Cora Du Bois

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The 1870 Ghost Dance

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INTRODUCTION BY THOMAS BUCKLEY

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CORA DU BOIS

With an introduction by

THOMAS BUCKLEY

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THOMAS BUCKLEY

Introduction to the Nebraska Edition

The reissuing of Cora Du Bois's monograph "The 1870 Ghost Dance," making it available to a broad audience for the first time, is occasion for celebration. For a variety of reasons, this work remains important despite the passage of nearly seven decades since Du Bois first submitted it for publication, in 1938.

First, and perhaps most important, the "dance" itself was a significant, transformative event in the colonial history of America's far west, one—too often disregarded—that had particular impact on the Native peoples of northern California. While the Ghost Dance itself, originating in Nevada, was a variation on traditional intermontane round dances, the term "dance" is perhaps misleading. Rather, the "1870 Ghost Dance" was, as Peter Nabokov puts it, "a great wave of religious fervor that rolled in from Nevada across the dispersed, remnant Indian hamlets of north-central California after 1870. True to their dispersed, autonomous nature, each Indian hamlet's resident shamans developed their particular take on its core ideology, whose generic plot held that the world would be destroyed by fire or flood, and that Indians would survive to find the earth carpeted by wild flowers and dead ancestors returned to life."[1]

The spiritual energies of this "great wave" have passed down to the present day among Native northern Californians, some of whose contemporary individual and communal lives can only be understood in the light of the dance and the complex religious developments it inspired. The importance to Native lives and community histories of the dance, and especially of the resulting Dreamer religion (Bole-Maru cult), one of the "particular takes" on the dance that Nabokov refers to, also makes the dance important to the scholarly study of the history of religions. One hopes that this reissue of Du Bois's monograph will both newly inform Native understandings of their own histories and stimulate new scholarly interest in the dance.

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Second, Du Bois's monograph remains significant as one of the last, and certainly not the least, of the contributions to the salvaged ethnographic record of Native Californian cultures initiated, organized, and in part carried out by the anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber between 1903 and World War II. A close reading of Du Bois's study informs our understanding of this grand and crucial project—its approach and style as well as its limitations—and of anthropology in California under Kroeber's leadership, adding rich detail to our understanding of this vital effort.

Finally, the monograph is important because Cora Du Bois herself was important, becoming a substantial figure in American anthropology in the years after its publication. Du Bois left for field work on the Indonesian island of Alor in 1938, the same year she gave Kroeber's serial publication, *Anthropological Records*, the finished manuscript for "The 1870 Ghost Dance." She went on to become a major contributor to psychological and applied anthropology and to the emergent anthropological study of complex societies. She was the first woman to be tenured in the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University and was to cap her career as president of the American Anthropological Association. Despite all of this, her scholarship remained deeply rooted in nineteenth-century German social thought and in the trait-based ethnology of Franz Boas and Alfred Kroeber. In short, Du Bois became an estimable contributor to cultural anthropology, if also a somewhat transitional and occasionally anachronistic one. "The 1870 Ghost Dance" gives us some sense of her at a time near the beginning of her professional ascent, making clear some of her long-term intellectual commitments as well.

Cora Du Bois was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1903, the child of a Swiss father and a mother of German descent.[2] Keenly aware of her European background (she spent five years of her early life living and traveling in Western Europe), she was especially interested in medieval history and culture. Du Bois received a B.A. in history from Barnard in 1927 and an M.A. in the same subject from Columbia the following year. She was introduced to cultural anthropology by Ruth Benedict at Barnard and by Franz Boas at Columbia. Fascinated by the subject but wanting to leave New York, Du Bois took Benedict's advice and applied to the Ph.D. program in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley,

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then chaired by Alfred Kroeber and Robert H. Lowie in alternate years. It was a good fit. Both Lowie and Kroeber identified themselves more firmly as (natural) historians than as "anthropologists" in today's sense, and "[h]istorical reconstruction was viewed as the basic task of anthropology" within the small department and its even smaller doctoral program (only Kroeber and Lowie taught graduate seminars).[3]

Robert Lowie was Du Bois's principal doctoral mentor, although she later characterized both Lowie and Kroeber as "rather casual advisors." Her dissertation topic, assigned by the two men, was "Girls' adolescent rites in the new world," a "dull and tedious job" of library research by her own account.[4] She received her Ph.D. in anthropology in 1932.

Despite the fact that Lowie and Kroeber usually required graduate students to write library dissertations, Du Bois had arrived at Berkeley at a time when Kroeber was also "anxious to fill in the gaps in the aboriginal record" of California Indian cultures, a quarter of a century after Frederic Ward Putnam and he had undertaken their Ethnographic and Archaeological Survey of California in 1903. Like "almost all cultural anthropologists" at Berkeley, Du Bois was sent, beginning in 1929, to do salvage ethnographic field work among Native peoples, focusing on northern California and western Oregon.[5] Her earliest field work, undertaken at Kroeber's suggestion and in collaboration with another graduate student, Dorothy Demetracopoulou, was with Wintu Indians.[6] Her first article, "Wintu Myths," was coauthored with Demetracopoulou and published in 1931.[7]

The late George Foster, who received his Ph.D. in anthropology under Kroeber in 1941 and was to chair the Berkeley department later in his career, emphasized the closeness of graduate students in anthropology at Berkeley in the later 1930s and the ease with which they assisted and collaborated with each other—in part, Foster suggested, in response to Kroeber's and Lowie's "formality" and guarded inaccessibility. These students were, in a sense, their own best teachers.[8] This collegial spirit and mutual support is evident in Du Bois's early work. In "The 1870 Ghost Dance," for instance, she warmly acknowledges the help of Philip Drucker, Willard Z. Park, and, again, Demetracopoulou, all of whom shared Native testimony and their own insights with her. But we may witness here more than the supportive graduate student culture at Berkeley in the 1930s. Du Bois seems to have had both a particular inclination toward and a talent for collaboration.

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Du Bois continued working at Berkeley as a postdoctoral research associate between 1932 and 1935, doing new field work in northern California funded by the Department of Anthropology and publishing her "Wintu Ethnography" in 1935. While she is sole author of this important monograph, she thanks Demetracopoulou for her "enthusiastic assistance in collecting and correcting material."[9] Du Bois's 1944 book *The People of Alor* was to incorporate groundbreaking collaborations with psychiatrists Abram Kardiner and Emil Oberholzer, and she was to become an obviously talented team leader in various administrative and managerial positions in public service during the 1940s and early 1950s. Restraining her emotions to a notable (and very Kroeberian) degree, her appendix on informants in "The 1870 Ghost Dance" suggests that Du Bois's talents for collaboration were accompanied, however, by a shrewd and rather tough professional pragmatism.

The 1870 Ghost Dance is far less well known among general readers and scholars than the subsequent 1890 Ghost Dance, which also originated among Numu (Northern Paiute) people near Walker Lake, in Nevada. There are many reasons for this discrepancy.

First, the 1890 dance was initiated and characterized by a single "messiah," Wovoka, or Jack Wilson, who lived a long and well-publicized life, dying in 1932—the year Du Bois started her research on the 1870 dance. By contrast, the 1870 dance was not so much personified by its own founding prophet, Wodziwob, as by a myriad of "dreamers" who inaugurated a series of highly mutable "dances," "cults," or even "religions," spun off by the 1870 Ghost Dance as it moved through, especially, northern California. Most notable among these were Earth Lodge, Dreamer (or Bole-Maru), Big Head and, in Oregon, Warm House.[10] The 1870 dance moved west and north among small groups of former semi-sedentary foragers who have remained relatively obscure, it might be argued, down to the present day. (Hence in part the importance of this reissue of Du Bois's monograph.) It slowly petered out after 1877 amidst the failure of the apocalyptic or adventist prophecies that were its central feature and, according to Du Bois, with a rising sense of embarrassment among people who had taken up the dance so fervently only a few years earlier.

The 1890 dance famously moved north and east onto the plains, among

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mounted hunting peoples who had come to dramatically typify "the Indian" for the eastern public. In contrast to the 1870 dance, it was all but ended—quickly, violently, and tragically—in the massacre of Big Foot's Minneconjou band of Lakota Indians by federal troops at Wounded Knee, where they had gathered to dance in December 1890.

Undoubtedly, the 1890 dance and the culminating massacre would not be nearly so well known among non-Indians had not James Mooney—"an Irish-American active in Fenian politics" and, like Du Bois, a talented ethnographer—been dispatched by the government, in the face of a public outcry, to investigate and report on the Ghost Dance, the "Sioux outbreak," and the "Battle" of Wounded Knee.[11] The resulting masterwork itself would have remained obscure, one suspects, had it not been made widely available in an abridged paperback edition in 1970, just as white America was once again "discovering" "the Indian."[12]

None of this is to say that the earlier dance did not have its own sorrowful background in tragedy and massacre—indeed, in outright genocide—although there had been scant outcry about it. As the historian James Rawls tells us, "In the 1870s only scattered remnants of the aboriginal populations were still alive, and those who had survived the maelstrom of the preceding quarter century were dislocated, demoralized, and impoverished. . . . [T]he ghost dance won converts among those tribes who had suffered most from the catastrophic events of the gold rush."[13] Among these peoples, from south-central California to western Oregon, the loss of population between 1850 and 1910 averaged 86 percent by conservative estimate.[14] Often personal losses were much, much higher. As Nabokov tells us, the Wintu-Yana spiritual leader Norelputus witnessed his own (Yana) people's decline from between two and three thousand people to thirty-five. It was among the great losses during the 1850s that "drove a stake through Norelputus' heart" and, after 1870, inspired his prophetic founding of the Earth Lodge movement.[15]

The "catastrophic" nature of so much of American Indian contact history, when seen from an Indian point of view, has become a part of the general discourse on American history only relatively recently. Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1971), for instance, was one of the first to stimulate popular awareness of the tragedy of contact.[16] In the service of scientific objectivity, the Boasian culture historians, and certainly Al-

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fred Kroeber, did not dwell upon the actual conditions under which they had come to compile their salvage ethnographies and to construct their often progressivist theories of history—conditions that included ongoing demographic collapse in Native communities and, in northern California, the occasionally pathological aftermath of genocide.[17] Nor does Cora Du Bois dwell upon the tragic conditions under which the 1870 Ghost Dance and most of its transformations briefly flourished in California, sixty years before her arrival there, with their heartbreaking prophecies of the return of the Indian dead and the disappearance of the whites, predictions of the immanent end of the world, and promises of a flowery heaven where decimated and traumatized Native communities would be reunited in eternity.

Du Bois uses the word "shattered" several times in reference to these communities, yet she leaves the cause and nature of this shattering largely unspoken, in keeping with the Kroeberian approach. And she certainly recognizes the pathological aspects of the dance and the "epidemic" of dreamers and trancing dancers that followed in its wake. Yet while some of Du Bois's Native Californian informants, like the Yurok traditionalist Robert Spott, themselves refer to the dancers and dreamers as "crazy," Du Bois, and Kroeber before her seem to naturalize the survivors' mental or spiritual pathologies, apocryphally and metaphorically, as physical disease, hence obscuring the historical and cultural, colonial roots of Native distress. The rhetoric is—or should be—deeply unsettling today.

Du Bois, in referring to the "febrile" minds of the dancers, echoes Kroeber's earlier characterization of the 1870 dance as an "infection." According to Kroeber, the 1890 Ghost Dance, almost entirely rejected in California, was a "recrudescence" against which Native Californians had acquired an "immunity" through their earlier "infection" by the 1870 dance.[18] Kroeber paid little attention to such contact phenomena as the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dances, although realizing their importance and deputing his student Anna H. Gayton to study the 1870 dance in south-central California and Cora Du Bois to study it in the northern region of the state in his effort to complete the ethnographic record of aboriginal California.[19]

Kroeber's preference was to work with elders to salvage details of precontact, purely aboriginal California cultures, and he customarily wrote in an ethnographic present set in the year immediately preceding mas-

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sive contact—for instance, in writing about northern California, the year 1848. As Du Bois seemed to follow Kroeber in naturalizing Ghost Dance phenomena as disease-like, so too she referred to the 1870 dance as though it were already in the deep, "real Indian" past and as though, indeed, as she writes in her "Conclusions and Speculations," the dance "represented the last flash in that area of creative Indian culture and the last attempt to establish native values."

This was hardly true, however. Du Bois herself occasionally mentions ongoing creative religious activity in the 1920s and 1930s that derived directly from the 1870 Ghost Dance, and she tells of then-contemporary "shamanistic" practices of Indian doctors that had derived from the dance as well. Later religious developments, like the acceptance of the Indian Shaker Church in northwestern California in the 1920s and, eventually, of more familiar Christian churches, Du Bois thought, were forecast by the 1870 Ghost Dance, with its Christian influences, and were transformational results of energies first released in northern California by the Ghost Dance. Rather than signaling the end of Indian creativity, it seems today—as long as we do not dismiss Christianity among Indian people as inauthentic—that the 1870 dance provided a long-lasting stimulus for ongoing religious improvisation and development, by Du Bois's own, seemingly internally contradictory account.[20]

The contradiction is only apparent, however, or rather, it is not a contradiction in Du Bois's own terms. In following Kroeber, "acculturated" Indians were not "real Indians" for Du Bois, hence the 1870 Ghost Dance could be a "last flash" of Indianness in California. Today it does not seem as unlikely as it once did that the Dreamer religion (Bole-Maru) still flourishes in Pomoan communities in Mendocino and Lake counties, or that there are still a dozen dance houses, all originating in the 1870 Ghost Dance and its transformations, being maintained and ritually used in central and northern California.[21] Du Bois and Kroeber are not to be faulted, finally, for failing to imagine such a thing in the depths of the Great Depression, toward the end of a long period of unmitigated hardship and radical culture change for California Indians who, more often than not, failed to imagine it for themselves.

Still, "[d]uring the pre-war years the Berkeley Ph.D. program would have to be described as 'old fashioned,' even for that time," writes George

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Foster.[22] Despite adhering to the Kroeberian ethnographic style sheet, as it were, and making the diffusion of culture traits her central theoretical concern, Du Bois in "The 1870 Ghost Dance" is also champing at the bit, ready to get on with a more modern anthropological practice more in tune with what was happening, by 1935, in the academic world beyond Berkeley, California, somewhat isolated as it was before the Second World War.

In 1935 Du Bois returned to the East Coast and, funded by the National Research Council, undertook concerted study of psychological and psychoanalytic anthropology.[23] At Berkeley, between 1932 and 1935, she had finished `working up' her field notes on the Tolowa and Wintu Indians of northern California and completed new field work that was to result in publication of "The 1870 Ghost Dance" in 1939.[24] Du Bois seems to have maintained a sincere interest in California Indians during these years and to have put her professional best into finishing work she had started under Kroeber and Lowie. She continued to find the nineteenth-century German concept of "the psychic unity of mankind" relevant into the 1940s, and in completing her Berkeley research she still found concepts of the "diffusion" of cultural traits, dear to both Kroeber and Lowie, relevant to her own work.

Franz Boas had reformulated the historical problem of diffusion in the "age-area hypothesis." Most of Boas's earlier students, including Kroeber and Lowie, took up the study of this reformulated problem, and Kroeber was to publish what is perhaps the most complex and sophisticated application of age-area theory in his "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America," published in 1939, the same year as Du Bois's "The 1870 Ghost Dance."[25] While anthropology in the United States had moved on to other topics, including "acculturation, functionalism, and psychology," at other institutions like "Chicago, Yale, and Columbia," as George Foster was to point out, diffusion was still *au courant* at Berkeley under Lowie and Kroeber, and Du Bois, already moving on intellectually, still gave the topic its due.

"The 1870 Ghost Dance" is, in fact, most satisfying and most unique as a documented historical demonstration of some of the concrete means by which cultural diffusion actually works. Du Bois exercises rigorous scholarship in locating and collating clearly dated, printed sources of information

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on the movement of the Ghost Dance through Nevada, northern California, and western Oregon. She melds these sources with accounts—often eyewitness—from her Native consultants. Her liberal use of this verbatim testimony, in addition to supporting a factual chronology of diffusion, lends humanistic texture to an "old-fashioned" Boasian "topical" (as opposed to narrative) approach that, to an extent, Du Bois herself had come to question by 1935.[26] It is this faithful, if reluctant, thoroughness, concreteness, temporal specificity, and humanism that together make "The 1870 Ghost Dance" still worth careful reading today and of special interest to those working in the lively field that has come to be called ethnohistory.

Cora Du Bois understood what she was doing more simply as "history," and she still felt, in 1938, obliged to do it in the way she had been taught by Boas, Kroeber and Lowie. Her "topical" approach, for example, meant dealing with the fascinating and tragic figure of Norelputus, the Wintu-Yana founder of the Earth Lodge movement, in a fragmentary, scattered, and somewhat depersonalized way. Du Bois introduces him in the early pages of her monograph but then postpones discussion of his influence as a proselytizer: "All this will be discussed later under proper tribal headings." We must wait nearly another ninety pages to find out just why he was significant to the dance or, for that matter, who he was.

This is part of what I mean when I say that Du Bois's anthropology seems, today, to have been somewhat transitional, even anachronistic. Her discussion of Norelputus, originally spread over nearly 120 pages, has none of the narrative or humanistic power of, say, Nabokov's two and a half pages on the same human being written, albeit, sixty years later.

Second, Du Bois's "proper tribal headings" not only impose a social scientific trope that negates narrative, but they also reify tribal distinctions and definitions largely established by Kroeber. By the 1970s this scientific fragmentation by categorization was already being seen as obscuring the fluidity and flexibility of social and political interrelations in places like northern California, where aboriginal cultures were beginning to be understood to have been far more regional than tribal.[27]

It may seem more significant that Du Bois did not follow up on her understanding of the 1870 Ghost Dance as a "revivalistic" phenomenon, going on to contribute to the development of theories of "nativism" and "revitalization" in the 1940s and 1950s, together with Ralph Linton, An-

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thony F. C. Wallace, and others.[28] This, however, I think misses an important development in the trajectory of Du Bois's mature career. Rather than "crisis cults" in Native North America, by 1935 her interests had come to focus on Southeast Asia and on psychoanalysis and, through these topics, moved forward, away from Kroeber, Berkeley, and "history."

As noted, Du Bois left Berkeley for Boston and New York in 1935. Funded by the National Research Council to investigate the relevance of psychiatric training to anthropology, she began working in New York with Abram Kardiner and with Emil Oberholzer at Harvard. During this period she was still responsible to the Department of Anthropology, University of California, and to the Social Science Research Council to complete reporting on research she had done in California and Oregon with their support.[29] Thus she completed "The 1870 Ghost Dance" in 1938, while she was already engaged both in new field work among the Alorese people in Indonesia and in new theoretical commitments to psychology.

This fresh work resulted in Cora Du Bois's *The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island*, with analyses by Abram Kardiner and Emil Oberholzer, published by the University of Minnesota Press in 1944. The book was closely affiliated with the work of Du Bois's old mentor, Ruth Benedict, and hence with Boasian psychology and cultural relativism. However, it established Du Bois's own place in psychological and psychoanalytic anthropology, introducing the concept of "modal personality": "the product of the interplay of fundamental physiologically and neurologically determined tendencies and experiences common to all human beings [i.e., the bases of their `psychic unity'] acted upon by the cultural milieu, which denies, directs, and gratifies these needs very differently in different societies."[30]

Returning from Alor in 1939, Du Bois taught at Sara Lawrence College until 1942, when she joined the war effort, working in the Office of Strategic Services as chief of the Indonesia section of the Research and Analysis branch and, in 1944, moving to Ceylon as head of research in the Southeast Asia Command. She continued working in applied anthropology through 1954, first for the World Health Organization and, after 1951, for the Institute of International Education. Tiring of "power, managerial administration, or so called applications," Du Bois returned to academe as

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the Radcliffe Zemurray-Stone Professor, tenured in the Harvard Department of Anthropology and the Department of Social Relations in 1954.[31] Again, she was the first woman to be tenured by Harvard's Department of Anthropology and only the second woman to receive tenure on Harvard University's Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

Both George Foster and Cora Du Bois told variations of the same anecdote about their earliest field work, as graduate students. Assigned to work among Native Californians, each asked Kroeber for advice on how to do ethnography. Take a pad and a pencil, Kroeber told them both before striding off down the hall. Perhaps that is the most pertinent advice one can give a beginner, or at least a beginner already steeped in all of the great ethnographies to date, as Kroeber's and Lowie's students were. In any case, Du Bois was to become a particularly solid ethnographer, and her *People of Alor* became a benchmark for newer generations of students.

Thus at Harvard, however rooted in Boasian ethnology and her "old-fashioned" training at Berkeley, Du Bois had profound influence on the shape of anthropology to come. Clifford Geertz, who entered the Ph.D. program in the Social Relations Department at Harvard in 1950, is said to have greatly admired Du Bois as an ethnographer and was inspired by her work in Indonesia in undertaking his own early field work in Java.[32] Geertz, of course, went on to become perhaps the most influential anthropologist of the later twentieth century, in part by recasting Kroeberian ethnography and history as "thick description."

Du Bois undertook new research in India between 1961 and 1972, focusing on culture change in complex societies. She was elected president of the American Anthropological Society in 1968 and continued teaching at Harvard until retirement in 1969. After retirement Cora Du Bois remained a considerable presence in anthropology, at Harvard, and in the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for many years. She died in 1991.

NOTES

1. Peter Nabokov, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 99. Note that the 1870 "dance" spread into south-central California and western Oregon as well.

2. Here and below I am indebted for many biographical details on Cora Du Bois to Susan Seymour, "Cora Du Bois," in *Women Anthropologists: A Biographi-*

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cal Dictionary, ed. Ute Gacs, Aisha Kahn, Jerrie McIntyre, and Ruth Weinberg (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 72–79. In addition to Seymour, I am also indebted to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology for biographical materials: www.peabody.harvard.edu./maria/bois.html.

3. In 1935, Du Bois's last year there, the full faculty of the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley also included Edward W. Gifford and Ronald Olson (Olson had received his Ph.D. under Lowie and Kroeber in 1929, the year Du Bois arrived at Berkeley). Paul Radin lived near the university and, unlike either Lowie or Kroeber, gladly received graduate students informally—a contact that was influential in Du Bois's development. An engaging account of graduate life in the department at the time is found in George M. Foster's Emeritus Faculty Lecture at the University of California Berkeley, "Graduate Study at Berkeley, 1935–1941," in "Paths to the Symbolic Self: Essays in Honor of Walter Goldschmidt," ed. J. Loucky and J. Jones, *Anthropology UCLA* 8, nos. 1–2 (1976) (page numbers refer to electronic version found at http://sunsite.Berkeley.edu/Anthro/foster/bio/fosgradstudy.html).

4. Seymour, "Cora Du Bois," 73.

5. Foster, "Graduate Study," 6.

6. After her marriage to Otis Lee, Dorothy Demetracopoulou became well known as the anthropologist Dorothy Lee. Influenced by the linguists Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir, she is perhaps best known for her work on the Wintu language and linguistic relativity ("the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis"), published in the 1940s and 1950s. Like Du Bois, Lee was deeply interested in the anthropology of education.

On Kroeber, Lowie, Radin, Sapir, Whorf, and other of the central "Americanists," see Regna Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001). A good introduction to Dorothy Lee's provocative thinking is found in Dorothy Lee, *Freedom and Culture* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1959). Du Bois's interest in international education is apparent in Cora Du Bois, *Foreign Students and Higher Education in the United States* (Washington DC: American Council on Education for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1956).

7. Cora Du Bois and Dorothy Demetracopoulou, "Wintu Myths," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* [*UCPAAE*] 28 (1931): 279–403.

8. Foster, "Graduate Study," 6.

9. Cora Du Bois, "Wintu Ethnography," *UCPAAE* 36, no. 1 (1935): 1–148, quote on 2.

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10. For a recent treatment of the Earth Lodge "doctrine" see Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 99–101. On the Warm House cult see Michael E. Harkin, "Revitalization as Catharsis: The Warm House Cult of Western Oregon," in *Reassessing Revitalization Movements: Perspectives from North America and the Pacific Islands*, ed. Michael E. Harkin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 143–61. For a recent interpretation of the 1870 Ghost Dance and related movements in Native North America as mechanisms for identity formation, see Gregory E. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

11. The quoted description of Mooney is from Harkin, *Reassessing Revitalization Movements*, xxi. James Mooney's "The Ghost Dance Religion" was originally published as *Bureau of American Ethnology 14th Annual Report, Part 2* (1896).

12. James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, abridged, with an introduction by Anthony F. C. Wallace (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

13. James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 212.

14. Estimates of total aboriginal population and of historical population loss in the present state of California have varied widely through the years, as they have for all of Native North America. The figure given here, 86 percent, reflects total population loss in the 1870 Ghost Dance areas at the nadir of demographic collapse, in 1910. It is extrapolated from A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of Indians of California," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 78 (1925): 880–91. Staggering population losses were continuing during the years that the dance and its ritual transformations were at their peak, forming an important context for these religious movements.

Again, the figures are conservative, based on Kroeber's 1917 estimate of a total aboriginal Californian population of 260,000 people in 1770, at the beginning of the Spanish colonial period. Contemporary estimates tend to be higher, with 300,000 now appearing to be a responsible, if still low, estimate.

15. Nabokov, *A Forest of Time*, 99.

16. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971).

17. E.g., Thomas Buckley, "'The Little History of Pitiful Events': The Epistemological and Moral Contexts of Kroeber's Californian Ethnology," in *Volkgeist as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr., vol. 8 of *History of Anthropology* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 257–97.

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18. Kroeber, "Handbook," 868-69; see also Alfred Kroeber, "A Ghost Dance in California," *Journal of American Folk-lore* 17 (1905): 32–35

19. A. H. Gayton, "The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California," *UCPAAE* 28 (1930): 57–82.

20. On dialogical religious emergence in post-contact Native northwest California see Thomas Buckley, *Standing Ground: Yurok Indian Spirituality, 1850–1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 245–79. See also Harkin's analysis: "the difference between Ghost Dance and conversion to vernacular Christianity may be one of degree rather than kind. Both arise from a sense of temporal and historical crisis; something utterly new is happening in the world, and traditional means of dealing with gradual change (e.g., mortuary rites) are no longer adequate" (*Reassessing Revitalization Movements*, xxviii).

21. On contemporary earth lodges and roundhouses and their ongoing use in California see Dolan H. Eargle Jr., *Native California Guide: Weaving the Past and Present* (San Francisco: Trees Company Press, 2000).

22. Foster, "Graduate Study," 3.

23. Cora Du Bois, "Some Anthropological Perspectives on Psycho-analysis," *Psycho-Analytic Review* 23, no. 3 (1937): 246–63; Du Bois, "Some Psychological Objectives and Techniques in Ethnography," *Journal of Social Psychology* 3 (1937): 285–301.

24. Cora Du Bois, "Tolowa Notes," *American Anthropologist* 34, no. 2 (1932): 348–62; Du Bois, "Study of Wintu Mythology," *Journal of American Folklore* 45 (1932): 375–500; Du Bois, "The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture," in *Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, ed. Robert Lowie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), 40–45; Du Bois, "The Feather Cult of the Middle Columbia," *General Series in Anthropology* 7 (1938): 1–47.

25. Alfred Kroeber, "Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America," *UCPAAE* 38 (1939): i–242.

26. This "topical" approach, in which phenomena were treated as data, was called for in part by the mission of *Anthropological Records* itself. See note 28 below.

27. E.g., John Lowell Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective* (Socorro NM: Ballena Press, 1976).

28. E.g., Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologist* 45 (1943): 230–40; A. F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58 (1956): 269–81. See also Marion W. Smith, "Shamanism in the Shaker Religion of Northwest America," *Man* 54 (1954): 119–22. For a recent assessment

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of revitalization and nativism theories see Harkin, *Reassessing Revitalization Theory*.

29. Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz notes that research funded by the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley belonged to the university (in *Rolling in Ditches with Shamans: Jaime de Angulo and the Professionalization of American Anthropology* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004], 36). Kroeber and Lowie, then, expected such work to be published either in *UCPAAE* or, after 1937, in *Anthropological Records* (*AR*), a less lavishly produced journal printed in offset typescript. UCPAAE (1903–1964) focused on "papers in which the interpretive element outweighs the factual or which otherwise are of general interest," while *AR* (1937–1999) consisted of "monographs which are documentary, of record nature, or devoted to the presentation primarily of new data" (*AR* 3, no. 1 [1939]: ii). Money was very tight in the Department of Anthropology through the 1930s. It was necessary for Du Bois to obtain a subvention of five hundred dollars from the American Council of Learned Societies to publish "The 1870 Ghost Dance" in *AR* (front matter and "Preface," *AR* 3 [1]: 1939).

30. Cora Du Bois, *The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island*, with analyses by Abram Kardiner and Emil Oberholzer (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), 2–3.

31. Seymour, "Cora Du Bois," 74–75.

32. Raymond D. Fogelson, personal communication, 2006. See Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies*, 289–96, for an appraisal of Geertz's position in the "Americanist" tradition.

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Preface

This study deals with only one minor phase of a recurrent series of messianic or revivalistic movements which have arisen among the weaker peoples throughout the world as reactionary waves to the crushing impact of European culture. The subject under consideration has a double significance. On the one hand it is allied with a cultural category of universal if sporadic distribution. On the other hand it is bound up in its specific aspects with the struggle of northern California and Oregon Indians to integrate their cultural life to the unavoidable demands of European invasion. The modern cults on the Pacific Coast are more than a religious problem. They not only symbolize but also represent in part the whole struggle between two divergent social systems. Under their native leaders the Indians have sought sanction to reject or adopt the new concepts being forced upon them and have endeavored to preserve some modicum of their native values.

The following study grew out of a desire to trace the introduction and course of the 1870 Ghost Dance in northern California. No preliminary problem was set beyond the accumulation of data bearing on this subject. It rapidly became apparent that any description which attempted even to approximate to fullness would have to include, however superficially, many of the theoretic approaches now current in anthropology. History, acculturation, function, and psychology were all factors that could not be ignored even though their thoroughness and depth might be slighted in a report that is of necessity preliminary for each tribal group, at least. It became increasingly evident that all approaches were inherent in an adequate description and interpretation. That all of these approaches have not been adequately explored is due rather to frailties of the ethnographer and the material than to any preconceived bias of departure. Everywhere preliminary historical data were essential. It seemed necessary to know the course of events before it was possible to determine what role the 1870

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Ghost Dance played in aboriginal Californian life, how it was absorbed, what reactions developed toward it, and what part the individual took in shaping it. Perhaps one theoretic approach more than others has appeared to suffer neglect. This approach is generally termed the dynamic or processual. When specifically envisaged in terms of the religious movements here considered, it seemed to resolve itself into the interplay between historical situation and personality. If the essence of the processual approach really lies in the interplay of these two factors, it has not been entirely neglected in this volume.

The following data have been obtained largely in biographical form. This was found to be both a necessity and a desideratum in tracing the specific historical material with which this study deals. Unfortunately, practically none of the information is autobiographical, even in cases where survivors of the original movement were interviewed. There seems everywhere to be a deep-rooted fear of the risk incurred to one's health and well-being by speaking freely of one's personal dream experiences, although one may gossip freely about those of others.

Four pronounced obstacles were met in gathering material. The first, just mentioned, is the reticence in speaking autobiographically. The second is temporal. Since the original Ghost Dance movement arose more than sixty years ago, to obtain firsthand material it is necessary to have an informant approximately seventy or eighty years old whose memory for even evanescent religious details is not impaired. Obviously this limited the number of serviceable informants. The third obstacle, particularly pronounced in certain groups, is the contempt in which earlier cult frenzy and credulity is held. Informants repeatedly derogated the whole movement and expressed failure to understand how interest could be evinced in anything so patently "crazy." Several old men were impatient with descriptions of Ghost Dance details when "true religion" might be discussed. Other informants were ashamed of revivalistic outbursts and, when they could be prevailed upon to discuss the matter at all, they inserted a note of skepticism that may often represent a later injection. The fourth obstacle is inherent in the topical approach. Although I am firmly convinced that the 1870 Ghost Dance and its elaborate outgrowths can be understood only by approaching the subject topically, there is forced upon the field worker an unsatisfactorily superficial contact with each lo-

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cal group. Subsequent workers with any one of the many groups considered in this volume will probably find much amplificatory, and possibly corrective, material.

Of necessity, therefore, the formulation of modern religious developments in northern California is preliminary and tentative. For this reason, if for no other, it seems highly desirable to present as much as possible of the detailed raw material in the form of direct statements by informants. Some of this material will not be available in the near future. That which is will profit by reconsideration against the background of a single tribe.

Certain liberties have been taken with informants' statements. The less comprehensible colloquialisms have been rendered in more formal English; circumlocutions have been replaced often with single words in the interest of brevity and clarity; for the same reasons, repetitions have been eliminated and statements have been arranged in more or less systematic order. Where passages deviate rather far from verbatim material, they are given without quotation marks. Informants' names are everywhere enclosed in brackets, so that they may be distinguished from persons about whom descriptive data are given. Comments of minor importance on informants' statements are inserted either in brackets or in endnotes. An appendix gives a list of informants by tribes and a few details concerning them. Certain purely descriptive passages are in telegraphic style.

Diffusions are represented by diagrams rather than by formal maps. For the sake of simplicity, place-names are used that can be located on reasonably detailed maps. Thus, La Moine is used in the Wintu area instead of Portuguese Flat, three miles farther north, which is not anywhere listed. Corrections occur in the text.

Text figures of costumes and other things frequently are based on verbal descriptions, which are obviously unsatisfactory. When this is so a note to that effect is appended.

The material included here was collected intermittently from the fall of 1932 through the summer of 1934. Acknowledgment is made to the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, which has made the research work possible, and to Professor A. K. Kroeber, at whose suggestion this project was undertaken. A grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council in 1934 permitted the collection of data in western Oregon. A subvention of five hundred dollars toward the cost of printing this

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monograph was generously made by the American Council of Learned Societies. Various persons have placed at my disposal unprinted material. I have attempted to make full acknowledgment of their assistance in the course of this volume, but it is a pleasure to thank them here for their generous interest and cooperation.

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THE 1870 GHOST DANCE

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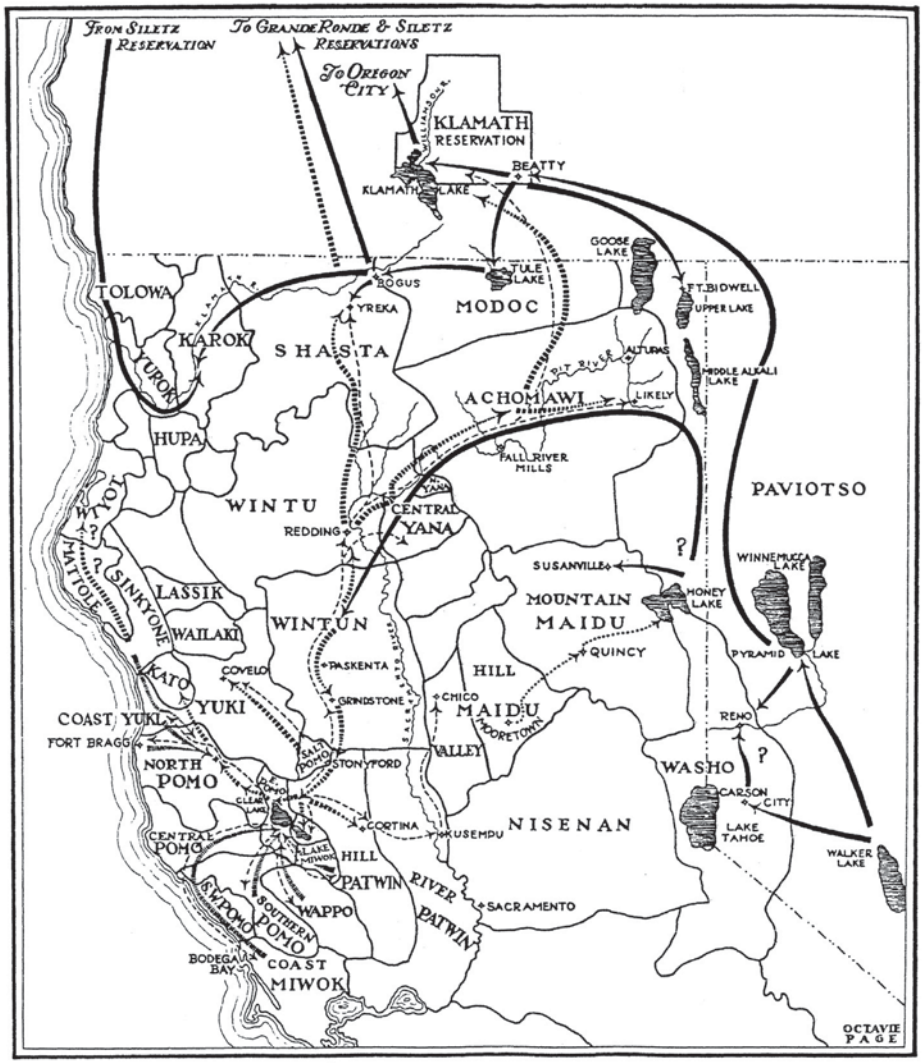

MAP 1. Modern cults in northern California. Solid arrows, Ghost Dance; thick-barred arrows, Earth Lodge cult; thin-barred arrows, groups congregating in Pomo Earth Lodge centers; broken line, Bole-Maru influences; dots, problematic Ghost Dance among the Maidu.

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Introduction

In order to clarify the mass of details that constitutes the body of this volume, this introduction has been written to serve as a summary guide to the major cults described. The material has been presented by tribes or areas in the body of the book. This was done to give coherence to local developments and to show their interlocking nature. In the Summary of Contents, material is presented in terms of cults in order to balance the areal presentation.

It was soon evident in the course of field work that a complicated series of interacting cults had developed as a consequence of the stimulus given by the 1870 Ghost Dance. The religious developments covered in this volume occurred during a period of sixty years beginning in 1871. It was a time of marked intra- and intertribal flux, during which Indian life underwent progressive disintegration. As a result, the early reactions, which were resistive to white encroachments, were gradually transformed into an acceptance of European habits and attitudes. These changes represent a closely integrated continuum in time and space. However, for descriptive purposes it is convenient to set up a series of categorical terms as points of reference on that continuum, if one bears in mind that the borders are blurred. In the title, "Ghost Dance" has been used as a general term to cover a series of generically related religious developments, but in the body of the book the term will be applied only to the first phase of the whole growth. The early manifestations consisted largely of doctrinal stress on the return of the dead and the end of the world, which in some vague supernatural manner would entail the elimination of the white people. The adherents believed these changes were imminent.

The Ghost Dance proper had two main strands of diffusion. The cult originated among the Paviotso of Walker Lake in Nevada and spread to the Washo, the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake, Klamath Reservation, and Surprise Valley, to the Modoc, Klamath, Shasta, and Karok tribes. It was

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transmitted by the Shasta to Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. From Siletz it was carried to the Tolowa and Yurok. The circle of this first strand of diffusion was completed in the vicinity of Orleans on the Klamath River when the Yurok movement going upstream met the Karok movement progressing downstream. A second but contemporaneous strand of the Ghost Dance proper spread from the Paviotso to the easternmost Achomawi, across Achomawi territory to the Northern Yana, the Wintun,[1] and Hill Patwin.

Among the Wintun and Hill Patwin the second point of reference on the continuum was developed. It will be called the Earth Lodge cult, from its most characteristic feature. This cult was similar to the Ghost Dance proper in excitement over immediate supernatural phenomenon. But, whereas the Ghost Dance stressed the return of the dead, the Earth Lodge cult stressed the end of the world. The faithful were to be protected from the catastrophe by the subterranean houses which they built for that purpose. The Earth Lodge cult, like the Ghost Dance, had two main strands of diffusion. One spread to the north from the Wintun to the Wintu and then back over Achomawi territory and to the Klamath Reservation, while simultaneously the Wintu transmitted the Earth Lodge cult to the Shasta, from whom it was passed in turn to Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations. There it was known locally as the Warm House Dance. The Earth Lodge cult in its northern manifestation also had an abortive introduction to Oregon City by Klamath Indians. Some years later a Siletz Reservation Indian carried a form of Earth Lodge cult southward among the Oregon tribes as far as Coos Bay. This has been called Thompson's Warm House Dance after the principal proselytizer.

Meanwhile the second strand of Earth Lodge cult diffusion spread southwestward to the Pomo area, where seven earth lodges were built in which surrounding tribes and tribelets congregated.

Almost immediately after the Earth Lodge cult was introduced to the Wintun and Hill Patwin, there grew up an elaboration of it called the Bole-Maru. This is a compound term consisting respectively of the Patwin and Pomo words for the cult. The Bole-Maru abandoned gradually doctrines of imminent world catastrophe and stressed instead concepts of the afterlife and of the supreme being. Ceremonially its highest development occurred among the Patwin and Pomo. Each local dreamer had his own

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revelations and supernatural authority, which determined the particular form his cult activities should take. By and large, however, most dreamers used the following devices: (1) flagpole, from which a flag was flown in front of the dance house during the ceremony; (2) a secularized form of the old Patwin Hesi dance, which has been called Bole-Hesi; (3) cloth costumes, especially for women, which were often used in conjunction with a particular dance known as Bole or Maru depending upon the language area; and (4) a Ball dance.

The Bole-Maru probably originated with the Hill Patwin prophet, Lame Bill, who also supported the Earth Lodge cult. In less than a year the Bole-Maru overlaid the Earth Lodge cult in Pomo and adjacent territories. It also spread to the River Patwin and Chico Maidu, who had not been touched by previous movements. The Bole-Maru in a somewhat attenuated form also spread northward to the Wintun, Wintu, Shasta, and Achomawi. The Wintun dreamers seem to have been particularly active in repeatedly sending out groups of dancers to northern neighbors.

From an early form of the Bole-Maru in Pomo territory still another cult detached itself, which has been called the Big Head cult. This traveled rapidly northward along the western slopes of the Coast Range to the Shasta, where its momentum was exhausted, but not before some knowledge of it had reached Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations.

At this point a preliminary idea of dating will clarify matters. The Ghost Dance probably originated among the Paviotso of Walker Lake in about 1869. Its diffusion, however, did not begin until 1871. Once under way, it spread with great rapidity. By the end of 1871, or early in 1872, the Earth Lodge cult was already in existence. In the spring of 1872 the Earth Lodge cult reached its climax among the Pomo. By the end of that same year it had diffused over most of northeastern California and the first forms of the Bole-Maru had already been created. The Bole-Maru, although constantly in flux, has persisted until the present, especially in the Patwin and Pomo areas.

Characteristic of all these movements was the appearance of local dreamers or prophets whenever an external impulse set a new religious form in motion. Each tribe had its own interpreters of the new cults, so that in the description of the religious developments of each tribe, a more or less complete list of local dreamers has been given in approximately

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chronological order. These local dreamers and interpreters represent a constant recrudescence of local authoritarianism, but always beneath this local authority can be discovered an external stimulus. It is as though tap roots were constantly being sent down into the intense localism of the Californian tribelets. In most tribes, and for only the short period of the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cults, dreaming was epidemic. It soon subsided and concentrated in the hands of particular dreamers or "preachers."

The influence of these leaders was everywhere different and individualized, yet on the whole they seem to have been instrumental in reshaping shamanism, in furthering the development of the Bole-Maru, or breaking ground for further Christianization. Their influence has made possible the introduction and acceptance of the many marginal Christian sects that now flourish among the Indians of this region. The Indian Shaker Church has recently made marked progress in northwest California. The Pentecostal Church and Four Square Gospel have very real influence and are eliminating the last phases of the Bole-Maru among the Pomo. In Round Valley Reservation and Fall River (Achomawi), churches are being conducted by Indian ministers for Indian converts. Besides, everywhere in northern California are found flourishing churches whose members are both white and Indian. The revivalistic psychology of the Pentecostals, for instance, has made it peculiarly a well-fitted vehicle for the Christianization of those Indians who had had previous experience with the Ghost Dance and its proliferations. At the moment it represents one of the terminal points in a progressively Christianized ideology, for which the Ghost Dance and its subsequent cults were transitional factors.

Lastly, attention should be drawn to Gayton's treatment of the Ghost Dance in south-central California.[2] This publication is necessary to a complete picture of the 1870 Ghost Dance. The relation of Gayton's material to that in the present volume is discussed in part 3 under the section on the Delta region. Although I speak of two main avenues of introduction for the Ghost Dance, the statement applies only to northern California. There was a third and completely independent one into the southern part of the state, which Gayton has described.

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PART ONE ◦ Nevada and the Klamath Drainage

The first part of this volume will discuss the genesis of the 1870 Ghost Dance among the Paviotso and its course along the Klamath drainage among tribes of southeastern Oregon and northernmost California. This region represents a self-contained area in respect to the Ghost Dance. The cult did not pass from the Klamath drainage into central California. Furthermore, this area is characterized by only a brief persistence of the doctrine. An exception must be made for the Shasta and Klamath, whose cultures were more disintegrated than those of other tribes in the region. The Shasta proved to be a corridor for the transmission of cult movements from the Sacramento Valley to coastal Oregon.

Paviotso

Information concerning the earlier Ghost Dance elicited from the Paviotso in the vicinity of Walker Lake, Reno, and Pyramid Lake was almost of necessity couched in terms of the 1890 Ghost Dance. This was due to the death of Jack Wilson in October 1932, only some ten days before field work was begun, and to the more vivid impression left by the later prophet. Whether or not informants were adherents of Jack Wilson, they were all agreed that his doctrine was neither new nor unique, but that it was simply one expression of a recurring native pattern. The impression was gotten that in almost every generation shamans arose who preached the imminent return of the dead and in addition were capable of performing miracles, among which weather control was a favorite. Actually, however, no specific biographical material antedating approximately 1870 was obtained. Dr. Willard Park, on the other hand, has gained the impression in the course of recent ethnographic field work among the Paviotso that the doctrine of the return of the dead in large numbers was new with the 1870 and the 1890 prophets. He believes that the old element in the area was the resurrection of particular individuals by certain rare and outstanding

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shamans who had the power to bring back the souls of the dead as they lingered on the flowery path to the spirit land. Some shamans were able actually to enter the spirit land and return the soul to its body. Jack Wilson was the last of these powerful shamans. For a full description of this point of view, as well as for the general background of Paviotso shamanism against which the Ghost Dances should be discussed, we must await the full account of Park's data.[1]

Informants made the following statements about shamans who had communicated with the dead before Jack Wilson's time.

[BIND BOB], of Smith Valley, south and west of Mason Valley, remembered a man, called Winawitu, who preached rejuvenation by dancing. He had been to the spirit land in the course of a four-hour trance and had seen spirits generally enjoying themselves. Winawitu preached amity toward the white people and pointed out the benefits which they had brought with them. He added to his powers of clairvoyance and prophecy those of curer and rain bringer. His doctrine and powers were said to be known to the Shoshoni, Bannock, Washo, and neighboring Paviotso, who attended the round dances at which he spoke. It is barely possible that Winawitu may be identified as Weneyuga (see below), or it is possible that he was simply an outstanding shaman with no truly adventist doctrine but only the power of communicating with the dead.

[HENRY WILLIAMS], of Walker Lake, said that prior to Jack Wilson (1870s?) he could barely remember a local prophet who preached a doctrine similar to Jack Wilson's. His name was Wodziwob (Gray Hair); he predicted that the dead would return in three or four years and that everyone would be badly frightened when the event occurred. Large crowds, which included Washo and eastern Mono, assembled to hear him preach.

Wodziwob had as an adherent and assistant in the Walker Lake region a man called Numataivo (Indian White Man), who was undoubtedly Jack Wilson's father, and apparently the same person as the Tavivo mentioned by Mooney, who translated his name as White Man.[2]

It seems pertinent at this point to digress momentarily from informants' statements to discuss Jack Wilson's father, to whom the origin of the 1870

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Ghost Dance has been erroneously attributed. Mooney quotes Jack Wilson as saying that his father was "no prophet or preacher, although he used to have visions and was invulnerable."[3] Mooney then goes on to say: "From concurrent testimony of Indians and white men, however, there seems to be no doubt that he [the father] did preach and prophesy and introduce a new religious dance among his people, and that the doctrine which he promulgated . . . twenty years ago [was] the foundation on which his son [Jack Wilson] has built the structure of the present messiah religion. He was visited by Indians from Oregon and Idaho, and his teachings made their influence felt among the Bannock and Shoshoni, as well as among all the scattered bands of the Paiute, to whom he continued to preach until his death a year or two later" (i.e., ca. 1870).[4] Apparently Mooney has confused Wodziwob with Tavivo (or Numataivo), who was Jack Wilson's real father. This confusion is apparent from a letter which Mooney quotes on pages 702 and 703. It was written by Mr. Campbell, an official on the Walker River Indian Reservation. In the letter the prophet at Walker Lake in 1872 is called "Waugh-zee-waugh-ber," who is to be identified as the Wodziwob of my accounts. Mooney was inclined to consider "Waugh-zee-waugh-ber" as an alternate name for Tavivo. In a subsequent passage on page 765 he admitted that they might be different persons. His position is not consistent. Recent field information definitely establishes that Wodziwob and Tavivo (Numataivo) were different persons, that Wodziwob was the true originator of the 1870 Ghost Dance, and that it was Wodziwob's death that occurred in approximately 1872, whereas Tavivo died in approximately 1912. Tavivo was a shaman, as Jack Wilson told Mooney, but he was not also a prophet in his own right.

