i.e., he was not merely a plain lineage member] learned that a bear had been brought in to a village, he assembled his people. The head, paws and claws,

[167] The route was usually downward, i.e., plainwards, as the eagles were more prized at a distance from the hills.

[168] I failed to discover how these were inherited, whether they went with the chiefly office or to a natural heir who was not necessarily the succeeding chief.

[169] The identification of tua´kini˙ is uncertain; as a hero in Eastern Mono mythology he equates with the Yokuts Falcon who may be either the Prairie Falcon or Duck Hawk. The true night hawk is not supposed to occur in California.

and skin of the animal were laid on a blanket, and the Bear pošam formed a line and threw money on the blanket as they filed by. However, the Bear headman received only the paws or claws. The animal's head and teeth were thrown away. The hunter himself still retained the bearskin which he might give, but could not sell, to a Bear pošam; he could not give it to anyone else (S.O.). But according to B.O., the skin was sold or could be obtained by the Bear headman through the redemption process. In either case the hunter kept the carcass, the meat of which he was free to eat or give away.

Bear cubs were sometimes reared, but they were never given a ritual redemption as were young eagles. They could be sold to anyone, usually westward to plains people. B.O. himself once had a little cub which he "took away off and turned loose when he was big enough to look after himself."

Coyote.--Coyotes were rarely killed. But a killed coyote could be taken to a man of a Coyote lineage, and some money would be given in return The skin might be used for a Coyote clown costume, but was not valued otherwise. Evidently coyote redemption was not a regular practice and, possibly because of its rarity as a lineage animal, was not a profitable one for the hunter.

Naturally, no killer was totemically attached to the animal killed. Also, for all totemic animals except the bear cubs, the redeemers felt it incumbent upon them to honor their dead totem by the ritual payment.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

There were no definite observances or proscriptions during pregnancy. Some women ate only soft food as a matter of personal preference. Some avoided doing heavy work, such as pounding acorns, during the last months. If the prospective mother's residence were patrilocal, the mother-in-law might do her work for her; if she were at home, one of her sisters might do all her work (S.O.). A woman who felt sick did not have to work, relatives of her own family would help her (D.) . But D. added that there was no rule for this: convenience and circumstance determined the behavior of all persons concerned.

A pregnant woman was referred to as ča·n witɩp nuš (will be baby [?]), and the act of giving birth was called axɩ´diši. The woman remained in her own house where she lay on her back on a bed of mats during delivery. Two stakes to which she clung were driven into the ground on either side. Usually she had one woman assistant who might be any knowledgeable female relative of her own or husband's family. This midwife pressed the parturient around the waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena´oša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkɩd) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound to a forked-stick cradle (akhɩ´lɩč). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the ground searching for it and would never learn to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (to'o´di) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called te´'ena´ošita, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

[170]A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171]But D. said the Yaudanchi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.

meat tabu would either grow very fat or become emaciated (D.). Eating meat made the woman sick, "her insides weren't clean" (S.O.).

The mother could not scratch herself during the six-day period.

The tabu period was strictly enforced for the first child, but was lightened progressively with later offspring. Thus, according to S.O., the tabu period on meat was three months for the first child, two months for the second, three weeks or one month for the third. Thereafter it was a matter of choice with the mother, but rarely was the tabu abandoned entirely. Usually no meat was eaten by the mother until the infant's navel stump came off. Even under modern conditions a mother refuses meat from two to five days after her delivery.

The naming of the child took place about twelve days after its birth. Until that time, and often for a month or two after, it was called a´ktač (S.O.); called we´čɩp if a boy, and wi´tɛp if a girl (D.). Personal names were used in direct address from two months on through life (S.O.). Normally the name was bestowed by the paternal grandfather or some influential person on the father's side (D.); by the paternal uncle, grandmother, or great aunt (S.O.). "The mother's family had nothing to say" (S.O.). The name was often that of the paternal grandfather, paternal uncle, or aunt. D. insisted that only one name was given and that no other was used after the death of the elder namesake, but this did not hold true for the Waksachi, as the Western Mono frequently have two names at least.

The naming ceremony was called duni´ša, the general word for ceremonies; the ceremony was the same for a male and female infant. The grandfather, within the house and with the parents and parents-in-law present, announced the name. Outside the house the grandfather had a dancer who sang and danced (D. could not say what about). The step was the piston-rod movement with the right fist placed under the left elbow and vice versa, alternating with each step (fig. 8, a, Pt. I.). Everyone came to watch. A Wobonuch named Paila´la, who lived at Sohonto [Ko'onikwe] was noted for dancing on these occasions. His activities were the same for a boy or girl baby. D. was uncertain whether or not the baby was moved into the twined willow cradle with fan-shaped hood at this time; S.O. said it was, but probably this was done at the mother's ritual.

The mother's cleansing ritual (epla´hoⁱ unu´maloᵘ, washing daughter-in-law) took place the third moon after her delivery. On the morning of the day set, the mother-in-law (and sometimes her sisters)[172] came to the mother with a washing basket, a set of new clothes, and a quantity of meat. They washed her, put the new clothes on her, and any other ornaments which she already possessed. This washing was purely ritualistic, as the woman had bathed that day, as usual, after rising from the hot pit. The meat was cooked and they all, including the father, partook of it, The woman's parents gave the man's parents "about two sacks of acorn meal" (S.O.); gave them acorn meal and blankets (D.). The parents-in-law (ma´kši) stayed all day; they never quarrelled, were always congenial. People came to see the mother and her infant, but there was no singing, dancing, or playing of games. After this ritual the man and wife could sleep together

The cradle (akhɩlɩč), as described by S.O., had a forked stick as foundation. Across this were tied with ša' cord several horizontal pieces of split wood. On top of this was fastened a stiff mat of twined "chaparral brush" (i.e., the normal Mono-type stiff cradle back). Down each side were a series of buckskin thong loops to carry the string band which held the baby in place. When the baby was about six months old, a shade of twined "chaparral brush" of the fan-shaped Mono type, was affixed to the cradle (pl. 2, b herein).

The baby was first wrapped in an old piece of deerskin or rabbitskin blanket with shredded willow bark, usually the remains of old aprons, laid in as an absorbent. Over this was wrapped another blanket of rabbitskin or a single wildcat skin. The outer wrapping was omitted in warm weather.

Puberty

When a girl's breasts grew large enough for some milk [sic] to be exuded, she stopped eating meat; otherwise she would have large breasts. (D. pointed out a fat young girl who was the result of modern carelessness in this respect.) She must then begin to use a scratching stick on her head, as her hair would break off and be short if she touched it with her fingers. These observances were continued up to and through a girl's first menstrual period and at the two following. There was no separate hut for menstruating women; they did not cook, and intercourse was forbidden. Bathing followed the period.

On the occasion of the first period a little cleansing ritual (ɛpla´oša) was made by the girl's parents. She was first washed in the river or creek, then taken home where she was ritually washed from a basket. A new deerskin apron or such ornaments as the family could afford were put on her, and she was given meat to eat. There was no dancing or singing on this occasion, although it was not prohibited in any sense. Neither was there any betrothal or association with a youth.

[172]The infant's paternal grandmother and aunts, as it were.

Marriage

With respect to marriage, S.O. said that no type of cousin marriage was tolerated, but cousins were not "counted" beyond second cousins, sometimes third, depending on propinquity of residence; beyond third it would be "all right to marry." Both the levirate and sororate were common but not compulsory. Usually a spouse waited five or six years before remarrying; "they would die right away if they married too soon."

At Tušao the advances toward a marriage were made by a boy's parents. They talked about it, discussing suitable matches for their son. The girl must not be related in any way: cousins never married. A similar totem animal, however, was no bar to marriage. When a decision had been reached, the boy's parents (or sometimes only the father) would take a present of acorns and visit the girl's parents. They presented the gift, saying that they wanted to be makši (co-parents-in-law) with them and have the girl for a daughter-in-law. After a visit discussing casual affairs, they went home. About six days later (S.O. was not sure how many, "a week maybe") they went back to the girl's home. If their proposal had been accepted, they were given a little feast by the girl's parents. Then the parents consulted their children and, it was said, the couple were usually agreeable. Such arrangements were made when the children were between ten and eighteen years of age, though "a boy wasn't often so old." They did this because "they didn't like to have their children go way off to marry."

When all was settled, the makši exchanged gifts, which might comprise beads, baskets, acorn meal, or skins. There was no gift from the boy's family in excess of those from the girl's, "they were just even." The boy himself did not have to bring any gifts.

The boy slept with the girl in her home for about one week (S.O.). He was "bashful" and did not speak with his parents-in-law. Then the couple went to his home where they could remain if they wished, but more often they soon removed to a home of their own. The choice of residence depended largely on the space available in the boy's home. The girl returned home frequently for short visits, her husband sometimes accompanying her. She gathered seeds from her mother's seed localities. She, too, was bashful and did not talk with her parents-in-law.[173]

The husband was termed loto´pnɨm (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´wɨn. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ɨkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´'otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[173] S.O. could give no more specific behavior between children- and parents-in-law. Although he gave some 200 personal names in genealogies, he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name. Because of his blindness he remained in her home many years after his wife's death; he spoke of these years with her with considerable affection and related a dream pertaining to her.

[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

The Transvestite

The male transvestite (tonoˊčɩm, Michahai; taiˊyap, Waksachi) handled and buried the dead (see below). Of actual persons, D. knew of only two; she denied acquaintance or knowledge of their names. One of these transvestites lived with his sister, but D. believed no sexual irregularities could be imputed to this arrangement. A male berdache took up women's activities in earliest youth, learning to cook and to make baskets at the same age a girl would ("probably along with his sisters"), which would be from five to six years, too young to be influenced by dreams. The informant did not know whether or not a normal individual would change his habits in later life at the instigation of a dream helper. This would seem unlikely, as there was no compulsion to accept a dream. In other words, the transition from male to female habits was too early to be dream-influenced, but later on a transvestite might have dreams to impel him to the duties of undertaking.

The corpse-handler's dream help always came from dead people, "that is why they were not afraid of the dead." Not having experienced such a dream, D. did not know who these dead were, but she thought they would be specific deceased individuals, not unknown dead or transient ghosts.

The transformed male accompanied women on their seed-gathering trips, was freely accepted, and his status was no secret. There were perhaps two or three in a large village.

The discussion above applies only to male transvestites. The woman berdache seems to have functioned only in homosexual practices; she did not openly take up men's ways, go about with men at their work, or have any official duties. A male tonočɩm figures in a myth told by S.O. In all versions of the Pleiades story the young wives are homosexual, though some informants attempt to hide the motivation.

While B.O. described the corpse-handlers as "big women" and gave taiyap as their name or title, he denied the presence of berdachism in his culture.

Waksachi Age Categories (B.O.)

naˊna huaˊčiči: newborn boy
huˑˊpi huaˊčiči: newborn girl
naˊnači: boy about two years old
siʼiˊsači: girl about two years old
huaˊwuha naˊnači (or siʼisači): twin boys (or girls). Twins of opposite sex B.O. said he had "never heard of"; he seemed mildly shocked at the idea.
naˊnop naˊnači: boy five to ten years old
huʼuˊpi moˊnanop: girl five to ten years old
moaˊbi naˊnop: youth twelve to twenty years old
moaˊbi huʼuˊpi naˊnop: girl twelve to twenty years old
moaˊbi tiˊkinana: young man twenty to forty years old
huʼuˊpi tuˊamoge: young woman having borne children
moaˊbi naˊnanyɩp: man forty to sixty years old
moaˊbi nanaˊpiʼɛp: woman forty to sixty years old
moaˊbi moaˊbh·lɩp: old man
moaˊbi hubeˊčiʼɛp: old woman

Death

When a person was seen to be dying, people gathered about and old women began weeping. A winatum or possibly "just any person" would notify relatives in other villages to come as soon as possible. All the mourners remained near the corpse, weeping throughout the night. Meanwhile, the dead person was washed, dressed in his best clothing, and wrapped in a rabbit-skin blanket. Then the body was flexed, knees to chin, wrapped in deerskin, and tied with saʼ cord. In the meantime, grave-diggers (luˊkoluč, Michahai) were excavating a pit with sharpened sticks (aˊči) and baskets. They did not fear to step into the grave. This service was not paid for.

Cremation.--The informant (S.O.) had never seen cremation, but knew that it was practiced just before his time. He thought that all the "people up this way" (Chukaimina, Michahai, Entimbich, Wobonuch) used cremation before white influence was felt.

At the time of death a winatum was told to get a great amount of dry wood. (S.O. did not know how the wood was arranged.) Early the following morning the corpse was placed on the pyre and burned. Possessions were burned at this time, but after the change to interment they were reserved for the Annual Mourning Ceremony. After the fire had cooled, the bones were collected and placed in water.

S.O. believed that, when cremation was practiced, the bereaved immediately forgot their loss. He thinks that the Annual Mourning Ceremony has been adopted to counteract the sorrow that lingers when the deceased are buried.

In connection with this S.O. gave the following phrases: tuˊlšu mai (burn person, cremation); lukuˊlšu mai (bury person, interment); mai taoʼiˊči (person dead); pučoˊn taoʼiˊči (man dead); mutiˊhoi taoʼiˊči (woman dead).

Burial.--According to S.O., these same men, or sometimes women, carried the corpse to the grave: a man carried a man, a woman a woman. When doing this, they were called šoˊnoluč (tawaˊtsa šonoluč, dead to carry). They were paid for this as a separate service. The corpse was removed from the house by the normal entrance.

Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers.

All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočɩm, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

Afterworld.--A dead person's spirit is called tawa´tsan i´nɩl (Michahai), tso´ape o´haba·wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibɩ´knɩč).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

[176] At this point S.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

"Little Mourning Ceremony".--This rite (wi´či luni´ša) marked the cessation of mourning. When a mourner felt that he had observed the full restrictions sufficiently long, he told his chief that he wished to end them. The chief usually agreed, merely asking the mourner if he had funds for the expenses entailed. A day was set for the ritual, usually six days ahead, and the chief's winatum was sent to notify the persons who should come to do the ritual washing. The washer(s) was always a certain person, for the function was reciprocal between certain families of differing tribes.[177] The concept is one met before in connection with the Wukchumni, but oddly S.O. did not recognize the term gu´ʼi, used by them (and by B.O.), saying he "had never heard the word." How this reciprocal relationship came to be established he was unable to say: it had always been so. Both B.O. and S.O. mentioned the Wukchumni as properly reciprocal to the Waksachi, and said that the Entimbich also functioned in this capacity for both Michahai and Waksachi.

When the winatum arrived at the village of the washers, he went directly to the chief, who took his cane (carried only when announcing a mourning ritual) and gave him food. The message was then given to the chief, who in turn sent his own winatum to get the persons wanted [washers]. The washers and their companions decided upon what day they would start for the ritual. When the winatum was ready to depart, the chief paid him a small sum (roughly the equivalent of 50 to 75 cents) and gave him some little seed cakes and other tidbits of food to take home (for himself). The winatum also received back his cane which the chief had taken from him, but in so doing, he paid the chief a trifle (about 25 cents). Then he left and, when he reached home, he reported to his chief "and told the people to get ready."

When the washers came, they were accompanied by their chief, a winatum, and any members of their family or friends who cared to come. This group was encamped in shelters erected for them and fed throughout the entire visit. Professional singers (ahe´nɩč) secured by the local chief came to the fire in the assembly space in the early morning and sang mourning songs. They used no accompaniment. There might be two to four of these, and eventually they received pay.

During the day the local chief would give a speech, saying why people were assembled, that So-and-So had been mourning for a dead person, but that his mourning was now to cease. The bereaved person cried in response, and often some of his family too. These mourners then walked over to pay the singers; men went first giving them money, the women followed giving acorn meal or berries. The singers had large baskets with them to receive these things.

Then the mourners "sang loud and danced around in a circle. Some had effigy dolls at this little fandango." These, and any remaining possessions of the deceased, were thrown on the fire. They were not given to the washers (as at the "big" ceremony).

Next morning, just after sunrise, the washer or washers took baskets of hot water and washed the mourners "all over" and put new clothes on them. They also presented them with meat, which the winatums took to prepare for a general feast. There was no dancing or other festivity at this time. At the end, the mourners, assisted by a contribution from the chief, gave a sum of money to the washers and their companions. The visiting chief "got about three or four times as much money as the others."

Usually a little mourning ceremony of this kind lasted but one day and night, but its length differed with the wealth or the desire for display of the bereaved. Sometimes the affair would last four or five days, i.e., the burning and washing were postponed while the singers sang each morning. (Meanwhile the guests had to be fed and the singers must be paid that much more.) If it was thought that there would not be a "big" tribal ceremony during the forthcoming year, the "little" one was made more elaborate.

There was no money exchange for interest (lakɩna´nɩč) connected with the smaller ritual, save as the mourners might have to borrow money privately to meet the expense.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Training and Practice

The acquisition and uses of supernatural power were so well understood by S.O. that he could readily formulate the following statements. There are some interpolations from B.O. and D. I think it is safe to assume that S.O.'s account can serve for the culture of all the Central Foothill tribes: it enlarges, but in no way contradicts, the statements of less knowledgeable and intelligent informants. S.O. made it clear, as had others, that the distinction between a common person with a little privately used power and the professional public shaman was one of quantity of power. The procedure for acquiring power was the same for all: the ambitious person continued his efforts and strove for dreams of more and stronger supernatural helpers (e.g., Cougar, Eagle, Coyote, Owl) than the person who was content with one or two dreams of lesser helpers (e.g., Blackbird, Night, Fox). This, of course, did not apply to women who might and did acquire "private" power but never became professional

[177] S.O. offered as an example his nephew ("Tom Tyner and all his family"), who always has a Wukchumni of Falcon lineage to wash him [sic] when mourning. The Wukchumni was always [?] To´pino (Jim Britches).

doctors. S.O. said he had "never seen or heard of a woman doctor." There was no shamans' class or society or form of initiation.

There was no difference between preparation for doctoring (shamanism) and ordinary seeking of power except that of the amount of effort expended. Nor did procedure differ in seeking one tutelary rather than another. The nature of the supernatural power (tɩ´pni) was the same: the quantity of power in terms of the number of dream helpers (ai´nɩč) and the abilities they sponsored determined the difference. All people began to have significant dreams, or at least to notice them, about the time of adolescence. Whether or not these offers of supernatural aid were accepted was entirely a matter of individual choice, as was also the kind of dream. Thus, if a youth wished to become a doctor, he would accept a dream of "doctoring" brought by, say, Owl or Coyote, and discourage or reject a dream from Cougar, who gave hunting power. Theoretically, said S.O., through the medium of dream anything might tell a youth to doctor -- an animal, insect, or even some other doctor, or such elements as Night, Water, Thunder, etc. But actually the things dreamed of were relatively few (when compared to the all-inclusive "anything") and no case of an inanimate object (such as a pestle, basket, or bow) being a dream helper was known. The "best" helper was Eagle; his power was the strongest. But Owl and Coyote were the traditional shamans' sponsors. When dreamed of, they would offer aid to the dreamer, tell him that he could cure people, and what talismans to use.

Although it was not compulsory to accept offers of supernatural aid, it was advised by older people, who would admonish the young to acquire at least a little power for themselves. They would say to their young relatives, "If you don't do this, you will die soon. You are young now. It is time for you to start now [to attend to your dreams]." Old men thus would address the younger generation in the sweat house or when they came to visit in a house. When S.O. was young, he would sit by his father's fire, fanning it, and ask visitors to tell him stories and advise him on conduct.

The procedure for inducing dreams was thus laid down by S.O.:

1. Tobacco must be drunk every night, after supper and before retiring, to cause vomiting.
2. Go to bed with the mind set on the sort of dream desired.
3. Dream; if the dream is irrelevant, ignore it.
4. If the dream is significant, get up and walk some distance from the house, 100 feet or more.
5. There talk to the visitant in the dream, saying it [or its instructions] had been heard, that it is accepted and now "owned" by the dreamer and will be used henceforth for all time. [See dreams recorded below.]
6. Return to bed, but do not sleep under any circumstances.
7. Get up in the morning as usual, but do not bathe or eat.
8. Select some secluded spot outside of the village and start for it in time to arrive not a moment later than high noon.
9. When there, at noon, again address the dream helper, asking its aid, asking it to come again in dreams.
10. Speak respectfully to the sun, moon, and stars, when seen at such times of address or prayer.
11. Refrain from eating meat or grease in any form. Acorn mush and gruel is the regular diet during such quest periods.

This routine was continued as long as one wished but, if one were deeply serious, one might also:

12. Drink jimsonweed every spring.
13. Go off alone to bask in the sun [advisable but not essential]. Doctors often went out to lie down in the sun. S.O. today (1926) spends much of his time sitting in the sunshine beside his house, fingering and stroking his eagle-down talisman (fig. 2 herein). He attributes his good health to his doing this: "the sun hears and knows everything, both day and night."

The ordinary person who sought dream power but had no intention of becoming a shaman did

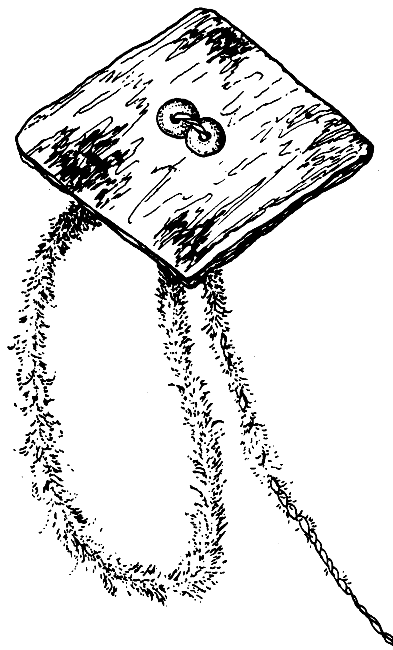

Fig. 2. Sacred talisman of abalone shell and eagle-down cord belonging to Michahai informant S.O.

so to obtain longevity. A man, like S.O., could ask his dream helper to cure or aid some other person, often a young relative, without being considered a real shaman. The desire for good health and long life was a common one; as voiced in prayerful address to the sun, moon, and stars it usually ran something like this: "I see you [Sun], I see you all the time. Help me to have a good life." Water, particularly that of springs, was thought to be immortal -- "it is everywhere all the time" -- and, if dreamed of, was a sponsor of longevity. Whenever S.O. came upon a little spring or creek he "sprinkled a little bit on himself so he would live long."

The dream, the dream helper, and the talismans used to represent the helper were all called by the same term, ainɩč. The talisman was usually some part of the animal dreamed of, and while, as a profane object, it might be secured by purchase, it was nevertheless sacred and empowered with the supernatural force, tɩ´pni. Once it became a talisman, it was never sold.

A dream helper could visit only one person at a time, but yet might visit several persons the same night. [The likelihood of many persons having the same dream the same night is slight; and the fact might not happen to be disclosed, as such matters were not spoken of in open or common conversation.] When a talisman of a certain helper has been used once, it loses its power and must be redreamed. Hence the need for several dream helpers and talismans if one wanted much and dependable supernatural power. Talismans were loaned among friends and worked as well for another as for the owner. (Wukchumni mention thefts of these.) But they were never sold. Shamans frequently assisted each other by lending talismans, or, retaining them themselves, used them to help another accomplish his purpose.[178]

As to the nature of dreaming, S.O. could only say that it was one's spirit moving about and having the experience. "When you go to sleep, you walk around some place. I have gone off to those springs around here lots of times. Your spirit [aha´bawa, Michahai] goes anywhere." It is the ahabawa that has all dream experience: people who meet in dreams are ahabawa. To illustrate this further S.O. said he once had a home in Drum Valley where he was very happy, living with his wife, and after her death he continued to live there with his mother-in-law. Now, even today, his ahabawa goes over there: he sees the place, although he is blind and he knows the house is no longer there. He often dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe´wia nü u´bunɩt, Waksachi).

Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking tɩpni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reëmpower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

[178] This was especially true when shamans allied for nefarious purposes (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393).

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

continuing failures might dissuade the novice from pursuing a shaman's career.

An advance in the attainment of supernatural power was marked by a shaman's entrance into the Shamans' Contest, as only "big" doctors could make the airshot believed derived from the sun. A shaman with little power would fear to attempt it. Moreover, it was customary that entering shamans make and exhibit airshot to the managing winatum before the contest commenced.

Young doctors were not feared as malevolent, as were older, powerful shamans. "Bad doctoring," the sickening of others for the attainment of wealth through fees, political power, or for malicious pleasure, was thought to be a matter of personality. It was a misuse of power by the individual, and was not due to different or evil dream helpers,[181] although it was thought that assistance from several very powerful helpers such as Eagle, Cougar, Coyote, and Owl might endanger a man's good character by putting excessive power in his way. Whether a doctor was good or bad was believed to result largely from his choice of companions. There was a tendency among shamans to form cliques which became mutually antagonistic. S.O. summarized his long exposition by concluding: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. Sometimes they got mean, tried to see what they could do, and got so they thought they could do anything. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."

The procedure between patient and established doctor was much like that given above for the novice. When a person became ill, some member of the family would go after the doctor whom they had selected, taking a fee with him. More money or objects of value might be given the doctor during the course of curing. It was this practice of "bleeding" a patient's relatives that led avaricious men to the shaman's profession and, when carried too far, brought the outraged family to the conclusion that the patient was in truth the shaman's own victim. Even if death resulted, the initial fee was not returned; the doctor "usually was told to keep it." But S.O. knew of instances wherein half was returned; to obviate suspicion a conscientious doctor would want to do this.

The doctor summoned would normally agree to visit the sick person, but he would proceed to curing only if he felt disposed to do so. The first thing he would try would be rubbing the patient with his talisman. Cutting (for sucking) was not thought good practice. The doctor's talisman, which might be a weasel skin, owl's head, stone, etc., was dipped in a basket of water and rubbed on parts of the patient's body. As he did this, the shaman talked to the dream helper the talisman represented or to the object itself. He would blow on the affected part, such as the head or abdomen, and press the talisman against it. In so doing he would address the talisman "and tell it to tell the ill person not to be sick." This procedure did not always cure, and cutting and sucking might be resorted to. During the course of treatment a doctor would stop to smoke and also to go off to some secluded spot to commune with his helpers. By means of this supernatural information he would learn what to do, what was the cause of the sickness. He would not always tell what this was; particularly would he hesitate to disclose that some other doctor had deliberately sickened the patient. That is, he would not dare to announce whom he specifically believed to be responsible unless he felt that his own power was greater, as the accused doctor would certainly take revenge by supernatural means.

If the patient died, his relatives might doubt the sincerity of the shaman's curing efforts, particularly if the doctor previously had lost patients. "They would get mad and talk about it, saying, 'He doesn't know much,' 'He is a bad doctor,' and so on. And while they talked they'd get madder and decide to kill that doctor." Some relatives of the deceased would do this; there was no official "shaman-killer." Sometimes they would be too enraged to wait for the chief's permission to take action. Although relatives of the victim combined for revenge, it was not permissible, or even thinkable, that they should avenge themselves on any of the shaman's relatives. He alone was responsible for the offense. The action was condoned as one of public benefit, particularly if in the normal course of consultation with the chief and older men they had advised it. However, if the shaman's family doubted the justice of his punishment, they could take up his cause and a feud would result. By anecdotal evidence this was rare. A shaman's own relatives tended to ignore him when he became antisocial in behavior.

Dream Experiences

1. When S.O. was living at Dunlap his wife and three children were still alive. He had been ill and apathetic. He drank a little tobacco every night merely as a cleansing tonic. It caused vomiting: then he would fall asleep immediately with no thought of dreaming.

But one night two hummingbirds "came away up from the south." They addressed him: "What do you get sick for? Just a little sickness like that! I want to help you. I have come from far away. I have come to see you. You will be well in the morning. Go to the spring now and wash. We are going back now."

[181]Cf. Chukchansi; a Chukchansi man might become the unwilling abettor of his supernatural helpers.

S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "Mιčkιt [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ainιč (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine."

S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

hunai´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum tawι´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [ιniša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo´ni; ιnsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

"I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tɨpni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year [hibernation period], he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai´ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

[That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.]

Flying Power

A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable distance, was called mai´´iwɨn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi·i·i·i·!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi·i·i·i·!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɨč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai´puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a´oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama´mao pa´´anao na mum ia´´ika (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

saw what he thought was a dog coming along the trail, but it proved to be a coyote. Immediately after, they met Pušlılın and Koˊʾo (both Chukaimina shamans) and a third man. As they came up, Pušlılın said, "Did you see my poša ?" "Yes," said S.O. And Pušlılın replied, "He always goes with me at night. I make him do that by dreaming of him every night."

The talisman in most common use by Michahai people with supernatural power was the eagle-down cord (pisesan). This was somewhat comparable to the loose eagle down used by the Wukchumni and other Yokuts. The one belonging to S.O. is illustrated (fig. 2). He freely offered it to me to examine and often sat with it in his hands while talking. He stated definitely that it had been made for him by D., a Michahai woman who was also my informant. She, however, as firmly denied having done so when questioned about it. The misunderstanding may be mine.

Waksachi Shamanism

The following very general information on shamanism was given by B.O.

A man who was a doctor (pohaˊgɛ) might get his power from "most anything." When he cured, he wore the Yokuts-type feather headdress of crow and magpie feathers. Sucking and rubbing with eagle down were the only curing techniques.

There were no women doctors among the Waksachi, nor were there any specialists. A doctor who cured snake bites was called ṭuʾuˊdəm (Yokuts word), but he gave no dancing performance or Snake Ritual like his Yokuts analogue.

The burial of a shaman was like that for an ordinary person.

The killing of evil shamans was thought justifiable. There was no special person for this duty. Men who wanted to kill a shaman would go to their chief for advice and consent, then do the deed themselves. While the death of the shaman himself was condoned, it was not permissible to injure any member of his family. For their part, the shaman's relatives never retaliated, under normal circumstances. If a doctor, so murdered, had several horses, they would be divided among the killers; other property was disposed of by his relatives as in an ordinary death.

B.O. related one anecdote of a shaman's death.

A mourning ceremony was being given by the Yokod at their village [near the present site of Yokohl]. B.O. and his brother George, who were renowned hunters, were asked to come and bring some deer. They went, stopping at Ranchería Flat over night, and en route killed six deer. They reached Yokohl on Thursday, well in advance of the final ritual on Saturday night.

The Yokod had some grudge against a Wukchumni doctor, Kaˊčua. On Sunday morning just after the washing rite several men decided the time had come to kill him. The participants in the ceremony were all still standing in line; the shaman, alone, was some one hundred feet away. A man walked toward him and seized him. Another shot at the shaman with an arrow but struck his captor. The doctor was apparently armed, for he shot several times before rushing into a tule house to defend himself. Nevertheless he was surrounded and shot to death within.

An example of an evil shaman's activities was related by B.O. Since the setting and actors are Wobonuch, he did not know the persons' names.

There was living at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7) a fine young shaman who had just married. He was a good hunter and he had much yucca (ob¹) stored for winter. There were three other couples living there: the young man's brother-in-law and his wife, and the son and daughter of a very powerful old shaman, each with his spouse. Now this old shaman and his wife came to visit their son and daughter. But soon after their arrival the young bride fell ill and died. Not long after, her brother, the young shaman's brother-in-law, also died. Then the shaman's own son died. These deaths were blamed on the old man, and even his wife was alarmed, for she said to her son-in-law, "We'll all be killed. We'd better go away." But the son-in-law just told the old shaman to go bury his son. The young shaman went down to Pajipuwe (Local Map F, no. 22) and told people what was going on. When he got back, the old shaman's son-in-law lay dying. The old shaman's wife went off toward Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1) by herself and kept crying and crying. Then the young shaman went back to Pajipuwe and got the chief. The chief sent some women out with food and covering to find the old woman who was wandering alone. Then the chief and the young shaman went down to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15), where people were already talking of the scandal. They were joined by some men and all went over to Učibikwe (not located) where it was thought the old shaman was coming. He did come and was killed at once. Then the young shaman died, and his people came up and buried him at his home at Apawijiwana.

Causes of Sickness

There were two causes of sickness, intrusion and poisoning. A third, soul loss, was discussed so confusedly that it cannot safely be added: S.O. said that a person's spirit might be stolen, which resulted in instantaneous death, but how this was accomplished or by whom, he could not say.[187]

[187] Since even this slight information was elicited only by close questioning, it would seem that the idea of soul loss certainly did not play an important part in Michahai culture.

The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

Rain-making

There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su´mɩk and Taku´mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188]Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

Sumɩk was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto´ʼo ti´šaš (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sumɩk who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka´wa seeds: these were his talismans (ainɩč). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo´to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sumɩk died, someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sumɩk and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sumɩk threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

Jimsonweed (ta´ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189]Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

take it at least once, and perhaps in several successive years. A powerful doctor would take it at the same time as the plain people. There were more men than women partakers: the men "took it to find out things," the women "just to be doing it," S.O. thought. It was regarded as a kind of insurance of good health throughout life.

The leader of the affair did not have a special supernatural knowledge of, or dream relationship with, jimsonweed; his knowledge of the plant and how to administer it was believed to come from practical experience. He had no title, said S.O., "he was just called ma ta´ñai wa´namuts" (you jimsonweed give). But he was always elderly and well thought of.

About midwinter those who intended to drink jimsonweed in the spring would inform the leader. He instructed them to abstain from meat or grease for about two or three months before the probable time of drinking. They were also expected to remain rather quietly at home, not participating in hunting, in ceremonies, or merrymaking. The actual day of the drinking was announced six days in advance by the chief's winatum, after the leader himself had set the day. From then on the participants subsisted on very thin acorn gruel, and on the morning of the day ate nothing at all. All these restrictions were observed by the leader, although he did not partake of the drink.

At the time of the drinking, the participants met the leader at the village dance space; onlookers, especially relatives, were present. The leader had with him uncooked jimsonweed on a tray, the leaves and stems of which he mashed, put in a large basket, and covered with water. As he did this he talked to it, asking it "not to hurt these people but to help them." There was no singing or dancing, but the drinkers made a circuitous run around the dance space. Then they sat down in a row and each was given a drinking basket full of the liquid (about one pint). There were no ritually repetitive offers or attempts at drinking. They were instructed to drink it rapidly without smelling it, as the odor was nauseating. Soon the drinkers "began to tremble all over and fall down." They were carried, by persons assigned to the task, to shades[190] set near the fire so they would not become chilled after sundown. Toward dawn of the next morning the drinkers began to move; some would sit up, others reach about, but all were yet speechless. Then, becoming restless, they would get up and, as they grew more active, they were guarded against flight or self-injury. "If they saw bears, they wanted to run off." As soon as they were able to walk they would be taken to various sick persons. With eagle feathers they would brush off the sick one; although they did not say what the sickness was, the jimsonweed enabled them to see it. They were not paid for this service.

During all this time there was no mirth aroused by any of the antic behavior. Every act was watched and any speech listened to attentively by the spectators.

Thereafter the narcosis gradually diminished. The drinkers lay around, babbled, slept, and recovered "in two days if they had good luck, but usually it took three."

Six days after the drinking a little feast was held. Meat was provided, but only a mouthful or so was taken by the drinkers "because even then it made them sick." The feast was given by the drinkers' families, and at it they gave the leader the pay for his services. A winatum managed the affair. There would be dancing only if there were a special request for some doctor who was present to perform the kam.

Medicinal use was made of jimsonweed, often as a poultice for severe wounds or fractures; it was also drunk as an anaesthetic.

Once Pao'ιč broke his leg. He went one day without food "although he was too sick to eat anyway." He got someone to fix tañai and he drank enough to keep him unconscious for several hours. During this time the bone was set, the leg wrapped in a jimsonweed poultice, and tied up with deerskin.

Jimsonweed was not used in this way under the direction of a shaman: "anyone who knew how" would mix the drink or attend fractures and wounds. No other medicine of this type was known.

At Čitatu also, both sexes took the drink, B.O. said, at about the ages of twenty to twenty-five. It was not compulsory and was taken but once. One who particularly wanted to might take it again after three or four years. Always it was taken in spring. While B.O. denied having tried it, he said two of his brothers did.

The jimsonweed plants (taña´ñibᵘ) was gotten from the Wukchumni as it did not grow in Waksachi territory [sic].[191] Two men, Ki´lεš and Koti´diš, were in charge of the ritual and were paid for their services; they were not distinguished in any way with power, wealth, or any other special knowledge. They secured the plants, mashed them, soaked them in water; the jimsonweed was never cooked.

Those who were to take the drink maintained a gruel diet for twelve days. On the

[190] Exactly what or where these were S.O. could not convey, except that they were "little houses near the fire." They were probably especially built booths such as the Yokuts were adept at constructing for spectators and visitors at their frequent ceremonies.

[191] S.O. said it grew plentifully at Tušao, a statement I prefer to trust. B.O. may feel that the plants came from the original source of the ceremony, that is, Yokuts territory.

morning of the rite they "ran once around the village; down at Kingsburg [Wimilchi territory] they ran around the house." Then they knelt on a blanket. The two leaders sang songs about the narcotic, then held the basket of liquid to each drinker's lips. If the first dose were not effective, more would be given. When the drinkers fell over unconscious, they were carried to their homes. They slept about twenty-four hours. But when they roused from this, they did not cure others of sickness by brushing or in any other way perform for public benefit. The narcosis was believed to be a preventive "good medicine" for the drinker himself.

Jimsonweed was used as an anaesthetic when broken bones or painful injuries were treated. The sufferer was given enough of the decoction to keep him in at least a seminarcosis for forty-eight to sixty hours. Such treatment was given by "anyone who knew how to mix it."

The two Choinimni who died from the effects of jimsonweed were mentioned by B.O. However, his version was that they did not observe the meat tabu. He said that they ate meat "right up to the day and drank the next morning though everybody told them not to. They died that night."

Rattlesnake Ritual

The Waksachi had neither snake doctors nor the Snake Ritual, but both informants had seen the performance, B.O. at Squaw Valley, at a village on Kings River, and at Dunlap, and S.O. at Squaw Valley. In all these rituals Choinimni doctors were either the instigators or central figures. S.O. described the ritual as he remembered it at Squaw Valley, a Chukaimina-Michahai area.

There were two doctors, Čokonιk and Pušlιlιn, who were snake doctors (te'ɛ´li čecisu´m, lit., rattlesnakes pet-their). They made this dance every spring about March just before the rattlesnakes were ready to leave their dens. The purpose of the ritual was to prevent persons from being bitten during the coming season.

These doctors went to a rattlesnake den, taking with them eagle-bone whistles (pusač), cages of twined stiff grass, and eagle down. They whistled for the snakes and fed them eagle down when they appeared. They talked to them gently, repeating constantly, "Maiya´'ιn" (keep quiet!). The snakes understood and permitted themselves to be picked up by the back of the neck and put in the baskets. Carried home, the cages were hung up outside until the appointed day. The day for the ritual had been chosen with the chief's consent and set [at least] six days in advance. The winatum went around announcing the affair and "told everyone to come and have their money ready."

On the day set, the winatum dug two holes in the dance space. These were about 4 feet apart, about 2 feet deep, and 1 foot in diameter. The snakes were put in these and sprinkled with eagle down. The doctors, who wore the usual feather dance skirts, were lavishly ornamented with eagle-down strands around their necks and bands of down rope on their arms.

When all was ready the chief announced that it was time to pay, whereupon all present filed past four or five singers who were holding baskets, and threw some money in them. The line passed across the snake pits, and each person stamped beside the pits as he crossed them.

Čokonιk and Pušlιlιn each stood beside his pole and, holding a large basketry tray in a vertical position, face outward, swung it slowly back and forth. Everyone, men, women, and children, chiefs, shamans, and winatums, took part in this. Then they all sat around as spectators while the snake doctors displayed their abilities.

The singers were singing continuously, and the managing winatum told the doctors to get their pets. The doctors picked up their snakes and put them on the trays where they lay coiled. They talked to them continually, saying "Maiya´'ιn, maiya´'ιn." They walked about close to the onlookers.[192] Then the chief would have his winatum ask for the "handling," at which the doctors put the snakes on their shoulders allowing them to crawl around. Then the chief asked for the "biting," and for this spectacle the doctors were again paid. The snakes were laid on the ground and angered by teasing with eagle feathers. The doctor held out his hand so a snake struck it. Winatums immediately carried the stricken doctors to shades or a house where a snake doctor from some other place sucked out the wounds. "The snake doctors never died from this because Snake was their poša."

S.O. added that the next morning the reptiles were returned to their dens; if their "owners" were still too sick, winatums were sent out with the snakes.

Coyote clowning was not a specific part of this ritual as done by the Choinimni. (See Coyote clowning, below.)

The account given by B.O. was brief and less knowledgeable than the foregoing.

To get the snakes the doctors (ṭu´dum) went to the snake dens carrying whistles, trays, and cages made of tule. At the rock pile they whistled to the snakes, who came out and were "herded round" by the doctors. One or two were selected and, when they coiled, they were lifted onto trays and thence into the cages. The cages were hung upon shades at home until needed.

At the ritual there were two singers. The doctors "danced around," letting the snakes "crawl all over them." Another man followed

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[192] To discover who was going to be bitten? See Wobonuch account (p. 285).

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

Bear Dance.--According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tušao given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko´'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa´na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

S.O. could not say who provided this.

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.--This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and Ilɩ´pča. (Ilɩ´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.--The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'ɩč, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages]."

Pleasure Dance.--This dance (hɛ´šɩšnə´nɩč) was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.--Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

Coyote clowning.--Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

Shamans' Contest

This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´nṭahun ile´hɩč (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čaoɩč) and clapper (ṭa´ohɩl).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman <u>had</u> to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lakɩna´nɩč, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

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[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

The chief's consent was necessary, yet if all the village seemed to want a ceremony held there that year, he could not veto it. The chief's main concern was with available finances: the mourning family should be able to cover the expenses, which were considerable. If, at the time of the event, it proved that they had not, he and his subchiefs (tuyeyi) had to make up the deficit. However, when the families involved had made satisfactory arrangements with the chief, he sent his winatum to the tribes to be invited to announce it for twelve days hence.

The procedure at this point differed slightly from that when a small or "private" ceremony was being announced. As usual, the messenger went directly to the chief, was fed, and told the chief his news. Then the chief sent his winatum to call all the villagers, men and women, to the assembly space. Here the visiting messenger made his announcement publicly, saying that his chief was "making" a mourning ceremony twelve days hence at his village and that they all were invited. When he finished, everyone contributed a little money to pay him, which was collected and presented to him by the local winatum. According to S.O., the chief, now invited, could tell anyone who came to the village meanwhile of the coming ceremony and they might attend it if they wished. The Wukchumni, as the official washers, were always in the majority as visitors, the other most numerous attendants were Michahai and Chukaimina from Squaw Valley and Entimbich from Dunlap. B.O. added that Wukchumni and Entimbich came as washers. This was true of a ceremony given "by his father and some other men," and of the recent aberrant one described below.

The visitors arrived as they pleased during the week of celebration: the very old and very young usually did not come. They brought only blankets, as the host group provided all food, shelter, firewood, and water. The local winatum (natinab)[197] secured the wood and water, and the women of their families did the cooking. They told the people when to eat. Those persons who were going to do the washing, however, brought the necessary clothing, paraphernalia, and deer meat.

No restriction was placed on dancing, gambling, and gaiety during the week. The most popular games were pitching poles (aikaš), hoop and pole (ho'otuš), the woman's dice game (hučuˊšiko) and, at night only, the hand game (henaoˊšiko).

Lacking here were the Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest as part of the ritual series, although both spectacles were well known. The Shamans' Contest was sometimes performed at Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called yaˊkohovi'eˊroti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šieˊmilɩt. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woiˊloša, Michahai; u·nariraˊgaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye''i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

[197]At this time B.O. used the Waksachi term tuˊbuhiñanuwidi for the natinab, for which I could get no translation or explanation. He said they were the same natinab as usual; that "Dove was their ibuk."

The following [Sunday] morning a breakfast, prepared by the visiting winatums, was provided, of which all would partake eventually. Meanwhile the visiting chief announced that it was time for the washing. The persons selected as washers from his group came forward with baskets of water, new clothes, and any finery or gift of money they might choose to add. The mourners were called, i.e., the actual mourners, and were washed individually. Each individual was washed by a person of the same sex, and, according to S.O., invariably by one having the same totem animal. Thus chiefs washed chiefs. The hair was also washed and trimmed and the new clothes put on. The washing baskets and any other gifts were given to the now released mourners.

Then all the other people in the host tribe were lined up and each had his or her hair washed by some visitor. Then all went to eat breakfast, which was literally a breaking of the meat fast for the mourners. The visiting chief made a speech saying that now everything unhappy was forgotten, it was all in the past, that now everybody was to eat and have a good time.

What with the washing and feasting the day was well advanced. Games were played until nightfall, when shamans would be paid to dance for entertainment. They received frequent contributions as stimulation to continue. "Any girl that knew how would dance with them"(B.O.).

Recent Mourning Ceremony

The two informants B.O. and S.O. were not related by blood but were brothers-in-law, S.O.'s sister, Huna´ňcai (Sally) having married B.O. Sally died about 1922. After some two years B.O. proposed to S.O. that they have a mourning ceremony. Both men were mourners, but in opposing relationship, i.e., affinal and consanguineal, to the deceased. The account of this was given by S.O.

B.O. went to S.O. to suggest the ceremony; they talked over plans and "agreed to wash each other because the right people weren't living." B.O. told S.O. "not to get him any new clothes because he [S.O.] was too poor." B.O., however, got a new shirt and pants for S.O. Crawford and Mel Osborn, grandson and son respectively of B.O., acted as winatums. S.O. said he "should have done this [his father was a winatum] but could not because of his blindness." Another winatum, Buffalo Bill, came with visitors from Dunlap. Also from Dunlap came two singers, Samson Dick and his sister Nellie.

The scene of the ceremony was B.O.'s house. He provided all the food for the entire week, killing a steer for the purpose. No attempt was made to have any Huhuna Dance or Shaman's Contest.

Every morning the two singers would go out in the yard before sunrise and sing. When they returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated again before sundown. During these days S.O. and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was "the end of our sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu´'i, i.e., the reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, but none of these people came, though invited, owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi´nɩk, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O. for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking, telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198]This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

within the mourning group does not represent an adjustment to changed conditions, but "was often done in the old days too when people hadn't enough money saved up to pay the regular washers," as B.O. said.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

The reports of three informants were combined in another paper[199] to give a coherent picture of the great dance in Eshom Valley. S.O.'s contribution to that synthesis follows; his account makes it appear that the Eshom Valley affair occurred early in the Ghost Dance diffusion. Actually, a year or perhaps more elapsed between the introduction of the movement via the Northfork Mono and its culmination in the great dance in Eshom Valley.

The Ghost Dance was called the "round dance" (ka´man soi´wɩš) by Michahai and Waksachi. The term "war dance," used by local white settlers and taken over by the Indians when speaking English, was due, so S.O. said, to the fact that "the Paiutes danced a war dance and the white folks thought this was the same thing."

The dance and its doctrine were introduced to the Michahai-Waksachi by a group of ten or twelve Wobonuch singers led by a man named Ta´punači. (The only one living in 1926 was Ya´ki, who would not be an informant.) They came to an Entimbich village, Kičeyu (Dunlap) and told the chief, Ta´kaš (Little George) and his brother, Košo´wi, a powerful doctor, that they wanted to have an assemblage. The Eshom Valley site was chosen, perhaps because of its rather central yet secluded locality. The two Entimbich chiefs acted as sponsors although the area belonged to the Waksachi. Messengers were sent to the Patwisha, Wukchumni, Gawia, Yokod, Telamni, Michahai, Chukaimina, and probably other tribes. From three to five hundred people responded, many of them from the more distant Kings River, Tulare Lake, and Southern Valley tribes.

The Eshom Valley gathering most impressed S.O. because of its numbers and the unflagging energy exhibited. Never before nor after did such an affair take place. As usual, winatums looked after the food supply, not necessarily obtaining it themselves but seeing that hunters were dispatched and that their own women relatives kept up with their cooking. In spite of this, hardships resulted from lack of food.

On the evening of the day appointed for the dance the chief Takaš addressed the multitude. He explained why the meeting had been called: that certain men had come with important news, and they wished to teach all these people their new songs and dances. Then Tapunači spoke somewhat as follows:

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a nɩm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´nɩl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´barɩn, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

[199] Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 68-72.

[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

After this dance the singers went on down to the reservation at Tule where the people in the south end of the valley assembled for a dance. S.O. thought that the singers did not visit the Tachi, Wowol, etc., of the lake region, but that these tribes learned the songs and doctrine by attending the foothill dances.[202] On their return the singers stopped at Kičeyu (Dunlap) and a small dance was held. At some time one was held at Carpenter's Flat. The songs were taught to persons from neighboring villages and small local dances were held every month or so. These were attended by visitors from other villages or tribes just as were older established ceremonies. S.O. thought the Ghost dances continued with less and less frequency and enthusiasm over a period of about two years. Finally the various chiefs felt that the efforts were not only futile but injurious to their people. Takaš, for one, called his people together at Kičeyu and spoke to them, pointing out that, in spite of their dancing, people were still getting sick and dying, that their hunting and household duties were neglected, and that the disorganized life and exertions were injuring their health. And he concluded by saying, "If that man's coming, he'll come anyway."

B.O.'s account of the Ghost Dance (ni´gat da´man) was singularly brief and corrupted even for his usual tacit manner.[203]

He said the first [sic] big dance was held at the south end of Eshom Valley, Waksachi territory, although the site had no special name. It was instigated by Wobonuch or horo´gidi [?] singers who "sent word all over the foothills and to the lake for people to come." They went on foot to the Tule River Reservation and southern end of the valley, but did not hold any dances en route.

At the resulting assemblage in Eshom Valley there were four or five hundred people, about equally mixed Yokuts and Western Mono. There were about twelve singers. These men were not paid, nor did they use any instrumental accompaniment. B.O. disclaimed knowledge of any purpose for the dance, i.e., any doctrine, and said it was done "just to be doing it."

The singers sat between two great fires. Around them men and women circled in single file. [Direction not recalled by informant.] All had their faces painted with red and white vertical or horizontal stripes or rows of dots. The dancing was kept up throughout each night until the participants were exhausted. The affair lasted about one week.

[202]Actually some singers did go to Tɛlweyɨt, a Tachi village, according to Wobonuch information.

[203]It is noteworthy that this informant omitted all references to its true purpose, as well as to the dramatic break-up described by others.

WESTERN MONO

WOBONUCH AND ENTIMBICH

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

In former times Wobonuch territory comprised the drainage of Mill Flat Creek in its entirety and Kings River from the confluence of its North Fork eastward indefinitely into the high Sierra Nevada. Northward the Wobonuch held sites on both sides of the North Fork of Kings River and southward they laid claim as far as Sequoia Lake, a little beyond which Waksachi land began. To the west, on the south side of Kings River, their territory touched that of the Entimbich at Samson Flat, and on the north side of the river that of the Tuhukwaj, who held land between Trimmer Springs and the confluence of the North Fork of Kings River. In more recent times the Wobonuch have claimed all this territory as far west as Trimmer Springs, where they come in contact with the Yokuts-speaking Choinimni.

The Entimbich claimed land all along the north side of Mill Creek (not to be confused with Mill Flat Creek) from the point of junction of its north and south branches to the valley in which Dunlap is situated, and eastward to Samson Flat. Today Wobonuch and Entimbich are intermingled in Dunlap Valley, formerly Entimbich territory, for sawmill operations in the Mill Flat Creek area have displaced the Wobonuch from their own habitat.

The Wobonuch, like their Western Mono brethren to the north along the Sierra, were grouped in hamlets and seem to have been organized in more or less independent tribelets. Just what constituted these -- that is, blood bond, political bond, dialect bond, or all three -- cannot be said until we have specific data from more of them. While the Wobonuch informants defined their territory as given above and definitely included several villages, such as Kadawinao, Ko'onikwe, Yumsanyu, etc., they also spoke of sites regarded as peculiarly theirs, namely, Pawa´wat, Ko'o´nιg [Ko'onikwe], and Paho´´ιj, which were comparable to the Yokuts pa'an or spots where tribes had their mythical or ancestral beginnings. These informants also named a number of Shoshonean-speaking (Western Mono) groups lying to their north along the Sierra, none of whom could have claimed much land. These lay between the North Fork of Kings River and the San Joaquin River, and are listed in their south-to-north occurrence [actually southeast to northwest because of the trend of the mountains]:

wopo´'ιj: Wobonuch on North Fork of Kings River

tu´hukwaj: on north side of Kings River between confluence of North Fork of Kings River and Trimmer Springs; equated with the Holkuma by M.J.

tsua´wait: north of the Tuhukwaj

yowι´ni: given as yui´'inü´'üm by the Waksachi informant, B.O.

huro´gιčnü'üm: as given by B.O., located south and east of Tollhouse [Hodogida ?]

suhi´bawai: not definitely located

aposona´bikwet: given as a´pusowi´'ιtunü´'üm by B.O., located at Tollhouse on Dry Creek; probably the Posgisa of Kroeber's identification

ko´kohub: not definitely located

It is my guess, to be corrected by later and fuller data, that these groups are autochthonous tribelets founded on the blood tie, comparable to the Miwok ne´na, and that, as one proceeds southward toward the Wobonuch, the tribalizing political influence of the Yokuts has been sufficient to encourage the Wobonuch to group their hamlets under the single term (perhaps because the Wopo'ιj were dominant) and to have long ago welded the Waksachi into a Yokutslike tribe.