Now that the originator of the 1870 Ghost Dance has been definitely established, we may return to statements describing his beliefs and activities, and those of his most outstanding proselytizer, Frank Spencer (Weneyuga).

> Mr. Campbell, quoted by Mooney, says that Wodziwob went into a trance, during which he learned that the "Supreme Ruler . . . was then on his way with all the spirits of the departed dead to again reside upon this earth and change it into a paradise. Life was to be eternal and no distinction was to exist between races."

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[GILBERT NATCHEZ and JACKSON OVERTON], of Pyramid Lake, recalled two predecessors of Jack Wilson. The earlier was Wodziwob. Jackson Overton, who must have been born in approximately 1873 or 1874, dated him as "before my time." Gilbert Natchez then added that his aunt, Sara Winnemucca, dated Wodziwob as her contemporary, born, like herself, in about 1844. Wodziwob went from Walker Lake to Pyramid Lake to inculcate his doctrine of the return of the dead, which he was to hasten through the exercise of his supernatural powers. After he had failed to substantiate his prophecies, the informants said that he abandoned his pretensions. Shortly thereafter another prophet, called Weneyuga, appeared, who preached the same doctrine.[5] For approximately five years he spoke at dances. During this five-year period he also attempted to convert other Paviotso bands and the Washo. "Nobody believed him much, that is why he stopped. Whenever there was a dance called in summer, or in the fall for pine nuts, he was there and preached. There wasn't anything new or special about the way Weneyuga and Wodziwob had the people paint themselves or wash themselves when they were through dancing. Indians always wash themselves when they get through dancing. Wodziwob, Weneyuga, and Jack Wilson didn't start anything new. They just learned from the old people. This whole story about the dead coming back passed along for five hundred years or more maybe. Only the Walker River, Fallon, and Mason Valley people were always talking about the dead coming back. The Winnemucca and Lovelock Indians never said anything about it."

[RAWHIDE HENRY], also of Pyramid Lake, claimed to have seen both Wodziwob and Weneyuga on the Pyramid Lake Reservation. He said that their activities were approximately contemporaneous, and that Weneyuga was indebted to Wodziwob for his doctrine. Wodziwob preached at Pyramid Lake that "Our fathers are coming, our mothers are coming, they are coming pretty soon. You had better dance. Never stop for a long time. Swim. Paint in white and black and red paint. Every morning wash and paint. Everybody be happy." "Every old man believed him. He talked pretty good, but I got tired. I said, 'I bet your fathers don't come.' The old-timers who believed him are all dead, but I am still alive."[6] The same informant went on to say that Weneyuga was a curer and rain bringer as well as a prophet. He converted the Washo and tried

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to convince the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake of his supernatural powers by performing a miracle. He sang over a patch of ground, from which he subsequently dug up potatoes which his song was supposed miraculously to have produced. He promised that whole crops of even larger potatoes might be so produced after the advent.

Precise dating of these activities is almost impossible from purely Paviotso sources. We know, however, from Mooney and Phister, that 1869 is the probable date of Wodziwob's first teachings. It will be shown later that Weneyuga converted the Washo in about 1871. Probably Paviotso activities centering around the doctrine of these two prophets at most did not survive the decade.

The matter of dating is of some importance in relation to data from the Surprise Valley Paviotso of northeastern California. Wünayiga, mentioned in Kelly's account of the Ghost Dance in that region, is the same man as the Weneyuga of the Nevada Paviotso.[7] This was definitely confirmed by a Washo, who said that the Weneyuga who converted them was called Frank Spencer in English. Furthermore, certain Nevada Paviotso knew of Weneyuga's journey to Fort Bidwell in the Surprise Valley country. There can be no doubt of the man's identity. Yet one of Kelly's informants said that Frank Spencer came to Fort Bidwell from Nixon (Pyramid Lake) in about 1900. Kelly states that the account is garbled, and she is inclined to associate Frank Spencer with the 1890 Ghost Dance. Information from the Nevada Paviotso, however, definitely indicates that Frank Spencer's activities antedated those of Jack Wilson. Of course, it is possible that Frank Spencer proselytized for both Wodziwob and his successor, Jack Wilson. On the other hand, no confirmation of this supposition was received among other groups who came under Frank Spencer's influence. For instance, among the Achomawi living in the vicinity of Likely he was known simply as a shaman who visited them in a friendly fashion during the 1890s. Later he removed to Fort McDermitt, where he died in the second decade of this century.

The same Frank Spencer (Weneyuga) also carried the adventist doctrine of Wodziwob to those Paviotso who had been allotted the eastern portion of Klamath Indian Reservation after the treaty of 1864. Originally they had lived in the vicinities of Silver, Summer, and Goose lakes. On the reserva-

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tion the Paviotso were settled with a group of Modoc. According to Kelly's data, Frank Spencer (locally known as Wenega or Tcaawenega) went first to Yainax, which is some ten miles east of the present town of Beatty on the Klamath Reservation. On his way south he converted the Surprise Valley Paviotso. Perhaps one of the most coherent Paviotso versions of this early movement was obtained from Doctor Sam, a Paviotso shaman who lives near Beatty. He brings out clearly the relation between Wodziwob and Frank Spencer, as well as revealing the consistently skeptical attitude of the Paviotso toward the doctrine. The clarity and detailed content of Doctor Sam's account can be attributed to the fact that three years ago he was host to George Thompson for one year preceding the latter's death. George Thompson was one of the four Paviotso messengers from Surprise Valley who traveled to Walker Lake to investigate the new doctrine. Shortly before his death he recounted the whole episode to the informant, whose account is given here in full:

[DOCTOR SAM] "Wodziwob was the real starter of all this. We never saw him, just heard about him. Four Paiute men from Fort Bidwell [Surprise Valley territory] went to where Wodziwob lived. He was somewhere south in Nevada around Reno [actually Walker River Indian Reservation]. They went to find out if Wenega [Frank Spencer] was telling the truth. George Thompson was one of these men. I don't know who the other three were. When they got to where Wodziwob lived, George Thompson said they had come to learn the truth of what Wenega was telling. A man spoke up and said he was Wodziwob. Wodziwob said, 'There are a lot of people telling this news but they aren't telling it right. What I said was that a train was coming from the east. My real dream was about that train, but people made it out different.'[8] They were going to dance that night. Before the dance, Wodziwob fell over and lay there a long time. When he got up he said, 'Tonight there will be a dance and four dead women will come to watch us dance.'[9] At the dance Wodziwob told the people to leave an opening to the south in the circle. The four men from Fort Bidwell watched closely. While they were dancing, four women, all dressed in white like white women, came and stood quite a while watching the people dance. Then they went off. The four men from Fort Bidwell followed these women. They saw them go in a house.

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They changed their clothes and came out in their old dresses. Those four men who were watching went back to dance too. They saw the women join in.

"It was that Wodziwob who was the real one to give the news of the dead coming. After the dance was over he went to sleep and pretended to be dead. The next afternoon he got up. A crowd gathered. He said he had died to go to meet the dead who were on their way. They were to come in four years.[10] He said he would let them know from time to time how far they had come on their way.[11] When he sat up he gave orders for the people to stay away from a certain piece of ground. He said there would be a signal there which the dead were to give. After a while there was a big explosion like Giant powder [a brand of dynamite]. A big puff of dust went up in the air. That was why he told the people to stay away. People found out that he had buried Giant powder with a fuse running to it from where he was sitting. While he was talking he must have set fire to the fuse. People would not have anything to do with him after they found out his trick. They left him alone.

"These four men from Fort Bidwell came back and told what they had found out in Nevada.

"Before those four men went down there, Wenega came up here to Beatty with four men—Jo [Tumaras], Shorty [Teʿ naʿ], Senatsi, and one other. He stayed here about one year and then went down to Fort Bidwell. He left there after a couple of years. Wenega added a little to what Wodziwob said. He was keeping up the dances. Wodziwob was just having a dance for the train coming and Wenega added more about the dead people. He said the dead were on their way from the south. They were already at Pachena [?; supposed to be an English place-name]. All who were coming had cups in their hands to drink from on their way.[12] Wenega's head man was called Zonchen. He had sent those men out to spread the word. Zonchen had seen the dead coming himself. I saw Zonchen when I was down at Reno about fifty years ago. I don't know whether he was just a chief or whether he had dreamed about these things himself.

"Wenega told the people there were to be earthquakes, that the earth was to be flooded with water, and that it was to dry up. That didn't tie in with the dead coming back. He just mentioned those things.[13] He told

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the people not to pick up anything that was lost during the dance; if they found money, just to let it lie there. [Probably a moralistic injunction against stealing.] I picked up things and nothing happened to me. Another man and I told the people no dead would come back. Wenega had a short willow cane painted with red spirals and a bunch of feathers on the end. He stuck it in the ground near the middle of the dance circle. I don't know if it had any meaning. It was just an old-fashioned round dance. [No bells, sign of cross, etc.] I never heard of anyone getting power from that dance. It did not affect anyone. People did not really believe very much in it.

"The Williamson River people [Klamath] came over here to dance at Beatty. Wenega never went over there to give a dance."

Another younger informant at Beatty gave the following data, which supplement certain aspects of Doctor Sam's account. In minor points some of the material is contradictory.

[PETE POLINA] This word started around Reno, Nevada, more than sixty years ago. News was brought here by Wenega, but he was not the person who started it. He came alone in the autumn of two successive years. He gave a dance at Spring Creek near Beatty. He told the people to dance all night and in the morning to take a cold bath. That would cause their dead ones to come; it would give them better luck. They danced five nights using the round dance (*negaba*). Both sexes and even children danced, fingers interlocked; circled toward left with stamping side step. Fire in center; no center pole; no bells. Dancers might fall over in faint; revived by fanning with sagebrush twig. Was not a trance so far as informant knew; fainted simply from dancing too hard. Knew of no threat against skeptics; no antiwhite doctrine. Dance given only by Paviotso, but was attended by some neighboring Modoc.[14]

From the foregoing we may make the following summary concerning the historical figures in the 1870 Ghost Dance among the Paviotso. Prior to Jack Wilson and the 1890 Ghost Dance there were at least two individuals who actively preached the return of the dead, namely, Wodziwob and Weneyuga (Frank Spencer). Of Winawitu and Zonchen very little could

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be learned, and their status must remain problematic. Wodziwob was the original prophet at Walker River Indian Reservation in 1869. He died some three or four years after inaugurating his doctrine. Weneyuga was his disciple and a prophet in his own right, who sponsored dances and carried the doctrine to the Paviotso of Klamath Reservation, Surprise Valley, Reno, and Pyramid Lake, as well as to the Washo. At Surprise Valley and on the Klamath Reservation, at least, he was avowedly a mere messenger, probably self-appointed, for Wodziwob. Weneyuga died at Fort McDermitt in the second decade of this century. In later life he was known primarily as a curer of ability. Lastly, Jack Wilson's father, Tavivo or Numataivo, was a shaman and follower of Wodziwob, but he does not seem to have been a proselytizer. Informants in the region of Carson Valley and Walker Lake did not know either by name or reputation the Paviotso called Moman, whom Gayton reports to have been the instructor of the Western Mono proselytizer, Joijoi.[15]

Wodziwob, Weneyuga, and Jack Wilson were individuals whose unusual supernatural powers permitted them to communicate with the dead residing in the spirit land to the south. They preached the return of the dead after they had visited the spirit land in a trance of several hours, which was considered a temporary death. They predicted the return of the dead in the specific terms of "seeing your dead father, your dead mother," and so on. Undoubtedly, the specificity of terminology played upon the sense of bereavement among certain members of the audience and heightened the emotional tension. Often specific messages were brought back from deceased persons to living relatives. It was subsequent to these experiences that Weneyuga and Jack Wilson, at least, took on other shamanistic functions, like curing and rain making, and it was in these latter powers that their true and permanent reputation resided. It is my impression that the Paviotso, among whom the Ghost Dance doctrine originated, were the very ones whose attitude was most critical and skeptical. They primarily respected its leaders, not as prophets but as curers.

In the minds of the Paviotso there seems to have been no very specific and unique ceremonial accompaniments of the Ghost Dance doctrine. The prophet announced his vision at gatherings which might have been called for a pine-nut dance or a communal rabbit hunt. However, he might also call a gathering in his own right if he had sufficient prestige. The Pavi-

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otso round dance (*negaba*), employed upon all occasions, was used at such times. It is held outdoors, often in a brush enclosure. In it men and women join hands without formal sex alternation, and circle to the left with a shuffling side step. Songs, however, were generally new and were said to have been learned in the spirit land while the shaman was in a trance. Park reports that a center pole was used in the round dances, but that it was without significance except as a point of orientation for the large circles which were formed. Many informants denied entirely the presence of a center staff or pole. Bathing in the morning after a dance was not unique to occasions when adventism was preached. At these times face painting seems to have been merely of the usual types. Rain making was a shamanistic power not necessarily associated with a prophetic doctrine. It might be used by a prophet of adventism simply as one of a series of supernatural manifestations by which he proved his power.

On the whole, the impression was gotten that the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dances were not radical departures from Paviotso shamanistic concepts. Although no individual prophets were reported who antedated Wodziwob, still there is the definite statement by one informant that the pattern was old. Further confirmation comes from Mooney's statement on the Shoshoni "that the Ghost Dance itself as performed by them was a revival of an old dance they had had fully fifty years before" (i.e., ca. 1840s).[16] In strict accuracy, I feel that it is misleading to speak of Paviotso Ghost Dances with the connotation attached to them due to the Californian (1870) and Plains (1890) manifestations. The behavior patterns that became attached to these cults, outside of western Nevada, were not necessary correlates of an adventist doctrine among the Paviotso. Foreign tribes, in accepting the prophecies, not only placed them in a new context but also attached to them Paviotso traits that were merely in solution among the originators. In the process of doctrinal borrowing they made these common Paviotso traits necessary concomitants of the cult. In fact, they may almost be said to have created the cult as a dynamic and specific movement.

Washo

The Washo manifestations of the 1870 Ghost Dance may be considered an integral part of Paviotso activities. The Washo are by their own admission a small and unenterprising group, which has been under the somewhat

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arrogant domination of the Paviotso for as long as any living informant can remember. They said that Paviotso shamans had long been coming to them to cure, to demonstrate their supernatural powers, and to communicate with the spirit land. Apparently, among the Washo as well as among the Paviotso it was a common pattern for shamans to speak with the dead. In the words of one informant, Minnie Jo: "There were Washo doctors who spoke with the dead before the Paiute miracle men. They still do. Doctors who told about the dead coming back were believed because doctors were always talking with the dead."

The first prophet whom the Washo recall was the same Weneyuga mentioned in the preceding section. He is also known among them as Frank Spencer and Doctor Frank. He converted the Washo in approximately 1871 to 1872. This date was established by the statement that he came after the state capitol building in Carson City was completed (1871) and before the surrounding fence was erected. It is not absolutely certain whether Weneyuga first visited the Washo at Carson City or at Reno, but it seems probable that he went from Carson City to Reno after he had obtained the doctrine from Wodziwob at Walker Lake. Park reports that he gave dances also at Black Springs, about eight miles north of Reno, some two years after he first introduced the doctrine at Reno. At approximately the same time he gave another dance at Winnemucca Valley, just east of Reno. The Reno, Black Springs, and Winnemucca Valley affairs were attended chiefly by Washo, although there was undoubtedly a liberal sprinkling of Paviotso present. The later gatherings at Black Springs and Winnemucca Valley must have occurred in approximately 1874 to 1875, and after Weneyuga's return from Klamath Reservation and Surprise Valley. The Washo all admitted having supported Weneyuga's doctrine wholeheartedly for a year or two, but they emphatically denied having developed prophets of their own or being instrumental in disseminating the doctrine to any Californian tribe. It may be confidently stated that the Washo are debarred as transmitters of the cult to the west. Weneyuga alone was the active instrument in the diffusion of the cult east of the Sierras, and his efforts were directed chiefly to the northwest.

The doctrine brought to the Washo entailed the return of dead relatives from the south. Weneyuga claimed that he had talked with them. Believers were to see the dead as they drew near by raising their hands,

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palms turned outward, and gazing through their spread fingers. Among the Washo, Weneyuga predicted that the white people would disappear from the country when the Indian dead arrived. Either he advocated that all half-breed children should be killed, or else he predicted that they too would die at the time of the advent. The Washo were promised great increase in wealth at this time. The prophet emphasized that all must believe his message and follow his instructions if they expected to see their dead relatives. Skeptics were threatened the same fate as the white people and half-breeds. I could not discover that the threat of being turned to rock was used against skeptics, although this was prevalent in northern California.

Weneyuga laid claim to miraculous powers in order to substantiate his power as a prophet. Among them was the ability to dip his hands in streams and roil the water, so that it would be poisonous to white people. However, he said it was a power he had never exercised. He is reputed to have made red pigment form on certain stones of the state capitol building in Carson City, which he then used for painting his converts. Also, he procured military buttons and insignia from troops in the vicinity of Carson City and through legerdemain made them appear as he passed his hands over the ground at the Indian encampment. Weneyuga also carried a willow staff about four feet long, painted with four alternating bands of red and white, beginning with red at the bottom. At the top an eagle feather was fastened. This seems to describe the shamanistic staffs of the Paviotso.[17] When he slept, he thrust the staff in the ground above the crown of his head. "He didn't tell what that stick was for, but he believed in it." His staff is reminiscent of that stuck in the ground above a patient's head in the ordinary curing séances of Paviotso shamans, but which was foreign to Washo usages. Another informant said that Weneyuga dug up gold watches and silver chains from the ground around his staff. This device is reminiscent of his potato-growing miracle performed at Pyramid Lake.

The dance employed was the round dance (*sheshishi*), which the Washo considered an ancient Paviotso introduction. It seems to be identical with the Paviotso round dance. As with their neighbors, the Washo considered this "the only real dance" they have, and it is employed on all occasions.

In connection with face and body painting, Weneyuga seems to have been responsible for certain innovations among the Washo, or at least he

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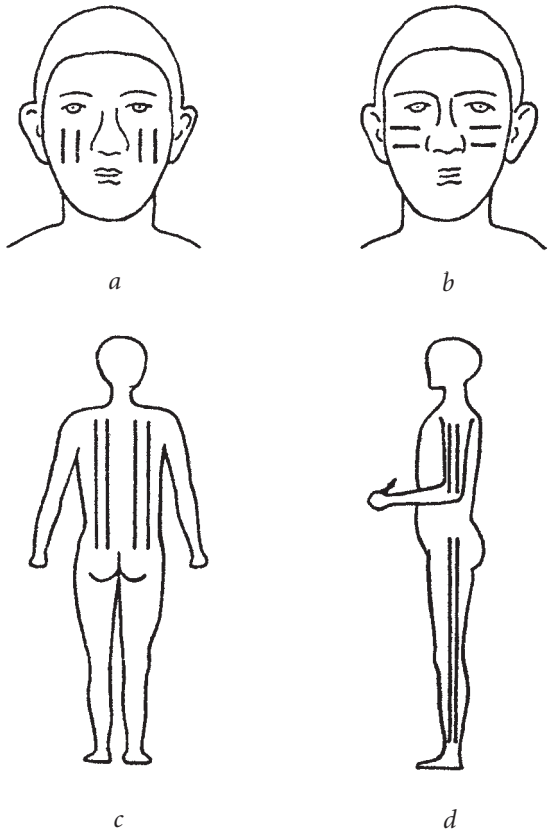

FIG. 1. Ghost Dance painting among Washo, introduced by Frank Spencer. a, men's face painting, white; b, women's face painting, red; c and d, men's body painting, white.

seems to have standardized the painting of the participants. White paint was used for men and red for women. Weneyuga himself painted all the participants at Reno. He held a lump of pigment in the left hand and applied the paint with the other. If lines down the body were not drawn perfectly straight the dancer would develop a twisted limb. Figure 1 indicates the method of painting. Lines were drawn in sets of four "because the dance lasted four nights."[18] Each dancer also had a lump of pigment pressed on the crown of his head. This tendency to formalize face painting among the Washo appears to be unique. The detailed description was

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given by only one informant and is open to substantiation. On the other hand, it may represent the Paviotso custom of painting according to the instructions of a shaman during a curing séance.[19]

A Washo informant, who was present at the time, gave an account of the Reno dance held during the same year as the one in Carson City. His statement, abbreviated and paraphrased, follows:

[DICK BENDER] There were about a hundred there. They all washed in the morning and in the evening. In the evening Weneyuga painted everybody. Then they danced. Weneyuga asked for two girls with whom to dance. They formed a large circle with sexes alternating [not a necessary arrangement]. Fingers were interlocked with those of neighbors. Women danced with babies on their backs. The dance ground was a cleared space enclosed by a circle of encampments. There were fires all around the outside of the dance ground where people had camped. There was no center fire or pole. Weneyuga told them to stop dancing. He stood looking at a small bare hill to the south, from where the dead were coming. He said, "Now, everyone stop. I am going to talk to the Indians who are coming back." Facing south, he talked in Paiute to the dead who were coming back and a young fellow, who was half Paiute and half Washo, interpreted. Then they danced a few steps more and talked some more. They danced four nights. Weneyuga drew a line on the ground. Everybody came to him. He stood singing. When children or young people came, he lifted them over the line. When heavy grown people came, they stepped over it themselves. All people who crossed the line would see their dead relatives. Those who did not cross the line would not see them.

Park kindly placed at my disposal another account of the Reno dance obtained from a Paviotso informant. It follows in condensed form.

[DICK DOWINGTON] Weneyuga promised to make the dead come back. There were many Washo there (Reno). It lasted five nights. Every morning all bathed in the Truckee River. Two horizontal bars were painted in white clay on each cheek of every participant. They danced the regular circle dance, but no "fun" dances were used. It was serious. There was a pole to one side of the dance ground. Sagebrush was piled around it.

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At night, when the dancing was going on, children who were playing in the vicinity fell down unconscious. Weneyuga carried them to the pole and sprinkled them with water from the tip of a green sagebrush twig to restore them to consciousness. Adults did not have trances, but there was so much power immanent in the affair that children who were not so strong as adults were overcome by it. Weneyuga, however, did have trances. He instructed participants to place him in the center of the circle and dance around him while he was unconscious. When he revived he told them about the dead. After the dance started, Weneyuga rubbed his body with phosphorus (?) from "old Chinese matches" to make his body shine in the dark. The song which he dreamed and sang on this occasion was: *numa na kati gu ait*^{u} *wunu' ga puni*^{u}, "Indian father sitting place sound of the wind." A few years after this dance at Reno, Weneyuga became a curer.

Weneyuga had come to the Carson Valley Washo unaccompanied. When his prophecies failed to materialize, the local Washo shamans met in conclave and denounced him as an impostor. Discouraged, Weneyuga started northward with a Washo convert called Waduksoyo. He promised to return, and when he did they were to greet him with the words, "Oh father, we are glad to see you." Actually, Weneyuga never came back, but when his Washo disciple returned he was greeted in the prescribed fashion by those who still believed. Despite this reception, Waduksoyo made no attempt to continue the cult or to assume the role of prophet. The whole furor lasted only one summer in the vicinity of Carson Valley. Near Reno it seems to have lasted approximately five years. It left in its wake a few persons who continued to believe in a deferred advent but who maintained no active cult practices. Today the Washo, on the whole, are inclined to censure Weneyuga for his attempt to dupe them. In recent years Washo attended Jack Wilson's meetings out of curiosity and gregariousness, but very few believed his prophecies.

Klamath Reservation

Spier has described the Ghost Dance among the Klamath Indians on Klamath Reservation.[20] The reservation, however, is occupied by three tribes, the Paviotso discussed in the first section and the closely related Modoc

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and Klamath groups. It has been ascertained that the Klamath Reservation Paviotso in the vicinity of Beatty received the Ghost Dance doctrine from Frank Spencer. The Paviotso dance was attended by a number of Modoc who were also living in the neighborhood of Beatty, and by a sprinkling of Klamath. These individuals carried the doctrine to other groups of their tribesmen who had not attended the Beatty affair. Spier gives the date of introduction as 1871, or possibly 1870. He is inclined to favor the earlier date in order to allow time for the diffusion of the cult to the Karok, who are known to have received it in 1871. From what we have learned of Frank Spencer's movements and the rapidity with which the Ghost Dance spread, it becomes fairly certain that 1871 is the probable date. As the message radiated outward from Beatty, centers of dancing developed among the Klamath, most important of which was the one on Williamson River. Simultaneously, the band of Modoc who were to be involved the following year in the Modoc War received the doctrine from a fellow tribesman, called Doctor George (Xelespiames), who had participated in the Paviotso dance at Beatty. These Modoc, under the leadership of the famous Captain Jack, danced at the mouth of Lost River where it empties into Tule Lake. From the Tule Lake band word was carried to the Shasta. Map 1 (facing p. 1) indicates the diffusion.

MODOC

The details of the Beatty dance, which was the first contact of the Modoc with the Ghost Dance doctrine, were related by an informant of that tribe who has always lived on the eastern portion of the Klamath Reservation. This is the same dance described by Doctor Sam and Pete Polina in the section on the Paviotso. It will be recalled that Frank Spencer is known on Klamath Reservation as Wenega.

[HARRISON BROWN] "Wenega was a Paiute who gave a dance near Beatty. Everyone came and camped by the creek about one mile east of the Beatty stores. There were a lot of willows growing there at that time. Wenega told everyone to get in the water and swim before they listened to his preaching. He told that all the dead were coming back, even the wild animals, like bear, deer, wolf [etc.]. Everyone who was dead was marching back in rows. All were to rise. He told them if they didn't

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bathe, if they didn't believe, they would turn to stone. [The Paviotso and Washo reported no such threat.] People threw even little children into the water. They thought he was wonderful. He never said he dreamed these things himself. He was just carrying the message. He told people to dance five nights. They used the circle dance. He brought songs with him. Wenega lay in the middle of the circle. It was his bed, and he asked for bearskins to sleep on. When they were through dancing at Beatty, the Klamaths on Williamson River started dancing. Their dance lasted five nights too.

"After Wenega had been among them, four men from the reservation went to see Wenega in his country down in Nevada. They wanted to see if his word was true.[21] These four men were Mose Brown [Mosenkaske], the informant's father and a Modoc, Long John and Whiskey John, two Klamaths, and Tcaktut, a Paviotso chief from Beatty. They were gone about one month. I don't know exactly where they went in Nevada. They were sent farther and farther south, until finally they got discouraged. Some of Wenega's own people didn't seem to know about his preachings. So they came home. From then on people up here gave up the dance."

Besides Modoc participation in Paviotso dances near Beatty, the Tule Lake band held its own ceremony. An account of the Tule Lake affair was given by the son of old Schonchin, who was hanged after the Modoc War. The informant was a grown man at the time that the Ghost Dance was introduced to Captain Jack's band on Tule Lake.

[PETER SCHONCHIN] "Two Paiutes, called Tcaabuwenega [Weneyuga] and Guja [in reality a Paviotso shaman on Klamath Reservation], came up to Klamath Reservation and gave the people this message. They said all were to believe that the dead were coming back. Doctor George [Modoc] brought the word to Tule Lake at the mouth of Lost River where Captain Jack's people were. He came in the winter before the grass began to grow. He said the dead would come from the east when the grass was about eight inches high [i.e., probably in the spring of 1871]. The deer and the animals were all coming back, too. George said the white people would die out and only Indians would be on earth. The culture

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hero [Kemukumps] was to come back with the dead. The whites were to burn up and disappear without even leaving ashes.[22] The rules of the dance Doctor George brought were that you must dance or you would turn to rock. They danced in a circle with a fire in the middle and camps around the outside. There were no bells, sign of the cross, or center pole [in answer to questions]. They danced all night, and in the morning they jumped in the river and swam. Some of the men would come out with ice on their hair, it was so cold. Some Indians fell down dead and began singing and telling what the coming-back people wanted them to do. Every time Doctor George lay down he would go to meet them, so after a while they called those people dreamers [*tutexas*]. They told the people, 'Whenever you dream, paint your face red and white, do what your dream tells you. If you don't obey your dream, you will turn to rock.'

"Doctor George stretched a rope of twisted tule all around the dance ground. He said that anyone who came to bother him would turn to stone if he crossed that rope. The superintendent of the agency came to arrest him and he never turned to rock when he crossed the rope.[23] The superintendent arrested Doctor George because he made all the people crazy. They just camped around and listened to him instead of working. After Doctor George was arrested the people stopped dancing and never started up again. It lasted maybe two years just before the Modoc War [i.e., summer of 1871 and 1872? Modoc War began in November 1872].

"Doctor George never fooled me or my wife. My wife was a young girl then and was living with her aunt, who was married to a white man. Her father and mother came to take her to the dance, but her aunt wouldn't let her go."

Peter Schonchin's account was substantiated on the whole by another informant, who was also a member of Captain Jack's band. This second informant is a younger person whose memory is less reliable; nevertheless her additional and contradictory material follows in abbreviated form.

[JENNIE CLINTON] In circle dance no fixed alternation of sexes. Dancers held hands, circled to left. Pole and fire in center. Pole always used

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in Modoc round dance as point of orientation. Seems to have had no other significance. Aspersion with sagebrush twig. Red and black stripes painted on cheeks. White paint used in war dance. No set date for return of dead. No antiwhite doctrine. "There were hardly any whites around then." No hostility toward half-breeds. "There weren't any." "At the dance everyone dreamed of the dead and they gave the people songs. Whenever they got together in private houses they sang these songs, but never danced with them.

This same informant, Jennie Clifton, gave an account of the opposition that grew up toward the new doctrine among shamans. She was much more interested in this aspect than in the dance proper.

"All the doctors said this was the wrong way to worship. They said it was bad for the dead to come back. They told the people there was no such thing. One man who was part Modoc and part Klamath came and told them it wasn't true. His name was John Smilie [Psimdadamnui, i.e., night traveler; also Sasaktes]. He was not a doctor, but he went all around the reservation talking to the Indians. He had traveled all around the United States four or five times in a boat. He said this country was a big island and there was another one far to the south. He said the dead were not coming back. He interpreted the message as meaning that the whites were coming from the east.[24] He told all about the whites, their churches and houses; how they were coming, like beavers mowing down the timber, like badgers and moles in turning up the earth for their mining, like grasshoppers in cutting down the grass. He said the whites were all around us and we were a little island of Indians, but the whites would come and we should see the truth of what he said. It was the whites and not the dead who were coming from the east. He didn't know how to describe the whites. He said they had eyes like panthers, necks like cranes, and were white like pelicans. He traveled to all the Modoc and Klamath and helped to put an end to that idea [i.e., return of dead]. He died about 1905."

A contemporary and local newspaper article gives several relevant items of interest: (1) prophecies concerning the elimination of the white people

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were current; (2) a similar belief was held on Siletz Reservation; and (3) Modoc chiefs visited adjacent tribes during the summer of 1872.

> During the last summer, the Modocs acted strangely, and it is firmly believed by many who watched them closely that they have meditated a fight against the authorities interfering with their freedom of the country, including the settlers also. They pretended they had prophecies that the "whites" would be all killed off, just as the Indians of Siletz Reservation believed or professed to believe, while the real fact is that they wanted an opportunity for a general uprising. The fact of the Modoc chiefs visiting other tribes last summer to gain their co-operation leads conclusively to the opinion that they are always treacherously plotting against the whites, and especially those living in exposed settlements.[25]

A. B. Meacham is credited with attributing the Modoc War to the 1870 Ghost Dance.[26] Actually, no indication was procured from any informant on the Klamath Reservation that the Ghost Dance was a direct incentive to the outbreak, although it was known that Captain Jack and his warriors all had been adherents of the new cult. Also, I could obtain no direct evidence that the Ghost Dance was practiced by Captain Jack's band while it was besieged on the lava beds. There are only two hints that the situation may have been otherwise. One is that both Doctor George at Tule Lake and Curly Haired Doctor on the lava beds during the Modoc War believed in the supernatural efficacy of a tule rope in debarring hostile intruders. The other is that after his surrender "Capt. Jack said he was incited to his cruel warfare by Alan David, chief of the Klamaths."[27] Alan David, however, was not only chief of the Klamath but also the "head dreamer" in the Williamson River district on Klamath Reservation.[28] As one informant expressed it, "Alan David told the Indians to dream, to believe in God. Dreaming was God's gift to the Indians. He was the leader of the big dance at Williamson River (Goyemskregis)." It must be remembered also that the antiwhite doctrines of the Ghost Dance promised extermination of the white people by supernatural force, which did not entail active belligerence on the part of the Indians. In all probability the Ghost Dance was not a direct incentive to the Modoc War, but the belief that the white people

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would soon be wiped out lent the rebellious Modoc the foolhardy bravery of their campaign.

KLAMATH

The participation of the Klamath tribe in the earlier Ghost Dance has been covered in detail by Spier in his "The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon." No attempt will be made to summarize his data. However, certain comments may be made on the basis of Spier's material and that collected subsequently by the writer.

As Spier has pointed out, there were definitely two waves of the Ghost Dance religion. The earlier came to the Klamath via Frank Spencer (Weneyuga) and the Klamath Reservation Paviotso; the other was brought by an Achomawi slave called Pit River Charlie. According to a Klamath informant, Anton Merritt, some ten or twelve men accompanied Pit River Charlie to Achomawi territory to learn the new version. In the group were Long John, Stubbs, and Tuba Kelly, who was one of the group that unwillingly instructed the Oregon City Indians in the Ghost Dance ceremonial. The second phase, according to Spier, bore new styles in dancing, face painting, and singing, as well as the round house of central Californian type. It represents the central Californian Earth Lodge cult, which will be described at length in part 3. It is of some interest that the Klamath recognize their debt to Pit River Charlie, whereas at least two Modoc informants indignantly rejected the idea that they owed anything to the despised Achomawi. Yet their information clearly indicated that the Modoc also participated in the second version of the Ghost Dance (i.e., Earth Lodge cult).

In Spier's data the first wave of the Ghost Dance, which came to the Klamath from the Paviotso, contained at least three elements that are aberrant to practices reported elsewhere and which seem to have no foundation in aboriginal culture. These are tying a cow bell to a center pole placed in the dance circle, making the sign of the cross, and occasional "baptism" by placing water on the head of a participant. Spier also informed me that according to his field notes the Smohalla cult was introduced to the Klamath simultaneously with the Ghost Dance. It is tenable to suppose that these new elements are attributable to Smohalla influences. Unfortunately, information concerning the Smohalla ritual and its diffusion is minimal. Mooney reports the use of bells, but not in connection with a

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pole.[29] Meacham speaks of the "new religion proclaimed by 'Smoheller' . . . [which] found followers everywhere and was gaining strength by every victory won by Captain Jack" (during the Modoc War).[30] Furthermore, one of Spier's informants "identified it [Ghost Dance], at least in part, with the Smohalla cult."[31]

Unfortunately, however, my own field work does not corroborate the presence of these three puzzling elements in the Ghost Dance as performed by the Klamath, Modoc, or Klamath Reservation Paviotso—this despite specific questioning. The introduction of the Smohalla or Pom pom religion was set by various informants both before and after the Ghost Dance. However, opinion on the whole indicated that the Smohalla cult entered the Klamath Reservation in the decade 1875–1885. All informants distinguish clearly between the two cults, and I could obtain no indication that they had been amalgamated.

The whole subject of the interrelation of cult movements in Oregon awaits more intensive and extensive examination. Before such a study is undertaken, it would be rash to assert a definite relationship between the Ghost Dance and the Smohalla cults on Klamath Reservation. However, the possibility must be borne in mind.

Before leaving the subject of the Ghost Dance on Klamath Reservation, a few comments should be made concerning the aftermath of the doctrine under consideration. Spier ascribes the collapse of formal observances to the forcible intervention of the Indian agent. The failure of the Modoc War and the introduction of the Methodist Church were probably contributing factors in undermining its energy. In addition, there was the internal opposition from the shamans and John Smilie, and lastly the Smohalla cult must have served also to divert religious concentration on the Ghost Dance. "Dream songs," sung in private houses, persisted for a time, but the cult had lost its vigor. In all this, the Modoc who remained on the reservation must be considered an entity with the Klamath. Of all the tribes that received the second and more persistent Earth Lodge cult, the Klamath seem to have been least deeply affected.[32]

Shasta

The Shasta received three distinct waves of the new religion. The first was the revivalistic doctrine or true Ghost Dance transmitted to them from the east by the Modoc. The second was chiefly of the Earth Lodge cult diffused

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from the south via the McCloud Wintu. The third was the Big Head cult, a bastardized central Californian ceremony, which came to them from the southwest by way of the Western Wintu.

GHOST DANCE

The Shasta first heard of the new prophecy from the Modoc who lived in the vicinity of Tule Lake. A Shasta informant, Jake Smith, said he learned that the Modoc were expecting the return of the dead and that the "ghosts" had only one more creek to cross beyond Tule Lake before rejoining the living. He and a friend went to the Modoc dance, where they stayed four or five nights. At that time they were told that disbelievers would be turned into stones. The Modoc used a circle dance around a central fire for the event and had special songs for the cult. Jake could remember one song: *henai a watci watci mai a*. He did not know its meaning, but it was the one that the Modoc believed the dead were singing as they approached.

When Jake and his companion returned to the Shasta they made no attempt to convert their tribesmen, but shortly thereafter the Modoc themselves brought word to Bogus Creek in the northeastern portion of Shasta territory, saying that the Shasta must dance and sing to bring back the dead. This visit served to convert the Shasta, and they began dancing day and night. The Modoc missionaries returned to their homes, and the Shasta from Bogus Creek spread the news to the south and west in the vicinity of Yreka. At Yreka there seems to have been little enthusiasm for the doctrine until there appeared from the Wintu to the south some rumors of the return of the dead. It seems highly probable that the Ghost Dance reached the Yreka Shasta from the northeast in 1871 and that the Earth Lodge cult was introduced from the south in 1872.

The Shasta were responsible for transmitting the Ghost Dance doctrine down the Klamath River to the Karok. Sambo, the father of Dixon's informant, was instrumental in spreading the word downstream. The fact that his wife was a Karok from Orleans may partly explain his interest in converting the "downriver" people. More than once intertribal marriages led to proselytizing efforts. Sambo's son, Sargent Sambo, knew that the Shasta danced in Karok territory at both Happy Camp and Cottage Grove (Ukonom Creek); while on the other hand, Karok attended dances at Seiad Valley on the Klamath in Shasta territory.

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The conversion of the Karok by the Shasta also took place in 1871. As an informant said, "The downriver people [Karok] got the word the same summer the Modoc did. Word spread fast because it was a hurry-up word about the dead coming back."

The ceremonial behavior accompanying this first furor seems to have been simple and not very rigorously formalized. Belief in the return of the dead and songs are what informants feel to be characteristic and distinguishing. So large do songs bulk that informants more than once spoke of "carrying the songs" to different places. The Shasta, like the Modoc, used a circle dance given outdoors, but the Shasta did not dance around a central fire, whereas Jake Smith said that the Modoc did. The round dance (*kaprik*) had long been used among the Shasta for girls' adolescence ceremonies.[33] The previous occurrence of the round dance in northern California makes it difficult to determine whether it may be considered diagnostic of the Ghost Dance, or whether the recipients simply used one of the old and well-established dances in connection with the new doctrine. Probably the use of the round dance by the Paviotso influenced the Californian tribes in selecting their similar form as an accompaniment of the new doctrine.

EARTH LODGE CULT

The second phase of the religious ferment that reached the Shasta came from the McCloud Wintu in 1871 or 1872, but probably in 1872. An Upper Sacramento chief from Portuguese Flat near La Moine, who was called Alexander (Sunusa), sent a message and an invitation to the Shasta. Jake Smith (Shasta), who had visited the Modoc Ghost Dance, also attended the Wintu affair, which was held on the McCloud River near Baird, about seventeen miles north of Redding. Bogus Tom (Shasta) and some women were in the party that traveled southward to Wintu territory. At Baird they found that the chief figure was a man called Chico Frank (Paitla), who came from a place still farther south in the Sacramento Valley. Chico Frank wished to lead the whole group of Wintu and Shasta south to some place that Jake could not recall and at which the dead were to appear. Chico Frank made no pretenses of being a prophet but presented himself simply as a messenger. The Shasta were impressed by the number of people who had assembled at Baird for the dance, but they were irritated by being unable to obtain definite information concerning the exact time and place

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of the advent. Jake Smith gave as his reason for particular concern in the matter the recent loss of a sister-in-law (his potential wife under the levirate), for whom he grieved. This statement is of interest in demonstrating the manner in which the Ghost Dance doctrine made adherents and the strongly emotional specificity of the appeal.

Among the Wintu, the Shasta learned that the dead were on their way to the living from somewhere to the south.[34] One song used by the Wintu was remembered by Jake Smith: *homa makeo*. He did not know the meaning of the words. The music was reminiscent of Wintu dream songs; that is, near the end there were two repetitions of the line in a raised key and then a return to the original key for the last two repetitions. It is possible that this song does not belong to the period of the Shasta's first visit to the Wintu, for there appears to have followed an interchange of visits and ceremonials over a period of three or four years. During those years Norelputus (Yana-Wintu) and Paitla (Wintun) both visited Shasta territory and "brought new songs about the dead and wanted them to believe." The details of the Dream cult, which were imported by the Wintu, are included in the section on that tribe.

Shortly after the message concerning the return of the dead had been substantiated from two sources, the Shasta carried the doctrine to the north. This must have occurred in approximately 1872, or about one year after the Shasta had sent the word to the Karok. At Grand Ronde Reservation in Oregon there were some fifty-one Shasta in 1871, and there seem also to have been some on the Siletz Reservation at this time.[35] The Shasta who remained in their original territory carried the message of the advent to their tribesmen in the north under the leadership of Bogus Tom. The following account was given of this affair:

[JAKE SMITH] "Bogus Tom took the songs about the dead up to Grand Ronde Reservation. The message was to carry the song as far as the Indians reached. [Note introduction of proselytizing doctrine in California, which was absent as an explicit aim in Nevada.] The white people in Oregon said they would arrest them if they gave that dance. They arrested a singer, called Peter, from Delta [Wintu territory]. They wouldn't allow the singing because they said it would take all the men away from their work. Bogus Tom had papers from a lawyer in Jacksonville [southern

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Oregon]. When he showed them, the whites allowed him to dance. They gave it, but it was just like church. They didn't allow any drunken people in there. They stayed up there two or three weeks. He went up there to preach that the dead Indians were coming back, to carry songs and tell them what was going to happen. He took the word up to Grand Ronde about one year after word came from the Sacramento Indians [Wintu]. It was about four or five years after that that the Sacramento Indians brought the Big Head feathers. Those feathers were never taken to Grand Ronde. They just took the old-time yellowhammer headbands and hip skirts of turkey feathers up there."

The introduction of the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult to Siletz and Grand Ronde will be discussed in more detail in part 2. This is an important link because we find subsequently that the Tolowa and Yurok claim to have derived the dance from Siletz.

The religious upheaval among the Shasta lasted longer than the excitement attendant upon an expectation of an imminent advent. The Modoc Ghost Dance or first phase undoubtedly was characterized psychologically by a great feeling of expectance for the immediate return of dead relatives. After the journey into Wintu territory and the return visits of Wintu adherents, the whole question of the advent seems to have been delayed, although it was still believed that the dead would someday return. Sufficient faith and widespread adherence were needed to hasten that time. As the obverse of the necessity for faith went the threat that skeptics would be "turned into something—rocks, trees, anything," when the dead finally arrived. The first message does not seem to have called for a predetermined number of nights of dancing, but rather for continuous dancing until the advent. When the first expectations failed to materialize, dancing took place whenever possible. Obviously, a whole tribe could not dance indefinitely to the exclusion of all other activities for a long period. When the advent no longer seemed imminent, the Shasta danced as often as possible, but for no fixed number of days.

The first persons who brought the doctrine were acting simply as messengers. As time elapsed, these messengers or their converts began communicating with the dead in dreams, during which they were given songs and instructed in dance procedure. This procedure on the one hand pro-

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longed the existence of the Earth Lodge cult, and on the other hand gave it localized form. Many tribes developed their own dream prophets and ceremonials, but intertribal communication was so extensive from 1870 onward that traits were rapidly interchanged. Undoubtedly, aspects of the Bole-Maru also reached the Shasta from the Wintu in the decade 1875–1855 when Norelputus and Paitla (Chico Frank) journeyed to Shasta territory to give dances. The McCloud Wintu were ardent dreamers, had a fairly well developed local form of the Earth Lodge cult, and had been hosts to Wintun proselytizers of an attenuated Bole-Maru. Very few of the Shasta, however, dreamed songs or gave their own dances. This may be explained by the fact that they received the Bole–Big Head four or five years after the Ghost Dance and most of their post–Ghost Dance energies were diverted into this channel. The McCloud Wintu, who had a developed Earth Lodge cult, never showed much interest in the Bole–Big Head, whereas the Trinity Wintu, who were merely cognizant of the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult without being participators in them, were wholehearted adherents of the short-lived Bole–Big Head episode and it was they who transmitted this dance to the Shasta, among whom the cult terminated (see p. 286).

Concerning the development of the Earth Lodge cult among the Shasta, it must be borne in mind that they received it from Wintu sources and that they developed their own interpretations under the leadership of at least two Shasta dreamers. General statements and biographical data concerning these two men, Sambo and Jake Smith, are given herewith. The material is far from full. This is probably due to two interacting causes—a depleted group and a meager, though not unoriginal, development of the cult.

Sambo

[SARGENT SAMBO (son of the dreamer).] "They were dancing for the dead. It was so strong it started the people dreaming on their own and they got songs and dances of their own. In these Dream dances [*kihai*, dream; *kostambik*, dance] there must be no loud talking, no talking while the dance is going on, no leaving the house during the dance. My father dreamed. Before that he had believed in the old way of getting up every morning and preaching to the sun. When dreaming came in, he

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dreamed of dead people. Souls come to you, usually a relative who has died. They give you a song, tell you what to do with sick people, how to stay well, how to be happy. When someone is sick, you can doctor him. You take a bunch of fir tips and eagle wing feathers. You make them into a wand. When you dance and sing, you wave this all around and over the person and it draws the sickness away. You don't drink ordinary water during the doctoring and singing, only water that has wild celery root [*iknish*] in it. When a person has a fever you can pound celery root with a little water and put it on the forehead or chest or any part of the body. That is the way to doctor by dreaming. It can be done at any time. Dream doctors are called *kihai kwani aswehi*; old-time sucking doctors are *kwihindahi* or *idiwo*. There aren't any Indian doctors left among the Shasta."

Jake Smith

[EMMA SNELLING] "People dreamed songs and danced by them. Jake Smith and his wife believed in this. Jake doctored by rubbing you all over with his hands and singing and sprinkling you with water from his mouth. Susan Jake, his wife, never believed in the Big Head on account of this."

[Autobiographical][36] "Jake is the only dreamer left now, but there used to be many, men and women. Spirits of the dead came into their dreams. They all got together in a dance house. Whoever got a dream told the head man and he called a meeting. The one who dreamed sang his song and the others joined in. Then the others who had dreamed before sang their songs. They kept it up two or three nights, maybe a week. They all brought food and feasted.

"Jake dreamed one must not be buried among the whites and not to feel badly when a person dies, but to sing. In the early days when parents lost a child, they cried. Now the dead come and talk to them, tell them what to do. He dreamed that the world was to end five years after two years ago [i.e., in 1931 he dreamed the world was to end in 1936]. Jake dreamed many songs. One is *taka taka um aka*, 'friend friend up above.' He built a dance house on Moffett Creek [near Fort Jones, Scott Valley]. It was round with one center post and bigger than old-time houses. Many Sacramento Indians [Wintu] came there to dance. They used to

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dream, too. He called in people to help him sing. He danced every time he dreamed. He kept it up as long as he had his eyesight. That was for about five years after he first dreamed. Sometimes sick people would come, and that made them feel good. First Jake made waving motions with feathers over every person there to drive away the badness in them. Then he sprinkled water on them. They danced by jumping in one place and coming down on their heels. Everyone danced in place that way. Sometimes they moved around the fire. People painted their faces with red paint."

[SARGENT SAMBO] "Jake was the only dream doctor who built a dance house for his dream dancing. The others would just get together in somebody's house. All who came usually had their own songs and dances but they helped you sing. When you have a dream it comes in your sleep. When you sing your song, you say who gave it to you and what you were told by the dead person in your dream."

The data on the Earth Lodge cult are of interest because they indicate that it was developed partly in terms of curing and shamanistic procedure, which was undoubtedly the most important channel for supernaturalism in the region. Yet it developed devices unique to itself, so that the older sucking doctors could be distinguished from the newer dreamers, who cured by waving wands and aspersion. The new curers drew their power from the dreamers of ghost relatives and the songs that they gave them. There is no mention in dream curing of familiar spirits (*axè'ki*) and of pains or disease objects. Dixon in describing shamanism mentions dreams of the ghosts of close relatives as one source of shamanistic inspiration.[37] I am inclined to consider this a post–Ghost Dance development and therefore more recent than the bulk of his material on shamanism.