Incidentally, the Waksachi were named as a separate tribe by the Wobonuch, who called them the Pa´ohabi and their central locality, Eshom Valley, Poha´biwait. It is clear from Yokuts, Waksachi, and Wobonuch accounts that there was a considerable geographical, cultural, and social hiatus between the Waksachi and the Wobonuch. The geographical factor is one of importance, since Yokuts contact for the Waksachi was southward, down Lime Kiln Creek toward the Wukchumni and, for the Wobonuch, to the west or northwest down Mill Creek or Kings River to the Choinimni; at the same time the Wobonuch intermingled with the partially Yokut-sized (or formerly Yokuts ?) Entimbich on Mill Creek.

The group referred to as the Pa´suaj remains a mystery. They were identified as Yokuts-speaking and placed near Aukland by M.J., yet his own and others' evidence puts them in the vicinity of the Wobonuch village of Nimai'awe on Kings River.

The Entimbich have been classed both as Yokuts and as Western Mono, but I think that the wording may be revised to state that they are both Yokuts and Western Mono. Following Kroeber's grouping, I have referred to them as Yokuts in previous publications, but have placed them herein with the Western Mono. The situation is far from clear and the question is yet to be settled: I make no attempt to do so.

Dr. C. Hart Merriam maintains that they are Shoshonean-speaking, on evidence I do not find convincing.[204] My Entimbich informant D.S. used a Shoshonean dialect continuously until I asked for kinship terms, which she suddenly and spontaneously gave in Penutian. The obvious answer, though not necessarily the correct one, is that the Entimbich, like the Waksachi and Patwisha, are a tribe with lineages of both Yokuts and Mono descent. Which was the basic group and which the interloper is difficult to tell. There seems no doubt that the Waksachi and Patwisha were originally Shoshonean-speakers; of the Entimbich I feel some doubt, since it is the Wobonuch neighbors to the east who have moved in and married into the Entimbich area whereas Yokuts neighbors to the west have not (according to my genealogies). How, then, do the Entimbich come to speak Yokuts so often, if they were not originally Yokuts who have recently been overwhelmed by Mono neighbors? As the foothill peoples along the language borderline between Shoshonean and Penutian speech are all bilingual, the Entimbich bilingualism is not unique.

D.S., who claimed to be Entimbich (pronounced by her ẽ´tĩpɩč), located the Michahai at Squaw Valley, the Entimbich at Dunlap, the Wobonuch on Mill Flat Creek (though in modern times at Dunlap), the Tuhukwaj and Pasuaj[205] on Kings River between Big Creek (Trimmer) and the North Fork of Kings River. The Wowo were the Chukaimina and lived at Maštinao. Jo.W. said the Wowo or Wawa lived at Peda´wi; their chief was Tuko´'o, other Wowo men were A´hač, Čikowat, and A´hawɛša. They lived at Maštinao and were also called Maštɩnači, in short, must have been either Chukaimina or possibly Michahai. P.M., who lived at Maštinao, was referred to by Jo.W. as Tzukaimina [he was actually Toihicha but lived with Chukaimina].

The incursion of Wobonuch at Dunlap began about fifty years ago (roughly 1875). This was dated by J.B., who said he had moved up there from the Wukchumni area some forty to fifty years ago [from 1926]. The following persons were established at Dunlap when he came: <u>Entimbich</u>: Captain George, Little George, and Lewučui; <u>Wobonuch</u>: Pete (Je´buk), a shaman; Rosie (Šo´'oi), his sister; and their father, Pa´lin (Harry Fisher ?).

Later on the following people moved down: Wilolohi (Joe Waley's father); Samson Jack (Hei´puš), a former chief at Ko´onikwe; Jim Fidley (Sawai); Lazy Jim (A´wɩt); and Mase´li (a shaman accused of killing Sally Osborn at Čitatu). Pušlɩlɩn was then living at Maštinao.

The Wobonuch informant J.C. said he came to Dunlap when he was about ten years old (about 1890). He was born "somewhere north of Ko'onikwe."

[204]Merriam, The Em´-tim´-bitch, a Shoshonean Tribe, 497.

[205]Probably the people of Apa´wɩč; see local map D, no.13.

This movement toward Dunlap was not radical, for both Entimbich and Wobonuch moved westward toward the flats for seed-gathering in the late spring and summer. The Entimbich went down Mill Creek as far as Wiŝelao (Local map D, no. 11).

Localities

The numerous sites formerly known or occupied by Entimbich and Wobonuch are distributed over too extensive an area to be shown on one map. The extreme western sites of the Wobonuch (probably actually Tuhukwaj) on Kings River are shown on Local Map D, nos. 13-18. Entimbich and Wobonuch sites are on Local Map F, and the higher Sierran sites of the Wobonuch are on Local Map G. Names of sites and comments concerning them follow. Although the informant and interpreter G.D. understood topographic maps, on which he located the sites he mentioned, not all his information is accurate.[206] For example, sites nos. 1, 2, and 3 may not be at those exact spots, but are in that relative spatial arrangement somewhere on that mountain ridge. Sites on creeks, especially those at confluences, are accurate.

Local Map D:

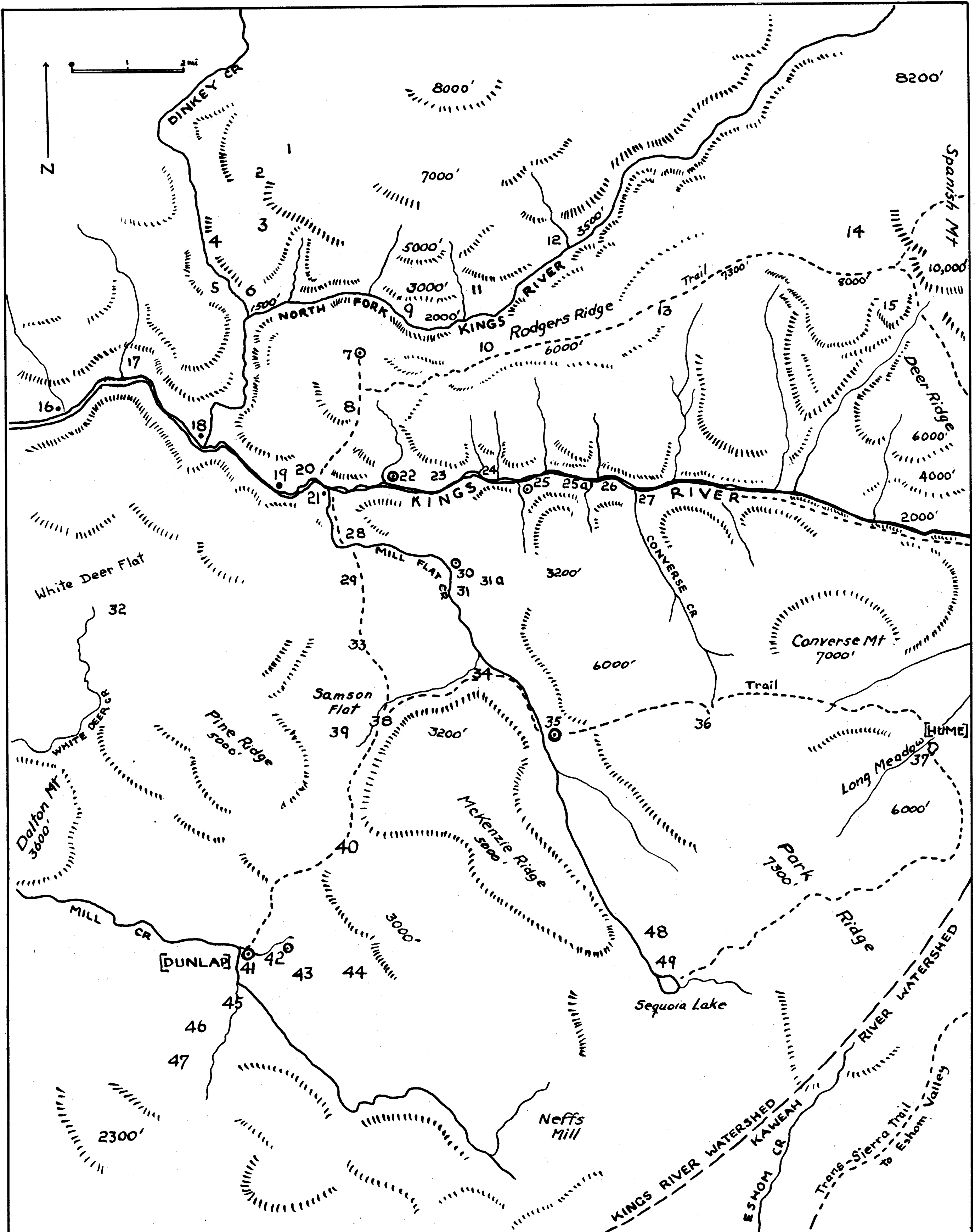
13. wasa´mu: Trimmer Springs, called apa´wɩč by the Choinimni
14. sui´nawe
15. suina´weta mapa´dowɩn: meaning "confluence of suinawe fork"
16. paha´wetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini´dewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi´wetᵘ: a fishing camp

Local Map F:

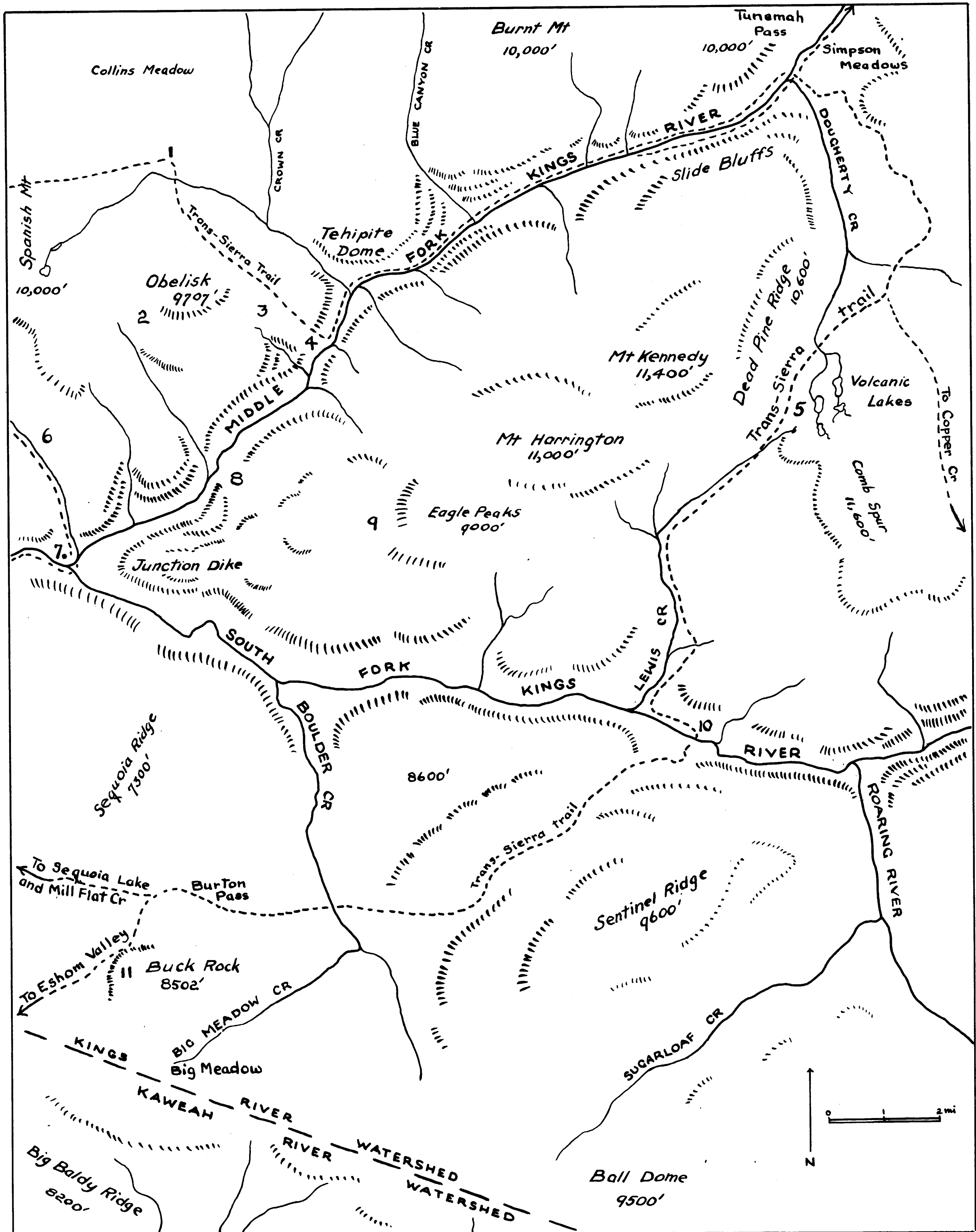
1. [name not recalled]: a large spring there
2. [name not recalled]: Eagle's home
3. ta´obɩn: Falcon's home; "the rock looks like a face" (G.D.)
4. yakapu: site of the war with the Pasuwaj
5. tebɩg: beaver place (Yokuts word)
6. nɩmai´'awe: meaning "all colors"; the rocks are said to be nacreous or highly colored; given as nɩ´m̃wᵉ by D.S.
7. yumsa´nyu: a large village
8. peko´aweti
9. wokočina
10. wiyama´huwe
11. nibihoma
12. sili´awet: [said to be the site of the new San Joaquin Light and Power Company's dam, 1926]
13. nagumasa: meaning "to roost on a rock"
14. tutu´'ap: Garlic Meadow
15. tomokozo´no: site of the folktale "Condor Steals Falcon's Sister"[207]

[206]The maps used were California Dinuba Quadrangle and Tehipite Quadrangle. Proper names given in the lists are on those maps.

[207]Cf. Gayton and Newman, 44.



Map 4. Local Map F: Entimbich and Wobonuch Territory (2000- to 7000-foot level)



Map 5. Local Map G: Wobonuch Territory (7000- to 10,000-foot level)

16. habedi´kewe: a summer camp
17. tsakšabiwetᵘ: meaning "live oak place"; Kirch Flat
18. [name not recalled]: a fishing camp
19. sita´mɩn: a fishing camp; a [supernatural?] cougar lived there. When people had caught sufficient fish, Cougar would "go down under the water and scare the fish away."
20. pa´ha: meaning "pestle"; an acorn-pounding place
21. uča´wikai: a fish camp; "the fish went up Mill Flat Creek at night and came down in masses"; a fish weir was set there
22. pa´jipu: a hamlet
23. u´nanigapu: a dance place belonging to no. 22
24. woi'ondabo
25. ti'anu´bikwat: a hamlet with cedar-bark houses; tüyanobikwe (Jo.W.)
25a. čuwa´o
26. wowo´weti
27. wana´oweti: confluence of Converse Creek and Kings River
28. toho´mnyu: Crabtree
29. mapai´'iweti: see also no. 33
30. ko'o´nikwe: an important Wobonuch village, called soho´nto by the Entimbich; the name was said to refer to quantities of human bones resulting from a fight there; no. 3 Mill Camp; given as ko'o´nikwaip and šo´nto by J.B. who said "šonto means 'many died there'."
31. utzu´z: a spring near no. 30
31a. wokwo´'ak: tobacco-plant site
32. [name not recalled]: White Deer Flat
33. mapai´kweti: meaning "everything drinks"; a salt spring where birds and animals came to drink; Davis Flat; see also no. 29
34. mesawa´te: a bear's hole surrounded with much thick brush, on Samson Creek
35. kada´wina'o: an important Wobonuch village; conflicting information from Jo.W. placed it about 2 miles east of Millwood (no. 48)
36. po'o´hawe: in Converse Basin
37. wosa´nyu: Hume
38. pa´'kini: meaning "Falcon's water"; a large waterfall on Samson Creek with a deep pond beneath where Falcon would come, dive in the pool, and not reappear
39. koiwa´nyutyu: Samson Flat; also given as kwe'o´nyu (Ma.), 'we'o´nyu (J.B.)
40. tada´ni
41. ku´dsowab¹: meaning "dogwood"; an Entimbich village site near Austin's Store, Dunlap; called kiče´yu, meaning "dogwood," by Entimbich and Yokuts-speaking people
42. wo´jidu: an Entimbich village site near Basket Susie's house; name refers to "a blackbird with sharp wings and tail"
43. tinigo´ba: valley in which Dunlap is located; given as tiña´batu and tɩñᵘgᵘbatᵘ by D.S.
44. tababuni: bald rocks on the bluff above Jo.W's place
45. nasiga´weti: gulch on road between Dunlap and the Baker Ranch, Dunlap
46. tsuhuna´ote: outcroppings of rock near house on Baker Ranch, Dunlap
47. tsu'api´dika: meaning "dead eaten"; high hill on Baker Ranch (Jorgensen Point) where shamans foregathered; called by Michahai tawa´tsanahahai, meaning "dead eaten" or tawa´tsa'asot'ho'i, meaning "dead person skinned"[208]
48. tupuha´pu: Millwood
49. to'o´jiwet: Sequoia lakes

Local Map G:
1. pawuhaba
2. pa´uwɩjweyu: this peak was a man named Pa´uwɩj (see no. 11); Obelisk Peak
3. tu´bosani: Gnat Meadow
4. etɩ´ptu: a rock formation showing where the animals held council in the prehuman era;[209] given as e´tɩpi by Ma., who said it was a trading center where Eastern and Western Mono met to parley and trade; it is on a trans-Sierra trail as located by G.D.
5. [not named]: the lakes where the young woman, Kaneo, became an underwater creature[210]
6. tu´huč ma´dikap: meaning "deer themselves"; where deer congregate
7. apuwi´jiwana: hamlet where the shaman, Topo´, killed people (anecdote 9, p. 280)
8. kaha´napai
9. pawawa´ti: a place where it was said to rain first each season
10. pabahiji: meaning "water-crossing"
11. kai´binum: the elder brother of the man Pauwɩj (no. 2); Buck Rock. These men wore deerskin shirts. When Pauwɩj challenged Kaibinum to a fight with clubs they started to pull off their shirts; they shook hard and knocked down a lot of rocks. But Kaibinum was not quick enough: before he got his shirt off, Pauwɩj had clubbed him. That is why he is shorter (Buck Rock, 8502 ft.; Obelisk, 9707 ft.). (See the Waksachi version.)

Local Maps F and G: sites mentioned but not definitely located by D.S.
tai´yup: meaning "berdache"; a rock toward Kings River and near Taobɩn (F 3)
kwina´makwatzaip: meaning "Eagle fell off,"[211] a rock above Taobɩn, possibly F 2
puna´nyu: an Entimbich [?] camp 6 miles west of Dunlap
nɩmwaiwɩn
ka´dapuč: meaning "crow"
yawa´tsa
taka´pi: meaning "salt"; the locality from which red paint and flint were got by the Eastern Mono; no one was thought to live there
nɩmu´mai: a Wobonuch hamlet
kinia´monab: an acorn-pounding place "near another big rock"; refers to Falcon

Trade

The Eastern Mono (Yo´wač) brought salt (ta´kap), piñon nuts, baskets, poison [sic], red paint (pi´šap) and another salt (o´mobi).

[208] See Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 392-393, for anecdote referring to these shamans' gatherings.

[209] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 41.

[210] Ibid., 40.

[211] Cf. ibid., 48, for the story of Pumkwesh and Coyote.

In return they wanted buckskin, both clamshell disc and tubular shell money, Yokuts baskets, canes for arrows, and acorn flour.

The Eastern and Western Mono were friendly and traveled freely in each other's territory. Nevertheless most of the traveling was done by the Eastern Mono, who came westward to trade. They came in groups of about ten during July and went on west and south from the Wobonuch to trade with the Waksachi and Wukchumni; this was the limit of their venture into Yokuts territory.

The Eastern Mono "came down to trade but never settled; they came to Tomokozono [Local Map F, no. 15], Pabahiji [Local Map G, no. 10], and sometimes to Wosanyu [Local Map F, no. 37], and then went on down to the Waksachi and Wukchumni" (Jo.W.).

Hostilities[212]

A shaman's raiding party.--The tribes living on the Pacific coast were known to the Wobonuch as the To´kya. The Tokya are properly the Chumash or Salinan, but both M.J. and G.D. placed them at Monterey. Certainly they were known to the upland Western Mono only by hearsay, and the following story of an event which took place in the youth of G.D.'s grandfather can scarcely be accepted at its face value. An encounter undoubtedly occurred, but the length and motivation of the raiding party's trip as stated is scarcely credible. One suspects that tales of mission raids for converts may have generated the explanation of the stranger's presence in the foothills, for the time was probably in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The account follows as given by M.J., G.D. interpreting.

Mutulu was a big shaman from the Tokya. He had a lot of companions who also had much supernatural power. Every year they would come over to get young girls. One year Mutulu brought his men over as far as lower Mill Creek where the Choinimni lived. They picked up all the nubile girls, no matter how hard the people fought, and went on to the next village and did the same. They took all the girls back to the coast. The next year they came up as far as the Waksachi, and the year after that to the Michahai, Entimbich, and Wobonuch. They came right up to Ko'onikwe.

The people there had been warned of their approach. The girls were all taken off and hidden far from camp. Supana and Wilolohi were young men then. Supana conferred with the old people in the village and discussed whether or not to have an open fight. The men replied that, if Mululu and his companions were backed by more supernatural power than themselves, "they'd die anyway and if they could manage to kill him it would be good riddance." So they decided to try. When the Tokya shaman came, followed by his men and the girls they had collected, he walked up to Supana, who was standing out to meet him, and said, "We want girls." Supana told him to get out, but Mutulu replied, "No, we'll have war first."

The Wobonuch had planned just what to do. They suddenly jumped on all the intruders. Supana, Wilolohi, and a third man seized Mutulu and held him while another man shot at him. Then they "threw him down and broke his neck, they cut his throat and threw his head away off." And far over there they heard the head say, "It's a good thing you killed me. I've been doing this just for meanness."

Supana then told the men from the coast to go back at once and tell their own chief what had happened and, if they did not go, the Wobonuch would drive them out. After they went the girls came out of hiding. Many of the girls who had been captured were returned to their homes, but some stayed right there [at Ko'onikwe] from preference.

The wounded man.--M.J. said that once at Ko'onikwe an enemy man "had been shot all over with arrows." They thought that he was dead, but actually he was alive and watching people from under his arm and waiting to make his escape. Someone saw him move and called to others to come. The injured man got up and ran. His pursuers soon caught him and cut off his head. "He died right there."

STRUCTURES

Sweat House

The sweat house (mos or mosa´) as known and used at Yumsanyu was described by M.J. and at Kadawinao by Jo.W. Their accounts were in agreement. At both villages the sweat house was a 2-post type similar to the Yokuts structure in all respects. The floor, 12 to 15 feet in diameter, was excavated all over about 18 inches. Two forked center posts with a tie-beam supported the roof poles whose butts were lodged against the angle between the floor and earth wall. The doorway had three uprights across which a horizontal log supported the roof poles at that point. While the work on the frame was being done women collected brush and "weeds" to lay over the roof poles. Both women and children assisted the men in throwing and packing earth over the roof. When the structure was completed the chief announced that there would be a feast in six days. For this men killed deer and women prepared vegetable foods. Everyone in the village attended this feast, which was held at the assembly space. In the afternoon, after the meal, the chief made a speech about the new sweat house and led the men into it for the first sweat. "If there wasn't room for all the men at once, the chief and the important men went first and others took their turn after." (The important men might be brothers of the chief, shamans, Bear dancers, and winatums.)

[212]See also an account of a Wobonuch - Pasuaj war in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 383.

Usually there was but one sweat house to a village and small hamlets did not have them at all. Normally a sweat house held ten to fifteen men and, on occasions of overcrowding, as when many visitors were present, groups of friends took turns using it. The fire was placed just inside the door so that those going in or out had to leap over it. [The fire was in the center, Jo.W.] Whoever was sweating supplied the wood: it was no one person's particular duty. The wood was piled each side of the door and the two "toughest" men lay by these piles to keep up the fire. Older or weaker men stayed at the far end of the house.

The sweat bath taken in the mos was called mosamai. The preferred time was late afternoon. After the heating the men ran to the water to bathe. Old men often were so affected by the heat that they staggered or fell down on their way to the stream. Boys were not permitted to indulge in sweating until they were twelve to fifteen years old, and even then for a year or so were under the watchful eye of older men.

However, in the mornings and early afternoon boys gathered there to listen to the stories and advice of old men. At Yumsanyu the most revered authority was Supana, who also functioned in the same capacity at Kadawinao. This instruction was informal: no boy was forced to go or to attend Supana's talk. (There was no puberty rite of any sort for boys.) When the sweat house was empty boys were free to play there "because it was a nice warm place." Little girls could not go in; women never entered. But any man who wished might enter at any time.

No ritual was associated with the sweat house: shamans practiced dance steps there but this never developed into deliberate entertainment. In the same way, singers sang. The flute was played there for pleasure.

Unattached men slept in the sweat house, "but married men slept at home all the year round."

The construction of a new sweat house was not undertaken unless necessitated by constant overcrowding, structural decay, or a fatal fire.

The sweat house was known in the prehuman era. It was first made by Eagle and Coyote: "they gave it to the Indians."

Dwellings

Entimbich houses were described by D.S. Two types were used, the conical thatched house similar to that of the Central Foothill Yokuts, and the typical Western Mono cedarbark hut.

The conical house (sona´nobⁱ) had frame poles of live oak (we´jibab). The circular floor space (ti´bɩb), which varied from 6 to 12 feet in diameter according to the needs of the occupants, was excavated all over for 16 to 18 inches. The frame poles were held in place by horizontal bands of more pliable live oak, and a hoop at the top separated the pole tips to form a smoke hole (tu´to). The covering was of long matlike strips of "brush" which had been cut all the same length and pounded until soft. This brush was either so´nabi, sa´tup, or tu´hap (all unidentified). Unlike Yokuts thatch, which was twined only along the top edge, that of the Entimbich was twined with milkweed cord in two parallel rows which were equidistant from the edge and from each other. These matlike strips were tied horizontally with milkweed cord and overlapped exactly like thatch; D.S. could not tell me how these were made to fit the conical frame.

The fireplace was hollowed out in the center of the dwelling. The floor was carpeted with oak leaves (ma´nakabⁱ) and beds or sitting places were made softer with a fern covering (nimoi´mpᵘb; the black basket-fibre fern, maidenhair or five-finger ?).

When building a house, men put up the frame; women cut and carried the thatch material; men twined the thatch and tied it on.

The informant Ma. said that the thatched house at Ko'onikwe had domed roofs, not conical. This may have been the 2-post elliptical house similar to that of the Waksachi.

The cedarbark house (wato´ni) was as large at the base as the conical house "but was not so high." The floor was not excavated. The basic frame was of three posts tied together at the top and spraddled like a tripod. Into the crotch formed by these were laid other poles, all held in place with two horizontal bands of live oak withes. Against the frame were laid slabs of cedar bark (wa´pᵘ) which were lashed to the horizontal bands with milkweed cord (wi´šibɛb) in a crude twined "stitch." The floor of this house was not covered with leaves. The preferred bed or seat was of tule [mats ?] (sai´bⁱ) or another water plant (pasa´'abⁱ, unidentified). Earth was banked up around the exterior base of the house.