Karok

There are four printed accounts dealing with the Ghost Dance among the Karok, which date from 1872 to 1906. These, with recent field data, give one of the most complete pictures available of the Ghost Dance in northernmost California.

Powers, who was among the Karok at the time of the introduction of the Ghost Dance, definitely dates the event in 1871. Although he is in error

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when he implies that the cult was autochthonous and the direct result of the execution by the white people of one Klamath Jim, his account is well worth quoting for the light it throws on the doctrine of the Ghost Dance.

> The Karok had quietly acquiesced in the execution [of Klamath Jim for murder], but they were not well pleased, and now though they dared not make open insurrection against the "whites," their astute prophets and soothsayers concocted a story which was intended to encourage their countrymen ultimately to revolt. They pretended they had a revelation, and that all the Karok who had died since the beginning of time had experienced a resurrection, and were returning from the land of shadows to wreak a grim vengeance on the whites and sweep them utterly off the earth. They were somewhere far toward the rising sun and were advancing in uncounted armies, and Kareya[38] himself was at their head leading them on, and with his hands parting the mountains to right and left, opening level roads for the slow-coming myriads. The prophets pretended to have been out and seen this great company that no man could number, and they reported to their willing dupes that they were pygmies in stature, but like the Indians of today in every other regard. Klamath Jim was with them—the soul and inspiration of this majestic movement of vengeance, counsellor to Kareya himself. . . .
>
> Of course nothing came of the matter, for the Indians had once tasted the quality of George Crook's cold lead and they were willing to let these dead-walkers try their hands on the whites first. No doubt they very earnestly hoped the dead would return and assist them in sweeping the Americans off the earth, and they did all that lay in human power to bring them back. They danced for months, sometimes a half day at a time continuously; and when I passed that way again in 1872, about nine months afterward, they were dancing still. The old Indians had profound faith in the prediction, saying that every man who faithfully danced would liberate some near relative's soul from the bonds of death and restore him to earth; but the young Indians who spoke English were heretical and were a great eyesore to their elders. Pachita, a Karok chief at Scott's Bar, told me that in this dance red paint was used for the first time in their history as a symbol of war.

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> Two poles were planted in the ground spirally painted with red and black streaks, and streamers . . . fastened atop; then with their bodies painted in like manner and feathers on their heads, they danced around them in a circle. The excitement raged all over northern California, especially among the Yurok, Karok, and Shasta, until the Modok War broke out in November 1872, when it gradually subsided.[39]

The particularly bellicose tone of the doctrine, as reported by Powers, is either not known or is concealed by informants today. It seems very possible that the strongly antiwhite cast of the Karok doctrine was a by-product of the execution of Klamath Jim and "George Crook's cold lead," although they were not directly responsible for adventist beliefs as Powers implies. The same writer, in an article published five years before the one just quoted, gives additional information which indicates that the Karok soon modified their belligerence and brought their version of the Ghost Dance doctrine into terms more nearly in conformity with the rest of northern California.

> After six months had elapsed and the dead had not returned the people turned angrily upon the prophets, who then said that "Kareya had changed his mind and interceded for" the "whites" who had taught the Indians so much. Klamath Jim who had been executed still wished revenge, so Kareya slew him (in his resurrected form?) and then called him back once more from the land of the dead. This time Klamath Jim changed to "loving kindness," and he and Kareya persuaded the dead to return quietly to their graves.[40]

Further light is thrown by Chambers on doctrinal variations, the duration, and the attitude of the white people.

> During the Modoc War [1872–1873] many Indians from the rancherias along the Klamath River were gathered at Happy Camp [northern Karok] in Siskiyou County dancing nightly. When questioned by the white inhabitants, who had become alarmed, the Indians stated that a medicine man had predicted that, if the people would gather and dance, a new river would open up, carry away the whites, and

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bring back alive all dead Indians, each with a pair of white blankets.[41] . . . The Indians averred that the bringing to life of the dead and the destruction of the whites would be accomplished only by their dancing, and not by violence.[42]

The Karok seem to have colored the Ghost Dance doctrine with events in their own immediate local history, and, like the Klamath, they inserted their own mythological being, Kareya, into the message they received. It is possible that prophets in tribes other than the Klamath and Karok reworked the doctrine in terms of native mythologic figures, but if so, confirming data are lacking. We do know that the Karok learned the Ghost Dance from the Shasta, among whom a local culture hero was not reported to have been associated with the doctrine.

It has been stated in the section on the Shasta that the Karok were converted by a man, called Sambo, who carried the word down the Klamath River and attended dances given at Happy Camp and Cottage Grove in Karok territory. Kroeber reports that the lower Karok were converted by a woman who spread the word from Happy Camp to Katimin and Amaikyara, both of which are located near the mouth of Salmon River.[43] The Yurok attended the lower Karok dances, but not until they had already received the doctrine in a manner to be described subsequently. The Yurok brought with them valuable regalia, which the Karok believed would disappear with the return of the dead.

The upper Karok observances are given by an informant from Happy Camp, who was a young man at the time.

[HENRY JOSEPH.] "Sambo brought word from upriver to Happy Camp that the dead were coming back. People gathered from Hamburg [Shasta] to Somes Bar [Karok] for Sambo's dance. He came four different times, starting in the spring sometime in May [1871]. Each time he added something new to the message. First he said dead relatives were coming back and we must dance. All the old people believed and painted and danced. The second time Sambo said they had to paint and dress a certain way; that there must be no fighting, no 'growling'; that married women could dance with anyone. Up the river among the Shasta the word was that you could love anybody, that a man and wife didn't have to stay together. Old

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women could have young men. You couldn't refuse sexual advances. But when Sambo brought this word to the Karok, they didn't like it much.[44] The third time Sambo came, he said we could not eat any white man's food except beef. We had to eat only Indian food. A lot of people went hungry on account of that. They danced all the time and couldn't hunt so they were starving. The fourth time Sambo came he said we had to sing the songs he brought us often and long. These trips were every six or seven days. After that month Sambo stopped coming, but he said if you didn't believe you would turn into a butterfly or something. Sambo said the dead were coming back on the Fourth of July. When the dead didn't come the old people kept on singing and dancing anyhow. It lasted about all winter. But by the next year a lot of people didn't dream anymore and people began making fun of them, saying, 'Your mama is coming back, your papa is coming back.' The old folks just went crazy and began dreaming things and kept on singing. I guess some do that still.

"They danced the round dance [*ihuk*]. It was old with the Karok. God had given it to them to dance for adolescent girls.[45] You mustn't look around but keep your eyes on the ground while you were dancing. They said the dead people were dancing and singing that way. They danced out of doors, there was no fence or anything around the dancing place. Sambo had two watchmen, Tyee Jim [Shasta] from Scott Valley and Hamburg John [Shasta]. One watched the boys and one the girls. They gave them tobacco or water or took them out when they had to leave. First they danced their own old-time songs and dances and then they finished up with the three songs Sambo brought."

They were (1) *heno, heno, heno*; repeated indefinitely. Syllables had no meaning for Karok. During song, men, women, and children formed straight line which moved from right to left and back again with side step. (2) *no wino, no wino, no wino*. "No real dance went with this." People stood in place with hands cupped over mouths. Sang song with heads thrown back and eyes closed. As song was repeated, swayed forward from waist until bent double; as song drew to a close, gradually resumed upright posture. (3) *hilo, hilo hi*. Used in same fashion as (2).

When Sambo came, he painted himself in specific manner and instructed all to paint themselves similarly. Henry Joseph remembered face painting used by Sambo last time he visited Karok (see fig. 2c). Men

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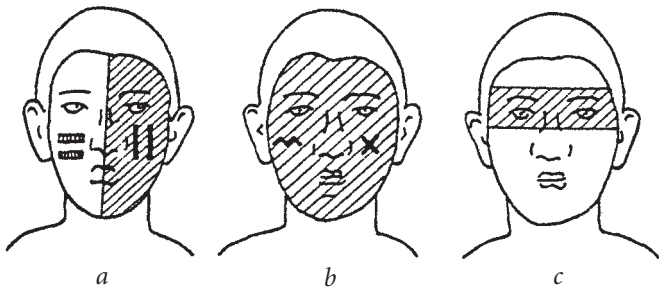

FIG. 2. Ghost Dance painting among Karok, introduced by Sambo. Unshaded, white; shaded, red; solid, black. a, men; b, women, black designs unformalized; c, Sambo's face painting the last time he visited Karok.

wore sleeveless undershirts and wildcatskin aprons for dance; painted arms and legs with vertical red stripes. Women wore ordinary European clothing; painted arms with vertical red stripes. Men and women went off in separate groups to paint themselves. No mixed bathing; no doctrine concerning washing, so far as informant could recall.

The dance given by the Karok at Cottage Grove was briefly described by an informant who had the account on hearsay from his mother. However, there are certain items that help to amplify the general picture, and also there is valuable material indicating the attitudes of some individuals toward the doctrine.

[IRA STEVENS] "They had two poles at Cottage Grove. One was about twenty feet long, the other about thirty feet. They had red and white stripes around the poles and feathers on top. They were in the center of the dance circle close to the fire. They danced a circle dance around the fire and poles.[46] The Karok had an old-time circle dance for adolescent girls. Old people sat around and pounded on boards with sticks to keep time. People were told not to look at the dance. If you looked you had to confess it. They had a dish of water with ashes in it. If you broke any of the rules, they put these ashes and water on your head. They said that when the dead came all the half-breeds would turn into rocks. [This

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element must have been a strong deterrent to the acceptance of the doctrine in an area like the Klamath drainage, where the influx of miners had led to a relatively large amount of miscegenation.]

"This word came from the Indians of Modoc County and spread down the Klamath River. But the downriver Indians [Yurok] didn't understand the way to dance and sing for the word. [Does this refer to Siletz version secured by Yurok?] The Karok had dances as far south as the mouth of Salmon River. The message was brought to Cottage Grove from Happy Camp by Sambo and two other men, called Hamburg John and Chubby. My uncle, who was Jo Tom, broke up the dance at Cottage Grove because he said it was an insult to mention the dead. [Wherever a strong name taboo for the dead occurred, it must also have functioned as an obstacle for the ready acceptance of the Ghost Dance.] Jo Tom wanted to kill Chubby for encouraging the people to dance, but there were so many people there they couldn't get at him. Anyway, Sambo, Hamburg John, and Chubby had to leave pretty quickly."

Another anecdote, revealing the attitudes with which the Ghost Dance was received, came from Henry Joseph, who said that he had been a skeptic at the time. His cousins firmly believed the doctrine, and one evening when he rode into the dance, simply out of curiosity, they pulled him from his horse and forced him to join the others. When I asked Henry Joseph why he had rejected the doctrine, he said that "all the Indian stories which went way back never had anything in them about the dead coming back. Those stories were like school for the Indians. They told us how things were." The informant then related the tale of Coyote and Potato Bug, which contained the familiar Californian motif of Coyote ordaining the permanency of death when Potato Bug's son died, and his inability to reverse that pronouncement when he lost his own son. This myth was believed by Henry Joseph to prove definitely the improbability of the adventist elements in the Ghost Dance.

A lower Karok informant gave Kroeber an account of their Ghost Dance, which is summarized as follows:

The dance was not prescribed to any particular spot, as are the native dances, but could be made anywhere. The participants danced in

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a circle. They painted red. They wore various regalia used in native dances. . . . [The woman who brought the dance to Amaikyara] was in the center; the people danced around her in a ring. She told them to look down, not up. Before long a number of participants would lose their senses. After the dance had been made for some time, people began to dream of the dead.[47]

This last sentence of Kroeber's implies the persistence of the Ghost Dance in the form of a Dream cult. An upper Karok informant was able to elaborate this point only slightly.

[HENRY JOSEPH] "After Sambo's word came through, people began dreaming themselves. Dead persons told them songs and the next morning the dreamers would sing them. They might hear a song for four or five nights. They got kind of crazy. They took one man, Pekirivriken, to the asylum and he died down there. His song was *uhe uhe he howia he*. It had no meaning to it. Dreams came almost every night, but they don't learn a song until they dream it a few times. New songs kept coming to people for four of five years, then the dreamers began dying off.

In an attempt to learn whether the Dream cult among the Karok developed curative aspects comparable to those of the Shasta, I elicited the following comments from Henry Joseph: "Those songs might help the dreamer but they won't help other people. You couldn't cure by singing a song, unless a dream told you specially to go help a person with that song." Yet in telling of his own shamanistic experiences the informant gave data whose implications are somewhat to the contrary:

[HENRY JOSEPH] "Old-time doctors worked hard. They dreamed of God [*ikhareya*].[48] They would sing four or five nights to cure a person and all the people came to help them sing. They sucked wherever you are sick, and then they opened their mouths and picked the poison out with their fingers. When I first began doctoring, I dreamed of small firs three or four feet high. They were singing and talking among themselves and they said, 'These firs are good for sick people.' When people asked me to cure I took fir tips and sang the song I heard in my dream and

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brushed the sick person with the fir tips until the sickness came out. *This was just a dream. God* [ikhareya] *did not give me this. Later God did give me power and I got two sets of feathers.* Ikhareya looks like a man. He does good to everybody. You dream and he talks and sings to you and tells you what to do, then you have to do it. An Indian doctor has to fix himself up every year, then everything goes fine. I don't suck, I just catch the poison with my hands and pull it out."

These data are somewhat irrelevant to the Ghost Dance, but there is one hint that dreaming as such, without inspiration from *ikhareya*, was valid as a source of curative power. Until more is known of Karok shamanism, it is impossible to say whether or not dreaming per se, as a source of curative power, should be attributed to the Ghost Dance, or whether it antedated this cult.

Tolowa

GHOST DANCE

In one printed account of the Ghost Dance, the Tolowa are said to have obtained the cult from the Karok.[49] In another printed account the Ghost Dance is said to have originated with the Tolowa.[50] Both of these statements need revision in the light of further field work.

The Tolowa obtained the Ghost Dance from Siletz Reservation. It was brought to them by a Tututni Indian, called Depot Charlie because he lived near Depot Creek in Lincoln County, Oregon. His original home had been at Gold Beach on the mouth of the Rogue River. In 1856 he had been moved with the rest of his tribe to Siletz Reservation. His local band of Tututni is also known as the Joshua, after their leader at the time of early white contacts. Depot Charlie was Joshua's successor and nephew. He was also the informant who gave Farrand some Tututni myths.[51]

Two accounts of the introduction of the Ghost Dance follow:

[EMMA VILASTRA] "Word came from Siletz that people must put on Indian clothes and dance so that the dead would come back. The two men who brought the word were Depot Charlie and Port Orford Jake. Depot Charlie could talk Tolowa, so he did not need an interpreter. His sister, or half-sister, had married a Smith River [Tolowa] man. They gave a dance at Burnt Ranch [on Smith River] and later at Lagoon just north

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of Crescent City. He said to take down the walls of the living house so that the people could see them dance. He stayed two or three months and went back. He said this word was to go as far as there were Indians. He had been told it should be carried everywhere.

"He said it was crowded up above and God was going to turn them loose. The dead might come back any day. When they come back the people would be so thick that you had to have everything you valued with you or it would be lost. For that reason men who left the sweat house to bathe carried their beads with them and women wore their good shell dresses every day. Charlie cried when he told the people these things. He never spoke of the world ending. All who lost relatives believed in him. At first they danced every night for ten nights because the dead were coming. For the first year they danced all the time. Then it began to cool off and they danced only when a person was sick. That went on for ten or fifteen years. Younger people growing up didn't believe in it so it died out."

[JENNY SCOTT] "Depot Charlie came from Siletz to Burnt Ranch late in July. With him were his wife, Port Orford Jackie and his wife, and a young man called Sandy Grant. Sandy Grant came back the next year to marry a Tolowa girl, and he took her up to Oregon. Depot Charlie had been born at Gold Beach. He understood enough Tolowa to talk to the people. All those messengers had been moved [from Tututni territory] to Siletz, and they brought the message from there. Depot Charlie preached that the dead were coming back soon, and if people believed and joined in they would see their dead relatives soon. He preached to do right. It was just like church now.

"They danced first at Burnt Ranch. People gathered there from Lagoon, Pebble Beach, and Smith River [all Tolowa subgroups]. They danced every night from early evening until midnight for about one month. Then Depot Charlie went back north.

"This dance was called dead-people dance [*nahutlen hocnetac*]. Some people nicknamed it crazy dance [*tuciɣoni hocnetac*]. It was the way dead people were dancing in heaven. They were dancing all dressed up in their burial clothes."

Dance—Held in large living house as was customary; not outdoors; not in special structure. Single line circled fire pit. Progressed sideways stamping feet alternately. In former dances stamped only one foot,

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dragged other; formerly did not circle, but danced in place. Used square hide drum. No pole; no bell. Dancers wore customary regalia; face paintings in usual red and white pigment and in usual designs.

In addition, Drucker thought Depot Charlie and his three associates were sponsored by Welthnesat, who later became the first local dreamer of note. Depot Charlie claimed that he had been dead ten days, during which time he learned of the advent and the injunction to dance. Characteristic of the Tolowa and Tututni wealth emphasis was his statement that people should dance with their elkhorn purses so that the money they had spent on the dead might come back. Menstruants and persons who had had intercourse were forbidden to dance.

LOCAL DREAMERS

The following list of dreamers is probably not complete. Dreamers seem customarily to have been in a comatose state for ten days, which is a pattern number for the Tolowa. During this time they received songs and supernatural revelations that permitted them to cure and instruct.

Welthnesat

[JENNY SCOTT] "At Burnt Ranch there was a dreamer, called Welthnesat [ca. 1871–1881], who just lay there for ten days without eating. When he got up he told the same things that Depot Charlie had. He dreamed that same summer Depot Charlie came down from Siletz. He made a big dance. He saw all the dead people. He said that five days after a man died the heart and the center of the eye with which we see went up to heaven. It was taken up by Jesus and bathed with water; then the person came to life again as a child. He grew up fast. It was like the white preachers who speak of being born again. When Welthnesat's wife died, he stopped his work. He said, 'I thought Jesus would help me. I guess I lost my wife because this isn't right.'"

[EMMA VILASTRA] "One man who belonged at Burnt Ranch dreamed for ten days and nights. He didn't eat; just lay there with his eyes closed. He said the dead would come back and all must believe. When he dreamed, he was in heaven all the time. All was clean and white there. He saw clouds filled with angels. Before he dreamed he had been a mean

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man, but afterwards he was as nice as could be. He got songs too. They danced every night. They danced to heal people too. It was like the Shakers. They dreamed of the sick, and their power healed them. The old-time doctors were out of business, but after this dreaming died down they came back. In curing dances they brushed fir tips over patient." No bells; no poles or staff.

Djuwetas

[HENRY JOHNSON] "A young and pretty girl from Smith River lay just like dead. They did not send for a doctor. She was alive even though she didn't know anything. She was under the power. She must have been singing all that time. They listened to catch her song. The next day she said to dance with her song. She spoke so low they had to put their heads close to her mouth to hear. Everyone put on their feathers and danced that night. About halfway through she got up and danced. This went on for several days. One night she said she would leave them the next day at midafternoon. She said she was going back to heaven, they were ready for her there. This had been going on for ten days, and all that time she never ate, never opened her eyes. The next day they danced during the daytime. In the middle of the afternoon she went outside of the dance house, raised her hands, and said, 'I am going now. You must bear in mind what I said and keep on with this.' Then she fell over dead. She had two songs. The sick who went to her dance were all healed."

Tcontahesa

[JENNY SCOTT] "He was from Lagoon. He said the dead were coming back. He told the people to put on all their beads and welcome the dead. They kept on dancing. The first dreamers helped the sick people. They went to the sick person and asked if they could have a meeting. All came together and danced hard. Dreamers had a basket with angelica and water. They sucked water from the root and spat it on the person. After a while they stopped because they didn't take care of things right. Then a lot of the people died too. As the dreamers died, the dance was abandoned. There were women dreamers too."

[HENRY JOHNSON] "He started after Djuwetas died. He was a very old fellow. He had just one song. He used a little bell. After dancing for

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about half an hour he stopped and preached about God and how to get to heaven. There were no more of these dances after his death. He died long before this reservation was bought [in 1908–1909]. There were many other dreamers, but these three—Welthnesat, Djuwetas, and Tcontahesa—were the three strongest ones."

From these accounts it appears that the autochthonous Dream cult following the Ghost Dance must have persisted some ten years. The three outstanding leaders usurped, temporarily at least, the curative functions of the older order of shamans. In addition, their prophetic and moralistic discourses elaborated primarily the concept of a supreme being and crystallized ideas of an afterlife. In the detailed material given there is some possibility that recent Shaker ideas have retroactively colored the doctrines attributed to dreamers. An additional and generalized statement concerning dreamers' doctrines follows:

[JENNY SCOTT] "The dreamers said that those who did not believe would be washed away by a tidal wave [old myth element among Tolowa]. The world was to be cleaned because it had gotten dirty. Skeptics would be destroyed, but believers would be saved. They said to believe in the songs, dance hard, and do right. God doesn't like to have the world ill-used. One dreamer said the Indians would disappear and the whites would swamp the country. He said the whites belonged across the ocean in another country and they should stay there."

Yurok and Hupa

There are three accounts of Ghost Dance among the Yurok. All agree in considering the Tolowa immediately responsible for their conversion.

Kroeber's data are reproduced almost verbatim, since they were given originally with a maximum of conciseness. The two accounts by informants are quoted at length because of their particular value in portraying the attitudes of the Yurok toward the new cult, a matter of some importance as will be shown later.

The Yurok knew that the doctrine came from the Shasta of Scott River to the Happy Camp Karok and that it spread from there down-

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river to Amaikyara. Then the doctrine crossed the mountains to the Tolowa on the coast.[52] There an old Tolowa from Burnt Ranch between Crescent City and Smith River started the movement. From him, his nephew, a Yurok living at Staawin, ten miles from the mouth of the Klamath, learned to dream. At first the ceremony among the Yurok was directed by the old Tolowa; after he went back, by his Yurok nephew. The dance was introduced the summer after the Karok received it [i.e., in 1872, which harmonizes with the date of 1872 for the Shasta conversion of Grand Ronde]. No dance was held at Weitchpec, although two prophets said their dead would not return unless they did. A white informant said the Yurok held a dance at Big Lagoon, thirty miles south of the mouth of the Klamath.

The doctrinal elaboration of the Ghost Dance was made by prophets who dreamed and told the people what they had learned in this manner. The dead would return if the dance were made. The world was to turn over and end. The doctrine concerning the fate of the living varied: all would perish, all would live, only the believers would live, skeptics would be turned to rocks. All valuables which were secreted would be transformed into worthless objects, but valuables which were exposed would remain unaltered. As a result dancers carried their riches to the dance. Dogs were killed. Men and women were ordered to bathe together without shame, but intercourse was forbidden on pain of having the genitalia turn to stone.

The Yurok danced in concentric circles revolving in opposite directions. There are said sometimes to have been ten such circles. On one occasion the dance was held indoors and there were two circles. Men, women, and children participated. Sometimes they danced in the morning and would break their fast near noon. They were forbidden to eat before dancing, which is a common Yurok regulation. Later in the day dancing recommenced and would last into the night, or even all night. The prophet and later his nephew made medicine in a separate house, a feature found in many Yurok and Karok ceremonies. Acorns were stored in the house where a prophet made medicine. When they disappeared the dead were supposed to have eaten them. [Cf. this to account by Robert Spott, where skepticism was bred because acorn mush for dead was not consumed.] Once the advent

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was set for the next day. Another time the wood on graves and the surrounding enclosures were removed and carried into the hills.[53]

The account given by Lucy Thompson bears quoting more for the doctrinal concepts and the attitudes it reveals than for the specific detail. She dates the introduction in about 1865, which is undoubtedly seven years too early.

> In about the year 1865, this He-na Tom while living at his home on Smith River . . . [lost] his wife and he mourned her greatly. In the fall he had a prophetic dream which caused him to commence a sort of revival among the Smith River Indians [Tolowa], telling them to destroy everything they had ever received from the white people and go back to their old Indian ways of living . . . and in a short time all the dead Indians would come back to life to this world. As it happened, this He-na Tom had a sister that was married to a Klamath River man [Yurok]. They had a family of grown sons and daughters, and this family lived in a village called Ni-galth [the Nagelt of Kroeber's map, "Handbook," 9][54] . . . which is situated some eight miles down the river from where . . . the White Deer Skin dance [is held]. So in the fall . . . while the White Deer Skin dance was going on . . . He-na Tom made his appearance among them to destroy all their white man's goods, burn all the houses which were made in the white man's way, and tear down all the Indian houses but not to burn the lumber of the Indian houses, thus leaving a clear opening, and for all of them to bring all their Indian money and wealth of all kinds and hang it up in plain view around him where he was lying covered with Indian blankets made of deerskin. He told them to go ahead with the White Deer Skin dance so when the dead ones appeared they would all dance with them to make a big jubilee. . . . [Robert Spott said that the introduction of the new doctrine broke up the White Deer Skin dance.] All of them who failed to comply with his holy orders and not bring their valuables would all turn into rock . . . and those that disbelieved . . . would turn to rock. He had a great many of the Klamath [Yurok] of the wealthy class, all of the poor class, and a few of the high class that were wild and willing to follow, and there were a lot

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of valuable property and things destroyed, while the shelves or tables were loaded with provisions for the dead when they came, so they could eat, dance and all be joyful, while all the white people were to turn to rocks. Some of the wise ones of the high class . . . hung back and said no, that they wanted to see. While they were claiming that He-na Tom had gone to meet the dead Indians and that he would be back with them that night, three or four of the doubtful ones went over to where the large pile of blankets were by the fire, and on lifting up the blankets . . . there was He-na Tom. They spoke to him . . . but he did not answer; his followers claimed that his body was there but that his spirit had gone to meet the dead ones. When the old ones who were so highly versed in mysteries as not to be hoodwinked had seen enough to convince them that there was no truth in it, they . . . retired to their camps . . . saying He-ha's prophecies were a fake and that he was a humbug. As it turned out, that night He-na Tom slipped . . . back to Smith River. So when the Klamaths [Yurok] came back to gather their valuables there was considerable of it that the rightful owners could not find, and never did get back, which made many of them very angry.

He-na Tom's brother-in-law was afterward killed and all his Klamath relations were compelled to leave the Klamath River and go to Smith River to live for a number of years before they dared return.[55]

In Robert Spott's version of the Ghost Dance among the Yurok, the proselytizer was a man called Naigelthomelo, who, so far as he knew, was in no way related to He-na Tom. The three divergent identifications of the missionary to the Yurok cannot therefore be reconciled. According to Robert Spott, Naigelthomelo was not a nephew of the Smith River prophet of Kroeber's account, nor the He-na Tom of Lucy Thompson's account. The following version of the Ghost Dance is quoted almost in full for its unusually graphic and specific characteristics.

[ROBERT SPOTT] "The man who started the dance at Johnson's Ranch [near mouth of Klamath] was called Naigelthomelo, because his first wife came from Naigelth [Nagelt]. He was married to a woman from Burnt Ranch, just north of Crescent City [Tolowa territory]. Her

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brother in turn was married to a woman from Siletz who had learned the songs and dances up there and had taught them to her husband and his relatives at Burnt Ranch. Naigelthomelo was from Kootep [twenty or twenty-five miles from mouth of Klamath]. He went to visit his wife's people at Burnt Ranch. When they reached Crescent City he heard that a dance was going on at Burnt Ranch, but the Crescent City people were not dancing yet. When they reached Burnt Ranch, Naigelthomelo learned that the dance was for the dead people and that it was being held in a family house three doors from that of his relatives-in-law. He didn't understand what people were saying at the dance because they spoke a different language. He didn't like the looks of the dance. He went to the sweat house to sleep, but his wife stayed. The next morning he wanted to go home, but his wife urged him to stay longer. He stayed four nights. Every night he went to the sweat house, while his wife and her relatives went to the dance. She told him about the dance and that she liked it, but that everyone went crazy when they got in there. The men danced in the outer ring against the house wall, hand in hand, and circled to the right. The women danced hand in hand in the inner ring, circling to the left.

"That last night Naigelthomelo was left alone in the sweat house. He dreamed the dead were coming back to earth. When he woke up he was crazy. When the people came back from the dance they found him like that. They said he had the same kind of fits as the dancers and they wanted him to join in, but he wanted to go home. His brother-in-law thought he had caught the sickness. When they reached Crescent City on the way back, people had begun dancing there too, so Naigelthomelo joined them. He joined the outer circle of men who were revolving to the right. The craziness made people see the dead and talk to them, but the other people didn't see them. They sang the same song over and over again. Only a crazy person is allowed to start another song. Naigelthomelo went crazy again. The man who made the dance at Crescent City put ashes in a basket and stirred them up with water, then he told Naigelthomelo to drink it. He did, and after that he came to his senses. The leader at Crescent City told him that he belonged to the dance now and had the right to give them himself. He told him that he wouldn't have to learn everything now, that what he was to do would come to him later.

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"Early the next morning, Naigelthomelo and his wife left Crescent City and reached Requa late that night. He told the people there that the dead were coming back and that he wanted to give a dance, but they wouldn't let him. They made him angry because they said no such thing was possible. Most of the Requa people were upriver at Wohkero where the White Deer Skin dance was being held. They left early the next morning in a canoe. His wife was afraid they would kill him if he tried to give a dance at Kootep (near Wohkero). He said he would give it in his own house so no one could say anything. They went on to Kootep where they lived. He took down the sides of his house and told his family to move out everything because he was going to give a dance. Then he went to Wohkero where the White Deer Skin dance was being held. There were people there from Hupa, Orleans, and the coast. He got the people together and told them of his visit to Burnt Ranch, of his dreaming, and of the dead coming back. He said, 'At one time Deer Skin was a good dance, a religious dance, but now let us put it away. Now we are going to have a new dance, and all must join in. How glad we shall be to see our mother, daughters, brothers. We shall be happier.' Most of the people yelled, 'No, you just upset the earth. There is no such thing.' The old people said, 'Creator made all, and it has been handed down from generation to generation that a dead person is buried and dead. Everyone puts lots of rocks on him to hold him down. If a dead person ever comes back, he is going to kill all the live ones. That isn't our word, but the word of the Creator that our old people have told us.' Naigelthomelo said, 'We eat white people's food and wear their clothes now, so we must believe in the whites.' Someone else said, 'A white man looks at paper and talks to it and laughs. His skin is lighter. They are better than us. We can't set ourselves up with them.'

"Naigelthomelo walked away. His wife got all the cowbells in the village and all the rattles made out of abalone shells strung on basketry plates. Just Naigelthomelo and his sister, who was a doctor, began dancing in their own house. People began drifting in. Soon the place was full. First the young people started dancing, then the older ones. His sister went crazy first. She said, 'I see my relatives and ancestors and all the dead. They are not in the cemetery, but above there.' Some believed her, but some didn't. The house floor was so crowded they couldn't dance.

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"No one might hide his property. He had to wear it or give it to someone to wear. All the property that had been given away would turn to rock when the dead came. So the next day everyone brought all the riches they had and piled them up on the floor. All the property in the village was there except that which belonged to some of the people who didn't believe and stayed away.

"In the morning all the men and women bathed together without clothes. It was breaking the command of the Creator, who said men and women should bathe separately. When they came from their bath, they all dipped their hands into a large basket of water into which Naigelthomelo's wife had stirred ashes.[56] They dipped in their right hands, rubbed them across their left ones, and then passed both hands from the chin upward over the face to the hair, leaving streaks of ashes on their faces. At first they danced only at night, but when the older ones joined in they began dancing during the day too. They danced in rings, the men outside circling to the right, the women and children inside circling to the left. Some of the songs came from Siletz, others were dreamed by the people when they were in a trance. All the songs were wordless. [The informant said he knew none of those songs because they were forbidden on pain of social censure after the revulsion to the cult set in.] The dancers wore the old-time dress. Most of them went crazy and then they could see the dead. Some saw the dead, others saw only light, others saw nothing. Older people began to get the power too.

"They took the boards from graves in cemeteries to help the dead come back. [Note that the Yurok seem to have had the concept of local resurrection, not the idea of an army of dead who had already arisen and were on the return march from a spirit land, as did the Karok, Shasta, Modoc, and others.] If a person tried to come to life and the grave boards were still there, he would turn to stone instead. All the graves in Kootep and Wohtek were uncovered. Everyone killed his dog because the dead don't like dogs and would turn to a stone or tree if they saw dogs. They tied stones around their necks and threw them in the river. People put baskets of acorn soup at a distance from the dancing place to feed the dead. They thought the dead were all around and were hungry. Captain Spott [informant's father] went to look at those baskets for two days and saw nobody had touched them, so he gave up dancing and said

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it wasn't true. The Klamath River people were against this dance from the beginning. It is the law of the Klamath that if you bury a man and hear him moving, you must pile rocks on him to keep him down. If the dead get up, they will kill the whole village. The Creator said not to let anyone out of the grave after burying him. But Naigelthomelo wanted to get them up; that is why the old people were against him. All the dead were to arise from the grave, not return from another world.

"The dancing lasted eight or nine months on the Klamath [i.e., from fall of 1872, since the White Deer Skin dance is held in the autumn, to the spring of 1873]. In the spring they went to Orleans [Karok]. Orleans had gotten the word from Oregon someplace [actually from Shasta] because the Weitchpec [Yurok] people had heard of it from the Orleans people before the news was brought to Kootep. The Orleans people sent a man to Kootep in the spring to get the people there because the dead were to appear first at Orleans. All those who believed went up there. Even people from Requa went to Orleans. It was to be five days before the dead came and talked. The Klamath River was roiled and black, so that even those who didn't believe began to think there might be something to it. They thought the upstream dead getting out of their graves roiled the river. A man at Orleans had prophesied about the five days. Everybody waited there for those five days. Then they kept on waiting from one day to another. They stayed ten days in all, then they lost faith. Those at Orleans who didn't believe wanted to kill the dreamer there.

"After this dance people began to get all kinds of sickness. Four or five people would be buried in a day, even in midsummer when people didn't usually get sick. The people around Kootep called a council and decided this dance had caused the summer sickness and all the thunderstorms of that summer. So they wanted to kill Naigelthomelo just the way the Burnt Ranch people killed his brother-in-law and had sent his wife and children back to Siletz after the five days of mourning. Naigelthomelo didn't live very long after that. One day some men insulted his wife by saying her mother was about to arise [from the dead]. It was an insult to mention her dead mother's name. Naigelthomelo wanted to collect payment for that insult, but everyone hated him and told him he had better be careful or he would be killed. The Kootep people said if anyone dreamed or tried to make that dance again it would mean death."

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The skepticism and suspicion of the Yurok in regard to the Ghost Dance doctrine, and their revulsion of feeling toward it, is further revealed in the following contemporary newspaper clipping.

> It seems that a prophet . . . told the Klamaths [Yurok] that if each village would have a dance in succession, that the spirits of the dead would return, and that the whites would be turned into stones. In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join. After a long and vigorous prosecution of the dances, some of the more knowing ones asked for a set day on which the spirits were to appear. When the day came, the prophet said that he saw all the spirits in the sky, that there was a mighty army of them—although they were all of small stature—but they would not come down until another grand dance had been performed. The Klamaths [Yurok] set to work at dancing again, but told the prophet that unless the spirits appeared by the date he mentioned they would have their money back or kill him. Before the conclusion of the dance the medicine man ran away and the deluded Indians then set about getting their winter supply of food which they had neglected up to this time.[57]

There are contained in these presentations of raw material a number of points that deserve comment. First, for both Tolowa and Yurok, intertribal marriages were the immediate factors that gave specific direction to the diffusion of the Ghost Dance. It will be recalled that the same situation was reported for the Shasta-to-Karok diffusion. Among the Yurok we have information which implies that this factor must have been particularly marked, since the proselytizer did not at first attend the dance in Tolowa territory where he was converted, nor did he understand the language. Although there is no overt statement to that effect in our data, his Tolowa wife must have been largely instrumental in shaping Yurok doctrine.

Second, several features of the Yurok Ghost Dance display a strong acculturational process at work. For instance, the demand that all wealth be displayed on pain of loss is a nice case of the more generalized concept (that the Indians would be wealthy with the advent) being shaped to conform to the wealth-display element in Yurok ceremonies. The impact be-

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tween this general Ghost Dance doctrine and the specific requirements of Yurok ideology produced results that are unique to the Yurok and particularly adapted to their culture. Other acculturational features, mentioned by Kroeber, were the prohibition against eating before dancing, and the separate house in which medicine was made by the prophet while the dance was in progress. The procedure of removing the grave boards to aid the resurrection could occur only in an area where there were cemeteries of this sort. It was a piece of behavior manifestly impossible to, let us say, the Pomo, who cremated.

Third, several resistive factors are illustrated; for example, mixed bathing was shocking to Yurok sensibilities. A very real fear of ghosts inhibited an easy acceptance of resurrection. When the grave boards were removed at Johnson's, "the old people got mad." The name taboo must have suffered infringement where the dead relatives were the main topic of conversation. Possibly the strongest resistive factor was the tradition that required precedent for religious behavior in formulae and myths. Kroeber's account of Yurok religion in the "Handbook of the Indians of California" demonstrates how large this last factor bulked. All these factors are comparable to the resistance that the doctrine of the destruction of half-breeds must have aroused in a people like the Karok, for instance. Undoubtedly, the factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the Ghost Dance, and, so far as historic consequences are concerned, it served to quash any continuance or transmutation of the cult after the first excitement wore off. This situation was far from being true among other Californian tribes. There is ample evidence of resistance among the Yurok from the direct statements of informants; also from the fact that Requa refused to let Naigelthomelo give a dance, and that Weitchpec was not converted by the Karok in 1871. However, the dire threats leveled against skeptics, the emotional appeal contained in the promised return of dead relatives, and the contagion of a revivalistic psychology overrode the obstacles among the less secure elements of the group. Lucy Thompson states that the poor were the first converts, whereas the "high class" and "wise ones" were unenthusiastic. Robert Spott speaks of the first converts as young people, in whom, we may suppose, traditionalism was not so deeply rooted. The recent introduction of Shakerism into the area has produced the same schismatic effect.

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In a closely integrated culture like that of the Yurok, the successful introduction of a new cult may be compared to a tug-of-war between acculturational processes on the one hand, which render the cult acceptable, and resistive factors on the other hand. Between the two, ready to give victory to one side or the other, are the content of the cult itself and the personality of the proselytizer. To continue the simile, the outcome of the tug-of-war among the Yurok was something of a draw. It is true that probably a large part of the group were converted, but on the other hand there was a revulsion that definitely terminated the movement after the first hysterical excitement died down.

The Ghost Dance failed altogether to spread to Hupa Valley, although there were Hupa present at the Yurok White Deer Skin dance when the doctrine was introduced. In Hupa the consensus of opinion today is that the new doctrine was rejected because it was so antagonistic to traditional attitudes concerning the dead, and because traditional formalized religion had so powerful a hold. In other words, they carried farther the objections that split the Yurok tribe, and in so doing managed to exclude the new cult entirely. Hupa informants were cognizant of the general movement, its immediate source, and its doctrine, but their disapproval even today is keen and open.

[SAM BROWN] "The dance never reached Hupa, although we heard about it. The Hupa said it was against their religion, that there was nothing like that in their old belief, and that they must not add anything to their old ways. So they didn't have anything to do with it. In the dances the women let their hair hang loose all over their faces. In the old dances it should be parted in the middle and wrapped. Hair hanging loose was just for mourning."

Another informant, James Marshall, commented unfavorably on "how all the Indians went crazy." Then he told with strong moralistic disapproval an anecdote in which a mother from Orleans left three small children to care for themselves while she attended the dances. The children burned down the house in her absence. This so incensed their maternal uncle that he armed himself with a gun and broke up the dancing. Still another informant, who had white blood, said that they had heard half-breeds were

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to be turned into frogs. The concept seemed utterly ludicrous and gave rise to much good-natured teasing, during the course of which he was urged to practice jumping. Ridicule, therefore, also seems to have played a part in squelching the introduction of the Ghost Dance to the Hupa.

Among three tribes, territorially contiguous, we find three degrees of integration. The Shasta enthusiastically embraced three cults in rapid succession and absorbed aspects of them into their most deeply rooted pattern, shamanism. The Yurok accepted the cult, only to reject it subsequently. The Hupa were completely resistive to it. In each case there is some historic and ethnographic evidence to account for the different degrees of integration, and in turn each degree of integration affected the subsequent cultural history of the group.

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PART TWO ○ Western Oregon

In part 1 the bulk of the data dealt with the Ghost Dance proper. However, among the Shasta and Klamath reference was made to the Earth Lodge cult, which came from north-central California in 1872. The material from western Oregon deals primarily with this second movement, which very early overlaid and obscured the Ghost Dance. On Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations the Earth Lodge cult is known as the Warm House Dance, but that term has been retained only in the quoted statements of informants. In addition, a separate section of this part of the study has been devoted to the somewhat later offshoot of the Earth Lodge cult called Thompson's Warm House Dance.

Due to the reservation system of Oregon, intertribal contacts during the last half of the nineteenth century were even more marked than in California. Also, the ethnography is less well known. As a result there are many dances whose possible connection with the Earth Lodge cult cannot be determined. From 1870 to 1890, many dances of a predominantly lay nature were exchanged between the small bands of Indians scattered up and down the coast. This mass of fragmentary material remains to be ordered. It can be achieved only after a more thorough knowledge of the region has been painstakingly extracted from the few able informants left. However, those dances that have been most obviously connected with the Earth Lodge cult have probably been noted. I should like to express my gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Melville Jacobs, who most generously placed at my disposal their knowledge of this difficult area and who furnished me with much specific material.

Ghost Dance

The material on the Ghost Dance proper in Oregon is exceedingly fragmentary. I doubt if it could have been obtained without direct questioning on the basis of clues gotten from previous work in northernmost California, particularly among the Klamath, Shasta, and Tolowa.

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The best accounts from Indian sources may be résuméd in the following manner. In 1871 some Grand Ronde Indians, probably Shasta who had been removed to that reservation, went to their own territory for a visit. There they came in contact with the Ghost Dance, which had just been introduced from the Modoc. On their return they informed the Tututni group on Lower Farm at Siletz Reservation of the affair. Under the leadership of Sixes George, the Tututni eagerly espoused the cult. Another Tututni, called Depot Charlie, carried the idea of the return of the dead south along the coast directly to the Tolowa. A group of nearby Shasta on Siletz sent three messengers to investigate the matter in Shasta country. These men returned with an early form of the Earth Lodge cult. This must have been in 1872, for in that year the California Shasta learned the cult from the McCloud River Wintu. The Tututni group on Lower Farm rejected this early introduction of the Earth Lodge cult. The following year (1873), Bogus Tom, a California Shasta, brought to Siletz and Grand Ronde a more elaborate form of the Earth Lodge cult, which will be described in the following section.

A detailed account of the introduction of the Ghost Dance from a thoroughly trustworthy informant follows:

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "About one year before Bogus Tom [Shasta] came, some Grand Ronde Indians went down to California and learned about the dead coming back. They said the grass would be about sixteen inches high when the dead arrived.[1] On the way back they told Sixes George [Tututni], who was living at Lower Farm on Siletz Reservation. That started them [Tututni colony] dreaming and getting excited. About a hundred old ladies danced like young girls. It was so crowded in the dance house, you could hardly walk in. Those people at Siletz also dreamed the dead were coming back. It made everybody excited. The whites were to be driven back across the ocean where they came from, and no one but Indians would be here. They never said, though, how the world was to turn over. Sixes George said all those things. He had lost his wife and his son. He felt badly. He wanted to die and go where his relatives were. That is why he started to dream and dance.

"Then Depot Charlie started to dream like Sixes George. He took his dance to Smith River [Tolowa]. That was before the Warm House

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Dance. The Dream dance they used was old, but it started up strong when this new message came. Everywhere there were Indians dancing. At Grand Ronde the Calapuya and Yoncalla joined in too.

"Then from Siletz, Klamath Charlie, Klamath Smith, and Klamath Henry went down to California.[2] On their way back they met Shasta Isaac and John Smith, from Grand Ronde, who were on their way down to California. When those three Shasta Indians got back to Siletz, they told all they remembered—the songs and how they danced in California. They thought the dead would come back. They began building a sweat house for the dance, but not so big as the one Bogus Tom built the next year. When Bogus Tom brought in the Warm House Dance [Earth Lodge cult], Sixes George didn't go. He didn't believe in it. He had his own Dream dance."

No informant who lived on Grand Ronde Reservation during this period was able to give so detailed an account of the first Ghost Dance movement as that just quoted. Most informants' material did not antedate the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult by Bogus Tom. However, fragmentary statements from two informants substantiated Coquille Thompson's more detailed material.

[JOHN SIMMONS; Lowland Takelma] "Before the Warm House came in, people here heard that they had a dance in California about the dead coming back. If all believed and danced, the dead would come alive. The old people here didn't believe in that dance." Informant then told myth on origin of death to demonstrate improbability of advent.

[LOUIS FULLER; Tillamook] "The idea of the return of the dead came in a short time before the Warm House Dance. It was some Californian man's dream and they believed in it; especially Klamath Charlie at Siletz and Shasta Tom at Grand Ronde. They used the old-time Dream dance but with this new idea in it."

A series of contemporary newspaper accounts serves to establish dates and give a generalized picture of the religious excitement. They also reveal the attitude of the white people on the subject. The following letter was written from Newport near Siletz Reservation in December 1872.

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> Several months ago [i.e., in summer of 1872] a prophet came among the Indians at Siletz, and stated that if the Indians would dance long and strong, the dead Siwash of many years past would return to life and their friends, a war would be made on the whites, and a short successful warfare would terminate in a repossession of their old homes and hunting grounds. For a while this prophet labored, dancing and telling of the good time coming, without obtaining any converts; but gradually the prophet's teachings gained ground and believers, until now scarcely an Indian on the Siletz or Alsea agency can be found who does not express perfect confidence in the . . . prophecies. Dancing among the Indians has been carried to that extravagant extent that the able-bodied Indians have been compelled to desist from . . . exhaustion; some of the most fanatical, dancing for several days and nights continuously. . . .[3]

The account continued with the opposition of the agent and a plea for protection against an Indian uprising.

The following account was received from Mr. Samuel Chase, the subagent at Alsea, by the editor of the *Corvallis Gazette*:

> Indians, of their own accord, are gathering upon the reservations and many who have been absent for one or two years are there now. They are nightly engaged in war dances, and decorating themselves with paint and feathers. . . . They urge and insist that everyone engage in these dances, and will not even excuse squaws . . . living with white men. . . .
>
> They are governed by messengers and spies [prophets] from other tribes. . . . Whites were warned of this last summer [1872] by certain friendly squaws, who said their "memaloose tilacums" [dead companions] would all come to life and war would be made on the whites, and the Indians would take possession of their former hunting grounds and peaceful homes.[4]

The newspapers of this period ran many articles showing that the fear among the white people at this time was intense. It was said that Indians told white people of seeing friends who had been shot several years before. Finally, in February 1873, Joel Palmer, who was superintendent at

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Siletz Reservation, wrote a letter definitely quashing the war scare. Palmer denied that a dance was in progress, noting that "men, women, boys and girls, even children and old blind women, all engaged. The dances are for the spirits of their departed relatives, with a hope that they may be restored to them on this earth, and there is seemingly a kind of mesmeric influence brought to bear that pervades the entire mass." Although he denied that the dance included a doctrine that involved the expulsion of white people, he had urged Indians to cease because of alarm of white settlers. Palmer considered dances "less harmful than gambling. I presume two-thirds who have engaged in these dances did so for mere amusement."[5]

Palmer, who was in the position to be well informed, definitely denied overtly belligerent doctrines in the Ghost Dance. This substantiates the impression, everywhere obtained from informants, that the elimination of the white people would be achieved in some vaguely formulated and supernatural fashion. Nevertheless, the isolated white settlers were afraid of the Indian gatherings, and their protests led white officials to discourage the more open manifestations of the new cult movements.

Newspaper sources, not all of which are here quoted, also reveal that Indians were activated by the Ghost Dance doctrine not only on Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations but also on the Alsea and Yachats rivers.

Earth Lodge Cult

The Earth Lodge cult is called the Warm House Dance by Oregon tribes. The great proselytizer of the area was the Shasta Indian most generally referred to as Bogus Tom. He has already been mentioned in the section on the Shasta in part 1. He will be discussed again in the section on the Big Head cult. No attempt will be made to give a detailed description of the Earth Lodge cult, except as it appears in the quotations from informants. However, it may be well to note that several new cultural traits of central Californian provenience were first introduced to western Oregon at this time. Among them are a square semisubterranean dance house with a sacred center pole, the split-stick clapper, the feather capes, and woodpecker quill headbands.

SILETZ RESERVATION

The introduction of the Earth Lodge cult was so ably related by one informant that his account is given in full. Naturally, accuracy was checked with

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other informants, but only where their data were supplementary have they been included.

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "I was a grown man when the Warm House Dance was brought from California by Bogus Tom, Peter, and Mollie. They belonged to the Shasta tribe. There were some people at Siletz who spoke their language. On their way up here they stopped to dance at every town. I guess they must have stopped at Jacksonville, Medford, Eugene, and Corvallis. I saw the first dance at Corvallis. They put up a round canvas fence, about twenty feet in diameter. You paid about one dollar to get in. They stayed at Corvallis for about one week and made quite a lot of money. There were Indians from Siletz there who were out on passes from the agent to work on the harvests for one or two months. After the Corvallis dance, Bogus Tom went to Upper Farm on Siletz Reservation. They put up a Warm House there. After the Upper Farm dances, Bogus Tom, Peter, and some Siletz people went to Grand Ronde. They stayed there three or four weeks and then I guess they went home. Tom had three or four horses which had been given him. Peter went back too, but Mollie married at Siletz and stayed.

"Bogus Tom was doing this for another man, called Alexander [a Wintu chief referred to in section on Wintu]. Alexander was the man who sent Tom. Some big man in California had dreamed this and made good songs.

"Tom preached, 'You dance this. It is a good word, a good dance, like church. Don't do wrong, don't try anything bad. Be good.' He said if you didn't believe in this dance you would turn into a snake, bear, or something. He was the first to say that you would turn into an animal. We had never heard that before. He preached all the time about doing right. He told how things were where he came from, how they danced. He said we were Indians and should not believe the white ways. 'They put things down in books, anything they want. We Indians see what is right. We have to give these dances. They are right for us.' Tom believed the dead would come back, but he never said when and didn't talk much about it." No dog-killing injunction.

Dance houses—Three built on Siletz Reservation. First at Klamath Grade, about three miles from present town of Siletz on river of same

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name; erected by Klamath Jack, a Shasta; used by group of Shasta.[6] Second house built slightly later by Bogus Tom at Upper Farm; Grisco Jim, local chief; used by Upper Rogue River tribes. Third built about one year after Bogus Tom left, that is, 1874, by Depot Charlie at Lower Farm; used by Lower Rogue River tribes, chiefly Tututni.

Dance house at Upper Farm about twenty feet square, five to six feet deep. Rafters from edge of pit to center pole. "Old sweat houses did not have center poles here at Siletz." Not earth covered (?). Sloping corridor entrance. Accommodated about one hundred people. Built in two weeks. Center pole called God (*hawaaleci*). "All went and prayed to it, patted it, asked for help, talked about the world changing and other things which were to come." Pole had been carefully smoothed. Valuables hung on it. "Were strict about the dance house. No one was allowed to go in except on business." No menstruants permitted to enter. Three caretakers (*tcimato*) appointed. Term *tcimato* attributed to Alexander's tribe (Wintu). Actually a Patwin word. Believed house was type used by Shasta. No idea of it as refuge from world catastrophe, as among Pomo.

"When the dance house was finished at Upper Farm, everyone was notified to come and dance. Grisco Jim ordered lots of food, potatoes, meat, coffee, sugar, and flour. They had tents outside to cook in. It began Monday morning and lasted all week. They danced all night and slept during the day. After a night's dancing, they feasted in the morning. Everybody had a good time. The old people danced hard, but the young ones didn't join in much because they didn't believe. The dance was kept up maybe twenty years, then the old people died off. The dance houses just rotted away." Actually, dance houses were probably not used for more than a decade. Informal meetings in dwellings persisted longer.

Dance—Men wore drawers, no shirts. Painted red and black bars horizontally across chests; diagonally on cheeks from chin to cheekbones. Women painted red and black spots on cheekbones. Bogus Tom brought about six yellowhammer-quill headbands. Were unknown to local Indians who began to make them after this introduction. Bogus Tom left one or two headbands at each dance house. Sold them for $1.25. Also brought feather capes. Caretakers had to build fire in dance house and dry out feathers when damp. Regalia hung on cross pole in rear of dance house where dancers dressed. Singers used split-stick clapper;

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was also new introduction. No drum. Chief sat on box all night and watched dance. Singers sang two or three songs; then rattled clappers. All arose. Dancers blew whistles. Singers started new song; women joined in. Dancers came from rear of house one at a time. Wore headbands, feather capes, and had whistles in mouths. Circled fire and lined up in two rows on opposite sides of fire. Men danced around fire four times. Then retired to take off regalia. Caretaker picked out other dancers for next set. He kept up fire and watched over feathers. If a dancer dropped a feather, was fined twenty-five cents. If unable to pay, raised hand and chief paid for him. Women dancers stood to one side. Waved bandanas in hands. Also wore bandana around head; hair hung down back. Caretaker "went from woman to woman before the dance and straightened her hair down her back and saw that it looked nice." After dance men bathed and returned to house; then women bathed. Bathing obligatory for dancers, optional for audience. Was an established custom prior to Earth Lodge cult.

Songs—All imported from Shasta, none composed locally. Were meaningless to local Indians. Comparable to Wintu dream song pattern (q.v.); line repeated four times; two repetitions in raised key; return to first key for four repetitions; raised for two; original four; raised for last two repetitions. Following three songs given by informant:

yamen huya: used before dance started while all were still seated.
weken huya: used before dance started while all were still seated.
heehameya: used before dance started while all were still seated.
howelen tiya howelen: used for men's dance around fire; when key was raised dancers spun in place.

Curing—"When a man was sick, the Warm House dancers would try to cure him. I was sick with fever. The *tcimato* from the Klamath Grade dance house came to see me. He said that the chief thought I had better be brought to the dance house on the next night because they were going to have a dance. My people agreed to carry me there. The next night we got there just before dark. The chief stood by the door and talked and talked, calling the people. Everyone went in and then they took me in last. They made me walk around the fire twice in one direction,

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twice in the opposite direction, then once in the first direction. All was quiet. Then I sat down. Evans Bill [Tututni] got up and said they had a sick man with them; they had called for him. He said they had feathers which came from California and they believed in them. Then old Jack [Shasta] talked a long time with an interpreter. After that they made me sit on a box where the god was standing [i.e., center pole]. Then men and women stood around and sang. Klamath Charlie practiced on me. He blew his whistle in my ears, nose, and mouth. He kept coming back all through the dance and blowing on me. I got awfully tired. I thought they would never stop. Finally, Charlie took off his feather coat, brushed me with it and blew his whistle some more. This was the middle of the night and they stopped for an hour's rest. I went over and sat by my wife. I told her I was feeling better but not to say anything because I wanted them to go on working on me. Then the *tcimato* built up the fire and they started again. They put me in the same place. There was a lot of noise and singing. Men kept wiping me off with their feathers.[7] They didn't touch me with their hands. They took two or three hours. It was nearly daylight. Three men, each in a feather cape, danced around the fire and then stood one in back of me and one on either side. The chief told everyone to get up and help, to do good, if they did good their names would be good.

"At daylight all went down to the Siletz River to swim. When they came back they made me stand up and for about twenty minutes they brushed me off thoroughly with feathers. Klamath Charlie said it would take two or three nights to help me right. Then he asked me how I felt, whether I was better. I said, 'Yes, I feel better.' Everybody clapped. After that they went out and had breakfast.

"The Warm House Dance helped your sickness. They said sickness covered your face and body. You needed to have it wiped off."

Other fragmentary statements may be added insofar as they supplement or contradict Coquille Thompson's description and reveal attitudes toward the Earth Lodge cult.

[BILLY METCALF] "The Warm House Dance started somewhere in Sacramento. Young people took no interest in that dance. They made you

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keep quiet in the dance house. Young people made noise just to tease the older ones. The dancers used to do all kinds of things. They ran around the fire and jumped over it. It was like a circus. Klamath Charlie used to say that if a man pointed at a girl in the Warm House, she had to marry him or she would turn to stone. That is why young girls stayed away from there." Center pole painted with red and black spirals.

[HOSKIE DIMMONS] "If you dropped a feather, you were fined fifty cents. If you wanted to smoke, the *tcimato* had to light your pipe for you. When you went in, you had to turn around once in place at the entrance before taking your seat, just the way the Shakers turn around in front of the altar now. There were no real seats, just blankets spread on the floor. They kept the floor packed solid and swept clean. The houses were about thirty feet square and below ground. From 100 to 150 people could get in them. There was no sighting allowed in the Warm House. They were fined if they tried."

[ABE LOGAN] "All this cost money. The chiefs had to feed the dancers. A whole lot of people were ruined on account of this dance."

After the Earth Lodge cult had been introduced by Bogus Tom in 1873, another proselytizer came from the south who was called Yreka Frank (Paitla). He is said to have arrived two or three years after Bogus Tom, which would date his activities in 1875 or 1876. The following statements were made concerning him by informants on Siletz Reservation.

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "Frank was a half-breed from the Sacramento River somewhere. He knew the Yreka [Shasta] Indians. First Bogus Tom came. Then there was a lot of traveling back and forth. Frank came two or three years after Tom. He was a good-hearted man. He stayed around Siletz for maybe a year."

[ABE LOGAN] "Yreka Frank was a half-breed who came with a woman called Julie Young. He stayed at the Klamath Grade dance house where the Shasta Indians were living. He talked about the Big Head coming up to this country before the dead returned, but the Big Head never came, nor did the dead."

[HOSKIE SIMMONS] [This informant's data were neither so complete nor so accurate as Coquille Thompson's. He seems not to have known

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about Bogus Tom. The following statements may telescope Tom's and Frank's activities.] "Frank came from somewhere around the Sacramento. He knew what the Indians would fall for. He said dead relatives would all come back if you accepted his word. The sooner and harder you danced, the faster they would come back. He brought some nice songs. He had them make coats out of feathers of all kinds, chicken, eagle, anything they could get. The coats were tied on around the neck and under the arms. On their heads the dancers wore yellowhammer headbands. They wore drawers, but otherwise they were naked. They had a little partition in the dance house where the dancers dressed. The people went crazy when they learned those dances and songs. It was something new, something great to them. They danced for a week at a time. They rode all the way to King's Valley for flour, sugar, and coffee."

Although Hoskie Simmons was a less reliable informant than Coquille Thompson, it is possible that the feather-cape element in addition to certain new songs were introduced by Frank. Coquille Thompson's description of the dance may have synthesized traits introduced by Bogus Tom and Frank. From the Californian material it would appear that the feather-cape element belonged to the slightly later Bole-Maru phase.

Furthermore, the second proselytizer, Frank, may be the Chico Frank or Paitla of Californian accounts. His identification is not positive, but it is known definitely that a Wintun Indian called Frank was an ardent Earth Lodge and Bole-Maru missionary whose movements can be traced with assurance as far as the Shasta of Yreka. It is with these Indians and with the northernmost Wintu that he is associated in the minds of Siletz informants. He seems to have had information concerning the Big Head cult, and he promised that it would be introduced at some later date. This indicates he was acquainted with affairs in north-central California. If the same man is everywhere in question, from the Chico Frank of the Wintun area to the Yreka Frank who went as far as Grand Ronde, he must have traveled a distance of some four hundred miles and have visited four tribes in California (Wintu, Achomawi, Northern Yana, Shasta) as well as two Oregon reservations. The only other proselytizer who covered comparable distances was the Paviotso, Frank Spencer. Bogus Tom may also be considered in this category if the travels ascribed to him in the following section are correctly reported.

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Many informants in the course of giving material made the statement that people "went crazy over the Warm House Dance." When asked what they meant, two anecdotes were told that bear repeating.

[HOSKIE SIMMONS] "After a time people went crazy and changed the rules of the Warm House Dance. They put fir branches on the fire to make a thick smoke. Then they would lay a man on the fire in the smoke to make him get a vision. One time Jim White [i.e., Grisco Jim] almost had his face burned that way because his wife got a message to burn off his whiskers. It burned his eyebrows too, but he just sat there and let her do it. After a while they wanted to go naked too. When they started going crazy the women were especially bad."

A sequel to this affair was told by an informant who had been directly involved:

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "It was after the Warm House Dance had died off a little. Grisco Jim's wife and another woman got together and went crazy. They burned everything in their house. Someone reported it to the agent. I was the Indian policeman, so he sent me to find out about it and bring them to him. I was afraid because they were crazy. When I got there the two women were running around almost naked. They ran up to me and asked if I believed their way, if I believed in God. They took off my hat, looked inside, and asked what the marks were. I said I wore a number seven hat. They said that was all right and clapped the hat back on my head. I was afraid they would get me down and rip off my clothes. I went to find Jim. They had singed all the hair off of that poor old fellow, even his eyelashes and eyebrows. He didn't know what to do. They had burned up his blankets and clothes, everything but the shirt he was wearing. We hitched up Jim's team and told the women to go and put on dresses. They were quiet by then and did it. Then we drove to the agency. They were quiet there, too. They were afraid of the agent. The agent asked Grisco Jim's wife why she had burned up everything. She said she had heard voices telling her to. The agent said she should be ashamed to abuse poor old Jim. He told her to behave herself. Then he gave them clothes, blankets, and food, and sent them home. After that they were all right. This was in about 1878.

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One other anecdote illustrates the emotional instability associated with the Earth Lodge furor:

[HOSKIE SIMMONS] "Baptiste was a relative of mine who went crazy over the Warm House Dance. One morning he was coming out of the Warm House when he saw a great big black-and-white hound run under his house. Then he saw his daughter, who had been dead for years, go into his house. He thought the dead had started to come back, and he was happy. He planned what he would say to her when he went in the house and saw her sitting there. He went in and looked all around and couldn't find her. That shook his faith, and he gave up the dance."

From the preceding accounts some indication of the duration of the Earth Lodge cult may be derived. Coquille Thompson, who was quite accurate in his datings, said that by 1878 the movement was already on the wane. Some informants who were hostile to the cult said that the dance houses were destroyed by order of the agent four or five years after they were built. Others denied this. It is probable that meetings in the dance houses had been discontinued by 1880, but it is reasonably certain that groups of believers continued to meet and sing their songs for two or three decades longer and that a passive belief in the movement persists among the surviving participants until the present.

GRAND RONDE

Grand Ronde Reservation is some forty miles north and east of Siletz. The tribal constituency of both reservations overlaps. In comparison to Siletz, Grand Ronde had a larger proportion of northern coastal and Willamette Valley people and fewer from southern coastal and central tribes. The history of the Earth Lodge cult in the two reservations is practically the same. Both Bogus Tom and Frank visited Grand Ronde after leaving Siletz. Although the data from both places are similar, details are given to permit comparison.

[JOHN SIMMONS] "Bogus Tom had been moved to Grand Ronde Reservation with other Shasta, but he didn't like it here so he went back to his own country. Later he came back here with the Warm House Dance.

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He had some women and younger men with him. California Ann was the name of one of them. He talked only a little jargon; mostly he used Shasta and interpreters. He stayed a couple of months and taught them to do everything." Informant knew of no doctrine concerning the return of the dead in the Warm House affair but admitted, "I was a young fellow then and we just saw it as a good time and a feast. The older people took it seriously. The preachers talked a lot about being good so that when you died you would go to heaven. They said to help one another. They prayed a lot. They really believed in the Christian way."

Dance house—Two built on Grand Ronde. One at Rock Creek in present town of New Grand Ronde. Used by Shasta, Umpqua, and Rogue River tribes. Chiefs there were Shasta Tom, Solomon Riggs, and Peter Makai. Bob Reilly was one of best preachers. Other dance house on South Yamhill River, about one mile from first. Used by Santiam, Calapuya, and others. Chiefs were Jo Hutchinson, William Williamson, and Tom Hutchins (informant uncertain about names). Houses eight to ten feet deep, about thirty feet square. Two poles supporting rafters called Jo and Jim. Does not know why; did not represent anything; not decorated. House was earth covered. Door oriented to east.

Dance—Caretaker (*tcimato*) to care for fire. Danced five nights until one or two in morning. Slept during day. All camped around dance house. Before dance all sit in house and sing. Fire in center. Women in semicircle between fire and rear of house. Men chosen to dance went behind canvas partition in southwest corner. Called "seal house" in jargon. Came out one at a time, circled fire, lined up in front of semicircle of women with backs to fire. This figure called jump-jump because double kicklike shuffle used. Men wore feather capes to heels and headbands. These had been made on reservation under Bogus Tom's instruction; new features. Men danced with whistles in mouths; new feature. Singers used split-stick clapper; new feature. No drum; no bells. After dancers lined up with backs to fire, new song begun; dancers began circling fire; when song changed (i.e., pitch rose?) they spun in place. Danced close to fire; "sweated hard." Each song repeated five times; three or four different songs used. Then returned to partition; removed regalia. Other dancers chosen to replace first set. Toward end of evening, a circle dance for men, women, and children. All took hands, circled fire, once in one

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direction, once in reverse direction. "This circle dance belonged to the old Feather dance" (i.e., Ghost Dance proper, which used the Dream or Feather dance?), but it was also part of Earth Lodge cult. Had special song for it introduced with Earth Lodge cult. No curing.

The accounts that follow are simply excerpts from longer statements and substantiate or supplement the foregoing description. The first informant was the wife of Solomon Riggs, the Umpqua chief of the Rock Creek dance house.

[JENNIE RIGGS] "At first my husband didn't attend the dances, but Bogus Tom said if you didn't go you would turn into a rock or a rotten log. Bogus Tom could only talk a little jargon, so my husband did the preaching in jargon for him so that everybody could understand. They talked about God and prayed all the time. The dance was made by someone who died and came alive again."

Dance house—Kept very clean; hard-packed earth floor swept. Two poles supporting rafters called "bosses," that is, chiefs. One called Jim. "They said there were poles like that in heaven."

Dance—In Rock Creek house: three *tcimato*, two singers, eight men's dance costumes. Three of the latter bought by Solomon Riggs, Umpqua chief, for fifteen dollars apiece. Consisted of ankle-length feather capes, yellowhammer-quill headbands "that came low over their eyes so they couldn't see. They were awfully pretty." Dance lasted until almost daylight. House crowded with spectators. Sometimes danced in afternoon. Informant seemed to recall dance with much aesthetic pleasure. Three or four women appointed to prepare meals for group in separate cook house.

Burial—"When a person died, Warm House people didn't cry, they sang. About fifteen women stood in line and waved fir branches in their hands and sang for the dead. It was awfully nice, what those people did. They stood around the grave and did this. They had different songs from those in the dance house. They helped to send the dead up to heaven."

Conversion—"An old Indian doctor woman was sick. She wanted to die. Suddenly she sat up and was well again. She started singing Warm

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House songs. She said she had seen the dead all singing and dancing in the Warm House up in heaven. They were awfully pretty. She hadn't quite believed in the Warm House power until she saw all these things herself."

Curing—"If a person had a headache or something not very bad, they doctored them in the Warm House by putting their hands on them and praying. Just Bogus Tom did that."

[JOHN WATCHINO; Clackamas] [The following account is valuable in revealing the attitude of skeptics on Grand Ronde.] "When Bogus Tom first came he went to Shasta Tom's house and all the chiefs gathered there to hear about it. Old chief Louis Lapasant [Umpqua] asked him questions he couldn't answer. When Bogus Tom was asked where he learned this, all he could say was that it came from far away. Bogus Tom said we would see our dead relatives come back. So they asked if any people who had built Warm Houses had seen that yet, and he couldn't answer that either. Louis Lapasant wouldn't have anything to do with it then. I was chief of my people then and I told them there was nothing to this Warm House business, so they didn't join in.[8] Our God gave us our religion and there was nothing about the Warm House in it. Our old religion said the world was to change, but it never said we would live to see it.

"When the Shasta called the dance, they had a big camp around the Warm House and lots of Umpqua went. They believed for a time. Many people were fooled. Bogus Tom said if they followed the rules, the dead would come back faster. In the Warm House Dance they bought feathers for costumes and sewed them on cloth to make capes. Brown eagle tail feathers were bought from anyone who had them. They cost one dollar apiece. They made fools of themselves buying feathers.

"When Bogus Tom first came they danced in Bob Reilly's house, and after Bogus Tom left, Bob Reilly led the dances. In Tom's way of dancing the women just stood in place, but Bob went down to the Shasta and when he came back he had the women wave their arms in time to the music. It was awfully pretty.

"In the Warm House there were three big poles. Each had a name. When you entered you circled the poles. No one might touch them. If you touched them, you got sick and nothing would make you well

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again. A Shasta doctor called Scagin Jim had put the power there, and a lot of young men who didn't believe were killed from touching them. So Louis Lapasant sent for a Yakima doctor called John Bull to overpower Scagin Jim. John Bull was asked to find out what was wrong with the pole. He sang and blew on it and caught Scagin Jim's power. Jim jumped up and wanted the power back. They wanted to kill Scagin Jim, but the agent wouldn't let them. That is what broke up the Warm House Dance. A short time after that Scagin Jim died. John Bull must have spoiled his power."

From these accounts it appears that the content of the Earth Lodge cult in Siletz differed from that in Grand Ronde only in curing. On the latter reservation it was almost nonexistent.

Four years after his first visit, Bogus Tom is supposed to have returned to Grand Ronde. By this time the Indian authorities were opposing the dance vigorously, and Bogus Tom was ordered to leave the reservation on the same day. At this point it may also be pertinent to insert a brief indication of Bogus Tom's further travels. They were known to only one informant, who was, however, a reliable person well acquainted with the lower Columbia territory.

[JOHN WATCHINO] "After leaving Grand Ronde, Bogus Tom went to St. Helens, Oregon. He told the Klickitat who were living there to build a Warm House, but they wouldn't believe him.[9] He also went to The Dalles to make those people believe, but they would not. I heard this from a cousin who lived at Kelso, Washington."

If this statement may be accepted, Bogus Tom is also one of the great travelers of this early phase of cult movements. He must have traveled some four hundred miles from his home territory before he began his return trip. In this respect he ranks with the Wintun, Frank (Paitla), and with the Paviotso, Frank Spencer.

The proselytizer, Frank, who followed Bogus Tom in Siletz seems also to have visited Grand Ronde. To judge from informants, he seems to have made very little impression upon the Indians of the latter reservation. Only one comment concerning him bears repetition.

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[JENNY RIGGS] "About a year after Bogus Tom was here a half-breed, called Frank, came here. He talked about the Big Head dance coming to this country. He said he had seen the dead dance among the live people and that he believed from then on in this word. He said the dead were painted black from their feet to their knees. He had seen this in California where there was a big Warm House."

This seems to confirm my inclination to identify the Frank of Oregon accounts with the Wintun called Chico Frank or Paitla, whose activities are described in part 3 and who has been discussed in the preceding section on Siletz. Frank told the same story to the Northern Yana and Wintu. It probably refers to the hoax perpetrated by one of the Bole-Maru originators, Homaldo, at Grindstone in Wintun territory. The matter is discussed more fully in the appropriate sections.

OREGON CITY AFFAIR

From a Modoc it was learned that an abortive attempt had been made to introduce Earth Lodge cult from Klamath Reservation to Oregon City, just south of Portland. In Grand Ronde a Clackamas confirmed the account. The two versions follow.

[HARRISON BROWN; Modoc] "Some Klamath Reservation Indians went to Oregon City. They were Leleks,[10] Captain Woods, George Chiloquin and his brother Mose, Jo Kaskeney, and Tuba Kelly. They went up to get some Indians out of jail. Some of the Indians at Oregon City must have heard this word about the dead coming back because they asked those Klamath men if it was true. The Klamath men told them not to believe too much in it. They hadn't gone up to convert them, but the Indians up there wanted to know about it. They said they wanted to know how to make the dance. So the Klamath men said, 'If you are determined to know how this dance is made, we shall show you.' They told them to gather firewood, to swim, to dance five nights, to do all the things they did down here. They even told them about turning into stones for not believing. These Klamaths stayed only the first night and then came back to the reservation, so they don't know how long it lasted or what happened."

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[JOHN WATCHINO; Clackamas] "Some Klamath Reservation Indians came as far as Oregon City and preached this Warm House business. They came about three years after Bogus Tom had been at Grand Ronde [i.e., in ca. 1875]. There was quite a group of them, but I don't know their names. They danced in the big living house that belonged to an old Indian called Klikitat Monty. They danced just one Sunday. Monty said he wanted to see what it was like and how they acted. He didn't like it and made them stop. He believed in his own church, not in this Warm House business. There were many people around Oregon City every summer. The Indians from Grand Ronde went there while the salmon were running."

The lack of conviction and enthusiasm on the part of both the Klamath proselytizers and the Oregon City recipients would alone serve to explain why the Earth Lodge cult failed to spread northward upon this occasion. Probably there were other instances in which the cult failed definitely to interest certain groups, but material of this type is difficult to procure after a lapse of sixty years. The failure of Bogus Tom to interest the Columbia River people is another case in point. The factors for rejection, if available, would be interesting for study.

Thompson's Warm House Dance

Coquille Thompson's valuable material on the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult has been quoted at length in preceding sections. In about 1878 this informant organized a group to carry a modified version of the Siletz Earth Lodge cult southward along the Oregon coast. His partner in the undertaking was Chetco Charlie. The trip began in April and lasted approximately the whole summer. Dances were given at the following places: Alsea, now called Waldport, at the mouth of the Alsea River, for one night only; Florence, at the mouth of the Siuslaw, where a dance house was erected and the group stayed at least three weeks; Gardiner, at the mouth of the Umpqua, where a meeting was held unsuccessfully in a hired hall; and Empire, on Coos Bay, where the dancers met for about a month in a canvas enclosure.

In the following paragraphs a general statement by Coquille Thompson will be given first. Then comments by various informants will be given

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under the four dance centers as subheadings. It should be noted that Coquille Thompson was somewhat reticent about his activities and tried to disclaim responsibility for the movement, whereas other informants uniformly recognized him as leader and instigator of the dance.

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "Chetco Charlie asked me to carry the Warm House Dance south along the Oregon coast. He asked me because I knew all the songs and dances. Charlie said he would make the feathers first and then we could set out in April. He made four or five capes out of chicken feathers and gunny sacks. They tied around the neck and under the arms and hung down to the shin bone. These feather capes had been brought in by Bogus Tom's Warm House Dance. Charlie didn't have yellowhammer feathers for headbands, so he made imitation ones out of paper and paint. He made whistles out of bird legbones for the cape dancers and a split-stick clapper for me as chief singer."

The party that set out consisted of Chetco Charlie (Chetco), his wife (Coos), Coquille Thompson (Upper Coquille), and his wife (Applegate Creek). At Alsea, William Smith (Alsea) joined them and went as far as Coos Bay. John Watson (Alsea chief) also joined them there but went only as far as Florence. Palmerly traveled with them from Florence to Coos.

"Chetco Charlie did the preaching. Everyone talked jargon so we could understand each other. I wouldn't preach because I wasn't sure whether it was true.[11] Charlie told the people that this word came from California and that the dance went with it. You had to believe in this dance, and maybe later the world would be changed. You have to do what is right. You have to believe one way, and then you will be saved. God [*hawaaleci*] gave this dance, and you have to keep it up. He did not preach about the return of the dead, but others talked about it." There were no restrictions of food taboos of any kind for the dancers. "But it was the rule that if you got a sore throat from singing, you had to drink salt water. That rule didn't go with any other dance."

Alsea (Waldport)

[ANNIE PETERSON; Coos] "Coquille Thompson carried this word around to make money. He charged people to come in and see it. He

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said if they danced the dead would come back, but he never said when. He didn't say what would happen to the whites. Nobody had trances during his dance. If you didn't join in you would turn to rock. If you didn't marry whoever wanted you, you turned to rock. He showed them how to dance. He used songs he learned from someone else. They were in a different language. They danced in a white man's kind of house. Women lined up on one side and men on the other. In some of their songs, the two lines changed sides. They wore any of the old-time kind of feathers they happened to have. Thompson used sticks that looked like castanets to keep time with [split-stick clapper]. I never saw anything like that before."

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "At Alsea we spread a blanket on the ground and some old people laid shirts and beads and things on it. So we danced just one night for them. They liked it."

Florence

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "We got there and the chief who knew my father fed us and said he would like to hear our songs. Toward dark my wife taught some of the women the songs and I taught seven or eight men. The chief liked the songs. About midnight he made a speech asking us to stay. The next day they decided to put up a Warm House. It was about five feet deep and took about two weeks to build. The chief, Umpqua Dick, and Chetco Charlie took charge of that. Then we danced there for about a week."

[FRANK DREW; Coos] "Coquille Thompson and Chetco Charlie believed that the departed ones wanted to return to this earth. It seemed there was an arch obstruction up in heaven between that place and this. They called that arch *oyo* [rainbow]. Every time the dead wanted to get back to earth, the arch closed down. They were trying awfully hard to get by it. Every time they tried to climb over it, it raised itself. They couldn't get around it because it stretched from one end of the world to the other.[12] But if the living were faithful and honest, they would in time get the dead to come back to this earth. To do this the living had to obey what was told them. The dead are still living and want to come back.

"For this message to bring back the dead they had to build a large

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house. It was about six feet deep, twenty wide, and forty long. They made a clay floor. The chiefs of the three tribes [Coos, Umpqua, and Siuslaw] helped to get it built. They were not supposed to use white people's materials, like nails or iron. If there were anything like that in it, the people of the tribes would be destroyed when the dead returned. They went into the woods and cut down a tree about two feet in diameter, peeled it, and set it in a hole in the middle of the floor. Then they put up three parallel rows of timbers the length of the house, notched to support the rafters. When finished, they made a partition of blankets at the end of the house opposite the door. The door, in a short side of the building, faced the river.

"It seems that Chetco Charlie and Thompson had to have presents for bringing this news. At the first meeting there were about one hundred people, and they all gave shirts, blankets, and beads. They built a fire in the middle. Dancers dressed behind the partition. They came out all decorated and danced as close to the fire as they could. They had whistles made of bird legbones and plugged up at one end. Those who sang had a split-stick clapper of elderberry. That was new to this country. They had always used a drum before. It probably belonged to that religion. They had lovely songs, and the young people learned them fast. It stirred up the Indians around here quite a lot. Thompson stood between the center pole and the door. He and Chetco Charlie set the songs, and the rest joined in. The dance lasted until about midnight. They danced for about ten days at Florence. After Thompson left, they just made fun of it and didn't keep on dancing."

[LOTTIE EVANOFF; Coos] "Thompson said if they paid a dollar to see the dance, their dead relatives would pay it back and more when they returned. Maybe you would get a hundred dollars. He said that old men who married young women would be young again when the dead came. He never talked about the world ending, but those who didn't believe would go to hell. They cut down a big pole, painted it white, and put it up in the middle of the dance floor. That pole was supposed to be their father. At noon and before dancing, they prayed and cried to it, blew smoke on it. Thompson appointed Umpqua Dick to do this. Toward morning they sat on their knees [?] and sang. That was when God looked down on them."

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Gardiner

[FRANK DREW] "From Florence everyone went to Gardiner on the north side of the Umpqua River. They wanted to perform among the whites and carry the message to them. In those days that was the only place where there were a lot of whites. There was a lot of whiskey there, too. Thompson rented a hall in Gardiner and charged fifty cents admission. Quite a crowd came. Jesse Martin was doorkeeper. He had orders not to let anyone in after the dance started. The Indians weren't doing this for money; they wanted to convince the whites. Some white fellows who were drunk wanted to come in after the performance had started. The local pugilist had a scheme to wipe out the Indians for daring to do this. He knocked down Jesse Martin. His brother came to rescue him and knocked down the pugilist. Chetco Charlie, Thompson, and the two Martin brothers were the only ones who fought. They were all young men at that time, and there was quite a roughhouse. They used their split-stick clappers as clubs. The meeting was broken up, and the Indians went back to Florence."

It should be noted that Coquille Thompson omitted all mention of this fiasco in the account of his activities.

Empire

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] "When we got to Empire there were a lot of white people there. We put up a canvas fence and danced in there. The whites all liked it. It was the first time they had seen anything like that. We stayed there about one month, and I lived with relatives I had there. We gave dances three times a week. Bill Rose liked that dance in particular. He was a white man and a bachelor. He used to bring white girls to see the dance. When we were all through, Chetco Charlie and I divided the money. I took all the white man's money, and Charlie took all the beads and clothing. I didn't have any use for Indian money. I wouldn't have known how to use it."

Dream Dance

While I was gathering material on the Oregon Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cults, informants referred frequently to Dream dances. They were

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repeatedly characterized as "old-time dances." They seem, however, to have been used as a vehicle not only for the Ghost Dance doctrine but also for its subsequent outgrowths. It will be recalled that on Siletz Reservation the Tututni group, under the leadership of Sixes George, used a Dream dance for the first rumors concerning the return of the dead. Dream dances were also used on Alsea Reservation. It was stated that Depot Charlie carried a Dream dance to the Tolowa at the time he introduced them to the Ghost Dance doctrine. Dream dances were also used on Yahatc Reservation before it was disbanded in 1876, and they were continued by the group of Coos, Umpqua, and Siuslaw who were moved from there to Florence on the mouth of the Siuslaw. The Tillamook on the coast north of Siletz seem also to have possessed an old Dream dance pattern, into which Ghost Dance ideas may at one time have been injected to a minor degree.

The most common alternate term for the Dream dance is the Feather dance. That name seems to have become attached to it after the dance was secularized and actual dreaming was no longer the chief impetus for a performance. It is possible that the so-called Oregon dance of the Tolowa is also an imported Dream or Feather dance.

The descriptions and comments by various informants on this dance will be given under the proper geographical captions, which are listed from north to south along the Oregon coast.

Tillamook

Before the informant's birth (i.e., before 1870), a Southwest Wind dance was known.[13] It was revived during the informant's childhood by George Tcainas, a Yaquina Tillamook, and Hyas John. They called meetings at Garibaldi, Nehalem, and other places. Dances were held in large dwelling houses every other night during the winter. They taught that all who did not dance would die. Participants, on the other hand, would live to see the return of their dead relatives. Whatever one requested during the evening ritual would materialize outside one's door in the morning. George Tcainas used a square skin drum. The drum was suspect because it had not been used customarily in Tillamook winter dances. It was supposed to be the kind used by the dead people in the spirit land. Dancers wore headbands into which feathers were inserted and held sticks to which feathers had been attached. The drummer with his male assistants stood against

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one wall. On the other side of the house the people sat and pounded on a board with small sticks. Two women entered and danced to a song. They were replaced by two others, who danced to another song. Sometimes men performed in this fashion. All joined in the songs set by the leader. The whole movement seems to have been associated with the Tillamook father of fish, Asayahal. In one song he is definitely mentioned.

The dance and songs are said to have been carried to a group of Chinook and Clatsop at Fort Stevens in Clatsop territory by some Nehalem Tillamook. The movement lasted in the Tillamook area from ten to twenty years, that is, roughly, from the late 1870s to perhaps the 1890s. Dr. Melville Jacobs identifies the three following features as alien to Tillamook winter dance practices: (1) use of skin drum, (2) segregation of men and women in dances, (3) desire for return of dead.

Grand Ronde

[LOUIS FULLER; Tillamook] "In the Dream dance, people danced in any building [as contrasted to special Warm House structure], usually the chief's dwelling. The man who dreamed a song leads the dance. They had this in Grand Ronde before the Warm House Dance came in. They had always had Dream dances, but they put in the new idea about the dead coming back. Some of the people who were dreamers before the Warm House Dance were Bill Williams [Yoncalla], Jo Hudson [Calapuya], and Peter McCoy [Umpqua]. They dreamed the dead would return and they danced hard for it. That was just a short time before the Warm House Dance. Some man in California had dreamed about the dead first. When the Warm House Dance came they all joined in that. After the agent made them stop, they went on with the old Dream dances and kept up the belief."

Siletz

[COQUILLE THOMPSON; Upper Coquille] "The Dream dance has been going on ever since there have been people in this world. Either a man or woman dreams something and he has to do it. He has to sing what he dreamed in front of all the people, and they believe in him. One dreamer would die and another would start in. When you are asleep you dream that you see many dead people who are dancing and singing. When you

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wake up the next morning you say that you dreamed something good. You tell what the dead people are using—feathers, beads, everything. You remember how they sang. If the song is good enough, the people dance with it for five nights. If the song isn't good, they don't go on with it. There were Dream dances about every three or four months. People from other tribes hear about it and come to join in. There is lots of fun and food."

Dance—Held in a large house, usually the chief's. Women wore beads and tied around heads bandanas in which they stuck feathers. Men did the same or wore feather hats. Faces painted in red or black but not formalized. The chief started the singer. The singer kept time by striking a heavy roof board with a pole about ten feet long. The butt of the pole was held in the palm of the right hand and steadied with the left one. The dreamer sat down and sang his song. The regular singer learned it right away and joined in. Then as the others learned it they joined in too. The dancers lined up facing in one direction. The leader stood to one side at one end of the line. No whistles, no drums. In morning all bathed.

"They used to have these Dream dances in the old days whenever they were lonesome and wanted some fun." Not sure whether new song was necessary for a dance or whether older Dream songs could be used. "If a man dreamed and concealed the fact, he got sick. A doctor was called. He sang and found out what was wrong. He told the sick man he was hiding a song and he had better give a dance the next night. After the dance, the sick man felt better. Dreamers of songs had no curing powers. They have to be pure and straight, not like Indian doctors, who get mean. In the old days there were just a few who were dreamers, but with the Warm House Dance everyone got that way." The Dream dance and Feather dance are the same thing.

"Coquille Jim was a big dreamer here at Siletz. He was a fine old man with bright eyes that looked right through you. He always dreamed of the dead. He said they would come back, but he never said when or how—they would just be here all of a sudden. Every night he dreamed, and in the morning he used to tell what he saw. He always had a new song. He was a big dance man, too. One night he saw the dead in a lovely place; the ground was all smooth and level like marble. All the

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people were the same height. They were all busy and happy. One night he dreamed he went to a Dream dance down here on earth. Just as all the people were standing singing with their heads thrown back and their arms raised, crying, he saw that the up-above people were dancing Dream dances, just like those down here, and they were sending their songs to earth. Then Jim saw a large white house descend from above and stop just about five hundred feet up in the air. Then steps came down from the house and a person all dressed in red with stars in his hair came down the steps and invited Coquille Jim to come up. He went right up the stairs and reached the porch of the house. He heard singing inside. He heard a big noise. He sat down in a fine chair. It was a glass house. A white man sat there with white hair and a white beard. He asked Jim if he saw people. He asked Jim who made eyes, hands, fingers to get food, everything. He said all these things were made to give the Indians an easy living so that they wouldn't have to dig and plant to live. All the wild things had been provided for them. Then the man turned and seemed to open a window. Jim saw the Modoc War with all the dead whites. The man showed him in another direction where there were a million million people. This man told Jim, 'Don't be afraid to dance. They dance everywhere. Soon your Dream songs will be shut up. There will be no more dance times. It is all right now, but soon it won't be any more.'"

[ABE LOGAN; Tututni] "After the Warm House Dance stopped on Siletz, they carried on with the Dream dances. They had a drum [probably post–Earth Lodge innovation] and all kinds of pretty feathers. Men and women dressed up as nicely as they could. They dreamed songs and preached to each other about them before dancing. They gave good advice, told why they were dancing, asked the Lord to help them to keep the peace. They held these dances in Joshua's house [chief of Rogue River group of Tututni] at Siletz. If you dreamed, you called people in to help you. The main dreamers were Sixes George [see Ghost Dance], Depot Charlie [see Tolowa], Jake Cook, Coquille Jim [see preceding informant], Chetco Charlie [see Thompson's Warm House Dance], and Skele. They all dreamed the dead were coming back when the grass was high. After a while the dreaming dropped out and the Dream dance turned into the Feather dance. It was just a fun dance. It lasted until

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about 1890. The whites used to call the Indians to put on a show, so they used the Dream dance feathers and songs and called it the Feather dance. It was mostly a white man's show."

Alsea to Florence

[FRANK DREW; Coos] The informant saw Dream dances at Yahatc Reservation before it was disbanded in 1876, and later he saw them at Florence and Siletz. He has seen none since 1894, when the Florence group was converted by two Evangelical missionaries.

"The Coos have always believed that when they sleep they are halfway between the land of the dead and the living. During the night they communicate with the dead and get lovely songs, which they sing in the morning. Some had lovely songs; others were not so good."

Dance—At sundown a man beats a drum for ten or fifteen minutes outside of assembly place. All gathered with regalia. Sat on either side of house. Chief prayed, said it is a good work, not to have evil thoughts, urged solemnity. Called on someone with dream experience to rise. To withhold dream communication or song is dangerous. Dreamer gives song to drummer. Audience rises, all tie bandanas around head, thrust in feathers; hold feather plumes in each hand. Two rows of dancers face each other, move together and apart. Dreamer in center between the two lines. Sing and dance one song two or three times. Then another dreamer gives a song. "These dances are very exciting. Sometimes people fell over in a faint. Once old Taylor fell over. They let him alone. That was the rule. He never got up again. He was dead. He was a big fat man and something must have gone wrong with his heart."

Jim Buchanan (Coos) was one of the dance leaders at Florence after Thompson's Warm House Dance. Used special dance house with center pole, which protruded beyond roof for about ten feet. House painted with red and white spirals, which were supposed to reach heaven. Before beginning to dance, marched around pole single file in complicated formations with Jim leading. All ages and both sexes joined in march. Jim prayed and sang song in unknown language. "It was so mournful some would break down and cry. Dream songs are better when they are sad." Then proceeded with regular Dream dance.

[HANK JOHNSON] "The Dream dance is the same as the Feather dance.

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After a dance they knelt down and prayed that they might see their dead again. Then they sing one song and they are ready to feast. They picked up their food and sat wherever they wanted to eat it. In Florence, after the Warm House Dance, they built a special house for Dream or Feather dances and for any other kind of meeting."

[ANNIE PETERSON] "People believed so much in the dead coming back that they began to dream about it. They got songs that way to use in their dances. At Alsea there were quite a few who got songs from their dead relatives in their sleep. They used feather wands to hold in their hands for these dances. The wands were sticks with four strings of feathers wrapped around them. Men wore headbands with feathers sewed on them so that they looked like tall, pointed hats. Dream dances lasted just a few years. Now they are used just for fun at Christmas or anytime, but they use the old dream songs in them. These dream songs were never used for curing."

Empire

[LOTTIE EVANOFF; Coos] "After Thompson's Warm House Dance they called it Dream dances because people dreamed of their dead relatives who gave them songs. It came to them in their sleep. Whoever dreamed a song, sang it and the people danced. Before dancing, people told about their dreams and everybody cried. Dancers wore chicken feathers dyed with white man's colors." Feathers were tied on hazel twigs with thread, and the twigs were fastened on a headband of skin or cloth. The effect was that of a peaked cap whose crown was composed of the feathered twigs. In each hand a feather plume was held. These were pointed diagonally downward, first to right and then to left in course of dance. Dances lasted only one night. "They were held every six or seven days, like church."

Tolowa

[BILLY METCALF; Tututni with Tolowa affiliations] "When Depot Charlie brought that message to Smith River [Tolowa] they used the Feather dance. The Tolowa call it the Oregon dance, too. The Feather dance is the same as the Dream dance, except that in the Dream dance they tell what they have seen in their dreams. The Feather dance uses Dream dance songs."

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To summarize: Prior to the Ghost Dance, gatherings were held that centered around dreamed revelations and songs. This seems to have been true for the northern and central Oregon coast tribes. The Tolowa and Tututni probably did not possess this custom prior to 1871. When the doctrine of the Ghost Dance was introduced, the Dream dance was used as a vehicle by local dreamers for revelations dealing with the return of the dead. On Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations certain groups may then have acquired the Dream dance for the first time. This seems to hold for the Tututni at least. At Alsea and Yahatc, Dream dances were either introduced or gained added impetus at this time. Also, the Tillamook seem to have revived dream performances under the stimulus of Ghost Dance doctrines.

When the Earth Lodge cult was introduced, it consumed most of the energy and attention of at least Siletz and Grand Ronde groups. After the Earth Lodge cult died down, due in part to official disapproval, the Dream dances were resumed since they could be given more privately. When Coquille Thompson took his Warm House Dance down the Oregon coast, he visited people already familiar with the Dream dance and the idea of the returning dead. Since the Warm House doctrine was also concerned with the advent, it may have helped to keep Dream dances alive. In any event, after Thompson left Florence and Empire, groups continued with the older Dream dance pattern until the Indian communities disappeared.

Characteristic of the Dream dance are (1) dreamed revelation and songs; (2) necessity for publicizing one's dreams; (3) dances held in dwellings; (4) headbands, often bandanas, into which feathers were thrust; (5) feather wands held in hands; and (6) peaked feather caps worn by some men dancers. All of these elements were probably pre–Ghost Dance. Additional new features were (7) stress on return of the dead and (8) use of square skin drum. As dreaming diminished and Indian life disintegrated further, the Dream dance became the Feather dance, in which only the forms were maintained and the supernatural inspiration was disregarded.

Confusion still exists regarding the relationship between the Dream dance and the Ghost Dance. Although informants state that the Dream dance was used on Siletz Reservation for the Ghost Dance doctrine and that this was the form taken to the Tolowa by Depot Charlie, the Tolowa reported that they used a round dance, customarily associated with the Ghost Dance, to hasten the advent. Although there is no doubt that the

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Ghost Dance ideas reached the Oregon reservations, there is no proof that the diagnostic round dance was performed in conjunction with it, except insofar as the Tolowa are said to have received it from Siletz. In the minds of the Oregon people, the older Dream dance was the paramount vehicle for the first expression of the new doctrine.

Tichenor Affair

Among the many dance forms exchanged along the Oregon coast during the 1870s and 1880s, one more, probably, falls within the scope of this study. The fullest account follows:

[FRANK DREW] "Isaac Martin [Coos] and Cyrus Tichenor[14] [Coos] went south along the coast some place and came back to Yahatc Reservation about four years before it was closed [i.e., in ca. 1872]. They brought the news that the people to the south were working hard to bring the dead people back. The harder they danced, the sooner the dead would come. Isaac was a young man and quite rich. He must have believed it was true because he was very sincere. So many people came to the dance that they couldn't all get in. I was just a boy and peeked through a crack. I saw all the people dancing in a circle, men and women alternating. There was no fire in the center of the circle. Tichenor taught the songs, and people circled in time to them. He had several songs that were new. They would dance three times to one song, then give a shout and stop. After resting, they repeated it another three times, rested again, and again danced three times [i.e., nine repetitions of same song]. After that they started another song. They danced for only one night there at Yahatc. A woman called Caroline went crazy over the dance that night and was never sane again."

Another Coos informant, Annie Peterson, dictated to Jacobs practically an identical account of Tichenor's dance at Yahatc. The statement suggested that Tichenor and Martin had just returned from a trip to Tolowa territory, that it was customary for travelers to show the dances they had learned in other tribes, and that the affair had no religious connotations for the informant. In addition, she said that when dancers were too numerous for one circle, two concentric circles were formed with the children in the center.

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Tichenor seems to have introduced to the Yahatc people a form of the Ghost Dance proper, which had just reached the Tolowa in 1872 through the proselytizing efforts of Depot Charlie. The movement did not continue after one night of dancing. It may, however, have made them more receptive to Dream dances, discussed in the preceding section.

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PART THREE ○ North-Central California

Parts 1 and 2 dealt with the introduction of the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult into northernmost California and western Oregon. The diffusion along the Klamath drainage and including Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations formed a close circle, the two ends of which met in northern Yurok territory. There has been, so far, no discussion of the manner in which the Ghost Dance reached north-central California, or of the way in which the Earth Lodge cult developed from Ghost Dance stimuli. Part 3 will deal with (1) fragmentary and abortive manifestations of the Ghost Dance among the Hill and Mountain Maidu; (2) the introduction of the Ghost Dance from the east along the Pit River drainage in Achomawi territory; (3) the transformation of the Ghost Dance into the Earth Lodge cult by Norelputus; (4) the diffusion of the Earth Lodge cult to the north, south, and west across the Coast Range; (5) the development of the Bole-Maru from the Earth Lodge cult by Lame Bill and Homaldo; and (6) the subsequent growth of these cults in each area. These developments occurred simultaneously with the movements described in preceding sections. The Ghost Dance entered the Pit River area in 1871. The Earth Lodge cult reached its climax among the Pomo in 1872, and within a year the Bole-Maru was already taking shape. These cults are not traced as separate movements, but instead they are described chronologically within the various tribal groups. The necessity for such treatment will be apparent in the complex and closely interrelated nature of the material.

Mountain and Hill Maidu

There are certain hints of abortive Ghost Dance introductions into the Mountain Maidu group in the vicinity of Susanville and into the Hill Maidu group in the vicinity of Mooretown.

At Susanville, a Mountain Maidu gave the following account of a Paviotso attempt to convert her people to the Ghost Dance doctrine. No other informant could be found who was able to amplify this statement.

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[ROXY PICANO] "When I was about thirteen years old [ca. 1870–1871], we were all camped at Willard's place, southwest of Susanville, to gather roots. Some Paiutes came to our village near Janesville. Everybody was away gathering roots, so Lamb Samson and Jim Holsom brought the Paiutes to Willard's place where we were camping. The Paiutes sang and danced all night around a fire. They said the dead were coming back and an Indian doctor had told them to do this. After that the Paiutes turned around and went back to their own country. Our people never believed in this. They said no one could bring the dead back. Afterwards we heard that a lot of that sort of thing was going on at Dixie Valley [Achomawi], but we never paid any attention to it."

The place from which the Paviotso proselytizers came was not specifically determined. The most immediate vicinity was probably Honey Lake, where Washo, Paviotso, and Maidu groups were in touch with each other. Although Frank Spencer was well known in Susanville, where one of his Achomawi wives is still living, no one was acquainted with his early proselytizing efforts in connection with the Ghost Dance. Biritcid and Utcolodi, who converted the eastern Achomawi, were also known as personalities but not as missionary-messengers. The statements of the one informant and the absence of confirmatory data from others concerning the Ghost Dance indicate that the movement was probably of little consequence among the Mountain Maidu. Further confirmation of its insignificance is implied in the absence of subsequent dreamers. The Achomawi, Mike Harm, who gave séances near Susanville in approximately 1890, was considered a foolish impostor by most of the local Maidu.