Storehouse

The acorn storehouse (mo´surad) was raised on four or more posts and was covered with a few windings of matting. D.S. said one reached in at the top by climbing a ladder made of sticks twined together along each edge and hung from the top of the storehouse frame.

Village Plan

Jo.W. said that houses were arranged in a semicircle with the local chief (po´ginape) and messenger (na´tinab) living in the center houses. The houses faced south, southeast, or southwest.

Each village of any size had its own dance or assembly space. This was roughly circular and was left open under normal circumstances. Shades and windbreaks for a mourning ceremony, or the circular screening for a snake ritual, were put up as needed. (The snake ritual, of course, was not given by the Wobonuch, and only as an imported affair by the Entimbich.) This space was called manai´gana ni´gawe (lit., dance place).

HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting Weapons

Wobonuch bows and arrows were like those described for the Waksachi and Michahai. Bows were made of cedar (sic, juniper) wood. When a man went to get the wood he did so in secrecy [no reason known: "maybe he didn't want the animals to see him" G.D.]. When the bow was shaped and the ends recurved ready for the application of the sinew, it was set back upward on two forked sticks. Chips of deer antler and sinew were all boiled together. The glue was smeared on the back of the bow and the sinew laid into it. The sinew was pounded lightly into place with a stone: "it never came off" (M.J.). The bow was then wrapped in its entirety in milkweed cord and left in the sun to dry for a day. When it was unwrapped, adhering fuzz and roughness on the sinew was smoothed down with an obsidian blade.

Names for various parts of arrows were given by M.J.: ha´obⁱ, cane, and cane arrow made from it; wi´jabⁱ, live oak, and the detachable foreshaft made from it; ta´kᵘpak, obsidian arrowpoint (ta´kap, obsidian). To feather deer arrows a small spot of pitch was put on the center of each feather's rib to make it adhere to the shaft, since the feathers had a tendency to bow up and slip out of the wrapping at each end. Also, on deer arrows the feathers were laid straight (instead of slightly spiraled) so they were silent when traveling: swirled feathers made "a rushing sound" (M.J., G.D.).

Obsidian for arrowpoints was bought in rough form from the Eastern Mono and worked by the Wobonuch and Entimbich. They resold both rough and finished forms to their Yokuts neighbors. To shape the obsidian a piece was held in the left hand beneath the straight thumb and crooked index finger, braced by the middle finger. A buckskin guard was sometimes, but not always, laid into the palm of the hand under the obsidian. A flake was detached from its core by pressure from a little bone called ma´kɩp which came from "a deer's dew toe" (M.J., G.D.).

When an arrowpoint was to be attached to an arrow, its butt was sunk in a slot of the shaft and the whole smeared with tu´tsonapⁱ (protein glue, asphalt, or pine pitch ?, probably the last) and sinews bound over it.

The most common arrow poisons were made from rotted deer liver which had been dried in the sun. When used, a small lump was rubbed down on a stone and the powder smeared on the arrowpoints. Another poison with deer-liver base was made from liver which had been bitten by rattlesnakes. The snakes were, of course, captured for the purpose and the liver held to meet their angered strikes. (This was not a prerogative of persons with Rattlesnake totem but of "any man that knew how" [M.J., G.D.]). Poisoned arrows were kept in a special quiver beyond the reach of children. The poison worked slowly over a 24-hour period; deer injured and sickening from a poisoned wound were trailed.

Another arrow poison was made from plants which the informants could not identify, and a still different plant poison was used to stupefy fish.

A bola (tadᵃta´bino) was made of a little sack of hard leather such as that from a deer neck, filled with a round stone and tied to a long cord of braided deerskin. Swung round and thrown, it was used for birds or squirrels in tree tops, since arrows were ineffectual when shot upward and were deflected by twigs. It was also used for small game anywhere. Young boys, more than men, carried and used bolas and frequently engaged in battles with them.

Deer Hunting

When a man started out to hunt deer he would scuff the earth off a gopher hole and say, "Give me some deer."[213] Some hunters had special powers derived from Cougar and from Deer which aided their success (see "Supernatural Power").

It was not necessary for every hunter to divide his game with his fellow villagers; only those men who were skilled hunters and had dream power from Deer did so. When such a division was made, "the doctors always got the biggest pieces; the chief didn't care whether he had any or not" (M.J.). The ham was considered the best piece, but both M.J. and G.D. felt there was no great preference for certain parts.

Deer stalking.--This method was called tuhuč to'o´kⁱ and made use of the deer disguise. [I did not get a description of the Wobonuch deer disguise.] It was used by a man alone; Wilolohi was a deer-stalker who used one. When the hunter approached the deer he attracted them by hitting the antlers of his disguise with a stick. There was no respectful address

[213]Gopher's power in this connection is inexplicable; similar was the Waksachi B.O.'s statement that a man with Bear totem would not eat gopher, as it was a second ibuk for that totem.

to the animals before shooting them. When an animal had been killed, the hunter remained in ambush until the deer were again calm and then sneaked about until he had an opportunity for another shot. Two or three deer might be got this way.

Deer tracking.--To track deer was called tuhuč ma´diyo. A hardy man, seeing a big buck's tracks, would pursue the deer until it was exhausted; this might take some twenty-four hours. Deer lack endurance because "a deer gets so hot his fat melts and chokes him" (M.J., G.D.).

For shooting at a standing deer, aim should be taken about eighteen inches below the belly because the animal becomes aware of the arrow and crouches to spring forward in that final instant when the arrow reaches and strikes it. For this reason the feathers on deer arrows are laid straight so they would not produce a warning whir as swirled feathers did.

Deer were not hunted in deep snow, although it was said that "they would lie down in deep snow and sink right out of sight." The Wobonuch did not use snowshoes (M.J., G.D.).

Deer trapping.--Deer trapping, tuhuč manahu´yan, was a method used by unskilled hunters. The description was inadequate. A long pole was cut and its butt lashed to a small tree trunk or sunk in the ground beside a deer trail. To its tip a rope and noose of e´binab were attached.[214] The pole was pulled over and held by the taut rope which was kept at a tension [presumably by a vertical trigger against a horizontal bar]. The spring consisted of two flat sticks lying with one end on the ground, the other on the horizontal bar raised about two inches off the ground. The noose lay spread over the flat sticks so that an animal, stepping on the sticks and releasing the trigger, was caught by the leg. If the deer was still struggling when the hunter found it, he dispatched it with an arrow shot; if it was safely exhausted, he jabbed its jugular vein just under the jawbone with an obsidian blade.

Asked about albino deer or other animals, G.D. said he had heard of them but had never seen any. He said he once saw an all-black coyote but added that he "always thought it might have been a dog."

"Antelope [to´'ɛš] lie in a ring so they can watch in all directions" (M.J., G.D.).

Bear Hunting

The most common method of hunting bears was to stall one in its cave. In the spring, when a bear has just come out from hibernation, it will return to its cave to sleep on rainy days. A bear discovered doing this would be hunted by several men. All of the men who went took poles of mountain mahogany wood about eight feet long; one man was chosen as shooter and was armed with bow and arrows.

The men stuffed up the entrance to the cave with grass and brush. Then two or three stood on each side of the entrance with their poles braced horizontally across it. The hunter stood alone to the side front and, when all was ready, another man pulled out the stuffing from between the bars. By this time the bear had wakened and rushed the entrance where, at least delayed if not actually stopped by the bars, he was shot. If the bear was not roused when the stuffing was removed, he was prodded with one of the long poles. The skin and claws became the possession of the shooter; the meat was divided among the others.

Sometimes a single hunter would track and shoot a bear, but it took a brave and skillful man. The bear must be hit behind the shoulder on the first shot, otherwise he would attack and kill the hunter. Brown bears were hard to approach because they looked about suspiciously as they ate; a grizzly bear when eating "paid no attention to anything, the hunter only had to look out for the wind" (M.J., G.D.).

Firing Brush

When game was needed in a hurry, as for a ceremony or special feast, an encircling fire would be set at the base of one of the many small conical hills of the Wobonuch region. Several hunters were posted about to shoot the animals as they broke through the ring of flames. "This way you might get rabbits, skunks, deer or anything" (M.J.). Bears were particularly dangerous, for they rushed out of the smoke and bit men before they had a chance to shoot.

Rodent Hunting

Ground squirrels were not abundant in the upland territory of the Wobonuch and Entimbich but, when the opportunity offered, they were ousted with smoking as was done by the Waksachi. The most frequent method of taking weasels, squirrels, packrats, mice, cottontail rabbits, etc., was with the simple stone trap (manapo´'ujhun), which consisted of a large flat upper stone propped up by a forked stick, the stick's butt resting on an acorn on a flat stone base. A flexible hooked stick, like that used by the Yokuts, was also employed for pulling rabbits and rats from their burrows (fig. 10, a, Pt. I).

Fishing

Methods of securing fish were poisoning, trapping, and spearing. The first was identical with the Yokuts method.

[214] Translated as milkweed by M.J.; milkweed is usually called wɩšibɛb.

For trapping fish a weir was constructed at a suitable place after a [salmon, steelhead?] run. Such a place was Učawikai (Local Map F, no. 21). "The fish went up Mill Flat Creek in masses. A weir was put up in the night to catch the fish when they came down in the morning" (G.D.). The weir and trap, which was really a net bag (not a basketry trap), were arranged as shown in figure 3, b, herein. The weir itself (manadada´kawan) was made of interwoven willows braced with stones. Actually the uprights, lodged by stones, were more or less permanent, and only the repairing of damage and the weaving-in of the horizontal willow branches was done during the night. At the center point the net bag (woko´) was arranged with mouth spread between stakes. The bag was especially netted for the purpose, was some 4 feet long and about 3 feet in diameter at the mouth. The men worked at the weir around midnight, and at about 3 a.m. all the villagers ate a cold breakfast and went to the stream. A group of men had a flexible sweep, about 20 feet long, made of brush or grass twined along its upper edge. (It was like a length of house thatching.) Holding this before them so that it reached from bank to bank and dragged in the water, these men went far upstream and then waded down, driving the fish before them. Women, children, and the other men seized the fish as they collected at the weir. They were scooped up in fish baskets or grabbed with the hands. After this collective catch was made men speared stray fish that were left. The bag in the weir opening was then emptied. This bag was replaced during the middle of the night and removed and emptied each morning as long as the fish were running.

Fish from the collective drive were equally divided among all those taking part: "if a woman had no man she got her share just the same" (G.D.). The fish were slit and dried for storage.

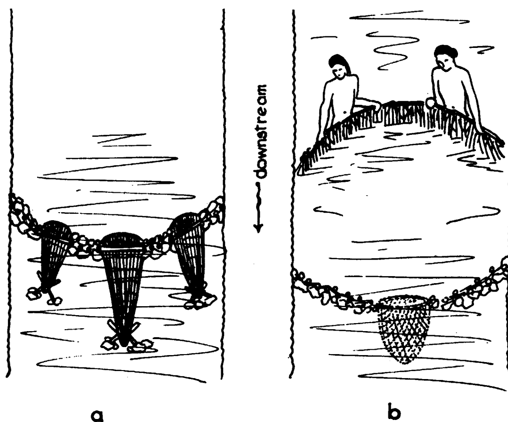


Fig. 3. Fish weirs (schematic drawing). a, Wukchumni, 1 to 3 baskets; b, Wobunuch, net bag and brush sweep.

The fish spear (pijeku´m^{i}ni), a harpoon type, consisted of three parts: a wooden handle 3 to 5 feet long, into which was set a length of deer shank bone (pa´kwatui), and into this fitted the loose, swiveled point of eagle bone (ho´tɩš). The point, drilled at the center, was tied to the main shaft with several feet of milkweed cord (fig. 10, k, Pt. I). The moment the fish was struck, the point loosened and was lodged in the victim. The spear was never released from the thrusting hand; the coil of excess cord was held loosely in the left hand. Extra foreshafts as well as points were carried along, for they frequently broke on rocks under water. (The two-pronged fish spear with inturned points, the leister, was not known.)

CRAFTS

Basketry

The basketry of the Yokuts and Western Mono is so similar in techniques, shapes, and ornament that there is little to distinguish the types. It may be assumed, however, that the resemblance is due largely to the constant eastward movement of trade in old times. That is, the Western Mono (Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, Patwisha) have taken over Yokuts types from earlier times and adopted them as their own, whereas their own specific basketry forms, the triangular winnowing tray and fan-shaped cradle hood, have but recently become acceptable to Yokuts basketmakers. To the best of my knowledge, even today, it is only the hooded cradle which is actually made by Yokuts. Although they could make the triangular winnowing trays, those in their possession were secured by purchase. For shapes and sizes see figures 2 and 3, Part I.

Twined ware --Carrying or burden basket (wo´no); triangular winnowing tray (to'o´ti^{u}a); seed-beater (patso·´); sieve for manzanita flour or a more coarse form for fish (pu·'an); cooking basket (poto´n), always decorated with horizontal bands of redbud (pl. 2 a, b, c, herein).

Coiled ware.--Coiled winnowing or gambling trays and those used by shamans (sai´ya); washing basket, water basket, a large flaring-sided style (sai´'op); bottleneck basket (o´sa) for treasures and also used by Rattlesnake shamans for their rattlesnakes.

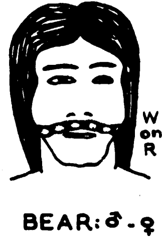
Cradles.--The first cradle, used for ten days, of stiff back but no hood (wa´obɩt), and the second (maho·´p), with hood, were of a twined technique as shown in plate 2, b herein.

Ornament.--The colorings of Wobonuch baskets were the same as those of the Yokuts: a creamy yellow background (tu´dinap), with ornamentation of red or reddish brown (taka´kab^{i}, redbud) and black (nimoi´mpɩb, a fern also used for bedding).

CEREMONIAL PAINT PATTERNS

WESTERN MONO: ENTIMBICH

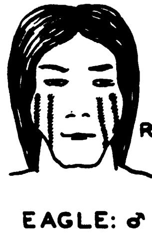
FALCON: ♂ - ♀



BEAR: ♂ - ♀

OWL: ♂ - ♀

CROW: ♂ - ♀

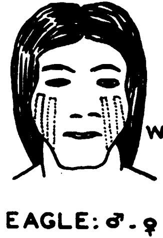


EAGLE: ♂

EAGLE: ♀

WESTERN MONO: WOBONUCH

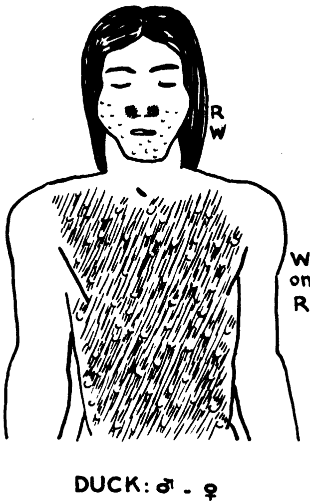
FALCON: ♂ - ♀



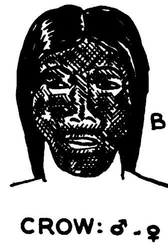
EAGLE: ♂ - ♀

COUGAR: ♂ - ♀

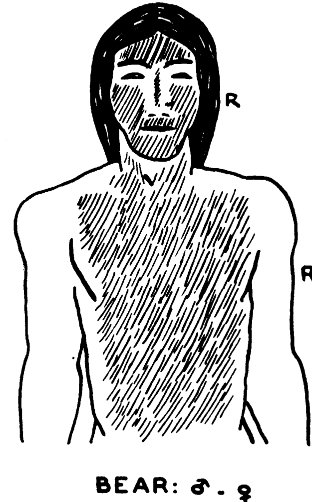
COYOTE: ♀



DUCK: ♂ - ♀



CROW: ♂ - ♀



BEAR: ♂ - ♀

Fig. 4. Ceremonial paint patterns: Entimbich and Wobonuch.

Pottery

All dishes or pots of clay were called winabi by the Wobonuch. Jn.W. said all meats were cooked in pottery vessels. Greens, such as wild mustard (tsomoni), were cooked in them and also, in extra large pots, acorn mush.[215]

"Tuwa´yiya [cougar ?; "tiger, a long-tailed spotted cat"] was the first one to get clay and make dishes. Coyote [ša´buj] made them too."

The manufacture of pottery by Jn.W. has been given in detail in a previous paper.[216] She was taught by her maternal grandmother. The various stages or processes she named as follows: madzogoda (pounding clay) [mabodada, pounding acorns]; mawabišunadi (rolling clay); mawamiakuda (coiling clay).

All Entimbich women knew how to make pottery, said D.S. It was never made by men. D.S. was taught by her maternal grandmother, Miyahati. The large pots were used primarily for cooking meat, though acorn mush was cooked sometimes in them. Shapes and sizes were the same for all Central Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. Pottery manufacture was fundamentally the same throughout the area: minor variations are mentioned in the paper cited.

The Entimbich called both the clay and the finished pots winabⁱ. Early summer was the preferred time for making the ware, as the clay beds were still damp enough for the material to be easily manipulated and the sunshine sufficiently warm to dry the vessels promptly without cracking the surface. Some women saved and dried clay dug in the winter for use in the summer. Dried clay had to be pulverized and winnowed, which was an added task.[217]

The Entimbich method of pottery making was identical with that of the Wobonuch. Some additional details mentioned by D.S. are as follows. The process of flattening the coils with a stone she called wišu´’ubᵉbᵉ. Live oak bark should be used for giving the final scraping inside and out [no reason known for this preference]. She stated that the preliminary sun-drying usually lasted throughout two days: if there were even a minute degree of moisture in the interior of the clay, the pots would crack when fired. [This is true; not a "belief."] D.S. knew of the Wukchumni practice of marking pots with lines drawn with a charcoal stick, but said "that was the Wukchumni's own way." Entimbich and Wobonuch marked with the piece of soapstone which was rubbed over the entire surface as a finish. The fire might be of any kind of wood, but was in a pit. The pots were gradually heated at the edge of the pit, then set among the coals and burning wood and, when red hot, were turned upside down. They were handled with a pair of pine poles. Firing normally continued from ten to eighteen hours. A thin lacquer of acorn gruel was applied to the pots while still at high heat, then was allowed to cool.

[215] To cook acorn mush in a pot was called makawa´naid; to cook it in a basket, maⁱ’i´kebeduda.

[216] Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-making, 241-246.

[217] Ibid., pl. 97, b.

Painting

The Eastern Mono (yo´wuč) brought over red paint to sell. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance: "everybody had it ever since Indians were born" (D.S.). Jo.W. said it came as a hard round ball, and was material got from the water. White paint came from the Wowo [a Yokuts group to the west]; it looked like flour [possibly lime ?] and was carried in a little skin sack. All four informants for Wobonuch-Entimbich culture said everyone painted for the mourning ceremonies or for participation in special rituals. There were fixed patterns for certain lineages, i.e., Eagle, Cougar, Bear, Coyote, Crow, Duck, and Owl (fig. 4 herein). Jo.W. claimed that the Rattlesnake (mu´sigi) lineage did not paint.[218] Bat and Lizard were not lineage symbols -- "just dreams" -- and had no paint patterns to designate them.

Designs were usually the same for both sexes. (The Yokuts habit of dotting women's patterns was lacking.)

Paint colors were: red, pi´šap (D.S., M.J., Jo.W.); black, ya´dub (D.S.), yadu´bⁱ (M.J.); wa´wuna, charcoal (Jo.W.); dark blue, wa´wina, "a paint like soft rock" (M.J.) [clay, bitumen, or possibly charcoal, as charcoal produced blue tattoo marks and the word for charcoal is suspiciously like M.J.'s word]; white, e´tibɨb (D.S.), e´bi (M.J.), e´bɛni (Jo.W.).

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL CULTURE ITEMS

Carrying net.--The carrying net (pita´) and tumpline (tu´’ap), made of milkweed cord (wi´šibɛb) were in form and technique like those of the Yokuts (cf. Wukchumni). The net was made and used more often by men than by women but it was not exclusively a man's device.

Soaproot brush.--The soaproot brush (wu´’nats) was made and used as by the Yokuts (see Wukchumni). (See pl. 2, e herein.)

Arrow straightener.--The stone arrow straightener (tu´padan) was of a roughly rounded form with one or two grooves. We have not sufficient numbers in collections to know whether Yokuts and Western Mono forms differed. The present users claimed that they did not

[218] He stated elsewhere that there was no Rattlesnake lineage among the Wobonuch, that any shaman might have this reptile as a dream helper.

make them but had received them through inheritance from times past.

Mushstirrer.--This is the stone-lifter (čiko'o'no) of grapevine or looped young oak withe used to lift hot stones from cooking food (pl. 2, b herein). Hot rocks were put in with a pair of pinewood tongs.

Pestle.--Pestles (pa'ha or tapaha) were of two forms: a long truncated cone type (pl. 2, d herein) for use in deep mortar holes, and a shorter, blunter, more rectangular type for use on rock surface or in shallow mortar holes. Free mortars for preparing foodstuffs or clay were not used by the Wobonuch and Entimbich, who relied on bedrock entirely.

Tobacco mortar and pestle.--The mortar (koi'wɩš) and pestle (pa'lwi) were of the same type as the Yokuts' (see Wukchumni) and were undoubtedly originally derived from them, as indicated by the retention of their Yokuts names.

Soapstone vessel.--The steatite pot (wi'šoa) Ma. claimed was used for a cooking utensil just like a clay pot. These pots were made in the vicinity, the steatite being got from down Mill Creek, she said.

Salt.--Salt (takap) was got from the Eastern Mono; it was a white rock salt. Salt from salt grass (kwiyoki), which "was black and burned in lumps," came from the Wukchumni (see Wukchumni).

Moccasins.--Moccasins were made of hide from deer neck. When footgear was wanted for a long hard trip, an extra sole of bear hide was added. The sole was soaked in water, cut to shape, and sewed on the outside of an already made-up moccasin. The moccasin tied across the instep. [G.D. could not make the pattern.] They were made and worn by men; women used them only on long trips.

Snowshoes.--The use of snowshoes was denied by M.J. and G.D. A person walking in snow "just carried a long stick, and the Wopo'ɩj [Wobonuch] were never in snow much anyway."[219]

Women's dress.--Deerskin aprons (ma'pᵘ) were worn by most Wobonuch and Entimbich women in preference to the fibre aprons of beaten willow bark. The skins were prepared by man; the aprons cut out by women. Ma. said that even in her girlhood the native aprons had been displaced by "blankets and skirts somebody sent" them.

Rabbitskin blanket.--The rabbitskin blanket (moro'sai, Wobonuch; ta'awodah, Entimbich) was made by men, said D.S.

Money.--All money was obtained in finished form through trade with the Yokuts. The strings of small clamshell discs were valued at ten cents for a measure the circumference of the hand, called witšiša, and twenty-five cents for a tubular bead called by its Yokuts name, humana.

Felling trees.--To fell trees they were burned around the base. Men had short stout sticks (to'nap) with which they poked, jabbed, and dug at the burning portions to make the fire go in deeper. Limbs and poles were "cut" to length by the same means: "after a while they had axes (na'ča)" (Ma.). Some firewood was left long (6 to 10 ft.) and the tips were continually pushed into the fire from which the logs extended through the door of the house.

Firemaking.--The fire drill was used for kindling fire. Preferably two men used the apparatus, one holding down each end of the hearth, the other twirling the drill between his palms. When alone, a man knelt on the hearth. The parts were: woi'gonum (hearth of buckeye wood); ku'do (drill of manzanita); sonabⁱ (tinder of shredded cedar bark) (Jo.W.).

Water transportation.--A wooden raft (ma'owita) was made of two or three logs bound together with rope. Brush was then laid across and often grass or mats across the brush. This would carry household goods, game, or a woman or children who could not swim. If the stream could be crossed on foot, the raft was pushed by one man, but if it was too deep, then two or more men swam, pushing the raft with one hand.

The basket boat (mana'no op) was a common article; almost every family owned one. This was coiled, flat-bottomed, with straight flaring sides, about four feet in diameter at the top. Two babies could be floated in one of these, and light precious possessions such as money, clothing, feather ornaments, baskets, etc. (This basket boat was used by the Yokuts also; see Kechayi.)

No canoes or paddles were known, nor were rafts ever poled (M.J.; G.D.).

Swimming.--There was a standardized swimming stroke similar to that described for the Yokuts (see Wukchumni). It was a breaststroke, the arms moving symmetrically forward at center, then slightly outward and downward; then elbows bent, fists up and forward. Meanwhile the legs were kept straight out behind and were pushed outward and pulled inward from the hips without flexion of the knees.

CALENDAR, NATURE, DIRECTIONS

"In old times people counted by the week which had six days" (M.J.). There were no individual names for the days, but one could refer to the middle of the week as being half over with the phrase, mutuwo'koban. This six-day week was called ši'man (undoubtedly Spanish

[219]Snowshoes evidently were not used by the Southern Miwok or "Chowchilla," pursued by Bunnell and party in the heavy snows of the Yosemite and Upper San Joaquin River areas. In fact, few of the white men in Bunnell's party even knew what snowshoes were (Bunnell, Discovery of Yosemite, 139).

semana).[220] Five weeks made up a month, which was called tawi´ᵃwi (moon). The first four weeks following a new moon were called, su´ma (first) šiman, wai (second) šiman, pa´hi (third) šiman, and watsa´kwi (fourth) šiman. The fifth week, or dark of the moon, was not called fifth, M.J. insisted, but by the phrase designating that phase of the moon, totsoi´'ida ta´uwa (dead moon).

Each month [moon] had a name, but M.J. could not recall them all. He said there were twelve or thirteen, he "didn't know which." The following he described thus:

mabači'an tawiᵃwi: acorns ripe moon; late September.

nawu´wa tawiᵃwi: acorns drop moon; late October or early November. Bear Dance given at this time.

sunama tawiᵃwi: storing moon; November. Acorns stored after shelling and drying in a storehouse called manasuman.

wazazohima tawiᵃwi: means "the ground was bulging up from freezing"; about December. The shamans' general curing performance (manapoha´gigan) given about this time. It was the time for night bathing in seeking supernatural power.

kowa´wu tawiᵃwi: this referred to the sun's shining everywhere after the winter solstice. Mountains south of the Wobonuch territory obscured the winter sun in the early morning and evening; about January the sun again shone "everywhere."

tawa´nu tawiᵃwi: a spring moon; about March. Jimsonweed drinking at this time and later the Rattlesnake Ritual.

taza´wuna tawiᵃwi: a summer moon [probably late August-September] when the Annual Mourning Ceremony was held.

The phases of the moon were called, according to Jo.W.:

ta´o: the moon, particularly the full moon

mai´'idawɩn: the first or last "quarters" of the moon

tao edawɩš: the waning moon

totsoi´'ida ta´ᵘwa: the dark of the moon

An eclipse, madukada tudakida (lit., eating it turtle),[221] was attributed to a water animal's eating the moon. It was an ill omen. Old people, particularly old women, would run out and shout to the creature to stop.

According to Jo.W., "the moon comes out when the morning star talks to it." He told the following:

Tupa´dana (Arrowstraightener) is a rock toward the north. Čigibaha, its grandfather, threw it on the fire and it made a bright light. Then he went off to the sky taking the moon [the glowing arrowstraightener] with him. When the moon is full we can see Čigibaha up there [as the markings on the moon]

In a myth it is told that a grandfather took his wayward grandson, Hainano, to the moon on his back to save him from his pursuers.[222]

The following terms were given by Jo.W.:

ta´djup: star (general)

ta´buha: morning or evening star [thought to be always the same star]

yomohokwi·mare: a particular star visible at Dunlap in late December

so´i'so´i: young girls; the Pleiades

nazokwo·wite: the young girls' husbands; [constellation unidentified]

ha´lu: "cup"; the Ursa Major; [idea probably of European derivation]

tu´huč poi´hut: meaning deer race; the Milky Way; "two deer ran a race across that path"

tabe´gotap: the rainbow; [informant knew no cause nor meaning for this]

tokwi´yap: thunder; "this got mad and struck trees; the people would get out and holler to it to stop -- no words -- just hollering."[223]

pa´owap: rain

paha´okwap: hail

nu´babi: snow

po´gunaotzapa´nide: fog

tobo´pa ma´č'čᶦkan: earthquake (lit., world tremble)

hukwade: wind

tu´bewi hukwade: south wind

kwi'i´čuna hukwade: west wind

pita´čuna hukwade: north wind

tu´nakwe hukwade: east wind

The directions are: tube´kwi (south); kwiwi´ (west); pita´ (north, also said to mean upward or skyward); tu´nakwe (east or mountainward); paiya´na makwa´wai, downstream; paiyana tu´nakwetugo, upstream. [The informant had never heard of a certain spot as the center of the world.]

PLEASURES

Games

Shinny.--Two names, na´katukoinau and na´kutakoida, were given by Jo.W. for this game. It was played on a long runway with a goal hole at one end and a post at the other.

[220] To set 6- or 12-day periods in advance was undoubtedly aboriginal, but the name for this period and the arrangement of the periods as a month are probably of European [Mission] derivation.

[221] "Tudakida is something like a turtle" (Jo.W.);tortoise?

[222] Gayton and Newman, 46.

[223] It is said in a myth that the way to stop thunder is to make a bitch howl. The Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch; when they hear one crying in pain, they will cease their disturbance(ibid., 49).

Players started from the hole, went around the post (but were not required to hit it), and returned to hole their balls. There was no scoring, as the first man in won. Four to six men played, according to the size of the grounds. A sort of reféree usually ran along with the players to prevent them from fighting en route. Women occasionally played, but not with or against men. The following terms were used: ono´now[1], the ball; tu´napa, the club; and to´'op, the goal hole.

Pierced hoop and pole.--This game (pa´sinu) was exclusively a man's game. Two men played, the ring being shot forward and the pole after it. There were ten counters kept by a scorekeeper; it was necessary to get all the counters twice to win. The hoop was about four inches in diameter, preferably of live oak withe or, secondarily, of milkweed cord, wrapped with milkweed cord (wišibɛb). The pole was some six feet long. The scoring was: hoop leaning against pole, 1; hoop lying horizontally on pole, 4; hoop pierced by pole, 5; hoop standing vertically by pole, nothing (fig. 5, g herein). The pieces of equipment were called: wi´kono, the hoop, regardless of material; pa´sino, the pole.

Tossed hoop game.--The game (mana´čkwain) was played with a long stick with a curved end from which wàs tossed a hoop of milkweed cord. It was played by partners who tossed the hoop one to another along a course similar to that for shinny (usually the same runway, said Jo.W.). If the hoop fell to the ground, "that side lost and paid up right there." Winning merely granted one point if the aim was toward a fixed score; additional points need not be consecutive. Both sexes played.

Chip and pole.--This game (tubono´tugo) was played by casting forward a small block of wood and hurling a pole after it. Eight men played, each making an individual shot. To hit the chip or to come nearest it counted six. Jo.W. could not explain how the final scoring was counted. A variation of the game, called na´tuwoidi, differed only in having the players divided in two groups of four each. Equipment included: wo´b[1], the "chip," a block of wood about 4 by 1 by 1 inches; u´doiwob[1], the pole, which was short, "about the length of the forearm" (Jo.W.).

Matching lines.--This was a man's game [name not obtained]. Two men, each holding a basketry tray, sat on the ground facing each other. Holding his tray vertically and face inward, each drew on the ground a pair of lines from the inner edge of his tray toward himself with the index and middle (second and third) fingers, making one line longer than its mate. The man who was doing the matching or guessing attempted to put his long line on the same side [left or right] as his opponent's. Ten counters were kept by a scorekeeper; each correct guess counted one. The position of guesser was lost to the opponent on an error.

Stick dice.--This dice game (ta´činida) was played on the ground in the daytime by either or both sexes. There were eight sticks, flat on one side and marked with red paint on

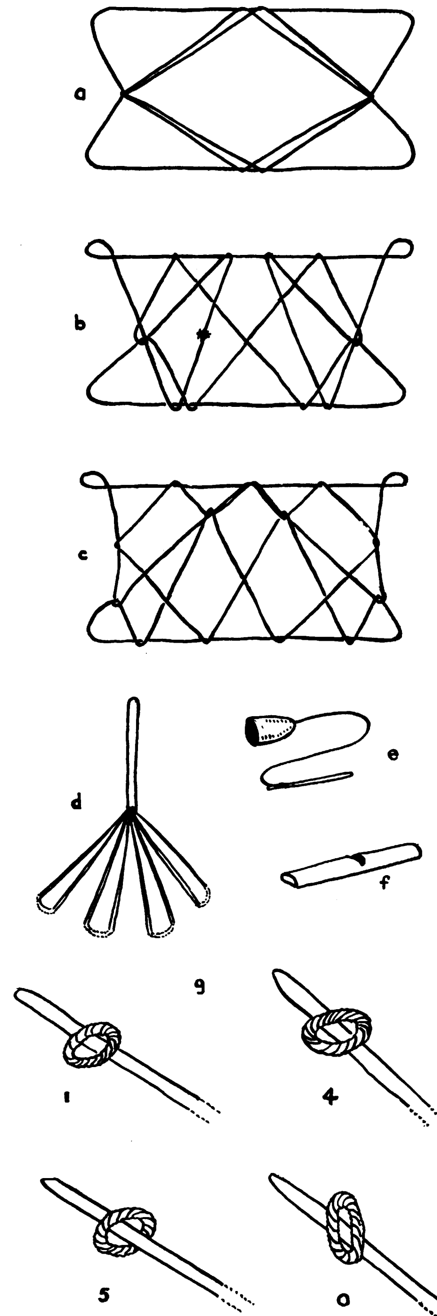


Fig. 5. Wobonuch games. String figures: a, Spider's House; b, Spider's House II, with knot as spider; c, Falcon's Carrying Net; d, Sweat House with Rising Smoke (made over four fingers); e, cup and pin game; f, women's stick dice; g, scoring of pierced hoop, 1, 4(horizontal), 5, 0(unless hoop falls over touching pole).

one side. The bundle of sticks was grasped with both hands and cast downward on a skin or mat. The counts were reckoned on the number of faces up or down, but Jo.W. could not specify them.

Women's dice game.--This daytime game was called hoču´'ısa (Yokuts) or wo´bima ma´narohın (sticks game). There were eight short sticks (ta´nohina; also given as sini´nupub), painted red on their flat sides and with a slight transverse cut on their curved backs "for good luck" (ma´pukči) (fig. 5, f herein). These were tossed up on a tray (saiya) which was passed to the right (counterclockwise) as each player took one turn. This was played by women, four on each side; men played infrequently. The score was kept by a scorekeeper with ten [?] counters. The count was : two flat side down, 2; five flat side down, 5; all down, 8; all up, nothing.

Hand game.--The hand game (nai'a´kwida) was a favorite diversion of men in the sweat house although played in homes at night by both sexes. There were usually six persons to a side. Hiding of the two bones, one marked to be guessed for, was done under a blanket. The hiding side sang, crossing and rotating their hands while their opponents guessed. A scorekeeper held twelve counters; a correct guess counted one. A hider who lost could continue to hold the bones until he was discouraged by his back luck, if he wished.

Cup and pin game.--This toy, called ma´nabı ču´nunuhoin [acorn ? toss], was known to the Wobonuch. The cup was an acorn shell tied through its apex to a small bone (fig. 5, e herein).

String figures.--Jo.W. said that this diversion, called ti·bo´pamakaknan, was very popular, nearly everyone knew how to make string figures. He demonstrated four and said there were many more. The names of the final forms (fig. 5, a-d, herein) he made were Spider's House; Spider's House with Spider; Falcon's Net; and Sweat House with Smoke.

Musical Instruments

Musical instruments used at Yumsanyu were described by M.J.

The flute (woi´na) was exclusively a man's instrument; not many men played but any man who wished to might try to learn. It was thought difficult because it necessitated holding the breath a long time. It was most frequently played before bedtime or as an amusement in the sweat house; there were no restrictions on its use. Youths carried flutes hanging from their belts. The first flute was made by Waterdog (ana´dzan). "He went home and played it and made a lot of rain. Waterdog is a dream but not a mapuk" [a dream helper but not a family totem].

There were two types of flutes, both of elderwood. The common form was about 18 inches long, 1 inch in diameter at the mouth end, with the pith removed throughout. Near the lower end were four vertical slots about 3 inches long and equidistant from each other. Above these, in a row, were the holes, all about 1-1/2 inches apart.

The second form, called manawacoi´kına, was much longer and slenderer and had eight holes.[224] It was said to "make a fine sound"; anyone who wished might attempt to play it.

The whistle (hu´guinu) was used only by shamans and jimsonweed dreamers. It was made of an eagle shank, was about 4 inches long and had one hole, the shaft being plugged with pine pitch (wo´hab masana) just back of the hole.

The cocoon rattle (sa´naj, Yokuts) was used by singers at the Snake Ritual and Bear Dance.

The clapper (tusugu´guhıd, Jo.W.; wutadi´gihın, M.J.) was used with Jimsonweed Ritual singing and for all dances and singing accompaniment save the Bear Dance, for which the cocoon rattle was used exclusively.

The musical bow was a small simple bow some 2 to 3 feet long made of any wood and with sinew string. One end was held in the mouth between the teeth and the string twanged.

The foot-drum (pumpum) was known only by hearsay as belonging to tribes toward the north. The interpreter, G.D., said he had seen it in use in Shasta County.

The rasp, or rasp drum, and the bull-roarer were unknown. Pressing inquiry about the bull-roarer merely elicited information about the bola weapon.

Tobacco

Tobacco growing in the vicinity of Yumsanyu and Kadawinao, according to M.J. and Jo.W., was "just like that on Kings River." The Wobonuch use of tobacco parallels that of the Yokuts but their care of the plants was more assiduous.

In spring interested persons would watch the patches of tobacco plants. When the earth became dry they loosened it with digging sticks and carried water to soften it. The tips of the plants were pinched out "to make big leaves." If the leaves were wanted, large worms which infested the plants were picked off. M.J. declared that all this care was aboriginal -- "an oldtime custom" -- and was not an imitation of white agricultural practice. Seeds were not saved or sown, which inferentially strengthens his assertion. The ground was not burned over after the plants had died.

[224]Barrett and Gifford cite 8-hole flutes for the Miwok (Miwok Material Culture, 250).

Two types of tobacco were prepared, as by the Yokuts: common quality (so´ʼog) and fine quality (pulči´na).

Tobacco grew abundantly at Wokwoʼak, near Koʼonikwe. Men gathered the leaves in the summertime (June, July). They took only the leaves, never the roots. To make common tobacco the leaves were washed, dried, and ground. Leaves of weči´na (lobelia ?) which had been previously picked and dried were ground and added to the tobacco. Water was added and the resultant paste made into little round lumps "about the size of your fist," called sogo´pa.

It was this type of tobacco which was ground up with burned oystershells (kai´ʼawi), added to water, and sipped to produce vomiting. Groups of men gathered to drink tobacco: the host prepared the mixture and passed his small mortar (koiwɩš) of soapstone (tɩp) and pestle (palwi) around the circle of drinkers. Women took it also, but in a group of their own. Boys about fifteen were permitted to take it, as were girls who had passed puberty: "it was too strong for them before that, if they drank it they'd die" (D.S.). The purpose was to gain good health and stimulate dreaming: "it made you vomit and was good for the stomach and to get dreams" (Jo.W.).

The fine tobacco was not made from the boiled dregs of tobacco, as it was by the Yokuts, but from deposits left by the large worms which fed on the leaves. When pulčina was wanted the leaves were left unpicked and the worms permitted to flourish. Their dried deposits, about the size of a bean, were collected, ground, watered to form a paste, and made into little cylindrical fingerlike cakes. This was especially prized. If one were far from home and overcome with fatigue and anxiety, a little would be chewed and rubbed on the cheeks "to keep from getting scared on the trail" (M.J.). However, it would not prevent a ghost (tsuap) from chasing one; "if a ghost chased you, a doctor sent it; they didn't do any harm by themselves" (G.D.). Anyone who wanted to could go out to tobacco plants which were not under specific care by someone else and collect the worm deposits to sell to a tobacco maker. Ordinarily all prepared tobacco was sold, as with the Yokuts.

Both sexes smoked tobacco at any place or time, but the favorite time was just before sleeping. Only a few puffs were ever taken. Pipes for smoking were, most frequently, the cane tube (ha´obi) and the wooden pipe (po´do); the clay pipe (wi´nabi) was quite rare. Occasional stone pipes were known and used, but these were found, not made. Shamans' pipes were no different from those of others. Ground dry tobacco was often taken like snuff and is still so used today.

The Tachi[225] came up to trade for Wobonuch tobacco for, although they had tobacco of their own, they lacked the wečina plant which diluted the excessive strength of the narcotic and added a fragrance of its own.

Falcon and Crow discovered tobacco and prescribed its use.[226]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

The Entimbich and Wobonuch were grouped in small permanent villages, none of them, apparently, with populations of more than fifty to seventy-five persons. They were really a series of hamlets, as compared with the more populous Yokuts villages of the lower foothills. But like the Yokuts, these uplanders made seasonal moves for food gathering.

Chief.--Each village had at least one chief (poginape), sometimes two, whose duties were like those of the Yokuts leaders: he decided upon the time for ceremonies, as none could be held without his consent, suggested the time to move, saw that the needy were fed and sheltered, and sanctioned the killing of malicious shamans or, presumably, other evildoers. His power was by no means absolute but was that of a benevolent or paternal governor who advised rather than ordered. The only means of control which the chief had was his alliance with a powerful shaman who might, at his instigation, work harm against his enemies or against evildoers. However, a wise chief usually held council with his brothers or old men of his village so that his decisions would have backing and be acceptable to all.

The political relations of Wobonuch chiefs and shamans were like those of the Yokuts and have been treated at length elsewhere.[227] The exact ways in which shamans went about their killings, the revenge of outraged relatives, and the role of the chief in these affairs were put in definitive terms by M.J. and G.D.[228]

Eagle (kwina´) was the totem of chiefly families and this bird was synonymous with the office. Secondarily, men from families with Falcon totem were sometimes chiefs. That is, Falcon lineages were highly respected and a man of that lineage might become a chief because of his personal fitness as an administrator and the lack of a suitable member from an Eagle lineage; but he was not automatically

[225] Possibly, more immediate Yokuts of the plains, or the Wobonuch may have traded with the Tachi via the Chukaimina and the Choinimni; the last-named were very friendly with the upper Tulare Lake tribes.

[226] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 38.

[227] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[228] Ibid., 382, 399-400.

eligible for the chief's office as a man of an Eagle lineage would be. On the other hand, totemic eligibility did not mean that an unfit man would be chosen. "If a man tried to act as chief and did not know his business, he would soon be killed by other chiefs" [through shamans] (J.C.). All members of a chief's family were called chief, i.e., poginape, but the functioning office belonged only to one male who was normally the son or brother of the previous chief. The outgoing chief named his preference of successors, but the choice had to meet with the approval of his influential fellow villagers. Also, the man chosen did not have to accept the responsibility. Hence the succession was not rigidly defined, but varied (within these bounds) according to the personalities involved.

According to Jo.W. and M.J., the chief at Kadawinao was Pinoa: "his brothers came after him" (Jo.W.), "Pinoa was headman, Opkwiyots was behind him, then Nubabⁱ [both brothers], and Tamua [sister's son] came last" (M.J.). There was no term for these men as secondary or subchiefs (like Yokuts tuye'i). At some time a man named Gu'igui of a Falcon lineage functioned as chief at Ko'onikwe.

There was no visible symbol of office. At a ceremony the chief decorated himself with his lineage paint pattern just as other people did.

The chief's advice was particularly necessary for a mourning celebration. The chief addressed people directly unless an interpreter was needed. (There was no chief's spokesman.) If the head chief were absent the man of next importance would speak in his place.

Messenger.--The official messenger (natinab) was an essential institution in Wobonuch and Entimbich society. His functions were those of his Yokuts counterpart, the winatum. The family totem, however, was Roadrunner (ö'i'ö'i) with Dove (he'wi) mentioned as a second and less important symbol. Since the office is undoubtedly of Yokuts derivation, it would be of interest to know how Roadrunner came to supersede Dove as the messenger's totemic animal.

The messenger's duties were: to take messages to and from his chief, or between other people who cared to hire him; to supply his chief with wood and water; to give orders around the village; and particularly at ceremonies to direct proceedings, supply wood and water, prevent quarrels, and direct the dancing or entertainment routine. The women of the messenger's family, also called natinab, were called upon to cook and serve food at ceremonies and to keep peace among quarrelsome women. A male natinab did not interfere with women's activities unless it was physically necessary. Sometimes persons marrying into a natinab's family took up natinabs' duties and took the family symbol as their own; this was mostly true of women but not exclusively so.

The messenger's badge of office was a cane some eight feet long, painted at its upper end with red horizontal bands. The cane had a string [string of bead money; a quipu string?] tied at the top, said M.J. By this cane the man was instantly recognized as a messenger, even when approaching a strange village. On such occasions he would be greeted by the local head messenger, who took him to the chief's house where a deerskin or mat was laid down and food set upon it. After he had eaten, the visiting messenger explained his purpose in coming. If his information was to be made public, the local messenger, at the chief's order, called the people together to hear it. Although M.J. denied that a knotted string (quipu) was used to mark passage of days for a specified period, it yet seems probable that the string on the messenger's pole was just this, as the Yokuts used a series of knots or beads on a string when desiring to record or count days, as, for instance, those before a ceremony.

There was always a leader among the messengers in a village and, when both local and visiting messengers were working together as at an annual mourning ceremony or any intertribal rite, the local head messenger was in charge. He had no special title, as had the Yokuts dance manager (yate''ič). Messengers tended to serve certain persons rather than others, such as the chief, the head messenger, or a shaman. All messengers were called natinab and had the same totem regardless of the specialization of their services. A shaman's natinab helped him dress and paint, disposed of his paraphernalia, and took messages.

Moieties

No moiety alignment was discernible in Wobonuch society. After various attacks on the question the informant (Jo.W.) was asked the meanings of some words, those given as Mono moieties or their subdivisions by Kroeber.[229] His responses were: Yayanchi, "like Portuguese or Chinese, an Indian name of a tribe somewhere up that way" [pointing northwest]; Pakwihu, "never heard of it; pakwina means fish"; Dakats, Kunugechi, Puza'ots, Paza'ods, "never heard of those words." Neither had he heard the Yokuts Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich moiety names, meaning downstream and upstream respectively. The expressions for downstream and upstream in Wobonuch are: paiyana makwawai and paiyana tunakwe·tugo; the latter also means mountainward or eastward. The interpreter G.D. had heard of Nutuwich and said it meant Coyote or anybody that laughs and jokes; Tokelyuwich he did not know. At Wobonuch tribal mourning ceremonies the reciprocating

[229] Handbook, 588.

sides are merely called literally "your side" and "our side."

Lineages

Kin groups were of significance in Wobonuch society for, like the Yokuts', these were essentially patrilineal lineages with totemic symbols and attached social functions: thus Eagle lineages provide chiefs, Roadrunner (or Dove) lineages, the messengers.

In the attempt to discover how many different totemic lineages there were, informants were asked to list those of which they had heard. The lineages are designated by their totem animal with the addition of a suffix "riwub," thus: kwina´riwub, kini´riwub, etc. This was never done with animals which were dream helpers, although both the totemic animal and the dream animal were spoken of as mapuk or ibuk (your pet or my pet, respectively). The totemic animals listed below were also checked in genealogies. Actually more were named than appear in genealogies.

As listed by Jo.W.:

kwina´: eagle, the chief
ö´i'ö´i: roadrunner, the messenger
he´wi: dove, "might be messenger too"
kini´: falcon, "sometimes was chief"
mu´sigi: rattlesnake, for Rattlesnake shaman, "none up here"
iša´buj: coyote, for clown
unu´: bear, for Bear Dancer
muhu´lu: owl, for curing shaman
we´jani: condor
ka´rapuj: crow
tewa´wiya: spotted, long-tailed cat
wihe´šɩt: cougar
tu´huč: deer, "maybe somebody's family but never heard of him". [This is a clear distinction between the nature of the totemic and the dream animal, for Jo.W.'s father was nicknamed Tuhiya because of his dream help from deer and his prowess as a hunter.]

As listed by M.J. and G.D.:

kwina´riwub: eagle
iša´riwub: coyote
kini´riwub: falcon
unu: bear
musigi: snake
karapuč: crow; a man of this lineage was messenger at Ko'onikwe
öi'öi: roadrunner
hewi: dove
po´hewe: a small hawk; a man of this totem was messenger at Kumsanyu. This bird and Crow above were mentioned as exceptions to the Roadrunner totem of messengers.

As listed by the Entimbich informant, D.S.:

kini: falcon
kwina: eagle
unu: bear

Redemption of Totem Animals

Wobonuch with Bear mapuk redeemed their totem animals. The affair was in the hands of leading members of that lineage.

A hunter who killed a bear sent a messenger with this information to the head Bear man. This man -- it was Supana at Yumsanyu -- would send the messenger back saying the man was to bring the bearskin, claws, etc., in six days. Meanwhile Supana notified other Bear people and they all accumulated food and money. At the appointed time all the Bear people assembled as well as many others who came to watch.

The Bear people had made up a sum of money, which their leader gave to the hunter. The leader received the bearskin. Of this he used the paws and claws for dancing ornaments and kept the hide to use as a bed covering or lounge. He could resell the bearskin to any other Bear man, but he could not give it away. Then everyone present ate the food which the Bear people had provided.

Two informants stated that a similar ceremony was held for killed eagles and "sometimes for Coyote," but a description of these was not obtained.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and Infancy

According to Jn.W. there were no prenatal tabus on the behavior of an expectant mother or her husband.

Birth took place in the house. The woman's mother usually attended, but any competent woman relative, blood or affinal, might serve instead. The mother squatted over a depression in the floor lined with sand and an old rabbitskin blanket. A woman relative sat behind her, bracing the mother's back against her knees and holding her arms just above the elbows. The mother did not pull on anything.

Normally no shaman was present but, according to M.J., "if the first baby did not come right," a shaman would be called. "He danced and sang and the baby came." An old Wobonuch woman, Aua´na (now deceased) had Water Baby (pa´hwa) as a dream helper which assisted her in aiding difficult parturitions.

If the baby was her first, the mother was placed on a warm pit for about twenty-four hours or until the placenta was ejected. A hole was dug in the floor and a fire built in it; after the pit was hot, earth was thrown over the fire. Mats or skins were laid on this and the mother rested on these on her back, covered with skins or blankets. She remained lying down ten days, although the pit was not reheated, and daily steamed the vaginal tract. For two months after the birth she remained on an acorn mush and water diet.

When the attendant took the baby, she cut the cord with a cane knife (ha´obi) and tied the cord with fine milkweed string. The placenta was buried in earth. If the baby was a girl, the placenta might be buried in an anthill, "so she would be a good food gatherer." When the navel stump dropped off, it was hung from the hood of the second cradle. Immediately after birth the infant was washed in a basket of warm water. Pieces of old rabbitskin blanket were laid beneath it as absorbents; moss or shredded bark was never used as a diaper. A foxskin blanket was wrapped around and the whole little bundle was tied onto the first cradle, where it remained ten days.

The father of the baby also maintained a nonmeat diet for ten days. G.D. said that, when his first son was born, he ate only acorn mush for ten days, and that his wife ate no meat until the following new moon. He worked chopping wood, "but didn't run around like the other men." The system is one of sympathetic magic. G.D. said that, if the parents got sick from improper eating, the infant would get sick also. "A baby got drunk if the father did -- white stuff came up. You had to get a [native] doctor to suck the whiskey out." [G.D. could not explain the process whereby whiskey that the father drank had entered the baby.]

Excessive curds [probably] were also mentioned in an anecdote of G.D.'s baby's sickness.

Soon after his baby was born, G.D. dreamed about the poginape [sic: chief, Eagle], but when he awoke he could not recall what Eagle had said to him. He ignored the event, but that very day the baby got sick. A shaman down at Maštinao knew about this [without being told] and came up to see G.D. He examined the baby and found "some white stuff" in its mouth. He explained that this was the faeces of Eagle who had made the baby ill because of pique at G.D.'s indifference.

Naming.--At the end of ten days a ceremony called nipaki´’ɛd was held at which the mother rose and was washed and the infant was named and put on its second cradle. The baby's father's family came with a washing basket and new clothes for the mother. They washed her completely, washed and arranged her hair, and dressed her in new clothes and ornaments. Then the paternal grandmother named the baby: if a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was bestowed, if a girl, the paternal aunt's (Jn.W.). A girl was never named after a paternal great-aunt. M.J. and G.D. said that the paternal grandfather named the baby: if the infant was the first grandson, he gave his own name, if the second, his oldest brother's, etc.; if a girl, the father's sister's name was given.[230]

[230]This is theoretical practice, as the genealogies indicate great deviation, i.e., the majority of names are individual, not duplicated in successive generations.

If the paternal grandfather or father's sister was dead, another name was chosen from the paternal side. "Names were never taken from the mother's side" (Jn.W.). When a namesake died, the child was given a new name until after the Annual Mourning Ceremony: "after that it was all right" (M.J.).

A statement by Jn.W. that personal names were meaningless and that nicknames were not used is an example of the misleading statements the best informants sometimes make, for the Western Mono are more given to nicknames than the Yokuts. Thus, out of some 300 Yokuts men's names obtained, 7 are nicknames, out of some 170 Yokuts women's names, 2 are nicknames; for Western Mono some 170 men's names yield 18 nicknames, and 85 women's names, 5 nicknames. Or, about 2 per cent of Yokuts names are nicknames whereas about 11 per cent of Western Mono names are such. In fact, Jn.W.'s husband had two "good" names and two nicknames, and in one instance a nickname was bestowed on a paternal granddaughter of the originally nicknamed woman.