Among the Hill Maidu no traces of any modern cult movement were found until the group at Mooretown was visited. Mooretown lies south and east of Chico on a ridge above the Feather River. Here only one informant was able to furnish any pertinent material.

[GEORGE MARTIN] "About sixty-three years ago [ca. 1871] Widunduni gathered all the people together to meet their dead who had died a long time ago. They met at Kushte, about five miles east of Mooretown and two miles southeast of Feather Falls. He wanted them to bring what they could to give their dead people. Everyone gathered for fifty miles

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around. Widunduni learned all this from dreaming. A long time ago Wonomi [mythical being] traveled north through this country. He made everything. When people died they went north to Wonomi. The dead were to come back from the north. Wonomi had put the people on this earth and he was to bring them back. Widunduni was both a *yukbe* [dreamer] and *yeponi* [member of secret society]. It was his *yukbe* power which gave him that message. Every night his dreams took him farther and farther away from this country, until he got way up north where the dead were and they told him these things.

"Widunduni danced near Mooretown for about three months during the first summer. They sang every night to make his dream come true. They used the Fire dance [*sam*, fire; *gamini*, dance]. The fire in the dance house was low so that it was dark. Everyone was quiet so that the dead would not be frightened. Twenty-five or thirty men and women made a big circle around the fire and the two center posts. No one made any noise, the singers sang softly, the drum was dulled. The dancers stood in place and stamped softly. Widunduni dreamed this dance himself. It had never been known before, and it has never been used since. The dead were supposed to be dancing in that same way. People thought the dead would come in and join them. There was a special song to go with this dance.

"After a while people got tired of waiting for the dead and went back to their own places. When nothing happened, Widunduni gave up. No one has believed in his story since that time. People began plaguing him for what had happened, so the next summer he went to Quincy [Mountain Maidu] and told the same message up there. Very few people went with him from Mooretown because no one believed in him anymore. Some Washo Indians came to Quincy. The Quincy Indians quarreled with the Washos and killed some of them. Widunduni stayed near Quincy that winter. The next summer he went to Honey Lake where some Paiutes were camping. He tried to give his dance at Honey Lake, but the people up there killed him. Widunduni believed the country here was too rough for the dead to come to, so he was traveling north to meet them. He had always been a great traveler. He went south near Fresno, Bakersfield, over to the coast, and to Los Angeles. He went to Nevada a lot, too. He used to visit the Washo Indians a good deal."

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From this account and the ignorance of other informants, it would appear that Widunduni's efforts were short lived and caused but the slightest flurry in the conservative placidity of the community. It was impossible at this late date to trace Widunduni's travels sufficiently closely to hazard a guess as to the source of his Ghost Dance activities. The informant naturally insisted upon the independence of Widunduni's inspiration. It is very possible that he obtained the doctrine from the Washo or Paviotso. His use of a round dance further suggests this source, even though he gave it indoors.

As an explanation of Widunduni's failure to permanently convert the Maidu, the informant stated, "In the old days anybody who was a little bit more important than anyone else was killed. People never persisted long with anything new. If someone started something new, the others stopped after a little while and killed the one who started it." These comments suggest the leveling influence of a democratic group that places no premium on individuality. The combination of a democratic and nonindividualistic outlook may well make for social stability.

Of the Earth Lodge cult in the Sacramento Valley and of the elaborate Bole-Maru development, no trace seems to have reached the Hill Maidu, despite their proximity to Chico, where there was at least some interest in the Bole-Maru cult. In relation to modern cult movements, the two Maidu groups considered in this section represent an isolated backwash of cultural transmissions. They participated not at all in the intertribal contacts of the north-central Californians and had only the most fragmentary contact with the Paviotso of Nevada.

Achomawi and Northern Yana

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance from the Paviotso on the east and the immediate repercussion from the west of the Earth Lodge cult were received from Achomawi informants in a series of contradictory and confusing statements. Not one of the informants consulted was able to give a clear historical account. However, the description that follows is undoubtedly accurate in its main outlines.

The eastern Achomawi were converted by two Paviotso, Tom (Biritcid) and his brother, Utcolodi, who came from the vicinity of Honey Lake. The first dance was given on Madeline Plains. The second was at Likely, and from there it was carried on the one hand to Hayden Hill in the Dixie Valley re-

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gion, and on the other hand to Lookout in the Big Valley region. The Big Valley people carried the work farther west to Fall River Valley. From Fall River the message was forwarded to the Big Bend Achomawi, who passed it on to the Northern Yana. From Fall River the message seems to have spread as far as the Northern Yana merely by word of mouth and with very few, if any, dances. In other words, it spread chiefly as information and not as behavior. However, the chief of the Northern Yana was one Norelputus, who apparently was deeply impressed by the message and hastily spread it to the Wintun and Hill Patwin, from whence the doctrine was transmitted to the Pomo, as will be described subsequently. Under the influence and efforts of Norelputus and a convert from Grindstone (Wintun), called Paitla, the first message developed new features and spread back again toward the east. Paitla of these accounts is the Frank in Siletz and Grand Ronde material. In the course of the repercussion many of the western Achomawi heard the doctrine for the first time. Therefore the accounts of such informants generally give the west as the place of origin, while other informants, particularly those who have lived east of the Fall River, correctly attribute the origin of the cult to the Paviotso. In all events, the whole affair for the Achomawi culminated in the Fall River dance during May 1873.[1] It has been established with fair probability that the first furor and the subsequent repercussion occurred in the course of not more than two years. The first movement, originating in the east, is described first under the subheading "Ghost Dance." The repercussion from the west is described next under the subheading "Earth Lodge Cult." The reader is referred to figure 3 for a simplified map, which may facilitate an understanding of the complexities involved in quotations from informants. There follow accounts of the local religious developments from 1873 until 1934 insofar as they were influenced by the two cult movements of 1871 and 1872. The abortive introduction of the 1890 Ghost Dance is included also. The Northern Yana are treated as a unit with the western Achomawi. To the Central Yana a separate section is devoted because their experiences with the religious changes of the area seem to have been slightly different from that of their northern neighbors.

GHOST DANCE

The raw material that describes the Ghost Dance in Achomawi territory has been arranged from east to west following the solid line on figure 3. A summary is given at the end of this section.

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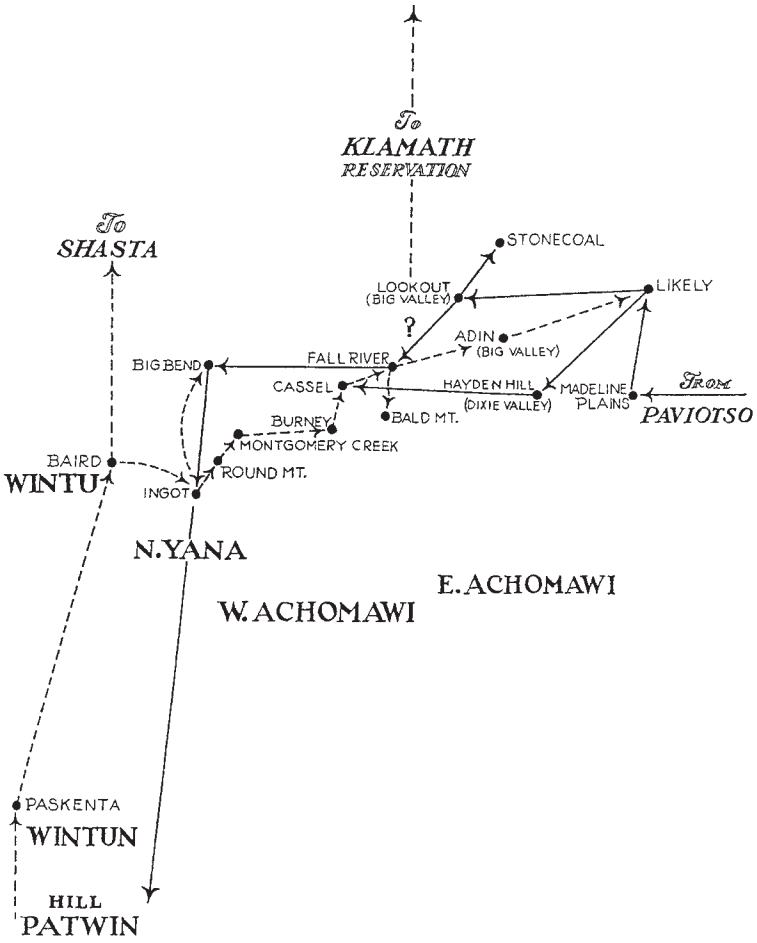

FIG. 3. Diffusion of modern cults through Achomawi territory. Continuous line, Ghost Dance from east; dotted line, Earth Lodge cult from west, containing Bole-Maru features.

[JOHN LAKE] "A Paiute, called Tom [Biritcid], first brought the word about the dead coming back. His brother Utcolodi came with him. Tom belonged near Honey Lake. He was married to two Pit River [Achomawi] women from Susanville. He died about twenty years ago [ca. 1912].

"The first dance was given on Madeline Plains just west of the town

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[Madeline] at Tsibilesapte. They danced all night until sunup for five nights. No one was allowed to sleep. All had to join in and help. There was a big circle with everyone, men and women, holding hands. They circled to the left with a short side step. In the morning everyone swam, even the children. That was the rule. The dead Indians who were coming back were dancing in the same way. Everyone had to eat together in the same place. They weren't allowed to do anything but dance. There were five songs that went with that dance. One was *hoina xea hena, pahateka, hena hain hena*. The words are in Paiute, so we don't know what they mean. There were people at this dance from Alturas, Likely, and Ash Valley. There was one man (at least) from Fall River, called Heluspulum. After the dance the Paiute went back to their own country. There was no time set for the return of the dead, no mention of the world catastrophe, no anti-white doctrine [in answer to questions]."

[JOHNNY STEVENS] After Biritcid and Utcolodi gave their dance at Madeline Plains they went home, but a man went on with it who belonged both to the Likely and Dixie Valley people. His name was Lusomdjidami (bald-face-eat). He gave a dance near Likely on top of Crooks Canyon. There were about two hundred people there who came from as far as Canby (northern end of Big Valley). Next he gave a dance at Hayden Hill to which the Dixie Valley people came. He was killed a few years after these dances.

[BILL WRAILER] The first (actually, the second) dance was given in the spring (of 1871?) at Likely where some Paviotso came to teach the doctrine. The dead were to return and bring with them a plentiful supply of Indian foods, like deer and tubers. After the dance, the Paviotso missionaries returned to their own country, which the informant believed to be in the vicinity of Reno. Captain Jim (Okadia), of Lookout in Big Valley, attended the Likely affair and carried the doctrine back to his own community, where he sponsored a dance. Here men and women danced around a central fire, holding hands. This conforms to the Paviotso dance. The participants painted red and white stripes on their foreheads, cheeks, and chests. There were, however, no innovations in this procedure. The dance and face paintings were old Achomawi traits. At this dance were a few Achomawi from Stonecoal Valley to the northeast, but aside from them the only outsiders were two young Paviotso "who

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had come over to look for girls and who didn't preach anything. They went back to Pyramid Lake after the dance was over."

[HARRY GEORGE] "Word came from the Paiute first. They danced here in Big Valley for it. Old Jim [*elelewami*; cf. Bill Wrailer above] went east to get the dance and bring it back here. Jim also carried the word to Fall River. They preached and prayed a lot in that first dance. They used Paiute songs. They danced outside in a big circle holding hands. They painted red dots [stripes?] on their cheekbones, like the Paiute. Nobody had trances. That Paiute dance didn't have much effect. They danced it here for about one year. The second dance, from the west, came about one year after we had stopped. That second dance had lots of effect. They only stopped dancing that a few years ago."

[PETE OTTER] At the first dance in Likely it was predicted that falling stars and earthquakes would accompany the return of the dead. An earthquake actually occurred, which may perhaps be identified with the same earthquake that Spier reported for the Klamath and which would establish the contemporariness of the two events, in the year 1871. The same informant said that the old expected to be rejuvenated with the advent. He believed that this was the reason they used the girls' adolescence dance (*datziwauke*, Coyote dance).

[SALLY KING] This informant had been captured when a child by the Modoc. As a young woman she returned to her home near Lookout in Big Valley, where she found her people under the influence of the Ghost Dance excitement. This was in the spring. She returned almost immediately to get her belongings, which she had left with the Modoc. Between the time of her departure from Modoc country and her return, that tribe had received the doctrine and were dancing. The informant returned to her own people for the second time that summer. Her father, who was a shaman of repute called Doctor Charlie (Bashiwi), was asked by his son to go into a trance in order to learn whether or not the dead were really returning. Doctor Charlie said that his guardian spirit, which was meadowlark, met not one dead person on his way from the spirit land. This statement shook the faith of a number of Ghost Dance adherents. The same informant reported that another shaman said the message "was all foolishness." "The doctors were all against it."[2] Doctor Charlie, at the same time that he denied the return of the dead, predicted an earthquake, which actually occurred a few days later.

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The importance of the earthquake is twofold. To the Achomawi it proved the omniscience of the shaman and therefore lent weight to his discrediting of the new doctrine. Historically, the earthquake serves to establish the simultaneity of the Klamath, Likely, and Lookout dances. It is interesting that the same tremor that reinforced faith in the Ghost Dance at Klamath Reservation and Likely should have discredited the Ghost Dance at Lookout.

Between the Fall River and Big Bend to the west no traces were found of the earlier Ghost Dance, except the following fragmentary statement by an Atsuge informant.

[JOHN SNOOKS] An unidentified person from Dixie Valley traveled through the Atsuge (Hat Creek) territory saying that the dead were coming back. Wealth was to multiply at this time. There was no anti-white doctrine, but Indian skeptics were to turn into rocks. Dances were held at Dixie Valley and at Hat Creek. The informant believed they were held as far west as Round Mountain (Northern Yana territory). This movement had died down when a second message from the west came through Atsuge territory.

At Big Bend, among the westernmost Achomawi, William Halsey was the only available informant capable of giving material on the Ghost Dance. He implied that there was a large gathering at Fall River for the first phase of the Ghost Dance. All other informants were in agreement that there was only one dance at Fall River and that it belonged to the second phase from the west. William Halsey did, however, receive a message from the east concerning the return of the dead. Although his account of affairs seems somewhat inaccurate and shows distinct discrepancies with the material of other informants, it is quoted at length because it constitutes our only clue for the passage of the Ghost Dance doctrine through the westernmost part of Achomawi territory to the Sacramento Valley at large.

[WILLIAM HALSEY] "All this was started over in Nevada by the Paiute. They came to Captain Dick at Fall River. They told him God was going to send back the dead and people were to get ready. They said the dead were to come back on the Fourth of July, so they had to hurry.[3] People

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from the south fork of Pit River [region of Likely and Alturas], Big Valley [in which is located Lookout], Hat Creek, Dixie, all over, got excited. So Captain Dick sent six old men to me. He sent old men so they would be believed. These messengers came in about April." The Big Bend people relayed word to Ingot, where Norelputus was chief. The latter's father was a Northern Yana and his mother a Wintu from Ydalpom on Squaw Creek. In May the Big Bend people set out for Fall River, but before they left all were "baptized" in the Pit River across from the hot springs at Big Bend.[4] It took them four days to reach their destination because there were "three or four hundred" of them and because they stopped to dance on the way. "Men and women danced the old-time round dance, holding hands and [revolving] with a short dragging side step."

When they arrived at Fall River the informant questioned Heskitca of Big Valley, who had the message directly from some Paviotso. Heskitca told the informant, "I met Winnemucca, who was chief there. His dreamer was Hempaiwula [informant very uncertain of name]. Winnemucca said they [Paviotso] danced the round dance at night and soon the dead came out behind the dancers. Some of the dancers knew their dead relatives, but the dead weren't ready to come back yet because the living weren't right, weren't good, didn't have the right mind, didn't live according to their old history and beliefs. I asked Heskitca how the Indians knew about the Fourth of July. It didn't sound good to me. Heskitca couldn't answer that." Winnemucca had asked Heskitca to bring all the Achomawi to meet him at Likely. William Halsey then said that he refused because it was too far to take so many people. In addition, the most powerful shaman among the western Achomawi, Subiski, was consulted on the probability of the advent. Although Heskitca wished to start for Likely that day, all delayed twenty-four hours to hear what Subiski would reveal after having been in a trance. While they waited for his revelation, the crowd danced all day and night. The next day Subiski is reported to have said, "Winnemucca's dreamer dreamed of Kuwila [large lizard?]. Kuwila gave him the dream, and the Kuwila were bad when they were a people [referring to the animal people who preceded humans in the mythology]. They wanted to kill all the time. God isn't going to tell any man what to do. It has never been in our history. If a man is good, God makes him that way in his thinking, he doesn't tell

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him in dreams. If the dead come back and the world ends, the sun will fall from the sky. When a doctor says the sun will fall from the sky, the people all know that it means no such thing can happen. So all stopped and went home. No one went to Likely, and Winnemucca didn't show up there."

From the preceding accounts it has been determined that the Achomawi received the Ghost Dance from two Paviotso messengers, Biritcid and Utcolodi. I had been under the impression that the Paviotso, Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), would prove to be the proselytizer of the Achomawi. This was definitely not so. Frank Spencer was known to the eastern Achomawi, but only after the Ghost Dance furor had subsided. To the Achomawi he was simply a Paviotso shaman. Of Biritcid and Utcolodi nothing was learned that would account for their interest in converting the Achomawi, except that the former was married to two women of that tribe. After their first dance at Madeline Plains, they returned to their own territory and their work was taken over by Lusomdjidami, who gave the next dance at Likely. From Likely, Lusomdjidami carried the message westward to the Dixie Valley region. The same dance at Likely was attended by Captain Jim, of Big Valley. After the Likely affair, Captain Jim not only gave dances in his own territory but informed the Fall River people to the west. West of Fall River in turn there is only a trace of the dance in a meager statement that the Atsuge first heard of the return of the dead from a Dixie Valley "preacher." Among the westernmost Achomawi of Big Bend, William Halsey is the sole survivor capable of giving information. His account was unfortunately quite garbled. It is plain, however, that these westernmost Achomawi transmitted the message to the Northern Yana. Their chief, Norelputus, became the leading figure in the creation of the Earth Lodge cult.

William Halsey's account implies a dance of great importance at Fall River for the earlier phase of the Ghost Dance. This was not substantiated by any other informant and is open to doubt. It is possible that William Halsey telescoped the Ghost Dance into the Earth Lodge cult, which actually did culminate in the Fall River dance of May 1873.

Norelputus is of great importance in the whole problem of establishing historic links between tribes, since he is the man to whom the Wintun and Hill Patwin attribute the introduction of the adventist doctrine. There is,

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however, one puzzling feature in this matter for which no explanation suggests itself. The Wintu, who would have been the logical ones for Norelputus to convert—first, because of the territorial contiguity, and second, because of his maternal ties among them—did not receive the doctrine originally from Norelputus but from one of his Wintun converts, called Paitla. There will be occasion to refer to Paitla frequently in subsequent discussions. For the present it is sufficient to recall that both Norelputus and Paitla were mentioned in connection with the Earth Lodge cult among the Shasta.

Once Norelputus had transmitted the doctrine to the Sacramento Valley tribes it sprang into great popularity, and with surprising rapidity it began a return diffusion through Achomawi territory. It was in the course of this repercussion that Paitla converted the Wintu. All this will be discussed later under proper tribal headings. Omitting those data for the moment, we take up the second movement when it first appeared at Ingot in Northern Yana territory.

EARTH LODGE CULT

In the Earth Lodge cult, the Ghost Dance doctrine of an immediate advent was fused with certain cultural traits of north-central California. The circular semisubterranean dance house and the foot drum were new features diagnostic of the Earth Lodge cult in northeastern California. As the second wave spread from west to east through Achomawi territory, dance houses were erected in many communities to prepare for the return of the dead. The excited anticipation of this event was characteristic of both the Ghost Dance and the Earth Lodge cult wherever they occurred in northern California.

Statements from eleven informants are given. Where the situation is so confused and the data as contradictory, it seems desirable to put the reader in possession of as much raw material as possible. The statements are arranged geographically from west to east following the dotted line in figure 3. The first four accounts deal primarily with the Ingot affair in Northern Yana country, although they are given by western Achomawi. The fifth and sixth speak of both the Ingot and Fall River dances. The remaining five accounts are from eastern Achomawi and deal with the Fall River affair and its influence to the east.

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[WILLIAM HALSEY] "The second time, word came from the Grindstone Indians [Wintun]. Paitla brought the word from there. He wasn't a dreamer, just a messenger. He sent messengers about two months ahead of time saying he was coming. He sent word to Norelputus, who was chief at Woodman's place near Ingot. Norelputus began to build a big sweat house because Paitla had sent word to have one ready. He got the hole dug and the center post planted, but it was never finished. When Paitla came, there was no dance house so they danced outside in a brush fence. Paitla brought about fifteen or twenty people with him, men and women. Tcibat was one of them [see section on Wintu]. He said, 'Everyone must join us and be good and listen to us, believe us. All the Indians in California are to join in. God has talked to this man who dreamed [name and tribe of man unknown to informant] and God said he would send back all the dead.' So everybody joined in. They fixed themselves up with paint and feathers, and danced. They used old-time dances and clothes. Everyone paid to come, five, ten, twenty-five cents, anything they had, because they wanted to see their dead relatives. There were chiefs there from all over, Sunusa [upper Sacramento Wintu, also called Alexander, who relayed the message to the Shasta], Koltcululi [McCloud Wintu], Puiyasi [Round Mountain, Northern Yana], Halopwami [Hat Creek Atsuge]. The people asked Subiski, an old doctor, if what Paitla and Tcibat said was true. He said he would answer them the next morning. The next morning Norelputus told the people that they should listen to what the doctor said and to settle down and not be fooled. Subiski said that in the history of their people God never talked to men in their dreams. He stood in the middle with his cane, which had feathers on the end. His cane stood up by itself without being stuck in the ground. He said, 'If I lie to you, this cane will fall; but if I don't it will stand until I am through talking. That man, the dreamer, he dreamed of the devil's ghost, and the devil told him all he said. There is no such thing as the dead coming back. If that should happen the sun would fall to the ground.'

"Paitla and the others said if they didn't believe they could go to Grindstone to see for themselves. So two young Wintu, called Shasta Dick and Tunnel Four Jack, were sent from the meeting at Ingot to Grindstone. They were fed and taken into the big sweat house at Grindstone. There

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were about a hundred people there. Strangers were taken to one side and covered over with blankets. They heard singing below ground. It was supposed to be the dead coming back. The two messengers looked from under their blankets. They saw the manager of the dance lift up a place in the floor, and a man and woman, all dressed up, came out. Then they covered up the hole again. The man and woman acted and talked just like a show. They danced maybe an hour. Then everybody was told to get under the blankets again. The messengers looked again and saw those two go back into the hole in the floor of the dance house. The next day the messengers saw the fat man and big woman who had pretended to be the dead people the night before. So these messengers came back and reported what they had seen. They said that the supposed dead man put a pipe in his mouth and fire came through the air and lighted it. Norelputus called a meeting near the Hatchery at Baird [Wintu] and he invited people from all over. The messengers told what they had seen.[5] At Big Bend they started a sweat house, but when this word came through we never finished it."

[JULIA BOB] "This word started at Ingot. The people from Round Mountain [Northern Yana] were there and all the people from Hat Creek [Atsuge]. They said the dead were lonesome and that there were many of them. They wanted to come back. They had all kinds of dancing things at this place near Ingot, and they told the people to dance. They danced in a circle, men and women, but they didn't hold hands. They took short side steps. Norelputus, who was the chief there, told the people to make dances in their own home places and that he would come to visit them with his own people. After that they brought the dance to Rising River [near Cassel] where Buckskin Jack was captain. There were some people from the McCloud River [Wintu] there. Then they moved on to Fall River and danced there about three weeks. At Fall River they said the world was to burn up. Then they went on to Bald Mountain [ca. seven or eight miles south of Fall River Valley]. It was root-digging time in the early spring [of 1873?]. Some people from south of Bald Mountain [Apoige or Dixie Valley Achomawi?] came there to dance. The Pit River Indians' song was *wila chawin chawin senak*, 'ghost I come I come back.' When they sang this song the dead were supposed to be coming back, and everybody had to be quiet. If the dead came back, Indians would

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never die again. Some saw the dead and heard them singing. One boy spoiled it all. He started joking and making noises, so all the dead disappeared. They killed that boy because he spoiled a good thing."

[LILY TAYLOR] "All the upper Hat Creek people [Atsuge] went to dance at Buckskin Jack's place on Rising River. The word was brought to them by Lolputus [Norelputus?] from south of Redding. He brought his people with him and preached, saying our fathers were coming back from the west. Everyone danced in a circle, men and women, but not holding hands. They wore old-time feathers. The men used white paint and the women, red. That was an old-time way of painting. They had a song, *wina kelele*, but I don't know what it means. Everyone swam in the water in the morning, even babies. It was awfully cold. From Rising River word went as far as Bald Mountain. The people from Dixie Valley came to Bald Mountain to listen and learn.

"The doctors were all against this preaching. They didn't believe in it, but they didn't try to stop it."

[JOHN SNOOK] "After word came from the east, a message came from the west. They had a meeting at Norelputus's place near Ingot. People from Big Bend, Burney [Achomawi], Hat Creek [Atsuge], and McCloud [Wintu] went there. There were four or five men and some women who came bringing the word from a different place. Norelputus translated the speeches made by the messengers [probably Wintun] to our people. They said the dead were coming back, that even the little children were with them. The little children couldn't go very fast, so they were coming slowly. They said you had to send something to your dead people, like beads and valuables. This was in summer [of 1872?], so they made a big shade under an oak tree. The Indians gave all sorts of things for the dead, and the whole tree was hung with them. They were supposed to be sent to the dead. In the evening they were all told to come to this shelter. Norelputus and the messengers made speeches. They had to sit quietly all evening. The messengers put on feather headdresses and beads, and danced. They had two singers. They danced in a circle, men and women together. They didn't hold hands, but stood shoulder to shoulder and circled with a short hopping side step. As they danced, they said the dead were coming nearer and nearer. It was exciting. They told us not to leave or we would disturb the dead. But some young fellows and I

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sneaked out. They sang and danced until daylight. The next morning the messengers packed up all that had been sent the dead. They said that when the dead came, they would bring all these valuables back with them. After that the people began to think they had been robbed. The Burney people didn't dance after they came back to their own place."

[MARY GRANT] "They danced first at Ingot, then two men from Big Bend, called Saliwa and Lalastage, brought the word to Goose Valley [ca. four miles north of Burney]. Captain Dick made a dance at Fall River. This was in the spring [of 1873?]. Everyone was there from Big Valley, Hat Creek, Big Bend, Montgomery Creek. They made several fires and danced around them outside. They danced all night. Near dawn they covered their heads and had to be quiet. They threw their dogs in the river so they wouldn't bark and frighten the dead [cf. Yurok]. Just at daybreak there was a high wind, snow, and sleet. But they had to bathe in the river. Even children in baskets were baptized. This lasted about one week. People had to be quiet and respectful. If they made a noise they would turn into rocks or birds or something. Widows took the black pitch off their faces because the dead were coming back. In the morning everyone bathed together, combed their hair together, and painted their faces red together. All used the same design and sang the same song as they painted themselves."

[DAVIS MIKE] "They heard the dead were coming back. Word came from Big Bend and met the same word coming from the Paiute. The Alturas people were touched with it and came down to Fall River. The Paiute never came this far. The word came from the east and west and met at the same time [?]. The Paiute told the Alturas Indians that the dead were coming from the east. Captain Dick called all his captains together at Fall River [actually to the east, near the present town of McArthur but in Fall River Valley] from Big Bend, Alturas, and Hat Creek to tell them that he had agreed with General Crook about making Fort Crook and the whole valley into a reservation.[6] After he had given his message the sweat house was cleared out and the preaching began in there. Captain Dick didn't call the dance. He was too big a man to join in that sort of thing. It just happened that those dreamers came along to Captain Dick's meeting. [This is probably another attempt to derogate a movement that is now discredited. I doubt if it should be taken liter-

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ally.] There was just one dance at Fall River. There were about a hundred people from Alturas way there and other people from the west. The story from the west came from the Wintu on the McCloud. Their chief was Lolawita [?]. They got it from the south someplace. They came to Fall River with the Montgomery Creek people [Northern Yana] and the Big Bend people."

[BILL WRAILER] "About a year after the Likely dance died down [i.e., Ghost Dance from east], and the people there had stopped thinking about it, the Fall River Indians started the same thing. Word came to them from the coast. They built a big sweat house at Fall River. Everyone threw in some money to help get the house built. People came there from Big Valley, Hot Spring Valley, Dixie Valley, Hat Creek, and even from the McCloud River. They danced in a circle, men and women holding hands. There were two singers. People went crazy when they heard this song. When they were through dancing, all jumped in the river, the women too. They danced all summer, then they saw there was nothing to it. Dick was the captain there, but Chustamuktali, who belonged just north of McArthur, was the one who ran the dance."

[PETE OTTER] "The people from Fall River invited everyone to come and listen. They said, 'The dead are coming back. If you believe, our dead ones will come back, our children.' So everyone went. Two men from Adin in Big Valley went to Fall River and learned the songs. They weren't doctors or chiefs, just common men. They were Gas John and John Taylor. When they came back they taught the songs and how to use them. They danced in Fall River in a big dance house built just for this message. It was round[7] and larger than any built before. It had three posts in the middle to hold up the roof, and the door faced east. In the house they had a drum set in the floor. They played it by beating it with the butt end of a stick. It was the first time a drum of that sort had ever been used there. In the old days they had no drums. They used old-time whistles too, made out of hollow bone with one hole just below the mouth. They were hung around the neck on a string. There were five singers. The dancers wore feathers and old-time clothing. Some had canes with feathers on the end. They came through the door from outside and circled the fire to the left. They hopped around in short steps, not dragging their feet like the Paiute round dance. The women weren't

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in the circle. They stood in a line to one side and danced in place. There was one head dancer. They danced until daylight, then he went out and all the others followed. They went to swim in the river. When they danced and sang, people went into a trance and fell over. Then the man who had the song would sing to bring him back. They blew smoke on him and sprinkled his face with water. They groaned when they were that way. God helped them. The Indians knew about God already [bias of informant who "doctored by Jesus"?]. When they came to, they had songs of their own.

"This dancing lasted about one year. It sounded strong but it died down. It started west at Cayton Valley (near Big Bend) and then went to Fall River. The Big Valley people got it from Fall River."

[JACK FULSOM] "The Fall River dance spread east to Adin (Big Valley) and from there to Likely [informant did not know of earlier doctrine that spread from east to west]. In Adin they stayed up all night and in the morning they jumped in the river. Even the babies were put in water. People went crazy. They fell over and moaned, sometimes three or four at a time. They danced day and night. When word first came to Adin they danced in the open, but when preaching started they preached in a dance house. In the dance house men danced in the middle and women in a crescent to one side. Women wore feathers. They had never worn feathers before to dance in. They all had red handkerchiefs to wave and red ribbons in their hair. That was new. The men didn't wear anything new. They painted their faces any way they wanted to. Painting was just for style."

[HARRY GEORGE] "This second word was like the Pentecostal Church. People went crazy and had trances." Spread from Fall River to Big Valley. Had large dance house near Adin in Big Valley. Danced inside around fire. No connotations attached to center pole. Six or seven men dancers wore feather capes, which hung down to knees; feather "crowns" pointing downward and forward over faces; pom-pom of owl feathers on back of heads; vertical stripes of white paint on cheeks; danced in center around fire. Large number of women dancers in two crescent-shaped lines around sides of dance house; wore ribbons and bandanas around heads; danced in place. Dancers dressed in rear of house. Drum used; was new feature in area. Songs used came from Big Bend to west. "A

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few people heard songs themselves after they had fits. The people in Big Valley were all excited. They heard that the word had spread everywhere and that the dead had already started coming back someplace in the west [Grindstone?]. They were expecting them in Big Valley soon."

[JOHN LAKE] "Captain Jim from Big Valley brought the second dance to Ash Valley and then to Likely. The dead were to come back. It was the same as the first dance. Everyone had to dance until daybreak and then jump in the water. They were not allowed to do anything else. Both dances were held out of doors. There was no dance house around Likely until Doctor Bill's time, about ten years later [see subsequent section]."

It is interesting to note that the dance house dropped out as a definite element of the Earth Lodge cult as it reached the easternmost periphery of its diffusion. Since the Klamaths' second phase included the dance house, we may assume that it was imported from a point in Achomawi territory no farther east than Big Valley.

Further, attention should be drawn to William Halsey's account of the Grindstone hoax in connection with the return of the dead. This is probably the incident to which Frank (Paitla) referred when he told on Grand Ronde Reservation of actually having seen dead who had come to life.

Lastly, the far from satisfactory descriptions of dances in Fall River include elements that suggest later influences from the Sacramento Valley. After the creation of the Bole-Maru cult in the Sacramento Valley, certain traits must have seeped into Achomawi territory. Some of those later influences may be included in the material given above. The following section discusses this subject in more detail.

LOCAL DREAMERS

The Ghost Dance seems to have affected the Achomawi very little. It was the Earth Lodge cult to which they lent real enthusiasm and which left an impress to be discussed in this section. It has been indicated that the Earth Lodge cult introduced several new elements. Before they can be listed it is necessary to point out that the second movement was an integral part of a third, but localized, development. The Achomawi seem to have become active dreamers immediately after the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult, and many informants do not differentiate between local

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and imported changes. Thus the latter half of both Pete Otter's and Jack Fulsom's accounts, and possibly all of Harry George's material, deal, in all probability, with local dream developments rather than with the imported Earth Lodge cult. The reason for this lack of differentiation is explainable. There must have been a constant stream of new elements entering Achomawi territory during the several years immediately following the Earth Lodge cult. These new features were adopted by local dreamers who always gave their own revelations as authority for the changes they introduced. The following account is the clearest in differentiating the stages of development.

[DAVIS MIKE] "The excitement [i.e., of the Earth Lodge cult] lasted about a year. During that time everybody dreamed. They sang that the world was going to be changed. After the people were touched with the word, they heard songs in their own language and dreamed it themselves. They sang about the 'above place' all the time. They were powerful tunes and they caught the people. Old Chocolate Hat (I'nuwi') was a sort of head dreamer and singer for Captain Dick. He stayed with us until he died just lately. He used to shake all over when he talked of these things. He kept on believing and singing all his life. His song was *asa'la tak opoke*, "sky (above) dust whirling."[8] The above people gave dreamers these songs. They heard them in their dreams. At first there were dozens of dreamers around Fall River who preached. They had a dance house at Buckskin's place at Rising River, and they kept it up for a while. Chocolate Hat used to go over there and sing sometimes. The Hat Creek people [i.e., Atsuge near Rising River] set a time every now and then. They all went to the dance house. The chief called on one dreamer at a time, and each one got up and gave his song. The others joined in and helped him sing. If the chief didn't think the song sounded just right, if it wasn't strong, he called for another. Sometimes some of the audience were affected and got songs of their own right there. This sort of dream singing lasted about one year. Dreamers from other places used to come. They shook all over when they sang. They put on feathers and used red and white chalk stripes on their cheeks and chests. Some carried canes they had dreamed about. Some were short like walking sticks, some were six feet long. They were called sky staffs (*asala dawai*). Some

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had feathers tied on the end; some were painted with spirals and stripes of red and white paint. In these dream songs they didn't say much about the dead coming back. First they got touched with the dead coming back, then they just said what they heard in dreams. This happened all over, even toward Big Valley. Dreamers were sure that the dead were up above. In the old days people didn't talk much about the dead, but when they were touched by this power they became interested. After the first big dream dancing died down, when everyone had been touched, it happened that preachers began one at a time and preached about it." (Local sequences of "preachers" will be given subsequently.)

By examining the last quotation and those of Pete Otter, Jack Fulsom, and Harry George in the preceding section, we are now in a position to disentangle the local developments from the Earth Lodge cult. First occurred the general furor created by the expected advent. The source was a message and songs attributed to a dreamer among a distant tribe, and the doctrine was taken on faith. In the excitement that prevailed, local converts obtained their own songs and visions, either in a trance induced by the dance or in dreams during sleep. For a year or so there was a general outburst of dreaming and prophecy that dealt with the dead and the afterworld. Then gradually the whole movement quieted down and concentrated in the efforts of individual "preachers," who will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs. During the period from the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult (1872–1873) to the growth of a sequence of local preachers, the series of new elements introduced was (1) large circular, semisubterranean dance houses, except among the easternmost Achomawi; (2) foot drums, which were new to the area; (3) "dreamers'" canes; (4) songs of the "above people" gotten in dreams or trances; (5) feather capes worn by men dancers; (6) whistles held in the mouths of these dancers; and (7) use of colored bandanas and ribbons by women dancers. Dance formations underwent various changes. In the Earth Lodge cult, the old Paviotso circle dance, in which participants of both sexes held hands and revolved with a shuffling side step, was replaced with a circle dance in which the participants did not hold hands but stood shoulder to shoulder and circled with a hopping side step. Finally, a third dance form arose. There were selected groups of performers. Men circled the fire, and the women formed a semicircle

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to one side and danced in place. In conjunction with this new dance was introduced the use of colored bandanas and ribbons by the women participants. The bandanas were held in the hands and waved back and forth in time to the dancing. The method of conducting the Dream dances is well described above by Davis Mike. Dream songs and the third dance formation with the use of bandanas were aspects of the Bole-Maru cult developed in the Patwin-Pomo area.

To recapitulate: The first Ghost Dance proper came from the Paviotso in 1871 but made no deep impression. In 1872 the same doctrine swept back from the west, but reshaped in terms of the central Californian Earth Lodge cult. This led to a local outburst of dreaming, which absorbed during its existence from 1873 to 1875 features of the Bole-Maru then under way in central California.

DREAMERS AND SHAMANISM

As an outgrowth of the generalized dreaming that lasted only a year or two, there grew up in different valleys sequences of "preachers" whose inspiration and dances were closely akin to that of their predecessors. The movement differed, however, in being an individual rather than a generalized affair. One leader drew to himself a following not dissimilar to a church group. In fact, informants repeatedly compared these "preachers" to the recent Pentecostal missionaries who have built churches in the area. Informants term these leaders "preachers" and "doctors" synonymously, and with equal frequency. Yet they are not confused with the older shamans in their minds. It would be desirable to know more of the origins and attitudes of these individuals, as well as of their influences. The following material lists by region the more important preachers and what information I obtained concerning them. Some of the persons may be shamans of the old type, others obviously are not, yet informants seemed to consider them all as somehow comparable. The whole matter is of considerable importance in pointing the direction of recent religious developments among the Achomawi, and it should be pushed further by an ethnographer who is concentrating on the Achomawi alone. The "preachers" offer a nice case of transition between the older, shamanistic concepts of religion and the recent, revivalistic churches of Christian origin that are gaining headway among the Achomawi at present. In this transition the Ghost Dance and

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its auxiliary cults were entering wedges. The growth of the concept of a supreme being in terms of the Christian God is particularly marked.

The personal names under geographical captions are those of "preachers," not of informants. The sources of information in this case are indicated in the endnotes.

Likely

Doctor Bill[9]—"He belonged at Likely. About ten years after word came from the Paiute [i.e., ca. 1881] he got the people to build him a dance house. It was the first time the Indians around here built a house just to dance in. People came from Alturas and Ash Valley. There were no outsiders. When they went in the dance house they had to stay all night. They would sing and Doctor Bill would go crazy. He was frantic first and then unconscious. The song would set them all crazy, but Doctor Bill was the only one who got songs. They would come to him any time of day or night. He claimed he never slept. He never said who gave him these songs. He just said he got them from above. I guess it must have been God. [When pressed to say who God was, informant named Coyote (Tcemul) and Fox (Kwan).] He preached about God, only he was worse [more potent] than the other preachers. He talked about God giving them a lot of money."

Dances—Performed by four or five men in center of house; wore breechclout and feather headdress. "Only very good dancers allowed in this." Women danced in semicircle around men; wore ribbons in hair and wrapped around braids that hung over shoulders. "Ribbons were the main thing for Indians doing that kind of work." Wore white dresses made by themselves; two bands of black and red cloth around bottom skirt, two across bodice, ribbon streamers on shoulders. "They were so covered with ribbons there wasn't room for any more." Two singers (Henez or Pick-up-Dick and Old Man Jack), holding staffs tipped with feathers, set dance songs. "He-e" was signal that new song and dance was to be used. No pole or flag.

"Doctor Bill's dance lasted for about two years, then he got sick and died. No one took it up after him. While he was sick he had a man singing for him all day. The man had white paint and feathers all over him. He even had feather bands around his ankles. He stood about a hundred yards away from Doctor Bill and came dancing toward him."

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From the regalia alone, especially from the women's dresses, there can be little doubt that we are here dealing with an Achomawi version of the full-blown Bole-Maru cult (cf. subsequent sections).

Dixie Valley

Mike Harm[10]—"He started about ten years after the Fall River dance [ca. 1883]. He said a new world was coming and we should see people who had been dead. He just said it would happen sometime, he never set a special day [note transformation from an immediate to an indefinite adventism]. He talked about God and Jesus. People had to stay all night and sing, but there was no dancing. He had a big sweat house on purpose for this. It was about like the old-time sweat house, but the small hole to the east was made bigger and was a regular doorway. He had a pit about three feet deep. He wasn't a regular doctor, but a sick person could go to hear him sing. He would tell Mike he was sick. The singing helped him. Maybe toward the end of the singing Mike would wave his arms over the sick person and tell him to get up early and eat. He waved sickness away without touching the person."

"Mike Harm[11] was the first to do this kind of preaching. He said the world was to burn up. He called everyone from all over to Dixie Valley. They came from Adin, Bieber, Likely. I went there with Tom Anderson. When we got there we saw them singing in a big sweat house. That night they were to have something no one ever saw before. He told them flowers were to come down from above. He wouldn't let us go inside and disturb the spirits. Then we saw all the people in there with Mike singing and crying. He stopped that night and went out and left us. He didn't come back in the sweat house until noon the next day. Then I asked him why he left us all alone there last night. 'I thought you invited me and all the others to come here. It didn't look well for you to leave us.' I scolded him. He only laughed. He said, 'When evening comes I am going to start singing again. Then I will show what is going on up above. Somebody is going to bring a basket of flowers through the sky, flowers that don't grow on the ground. I will set a plate on the table and you will see it.' That night he started singing. While they sang five men and five women danced. All the men were decorated with ribbons and flowers. They dressed as nicely as they could. The women had their long

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hair down and it was decorated with flowers, too. Mike and those who were singing struck the table in the dance house to keep time [adaptation of drum idea from foot drum first introduced in area with Dream cult?]. While they were singing, Mike said, 'Now she is coming, bringing flowers.' They kept coming closer and closer. When it [?] got up above in the middle of the house, it disappeared. Mike didn't know where. The fellows [spirits?] from above didn't like the way he worked and took it away from him. He was ruined because one man, called Jim Martin, came in. Mike didn't allow anyone to come in because it spoiled the spirits. Mike said, 'Why did you come in without letting me know?' So Jim said, 'You invited me to come. I came inside. I didn't know it would spoil the spirit.' Those two got mad at each other.

"While Mike sang he said nothing bad. He said, 'The world is coming to an end. The white people read this in the Bible. I don't read the Bible. Something is telling me. What are we going to do for ourselves? People who don't believe that Jesus is coming, don't believe this. What are we going to do?' So all the people cried."

"Mike Harm[12] came from Dixie Valley to the ranchería our people [Northern Maidu] had at the foot of Diamond Mountain near Susanville. There was an earth house there. This was in about 1888. They put a table in the house, and all the men sat around the table. Mike sang. He dreamed that his sister, who had been dead about a year, was to come back. She would come back if Mike's wife and her niece danced. So the two women danced to bring her back. There was no music, only singing, but Mike kept time by hitting the table with the flat of his hand. The two women were dressed nicely. They had a handkerchief in each hand, and they waved them as they danced in one spot. The men sat still, just the two women danced. People came from all over to see if his dead sister would come back. They thought they would see her. They couldn't see her, but they heard her voice. Mike was surely a believing man. He had a voice like running water. He could make everybody happy with his singing. He was a good man. He was more like a spiritualist. He gave up when he found he couldn't make the dead come. He said the dead couldn't come but you could talk to them anyway. He gave up before he died. His sister, Ida Harm, is a doctor and she is still living. She was older than Mike, and she started to get that way when she was a little girl. She never had meetings like Mike."

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Dixie Valley Ben[13]—"He started about the same time as Mike Harm. They both preached about the way the world was going. They thought they heard something above. Ben sang about it. They said the world was going to be changed. They used to call a meeting, and all who believed in them went over and joined in for a couple of nights. In a way they were doctors too. They tried to help people out. Ida Harm, Mike's older sister, and Hattie Johnson are real old-time doctors who are still living over in Dixie Valley. They aren't preacher doctors."

Adin

Jack Wilson[14]—"He started about fifteen or sixteen years ago [1916–1917], at the same time as Pete Otter. He said the world was to change. He saw people who had been dead thirty or forty years. They came and talked to him. Jack died three or four years ago. He was the best of the curers. He worked two or three nights and cured anything, even consumption. He didn't suck, he just rubbed off the pain."

"Jack Wilson[15] started about the same time as Mike Harm of Dixie Valley and maybe before [note discrepancy in time with above account]. He had a round house so he could call people together to help him sing. He is dead now but his brother, Pete Otter, is just the same. He sings when he is called to a sick person. Fred Wilson is Jack Wilson's son. He has just started at Big Valley."

Pete Otter[16]—"He is Jack Wilson's brother, and they started about the same time. He doesn't suck either, he just rubs off the pain and his power catches it. His power is under the sick person to catch it. He doctors by Jesus and talks about him all the time." (Pete Otter in speaking of Mike Harm, q.v., may have attributed some of his own views to the earlier man. Pete Otter is still practicing and is widely known as a curer. Gossip has it that his life was threatened a few years ago because he lost several patients.)

Fred Wilson[17]—"He sings and talks to his father, who has been dead about ten years. His father was Jack Wilson. He sings and gets in touch with him. He sings and cures all in one night. He can make a person well in one night. He started about three or four years ago [1929–1930]. He is still doctoring at Adin."

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At this point it may be pertinent to insert some significant remarks made by Jack Fulsom, who gave most of the accounts just quoted. He spoke of the old shamanism as opposed to the new curers.

> "Now doctors cure by preaching. They don't suck anymore, they just brush the sickness off with their hands and the power catches the pain. God told the doctors not to suck. It is old-fashioned. They preach by God now. We don't have a word in our language for God. We talk about the white man's God, not about Coyote or Fox. Some doctor dreamers say Coyote is there sitting alongside of God."

Another informant on the new preachers, Davis Mike, made the following comments after describing the old form of shamanism in some detail.

> "This new-time singing and preaching doctoring isn't very strong. They just put their hands on the patient. The old-time doctors sucked them. Old-time doctoring was awfully hard. There are no women preaching doctors [confirmed by observation], but there were old-time women doctors. We use the same word for the old-time doctors and the preaching doctors [i.e., *tsigiualo* for men, *tsigita* for women]. Old-time doctors had *damakome* ["pains" or "poisons"]. They were their power, and they could kill persons with them. The new preachers cure by "above power," by a man who is above, who never lies, who tells about the sick. Preaching doctors sing about daylight coming and flowers. That is Pete Otter's song. It is to help sick persons."

From the preceding it is evident that the "preachers" have been developing away from the Earth Lodge and Bole-Maru cults toward a new form of shamanism that has drawn on aspects of both the older shamanism and the newer religions. In the process they have developed methods of their own and have borrowed and strengthened the Christian concept of a supreme being.

The development of doctrinal concepts may be summarized briefly. For the Paviotso phase of the Ghost Dance the dominant doctrine seems to have been the return of the dead, who were supposed actually to have been on their way back to earth. The early aspects of the Earth Lodge cult

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from the west had the same doctrinal content, and the population at large sought to communicate in dreams with the impending dead. As dreaming developed, the preachers "talked about heaven, what a nice country it was up there. Everyone is to die. Indian life is to pass away, and then all are to be resurrected in heaven and join dead relatives up there. For this they must be good and lead the right kind of life. Sometimes Coyote and Fox are expected to do the resurrecting. Fred Wilson and his father claim that when a man dies an angel comes to take him to heaven, where he is taken in a house and cleaned. They can force the angel to come by singing over a corpse." The termination of Indian life was associated by some "preachers" with a catastrophic termination of the world by fire or flood.

The change in beliefs reflects the growing influence of Christian ideology in (1) the clarified concept of the hereafter, (2) the belief in resurrection, and (3) the end of the world—the last having good precedent in aboriginal mythology. But also it mirrors the accumulating despair of the Indians and their realization that there was no room for them in the new social order. Christian beliefs, which were an outgrowth of a not dissimilar cultural situation, offered a ready-made escape into supernaturalism from realities that had become intolerable because they offered nothing but defeat.