Examples of Western Mono nicknames, most of them Wobonuch, are these:

Men	Women
či´ča: live oak	eku´mina: tongue out
hewa´čiči: colt	e´pis: fish (in Yokuts)
iče´lɩs: hungry	hai´’ɩn: quick movements
kadaka´danači: josher	wedawe´dna: chatterbox
ča´koman: sour	hugai´da: (this is an abbreviation of her proper name, suhumugai´da, which G.D. considered "very pretty")
pi´noa: restless	
pitoči´bono: rabbit's white rump spot	
unu´rigan: Bear dancer	

All informants agreed that there was no clan or family name applicable to all members of a kin group.

Cradles.--The first cradle (matpatzo´či) was made of squawberry (wa´obɩt) twigs. "It was just the baby's size." The frame was stiff and the general construction of twining, as for the second cradle. The hood was a circular band. The baby remained on this cradle but ten days.

The second cradle (maho´p) was much larger, as it accommodated the child until he was able to walk. It was made of fine willow, and had the typical twined construction and fan-shaped hood. The frame of the cradle carried distinguishing patterns for boys and girls. The navel stump dangling from the hood is today replaced by some strands of coarse, colored beads.

Babies were nursed until they had cut their teeth and were able to walk. Then they were given pieces of meat to suck and mumble in their jaws, which was thought to wean them by the desirable flavor. Nursing was supplemented with acorn gruel as the baby grew older and, at

weaning, it ate mush, meat, and any other food that it was able to chew or suck.

Marriage

Marriage regulations were like those of the Yokuts: persons having the same totem were free to marry, provided no blood tie nearer than third cousin was traceable or recognized. No cousin marriage was permitted: since first cousins, both cross and parallel, were classed as siblings, this automatically made second cousins classifiable as siblings. The next step, to third cousins as siblings, was not normally made and they were not counted as close kin, though a relationship, when known, was recognized.

The levirate and sororate were both practiced. Two wives in the same house, the same village, or in different villages were not uncommon, but were maintainable only by a man of wealth or a clever provider.

The Transvestite

Homosexuality was recognized in men and women. M.J. claimed that this was most frequent among men. Some men, dressed as women, engaged in acorn gathering and grinding, pottery making, etc., and then would doff female dress and hunt with the men as well. For others the transition was complete and permanent: they dressed as women and had male consorts -- "but they never had any babies." No real berdache is known at present nor would M.J. disclose the names of those deceased.

The term tai´'up was applied to the complete transvestite, to the partial transvestite, and to the ordinary bachelor who was masculine in every respect save that he was not known to have intercourse, much less a permanent marriage arrangement, with any woman. (A certain informant's son was mentioned as an example of the last category.) There was no parallel term for spinsters: M.J. claimed there were none.

The berdache had no special functions at funerals or rituals (as had the Yokuts transvestite) nor was he treated differently by others in ceremonial situations. He had no special dream helper and, while the tendency for the trait "to run in families" was recognized, it might occur in a family of any totem.

Death, Burial, and Mourning

When a person was thought to be approaching death, a messenger was sent to summon his relatives. Those at home would gather in the house, the old women wailing even before death occurred. Professional singers (hubi'ɛ´roti, male or female) sat outside the house and sang about 6 a.m. and 4 p.m. until the day of burial.

The corpse was washed and dressed by relatives, either blood or affinal, who also contributed finery to enhance its appearance. Villagers in general came to the house to see the corpse and weep. Normally the body was kept two nights, i.e., it was buried two days after the day of death. But as it was desired that all relatives should be there for the burial, this sometimes was postponed up to six days, if possible. For the funeral the corpse was flexed and bound; scratches were made on the forehead and jimsonweed leaves bound against it. The body was removed through the door.

Informants differed as to who carried the corpse. Jo.W. said it was carried by the singers, who also dug the grave. M.J. said the corpse-carrier was "a strong woman" called tsuapino (tsuap, dead person or ghost), who positively was not a berdache (taiyup), and that the deceased's relatives built the funeral pyre or dug the grave [depending, of course, on which disposal was chosen].

Cremation was practiced in older times [M.J. could not say when, "maybe in my grandmother's time," prior to 1850]. If the body was cremated, the relatives did not stay to see the consumption but returned home as soon as the fire was lit. The corpse-carrier or some friends kept up the fire. The following day, when the ashes had cooled, the relatives returned, collected the bones and ashes in a basket, and buried the whole thing in the local burying ground. Jo.W. said that, after burial was adopted, cremation was reserved for disposal of persons who died far from home; the bones and ashes were collected, brought back, and buried by the relatives in the deceased's community burying ground. Similar treatment was given strangers or enemies who died or were killed on local territory and were buried locally "unless some relative came after them." This was a sort of civic duty for which the chief paid the corpse-handlers in lieu of the relatives. (Bones of the dead were never put in water.)[231]

When burial took place, the corpse was laid in the grave on its back, head west. The spirit (tsuap, Jo.W.; tuwi´'ap, M.J.) traveled west (kwiwi) for two days when it reached the land of the dead (kwiwi´).[232] At the grave the corpse-handler "made a speech to the spirit", telling it to go to "the father" (tuwawiya), not to turn back to its people, that it was dead and departed and should go "right on to

[231]In myths bones were put in water to cause revival, either of the whole person or of the true spiritual essence of the person, hence the present burial of eagle carcasses in water "so they will rise again." The idea is more strongly developed with the Yokuts who put hair, placentae, etc., in water to promote growth.

[232]See the Wobonuch Orpheus myth (Gayton and Newman, 50).

heaven" (kwiwi). (No explicit directions for travel were given.) When the grave was filled in, each person present made a circuit of it and threw a handful of earth on the head. Then they all went directly home without loitering or making a detour.

Some bereft people moved away from their homes to another location, others remained in the house but burned it at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony. If the house continued to be occupied, it would be fumigated with boiled jimsonweed leaves so the foul odor would discourage the ghost from hanging about or coming to the relatives in dreams. Intimate friends of the deceased would do the same. There was no sense of uncleanliness connected with death and neither the relative nor the corpse-handlers purified themselves in any way.

Mourning was manifest in shortened hair, dirtiness, and meat-abstention. Only women singed their hair, and these would be of very near kin to the dead person. The singeing was done by a relative of the deceased, but one who was not so grieved. The method was to slip a strand of hair through a split stick held close to the scalp and singe off the protruding hair with a glowing manzanita stick. The cut-off hair was burned (not buried in water) so no evil shaman could use it for contagious magic. No meat nor grease was eaten for six days, nor was the face washed during that period. A namesake of the deceased changed his name permanently or until the Annual Mourning Ceremony, usually the latter. At the end of six days relatives came and washed the mourners and gave them meat to eat. "Coyote was the first to do this."[233] No pitch nor charcoal was used to enhance the filth of mourning but deeply bereaved mourners would continue the meat and washing tabus until the Annual Mourning Ceremony.

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

"Everybody tried to get power in dreams" (Jo.W). The process of securing supernatural aid from dream helpers was identical with that employed by the Yokuts, but it is clear that the Wobonuch stood in greater awe of their tutelaries, who were conceived as capriciously inimical unless propitiated. The Yokuts felt this too, but their attitude was more assured.

Young people were urged to secure supernatural helpers. Old men would advise young ones as they gathered in the sweat house and instruct them on procedure, which was as follows: rising to swim on cold winter nights, walking to a solitary spot to pray to the desired helper or to one already obtained, casting of eagle down (piwɩb), abstinence from meat, and, if the boy was old enough, the taking of a tobacco emetic. Tutelaries might also be sought through jimsonweed narcosis. The noontime prayer in solitude, prescribed by the Michahai-Waksachi informant, S.O., was not known, hence not necessary. To secure power actually the same helper must be dreamed of several times. M.J. said, "A bird comes down and sits and tells you what to do [to cure, hunt, or whatever]. Then you went out and talked to it. Nothing was there to be seen, you just talked to it [prayerfully]."

For the plain man who did not want to become a shaman supernatural power was a protection against sickness or accidents from natural causes. "It was not much help against bad doctors because they always had more power and could steal your mai´i'wɩn [talismans]" (M.J., G.D.). Plain people and shamans secured power by the same process. If persons of prestige, such as those of Eagle or Falcon lineages, wanted power they had to go through the same dream process.

Supernatural power was not inherited, but there was said to be a tendency for shamanism to run in families because of inclination and the opportunities for superior instruction. The instruction was not so much the transmission of secret formulae or formal teaching of the healing art as personal advice on how to propitiate the supernatural world and to continue in its good favor.

The somewhat inimical attitude of the dream creatures toward their human protégés was disclosed by M.J. and G.D., who said that "what one dreamed was a bead and might hit the dreamer's children."[234] A person, if married and seeking dream aid, told his helper "to stay away" until solicited for help. "An unmarried person could do as he pleased, but a married person's children would never grow up unless a doctor removed something from the dreamer's right wrist." [The right wrist is the seat of dream power and often marked with tattooing.] In contrast M.J. and G.D. mentioned the tutelaries obtained through jimsonweed trances as consistently benevolent, "all right, the kind that would let those children [the drinkers] grow up."

The Wobonuch had no specialists such as Rattlesnake shamans or weather shamans. However, some had a special power of clairvoyance to find lost or stolen articles (see below).

Miscellaneous Powers

Nomenclature.--Supernatural power was identified with the dream helper by Jo.W., who

[233]Cf. the Wobonuch Death Controversy myth (ibid., 41).

[234]This peculiar concept was not clarified by further inquiry. It was not a Yokuts idea in general; the neighboring Chukchansi seem to have been victimized by their supernatural powers.

called both ma'nosɩn, but it was identified with the talisman by M.J. and G.D., who called both mai'i'wɩn. These two called the dream experience ma'nsɩn. I am inclined to favor their nomenclature. Incidentally, the word for sleep is i'widi.

Talismans.--Persons with dream helpers always wanted a tangible symbol of their tutelary which was imbued with supernatural power. As an example, M.J. said that a man who dreamed of Falcon would buy some falcon feathers, make them up into a little bunch, and hang them on his arms in time of danger.

Power of flying.--This power of magic, immediate, and invisible escape (called (mai'iwɩn))seemed particularly important to the Wobonuch (as opposed to the Yokuts) and it was the symbol, as it were, of successful and sufficient dream power. It was a power of plain persons, not of professional shamans; this was ordained by Coyote when Owl, a shaman, killed Coyote's son.[235]

"If something is trying to kill you, you use mai'iwɩn [your power to fly off from the danger] but you lose one [talisman] at each jump. Plain men could help each other with their talismans. That is, a man could hit his friend with a talisman and they would both fly, but you used up two [talismans] in doing this. Even if a doctor got a plain man's mai'iwɩn [talisman] he could not use it" (G.D.). He could not use it to fly, that is, but shamans could and did obtain plain person's talismans, as among the Yokuts.

Airshot.--Magic, invisible "shot" was made by Wobonuch shamans to be propelled as an intrusive, sickening object into a victim's body. The shot was called pohage ma'paga (lit., doctor's arrow, as with the Yokuts: toiyoš, arrowpoint). Only powerful shamans could do this; they got the power and the shot from the sun.

Specialized helpers.--Although the nature or quality of supernatural power was the same at all times, it was directed to the enhancement of certain functions as sponsored by certain helpers. Thus, Cougar bestowed hunting power, as did Deer; Falcon and Yellowjacket gave the power to shoot far and accurately; Turtle, Frog, Water Dog, and Otter made one a good swimmer; Owl, Coyote, and Spotted Cat helped curing shamans; "any kind of spirit" could give the power of traveling far invisible (mai'iwɩn).

Sickness and Curing

A person could be sickened by having his haircombings burned. M.J. and G.D. said that this would be done to some person who was generally disliked. An enemy of an unpopular man would tell the chief, and the chief would tell a doctor to sicken the victim by this means. The informants were not sure how the hair was obtained, for most people were extremely careful about the disposal of hair, they would burn it themselves. The "burning hair sickness" was called mana'orai'ɩn, the victim, ma'naoraid. The process of sickening by this means took about one year, but the illness was incurable. Whether this means of keeping social order was justly used really depended upon the integrity of the chief.

In old days some woman might have her acorns stolen. She would go to a shaman [no special kind], tell him of the circumstances. He would commune with his tutelary and dance. Then he would put a fingernail [his own or anyone's, apparently] in some food and leave it where the culprit would take it. This "doctored" food would make the thief ill, and the shaman would be called to cure her.[236] "He would tell her to quit stealing and then she gets well -- unless the people wanted her to die" (M.J., G.D.).

Curing shamans knew how to make airshot or invisible intrusive objects and send them into persons they wished to become their patients. Sometimes these things were very injurious, "they might kill in half an hour if they really wanted the man to die" (M.J., G.D.).

Shamans would steal or burn a person's talismans and then sicken the now unprotected owner. "When that man calls on his mai'iwɩn, they're gone. He knows he is going to die. Someone usually hired the doctor to do that."

"If a man had good spirits [dream helpers] a doctor would kill them all. Then the ai'nɩč [Yokuts: talismans] wouldn't be any good, the doctors would take the power out of them all." However, if a man's dream helper were more powerful than that of the shaman assaulting him magically, when the shaman sent the airshot to sicken him, "that man's spirit [dream helper] would send the airshot right back to the doctor" (M.J., G.D.). This ability to make airshot or any intrusive object "bounce back" on the sender is a Wobonuch conception, I believe, and not Yokuts.

"Doctors had no friends except each other, and the poginape [chief], of course. The poginape had no special [supernatural] power himself" (M.J., G.D.).

When a shaman was going to cure, he would bring all his talismans with him. These were such things as a weasel skin with the head on, the rattle of a snake, an eagle head decorated with beads, or an eagle wing tip (makwɩk), which would hang on a string from the shaman's arm or neck. The informant said a used talisman was thrown on the fire and destroyed, which differs from Yokuts practice in which the talisman was kept and revitalized by dreaming.

[235] Cf. Gayton and Newman, 42.

[236] It was taken for granted by the narrators that the thief would be a woman.

Shamans without much power cured by cutting and sucking. They were called ti´čɩn [little ?] pohage. They did not know how to make airshot. The powerful shamans, who cured by rubbing with talismans and did not need to cut and who could make airshot, were called pa´bai pohage (lit., blood doctor).

Bear dancers, never regarded as doctors nor spoken of as such, nevertheless might have sufficient power to do a little curing, usually within the family. "They could cure if a man was just sick in the body but not from airshot" [intrusion] (G.D.). There were no special symptoms, particularly; "just didn't feel good." In such ailments a person with Bear power might be tried before sending for a curing shaman.

Supana was a Bear curer. When he wanted to help somebody, he had a soaproot brush (tso´kšɩl wina´tza); "when he was dreaming of Bear he got this" [as a talisman]. Then he would lie down beside the sick person and talk to Bear. Then he scratched the patient's back with long strokes of the brush. The recovery was said to be prompt. G.D. saw Supana treat his aunt by this method.

A good doctor who could not cure an illness would admit his failure and would not only refund the fee given him but would add a sum for the patient's relatives to get a second doctor. When this was done, the two men, if they were friendly, would hold a consultation and the second doctor would proceed to attempt the cure. If the cure were successful, the second doctor would receive the entire fee. Informants were uncertain whether he gave any part of this to the first man called.

M.J. thought that in old times possibly women could acquire enough power to make airshot and send intrusive objects, but he could not name or specify any. Most women who had private supernatural power used it to help their children or relatives, particularly their daughters in childbirth.

Shamanism did not necessarily go in families, "but an old man who knew what to do would tell his boys." Shamans who were friends would exchange information and narratives of their experience with the supernatural, but no information was given between shamans for payment, even to novices: "every man had to learn from himself; his spirit tells him." "When a rattlesnake bites someone it goes off and opens its mouth toward the sun to get more poison. Doctors do the same thing when talking" (M.J., G.D.).[237] Airshot is derived from the sun (cf. "Shamans' Contest").

The following sicknesses and their cure were described by M.J. and G.D.

Pains.--Pains of an inexplicable nature (which did not come from wounds) were called pa´pɩn ka´mida (lit. blood all-over). This was a common illness and was cured by cutting and sucking the painful spots. The object produced from the sucking was always a clot of blood, which the doctor spat upon a sand-covered tray. The sand and blood were burned or buried, and the tray was given to the shaman as part of his payment. A person might have "blood sickness" in any part of his body. It was caused by the spirit of a mountain or spring and usually attacked people when they were in some strange locality.

Headache.--Headaches were called ho´t-sonabi and "always came from the north." Frequently they came in the form of an epidemic which shamans would predict and cure in advance (see "Group curing"). An epidemic of headaches "took everyone along its route." The ache was very severe, but rarely lasted more than one day. The procedure of curing was cutting and sucking between the eyes. [The symptoms suggest that it might be a neuralgia caused by north winds.]

Diarrhea.--This was called manaba´kwitan, was attributed to no special cause, and was cured by some remedies of herb infusions.

Insanity.--The symptoms of insanity were immoderate laughing, dancing about, forgetfulness, and complete amnesia. It was called mamanawa´tɩt poha´gaik mama´paiyɩn [untranslated]. It was always caused by a shaman who got the spirit (tsuap) of a dead person, converted it into airshot, and sent it to some man. "It entered that man's head, covering up his mind so he knew nothing." (Dead spirits did not cause trouble of their own accord.)

This was very difficult to cure, only a very powerful shaman could do it.[238] To accomplish it the shaman had to dance half the night by the assembly fire. The patient would be brought there to him. Then the doctor would talk to the sun and to all his helpers. Finally he advanced to the insane one and rubbed him all over with his hand feathers (sa´wap). He stood the person upright before him and cut at all of his joints, over his heart, and between the eyebrows. Then he sucked all these places. Then he brushed the patient all over and finally sucked between the eyebrows. This produced some of the hair from the dead spirit. The hair was always the cause: the spirit came out along with the hair, and always from this spot regardless of the cuts made elsewhere.

Group curing.--This was called a doctor's dance (manapohagigan) but was actually a prophylactic curing event enjoyed as a spectacle. "A doctor thinks he can tell when a sickness or a lot of headaches is coming" (M.J.). He would inform his chief of what his supernatural aids had told him and ask to give a general curing performance. They set the time six days ahead and sent messages to near-by hamlets with news of the dance. "Everyone comes to have their life saved and has a little bit of money or something to pay the doctor."

[237] Cf. Spier, Yuman Tribes of the Gila River, 348.

[238] Note the fact that most powerful shamans did cut and suck, in spite of the informants' statement to the contrary.

On the evening of the dance the shaman may be ordered by the chief "to dance all night." There were two or three singers who used the elderwood clapper (wutadigihan). They had many songs and the shaman stamped with the "piston rod" step to each one. At the close of the dance the curing took place.

The shaman ordered the spectators to form a line and walk past him and, as they did so, they were each to spit on him. For this the doctor divested himself of his dance skirt of feathers and fine beads, but retained breech-clout and feather headdress; he carried his hand feather bunch (natasuwab). When all had done as instructed, he brushed off the accumulated sweat and saliva from his body with his feather bunch. He squeezed the wet feathers over a basket tray onto some sand. An assisting messenger took the tray and burned the "sickness" which was on it. Meanwhile another messenger had collected the payments from the audience of "patients" and from this sum the doctor paid the singers and messengers.

Poisoning

Poisoning is differentiated from sicknesses caused by intrusive objects sent by shamans or such natural spirits as mountains or pools of water. The use of poison is said to be recent and to have started after the introduction of the Ghost Dance (see anecdote of Kumkum's death). "It does not go back to Coyote and Wolf. Owl [the mythical animal shaman] had only airshot and 'hair-burning' to use" (M.J.). The poisons are said to be tangible, to be manufactured by people way to the south, farther south than Tule River, and to be traded secretly like narcotics. It was a resource of plain people, not of doctors, and its use became so pronounced that a person who was suspected of employing it a great deal was dubbed by the title tubaʹha, or hu'upi tubaha, if a woman. It was used by either sex. Poison men were thought to be rich.

One of the poisons was called tigiʹdegan. It was so powerful that it was never kept upon the person but was always kept in a little bottle or tin container or "a little skin sack in old times" [before bottles and tin were easy to get]. A poisoner would always make friends with his intended victim, finally becoming so intimate that he might sleep near him. He would have a long stick, the end of which he would dip in the poison when the time had come for its use. During the night, when all were asleep, the poisoner would touch the inside of the victim's shoe with the point of the stick or, if the opportunity offered, might even touch the person on his leg or arm. When the owner put the shoes on and became overheated, the perspiration and heat caused the poison to become active, irritating the skin and causing swelling.

A second type of sickness caused by poison was papɩn manabiʹdanɩn (lit., blood cough [or vomit]); this was identified voluntarily by the informant as consumption. The poison was called by the name of the sickness it caused and, unlike the poison mentioned above, was always carried around on the body and was administered in food. It would be placed in coffee or anywhere convenient. The only symptom which the victim noted was the vomiting of blood. There was a "home cure" for this. One had to abstain from meat and grease for one year and take two medicines. The first was a decoction of sage (koʹsidapⁱ), which is said to taste like pepper. This caused vomiting, and the treatment was continued until the person vomited a hard lump of blood called makwida, which was thought to be the root of the illness. If this were not produced, the sickness would evolve into true consumption from which the patient became emaciated and finally died. But after the lump of blood was out the second medicine was taken, which was a dose of six pepperwood leaves boiled down with six cups of water. About a cup of this was drunk three times a day for three months. It was continued until the person could retain any kind of solid food which he tried to eat. The meat tabu was continued for a year, however, for if it were broken, the person would get sick and die.

A notable poison man was Opkwiyots. Poison, that is, this second variety, was said to be most frequently used at ceremonial gatherings. "One year about fifteen people were killed from it: Jack [?], Willie Waley's wife, Samson Dick's girl, and Basket Susie's boy were among them." If the poisoner was known, the victim's relatives would get permission from the chief to kill him.

G.D. related an incident of his own suffering from poisoning (other accounts have been given elsewhere).[239]

G.D.'s sister died of consumption. They took her out and buried her. When they returned from the grave G.D. was very hungry, for he had had nothing to eat all day. There were some apples and bread on the table which had been poisoned during the family's absence. Un-knowing, G.D. sat down and ate a lot of this food. Immediately he vomited up a lot of blood. The matter had an odor like that after an explosion of Giant Powder [his own simile]. He followed the cure prescribed above and got well in about a year; but he was very thin and weak before the end of the sickness. [He is, apparently, in the prime of live and health, 1929.]

[239]Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 401-407.

Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience and Shamans' Malice

1. Čiwit was severely cut in the soft portions of his back and sides under the ribs; the wound was so large that the viscera were visible. He told his sister to get a big basket of warm water. He sprinkled eagle down over it. He called to his dream helper, Thunder (togui´yap). Then he drank the water which poured right out through his wound, cleansing it. This was just what he wanted to accomplish. He took another basketful of water, continuing to talk prayerfully to his tutelary. Finally the wound ceased to bleed. He then lay passive for many days, determined he would not die and permitting the wound to heal. A poultice of some plant [jimsonweed ?] was continually applied to the injuries. Finally he got well and thereafter was thought to be something of a doctor.

Much later Čiwit was over on Pine Ridge, lying dead drunk under a tree. A white man named B. came along and saw him. Now B. had taken an Indian woman to wife who had soon left him and he thought Čiwit, because he was a prominent person among his people, was to blame. B. went to get a drink. He came back to Čiwit, whom he shot and killed. Someone passing saw the dead man and went to notify Čiwit's relatives. By the time these people had come to take the body a terrific storm had arisen. As they were carrying Čiwit to his home at Sycamore, an accompaniment of thunder, lightning, rain, and wind indicated the displeasure of the victim's supernatural helper, Thunder. The man had been unjustly killed. (M.J., G.D.)

2. Once, when he was young, G.D. and another boy were fishing near Ko'onikwe. Mill Flat Creek is deep and swift just where they were. A man came along and jumped in to swim across. It was Tsomoni. The boys shouted to him to be careful, that he would drown if he swam there. He just laughed at them and dove into the rushing water. He disappeared but came up somewhat later farther down the creek. He was on the boys' side of the stream then, and they offered him some of the fish they were cooking. He accepted and talked with them. He told them that Otter (ta´čitᵘ) was his dream helper and that he could swim anywhere. The boys were skeptical, so he rose and dove into the deepest whirlpool he could find; he swam around a long time under and on the water. When he emerged the boys were convinced. (G.D.)

Tsomoni was Sacata Jack's son and was later killed at Trimmer Springs.

3. The man usually called Wilolohi had another nickname, Tuhiya, referring to deer, tuhuč. He was a noted hunter and had Cougar as a dream helper as well as Deer. When he dreamed of Deer they would ask him how many he wanted to kill. They instructed him to give a piece of the venison to each person in his village; if he did this he could always kill as many deer as he needed.

"The deer would come to him night after night this way. They told him if he would continue this way he would be a man." So Wilolohi always did as he was instructed. He would go hunting in the daytime, wearing the deer disguise, and bring back four or five deer. It was only the stalking hunter who needed to follow the instructions of Deer; the deer-trapper, who only got one at a time anyway, did not need to divide his meat unless he wished to. (M.J., G.D.)

4. M.J. and G.D. had some further anecdotes about Thunder. Thunder is conceived of as twins and the story of their adventures is an important one in Wobonuch mythology.[240]

Buffalo Bill was out picking grapes. A storm was coming up and the Thunder Twins began to grumble. Bill shouted at them to "Shut up!" Other people heard him, warned him to be careful. A little later at suppertime there was more thundering and again Bill shouted at it to keep still. Then Thunder became angry and with a stroke of lightning struck a tin cup right out of Bill's hand. Then Bill was sick and vomited "a lot of green stuff."

On another occasion when G.D. was just a little boy they were living at Ko'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) in a modern-type house with a shake roof. A heavy storm came up and G.D.'s mother sent him out with a big basket to collect water which dripped from the eaves.[241] He was afraid to go out because "Thunder was talking a lot." Nevertheless he went and, just as he was outside the door, a bolt of lightning struck the ground in front of him. In the flash of light stood two little boys. They were beautiful lads with fine breechclouts, glossy black hair, many strings of beads, and each had his own bow and arrows. G.D. was both terrified and delighted; he fell down from the shock and then vomited some green matter.

Two boys were careless about Thunder. One was a son of Captain George, the other a son of Apču; they were about ten years old. They were always reckless and shouted jeeringly at Thunder. People told them to be careful, but they were heedless. "Finally Thunder struck those boys into a lot of pieces."

5. The Wobonuch have a belief in an "Earth mother" who emerged from a lake (in the vicinity of Huntington Lake; possibly Coyote Lake) and called forth "every living creature" and told it where to go; this was after the end of the prehuman animal era of Eagle's reign. The water is black in this lake and, if one watches, one can see "all kinds of animals running around under the water. Coyotes are often seen in it and they holler down under there."

Now once three Indian boys and two white boys were over there herding sheep. The white boys were careless of their behavior and shouted and bawled in a maudlin manner. The Indian boys warned them to take care, but they paid no heed. Soon Tabiya (Mother of All) became angry. It began to rain hard. The water in the lake started to rise and by the middle of the night had washed all the sheep away. Even the boys

[240]Gayton and Newman, 48.

[241]With Mill Flat Creek roaring near by, this is an amusing item of acculturation from white practice.

had a hard time and only saved their lives by swimming out of the water to safety. (M.J., G.D.)

6. G.D. said that his grandfather used to meet a spirit every night just at sundown. He would say, "Tsuap mo´nyan" ("Ghost, goodbye"). This was a formula which anyone would say when meeting a ghost. If the ghost had had a chance, it would have grabbed the grandfather and shut his eyes, for it was sent by a shaman. Ghosts did not voluntarily injure people. Since they were sent by a shaman, tobacco [pulčina] was ineffectual against them, but nevertheless was taken as a stimulant to the frightened person's nerves. Ordinarily men did not go out alone at night but in groups of three or four.

7. Ipemai was an old man when we first hear of him in the war with the Pasuaj;[242] Supana (G.D.'s grandfather) was but a young man then. Nevertheless Ipemai was still alive in G.D.'s time, for he was able to rejuvenate himself by vomiting "a lot of rotten stuff." Then he would be young again for a few days. He did this frequently, "but finally he gave up and died." (G.D.)

8. G.D. told of the shamans' gatherings at Tsu'apidika (Local Map F, no. 47; tsuap means dead person or ghost.)

Tsu'apidika is a high hill. Several doctors used to get together there and kill some beautiful girl [by magic with intrusive airshot]. After she died and was buried, they would go to her grave, exhume the body and remove the heart and liver. They went back to their hill and roasted the organs. The flesh was cut in small pieces of which each shaman ate. If one of the men vomited, it was a sign he would die soon. On this hill is a flat rock like a table; the fire was built beside it.

A much longer account of these activities was given by the Waksachi-Michahai informant, S.O., and published elsewhere.[243]

9. G.D. gave, voluntarily, his version of an affair also related by the Waksachi informant, B.O. While the versions differ on the actual relationships involved, it is of interest to note how closely they align.

Topo´ was a great doctor. He had a daughter who had just married. The girl lived with her husband at Apuwijiwana (Local Map G, no. 7). They had a lot of ob[1] (cactus). The husband was a fine hunter and had gone off to hunt deer. During his absence the shaman and his wife came to visit. Living at that place also were the young hunter's sister and her husband.

Then Topo killed his own wife. And because he was jealous of his son-in-law, he wanted to kill his own daughter. At this the girl's brother-in-law objected. Whereupon the shaman made the man ill. Then he killed his daughter. The young hunter's sister told her ill husband to bury the girl and they would try to get away. Just at this time the hunter returned and found what had happened. Immediately he went back to Pujipuwe (Pajipu, Local Map F, no. 22) to get some men to help him kill Topo. Meanwhile his sister had gone as far as Pawuhaba (Local Map G, no. 1), while the shaman had gone to Tomokozono (Local Map F, no. 15). Meanwhile the brother-in-law had died back at Apuwijiwana. The men got the shaman and killed him on the spot. Then the young husband went to Topo's relatives at Pajipu and told them to go get the corpse; however, they buried him right there.

[242]This war was probably about 1825.

[243]Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 392.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

In olden times (manati´čo´'ɩn; the mythical prehuman era) Crow (ka´rapuč) was a good friend of Eagle (kwina´), Falson (kini´), and Roadrunner (ö´i'ö´i). Coyote (ša´buj; also called nama´jdap, possibly a nickname) was Wolf's older brother. "He was always getting killed and coming back to life again" (G.D.). Wolf and Eagle were not related. Wolf is the identification of to´'op also referred to as "the father." However, the same designation is applied to tuwa´wiya, an animal of the cat family with spots and long tail.[244]

G.D.'s maternal grandmother, Noiša, would sometimes fall down and be unable to move or rise. Finally "she fell in the fire and burned up," although her house did not burn.

The Wobonuch differ from the Yokuts in having belief in a series of creatures who are not folktale characters but mythical or fanciful denizens of the present world. Two of these were described by M.J. and G.D. Panakozo´ is a man who is darker than an Indian but not a Negro. His hair is fuzzy and all trimmed off so that a single knob stands erect on the top of his head. He lives over by the ocean. He walks up and down the beach carrying a long pole in his hand and a pile of brush on his back. "He looks as though he were getting ready to build a fire." He does this just for fun. There are several of these men all called Panakozo.

A companion people called Nɩmsui´taba live near the edge of the water too. They open up places in the land so that floods occur. They do this just for meanness. To offset this evil work the Panakozo go about after them, moving hills into place to prevent the floods.

The Wobonuch also believed in "water babies" (pahwa), creatures with masses of long black hair who lived in the bottom of springs and pools. They were thought to be inimical to mankind; might pull people under the water.

Asked if there were historic accounts of floods, G.D. told of the flood occurring when the "mother of all" was angered at Tabiyawet (see "Anecdotes of Supernatural Experience," no. 5) and then told of one mentioned by the old men, Supana and Wilolohi. This flood oc-

[244]The activities of these creatures are described in Wobonuch Mythology (Gayton and Newman, 38-51).

curred before their time, but their old people told them about it. The flood was so great that it forced the inhabitants onto hilltops. The Waksachi and Michahai went up on Tsohom; the Entimbich went up on Pine Ridge; the Wobonuch went up on ridges near their own hamlets. Animals were swimming all about in the water. Men got their bows and arrows and shot all the game they needed.

Continuing, G.D. said that he once was down in the valley helping to make a well. At the 40-foot level the drill struck a redwood tree. The wood was seen and identified by G.D. and the owner of the property. G.D. added that he had heard of an antler found many feet below ground in the valley: it was straight at the core but had spiraled ridges. "These things, like that tree and that antler, must have been carried down from the mountains during that flood."

G.D. once read in a magazine about a snake with two horns which buried itself under the earth so that the horn tips just emerged. Anybody who stepped on these died, so the local inhabitants lived up in trees to avoid the danger and this also kept them safe from enemies.[245]

Duck and Falcon ran a race from the valley [about Reedley] up to the east. In spite of the fact that Duck had to go via all the waterways whereas Falcon flew straight, Duck won. "They are over there where the sun comes up, now" (G.D.).

CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

Entimbich.--The ritual drinking of jimsonweed was established as an annual event for the Entimbich, but not for the Wobonuch, according to Jo.W. and G.D. The Wobonuch used the narcotic, but on individual impulse at any season, as will be described below. The drink was taken by both sexes but under no compulsion. A shaman was said to take it ten years in succession if he wanted extensive occult knowledge; again it was not required -- shamanism did not depend upon its use.

The interpreter and informant, G.D., had himself partaken and described the affair in which he had participated. This was given by the Entimbich at a "rancheria on Pederson's place" [unlocated]; some Wobonuch and Choinimni were also present.

The man who directed the jimsonweed ritual "here and on Kings River" [Wobonuch territory] was Wilolohi, a Wobonuch who was also famous as a deer hunter. The leader must be a man of sagacity and good character and know how to prepare the dangerous decoction. For his service he received payment (in bead money) of about $2.50 from each participant, their basket cups, and the large basket which held the drink.

In the autumn the leader would find out how many persons intended taking jimsonweed in the spring. These would be "people who were sick, or who just wanted to see the country." The ceremony was held in spring, about March, and from three months to one month previous the drinkers abstained from any form of meat. The leader also observed the tabu. The final day for the drinking was set by the chief and leader and announced six days in advance.

Six days before the ritual the leader collected the drinkers, who usually were adolescent boys and girls (though not infrequently adults also partook), and took them to a secluded camp. Here they ate only acorn mush and each night went out alone to talk prayerfully to the Jimsonweed brothers (see below), asking them for a dream in the coming ceremony which would ensure them a long and healthful life. It was said that spirits of the dead visited these persons at this time, though G.D. himself "never saw any."

On the fifth night the leader went after the jimsonweed plants (tañaˊbⁱ or tañaˊribⁱ), which he gathered "roots and all," washed thoroughly, and took to the private camp.

On the sixth morning he put the jimsonweed on a tray and, followed by his wards, ran a circuit up to the home village and back to their camp. On their return they were followed by everybody who was interested, whether they were drinkers or not. (G.D. knew no purpose for this running trip.) Then the leader put the jimsonweed in a big basket of water to soak until afternoon, when it was to be drunk.

The drinking took place at the camp, but meanwhile three or four singers, using clappers, and the general audience were assembled at the village dance space. At the drinkers' camp the novices stood in a row, men first, each with his own little basket (manaheˊbina maˊtugu, to-drink "cup"). The leader poured out the proper amount from the large basket and, as he did so, he said prayerfully to Jimsonweed, "This boy [or girl] is going to drink you. You give him a good life. Show him what he wants to know." Each person drank his portion as he received it. (There was no repetitive offering or hesitation with the drink.) Those who had drunk had to keep on their feet until all had finished; they moved around stamping their feet.

Then the drinkers and leader all went up to the assembly space where the singers were already singing. The drinkers stood in a row before them dancing as best they could. The members of different lineages danced at different speeds: Coyote fastest, Falcon next, Eagle and Rattlesnake slowly. "Deer didn't matter because it wasn't a mapuk, just a

[245] This has no reference to Wobonuch culture, but is put on record, as the idea might later turn up in local Indian ethnography without indication of its source; G.D. volunteered it as something of interest.

mai'iwɩn" [not a totem but a dream helper]. The singers continually increased their tempo, as it was necessary that they complete their songs before the dancers fell unconscious. What the songs were about G.D. could not say because "he was too dazed to know." The dancers staggered about and, when they finally fell, were carried back to their camp by their relatives. At this camp one man remained to sing while others guarded the sleepers. Anyone who wished might stay near to watch the proceedings and to join in the singing.

Toward morning the sleepers became active: they muttered, reached about, tried to get up or to run away. When they became quite active, they each had two guards, as they were likely to dash off, run against trees, or jump in the water. They were especially guarded against "poisoners" who took this opportunity to approach them (see "Poisoning"). As the sleepers became aware of their sensations at dawn, they would hear Falcon and Duck shouting to them "from where the sun comes up."[246] They would like to have these or other birds or animals for their dream helpers (mai'iwɩn). "If a man was good [able], he'd get up and walk around at this time, but he could not talk distinctly. He just babbled and thought he was talking."

It was during this period of activity that occult things were seen. The seers had eagle-bone whistles which they blew and then listened for supernatural helpers to tell them what to look for or what to do. Some of the things seen were:

Causes of Sickness: (1) A person would appear to be covered with blood, or with maggots, or with lice. This was cured by the dreamer's brushing of the invalid with his hand feather bunch (natsowab). The microcosms would swarm all over the ground and were then brushed into the fire. (2) If a man had been poisoned, it could be seen working on him at a certain spot. [G.D. could not describe how it looked.] (3) A dying man could be seen and the people with him, no matter how far away his house was; one could see inside the house. (4) If a man were seen walking along and the dreamer could not walk fast enough to catch up with him, that man was certain to die within the year. (5) If a shaman had killed people, his evil acts were disclosed [G.D. could not say how] and the news was made public.

Places of wealth: (1) If a man had lost money, a dreamer could hear it rattling and would find it for him. (2) Gold mines could be seen "like sparks sticking up out of the ground." (3) Shamans' caches became visible unless "covered" by their owners.

It sometimes happened that a jimsonweed drinker would have no vision during his narcosis. This was attributed to shamans who, fearing awkward disclosures of their evil work or of their secret caches, "covered up that man's mind." [G.D. could not explain either the process or sensation of this "covering."]

By afternoon the drinkers began to regain full consciousness and were given small portions of acorn gruel. This immediately brought on a second but slighter attack of delirium after which they became normal. The meat tabu was continued for six days.

At the end of six days the ritual leader and his followers were given a feast by the drinkers' relatives. At this time they ate a little meat, which even then made some of them sick. They also made a formal announcement of what they had dreamed (comparable to the Yokuts "confession rite"). "They never forgot what they had seen. People came around to hear the news and, if they could find out who killed their relatives, they started right out after them."

Jimsonweed is personified as two brothers who lived in the prehuman era: "they started out as grass." Although a shaman could kill them, they always returned to life in three days. The use of jimsonweed as a narcotic is also attributed to the prehuman era, when it was taken by all the animals save Rattlesnake and Grizzly Bear. This omission is the cause of their deadliness.[247] "Brown Bear took it and is gentle but wild, but Grizzly Bear didn't and he is mean and kills."

The Wobonuch boil jimsonweed in a house where death has occurred. The foul odor discourages the return of the ghost to the house or to the inmates in dreams. The leaves are also wrapped with a corpse.

Wobonuch.--At the Wobonuch village of Yumsanyu no annual spring ritual was performed. Jimsonweed was drunk "whenever somebody was sick or wanted to find out something." The person would go to Wilolohi, who lived at Kadawinao, for he kept jimsonweed seeds on hand. Wilolohi would have his wife grind these seeds in a mortar which had been thoroughly washed to remove all contamination of meat. The prospective drinker was made to avoid meat or grease for three days. When it was time for him to drink, many people gathered round. Wilolohi had both the drink and some acorn gruel prepared. The man would take a swallow of the pulverized jimsonweed liquid (taña´riba manaha´mogadwɩn) and then a swallow of gruel. "He did this maybe four times." Then he sat down and was soon unconscious. The next morning he "saw everything." The effects were as described above: he babbled, grabbed about, was protected from flight, and saw the causes of sickness.

[246] Falcon and Duck raced from the plains (about Reedley town) to the east where the sun rises, and there they stayed (G.D.).

[247] This is probably an inverted statement: because they were deadly, i.e., man killers or meat eaters, they were not permitted to take jimsonweed with the other animals who observed the meat tabu (cf. Latta, California Indian Folklore, 71).

A jimsonweed dreamer's experience.--When G.D. partook of jimsonweed in the Entimbich ceremony described above he had the following experience.

The first effects of the drug he felt in his feet. They grew very heavy, difficult to lift; they felt as if they were going to sleep. He stamped around hard while waiting for his companions to drink and dance before the singers. Finally, in spite of himself, he could not lift his feet and his knees began to give way. By the time the singing was ended he could no longer stand up: "the land was turning over and my feet were higher than my head." He faintly remembers being carried off.

When he woke up Duck was shouting to him. He could see Duck and Falcon. He tried to reach for them. ("A man is always grabbing around at this time trying to get something he sees for his mai'iwɩn" [talisman]). Then he began to see people. Everything looked red. He looked at a man and he was covered with blood; he was red all over. G.D. took his hand feathers and brushed the man off. Other people were covered with lice. Then he saw a waterfall and a water dog "came out of it." This creature was holding a big basketry tray with a single acorn on it. He told G.D. to eat the acorn. G.D. jumped in the water to get it, but somebody pulled him out. Then he saw a bear coming toward him and would have run off but just then he "began to see real things and soon after was all right."

Bear Dance and Bear Transformation

Bear Dance.--Men of the Bear lineage who dreamed of Bear and secured him as a dream helper might become Bear dancers and also secure the power of transforming themselves into bears. Women of the lineage could not do this. "Bear was a very common mapuk [totem] but only those taking in the dream could dance or change themselves. There were no Bear doctors" (Jo.W.). It is to be noted that men with Bear power were always referred to as unu (i.e., "Bear"), never as pohage (doctor or shaman). Bears were redeemed by members of their lineage (see "Redemption of Totem Animals").

Two kinds of bears were distinguished: unu, a vicious black bear, and tuwu´hab, a quiet brown bear. Both gave power, but "black was the worst." The functioning of Bear power was not disturbed during the winter period of hibernation, although it was necessary to hold the Bear Dance before that season commenced.

Although the elderly informants, Jo.W. and M.J., were in complete agreement on the powers and functions of Bear men, their descriptions of the dance and costumes differed. That of M.J. will be given first as the more complete and reliable.

Both M.J. and the interpreter, G.D., had seen the Bear Dance (una´'amanigan) at Yumsanyu. In fact, on his mother's side, G.D. was a descendant of famous Bear dancers. The oldest Bear dancer recalled was his great-grandfather, Unu´rigan (nickname, "Bear Dancer"). His two sons, Supana and Čineda (G.D.'s grandfather and great-uncle) were Bear dancers at Yumsanyu.

The oldest or most prominent man of the Bear lineage decided when it was time for the Bear Dance to be held and, with the chief's consent, notice was sent to Bear people in other camps. Many Bear people who did not necessarily count blood kinship with Supana's family would join, as the dance would not be performed in the little hamlets. The celebration was for all Wobonuch Bear people. Yet there was no regulation just who should and should not participate. "The Entimbich came in if they wanted to."

The time for the dance was important, for it had to take place between the ripening and dropping of the fall acorn crop and the beginning of the hibernation period for bears. "If the dance wasn't held before the bears had holed up for the winter, these people [Bear lineage people] would get sick and die." Of more practical importance was the tabu on the new acorn crop which Bear persons could not use as a food until the dance was performed.

All persons with Bear as a family totem contributed money and supplies for the festival at which they were the hosts. As for all feasts, hunters and fishermen brought in extra game which they sold to the hosts. However, since the Bear people who were to end their tabu on fresh acorns at this time had not yet been permitted to collect any because of the tabu, this food was provided by the guests, who ground, cooked, and served the acorn mush eaten at the feast.

The dancers themselves were a few, usually three, of the Bear men who had dream power from Bear. The costume consisted of an upright feather bunch on the head (ma´tsowab, the Yokuts ču) which had a special net that covered the face and tied under the chin. A piece of abalone shell was fastened on the net over the nose "so the dancer had to peek out to see" in a manner suggesting a bear peeking from an ambush, as they do. A skirt of eagle-down strands (piše´šan, the typical Yokuts ceremonial skirt) was worn and red paint was applied all over the torso. No bearskin was worn, but bear claws were strung as a necklace and cased bear paws were worn as mittens on each hand. That women danced is doubtful, since neither M.J. nor G.D. were positive on the matter nor could they describe any woman's costume or steps.

The dance itself was the same forward and backward jumping and grunting as was done by the Wukchumni Yokuts, and the same tabu on repetition was in force. Singers using cocoon rattles accompanied the dancers. The per-

formance was in the evening, followed by the feast of which all present partook.

The Bear Dance given at Kadawinao was described by Jo.W. At that village a man named Ča´maic and his sister [name not recalled] danced in the fall when the acorns were ready to drop. They fixed the time for the dance. They could not eat the new acorns until they had danced, although other people might and did. They danced at night about eight to ten o'clock [not if repetition was prohibited!] and were paid by the chief for the entertainment [no mention of feast]. The dancers had red paint smeared on their faces, none on the body. They wore bearskins "tied on their backs" and bear-claw necklaces, but nothing on the head. Two singers sang for the dancers and used the clapper (tusuguguhɪd) accompaniment.

Bear transformation.--Men, but not women, having Bear as their family totem and also dreaming of Bear as a supernatural helper, made the Bear dances and they, but not others, could transform themselves into bears. It was said that persons without Bear as their family symbol would not get dream power from Bear because they would fear to, "it was too strong." If the dream came unsought, it was respectfully rejected. Bear men who did transform themselves were said "to do this often; just because Bear was their mapuk they went out and played with Bear." This did not hinder others from shooting and eating bears, in fact, it encouraged them (see below). If a Bear man in animal form was being hunted, "he would speak up and change back" into human shape.

Anecdotes of Bear supernaturalism.--Although G.D.'s maternal ancestors were Bear people he did not hesitate to let it be known that Bear men were feared as dangerous and antisocial. The following anecdotes were told by M.J. and G.D.

1. "A man can send his mapuk [totem, dream helper, or "pet"] to kill someone he doesn't like. That person is doomed unless he has more power or mai'iwɪn."

Solo´kokon was another son of Unurigan and was also a Bear man. Now a Pasuaj named Ipemai was camping near Yumsanyu.[248] A bear chased him. He did not have time to grab his bow and arrows, but fortunately the bear did not see the weapons lying there, "for they smashed them whenever they got the chance." Ipemai climbed a convenient tree and having some eagle down (piwɪb) dropped it down to the animal. The bear was amused and stood on its hind legs, slapping at the small feathers as they floated around his head. While the creature was thus occupied, Ipemai slipped down and got his bow and arrows. Then he addressed the bear.

"Now, Bear, I'm going to shoot you. But tell me first what it is you want to be."

The bear replied, "That man over there [Solokokon] told me to catch you and eat you up. I am not a bear; I am a log that was burned a long time ago " [Not a real animal nor a transformed Bear man, but one magically created by Solokokon.]

"If you're a log, you're going to be one. But if you are a [real] bear I'm going to kill you," said Ipemai.

Then the bear disclosed that Kowo, who lived at To'o´jiwe (Squaw Valley) had killed a man. Whereupon Ipemai kicked the animal "and it turned into a burned log right there. Then Ipemai went and got some friends and they killed that Solokokon."

At this point M.J. added that Nubabi "was killed and eaten by a bear that Supana sent and Nubabi's brother was killed the same way."

2. Supana had a Bear man friend among the Tachi whose name was Hɪ´lču. When either visited the other, he would change himself into a bear to make the long trip: he could travel faster and would not be halted by strangers or enemies. Hɪlču came up often to get deerskins, bows, and arrows, which he took back home to sell.

3. When G.D. was a lad at Yumsanyu his family went off camping to Ko'onikwe. Old Supana had some money hidden away which he could not find, so he told the rest to go on and he would follow in a few days. He did join the family later and, as he came along the trail, "a bear walked ahead of him just like a dog." But he did not want to stay and asked his wife to prepare some food for him to carry, as he was going down to see his daughter with whom he had previously quarrelled. He said he wanted to see her because he was going to die in two or three days. Then he went down to his daughter who was living in Squaw Valley, and there, in about two weeks, the old man died. "He just gave up his life, for nothing could kill him. That's the way it was with people who had a strong Bear mapuk."

4. When G.D. was a lad he and several companions went fishing. They had Jim Fidley's dog with them and, while they were fishing, it treed two cubs. The boys threw stones at them, killing one. The other came down and ran to some brush and rocks, where it skirmished about with the dog and was finally killed with stones by the boys. They carried the dead cubs home.

The very next morning Samson Jack's wife came over. As yet no one had told her what the boys had done. She came in early and said to G.D., "A bear chased you last night. It followed you all the way home. You killed his children. You should leave them alone. They will get you some day." She was very mad because Bear was her family totem. On a previous occasion she had come over and berated G.D. for killing "her bear." G.D. said that he was not afraid of her or her bears. She knew of these events through dreams because her mapuk came and told her everything that happened.

[248]This man figured in the Wobonuch war with the Pasuaj (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 383).

Rattlesnake Ritual

The Rattlesnake Ritual was not performed by the Wobonuch or Entimbich and was known to them only through the performances of their neighbors, the Chukaimina and Choinimni. On one occasion this ceremony was given at Kičeyu, the Entimbich village at Dunlap, by Rattlesnake shamans from those Yokuts tribes, and the Entimbich shaman Košowi, joined them. It was not unusual for shamans to perform at other villages as in shamans' contests, or the Huhuna dances, as they were always well paid for their services. At Kičeyu the participating shamans were Pušlɩlɩn, the Chukaimina, Sokonɩk, who M.J. thought was a Gashowu, and Košowi, the Entimbich; there may have been others of lesser fame.

The Snake Ritual as given at Kičeyu and Maštinao was described by M.J. and G.D.

An important rattlesnake-handler would think it was time to hold the ritual: this always took place in the spring when the snakes were coming from hibernation (about April). He would send a messenger after other Rattlesnake shamans and they would discuss the matter, consult the chief, and decide upon an exact time and place for the ritual. Then all surrounding villages and hamlets were notified six days ahead. Everyone thought it wise to attend this ceremony, as it was determined there who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season and preventive cures were given. All the people came at the specified time; they stayed around for several days playing and enjoying themselves. The snake-handlers giving the affair had to provide food for the guests for six days, though the messengers were the ones, as usual, to manage the distribution of food, etc.

On the fifth morning from the first day of the gathering, the shamans went out to get their rattlesnakes. They carried eagle-bone whistles (huguinu), eagle down (piwɩb), and bottlenecked baskets (osa). These baskets were usually made for the snake-handlers by their daughters. They went to some known snake den and, blowing their whistles, talked coaxingly to the snakes, saying, "Come out, come out! I'm going to feed you." When the snakes moved forward, they were fed with eagle down, and the men selected those they wanted. When a chosen snake had coiled (and it was encouraged to do this by constant soothing talk), it was picked up and put in a basket and more eagle down put over it. When the men returned to the assembly space where the ritual was to be held the next day, the messengers dug a row of holes, one for each snake-handler, and the baskets were sunk in these. Some grass was laid over the top and the whole covered with earth. For this ceremony the messengers had put up a screening of mats and brush around the dance space so it had a circular form and an entrance (normally it was open).

On the sixth morning everyone went to the assembly space. There were four or five singers, each with a cocoon rattle (sanaj). The Rattlesnake shamans entered and sat down by their buried snakes; they were wearing many strands of eagle-down cord (pišešan) and each had an eagle-bone whistle and basketry tray (saiya). When the presiding chief said all was ready, the shamans removed their snakes from the holes and put them on their trays. Then to the accompaniment of singing they walked around the circle of seated spectators. At every person -- man, woman, and child -- the doctors paused, placed the tray with the snake on the spectator's head, blew their whistles, and listened for information from their supernatural helpers, the Rattlesnakes. They would be told whether or not this person was to be bitten. Each person was thus diagnosed by all the shamans, who continued their circuit in an anticlockwise direction. Those who were foredoomed were gathered in one place and treated by the shamans. The information the shamans had received told them the exact spot where the bites were to be [otherwise would have been], and on these spots they rubbed matikan.[249]

When all had been treated and the snake-handlers had been paid for this special service, the chief announced that it was time for the biting display. Not all the snake-handlers did this; just one powerful one; he was paid for the spectacle. He threw his snake to the ground and then held his hand toward the angered reptile. It struck the hand and the shaman, if sufficiently courageous, let it dangle there for a moment. Then it was removed and all the other snake-handlers took turns sucking the wound. "They sucked out the matikan."

In the meantime the messengers had made a hole at the entrance to the enclosure; all the snakes were put in it and brush laid over them. The ceremony was now about over and, as the spectators departed, each one stepped on the covering of the hole. Beside the hole stood one of the shamans, holding a tray which he banged against his left hand as each person stepped on the hole. A large basket was there also, and into it each person threw some money or article of value to pay the snake-handlers for their performance.