THE 1890 GHOST DANCE

Repercussions of the 1890 Ghost Dance, which was developed by the Paviotso shaman Jack Wilson, reached the Achomawi. However, it faded into the general pattern of "preachers" on the one hand and the general skepticism and indifference of the Achomawi on the other hand. The reception of the 1890 Ghost Dance among the Achomawi approximated the attitude of the Paviotso themselves. The idea was no longer new or gripping in either tribe. It belonged to the general ideology and was looked upon with agnostic indifference as an individual efflorescence. Also, the Achomawi may well have been too disillusioned by the failure of the first movements to place much hope in the recurrence of an adventist doctrine.

Specific material concerning the manifestations of the 1890 Ghost Dance is contained in the following accounts. It is significant that only the eastern Achomawi were able to give any information on the subject. West of Fall River no informant was found who knew of the 1890 affair.

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The first two accounts are brief skeptical statements dealing with the first attempt to introduce Jack Wilson's doctrine in approximately 1890. The third deals skeptically with the same period and also with a subsequent flurry in about 1917. The last relates sympathetically the experiences of a convert during the second flurry but makes clear his ineffectuality in convincing the Achomawi. The skepticism and resistance of one group, like the eastern Achomawi, proved sufficient to debar the 1890 Ghost Dance from north-central California. Whether the north-central Californian tribes would have been receptive to a recrudescence of the 1870 doctrine can remain only a matter for speculation.

[JACK FULSOM] "Jack Wilson in Nevada sent word, too, that the dead relatives were coming back. This was about forty-five years ago [i.e., ca. 1888]. The messengers came to Alturas. People all danced for two or three nights. Then the messengers went back to Nevada. Two or three captains from around here went to see what it was all about. They were Captain John of Canby, Captain Dick of Likely, and Charlie Fox (?) of Alturas. They brought back word that there was nothing to it. The dead never came back."

[BILL WRAILER] "About twenty-five or thirty years ago, the Paiute from somewhere in Nevada, maybe Virginia City, said the world was coming to an end and the dead were coming back. All the people over there believed, and everyone stopped work. There were about a thousand Indians there dancing day and night. The prophet over there sent word for everyone to come and visit him. Three men went to see about it. They were Captain John from Hot Spring Valley (near Canby), Captain Dick from Likely, and another one. Captain John told us there was nothing to it. He told the prophet over there the same thing. He told him to stop fooling the people."

[C. EPPIE] "From about 1910 on Jack Wilson at Walker River had the same idea [i.e., return of dead]. In about 1917 there was talk of it among our people.[18] About forty years ago Captain John and Chip Chief of Hot Springs Valley, Tom Dickens of Canby, [and] Captain Jack and Dick Williams of Likely went to Walker River and talked to a prophet. He talked about the dead coming back. The headmen here didn't like it. They said it was all child's play. The prophet was to do a miracle, and it

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didn't come off. He held a hat over the ground for fifteen or twenty minutes. When the hat was lifted they were to see a human head under it. A woman came and lifted the hat and there was nothing there. They danced night and day until two o'clock at night when the dead were to come back. They danced without eating or resting. The dead were expected any moment, but they never came. That proved it was all nonsense."

[DAVIS MIKE] "Dick McClennan, who died last winter [1932], was the last of the Dixie Valley preachers. About seventeen years ago [ca. 1916] he went over to the Paiutes. They have always kept up this word [i.e., return of dead]. They were having a dance, and the dance ground was ankle deep in dust. There was a fire in the center. The Paiute asked Dick to join in and help dance. They started long after dark. They had a big preacher and a powerful singer there. They danced in a circle for a while, then they stopped and talked. The preacher sang about the way people were dying off. He wanted to know if everybody in that state [Nevada] was to die and who would come up after them. As the preacher spoke a coyote came and sat down right near, within the light of the fire. Then a wolf came.[19] So they asked Coyote if all were to die in Nevada. Coyote hung his head and looked down. They said he would answer toward morning. So they all started dancing again awfully hard. There was a lot of power [*tilia'tum*]—like church—all around. Dick said an old fellow who had died at Hat Creek [Atsuge] came in. He was a stranger to the Paiute, but Dick told them who he was. Then old lame Dick Garry from Big Valley [Achomawi] came and Dick told the Paiute again who he was. Will Snell who was dead came, too. Dick shook hands with Will Snell and talked to him. Toward morning all these dead disappeared. That Paiute preacher must have drawn the dead. Toward morning Coyote left, too. Dick said that anyone who died went to another country. He got touched with the Paiute power and came back and told about it here, but most of the people thought he was crazy and made fun of him. But Dick knew that for himself."

Central Yana

The discussion in the foregoing sections included in the person of Norelputus and in the Ingot affair the major role that the Northern Yana played in the diffusion of the Ghost Dance. Kroeber says that the Ghost Dance "reached the Northern Yana from the Chico Maidu, that is, from

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the south."[20] No trace of this was found, but it is very possible that reference was made to some later or minor preacher. It is also possible that the name Chico Frank (see Shasta), as applied to Paitla, was misleading to informants. Only very few Yana are left at present, and only one, a Central Yana called Malcolm Cayton, was interviewed. He proved uninformed on the whole, but especially concerning the earlier movement. He gave the following brief account of the Earth Lodge cult.

> "About sixty years ago [i.e., ca. 1873] our tribe went to Dixie Valley to meet our dead relatives. Word came from the southwest and went toward the east. A man came to our people from Kimbal Plains, between Ono and Gas Point [Bald Hills subarea of Wintu]. He was called Kimbal Bob and he was a dreamer. The head spirit, or God, told dreamers in different places that they were to travel east to meet those dead people who were coming back. They danced and went crazy. It was just like church when it gets the best of people. Only one man dreamed in a place, the rest of the people didn't. They danced in their own places and then set out for the east. I think some of our people got as far as Dixie Valley."

In this account we are dealing with the Achomawi version of the Earth Lodge cult. The material on the whole dovetails well with that from other tribes, except that Dixie Valley instead of Fall River is given as the eastern objective. This may be an error on the informant's part or it may indicate a lacuna in my information. There is always the possibility that there was in Dixie Valley a large meeting comparable to that in Fall River. In fact there is a suggestion that this was the case, for an informant from Burney, John Snook, said that the first news they received of the return of the dead came from a Dixie Valley "preacher" and that some people went over there to dance.

Malcolm Cayton's statement concerning later developments is probably correct and may be used in conjunction with the Achomawi and Wintu material to amplify the general picture. However, one caution must be used in using Cayton's data. He prided himself on his skill as a maker of feather regalia, and he may have exaggerated that aspect of it.

> "Dreamers go to bed, you hear them mumble a while, then they start singing. It lasts maybe half an hour. In the morning at daybreak they go

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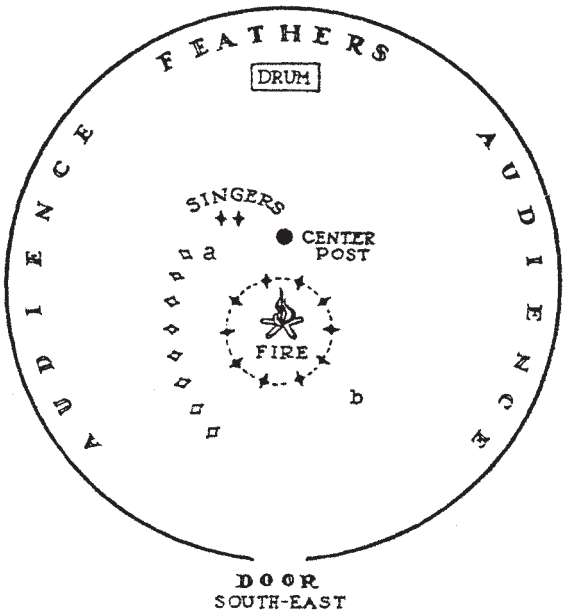

FIG. 4. Central Yana Dream dance, with possible Bole-Maru influences. a and b, positions of dreamer; solid diamonds, men; outline diamonds, women.

for a swim in cold water. In the dance house the dreamer gave the song to the singers. The dreamer always danced. He made the feathers to be worn if he knew how. Some wore just a breech cloth, others wore feather coats [*paimaki*]. The head dreamer always kept his feathers separate, usually in his own house. If you wore his feathers it would make you dream. Some didn't like to go in the house where he kept his feathers; they were afraid of them. At the time of the dance the dreamer hung all his feathers in the back of the dance house, and one man was chosen to put on the women dancers the feathers they were to wear. All the men hung bone whistles around their necks and painted themselves any way they wanted to. There was no special way of painting. When they dance they go crazy, especially the women. I have seen only two or three men go crazy. Before a regular Dream dance started they could dance all kinds of common dances first—just for fun. Late at night they put on

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the Dream dance, and it lasted until it began to get light. For the Dream dance [see fig. 4] the head dreamer sits [at 'a']. He gives the song. The women who want to dance go and sit near him. The men who want to dance go to the back of the dance house and put on the feathers. Any number of men and women may join in, maybe ten or twenty. Then one man comes out and puts the feathers on the women. They line up on one side of the fire and dance in one place. The men come out from the back of the house and dance around the fire in a circle. When the men come out, the head dreamer moves [over to 'b']. When the head dreamer goes back [to 'a'], it is a sign that the dance set is over. At certain signals the men all dance in place [at 'b']. The drum in the back of the house was beaten by boys with their feet. The regular singers were up near the center post."

The informant is describing here some of the Bole-Maru features that spread northward subsequent to the Earth Lodge cult. He could not localize his material, which means that we may be dealing with descriptions of Wintu or Achomawi dances that he attended.

Wintu

It was indicated in the preceding section that the Wintu received the Earth Lodge cult after Norelputus had transmitted the doctrine to the Wintun and Hill Patwin. Wintu informants are unanimous in attributing a southern origin to the movement. The name by which the Wintu designate the Earth Lodge cult and the subsequent waves of the Bole-Maru is in itself indicative of its southern provenience. They call it the "Southland Dance" (*norpomtconos*) or the "Coming from the South Dance" (*norharawerestconos*). They did not receive the Ghost Dance proper. Their territory lay between the two ports of entry into California and the two main routes of diffusion.

In the following section, the Earth Lodge cult, the Bole-Maru importations, and the local dreamers will be discussed in the order named. It should be stressed that these three categories are mine. The Wintu recognize only two: (1) the *norpomtconos*, under which they include both the Earth Lodge cult and all other imported dances from the south that are of the Bole-Maru type; (2) the Dream dance (*yetcewestconos*), which represented a religious development by local dreamers.

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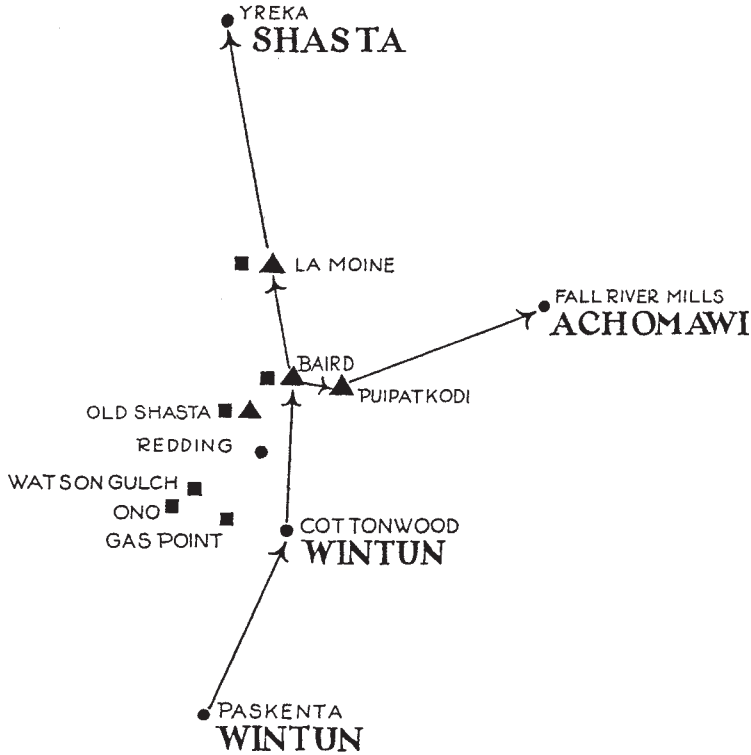

FIG. 5. Diffusion of modern cults in Wintu territory. Squares, sites of imported ceremonies; triangles, dance houses of local Dream cult.

EARTH LODGE CULT

Figure 5 indicates the diffusion of the Earth Lodge cult throughout Wintu territory. The Wintu generally give Paskenta or Cottonwood as the immediate source of origin. They knew vaguely that the Earth Lodge cult and the subsequently imported dances existed at points still farther south, but there was no agreement as to specific locality.

At Baird the chief character in the introduction of the cult was Paitla, who was definitely identified by one informant as the Chico Frank of the Shasta account. Paitla was a native of Cottonwood (Wintun), not Grindstone as the Achomawi believed, nor Chico as his name implied. His most outstanding companion in Wintu territory was Yellow Hog Charlie (Tcokiperi), who came also from Cottonwood. Apparently, Paitla had

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come in contact with Norelputus's message when it first spread south to the Wintun and Hill Patwin, and among those people he probably had seen the first steps in the transformation of the Ghost Dance doctrine into the Earth Lodge cult, as well as the later developments of the Bole-Maru. It is improbable, however, that he brought the last-named cult with him on his first visit to the Wintu, since that trip must have taken place in 1872 when the Bole-Maru was still in its formative stage among the more southerly groups.

Before Paitla traveled northward he sent word to the Wintu and Northern Yana to build dance houses. This was in accordance with Norelputus's instructions for the Earth Lodge cult in the south. In Wintu territory three houses were built very early in response to his first message; one by Jim Mitchell (Tcitciha) at Potter Creek (Daupaki), across the McCloud River from Baird; one by Lilitot at Puipatkodi on the Pit River, across from, and just south of, the mouth of Squaw Creek; and the third by Alexander (Sunusa) at Portuguese Flat (Kopuston) on the Upper Sacramento River some three miles north of the present town of La Moine. The first dance was given at Baird, which became the center of the cult for the Wintu. It was attended by people from the east (Northern Yana or Achomawi?). Although the dance house was not yet finished, a meeting was held in the unroofed structure. The second dance was given at Puipatkodi and the third at Portuguese Flat, from where Alexander relayed the message to the Yreka Shasta. It will be recalled that Bogus Tom, Jake Smith, and a group of Shasta thereupon attended a dance at Baird.

Paitla's first message to the Wintu was the characteristic Ghost Dance doctrine. "They were to see their dead relatives and were to dance for it." The dead were to return from the east;[21] in fact, they were already on their way and were moving nearer all the time. Paitla claimed to have seen the dead and to have shaken hands with some of them. (Does this refer to the Grindstone episode in William Halsey's account for the Achomawi?) "Everybody laughed at him when he said that, but he kept right on talking, so finally they believed him." Additional doctrinal aspects of Paitla's first message were: "those who didn't dance would turn into rocks or animals; the world was going to change, there would be hail and then the world would catch fire; when the world ended all the living would be wiped out and the old dead would return to feast on Indian foods and talk of the

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world as it was before (i.e., of status of the present Indians); Olelbes (God or Being-above)[22] hated the whites because they destroyed all the Indian things." Dogs were not killed, but they all began to howl because the world was coming to an end and they were to be destroyed.

This emphasis on the end of the world and the extermination of its present population is found more frequently to the south. In the northernmost part of the state the return of the dead was the chief doctrinal emphasis, whereas the end of the world was absent or very slightly stressed. To the south, particularly among the Hill Patwin and Pomo, the emphasis on the two concepts was reversed, and there everything in the first furor of the Ghost Dance centered about a cataclysmic destruction of the earth. There is obviously a discrepancy in the Wintu doctrine that promised on the one hand the return of the dead and on the other the extermination of human beings. On the whole the Wintu stressed the former, or northern, concept, and when informants were questioned concerning the discrepancy, most of them were at a loss for an explanation. One man, however, explained it by quoting Paitla as saying, "Don't be afraid to die, when you get killed, when you get sick and die, you will come alive again." Here, evidently, conflicting doctrines were reconciled through the idea of resurrection.

What ceremonial behavior Paitla introduced during his first visit is very difficult to determine. He and others seem to have made a number of trips into Wintu territory at later dates, bringing with them piecemeal the developing Bole-Maru cult of the south. For instance, Paitla and Yellow Hog Charlie came back together for two successive summers. Informants were unreliable in giving the relative time sequence of introduced traits because of these repeated visits. However, it is reasonably certain that two new features were introduced with the Earth Lodge cult: the dance house as a specialized structure and the foot drum. The Wintu testimony to that effect is confirmed further by the Achomawi data on the Earth Lodge cult.

Before I attempt to enumerate additional elements of culture that were introduced from the south, it is advisable to discuss the subsequent religious development. Then all the new traits brought in by the related movements can be listed, but unfortunately without being able to give their relative time sequence.

Apparently the Earth Lodge cult among the Wintu lasted only during the summer of 1872. It had begun to quiet down when, in the spring

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of 1873, came an invitation from the Achomawi to attend the Fall River affair. Informants report that they were invited to a dance at Pantitcara (Above Flat or Meadow). They were uncertain of the location of the place and identified it variously as Adin, Bieber, Big Valley, and Fall River. From Achomawi sources there can be no doubt that the last is correct. They know that a chief named Dick sponsored the dance at which the dead were to appear from the east at a stated time. Norelputus, who charged himself with the leadership of a southern group of Wintu, followed the Pit River eastward. Apparently a large band, supplied with little more than enthusiasm, set out to traverse the sixty or seventy miles separating Baird from Fall River. Hunger and fatigue, as well as a quarrel in which a Wintu man was killed, soon discouraged many of them, and they turned back before reaching their destination. A northern group of Wintu from the Upper Sacramento River took a trail leading over the headwater of the McCloud River. There was at least one Shasta in their group, who may have been the Sisson Jim said by the Achomawi to have been at the Fall River dance. Of this northern group a few got as far as Fall River, although it took them approximately one week. On the way they camped wherever a stream offered a suitable site for bathing—which was part of the doctrine. Whenever they camped they gave the old round dance (*waipaniki*), in which men and women held hands and revolved around a center fire with a shuffling side step. This was an old dance form appropriate to any occasion, but it seems to have been associated chiefly with the girls' adolescence dance. After the group reached Fall River, they were poorly fed and their dead relatives failed to appear from the east. They remained two nights and one day (perhaps longer) and then returned to their own territory much crestfallen. This terminated the Earth Lodge cult among the Wintu. The duration of the cult after its first introduction did not exceed a year—from the spring of 1872 to the spring of 1873. The fiasco of the Fall River affair definitely quashed faith in the return of the dead.

BOLE-MARU IMPORTATIONS

As the Bole-Maru cult developed in the south and as each ranchería began establishing its sequence of dreamers, certain individuals who were gifted singers and dancers made a practice of going from one settlement to another and of offering to teach new versions of the ceremonies if the

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local chief would call a meeting. It was upon such occasions that men like Paitla, Sototli, Tcibat, Mexican Jo (Homaldo), Ruben (Weremtcidi), and Calf found an opportunity to introduce among the Wintu those versions of the Bole-Maru cult with which they were familiar. There was, quite expectably, a good deal of variation.

The most detailed account of an imported Dream dance was one of which Mexican Jo was the leader. The dance must have occurred sometime between 1874 and 1878. Among the Wintu his identity is somewhat in doubt. One informant said that he was a native of Tehama, but he had never heard of his giving dances. On the other hand, a Wintu informant said that he came from Upper Lake (Pomo) accompanied by a dog that was used to catch the souls of the dead. Mexican Jo aroused the suspicions of his hosts, who believed him to be a poisoner and a quack, especially after his promises to make some dead persons appear failed to materialize. Therefore he was poisoned by a Wintu shaman from the McCloud River. Mexican Jo returned shortly thereafter to Upper Lake (?), where both he and his dog died from the machinations of the hostile shaman. Actually, there can be little doubt that Mexican Jo is the Homaldo of the Wintun accounts, and his real ranchería was Dachimchini near the present settlement of Grindstone.

The only detailed description of his performance was secured from Fanny Brown, who said that she witnessed his dance at Baird and that she had heard of another performance at Old Shasta. This second performance was confirmed by another informant, who added that a dance house was built there for him. Many of the details Fanny gives were not known to other informants in any connection.

[FANNIE BROWN] In Mexican Jo's performance, audience gathered in dance house after nightfall. Were forbidden to bring horses, money, or any private property; use of tobacco forbidden; any brought to dance had to be left outside in brush. Were instructed to enter without looking about, to keep eyes fastened on ground. Took places around inside of house. Two officials (*tcimato*)[23] charged with keeping order; their duty to see that no one slept. Anyone showing signs of sleep was sprinkled with water. Whether ordinary local dances preceded imported ones was not stated; informant said chief dance of ceremony did not begin until

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late at night. Performers meanwhile dressed outside in brush. Men wore feather skirts; upper part of body painted black; on heads wore down headdresses, yellowhammer headbands, or simply band into which two large feathers were thrust. Women wore European cotton dresses. Dancer wishing to go out during ceremony had to leave regalia with *tcimato*. Dancers required to observe continence during the four days of the dance. When foot drum began beating, performers gathered in corridor of the dance house. First a striped pole brought in, erected in center by two persons, Xedeyali and Jim Mitchell (Tcitciha, the man who built a dance house for the first Earth Lodge cult message). These two men considered sons of pole. Pole itself was ten or fifteen feet long, was wound with ribbon that informant said cost about ten dollars. Was duty of these two men not only to bring in pole during dance but also to keep it carefully wrapped and concealed during day. During dance, pole was supposed to come to life and be a person. Hence probably its name, *wintu* (i.e., person). Dancers entered after pole had been set up. Dance formations not described; another informant said there was nothing new or unique in them. Songs alone were new. Ceremony repeated four nights in succession; reached climax on last night. At this time male performers danced on knees or on hands and knees.[24] Songs at this time said to be for the welfare of pole. One of Mexican Jo's songs consisted of syllables *yo, yo, he, o* repeated six times in a low key, then twice in higher key, finally twice again in original key. This pattern is characteristic of dream songs in general among the Wintu.

Sometime within the decade from 1875 to 1885 a similar dance was given at Ono and Gas Point by a man called Sototli.[25] He announced his arrival several months ahead of time through a messenger, called Peddler Bill, who brought a request that dance houses be built for the new ceremony. Finally, when Sototli appeared he had with him a group of some thirty persons, many of whom were reputed to speak Spanish. His dance was described as follows:

[SARAH FAN] "It was a story dance. He told them they would have good luck if they danced and fed the dancers who came and gave them presents. 'If you treat us well, you will see your dead fathers and mothers.

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You people want to believe.'" The details of the dance were not procured, but apparently a pole ten or fifteen feet long was an integral part of the ceremony, as it was in Mexican Jo's performance. Referring to Sototli, the informant said, "All his luck and wishes were on that pole. It was dangerous."

Sototli stayed some two or three months in the vicinity, during which time he also came under suspicion as a poisoner. A local shaman called Norluli secretly poisoned him. When Sototli finally returned to the south he is said to have died from Norluli's poison. The immediate cause of his departure was an attempted performance in a ranchería at Watson Gulch that ended in a drunken brawl, after which the local chief, Yolit, indicated that the outside dancers were no longer welcome and should leave. Paitla and Yellow Hog Charlie, who were with the group, did not return to the south with Sototli, but gathered together half a dozen dancers and local converts to accompany them on another visit to the more northerly groups.

One of the later dancers, Ruben, wished Alexander, who owned the Portuguese Flat dance house, to sponsor a new performance in which both men and women were to dance naked and no one was to be allowed to sleep. Alexander objected to these innovations, and no more imported dances were given in that particular region.

LOCAL DREAM CULT

During the two decades from 1875 to 1895, when outside dancers were giving sporadic performances in the Wintu area, this tribe had developed its own cult, which they called Dream dance (*yetcewestconos*). It was psychologically an outgrowth of the Earth Lodge cult and ceremonially a partial borrowing from the imported Bole-Maru. Informants are consistent in reporting that "dreaming" began immediately after the collapse of the Fall River affair. But they clearly distinguish between local dreaming and the imported cults. They insist that the Earth Lodge cult had nothing to do with local dreamers.

The first dreamer was Lus, a woman from the present settlement of Ydalpom on Squaw Creek. She gave the first dance in her dwelling. Then another informal affair was given at Puipatkodi. The next dance was at

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Potter Creek across the river from Baird. Here it seems probable that Waikati, a local chief and shaman, became affected by Lus and he too began dreaming. Thereafter the rest of the adult population rapidly followed suit. Waikati built a dance house at Norpatkodi, four or five miles north of Baird, in which dances were given for the Dream cult. At French Gulch, Waisustot built a dance house for the same purpose and invited some Hayfork Wintu. At Rock Creek near Old Shasta, Lus is said to have taught the people her dream songs. At Lewiston, Dawintewis was the first to dream, and he gave his first Dream dance avowedly in imitation of the ceremony that had been reported from the McCloud. The western Wintu on the Upper Trinity drainage also held a dance that was frankly an imitation of those held on the McCloud. However, the Earth Lodge cult and Ghost Dance furor had completely passed by the western Wintu, and they never showed much interest in the local Dream cult. Their energies at that time were devoted to the Big Head cult, for which a separate section has been reserved. It was the McCloud Wintu to the east who were the most profoundly affected subgroup.

The dreaming of songs, which is an integral part of the cult, continued among the Wintu until some ten or fifteen years ago (i.e., 1915–1920), but formal dancing for this purpose probably did not last much later than 1895 or at most 1900. Today dream songs are still one of the most popular types, and the barest skeleton of a Dream dance formation is still performed occasionally at gatherings, although the more elaborate procedure of former years has disappeared.

There is a common belief that people who dream songs won't live long. Informants when discussing the subject almost always make a remark to the effect that "He was a dreamer. He didn't last long. When the people began dreaming they all died off."

The subject of dream songs was chiefly *olel* (above), which is generally translated by informants as heaven, and *luli* (flowers). From the examples given below, most of which are relatively recent, they show a preoccupation with the afterworld, which is very probably a direct outgrowth of an interest in life after death introduced by the Earth Lodge cult. The songs are further characterized by the manner in which they are sung. This is best illustrated in connection with each song as it is given below. The personal names refer to the dreamers of the songs.

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HARRY MARSH:
(repeated twice)
Above we shall go,
Along the Milky Way we shall go.
(in raised key)
Above we shall go,
Along the flower path we shall go.
UNKNOWN:
(repeated twice)
Above where the minnow maiden sleeps at rest
The flowers droop,
The flowers rise again.
(in raised key)
Above where the minnow maiden sleeps at rest
(returned to original key)
The flowers droop,
The flowers rise again.
SADIE MARSH: *This song was given to her in a dream by a friend who had died a short time before.*
(repeated twice)
Down west, down west,
Is where we ghosts dance.
(in raised key)
Down west, down west,
(in original key)
Is where weeping ghosts dance
Is where we ghosts dance.
JIM THOMAS: *The dreamer was a shaman. The song is a favorite at funerals. The custom of singing at burials has been introduced in recent years.*
(repeated twice)
Above I have heard is where they will go
The ghosts of the people rhythmically swaying
(in raised key)
Above I have heard is where they will go
Rhythmically waving dandelion puffs,

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(in original key)

The ghosts of the people rhythmically swaying.

LUS: *The words were imperfectly recalled by the informant, who was also unable to give the music. In substance it was:*

Call west the Wintu world
To return, to return.[26]

Dream songs were acquired during sleep. They were given in dreams by deceased relatives or friends. When the dreamer awoke in the morning, he attempted to sing it. Songs were not the exclusive property of those who composed them, although the authorship was generally acknowledged. Others were at liberty to sing them, and some persons even altered slightly the words and music of the original to suit their own tastes. Thus Sara Bayles dreamed a song, but Bill Kenyon, who was a singer of repute, altered the music after he had learned it from her, and the altered version is the one now generally known.

The Dream dance ceremonies centered around these songs. Performances seem to have varied considerably from place to place and over a period of time.

> "When they first started they didn't have any special way of dressing, but later on they did. Women had handkerchiefs and flowers in their hands later on. Sometimes they tied handkerchiefs around their heads and stuck feathers in them. They painted red stripes on their faces. Men wore feather skirts and painted their chests with two black stripes from shoulder to shoulder."

A dance was called by the owner of a dance house, and those persons who had recently received a song were invited to give what might be called "feature numbers." The performance was given indoors. However, in the absence of a dance house, a circular brush enclosure might be used. The foot drum was employed. The dance house owned by Waikati near Baird, and by Alexander near La Moine, had foot drums installed in them. In later performances the foot drum was replaced not infrequently by a skin drum that was beaten with a stick (as was also the foot drum). Two chief singers, split-stick rattles, and whistles constituted the rest of the musical

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accompaniment. The feather skirts, which may have been new to the area, were used as costumes by those who owned them. Today there are still two or three in existence that are tied around the hips over the daily clothing. The men danced in a circle while the women formed a crescent line to the north and south of the men. They waved handkerchiefs or flowers in outstretched hands and swayed back and forth in place. The individual dreamer usually set the song for the group, and he might also dance with it. The nature of his dance seems to have been largely a matter of individual choice. One informant remembers seeing a dancer enter on his hands and knees, crawl to the center of the floor in this position, and then stand up and dance to the accompaniment of the song he had dreamed recently.

Fortunately, there is available from 1880 the printed account by George Redding of an autochthonous Dream cult ceremony held in Waikati's dance house north of Baird on the McCloud River.

> In the center of the rancheria was the . . . sweat house. It was constructed by digging a large circular hole . . . four or five feet deep. . . . In the center are planted four large trunks of trees. . . . The entrance is a long low passage. [This passage included details of the structure that are not pertinent.] We entered. All about us . . . were Indians squatted on the earth, the male in the foreground and the . . . squaws with their papooses in the rear. In the center a low small fire was burning, quite near to which sat the caller of the dances, smoking a pipe that looked like three large wooden thimbles placed inside each other [a common Wintu form]. . . . After puffing three or four times he passed it to others of the crowd. . . .
>
> Directly opposite to the entrance, there had been a kind of fence erected, behind which the dancers were getting ready. We did not have long to wait, for soon the caller commenced yelling, and all the eyes of the audience were turned toward the dressing room. Out came the Indians—seven men and about fifteen [women]. The men were naked, except for a girdle of eagle feathers about their loins and a narrow band of woodpecker feathers about the forehead. . . . In their hands they carried long, thin reeds which they blew as they ran around the fire, stamping the ground. The women wore calico dresses of bright colors, and in their hands carried grasses that they held up.

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As the men ran the women formed a half circle about them, turning from side to side, all singing in a monotonous low tone. They were accompanied by the musicians, who consisted of three men—one blowing a reed, one pounding on an old tin pan, and the other striking a split stick against a piece of wood. The time was perfect and it was astonishing with what rapidity the men dancers got over the ground. They put their whole strength into the dance, and keep it up for an hour at a time, only stopping at intervals to get breath and hear comments on their performance. When the dance is finished the men cast off the feathers and run naked . . . into the river.

It is usually those who are sick who take part in the dance of this kind, and this treatment is supposed to cure.[27]

What really was happening in the area was a contemporaneous development of a local Dream cult and the steady infiltration of the more specialized Bole-Maru. The two fused inextricably as far as ceremonial behavior was concerned. The Wintu, however, continued to differentiate between their local Dream cult (*yetcewestconos*) and the imported forms (*norpomtconos*). The only basis for that differentiation seems to have lain in the fact that the imported dances still spoke of the return of the dead, not en masse, but in terms of conjuring up a few individuals. To the Wintu "it was just like a show." Their own dreamers made no such pretensions. The Wintu situation closely parallels that of the Achomawi, who also had their local dreamers who were probably influenced by imported features. However, the Wintu seem to have had a larger number of visitors who imported ceremonies.

We are now in a position to list the innovations introduced into Wintu culture from the beginning of the Earth Lodge cult in 1872 to the last imported dances in approximately the 1890s. In the first place, indoor dances were introduced. Prior to that time, all ceremonies except shamans' initiations had been performed outdoors. For the new cults, dance houses were erected that differed from the old earth lodges, especially in respect to size and the use of a corridor entrance.[28] Foot drums and variations on them were introduced at this time. Also, the sacred striped poles appeared for the first time in the imported dances. The cotton dresses of the women's costume, the use of ribbons, and colored bandanas or flowers were all new. Possibly the men's feather skirts were also. Another new feature was that

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admission had to be paid, at least for the imported dances. Thus an informant reported that at one of Paitla's later performances he sold "sticks at twenty-five cents apiece for admission. He had them in bundles of forty. It was just like a show and he used to make lots of money." It will be recalled that admission charges were mentioned also for the Yurok and the Achomawi. The presence in some of the dances of officials, like the *tcimato*, was foreign to previous Wintu practices. Lastly, new songs and dance formations were introduced. The new dance formation was the circle of men in the center and a crescent-shaped line of women either on one or both sides of them (north and south).

A certain aura of seriousness was lent the more pretentious affairs by a series of prohibitions. Dances were attended by men, women, and children. One informant from Old Shasta, however, said that unmarried girls who had reached puberty were debarred from a performance given by Tcibat from Tehama County. Intoxicating liquor and tobacco might be debarred from the dance house, or private property might be forbidden. All persons, even children, were supposed to abstain from sleep. Levity and horseplay were always discouraged.

It is interesting that the Wintu received through the efforts of various outside dance leaders practically all the formal elements of the Bole-Maru cult, which they then incorporated into their own local Dream cult performances; yet they insisted upon distinguishing the two movements. Furthermore, they did not develop the sequence of "preachers" or "dreamers" whose individual experiences became the center of cult activity. In addition, there is only one hint that curative aspects were read into the local Dream cult. This is found at the end of the quotation from Redding given earlier. No Wintu informant in recent years has mentioned this subject, which may indicate that the tendency was never very pronounced. It is very possible that curative aspects of the Dream cult did not develop and that sequences of "preachers" did not grow up because they were blocked by the changing aspects of shamanism in the area. This does not imply that the shamans deliberately thwarted any such tendencies. On the contrary, there seems to have been less antagonism to the new cults on the part of shamans among the Wintu than among the Achomawi, for example. There were no reports of shamans who attempted to discredit them. In fact, Waikati, who was one of the first and most influential dreamers,

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was also a doctor. What may have served to block such tendencies was that the old pattern of group initiation for shamans among the Wintu had broken down and in its place was growing up a more individualistic manner of securing supernatural powers. The new shamans drew on the ghost of dead persons, and more specifically dead relatives, for their supernatural potency.[29] In other words, shamanism adapted itself to the disintegration of its older pattern by adopting the central aspect of the new cult religion—namely, rapport with the dead. In this altered form shamanism still persists among the Wintu with considerable vigor. The shaman Albert Thomas, who is half Wintu and half Achomawi, has made his influence felt throughout the northern part of the state. Charley Klutchie, another Wintu shaman, has been asked as far as Fall River for curing séances. On the other hand, the autochthonous Dream cult, which was characterized by dreaming on the part of a large proportion of the adult population, persisted in that form for the relatively prolonged period of some twenty years. After that it died down, largely, I feel, because it failed to be concentrated in the persons of outstanding preachers, as it did in some other tribes. There was no opportunity for doctrine and performance to crystallize under concentrated leadership.[30] The Dream cult with its generalized dream experiences existed side by side with an adapted shamanism, but the Dream cult is now practically extinct except for the memory of songs and a few slovenly dance formations, whereas shamanism is still relatively vigorous among the Wintu.

Wintun and Hill Patwin

The elaboration of modern religious cults since 1870 in northern California increases as one proceeds southward. The Wintu material indicated a growing complexity, which is substantiated upon an examination of the Wintun and Hill Patwin data.

As among the Achomawi, the first introduction to the Wintun and Hill Patwin of a revivalistic doctrine is obscured because it has been overlaid by later developments of whose historic origin most informants are ignorant.[31] The result is a series of fragmentary statements that must be evaluated and ordered with more than usual care. Difficulties are increased by the reduction in numbers and the disintegration of culture among the Wintun and Hill Patwin.

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The unsatisfactory field conditions are particularly deplorable, since this area was crucial to the development of both the Earth Lodge cult and the Bole-Maru. In it the three great formative figures of the north-central California cults first operated. They were Norelputus, who seems to have created the Earth Lodge cult, and the two persons principally responsible for the Bole-Maru, Homaldo and Lame Bill. None of these three figures was a great traveler in the sense of Bogus Tom, Paitla, and Frank Spencer (discussed in previous sections), but their originality and force of character made many converts to the cult and changed the whole course of its development in the area.

In this section I shall first sketch briefly the general situation. Then separate sections will be devoted to the activities of Norelputus, Homaldo, and Lame Bill. Finally, the sequences of later dreamers for various settlements will be discussed.

It appears that Norelputus, of Ingot (Northern Yana), sent word southward to Wintun and Hill Patwin territory that the world was to end and that each ranchería was to build a deep underground lodge to protect its members from the coming catastrophe. This change in doctrinal emphasis and its association with a subterranean lodge is the essence of the Earth Lodge cult as opposed to the Ghost Dance proper. Norelputus himself seems only to have carried the message as far as Stonyford (Colusa County; Hill Patwin and Salt Pomo territory), but his doctrine spread down the eastern slope of the Coast Range, crossed the mountains via Cache Creek and Long Valley to Clear Lake in Pomo territory, where, with renewed vigor, it spread fanwise to the rancherías of the Coast Range crest. Norelputus was known by hearsay among the Indians as far west as the Southeastern Pomo of Sulphur Bank.

After the first short-lived excitement, there arose leaders who shaped the Bole-Maru cult. They differed from the northern dreamers in the greater elaborateness of their ceremonial behavior and in the vigor of their proselytizing fervor. It was this proselytizing energy that accounts for the rapid diffusion of north-central Californian traits as far as western Oregon. The "preachers" or "dreamers" were called *bola* men by the Wintun,[32] *bole* by the Hill Patwin, and *boli* by the River Patwin. Among the Wintun the term *bola* is recognized as an equivalent of the *yetcewestconos* (Dream dance) of the Wintu. The hyphenated term *Bole-Maru*, which is applied in this study

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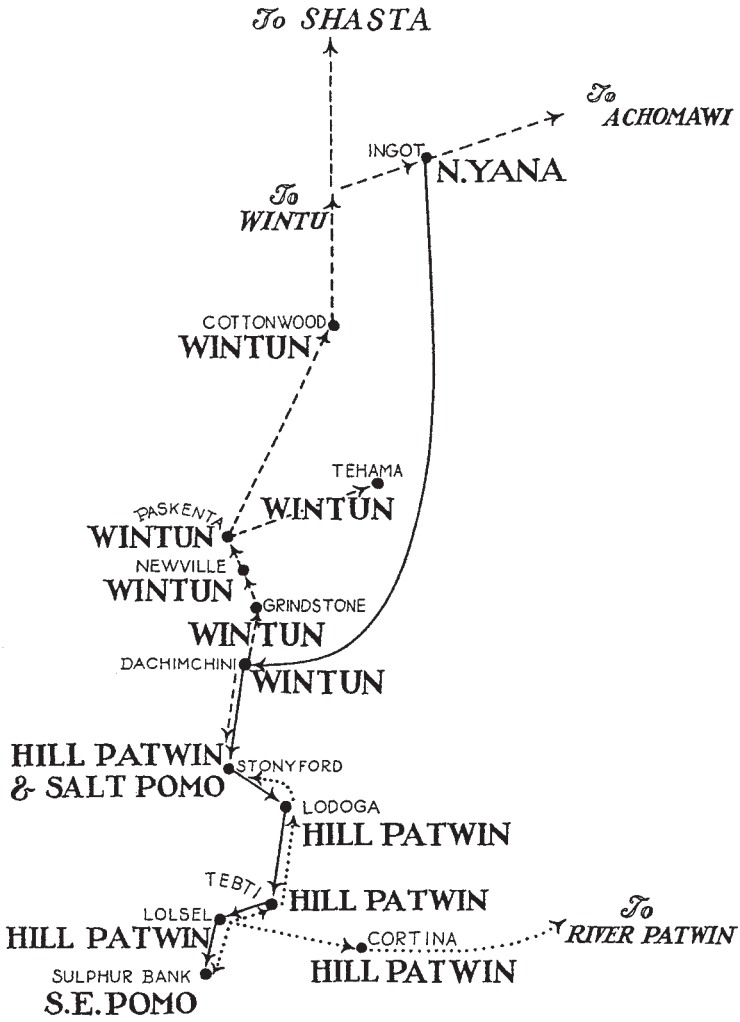

FIG. 6. Diffusion of modern cults among Wintun and Hill Patwin. Solid line, Earth Lodge cult; dashes, Homaldo's Bole-Maru; dotted line, Lame Bill's Bole-Maru.

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to the southern and elaborated form of the Dream cult, is composed of the native Patwin and Pomo terms. It seemed desirable to indicate thus their close relationship.

The two real creators of the Bole-Maru were Lame Bill and Homaldo, although Norelputus also is described sometimes as a bole man. Lame Bill was a native of Lolsel (Hill Patwin of Long Valley). His dance was carried north and south along the eastern side of the Coast Range, as well as westward into Pomo territory. Homaldo of Dachimchini (Wintun) arose almost simultaneously with Lame Bill at the northern periphery of the latter's influence. Homaldo is the Mexican Jo of Wintu accounts, and his sphere of influence seems to have been directed chiefly toward the north. Figure 6 traces these movements. Grindstone is at present the chief center of the remaining Wintun, but there is also an admixture of Hill Patwin in the settlement. It is some six miles north of the village of Elk Creek near the junction of Stony and Grindstone creeks. Under Grindstone on the map have been subsumed all the rancherías that formerly existed in the immediate vicinity. Similarly, under Stonyford will be grouped the Salt Pomo settlements and the nearby Hill Patwin villages. The old site Dachimchini is retained in the map, although it no longer exists.[33]

In the following sections, the three major figures, Norelputus, Homaldo, and Lame Bill, will be discussed.

NORELPUTUS

Among the Wintun and Hill Patwin, Norelputus is generally known as Nelelputa. There can be no doubt, however, that the same person is meant, for two informants definitely stated that they were variants of one name, and in addition, biographical data given under the two names crosschecked. Of Norelputus practically nothing was learned from two Paskenta (Wintun) informants. Although they knew him as a man and a "good talker who told the Indians to keep up their dances," they were very vague concerning his efforts as an early disseminator of a religious doctrine. It so happened that the northern Hill Patwin and Wintun informants were particularly weak or reticent on doctrinal information, so that the best accounts of Norelputus's doctrine were traced farther south and west. It is one of those unsatisfactorily filled gaps that seem inevitable. However, one Wintun informant from Paskenta gave the following data:

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[NANCY JORDAN] "Norelputus came from the north around Pit River. He preached that the whites were all going and that the dead were coming back. He told them to keep up their dances. He stopped right away when he saw people didn't believe him. I never heard of his preaching down south here."

Another informant, whose mother was a Wintun but who had spent most of his life among the white people, had heard nothing about the end of the world or the return of the dead until he moved to Ukiah twenty years ago. However, he knew Norelputus and made the following comments concerning him:

[CHARLIE WARTHON] Norelputus in his young days came to the people north of Redding (Wintu). They made him chief there. He was chief for our whole language. He was the man who first started the dreaming. He started it because after the whites came the people could not carry on the old ways any longer. Norelputus told them they had to stop the old ways and take up the dreaming way. So people began getting songs and dances in their dreams. That traveled south and as far as Point Arena (Central Pomo) on the coast. Norelputus was a very wise man and a great talker. He was the first to go to Washington to ask help for the Indians. He died at Baird (Wintu) in about 1902.

The first indication of Norelputus's southern activities came from an informant now living at Grindstone who spent his youth in Hill Patwin and southern Wintun rancherías:

[JIM (TOMASO) SMITH] "Norelputus was a pretty strong man from around Shasta County. He told us to build round houses, strong ones about thirteen feet deep. They built these houses west in the hills about thirty miles from Redding [unlocated], at Toba just north of Elk Creek, at Bahka near Stonyford, and at Lolsel on Long Valley Creek. His word went to Stonyford, but he didn't go that far [contradicted by a subsequent informant]. The dance spread from Norelputus's place to Dachimchini. Benito was captain there, and he took Norelputus's word to Stonyford. From Stonyford a dancer called Bishente took it to Long

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Valley [Lolsel ranchería?]. The word went as far as Clear Lake [Pomo]. It was strong there, and they built houses on account of the high water that was coming. Norelputus dreamed there would be a north wind and high water.[34] He said the people would be saved by getting in these deep underground houses; the rocks would roll right over them. He never preached about the dead coming back [?]. He was before Homaldo's time."

This informant, himself a dreamer, was one who considered Norelputus a true "bole man." The following comments throw light not only on the Bole-Maru ideology but also on the reception of the first movement.

[JIM (TOMASO) SMITH] "Norelputus's dance was the first bole that broke out. On all the rancherías they wondered what it could be—that anyone could see this bole man [informant here meant a spirit]. They studied over this. Some wouldn't believe Norelputus. He [i.e., bole; used by this informant as a personalized term] travels and travels. He gets a certain man in a ranchería and starts him so that he turns into a bole man. Then he goes to another place and starts another man. He could be sitting here right now listening to what we are saying, and we wouldn't know it unless we had that power. Nowadays he goes to women too. The bole spirit tells them not to spread the word among Negroes or Spaniards or whites.

"Norelputus put on a dance up at his home place. He said, 'My people, it was given to me in a dream. Dress up in feathers. You can see how we are going to dance with this song.' They had a drum and started singing and dancing. Women followed the men and danced in a circle. They divided up and danced five sets. Norelputus told them to follow the same steps and the same song. All this was the first beginning at his home place. From there the people saw this dance and decided to go to other rancherías and teach them to dance, so they carried it on to the next place. This was the new Dream dance and bole together. The Indians believed in it because a long time ago they dreamed for other dances like deer hunting [?]. It is the *yetewe yapai* [lit., Dream dance—Hill Patwin], and the bole is the spirit man who makes the dream. He is the man who talks, who says the dance has to be given. First you bole,

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then you *yetewe yapai*. If bole men [i.e., humans who are mediums for the bole spirit] don't follow their dreams they go crazy and get sick. It is natural to dream like that. The power comes in a dream at night. During the day the person thinks all the time about his dream. In Norelputus's dance you could use your own feathers. There was nothing new about them, and he didn't use a flag or anything like that."

[SANTIAGO MCDANIEL] "Norelputus belonged up north of Red Bluff [*sic*]. He said everyone was to put up dance houses all over the country. He was to give the people songs. He had four or five of them. His dance went to Bakamtatci [Salt Pomo near Stonyford], Kabalmen [Hill Patwin ca. two miles south of Lodoga], Tebti [Hill Patwin, Cache Creek], Lolsel [Hill Patwin, Long Valley] and Mothla [Southeastern Pomo, Sulphur Bank; called Elem in Pomo]. Norelputus didn't travel all that way with it. It spread by people catching it and passing it on. He came himself to Dachimchini [Wintun] and Stonyford. He came after the houses were finished. He said there would be rain next winter and snow and a south [?] wind. Acorns would grow and people would live well. He said other people after him would get the same word but a little different and he hoped to live and hear these words, but always to dance and have a good time. He never said anything about the dead coming back. [Informant was consistently reticent on the subject of doctrine. He was himself a Bole-Maru dreamer and refused to speak of his own activities.]

"Norelputus must have dreamed these songs. He never told where he got them, never said what kind of spirit gave them. He never sang himself. He just told his songs to singers. When he came to Stonyford he brought Mariana and Nigger Tom with him to sing. They were both from Dachimchini [Wintun]. There were many other people from Dachimchini with him too. He stayed one day and two nights. That was his rule. While he was there he had a little painted stick about the size of a hammer handle that he stuck on top of the dance house. For the dance, people used their own old-time feathers. They painted a black band across the mouth, a wide one above the wrists and elbows, and a black chevron from the shoulders to the middle of the chest. There were no flags or anything of that sort. Norelputus didn't let people drink whiskey or take matches and tobacco into the dance house. They couldn't eat bacon, only Indian food like acorn soup and pinole. Men

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and women joined in the dance. After the dance the women left and the men sweated. He had a new song and dance for sweating." The song was *lutca lutca he he*. The meaning was unknown. The men sat around the fire and when they sang *lutca, lutca*, the body was inclined to the left with the right arm flexed across the chest, and the left arm extended to the side. With the syllables *he he*, the position was reversed. The dance terminated with a bath in the creek.

"After Norelputus left, the captains at Stonyford decided to go on. They danced one more day and night [i.e., they danced three nights and two days altogether]. Christian and Lebito, two singers from Stonyford, had learned his songs so they could go on with the dance."

This somewhat scanty and possibly somewhat inaccurate information is all that could be secured concerning Norelputus among the Wintun and Hill Patwin. It would appear that in this area the first Earth Lodge furor was as short lived as the Ghost Dance had been in northernmost California. The Hill Patwin differed from the more northern groups in centering the chief excitement upon an imminent world catastrophe rather than upon the return of the dead, which was only secondary among them. They built large and deep earth lodges as protections against the wind and flood that were to destroy the world. This trait will be brought out more clearly in the data on Pomo, where the emphasis on it was greater.