<u>J.B.'s account</u>.--One Snake Ritual was made up at Dunlap by Choinimni visitors. The Wobo-

[249]The exact nature of matikan was not understandable to me although G.D. tried hard to explain. It would seem to be the poison from the snake's fangs, yet it seemed also to be excrement, for G.D. said it was "what the snakes dumped after they had struck and eaten a squirrel or rabbit"; he said it was "put out from behind." Yet it was matikan which was sucked from a snake bite, and it was supernatural in quality because "a snake bite should be put in water at once to keep the matikan from flying through the air into the wound," G.D. said.

nuch did not have the ritual; the Waksachi had snake doctors but did not attempt the ritual, according to J.B.

The one ritual held at Dunlap was performed by the Choinimni men, Čokonɩk, Pušlɩlɩn and Čičen. Čokonɩk brought a large snake, Čičen had one "so small it was a joke," and Pušlɩlɩn had none at all. During the rite Pušlɩlɩn picked up the large snake and got struck. Immediately the other men bound his arm tightly with milkweed string,[250] and rubbed the hair of a rabbit on the wound. "The hair of any animal like rabbit or squirrel that snakes eat will pull the poison out of a snake bite."

The ritual procedure at Dunlap was the same as usual: the direction of dancing was to the left; the snakes were held up in the hands but not passed about the neck; the holes in which the snakes had been were filled in; the snakes were returned to their den after the ritual. The purpose of the rite was prevention of future injury from snake bites.

Deer Dance

The Deer Dance was not recognized as an entertainment. G.D. said "it was done by the Lake Indians just for fun," but he had no clear idea what "it" was. He claimed he had seen fawns dance with the same mincing steps described by the Wukchumni informant, J.B. He added that the supernatural home of deer is a deep canyon beyond Deer Ridge. The place is called tuhuč madikap (Local Map G, no. 6), which means "deer themselves," i.e., real or true deer (madikap is evidently equivalent to the Yokuts wọrd, mets). The deer congregate there.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

Preparation.--It was decided tentatively a year in advance to hold a mourning ceremony; the actual time was always about August-September. During the year everyone, especially the bereaved families, saved money, foodstuffs, and baskets. When the time drew near, perhaps a month off, the chief would send for the men who served as his assistant chiefs or financial backers for the ceremony and for the families who had instigated the affair, or they might themselves go to these families, and all would consult together about the financial arrangements and the date. The choice of a date depended largely upon the financial condition of the hosts and the amount of food available. The ceremony was usually held in the late summer, as game and vegetable foods were then most abundant. This was of vital importance, since the hosts supplied subsistence for the visitors and themselves for at least six days, as well as giving or throwing away quantities of food.

The persons who talked over the plans were the male members of the bereaved families, the chief or chiefs of their village group, and the secondary or "ceremonial" chiefs (often brothers of the actual chief), who had to help pay expenses, particularly if there was a deficit. If there were only a few families backing the ceremony there might be as many as three or four of these subchiefs to help with the expenses.

This little committee, so to say, knew the whereabouts of all members of their own tribe and how to reach them. Even at this time the exact date was still tentatively a month ahead, as it would be shifted to meet the convenience of any important people from the host or reciprocant group. When they had talked all these matters over, "they all had a cry right there" (M.J.).

The chief's messengers were always present at these conferences, for the burden of managing the distribution of food, disposal of guests, organization of events, etc., fell upon them. "The natinabs are lined up and each one told what to do by the head natinab" (G.D.). It was usually the head or chief's messenger who took the invitation to the reciprocant tribe. As an example, M.J. spoke of Pinoa sending an invitation to Supana.

The head natinab went to Supana carrying his cane with a string tied at the top. When he arrived at Yumsanyu someone had seen him already and told the chief. The messenger went directly to the chief's house. His host took his cane and put it down, and a woman of the family set food before him. After he ate he delivered his message. Meanwhile the local natinabs had been gathering the people, and the visiting messenger then made a public announcement of his news and was "paid a little bit" by everyone present. The chief made an estimate of how many of his people would accept the invitation. When the messenger was ready to leave, "he had to pay the chief a little money in order to get back his cane."

Then the chief's messenger, who was the head natinab, would assemble the other messengers and their women. He would arrange for some messengers to go to absent tribal members and tell what was planned; he himself went to the chief of the reciprocant tribe. He appointed another messenger to take charge of the food supply and to detail women to do its preparation and cooking. Messengers serving shamans were also present and it was their duty to secure shamans for the dances or rituals that had been planned. If all went well, the actual date was settled for six days from a certain day, and the corroborating messages were sent out to all concerned.

[250]This method of preventing the poison from spreading was said to be aboriginal, but no other informant described it.

The Yokuts system of tribal reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was followed by the Wobonuch. The Entimbich were said to be the usual reciprocants. However, it was not possible to get detailed data on the actual reciprocating persons, which leads one to suspect that the system was not strongly established. The two sides (the Yokuts gui'i) were called by the Wobonuch simply matamu (your side) and namadamu (my or our side). [In this connection G.D. was asked about Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich: the first he had never heard of, the last he said "was just a name that means Coyote or somebody that laughs and jokes all the time."] The only persons he recalled as reciprocants were all within the Wobonuch tribal group: Samson Jack's family washed G.D.'s mother's family, and Supana and Pinoa washed each other. G.D. said that each person [family] had a specific "matamu" and that all others in those sides [matamu and namadamu] "were just helpers." "In old times a captain just told his people to save their things and the whole tribe made that fandango [ceremony] together; just those families washed each other" (M.J., G.D.). It seems that possibly in older times only the families of the bereaved were washed, not the entire host group by the entire visiting group. In short, that which is today called the "little fandango" -- a family affair -- has been overshadowed by the adoption of the Yokuts great annual ceremony involving entire tribes as reciprocants. The data, however, are insufficient to prove this.

Although the Wobonuch Annual Mourning Ceremony (unurano´gan) lasted six days, after the Yokuts pattern, they did little during the week beyond having the Shamans' Contest on the fifth night with imported shamans. If the Huhuna Dance was given at all, it occurred on the seventh day (Sunday) after the washing, never during the week. Again, the performers had to be imported.

The ceremonial week.--When the week of the ceremony began, the visitors arrived in tribal groups. "People came from all around: tu´nakwe (east), Ko'onikwe, Pe´koawe (Squaw Valley), To´ojwe (Drum Valley), Tušao and Wukchumni" (Jo.W.; his identifications). The camp for the dance was in a special place: Unanigapu (Local Map F, no. 23) was one of these, Pinoa's dance place for Pajipu (Local Map F, no. 22). [These dance places had no connection with "ancestral" or "sacred" spots.] The camp arrangement was roughly rectangular: the hosts on one side and their reciprocants opposite, unallied visitors at each end. The dance ground was kept free from weeds, clear of stones and, when in use, was watered frequently by the messengers to keep down dust. Visiting messengers always helped with all work. The space varied in size but normally was about fifty feet across. Shades were erected, some with screens at the back; those of the opposing sides were more or less permanent. The other visitors set up houses, shades, or lean-tos as they wished. In front of the two main camps long strips of deerskins sewed together were laid down over mats. People sat on or ate off these, according to the momentary need. When one side or the other was serving a feast, it was served on these long skin strips. All such paraphernalia was in the care of the messengers.

During the first few days games were played at a distance from the camp.

Each morning and evening a group of old women sang mourning songs and wailed. "Any old woman who wanted a good cry could join in" (G.D.). This interlude lasted about thirty minutes, before breakfast and before the evening meal on the host's side. The singers (yaya hubie´roti) were paid by the hosts; the ritual was called manai'a´gnigana. It was continued through the sixth morning. If the ceremony were an impressive one, at the evening singing the mourners would parade around the dance space carrying the baskets, feather ornaments, and money that was to be distributed after the weeping on the sixth night [Saturday].

On the fifth night [Friday] the Shamans' Contest would be held, if it were given at all. This was done at Entimbich mourning ceremonies, or those of the Wobonuch at Dunlap after they had moved there, but not at the old Wobonuch villages on Mill Flat Creek or Kings River. The Shamans' Contest (napo´hokwat, M.J., G.D.; napoha´kwitide, Jo.W.) had as participants doctors from the west: Michahai from Maštinao, Tušao, and Drum Valley, Choinimni and Tachi, according to Jo.W. The only shamans' names he recalled were those of Wu' and Iwe´hu, whose tribes he did not know. The Entimbich shaman, Košowi, participated, but no Wobonuch. One of the singers was Kowo, a Wawa [Michahai ?] who lived in Squaw Valley. The messengers made two rows of fires on opposite sides of the dance space. Each entrant went to his fire carrying a basket tray (saiya): he talked to the sun, then chewed roasted acorns and spat them on his fire. Then the magic airshot appeared in their hands as they held them over their fires. They rubbed it all over their trays. They showed it to the audience: it was the size and consistency of fish eggs. Older shamans made shot for younger ones and showed them how to do it for themselves. The shamans were wearing feather skirts, feather headdress, and paint. When all was ready they paraded around in two lines passing each other and then, standing in two rows, were ready to "shoot" each other. Holding their trays in the right hand, they swung them sharply against the palm of the left, thus propelling the airshot. When a man was hit, he cried "Wa..wa..wa..." and fell over rigid. Messengers picked up the fallen men and carried them to their chiefs. Throughout the parade and battle the singers sang. When only one shaman was left standing, the champion, so

to say, the singers sang one more song. Then the survivor began reviving his victims. "Then they all cured each other, as only the doctor who put the shot in could take it out again" (M.J., G.D.). But "some were let stay dead or died soon after if it was a chief or maybe some others wanted it" (Jo.W.). "If the people wanted a doctor killed they would bribe a doctor to let that man [his victim] die" (M.J., G.D.). During the curing the singers had gone about collecting payment from the onlookers.

On the sixth (Saturday) evening, a large fire was built in the dance space by the reciprocant tribe. This was the first fire (save the shamans') that had been made there during the week. This was in preparation for the final climactic weeping. The whole evening's performance was called manahaʹnain, the crying part, ahaneʹwi. The reciprocants aligned themselves on their side of the plaza, with the other visitors at each end. On the mourners' side sat three or four singers using no instruments. Then the managing messenger told the mourners to come out. They came, the men going to the fire, the women remaining at one side, weeping. The men moved in single file, anticlockwise, around the fire, clapping their hands above their heads, and on every other step turning inwards toward the fire. Then the manager told the women to get their effigies.

The effigy dolls (pe·ʹbi) had been made during the week. Each was made to represent a specific deceased person by varying the size (long or short, thin or rotund). They were all on long poles and hung with beads, baskets, and objects of value that the mourners had accumulated. [I am uncertain whether it was the men or women who carried these; both informants implied it was the women but this is contrary to practice elsewhere.]

Then the bereaved men and women, carrying the effigies and the baskets of treasures, paraded around the fire. The effigies were mockingly thrust at the flames every other step, while the baskets, carried at shoulder level, were alternated from left to right. This parade with the dolls was called manadadaraikan; the accompanying singing was called manayuyahain. When they retired to their own side to weep, the reciprocants circuited the fire with a shuffling step. The two groups repeated their circuits three times. At the end of the last trip the mourners all piled their dolls up in one place and retired weeping. Then a speech was made by the reciprocant chief; the speech was called mada'aiʹhuša. He stated the obvious, pointing out what they were doing and why, and dwelt on the fact that the effigies were about to be burned and that grief should be dispatched with them. "The mourners' natinab paid him for his speech right there" (M.J., G.D.). When he finished the mourners presented the effigies to him and his followers. The reciprocants stripped the frames of their finery and divided the frames in two lots: one set they threw on the fire, the other they took to the cemetery to burn on the graves. The mourners went to the graves to see this done, weeping continuously. This was just before dawn. Then all returned for breakfast, the mourners taking only acorn mush. In connection with the stripping of the dolls Jo.W. referred to the Wukchumni practice of throwing the valuables on the ground as peculiarly theirs. The other treasures that had been displayed were reserved for distribution the next morning.

"Now it was time for the washing." The reciprocants came over to the hosts. Their chief and managing messenger had directed beforehand which families were to wash the mourning families. "In old times this was not done, this matamu is from the Diggers [Yokuts, Penutian-speakers]" (M.J., G.D.). They took with them new clothing on basket trays. Those to be washed had large baskets for the special purpose; they were filled with water by the messengers, and after the cleansing would be presented to the washers. Persons of the same sex attended each other. The mourners' faces were dirty and streaked. To remove this accumulation of filth dry leached acorn meal was applied, which acted like soap when wet and rubbed with shredded bark dipped in water. The mourner's body was swabbed down and the new clothes were donned. The hair, which had been singed a year previous and was ragged, was trimmed off as bangs across the eyes and evened off around the shoulders. When this was done, the mourners filled the washers' trays with food which they had ready and also gave them the washing baskets, which were large and handsome.

Meanwhile a sum of money to pay the reciprocants, which had been planned on from the outset by the hosts, was collected and put in one place. The host's messenger called the reciprocant chief and his messenger and they were presented with the sum of money and all the valuables which had been displayed. This wealth was distributed by the reciprocant chief among his people in accordance with the amount of food, clothing, and effort they had expended for the ceremony. The formalized lending of money for the ceremony, practiced by the Yokuts, was not followed by the Wobonuch save in an informal sense. Loans to be returned at that time were private, i.e., person to person, not between tribes. Nevertheless, these private loans were publicly settled as part of the payment to the reciprocants when the borrower happened to be of the reciprocating tribe. The vagueness of informants in trying to define these financial proceedings in connection with the mourning ceremony is simply additional evidence of the extraneous source of the whole complex, which is aberrant Yokuts.

By this time it was about midday. The reciprocants, having prepared much food, es-

pecially deer or other meat, brought this over to the mourners' side and spread a feast of which everyone partook. Before eating, the local chief made a speech in which he recapitulated all that had been done and spoke of the feast they were about to eat and the breaking of the meat tabu by the bereaved. He thanked the reciprocants for what they had done and then enjoined everyone to be happy, to enjoy the food and games and entertainment which actualized the cessation of mourning. Games were played in the afternoon, the hand game at night, and shamans danced for the entertainment of others during the evening, for which they were paid. This type of shamans' dance was called negadu pohage.

Huhuna Dance.--If this dance was given in connection with the Wobonuch or Entimbich mourning ceremony, it was an extra "show" on Sunday after the feasting. The performers were always from the Yokuts. "Sometimes there were two or three of them. Only very big doctors could do this."[251] Jo.W. described the affair as having the reciprocants' and host's shamans lined up in two rows; the Huhuna dancers "ran back and forth between the doctors or outside them [seeking hidden money ?]. Then they got shot by the doctors and were laid out in front of the people making the fandango. The doctors from the other side [reciprocants] brought them back to life." This poor account indicates the rarity and obscurity of the performance for the Wobonuch.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

A general account of the diffusion of the Ghost Dance of 1870 to Yokuts and Western Mono includes material from the Wobonuch.[252] Since M.J.'s account was combined therein with that of another informant, it will be repeated here for clarity's sake, together with lesser information from Jo.W.

The dance was called properly "round dance" (naho´a manai´´ιgan). Jo.W. said it was introduced about sixty years ago "when he was a little boy." M.J. said the first dance was held when he was about fifteen years old, sometime just before a big earthquake. He was herding sheep for a white man when his father came and told him "to come with them some place where their 'Father' was coming." They went up to North Fork [of the San Joaquin River] to a place called Saganyu. The name of the tribe there M.J. could not recall: the people spoke a Western Mono dialect, and the Chukchansi Yokuts lived to the west of them.

All the Wobonuch and Entimbich people decided to go. The Patwisha, Pasuaj, and Wowo [Chukaimina] were going too. Some persons were too old to go. One of these was Kumkum, a singer's father,[253] who lived at Pajipu (Local Map F, no. 22) and was now too decrepit to be moved. They decided to leave him behind, well supplied with food and water. However, he told his relatives that he would not be there when they returned, that something was coming to eat him, and that tracks of Deer (his supernatural helper) would be all around. Indeed, when his relatives came back, they found him lying dead on the ground, surrounded by deer hoofprints. Likewise at the village of Kudsowabι[254] (Dunlap) (Local Map F, no. 41) there was "an old lady who was all wore out." She said she "wasn't good for anything and wanted to die." She told the boys to go dig a grave and bury her alive "because she was nearly dead anyway." She told her people not to cry for her. "You are going to see your Father and I'll be doing just the same" [by dying]. So her grave was prepared and she was buried in it; this was the first grave in the Indian cemetery at Dunlap.

When all the people were on their way, they had great trouble crossing the San Joaquin River. When they reached Saganyu "they went up on top of a mountain." The chief there was Joijoi. He had gone over to Nevada and got "the news and the dance from the Yo'oč [Paiute or Eastern Mono; anyone east of the Sierra Nevada divide]." Where those people had got it M.J. did not know: "it came from the same place the wild pigeons come from, Canada maybe." The other Wobonuch informant made the very arbitrary statement that "the dance was brought from kwita´ (west) by a singer named Čo´honiša," which fits with no other information. (This may have been some individual enthusiast who impressed Jo.W. as a little child.)

Joijoi and his aid, "a good man named Kakaι," went among the camps, preaching aloud as they walked. They said they were going to dance because "the Father" (tuwawiya, "wolf") was coming. They advised the people on their conduct: "to have a good time but not to get mad at each other, not to flirt, to be good-natured; otherwise they could not go to their Father when he came. When the Father appeared he would bring all the previously dead with him. Those who had been cremated would be noticeable "because they would be black like niggers." They referred to the road to the land of the dead, saying that a person who failed to heed these injunctions would not be able to cross the shaking bridge on the road which lead to kwi [the afterworld in the west] but would fall

[251]Jo.W. was unaware that Huhuna's performance was a special art, not a shaman's usual acquisition (cf. Wukchumni).

[252]Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California, 66-68, 74-75.

[253]The father of Samson Dick, nicknamed Kumkum (hummingbird) because he had been very active and a great traveler.

[254]Erroneously given as Pagipu, Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 74.

in the water and be taken by a water creature. Anyone who was reluctant to join in the dance would turn into a log of wood.

The dance space was circular and was illumined by fires built outside and all around the circle (Jo.W.). The messengers kept up these fires. At one side of the dance space was a pole; "this had a rag or something tied at the top."[255] The pole had power to cure persons who were rendered unconscious by their failure to heed the rules of good conduct. Thus a man who was angry because his wife was dancing next another man fell over in a rigid condition. If a spectator looked on disapprovingly, he was overcome by the same rigidity. People thus stricken were carried to the pole and laid beside it. There Joijoi rubbed them with sage (ko´sidab¹) until they regained consciousness. The pole was not climbed; M.J. did not know how its helpful power functioned. Many persons collapsed from fatigue.

At this dance at Saganyu there were such numbers of people that three concentric circles of dancers were formed. Men and women danced together. Jo.W. said they moved anticlockwise; all other informants said they moved clockwise. Dancing alternated with exhortative preaching during rest periods. Jo.W. said they danced at about 7 p.m., 10 p.m., and midnight, and then went to bed. In the morning everyone swam [as was usual in everyday life]. There were no tabus on eating meat, playing games, or sexual indulgence. Face paint was worn by many people.[256] There was no special costume. The dancing continued for six nights: "then everybody went home." During this time food was provided for the multitude by the local chief, Joijoi. Horse meat was bought and eaten.[257]

There was some dissatisfaction after the dance because the predictions were not fulfilled: the Father had not come and the pilgrims had made sacrifices of sentiment and property. Nevertheless, local dances were held as a further effort, and the proselytizing Wobonuch went off on their missionary tour to the Yokuts tribes.

According to M.J., it was just after the first Ghost Dance that the practice of poisoning became prevalent. He claims that two chiefs, Čako´no and Tu´lɩn, from the Tule River region "began to make poison (tigi´dedan) and sold it to plain people [persons without supernatural power] all around so they could kill each other almost like doctors. The Wukchumni bought some, and many others, and they all began killing each other." The chiefs [up here] said that, if the culprits were discovered, they should be killed just as were evil shamans. But they added a warning to take care and not kill a suspect until they were certain of his guilt.

"Then the white people and whiskey came and everyone began getting drunk. The poisoning went on worse than ever. The white people have stopped that now."

[255]A bead-trimmed basket, according to the Kechayi E.M.'s account.

[256]Shown in fig. 2, e, Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870.

[257]And finally dog meat was eaten, according to E.M., the Kechayi, who claimed the food supplied was inadequate (ibid., 72-74).

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AA American Anthropologist.
BAE-B Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin.
JAFL Journal of American Folklore.
PMM Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
UC-AR University of California Publications: Anthropological Records.
UC-PAAE University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

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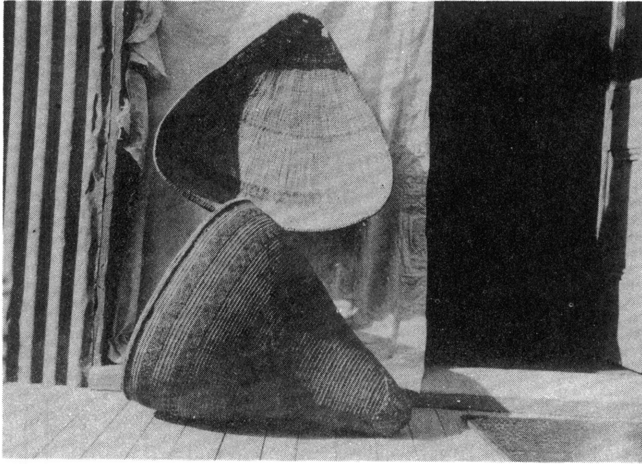
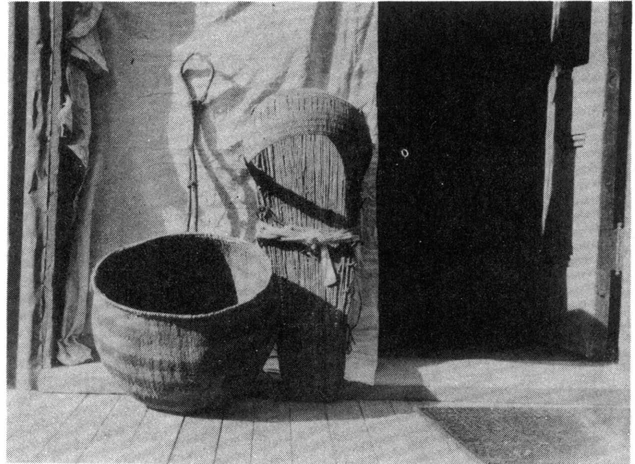
PLATE AND EXPLANATION

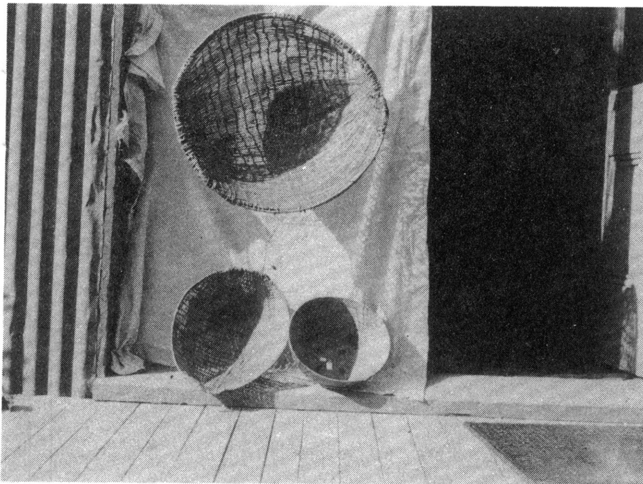
Explanation of Plate 2

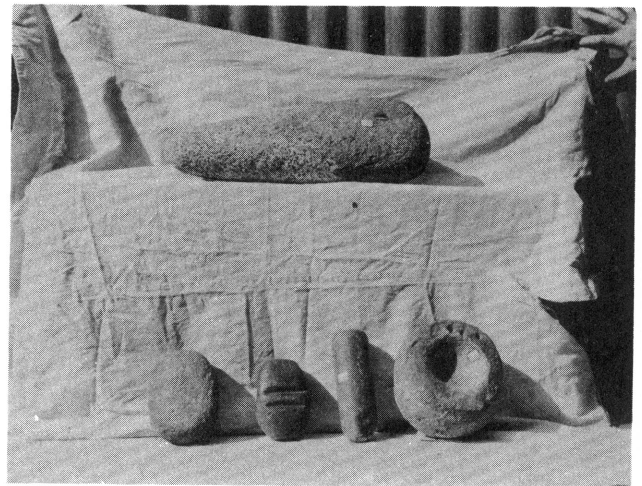
Yokuts and Western Mono Specimens, Göteborg Museum

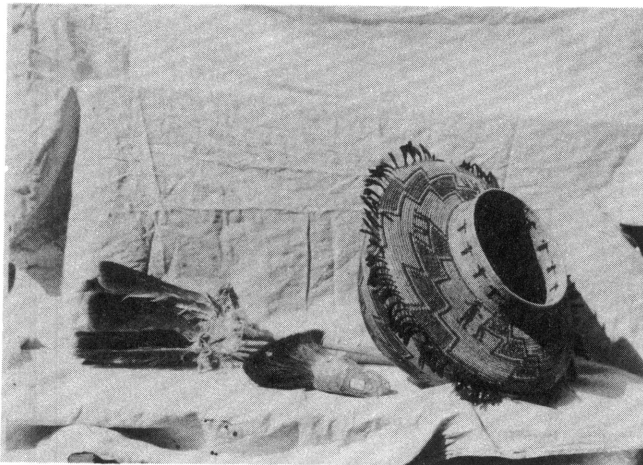
a, Wobonuch winnowing tray, burden basket; b, Wobonuch rock-lifter, mushbasket, cradle; c, Wobonuch fish basket, sieve, individual eating basket; d, Wobonuch pestle for bedrock mortar, handstone, arrow straightener; Wukchumni tobacco mortar and pestle; e, Waksachi fire fan, Wobonuch soaproot brush and "treasure" basket; f, Wukchumni gambling tray, dice, counters.











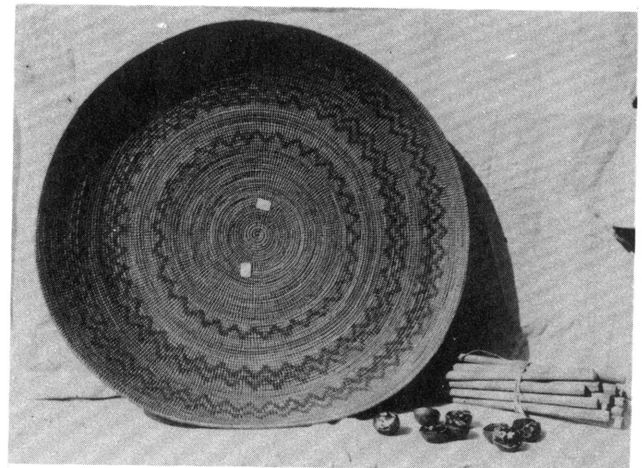


PLATE II. YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO SPECIMENS, GÖTEBORG MUSEUM

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