The north-central Californian Ghost Dance furor of 1872 is definitely attributable to the proselytizing efforts of Norelputus. We know that he had received the Paviotso doctrine from Achomawi material. Although his father was a Northern Yana, his mother was a Wintu and he spoke her language. Therefore he must have been able to communicate directly with the Wintun, whose speech is only dialectally different. He must have experienced more difficulty in making himself understood among the Hill Patwin. It is interesting that this in turn is correlated with a change in doctrinal emphasis. Language as a possible agency in limiting his activities, and distorting the doctrine must be taken into consideration.

The Ingot affair, which was discussed in the section on the Achomawi and which was the beginning of their second cult from the west, probably represents Homaldo's reworking of the doctrine that Norelputus himself disseminated. It will be recalled in this connection that Paitla was Homal-

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do's messenger and that he invited the skeptical Northern Yana and Achomawi to Grindstone (Dachimchini? Homaldo's home ranchería), where a few of the dead were supposed already to have returned. It thus appears that the Wintun stressed the return of the dead rather than the end of the world. They were also the group more closely allied linguistically to Wintu, which Norelputus spoke. Despite Homaldo's trickery and his exploitation of the whole movement, Norelputus still espoused the cause. It may explain, however, his support at Ingot of the antagonistic shaman, Subiski. Norelputus seems to have insisted upon the earlier Paviotso doctrine of advent to the east rather than to the south and west. It will be recalled that he led a group of Wintu, Northern Yana, and western Achomawi to the Fall River affair of 1873. I feel convinced that Norelputus's sincerity and zeal is above question. In this he stands in contrast to Homaldo, who is to be considered next.

HOMALDO

Among the Wintun, Homaldo is often mentioned as the first Bole-Maru dreamer. He is often called Jo or Mexican Jo because he had gone to Mexico as a young man and there had learned Spanish. His native ranchería was Dachimchini, from where he personally spread his doctrine south as far as Stonyford and north to the Wintu area. He seems to have been motivated by a strong proselytizing zeal, which he imparted to his chief messenger, Paitla. He was not content to carry his dance only once to neighboring rancherías but apparently returned two or three different years. He depended upon a series of miracles and relatively elaborate regalia to carry conviction. These two aspects rather than any doctrine seem to have impressed most deeply the informants. Data on Homaldo are profuse and are quoted at length because they serve to give a relatively full picture of the early Bole-Maru movement in the northern part of this territory.

[SANTIAGO MCDANIEL; Salt Pomo, Stonyford] "Lame Bill came before Homaldo. Homaldo was called Jo or Mexican Jo. He spoke Spanish. He had learned it in Mexico where he worked as a young man. He came back to Stonyford two different years."

[JOHN WILSON; Hill Patwin, Stonyford] "Homaldo was from Dachimchini, but he came to Stonyford every spring for five or six years. He had

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five or six different flags all strung on a post. He got his dance from the *molawin* [ghosts], not from the *saltu* [spirits]. But all that was his secret and he never told. He put a headdress on a pole and made it move by moving his hands. He would smoke a long Indian pipe and then shake out twenty-five- and fifty-cent pieces."

[WILSEY LEWIS; Hill Patwin, Long Valley] "Homaldo didn't bring his dance to Long Valley [Hill Patwin], but some Long Valley people went to see it. Lame Bill went to see his dance too. He could understand their language [Wintun]."

[JEFF JONES; Wintun, Grindstone] "Homaldo carried his dance to other rancherías because he said it had been given to him so he could teach others. He started from the south and gave a dance at Kalaiel ranchería [Newville]. He went next to Dominic's ranchería six or seven miles north of Paskenta. He ordered those who didn't have a dance house to build one. Dominic built a dance house for him. They had drums in the Paskenta dance houses before the bole started. The next spring Homaldo came back again and told Dominic to build another dance house because he had more things to add to the dance he had given before. Homaldo traveled with a group of dancers who weren't allowed to eat meat or grease. They could eat only Indian foods. The visitors at a dance could eat anything. No children were allowed in the dance house. When he came to a ranchería, the head man of each group was called by name and had to give twenty dollars for Homaldo's traveling expenses. If the captains didn't pay, they would have bad luck and die. If they did pay, Homaldo would pray for their good luck. Homaldo's troupe taught the local singers and dancers, and they carried on after he left. Homaldo had a flag and pole. The pole was painted in alternate bands of red and black. It was dangerous to look at, especially for children and at nightfall. After the dance only certain men might handle the pole. It was carried a long way off where no one should go. It was covered with sticks and brush and left there until it rotted. For another dance a new pole was made. I don't remember any special costume for Homaldo's dance. After he began the dance, others dreamed and added to it so that in some bole dances women wear yellow skirts. Dreamers learn in their dreams what dancers should wear.

"Bole men can do miracles. Homaldo took a bundle of elder sticks

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about a foot long. He piled them by the fire. He moved his hands and talked to them, and they stood up on end and moved around. Then they went out of the smoke hole one by one. He danced and pulled half dollars out of the air and put them in a basket. Soon he had a basket half full of money. He said, 'I don't have to work like you people. This is a gift to me.' People thought he was a second Christ and did everything he told them. He had the Indians believing they would die if they didn't do as he said. It was like Christ coming, and he had the poor Indians scared wild. He depended on his miracles to make them believe and make them afraid."

[NANCY JORDAN; Wintun, Paskenta] "Homaldo came two or three different years to Paskenta. He said all had to believe that their mothers and fathers were coming back, they weren't dead. So they believed and did as he told them. When he first came he had people make tortillas out of wheat. Everyone was given one tortilla. Then they were told to break off a corner and throw it in the fire.[35] Homaldo said that when he came back the next year, the dead would be on their way. When the people went in the dance house he told them to raise their arms over their heads and cry. They cried because they were waiting to see their dead people. But instead of seeing them, they all got sick and died. The Bole dance was dropped after Homaldo stopped coming. They dropped it because the dead didn't come back as he promised. He said people were to have plenty of food for the dead when they returned, so everyone was busy gathering food. The second year when he came the dead weren't with him. He tried to tell the people that they would be the next time he came, but the people didn't believe and began dropping out. Frank Uri was a white man who traveled with Homaldo. After Homaldo was gone, Frank Uri brought up a man from the valley. His back was twisted and he had big birth spots all over him. They took off his clothes and showed his back and spots. Frank Uri tried to say he was one of the spirits that had come back. All the Indians walked out. Frank Uri was trying to fool them; I guess he wanted money from the Indians."

Before Homaldo came he sent word ahead to build a dance house. He said that he had seen the dead down south and that he was coming. Homaldo had a flag with red hearts pasted on it. He sent four men out to get a pole. It was hard work. They had an awful time with it. They

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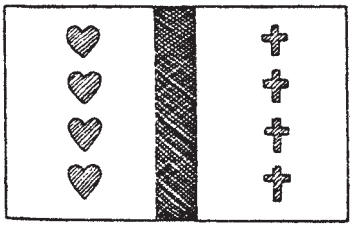

FIG. 7. Bole-Maru flag made at Paskenta (Wintun) at Homaldo's suggestion. Background, white; hearts and crosses, red; stripe, blue. From verbal description.

used the same pole at Dominic's place (near Paskenta). When the dance was over the pole had to be hidden in the brush two or three miles away. At Dominic's place a dance house was built for Homaldo, and people hurried to build one in Paskenta too. The first time Homaldo came he had just one big flag. He carried it all rolled up. The first year he showed it to them. When he came to Paskenta the second year they had their own. The two daughters of the chief made it (see fig. 7) and they made three to hang in the dance house. They were about three feet by six. They were like quilts with red and blue on them. He hung these on the walls. They were about like the flag. On the side of the center post that faced the dance house, there was an outline figure in charcoal of a man and below it one of a woman.

Homaldo was a fine singer. He stood in the back of the dance house near the drum. He had with him two wonderful singers from Dachimchini, called Tom (Waielkawa) and Charlie Jeff. There was one man from Dachimchini, called Mariana, who danced alone. The women held a handkerchief in both hands and waved them from side to side. The man danced alone, and the women circled the fire with a side step. The only two women from Paskenta who joined in were the captain's two daughters who made the flag. There was nothing special about the way dancers painted themselves—two horizontal stripes on each cheek, three across the chest, three on the upper arms. "This was all old-time painting." After they were through dancing, everyone who came with Homaldo danced out in the middle of the floor, then people threw their clothes and money in the center for them. Homaldo divided it among his dancers.

Homaldo could do tricks. He said a piece of paper was coming down from heaven. He danced and sang, and soon it floated down through the smoke hole. He picked it up and put it in his pocket. There was writing on it, but in those days no one could read. He put a fifty-cent piece in his pipe and smoked it. When he was through he held the pipe upside down, but nothing fell out. He took an elder stick and put three

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crosspieces on it. He tied tassels of elder on the end of the crosspieces and stuck it in the ground. As he sang the tassels jumped in time to his singing and dancing.

"None of the Paskenta people dreamed their own songs. No one fell unconscious during Homaldo's dances."

[BILLY FREEMAN; Wintun, Paskenta] "*Bola* [i.e., Wintun for *bole*] means a man who sees something, he sees all things. It is just like dreaming." The word for dreaming is *kinkila*.

Homaldo was just like a showman. He came to Thomas Creek where the Paskenta ranchería was. He sent word ahead to have the dance house ready. Everyone went in between sundown and dark. During the dance you have to sit still. If you make a noise you have to pay, but otherwise everything was free and no dancing outfits were sold. The singers were back near the drum. Then Homaldo came in with a whistle about one foot long in his mouth. He danced around the fire four times from right to left, then he turned around and stopped. While he was dancing the singers used Homaldo's song: *he lake helo wike, nomho, nomho, nomho*. There was no meaning to these words (*yet nom* means "south," the direction from which the dead were coming). "All the people felt sad and cried at this song because the dead were coming." Then Homaldo took a bundle of elder sticks in his arms and danced around under the smoke hole. "Soon it looked as though someone must have reached down and pulled a stick out of his hand. It went right up through the smoke hole. He kept that up until the whole bundle of sticks was gone. He was just showing the people what he could do. He was that powerful." This was all for the first night. The next morning Homaldo set out to find his sticks. He went about one mile south of the sweat house, and there were all the sticks together in a bundle. He brought them back and showed them.

In the afternoon the women danced for a while. They had white cloth dresses with vertical red stripes on the bodice and skirt. They wore three-prong feather tremblers behind each ear and short yellowhammer headbands low on the foreheads, and beneath them, but higher on the head, a net band (*kuluila*) with feathers and beads on it. Four or five women danced with about five men. The men wore loincloths, three of the triple-pronged tremblers—one behind each ear and one in

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back—and a short yellowhammer headband. During the day they had only that one dance. In the evening they danced that same dance again and Homaldo showed what he could do. He took a red bandana and stuffed it in a cup. Then he blew on the cup and turned it upside down and you could hear something rattle. He turned the cup right-side up again and the handkerchief was gone, but there was still something in there that rattled. "He did many things like that." While he was doing the handkerchief trick his song was *hente he yoho*.

The next day he had five poles made just like telephone poles. He had flags on them just like American flags. I don't know what they were for, but he said, "You will see your people who died a long time ago." Homaldo dreamed all this. If people danced his way they would see the dead in their dreams. He did not say the dead would come back to earth. He said the dead were traveling from the south. They were to rise down there and come up this way. "You will see your dead fathers and mothers if you believe this." (Note contradiction: dead were to be seen in dreams and were not returning, and, following, definite statements that they were returning. Latter doctrine probably earlier.) He did not say anything about the world changing (ending?). He did not set any special time for the dead to come back. He said if you didn't believe, you would not be right, you would go crazy.

Homaldo stayed two days and nights, then on the third day he went on to the next place. Just before he left he sang a special song: *yuke lale yu lale he*.[36] After (?) Homaldo went through, people built houses and danced for his message for about five years. They built dance houses just for his word. He said everybody had to have them because the dead were coming back. The dance houses were like the old ones only they were bigger. They were round, four or five feet deep, with one undecorated center post and six side posts. The door had to be toward the south. "That was because of Homaldo's message [i.e., that dead were coming from the south?]. Before that the door could face in any direction." (?)

"You had to dance all the time. All the people died from this Dream dance. It was a no-good dance."

[JIM (TOMASO) SMITH; Hill Patwin, Grindstone] "Homaldo came from Dachimchini, and his white man's name was Jo. He started after Norelputus. Homaldo didn't preach about the dead coming back or

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about high wind and water, like Norelputus.[37] There was nothing dangerous in Homaldo's dance. Homaldo used to do tricks,[38] but he was a working man and never dreamed. Then he began to dream. The bole man [see preceding description of bole spirit by same informant under Norelputus] said to him in a dream, 'You have to dance. Give a big dinner and tell the people that you dreamed what you never dreamed before. I'll give you tricks so you can show the people.' In his dream Homaldo saw ten sticks about four feet long. They were stuck in the ground. As four men sang and played the drum they began to shake in time to the music, then the sticks moved to the fire and flew out through the smoke hole, one at a time. That was Homaldo's dream, and he showed it to the people. Another time he took a flat rock about the size of his palm and threw it at the center post. Then he went and picked it up on the other side. It had gone right through the post. Then he made it go through the post by passing it from one hand to the other. When the people saw these things they were all ready to join in and help him dance.

"Homaldo had five songs, but the only one I can remember went with the stick trick."

1. *yuki lole*, I see (something pretty) flower
2. *hi yuki lole*, I see flower
3. *hai oyo lole*, Oh, I didn't know (I was to see something pretty) flower!
4. *ye yoho lole*, I didn't know—flower.

The pattern was 1121121123344211211233442112112334 41.[39] It is reminiscent of the Wintu but is not identical. No change to a higher key was noted toward the end.

Dreaming by the majority of the population does not seem to have followed the first furor. Instead there arose almost immediately two chief prophets in whose hands lay the formation of the Bole-Maru cult. They spoke of the return of the dead and the end of the world, but the immediacy of adventism and a world catastrophe disappeared as the cult developed. The stimulus to Homaldo's activities was undoubtedly the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult by Norelputus. He seems to have

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impressed his contemporaries more with ceremonialism and showmanship than with doctrine. Homaldo's ability in legerdemain seems to have been particularly spectacular. Except for certain Paviotso, in the area of Homaldo's influence is found the only consistent use of "tricks" by dreamers. Homaldo may have gained proficiency in these performances during his travels in Mexico. His integrity, if not his influence, is suspect, not only for the deliberateness entailed in the use of sleight-of-hand skill but also for the admission he charged to witness his performances. His repeated visits to the same rancherías indicate that he exploited in full this source of income. The informants are probably quite correct when they said "it was more like a show." The fragment concerning Frank Uri, the white man in his retinue, further substantiates the suspicion of fraudulence. However, it cannot be doubted that Homaldo was able to convince his audience of supernatural power.

Homaldo was frequently accompanied by Paitla, to whom there have been frequent references under the name of Frank, in western Oregon, and among the Wintu, Shasta, and Achomawi. On the whole, I should be inclined to consider Paitla thoroughly sincere. However, the following statement from a reliable informant gives a different impression of him.

[CHARLIE WARTHON] "Paitla came from Igo [southern Wintu]. He took people dancing as far south as Hopland [unconfirmed]. He told people to pay him money so they could be saved. He got feathers and beads from the Indians and sold them to others (cf. Ingot incident). He was a great rascal. He was no dreamer, but he took Norelputus's message and made money on it. He used to cheat white farmers in the hop fields. He never worked but made his money in those ways. He was a great drinker. There is nothing good I can say about him."

LAME BILL

It has already been stated that Lame Bill came from the Hill Patwin ranchería of Lolsel in the upper Cache Creek district. His proselytizing efforts were chiefly in Pomo territory and among the Hill Patwin to the south, whereas Homaldo's efforts were directed northward in Wintun and Wintu territory, from where it was spread still farther by other proselytizers. It is impossible to determine which of the two was earlier. It is certain,

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however, that they were active contemporaneously, although Lame Bill lived longer and therefore was active for a more prolonged period than Homaldo. A Cache Creek Patwin said that Lame Bill gave his first Bole-Maru dance at Lolsel after visiting Homaldo's affair. On the other hand, a Stonyford informant asserted that Lame Bill's Bole-Maru reached Stonyford before Homaldo's. Of course these two statements are not incompatible, since Lame Bill may have visited Homaldo's dance and proselytized in Stonyford before Homaldo had time to take his dance that far south. On the other hand, Lame Bill may have secured only the Earth Lodge doctrine from the Wintun when it was still devoid of Bole-Maru implications.

Another of Lame Bill's rivals for priority was Tele, who lived in the Cache Creek ranchería of Tebti in the near vicinity of Lolsel. A native of Tebti said on one occasion that Tele preceded Lame Bill as the first Bole-Maru man; on another occasion she reversed the statement. Another informant, who had lived both at Tebti and Lolsel, believed that Lame Bill was the earlier. Santiago McDaniel of Stonyford was of the same opinion. In all events, the beginning of their activities was separated by not more than a month or two, and Lame Bill's influence was felt far more widely than Tele's. The only detailed account of Tele's activities closely parallels those of Lame Bill. They may have been practically identical, but I am not sure that the informant sharply distinguished between the two. An account of Tele's activities is given in the section "Subsequent Bole-Maru Dreamers," under the subheading "Tebti."

The Patwin statements concerning Lame Bill's activities are given herewith. Lame Bill's efforts in Pomo territory are found in the section on that tribe.

[SUSIE LEWIS; Hill Patwin of Cache Creek] "Lame Bill was called Katao. They called him Budkas or Bulkas and Hinash too. He said the world was to end, and he called all the people together. Water was to come up and cover the earth. The Indians were all to be caught in a big fish trap, but the whites were to be washed away. The whites weren't going to heaven when the world ended. That year there was a big storm, and lightning danced on the ground. It looked as though the world were cracking up [i.e., coming to an end]. The ground smelled like blasting powder. Lame Bill got all the people together into the deep sweat

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house he had built there at Lolsel. He went up on top of the house and sang, but all the others stayed in the house. When he came in he told all the people to dance naked. The people at Sulphur Bank [Southeastern Pomo] were doing the same thing. There was a storm there too."

When this informant was interviewed eight months later, she gave the same account but attributed the events to Tele at Tebti. She said that Lame Bill started two months later. He gathered together the Sulphur Bank and Upper Lake Pomo as well as the Cache Creek Patwin. His activities at this time were supposed to be of the Bole-Maru type and were identical with Tele's subsequent ones (see the section "Subsequent Bole-Maru Dreamers"), except that he had a deep earth lodge with four doors.

The storm incident probably represents the first Earth Lodge cult furor, with its attendant doctrine of the world's end and deep protecting earth lodges, spread by Norelputus. It was probably contemporaneous with the latter's activities and can be assigned to the year 1872 for two reasons: (1) the dating from the Achomawi end and (2) the fact that Powers reports a general excitement prevalent among the Pomo in 1872.[40] In other words, either Lame Bill or Tele was the local leader for the first short-lived furor. Their subsequent activities belong more properly to the Bole-Maru, which included the origin of the Bole-Hesi. A detailed consideration of the Bole-Hesi will be given later in a separate section.

However, in order to make comprehensible the following statements by informants, it will be necessary to define briefly certain terms. Bole-Maru applies to the whole specialized Pomo-Patwin development that grew up after the stimulus of the Earth Lodge cult introduced by Norelputus. Bole (Patwin) or Maru (Pomo) dances are performances within the Bole-Maru cult. A Bole or a Maru dance may be identified by the elaborately decorated cloth costumes used by women participants. The Bole-Hesi is a profane version of the old sacred Patwin Hesi dance. It was originated by Lame Bill under the influence of the Bole-Maru cult, in which it was incorporated as a dance.

The following informant was a native of Tebti, but she married into the nearby ranchería called Lolsel, of which Lame Bill was a member. She knew nothing of Norelputus, the imminent return of the dead, or a world catastrophe. Her statement of Lame Bill's inspiration is couched in terms

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that resemble shamanistic experience. This is doubtless an accurate interpretation in terms of Californian localism. Although it lacks historical perspective, it is one of the most coherent accounts of Lame Bill's early ceremonial activities.

[SARA LOWELL] "In the very beginning of the bola, Bill went to hunt deer up the north fork of Cache Creek. The people went out to look for him because he did not come back. He used to dream about these things in his sleep, but he never believed much in them. When he was out hunting, his dream became so strong it made him faint. His nephews who had gone to look for him found him on the trail coming home. For four days he had trances. He ran away into the mountains. His dreams told him to stay there and fast on food and water. In his hut where he fasted two owls talked to him at night. They were not the spirits that gave him the messages, they were just symbols of his power. Bill believed in these dreams. When he came back to Lolsel he called the chief to get a table and appoint a woman named Minn to cook. Bill went around the house four times blowing a whistle, then everybody sat down at that table and ate. [Cf. emphasis on feast among Point Arena Pomo.] Then he told the people to make a dance house. He preached and sang early in the morning and again in the evening. He said that when people died and were buried here, they were living up in heaven. Before, people had always thought the dead were [permanently] dead. He told the people not to be sad. The dead had sent the message to dance. If Bill did not do right away what he had dreamed, he said he would get sick and die."

Dance house—"Was so big it had four doors"; oriented to cardinal directions. Was largest ever built at Lolsel. Depth was only about two feet (?); no gallery as in early Earth Lodge cult houses of Pomo; center pole usually called *dori*, "but after Bill dreamed, it was called *sektu* [chief; cf. Wintu]"; considered "dangerous." When house was not in use, was closed up; no one entered. Upon completion of dance house, invitations were sent to Sulphur Bank (Southeastern Pomo), Upper Lake (Eastern Pomo), Mission (Eastern Pomo), Middletown (Lake Miwok), Tebti (Hill Patwin), Stonyford (Hill Patwin and Salt Pomo?), Cortina (Hill Patwin).

"When Bill gathered all the people together, he preached that the

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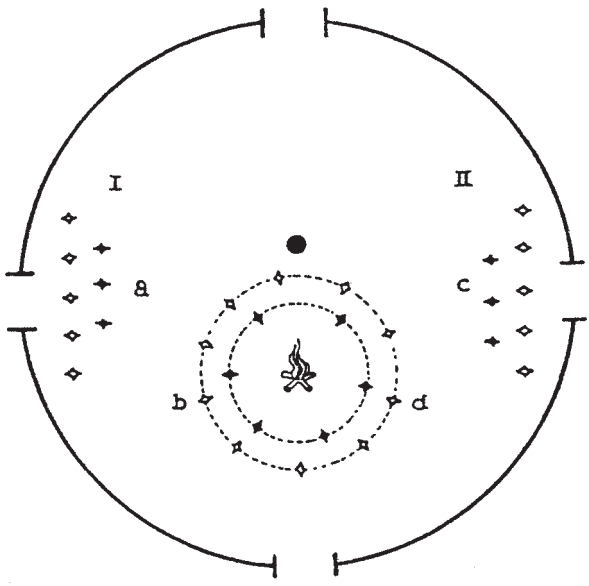

FIG. 8. Toto dance used by Lame Bill, Long Valley Hill Patwin, in Bole-Maru cult. Solid diamonds, men; outline diamonds, women.

dead were alive and that his spirit saw what the dead were telling people to do—not to be sad, to dance. It was the first time these people had heard such things. He was the first man who saw all this. He said that the older generation would not live to see the world end but that the younger people would see it. The world was to end because the live and the dead were to come together. He did not set a special time for the dead to come back."

After the first dance at Lolsel, but also in the same year, Cortina (Hill Patwin ranchería to south of Lolsel) invited Bill to preach and dance down there. The chief sponsoring the affair was Salvador (Sasa). He was not yet a bole man at that time. Bill again preached the same doctrine. Tebti (Hill Patwin of Cache Creek), Sulphur Bank (Southeastern Pomo), and Waitere (River Patwin) were the three other rancherías invited on this occasion.

"Bill died about ten years after he first dreamed [i.e., ca. 1883].[41] He

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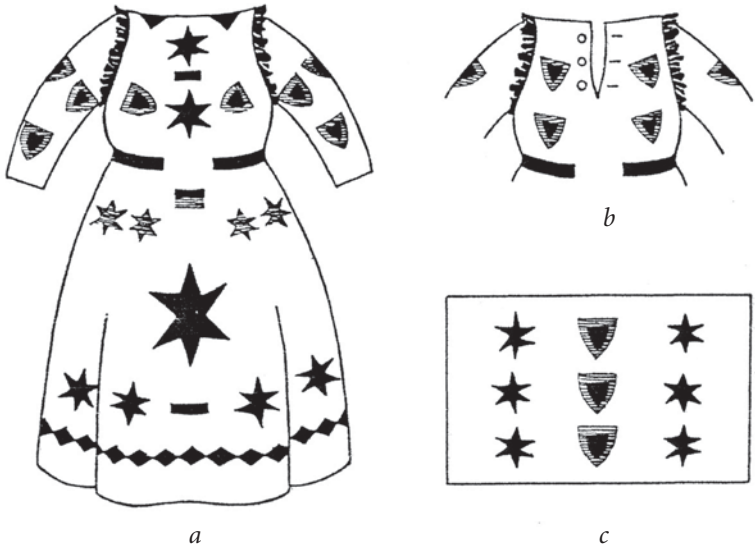

FIG. 9. Lame Bill's Bole-Maru regalia, Long Valley Hill Patwin. a, front of woman's costume; b, rear of bodice; c, flag. a and b from specimen; c from verbal description.

kept up the bole dances as long as he lived. People called him to preach and dance at Upper Lake and Sulphur Bank. He made the people at Tebti build him a dance house and he gave dances there too, but they never had any bole men of their own there."

Lame Bill instituted the use of a flag and flagpole during Bole-Maru performances. An undecorated pole was erected in front of the dance house.

Three major dances were used in connection with Lame Bill's version of the Bole-Maru: (1) the Toto, a lay dance, old in the area; (2) the Bole-Hesi; and (3) the Bole dance proper.

Toto (Blanket dance).—Men and women participated; used "old-time" regalia. Women danced in back of men; sang. Men dancers did not sing. Two lines on each side of dance house (see fig. 8). When song changed, group I moved to "b" and group II to "d"; circle fire; return to "a" and "c," respectively. Repeated four times. Then group I and II exchange sides in dance house and repeat foregoing maneuvers four times.

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Bole-Hesi.—Two dancers, Big Head (*tuya*) and leader (*tceli*). Big Head wore headgear of long willow twigs tipped with feathers. Leader wore underwear drawers (!), yellowhammer headband, topknot of magpie tail feathers; carried bow and arrows in one hand, foxskin (quiver?) in other. Big Head danced four times on one side of fire; leader danced opposite him on other side of fire. Then two dancers exchanged places and danced another four sets.

Bole dance—Women wore costumes (fig. 9). Carried finely shredded tule whisks, one in each hand, which were waved forward and backward by flexing arms at elbow. Bandanas used at present in same fashion. Women dancers formed semicircles on either side of fire. Men danced in two lines in front of them. Danced four songs on one side of fire; exchanged sides and danced four songs; all moved to back of house.

"All the women at Lolsel made these bole dresses for Lame Bill's first dance. Everyone had to have them. There was no special costume for the men. Women are supposed to be buried in their bole dresses, but they are not worn by the living attending a funeral [cf. Point Arena Pomo]."

[SANTIAGO MCDANIEL] "Lame Bill [Budkas] from Long Valley started a Bole dance after Norelputus's dance died down. Lame Bill dreamed it himself. They danced first at Long Valley, then at Tebti on Cache Creek. Then a man called Tikori worked for Lame Bill. He went to Long Valley and learned the songs, then he brought Lame Bill's word to Kabalmen [Hill Patwin, near Lodoga] and then to Stonyford. They took it as far north as Dachimchini [not confirmed by any Wintun informant]. They said if you didn't believe in this you would turn into a rock or stick or something like that. They didn't say that for Norelputus's word. In this [ceremony] they ran a flag up in front of the dance house to show that a dance was on. If you put up a flag it meant you were going to be good, be happy." The pole was painted. The bark was peeled off in bands, and between the peeled strips it was painted black so there were alternate stripes of white and black. The pole was about twenty or thirty feet long and about as thick as a man's arm.

In the dance there were five or six men dancers and enough women to encircle the fire. The women carried handkerchiefs in their hands that they waved up and down. They were held, one in two hands, with arms extended in front of the body. The women moved in a circle around the

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fire, then they stopped. When the women had circled the fire once, the first set was ended. The men were in a semicircle around the fire. They carried eagle feathers in their hands.

It appears that Lame Bill first lent support to Norelputus's doctrine of the catastrophic destruction of the world, and he may have been responsible for its transmission to the Pomo. This phase was short lived, and he soon turned his efforts toward his chief cultural contribution—the creation of the Bole-Maru and its amalgamation with the old Hesi ceremonies. To the Bole-Hesi a separate section has been devoted. Lame Bill's influence was more widespread and more permanent than Tele's. Unlike Homaldo, his integrity seems to be above suspicion. He showed the power of speculation combined with a keen gift for synthesizing old and new elements of culture. Without being able definitely to attribute to him the innovations of the Bole dance with its special costumes for women performers, and the use of cloth flags, I should be inclined to give him the bulk of the credit for these new and characteristic features of the Bole-Maru cult, which met with such signal success among the north-central Californians and has survived until the present.

CORTINA SEQUENCE

The southern Hill Patwin at Cortina secured the Bole-Maru cult from Lame Bill. This was confirmed by both the Long Valley and Cortina informants. The Cortina informant, Pedro Wright, said, "From then on people began dreaming at Cortina. The first was Benebole (Lame Bill), then Salvador (Sasa), and then Buck. Buck dreamed but didn't give dances. These three [i.e., Lame Bill through Buck] were the only big dreamers. Nowadays a lot of young fellows are that way, but they don't take care of it." The informant had heard of Norelputus and Homaldo, but he did not associate them with the beginnings of the Bole-Maru cult. Homaldo never took dances to Cortina, and Norelputus visited this ranchería only after the cult had long been in existence. The informant's comments on the Bole-Maru, on particular dreamers, and particularly on the eschatological changes introduced by the cult are sufficiently interesting to reproduce at length.

[PEDRO WRIGHT] "The spirits that come to bole men are the *molawin* [ghosts]. They are the dead people. The *saltu* are the spirits in dancing

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outfits. In his dream, the bole man goes to visit the dead and they tell him what to preach, to tell the living to be good, to do right. The bole man sees the dead relatives of the living, and he gives them news of how their dead relatives are getting on. Lame Bill and all the bole men preached the same things. They sleep and in their dreams go north to the spirit land [*muke*] where the ghosts of the dead [*molawin*] live. They see all the dead and tell how they live up there and what they want done. A long time ago the spirit land used to be in the west. Then the white men's ships found the spirit land, so the dead moved north. They didn't want to be found. In the spirit land it used to be like the old-time Indian villages, but now it is like a white man's place, with houses like those the whites build, and plenty of pretty flowers. There are flowers everywhere and flags too. When a bole man dies he takes his flag with him to the spirit land. It is the dead people's home and is like heaven in English. When a person dies he goes north and stays in a house four days before he can go and see his mother and father. The bole men tell this. So here on earth now they give a big time on the fourth day after a person dies, they give a big feast, because that is the day the dead person gets into the spirit land. This is only since the Bole religion started. In the old days bodies were taken straight to the grave and buried. Now the body is taken to the grave in four stages. It is carried a short distance and set down, then everyone walks around it. They do this four times before putting it in the grave. That is the bole way. All the bole men I have ever heard talk the same way. That is because one man [i.e., spirit] gives them all the same thing, he goes all over and gives the people the bole. The dances are all about the same, but the songs are different. I don't know what this bole man [spirit] can be like.

"In the old days dancers might fall over during a Bole dance and visit the spirit land. Then they got up and told what they had seen. Sometimes a dreamer secured his first vision in this way. A long time ago they used to have Bole dances every week or so, but now they have them maybe once a year.[42]

"At first when Lame Bill came people didn't believe him. Then they started dreaming themselves. Salvador said it came to them because they didn't believe, so they got the bole themselves for not believing. Salvador didn't believe Lame Bill, then he dreamed his own bole and he

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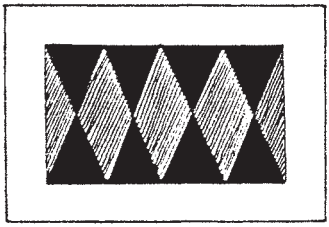

FIG. 10. Bole-Maru flag of Salvador at Cortina (Hill Patwin). Background, white; diamonds, red; triangles, black. From verbal description.

had an awfully hard time coming out and saying what had happened to him after he hadn't believed that other fellow. So he called a big time and that is how he got well again. The big time was like getting out of trouble for him. The bole spirit gave him the songs, dance, and clothes. He had a flag [fig. 10]. Lame Bill and all the bole men had flags. For Lame Bill they didn't put up a special dance house. They used the one already there."

The center post (*huk*) might be wrapped with colored cloth. There was no special name for the post when it was so decorated. The flagpole outside might also be decorated in a similar fashion. After the dance the cloth was removed and placed in boxes. The flagpole was secreted. Everyone might help in disposing of the pole. It does not seem to have been fraught with supernatural power. Dances were ordinarily held in the dance house, but since the one at Cortina has collapsed dances are held outdoors.

For the dance, men wear the ordinary feather regalia; women use cloth headgear and hold bandanas in their hands. First the women come out and circle the fire, then they divide into two lines of four or five each, to the east and west of the fire. The men then come from the back of the house near the drum and dance around the fire. Between sets the men go back near the drum and singers, but the women stay out on the dance floor (fig. 11).

In the old days people came to Cortina from Lolsel (Long Valley Patwin), Sulphur Bank (Southeastern Pomo), Stonyford (Hill Patwin), Rumsey (Hill Patwin), and Colusa (River Patwin) for dances. Each ranchería performed its own Bole dance. The guest rancherías danced first and then the Cortina people gave theirs. "The Bole dances last about three days, and they are given any time the spirit tells them to give one."

Sarah Lowell also mentioned Charlie Wright (Tcatamak) and his wife, Mary (Ukas), as Bole-Maru leaders at Cortina who practiced jointly.

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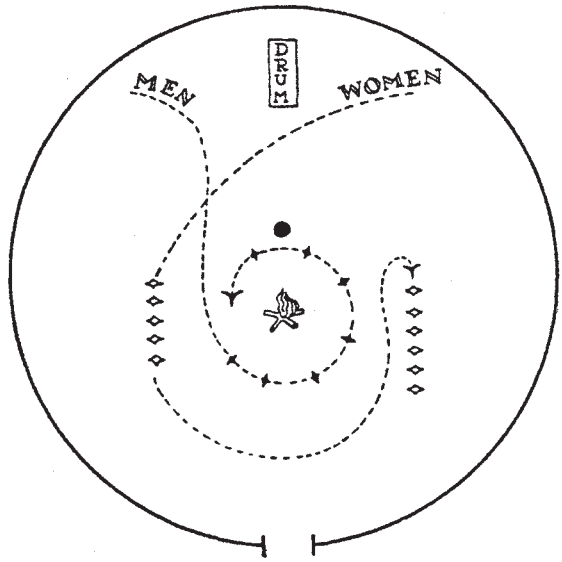

FIG. 11. A Bole-Maru dance at Cortina (Hill Patwin). Women enter first in single file, orm line on either side of fire. Men follow and circle fire.

The Cortina Hill Patwin and the River Patwin, as we shall subsequently see, do not seem to have received the Earth Lodge cult, but they did secure Lame Bill's version of the Bole-Maru very shortly after the first dance at Lolsel. There is an account of a Bole-Hesi dance from Cortina that was given in 1906. It will be discussed later. Only from Cortina and Lolsel have we specific information concerning the profound influence the Bole-Maru exercised on eschatological beliefs. This may be due to Lame Bill's direct influence in rancherías where he was able to speak without an interpreter. It may be due also to faulty data from other areas. It would be strange if the Ghost Dance and its aftermath had not strengthened and crystallized concepts concerning the dead and the afterlife. We find traces in northernmost California that it did definitely stimulate interest in these two subjects.

SUBSEQUENT BOLE-MARU DREAMERS

After these first three leaders, Norelputus, Lame Bill, and Homaldo, there followed in other localities various dreamers of lesser importance. They are listed below by locations running from north to south. Informants

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are given in endnotes. A great deal more information should be gathered concerning their dances and the innovations they introduced. Of the individuals listed, Jim Smith and Santiago McDaniel are still living. It is to be noted that no general dreaming furor seems to have followed the first introductions of the Earth Lodge cult, as it did among the northern tribes, but that the Bole-Maru activities, from the first, were concentrated in the hands of a few leaders.

Newville

Briscoe—"He was the only Wintun dreamer. He danced only in his home ranchería at Newville, but he called Paskenta Indians to his dance."[43]

"Briscoe could do miracles. He could open any door by dipping the key in water first. 'The man above showed him how to do all this.'"[44]

Grindstone

Captain Charlie or Fat Charlie—"He came from Newville, but he was captain at Grindstone. He started eight or nine years after Homaldo's time, but he dreamed his own bole just like Homaldo. People came from Paskenta and Pit River to see his dance. His song was an ugly one":

1. *weya weya*, now now.
2. *puri wile*, east health.
3. *nano wile weya*, my health now.
   (112212213)

"He has been dead about fifteen years. He was followed by Captain Tom [Tom Bailey], who was a dreamer too. Every bole man has different songs and flags. The flags were new with the bole. If there is a flag it shows there is to be a Bole dance and not an old-fashioned kind."[45]

Captain Tom—"He tried hard to work like Homaldo. That was about thirty years ago [ca. 1900]. He came from Newville, but he moved to Grindstone and built the dance house standing there now. He built it to sing his songs in. He used Homaldo's songs and some of his own. He lived while Homaldo was living, but he didn't start his bole until after Homaldo died. He couldn't quite make it [i.e., succeed]." He had a flag, Ball dance, and Feather dance, but no dance dresses.[46]

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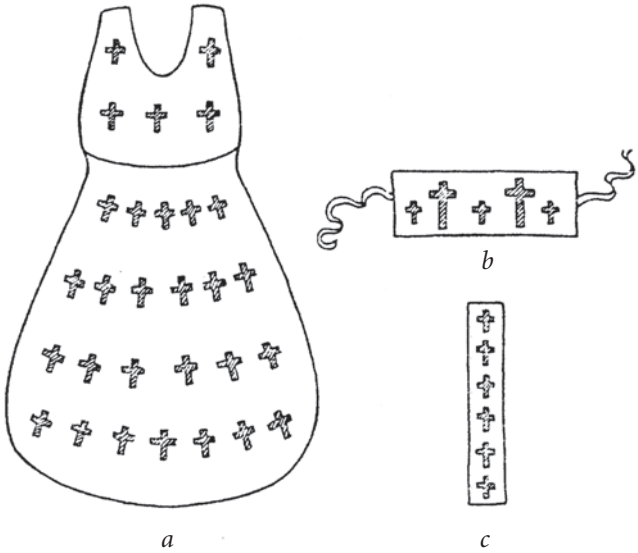

FIG. 12. Santiago McDaniel's Bole-Maru regalia. White cloth, red crosses. a, apron worn by Santiago McDaniel and his wife; b, forehead band about six inches high; c, hand tassels about two inches wide by twelve inches long. From photograph.

Jim or Tomaso Smith—"He is a bole man of Grindstone. He has a set of rag balls for a common dance when all the bole dancing is over." He had a flag and the Feather dance. He never dreamed dance dresses. None of the Grindstone dreamers had them. He is a famous singer.[47]

Stonyford

Santiago McDaniel—"He dreamed about the bole six or seven years ago [probably long before]. He never spread it, but he invited people from Sulphur Bank [Southeastern Pomo], Cortina, and Colusa. He has stopped now because he is getting old and times are so hard he can't get enough food together and he hasn't anyone to help him. I guess you would call his dance a Red Cross Bole because of his costumes [fig. 12]. He gives it in his brush house at Stonyford."[48]

"Santiago McDaniel is a bad man. He is a poisoner. He carries it in his fingernails. When I was a girl he laid his hand on my arm and my whole

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side became infected. About thirteen years ago [ca. 1920] he began his Bole dance. It is all his dreams from the *kles* [ghosts in Wintun; equivalent of Patwin *molawin*]. He has a flag, but I have never seen it. They say he draws all kinds of funny pictures in charcoal on the center post of his dance house—a man and a woman just like Homaldo. He wears big feathers on his head. They come down and almost cover his face.[49] He has a costume with red crosses on it too. Sometimes he puts red crosses of cloth on a fox hide and wears it around his head. Two women dance with him, one on each side. He comes in the dance house and shouts and dances. When he does this he talks in a different language [his native Salt Pomo dialect as opposed to Wintun?]. It scares me. When he is through he goes to the creek and bathes. He tried to give his dance at Grindstone after all the old dances died off, but the people couldn't stand it. It was a rough dance and they all died off."[50]

Tebti (Hill Patwin of Cache Creek)

Tele (*kaboros,* i.e., cruncher)—"He was a bole man who started about four years after Lame Bill and lasted about six or seven years [i.e., ca. 1876-1882]. He took his dance to Cortina and Rumsey but nowhere else [not confirmed in these rancherías]. He had the Hesi, Toto, and Ball dance in his bole just like Lame Bill."[51]

This was the first account by the informants Susie and Wilsey Lewis. Santiago McDaniel of Stonyford confirmed it insofar as he said, "Tele worked for Lame Bill." Eight months later the same two informants gave the following details, which they had previously ascribed to Lame Bill but which were at that time so garbled they could not be disentangled.

"Tele was the first bole man at Tebti. He started about two years after the message came through about the world ending. Lame Bill started about two months after Tele. Tele said the world was to end but only the young people would live to see it. Water was to wash down and take all the people. Before, people thought the dead went south, but it had gotten crowded down there so after the bole they said they were to go north. In the bole they said that the people who were carrying the body to the grave should turn around four times before reaching the grave

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and that they should walk around the grave four times before putting the body in it. The body had to face north. It is a good place up north. It is all a flat valley with no hills and many flowers of all kinds. When the dead get up there they forget all about the living. People were told to cry for the dead only four days and then have a dance. The women danced in their bole dresses.

"Tele used the Hesi dance for the first four nights, then the Big Head for the next two nights. On the seventh night he used the Hintil tono and the Ball dance. The Hesi had been old in Tebti before Tele, but it had not been given for a long time. Tele started it again."

Condensed descriptions of the dances supposedly given by Tele in his first Bole-Maru are given herewith.

Hesi—"Tele left the *kuksu* out of the Hesi. He did not dream to put that in." Ten or eleven men dancers, called *molawin* (ghosts). Dress in hills. Large black X painted on chests, wear skirts of pepperwood (bay) branches, crown of same material. Smoke rises from headdress. Carry bunch of wild oats in each hand. Women not allowed to see them. Represent dead coming back. Fast during dance. After ceremony bathe in creek and feast.

Big Head—Called *dulth*; same as *tuya* of River Patwin. Two dancers. Big Head wore pincushion headdress of twigs, about two feet long, tipped with down and thrust in basketry cap. Leader (*tciliwin*) wore yellowhammer headband; carried bow, arrow, and quiver in hands.

Hintil tono[52]—Was old in area. Women wore tule skirts and feathers on head. Men wore feather capes. Men formed a line to south and north of fire. Women lined up behind the two rows of men.

Ball dance (***tunima tono***)—Women wore Bole-Maru dresses; men wore Bole-Maru vests and shirts. Row of women on one side of fire; men opposite. Wore Bole-Maru costumes only for this dance.

Informants claimed that it was the old pattern for the Hesi dance to be followed by the Big Head and then the Hintil tono. The informant seemed to use the term *hesi* only for the ghost-impersonating portion of the whole complex usually designated as Hesi. Formerly, however, the Big Head dancers fasted on meat. They claimed that women had always been allowed to see

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the Big Head dancer. They added that Lame Bill had omitted the *molawin*, or ghost-impersonating element, from his version of the Bole-Maru ceremony and that he thereby differed from Tele, who had revived it. Both Tele and Lame Bill used flags in connection with their Bole-Maru performances.

Lolsel

Nanny (Kalsumamda)—"She was a bole woman who started while Lame Bill was still living. She danced at the same time he did and in the same house. She had the same dresses and the same ways of dancing. She was not a relative of Lame Bill."[53]

Rumsey

Tuntiri—"He became a bole man after Lame Bill and Salvador [of Cortina]. He built a dance house at Rumsey. Died before Lame Bill. About one year after his death, he was followed by Dick Richard [Shalti], who practiced at Rumsey until his death in ca. 1917."

For approximately twelve years there has been at least one woman cult leader, called Daisy Lorenzo, who married into Rumsey from the Cache Creek group. She gives feasts, uses the Ball dance, but has no costumes. She is the daughter-in-law of the informant, and when she learned of the subject under discussion she interrupted the interview and put an end to her mother-in-law's flow of information. Such reticence is met repeatedly among leaders of the Bole-Maru and their immediate families.[54]

In Wintun and Hill Patwin country the series of dreamers that followed the innovators seems less numerous than in other regions. This may be due to any or all of the following factors: (1) the rapid disintegration of group life; (2) the satisfactions derived from the amalgamation between the old Hesi cult and the new Bole, which may have vitiated the developmental strength of the Bole-Maru as a separate entity; and (or) (3) the traditional concentration of ceremonial prerogatives in the hands of a few priests.

River Patwin

INTRODUCTION OF BOLE-MARU

The River Patwin, like most other California groups, reflect their localism in insisting upon the autochthonous origin of the Bole-Maru cult. Accord-

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ing to them it originated at Kusempu on the east bank of the Sacramento, approximately seven miles below the present town of Grimes. The first dreamer was Charlie (Wima). Although an actual overtly stated link between the Hill Patwin and River Patwin is lacking from the River Patwin, we may attribute with some certainty the Kusempu movement among the River Patwin to influences from Cortina, particularly since the latter place was a strong center of the Bole-Maru cult and one that the River Patwin were accustomed to visit for dances. In fact, we possess a definite statement that the River Patwin from Waitere were present at Lame Bill's first Bole-Maru dance in Cortina (see section on Lame Bill).

Two accounts of Charlie's dreams and cult are given herewith. Kroeber's data throw further light on the matter.[55] The major discrepancy between William Benjamin's account as given to Kroeber and subsequently to me lies in the supernatural source of Charlie's dream. In Kroeber's material an owl spirit inspired Charlie;[56] in the later account it was the *molawin* (ghost). The explanation may lie also in Kroeber's footnote, which states, "Practically all information [concerning the Bole-Maru] has been obtained incidental to studies aiming to describe the old native cultures."

[WILLIAM BENJAMIN] "The bole started at Kusempu. Charlie [Wima] started it. The spirit gave him this name Wima after he had his dream. Before that his name had been Lora. The spirit was a *molawin* [ghost], not a *saltu* [order of spirits impersonated in the old societies]. The *molawin* are a kind of shadows. Charlie was working for white people. He took out their cattle. One night he was camped at Yupu near Marysville when he dreamed.[57] Something said to him, 'Do you know what you are doing?' 'No.' 'Well, you will know. I am going to make something out of you.' When he woke up, blood ran from his nose and finally a string came out. He cut the string loose and put it in his pocket. When he came home he told everyone. He had a song the spirit gave him, and he had to make a dance. So Captain Sam Wilson at Kusempu called one. People came from all the rancherías up the river. No outside people came to that first dance [i.e., none speaking another dialect], but later people came from Cortina and Chico for the Bole dance. The first night they danced almost all night. He said he still had the spirit with him. He sent me and some other boys to get apples from an orchard nearby. Then

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they played ball with the apples. They danced throwing them back and forth.[58] There were two lines with three on each side. That night they danced the apple-throwing dance twice. The next day Charlie made rag balls. There were two balls, and women danced in it too. It was just a common dance. This Ball dance spread all over and is still going today. Charlie was the first man to start it.

"In Charlie's dance they used the old-time dance house. They didn't build new ones. Charlie used the old-time feathers, too. First they danced the Ball dance, then the men came out in their feathers and danced on either side of the fire [i.e., east and west of it] and the women danced in two lines back of them. The women had handkerchiefs for the dance. I don't know how that got started unless the spirit told Charlie about it."

He had different bole songs. They were *olel Lakole* ("above play"), repeated nine times with a rise in key on the last repetition comparable to the Wintu dream-song pattern.

1. *ha sule*
2. *eyo sule, yo sule*. 111111211112.

1. *ho ho wi ho*
2. *wili nu she*
   good .1111221111221.
   hai ye luna

According to the informant, the last three songs have no meaning attached to the syllables.

"Half of the people in every ranchería didn't believe Charlie at first. He ran up a flag for his dances, and once some people came and tore it down because they didn't believe him. Charlie didn't get angry with them, but he said he would show them something. So he stood on top of the dance house and called the people together. He said he would make the spirits walk.[59] Just then a spirit walked from the dance house to a clump of elders about a hundred feet away and then disappeared. It was a tall figure with a kind of long coat. People saw it and believed because then they knew all this dancing wasn't Charlie's word, but a spirit's. At this first dance when Charlie started no one lost conscious-

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ness, but later on people did. Later there were different songs and movements. The spirit told people ways. Now people are dancing bole a lot, it has started up again. It was dying down when Charlie died. He kept on giving dances for about ten years until he died [ca. 1884].

"Charlie died because he did wrong. He did things his spirit hadn't told him to do. He went to an old-time dance [called by informant and identified from description as Waisaltu]. He shouldn't have done that because he believed the *molawin*. That was why Charlie died. He shouldn't have gone to the dance. Later on we all fought about these old-time ways."

[JOHN WILSON] "The bole started at Kusempu. Charlie [informant's maternal uncle] went crazy. The dead told him things. He went all over, wandered around at nighttime. The *molawin* spirits [ghosts] told him to have a dance. My mother was sorry he was that way. Dreamers don't live long if they don't do what their spirits tell them. Charlie died a few years after dreaming. When he was dying he told the Indians not to cry for him but to sing, so they did. Everyone sang when he died.[60] Charlie used to preach to be good, to keep clean [i.e., pure]. When he gave his dance the *molawin* made a ball of blue and red rags. [This supernatural account of the origin of the Ball dance is a nice contrast with the natural account of the preceding informant.] The people danced with it. They stood in two rows, one of men and one of women, with perhaps eight or ten in a row. The ball was tossed back and forth from one row to another so that everyone had a chance to throw it. Charlie was the first to start that dance. The people at Kusempu were glad to see it. It was something new. For the Bole dance there were no special feathers; the old ones were used. The women who danced in the Bole had ribbons or rags in their hands. They held them in front of them. They waved them back and forth. That was new with the bole.

"People from all over came to the bole dances—from Chico, Rumsey, Cortina, Stonyford, Grindstone. In 1916 I saw the people at Grindstone dance a Bole dance just like Charlie's. The *molawin* told the Grindstone people to dance too. They didn't carry the dance back to their place; they dreamed it again for themselves. Each time a Bole dance must be dreamed."

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The foregoing statement again stresses the fiction of autochthony even in the face of admitted contacts and even though local pride cannot be involved, since the informant is speaking of a "foreign" ranchería. The idea of supernatural authority required for the Bole-Maru serves further to differentiate this cult from the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult, which were legitimately transmitted by messengers. The idea of supernatural authority for the prerogative of giving a Bole-Maru ceremony smacks of shamanistic influences; that is, bole men, like shamans, had to secure their own supernatural sanctions.

These two accounts, with some additional data in Kroeber's "The Patwin and Their Neighbors," constitute the material available on the beginning of the Bole-Maru among the River Patwin. They definitely escaped both the Earth Lodge cult and Ghost Dance. Neither of the two informants associated the return of the dead with the Bole-Maru; in fact, John Wilson found the concept ludicrous when it was suggested to him. Kroeber's data from William Benjamin indicate that although adventism was not known, the idea of communicating with the dead was present and individual ghosts might be summoned. Another point of particular interest is contained in William Benjamin's account of Charlie's death. Obviously, in the beginning there was felt to be an irreconcilable division between the Bole-Maru cult, inspired by the *molawin*, and participation in the older *saltu* cults.

SUBSEQUENT DREAMERS

Other dreamers in the River Patwin area who were subsequent to Charlie show that the Bole-Maru persisted and that it adopted the feature of elaborately costumed women participants in the Bole dance.

Pike

[MANDY WILSON] "After Charlie began, Pike from Princeton [River Patwin, north of Kusempu] became a dreamer. He called people together and taught them his songs."

Mark (Hinen)

[MANDY WILSON] "He was a dreamer from Nomatsapin, a ranchería across the river from Kusempu."

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Rosie Wylie

[SUSIE CLEMENS] "She came from around Colusa and was one of the first dream dancers they had."

[WILLIAM BENJAMIN] "Rosie Wylie was a dreamer from Waitere [ranchería between Colusa and Princeton]. She began after Charlie died [i.e., sometime in the 1880s]. She had a song, flag, dance, and rag balls, but I don't know whether she had special dance dresses for women. After Rosie came Emma Phillips."

Emma Phillips

[MANDY WILSON] "She dreamed a song and dresses. She gave dances at Colusa and Chico."

[SUSAN CLEMENS] "My mother was a dream dancer. She came from Colusa County, from a ranchería somewhere north of Grimes. We were living off by ourselves near the town of Tehama when mother started. I was only about twelve years old, and I was afraid of her. It seemed as though she had lost her mind. She went on for a year or so having trances and being crazy. When a spirit bothers a person, she has to call a dance. After the dance the person is all right until the next fainting spell. Then mother dreamed a dance song and dresses. Her dresses were white with three bands of yellow balls, like cherries, and green leaves." One of these bands of yellow balls and green leaves ran diagonally across the bodice from shoulder to waist. She also had a flag that had a white background with horizontal stripes of the same yellow and green material. The flag was raised on a pole in front of the dance house. She had balls (number unknown) of green and yellow rags. "Two women dancers could keep three or four balls moving." They stood on opposite sides of the fire and tossed them to each other.

There were probably more Bole-Maru dreamers than are included in this list. Today the largest concentration of River Patwin is at Katsil, a recently formed ranchería some seven miles north of Colusa. Two Bole-Maru women still live in the settlement. One of them is Sarah Mitchell. A set of balls is still in existence and is used occasionally for "fun dances" in connection with a feast or informal gatherings. Costumes, however, are no longer in use. Although informants belittle the present remnants of the

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cult, they are reluctant to give details concerning it, and at least one of the dreamers resented inquiries addressed to a relative of hers.

Chico Maidu

Among the Chico Maidu only one informant was consulted, but she seemed well posted. It would appear that the Chico Maidu never participated wholeheartedly in the Bole-Maru cult.

[MANDY WILSON] "Wima [Charlie of Kusempu] came to Chico all the time for two or three years until he died. He dreamed about a dance. They have a dream, and it bothers them until they do something about it. Charlie never talked of his dreaming in his speeches when he came to Chico. You never talk to common people about that. He just made regular captains' speeches, telling his people to be good, not to drink. But after Charlie came, some people dreamed like him. They got songs that way. When people first began dreaming they fell down in a fit, they say. I never have seen them do that. When they dream too much it bothers them. They mustn't keep it secret. They go and tell the headman and he calls a dance. Then the dreamer tells his song and dance. Lately all the new dances are from these dream songs. The Chico Indians borrowed the dream dancing from the Colusa Indians [River Patwin]. They dreamed a lot in Colusa County, but the Chico Indians never went in much for dream dancing. They just joined in when the Colusa Indians came to show off their dances.

"The Ball dance was begun by Charlie, and he brought it to Chico. It is just a common dance, not strict like the Hesi. Just anyone learns it and dances. Some women can play with four balls at once. Jack Frango [Chico Maidu] dreamed a song for that Ball dance once. It was *somi somi boli* [or ball?], *somen somen boli, boli bum boli*.[61] In the dream, dancing the Ball dance starts things off; then they have a women's dance, which is the main one. The women come in holding a handkerchief in both hands. A man leads the women in, and one follows the line. They circle the fire dancing." (A form of the Bole dance?)

This informant, like John Wilson of the River Patwin, had never heard the return of the dead preached in association with the Bole-Maru and

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considered the idea ridiculous. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that the Chico Maidu were untouched by the Earth Lodge cult and only slightly affected by the Bole-Maru. They felt the real impact of the religious turmoil of the period in what is described in the following section under the heading "Bole-Hesi East of the Coast Range."

The only dreamer of importance among the Chico Maidu was Jack Frango, although two minor ones were mentioned. On the whole the Chico Maidu seem to have been able to keep their old dances intact somewhat longer than the River Patwin.

Jack Frango

[CHARLIE WARTHON] "Jack was the main dreamer and leader of all the dances at Chico. He had two dream dances, the Ball dance and the Feather dance. He dreamed a flag but no dance dresses. He never dreamed the Big Head; he used the old-time Big Head dance and songs. Chico was the only place that did not have the dreamed Big Head."

Ball dance—Singer starts; dancers enter from rear of house, circle fire single file, form a line of women on one side of fire, line of men opposite. Balls tossed back and forth between pairs of dancers. Two sets danced with a pause for rest between. At end of dance participants go to front of house, one at a time, toss ball to leader who catches it in basket.

Feather dance—Men and women dance. Women dress in northwest rear of house, men in northeast rear. Men wore feather capes. First song, women circle fire, form line on either side. Second song, men also circle fire and line up in front of women; dance in place. Men repeat this maneuver four times, then women change sides and men again repeat their formation four times. Singer vibrates split-stick rattle rapidly and all withdraw.[62]

"There were two other dreamers at Chico, Lizzie Polissi and Chico Mike. They both had the Ball dance and the Feather dance."

The breakdown of the old ceremonialism is given by the same informant. The destruction of the dance house must also have affected the Bole-Maru. It reveals the factionalism centering about the two sets of ceremonials and accounts for the introduction of the Big Head to the Grindstone Patwin and Wintun.

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"Captain Lafonso at Chico told the people to tear down the old dance house and build a new one, because the old one was beginning to leak. So they tore it down. When they got ready to build the new one they found that no one knew how to dress the center pole.[63] Some of the young people wanted to finish the house anyway. Everything was to be free [i.e., nonsacred], like the dreaming religion. The old people did not want it that way. They quarreled and finally they never made the new dance house. I stayed out of the quarrel because I was an outsider, but I was disgusted and went to live in Grindstone. That was where I put on the Big Head."

From even this brief account it would appear that the Bole-Maru did very little to preserve and prolong native ceremonialism among the Chico Maidu as it did elsewhere. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather a disruptive influence.

Bole-Hesi East of the Coast Range

The north-central Californians experienced a fleeting revivalistic furor in the shape of the Earth Lodge cult. From it rapidly developed the Bole-Maru. To Lame Bill of Lolsel in Long Valley may be attributed the major part in shaping the latter cult. We have seen that his first ceremony, inspired by dreams sent from the dead, consisted of the old lay dance called the Toto; of the entirely new feature called the Bole dance, which was a profane performance; and of the Bole-Hesi, which was a secular version of the old sacred Hesi. Doubtless other secular dances were included at different times and places in Bole-Maru ceremonies. Lame Bill was responsible for transmitting the new cult southward to Cortina, from where it spread eastward to the River Patwin. Among the River Patwin the Ball dance was originated, and from them it spread in time to almost all groups that had the Bole-Maru. Even Lame Bill is said to have incorporated it before his death.

For the moment we are concerned with the Bole-Hesi dance as one feature of the Bole-Maru cult. *Bole-Hesi* is a term used not only by ethnographers but also by some of the older Indians who are sufficiently well informed to realize that the modern Hesi dance varies from the older forms. Because the Hesi was fraught with sacred implications in the old culture, a certain seriousness surrounded even its secular version.

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At this point it is necessary to digress briefly in order to consider the occurrence of the old cult religions among the Patwin. The River Patwin had three cults—the Hesi, Waisaltu, and Kuksu.[64] The northern Hill Patwin had only the Hesi, which was a combination of the three River Patwin cults.[65] Kroeber certainly implies that the Cache Creek Patwin of Lolsel had the Hesi. However, Loeb makes the following statement: "While the Hesi came after 1870 to Long Valley (e.g., Lolsel), it was performed as elsewhere among the Patwin and without modern or bole influence. At the present day, however, only the bole hesi [is] enacted. . . . The bole hesi came only a few years ago from Cortina."[66] The data obtained from my informants (Sara Lowell, Susie Lewis, and Pedro Wright) do not substantiate Loeb's statements. All three definitely stated that the Hesi was known at Long Valley in the Cache Creek district before Lame Bill originated his form of the Bole-Maru. In fact, Susie Lewis recounted an anecdote of the punishment meted out to a Lolsel woman who had been indiscreet enough to hint that she had guessed the real identity of the *saltu* impersonators in an old Hesi performance. Apparently, however, the Hesi cycle had lapsed in the Cache Creek area prior to the Bole-Maru and was revived by the early dreamers. Further, there is good evidence that the Bole-Maru, and with it the Bole-Hesi, spread from Lolsel to Cortina during the first year of the cult, and that the direction was not the reverse, nor was the diffusion recent, as Loeb states.

Characterizations of the Bole-Hesi, which contrast it with the old Hesi, as well as a description of its diffusion were contained in a number of clarifying comments by informants. The River Patwin and Chico Maidu are presented first. Then the Hill Patwin groups are cited in a south-to-north order.

RIVER PATWIN

[WILLIAM BENJAMIN] "In the old days no women were admitted to see the Hesi. They could go in the first night, but after that they had to stay out. Since the bole days they decided women ought to look at it, so they let them in. An old-time Hesi dancer, called Mark [Hinen], started that at Nomatsapin [across the river from Kusempu]. He became a bole man and dreamed women should be let into the Hesi. After women were let in, it was called Bole-Hesi. The Bole-Hesi was different from the old

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Hesi and different from the Bole. They didn't use the regular program of dances anymore. In the old Hesi, the 'bull head'[67] was made of about fifty willow twigs a foot and a half long tipped with goose down. In later days they used dress material to tip the rods instead of feathers."

CHICO MAIDU

[MANDY WILSON] At the same time that the River Patwin introduced the Bole-Maru at Chico, they were instrumental in altering the old Hesi dance of the Maidu. Prior to the time when the Patwin and Valley Maidu exchanged dances, the Hesi had been a strict, esoteric ceremony attended only by the local Maidu. There existed a formal dance sequence in which the Hesi was the beginning and terminating ritual. From it women were strictly debarred. Men were supposed to live in the sweat house for those months and observe continence during the Hesi (introductory and terminal dance of winter ceremonial cycle). The informant stressed the importance and genuineness of the old Chico ritual sequence. The Hesi, however, was disrupted when Charlie, the Patwin dreamer, came to Chico to exchange dances. He complained because the Patwin women, who had traveled so far to see dances, were excluded from them by the regulations in the host village. The Chico Maidu thereupon "took out the dangerous parts" of the old Hesi dance[68] and admitted the Patwin women, but charged them an entrance fee. It was then that the Chico women were allowed for the first time to see their own Hesi dance. No payment, however, was required of them. This diluted and emasculated Hesi was then carried far and wide. "It went all over because the Colusa people came in with nothing but their dream songs. In the last thirty years people have come from all over and copied this new kind of Hesi. I saw Charlie Popejoy [Wintu] trying to sing a Chico song up at Stillwater [north of Redding] and do one of the common dances the Chico people used to have along with the Hesi. Lately, Paskenta and Grindstone people come over to Chico to learn dances [confirmed by Wintun informants]. So far no Stonyford people have come. People here at Chico have mixed in new songs and ideas with the old Hesi.

"When the Indians began getting civilized they came from all over for dances. The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were

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called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often. But those people up in the hills [Hill Maidu] didn't care much for dream dancing either. At Redding [Wintu] there is some dream dancing. The Chico people made friends with them picking hops down at Wheatland. In those days Indians could get free rides on trains and get about easily. All those northern people are odd, they all want to be dreamers—men and women. Now they dance the Hesi just for fun."

This last paragraph by Mandy Wilson has points of particular interest. It indicates that the economic status of the tribes affected the diffusion of the Bole-Maru, at least in this case. The rich River Patwin were able to proselytize the Chico Maidu because they could afford horses and wagons. The Hill Maidu, who were so poor that they had to travel on foot, were cut off from the centers of Bole-Maru activities. Also, the paragraph shows that the informant had a grasp of the widespread diffusion of the Bole-Hesi and the part that modern methods of transportation played in it. This is a subject that will be referred to again in the section on the Delta region. Lastly, the informant's comments upon the desire of all northerners to become dreamers may indicate that she perceived a difference between the generalized dreaming of the Wintu and the centralization of the Bole-Maru cult in the hands of a few dreamers among the Patwin.

CORTINA

[PEDRO WRIGHT] "The Hesi is danced in the spring and fall. In the old days women weren't allowed to see it, but now they are. Lame Bill was the first one, I guess, who said women should see the Hesi. This new Hesi is different. It got mixed up with the Bole. The dances are like the old Hesi, but they use Bole songs. There are still *saltu* [?] in the new Bole-Hesi. In the old days the 'big-head' was made with feathers; now they use red cloth on the tips. The new Hesi is less dangerous than the old one."

A description of a Bole-Hesi given on the Cortina ranchería in 1906 is available.[69] The account is written from the point of view of the old Hesi dance. Although Barrett points out certain features that are new, it may be

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profitable to insert here a few brief comments on the features that seem to be of Bole-Maru origin. (1) The director of this particular dance was the Salvador mentioned previously as one of the great Bole-Maru men of Cortina. (2) "In recent years its particular form and exact date are determined annually by the spiritual visit of a shaman to the land of the dead," which is very definitely a Bole-Maru influence; but that the shaman should receive his instruction from Katit (Hawk) in this abode of the dead savors of a more thoroughgoing integration with the older stratum of religion than has been reported elsewhere. (3) The poles, banners, and other things described as sacred paraphernalia are definitely to be associated with the Bole-Maru cult. The only other object which Barrett felt might be considered sacred was the moki cape that belonged to the old Hesi. (4) The composition of the song used in the pole-planting ceremony is attributed to Salvador and may well be a "dream song." (5) The particular complex centering around the pole may belong to the Bole-Maru cult. (6) "The moki in modern times represents a messenger from the land of the dead. . . . He also addresses himself to the keeper of the dead and pleads, as it were, the cause of his people. It could not be found that he represented a mythical being." This quotation indicates that the eschatological preoccupations of the Cortina Bole-Maru cult had made over the role of the moki. (7) The speeches quoted by Barrett show a concern with concepts that belonged to the Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cults that were taken over into the Bole-Maru cult, namely, the return of the dead and the end of the world, that is, in the Indian sense of an old order replaced by a new one. The San Francisco fire and earthquake, as well as a local flood, gave particular emotional content to the latter doctrine upon this occasion.

In Barrett's account one omission is puzzling—the absence of the costumed women's dance and the use of bandanas by women dancers. Either the Bole dance was omitted in the ceremony that Barrett witnessed, or he failed to report it because it was obviously extraneous to the old Hesi.

LONG VALLEY

Among the Long Valley Hill Patwin, the Hesi and specific Bole-Maru features, like the flag and pole and the women's dresses, were all included in the course of one ceremony. The information given by Susie Lewis and Wilsey Lewis in the section on the Wintun and Hill Patwin concerning

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Lame Bill's dances deals largely with the Bole-Hesi and gives some idea of what that ceremony must have been in the Long Valley area. The only informants available are confused and inaccurate. This may be the reason for some of the discrepancies between Loeb's material and mine, which were discussed at the beginning of this section.

STONYFORD

[SANTIAGO MCDANIEL] "When the Bole started [introduced by an agent of Lame Bill], people said it was a new kind of Hesi without the old rules." In the old Hesi the dancers had to practice continence on pain of illness; they might scratch themselves only with a stick; if they used their nails, feathers would grow from under them and they would die. They were forbidden meat, and ate only sparingly of pinole and mush at prescribed intervals. They drank only once a day, late at night; they wore bullet-hawk (?) feathers and angelica root around their necks, which made them powerful; their faces were painted, and they wore grass tied around their heads to hide their faces.

In the Bole-Hesi, the "bullhead" feather headdress was used with the Bole dance. The old "bullhead" was made of feathers with eagle down wrapped on the tips (probably refers to the Pomo form?). The Bole-Hesi "bullhead" is made of slender sticks tipped with cloth or paper. The new feathers have no poison in them, whereas the old ones were full of dangerous potency. Now anyone may see the Bole-Hesi, whereas formerly women were debarred from the Hesi proper. Now the Bole-Hesi dancers feast, they eat all they wish, and there is no rule concerning continence. The use of the bullhead with the Bole dance started near Colusa (River Patwin) and spread to Stonyford, where the people have been using it for about forty years (1890), but Lame Bill used the bullhead in his Bole too. The informant is undoubtedly confused, but he realizes that the Bole-Hesi reached them from the south. His statement, if it can be trusted, implies that the Bole-Hesi was not part of the first Bole-Maru cult imported by Lame Bill's disciple, Tikori. It is possible that this phase of the cult represents a cultural lag. The informant claims that the dance he gives is the Bole-Hesi (see section "Subsequent Bole-Maru Dreamers" on p. 160). The long yellowhammer headbands he uses now in his Bole-Hesi were introduced

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from the River Patwin. Prior to that time, short yellowhammer headbands were used that covered only the forehead.

GRINDSTONE

[JEFF JONES; Wintun] "The Bullhead is about the same as the Hesi. The Hesi is oldest among the Colusa Indians. It was brought to Grindstone about twenty years ago [ca. 1910] from Colusa County by Charlie Warthon. He liked the dance and brought it up to Grindstone."

[NANCY JORDAN; Wintun] "They have the Bullhead at Grindstone but not at Paskenta. It is a no-good dance. Our people never believed in so many things. It came to Grindstone in 1904 or 1905. Charlie Warthon brought it from Chico. They don't believe much in it at Grindstone. It is a quick-moving dance. Only two men dance in it. Our people don't take interest in only two men scratching around like chickens. That is what I have heard the Grindstone people say about it."

Charlie Warthon, who introduced the Big Head at Grindstone, gave his own version of the affair. In the sections "River Patwin" and "Chico Maidu" (see pp. 165 and 171) was related the quarrel that drove Charlie Warthon to Grindstone. He continued the account as follows:

"When I went to Grindstone I took all my feathers with me. I used to make feather things for the Chico dances. Tom Odock went with me. When we got there they were doctoring a sick person. They had only two women to sing for them, and they were out of breath. So Tom and I sang for them. When we were through, an old man who was a relative of mine began singing a Big Head song and I recognized it. The old man said he was old and blind and that he wanted me to carry on his dances and songs. The young fellows at Grindstone were afraid to carry on his work because they couldn't do it right. So I said I would take over his work if the ranchería all agreed to it. I told the people that I felt badly because other rancherías made fun of them when they did not know how to dance."

From this statement it is not clear whether the Big Head existed in Grindstone prior to this time. Charlie Warthon said that his relative had

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given the Big Head previously; the other two informants quoted above claimed that it was new to Grindstone. It may be that the old man in question was a Hill Patwin who was familiar with the old form of the Big Head. This supposition is substantiated by the fact that it seems to have been a ceremony that needed no dream inspiration but was transmissible by instruction. Charlie Warthon then gave a description of the dance that he used in Grindstone and which is obviously the Chico form. He gave the dance in imitation of what he had learned among the Maidu. Strictly speaking, therefore, it was not a Bole-Maru performance but simply a trait that diffused after the breakdown of the old system. One criterion of a true Bole-Maru performance must always be a dreamed inspiration.

> **Big Head**—"This was the highest [most sacred] dance the Indians have had in my lifetime. In the old days they had higher ones, but they could not carry them any longer. In the old days they had the Aki cycle. It began with the Aki proper, then the Hesi or Big Head, the Deer dance and the Bear dance." At Grindstone the Big Head and leader dressed in brush. Big Head wore pincushion headdress tipped with feathers, yellowhammer headband hanging down back, shredded tule skirt; carried split-stick rattle in each hand. Leader wore short yellowhammer headband around forehead, down cap, magpie tail crown, buckskin clout; carried quiver in one hand, bow and arrows in other. Singer stands on roof of dance house; when two dancers shout he begins song, which notifies audience that dance is to begin. Two dancers approach door shouting, whistling, and rattling split-stick rattles. Enter, circle fire. Leader stops on south side of fire, Big Head on north. Each dances back and forth on his side of fire until singer gives a signal, then come together on north side of fire. At another signal repeat first maneuver. Done four times, then go to door. From there begin another set of four but with leader on north side and Big Head on south side of fire. Then leave by door. If the ranchería or guests own another set of regalia the dance continues but with a new pair of dancers.

In connection with this northwestern extension of the Big Head at Grindstone it is interesting that a considerable lag occurred and that it came from the east rather than in the established line of diffusion, that

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is, from the south. It is also significant that the Wintun, who did not previously possess the true Hesi,[70] have only recently and grudgingly been receptive to it, and then only where they have lived with a group of Hill Patwin on a ranchería artificially created by the government.

In this section as a whole, informants are agreed that the differences between the old Hesi ceremony and its secularized form, called the Bole-Hesi, are (1) admittance of women and children, (2) use of dream or bole songs for the dances, (3) use of a "bullhead" or "big head" made of slender rods (or feathers)[71] tipped with cloth instead of down, (4) the deletion of esoteric features, and therefore (5) the loss of dangerous potency, and (6) the deletion of associated taboos for dancers.

Pomo

We turn now to the Pomo, who are located between the eastern summit of the Coast Range and the Pacific. It will be necessary to go back chronologically to the early furor associated with the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult.

The Pomo received the first news of this movement from the Cache Creek and Cortina Patwin. The doctrine therefore emphasized the aspects already adumbrated among the Hill Patwin, that is, stress upon the end of the world and the building of deep earth lodges, either as a refuge against the coming catastrophe or as a gathering place in which to await it. The best information on the doctrinal content of the Earth Lodge cult came from Pomo rather than Patwin sources. There were seven centers in which deep earth lodges were erected: (1) Sulphur Bank, Southeastern Pomo; (2) Clark Ranch on Kelsey Creek, Eastern Pomo; (3) Upper Lake, Eastern Pomo; (4) Potter Valley, Northern Pomo; (5) Willits, Northern Pomo; (6) Robertson Creek in southern Ukiah Valley, Central Pomo; (7) Hopland, Central Pomo. The date for the introduction of the doctrine and the building of the earth lodges was the spring of 1872.[72] Figure 13 shows the seven Pomo centers and the groups that gathered there. The emphasis upon gathering together in specially built earth lodges represents what might be called, somewhat anomalously, centrifugal diffusion; that is, people gathered in centers where they were inoculated with new ideas which they then carried back to their own localities. It differs somewhat from the linear diffu-

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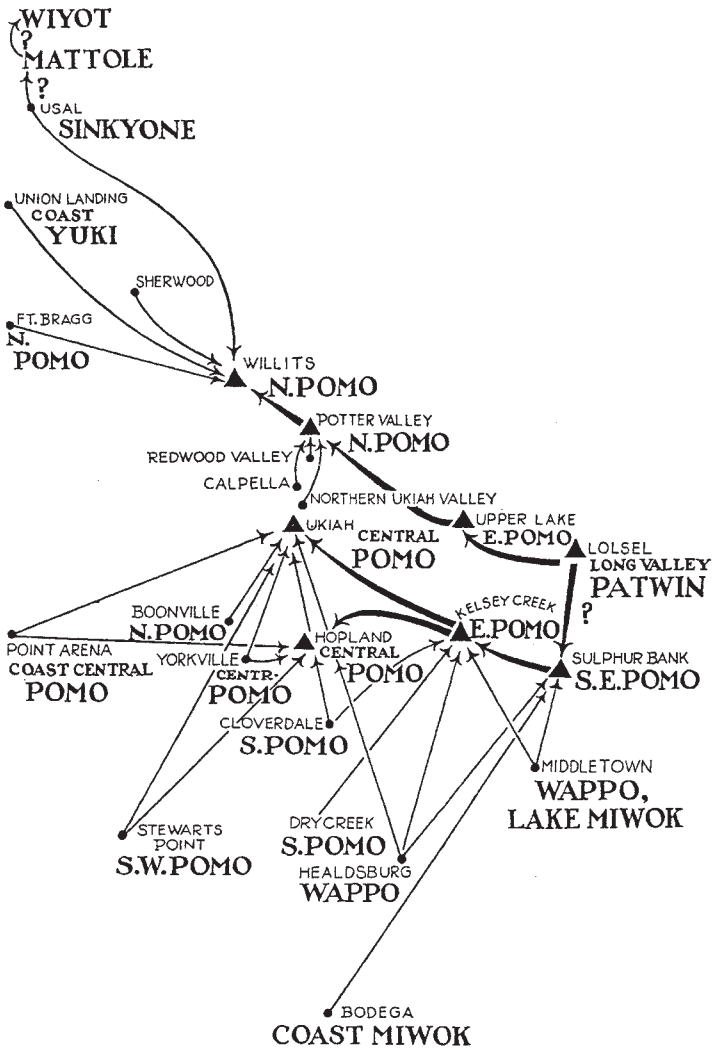

FIG. 13. Pomo Ghost Dance. Triangles, centers of congregation; heavy arrows, direction of Ghost Dance diffusion; light arrows, groups that assembled at centers.

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sion described heretofore, in which the doctrine was carried from group to group by a band of proselytizers.

In Sulphur Bank the Bole-Maru arose almost simultaneously with the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult. In some of the other Pomo rancherías there seems to have been a lag in the diffusion of the Bole-Maru. Among the Pomo the latter cult is called simply Maru.[73] The term has been used in hyphenated form with the Patwin equivalent, as the Bole-Maru, except where informants are quoted directly. Also, the term "maru" is used for the "Costume dance" or "Dress dance," which was referred to among the Patwin as the Bole dance. The term "big head" as used by informants has a number of meanings: (1) the specific piece of regalia; (2) the dance in which that piece of regalia was used, and which in reality appears to be the imported Bole-Hesi dance of the Patwin Bole-Maru; (3) the Kuksu cycle; and (4) the Kuksu dance in the older ceremonial order. I have tried to make the specific application clear in the course of material quoted from informants. Lastly, all these uses of the term "big head" must not be confused with the Big Head cult, which is the subject of part 4 of this study.

The development of these cult religions from the Earth Lodge cult of 1872 until the present will be discussed for each of the major Pomo subgroups in turn. In each section, data on the Earth Lodge cult are given first; these are followed by chronologically arranged material on the dreamers who shaped the Bole-Maru in each local group. They are not to be confused with informants, whose names are given in endnotes.

SULPHUR BANK (SOUTHEASTERN POMO)

A clear account of the Southeastern Pomo activities is contained in the following material from two informants.

[GEORGE PATCH, Clifford Salvador] "The two men who started dreaming were from the north. They were called Norelputa and Sheephead.[74] Norelputa was the dreamer, and Sheephead was just a friend who worked for him. Norelputa's sister died and he felt bad, so he went out not knowing where he was going. He hoped to find his sister someplace. He traveled day and night. Finally he went to sleep one night while he was on his way. He dreamed that he went somewhere, maybe up in heaven. He went into the dance house that was up there. No one was in it, yet

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someone spoke from somewhere.[75] He dreamed about feathers and songs, but we don't know what they were. Where he dreamed, he gave his first dance. From there he traveled in this direction [i.e., southwest]. Before that time people knew nothing of dreaming. Norelputa told the people to build dance houses underground. Some of Norelputa's men spread the dance. They came from the north, from a place called Konkau [name of Maidu in vicinity of Chico]. They spoke the same language as the Long Valley and Cache Creek people. [Despite the fact that reference is to Maidu, a Wintun linguistic group is probably meant.] Norelputa never came this far, but Sheephead brought the word to Sulphur Bank for him. Lame Bill was not with Sheephead that time. He came later.

"When Norelputa's word first reached Sulphur Bank, this world was going to end; there was to be wind and hail, or some kind of storm. People were to destroy all their beads and property. He said to be poor, to die poor. They believed so hard that they buried their things or threw them in the lake. Some, who didn't believe, kept their valuables. [This is in marked contrast to Ghost Dance doctrines prevailing in the Klamath River area.]

"Salvador [Beheo, father of informant] carried this message to Kelsey Creek, Ukiah, and as far as Hopland.

"When Norelputa's word came, Awutu was the Sulphur Bank man who dreamed first and took charge of the dance. Lame Bill and Awutu both started dreaming after Sheephead came here. Sheephead was like the Old Testament, and the maru men were like the New Testament. Awutu dreamed about the same things as Norelputa. He dreamed that he traveled to a place where there were no hills, no rocks, no trees. As far as he could see there were all kinds of flowers. [Note recurrent emphasis on flowers, a trait first mentioned among the Paviotso.] There was a dance house in the middle of this valley, and a trail led to it. He went in the dance house. Someone said, 'My son, go around the fire four times to the right and four times to the left; turn around and sit down on the north side of the house.' He did as he was told, and from the north side he looked around for the speaker but he could see no one. This speaker told him about the songs, costumes, and dances. He told him how to take care of things."

Dance house—All the Southeastern Pomo decided to build a house

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on the mainland at Sulphur Bank. (Previously their three villages had been located on islands in Lower Lake.) For this first Dream dance they built a great big house about twelve feet underground, fifteen or twenty feet high (i.e., from floor of pit), and about fifty feet in diameter. Halfway up was a wide dirt ledge (or gallery) used for sleeping and accommodating spectators. This was called "under house" (*noi xwan*) because its roof was almost flush with the ground. It had a ladder from the entrance to the pit floor. Later on they built houses raised higher aboveground with a shallower pit, no gallery, a corridor entrance, and shingled roof. These were dance houses (*xe xwan*).[76] When they were building the first "under house," Awutu said that after the builders went off and stopped working no one was allowed to look inside or they "might see something." Some women went by there and one looked in. She must have seen something, because she fell dead. That woman was the first one to be buried on the mainland. Before that everyone had been buried on the islands where they lived. Burning bodies had stopped before the maru religion, but bodies had been buried east and west until Awutu dreamed they should go north and south.

"The first dance was when the world was to end. From then on Awutu dreamed every year, sometimes twice a year, sometimes only every two or three years. He gave a dance every time he dreamed. He continued until his death in about 1920. After the first dance Awutu preached that the world was to end sometime, but he didn't set a date. About eight years after Awutu began [ca. 1880], he dreamed that everyone should live in pointed wigwams made of tule. So everyone made them and lived in them until they wore out.[77] After that they began building lumber houses. When they built the tule houses, Awutu hung flags on all the trees.

"When Awutu dreamed he went to the headman, who was his brother Jim, and he called all the people together in the dance house to decide on whom to invite, what dance to give [? this was supposedly part of the dreamer's inspiration], and when to have it. They invited usually one or two of the following groups: Cortina, Long Valley, Middletown, Kelsey Creek, Upper Lake. These people brought their own costumes and gave their own dances. Awutu always used the same costumes and flags for his Maru dance [used in specific sense], but he had different

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songs. When he gave a dance everyone had to wear his dream costumes, even children.[78] There were dresses for the women and shirts for the men with patterns on them.

"The dances lasted four nights and four days. That was the rule, but if there wasn't enough food they might be cut short. Sometimes they decided to give old-time sacred dances, like Tsinamafon,[79] Kuksu, Bukuk,[80] Salis.[81] In the dream religion these dances were put on like moving pictures." Women were allowed to see the Bukuk, and a man imitated Kuksu. Kuksu himself didn't come. But even so the dances had to be just right. To miss a step meant you or a relative might die. Now all who knew how to do the parts are dead, so the dances can't be given anymore. The differences between the old-time sacred dances and the way they gave them after the dream religion started were (1) that there was no fixed date, they were given whenever Awutu dreamed; (2) people knew that the spirits were human beings, not the old-time sacred spirits; (3) the dances were just imitations of the old ones—the boys acted as though they were shot, they weren't really killed as they used to be; (4) women were allowed to see more of the ceremonies.

"Along with the dream religion was introduced the Big Head dance [*xuya xai*]. Awutu dreamed it right at the beginning.[82] It was an important dance, not just a common one like the Toto or the Ball dance, but it wasn't so dangerous as Kuksu, Salis, Bukuk, or Tsinamafon. If you made a false step you could just do it over again and nothing happened to you. Nowadays the Big Head has taken the place of the old-time sacred dances in the dream religion. They dance the Big Head for two days and two nights, then follow it with the Toto or some other common dance."

The informant knew from a River Patwin friend that the Big Head had been a dance as sacred to the Patwin as the Kuksu had been to the Pomo.

The flagpoles used in these dances were painted as the dream dictated. One, lying near the present dance house at Sulphur Bank, had longitudinal strips of red chevrons. The pole is raised and taken down with ritual accompaniments, which informants were unwilling to divulge because they are still in use. Flags indicate that a ceremony is in progress. Those of visiting dreamers are raised on shorter, temporary poles.

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A generalized description of the dances belonging properly and exclusively to the Bole-Maru cult was offered by Clifford Salvador.

Big Head or Bullhead (***xia,*** **head**, ***xe***, **dance**)—"That is a Maru dance. It came from the Wintun [Patwin] people. Before, only men wore the Big Heads, but now women wear them sometimes. It is a big cap with sticks and feathers on the ends. Some use forehead bands of flowers with the dance now. There are just two dancers, a leader and a Big Head. Sometimes they add a second Big Head." Leader wears customary yellowhammer forehead band, down cap, and tail-feather crown; carries bow, arrows, and quiver. Dance formation: move rapidly back and forth on opposite sides of fire, leader to west, Big Head to east; during first set of songs pause on north side of house; during second set, on south side.

Dress dance—More women than men dancers. Dress in rear of house. Men come out first, dance in front of fire. Women, single file, circle fire; four form line on north side of house, four on south. After set of four songs, two lines of women exchange sides. Dance for duration of four more songs.

Ball dance—Dancers come from rear of house. Women form line on north side of fire, men on south side. Partners toss balls across fire for four songs, then sexes exchange sides of dance house and four more songs given. During a terminating song each dancer goes one at a time to director and surrenders ball. Eight balls used. Made of rags wrapped and tightly sewn, covered with cloth bearing dreamed designs.

Hintil dance—"It is an old-time dance. They use it sometimes on the last night." Dancers wear ordinary clothing but use yellowhammer and mink headbands. Form semicircle around fire, men in front, women in back. Men carry a single arrow clasped in both hands and held in front of body. Women carry bandana in each hand, wave them back and forth alternately with arms bent upward at elbows.

From the time that the Bole-Maru was first introduced into Sulphur Bank until his death in about 1920, Awutu continued to be the dominating figure in the cult. During this time some minor dreamers lived in Sulphur Bank and others visited the ranchería. Of the visitors, the more distinguished were Homaldo and Lame Bill. Homaldo is supposed to have come

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after Awutu had started dreaming, and it was from him that the details of Norelputus's putative dreams were learned. This may have been in the course of the trip to Hopland, which another informant attributed to Paitla. It is quite possible that Paitla accompanied Homaldo on this occasion and that they actually traveled as far as Hopland (see section on Homaldo). Lame Bill had a wife and son at Sulphur Bank. In this ranchería he usually went by the name Munkas. Although the Cache Creek Patwin reported that he gave his dances there, he does not seem to stand out in the minds of the Southeastern Pomo as a dreamer of particular importance, or else the informants were reticent on the subject. It seems probable, however, that he either directly or indirectly introduced the Bole-Maru to Sulphur Bank. The Cache Creek Patwin and a Pomo from Kelsey Creek were both under that impression. On the other hand, there are also indications that Lame Bill's Bole-Maru may have been transmitted to Sulphur Bank via Cortina with Sasa (Salvador) as the medium.

A list of Sulphur Bank dreamers who followed Awutu is as follows:

Hiram (Butcuduk); about 1875 or 1880 to about 1890—Used Big Head dance, also Dress (Maru) dance, which probably represents a complete reworking of the old Hintil xe, or Toto as it is called by the Patwin. Had flags, costumes, but no Ball dance.

Jim Kelsey or Stubbs; about 1916–1926—Big Head dance, no Dress or Ball dance.

Nellie Nick—Died at Stonyford about 1895. Practiced for a short time in Sulphur Bank before going to Stonyford. Her father was a Cache Creek Patwin. Had no Big Head, used Dress dance and Ball dance.

At present, Sulphur Bank is considered the strongest center of the Bole-Maru cult among the inland Pomo. They possess a semisubterranean house in which two Bole-Maru women still give dances. One of them is Sarah Brigham, the daughter of a Northern Pomo dreamer called Lewis. Shortly before his death, Lewis moved to Sulphur Bank. He no longer gave dances at that time, but he prophesied that his daughter would become a dreamer, which she did in about 1920 to 1922. She is said to have two kinds of costumes; one is a shredded-bark skirt worn by men dancers, and the other is a red-and-white cloth dress worn by women (fig. 14). She has also

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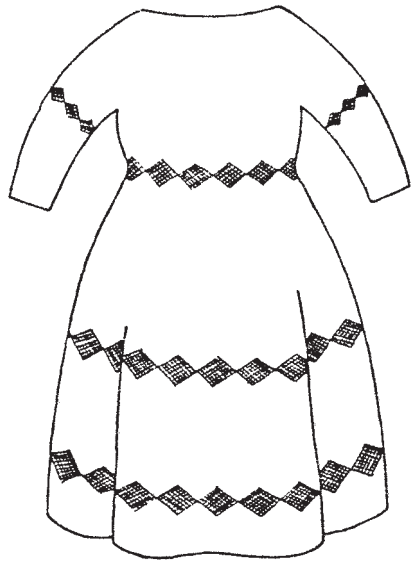

FIG. 14. Sarah Brigham's Bole-Maru costume; Sulphur Bank, Southeastern Pomo. White with red figures; bead and abalone pendants from some of diamonds. From verbal description.

a white flag with red stars and triangles appliquéd on it. The inside of the dance house is decorated with blue geometric designs like those used by her father and by Bill of the northern Ukiah ranchería. She uses the Big Head and Ball dances but not the Maru or Costume dance. Supposedly her costumes are used in connection with the Ball dance.

The other dreamer is Elvy Patch, a Northern Pomo from Potter Valley, who is married to a Lower Lake man. Although they live at the Lower Lake ranchería, they are closely affiliated with the Sulphur Bank group, with whom they cooperate in ceremonies. Elvy Patch began as a sucking doctor but later "started on the maru."[83] At present she is both a Bole-Maru dreamer and a sucking doctor. Her mother died recently, and as a result she dreamed that during four years she should not call a Bole-Maru ceremony. She and Sarah Brigham "work together and help each other out." At present the Maru dance proper, the Bole-Hesi, and Ball dance are given. One informant said that the Bole-Hesi is performed by Elvy Patch's husband but under her direction.[84]

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These two women are reputed to have developed recently a particularly secretive and conservative attitude. They have forbidden any discussion of present practices with the white people, a prohibition that is observed only by their converts. Thus Elvy Patch's father-in-law and husband refused to describe ceremonies now in use, although they gave willingly a historic sketch of the Bole-Maru cult. Similarly, her father, John Smith (see section "Potter Valley," p. 201), refused to describe the Bole-Hesi dance used by an earlier dreamer because it was still practiced by his daughter. Some Indians participate in the dance "for the fun of it" without being particularly impressed by the religious aspects. One must rely upon these for information. Photographs of ceremonies have been forbidden also, and although white visitors are admitted they should not be told the significance of what they witness. Even greater strictness is found in the Bole-Maru center on the coast at Stewarts Point.

The material from Sulphur Bank taken in conjunction with Loeb's[85] generalized statements should be commented upon to clarify the general situation before passing on to specific data from other rancherías.

The Earth Lodge doctrine in Pomo territory dealt primarily with an imminent world destruction. Loeb states that the return of the dead, which was a feature of the old ghost-initiation ceremony of the Pomo, "now became an essential, although still esoteric, portion of the new [Maru] cult." If the doctrine predicting the return of the dead was an esoteric feature of the Bole-Maru religion, it may account for the scarcity of data on this original and widespread phase of the Earth Lodge cult doctrine. However, it also suggests another reason why there was a shift in doctrinal emphasis when the Earth Lodge cult entered the area of ghost-summoning societies in which resurrection was ceremony shrouded in secrecy and mystery. It is very possible that the Patwin and Pomo rejected as sacrilegious the Ghost Dance concept of a mass return of the dead, since the summoning of a few ghosts had always been for them a fearsome and esoteric ceremony. Therefore they choose to stress, as more suitable, the concept of a catastrophic destruction of the world—a concept that their cosmogonical myths prepared them to accept.

The material from Sulphur Bank indicates that the old series of sacred dances were incorporated into the Bole-Maru religion and were perpetuated in a secularized form as long as there were people trained to execute

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them. As the older generation died off the sacred dances were replaced by the Big Head, which was the secularized Patwin Hesi and which had been introduced to Sulphur Bank at an early date. Therefore the development of the Bole-Maru among the Southeastern Pomo seems to have been (1) an almost simultaneous introduction of the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru; (2) the early introduction of the secularized Bole-Hesi (i.e., Big Head) of the Patwin; (3) the persistence side by side of the Bole-Hesi and of secular versions of the old Pomo dances; and finally (4) the persistence of the Bole-Hesi or Big Head after the old Pomo dances were abandoned, leaving it as the major dance ceremony of the older stratum in the Bole-Maru cult. In addition, the true Maru dance—that is, the Costume dance with flags and other things—persisted and the Ball dance entered as new ceremonial elements. It will be seen later that the Big Head was not everywhere accepted by the Pomo. The northern Ukiah Valley and Upper Lake groups definitely and consciously rejected it in favor of their own secularized ceremonies. The coast Pomo were late in incorporating it. The Sulphur Bank group alone seems to have received the Bole-Hesi almost simultaneously with the Ghost Dance doctrine. In other rancherías there was a lag in its diffusion.

The dance houses of the Bole-Maru are described by Barrett and Loeb in a generalized form. It should be borne in mind that probably only seven of the large subterranean houses associated with the Earth Lodge cult were built. Of these, not all seem to have had galleries and at least two were never completed. They were characterized by roofs that were almost level with the surface of the ground; by their depth, which required a ladder at the entrance; by their size; and by a gallery. In their construction a certain number of taboos was placed on the builders. These were sanctuaries against world destruction and were replaced when the immediate end of the world was no longer feared. After that, the corridor houses, such as Barrett describes, were built. There was a gradual modification of dance-house type until the modern round lumber houses without pits were developed.

KELSEY CREEK (EASTERN POMO)

From Sulphur Bank material it was learned that a messenger called Salvador was sent out to disseminate the Earth Lodge cult brought by Sheephead to the Southeastern Pomo. The first group he visited was the Eastern

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Pomo of Kelsey Creek at the southern end of Clear Lake. Here one of the most significant gatherings of the Pomo took place. The chief dreamer was a man called Jim (Batci). The local chief at that time was Tolewok. In addition to the material in this section, a particularly good account of the Kelsey Creek affair, given from the Southern Pomo viewpoint, is to be found in the section "Cloverdale" (p. 219). Material from an Eastern Pomo informant tallies with data from other groups, although details are lacking.

[WILLIAM BENSON] "The maru message came from the east. José Salvador, who lived on Kelsey Creek in Big Valley [south of present town of Lakeport], heard about the world ending. He went with three or four others to Cortina or maybe to Cache Creek [both Patwin sites]. They were gone about two weeks. When they came back, Salvador called the people together and told them to build a special kind of dance house. No one at Kelsey Creek was a dreamer. They just got the message from the Cortina [?] people. The world was to end in fire. The old people used to quarrel about that because in the creation story there had been four destructions of the world, first by water, then fire, ice, and whirlwind. So they said if the world was to end again it would have to be in some other way."

The dance house built on the Clark Ranch near Kelsey Creek in 1872 is described by Powers and seems to coincide with the descriptions of the deep earth lodges already mentioned.[86] However, Powers was under the impression that this new type of house was built after a commission had been dispatched to "surrounding tribes examining different styles of assembly-house architecture." Probably the commission was the group under José Salvador who went to the Hill Patwin to learn details of the rumored Earth Lodge cult. An informant described the earth lodge as follows:

[WILLIAM BENSON] "It was to be underground. They dug a pit about nine feet deep. They took the tallest man and made the diameter eight times his length with outstretched arms [i.e., ca. fifty feet]. The roof was level with the ground. Inside, about six feet up, was a gallery. It was about six feet wide and was made by lashing the one end of its floor

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beams to a rafter against the side wall and tying the other end to poles near the center which also supported the roof. No white materials, like nails, wire, and so forth, were allowed in this building. No one was allowed even to strike a match in this house because matches came from white people. That year the entrance was through the smoke hole, but the next year a dreamer came from Cortina [?] and told them to tunnel a corridor entrance through the side of the house.

"All this started in the spring. People came from Middletown [Wappo and Lake Miwok], Dry Creek [Southern Pomo], and the coast. There were seven acres full of their camps. They stayed through the summer and fall. The Sulphur Bank people had their underground house at that time too. Lame Bill [Munkas] was giving the dance there [not verified by Sulphur Bank data]. At Kelsey Creek, José Salvador directed the dance, and he was helped by Chicken [Nata]. The year after things began, the Indian agent moved the Indians to Bloody Island. They stayed there almost all winter. They were starving. While they were there the whites burned down the deep underground house. That next spring the Indians began drifting back to Big Valley [vicinity of Lakeport] because the farmers needed laborers. After that time, if the Indians built a dance house it was made of white men's lumber and only had a shallow pit."

Powers describes a "revival of antique customs" and reports that prophets predicted that the white people were to be destroyed by an earthquake but that those Indians who fled to Clear Lake would be saved.[87] He speaks of Indians congregating from all directions but especially from the Russian River districts. The white people became alarmed, and finally dancers were dispersed by threatened removal to reservations.

Powers attended a dance which he describes. It is difficult to identify it with certainty from his description, but it may have been the Maru dance proper since there was a curved row of young women dancers whose only aboriginal ornament seems to have been a yellowhammer headband. It may have been, however, some "common" dance.

In the Kelsey Creek group of Eastern Pomo there seems to have been a minimum of subsequent developments from the first furor. Informants could mention only one Bole-Maru dreamer at Kelsey Creek—a man called Jo Boggs who dreamed in 1890 but who "lasted only a year or two,

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then gave up." This situation was probably the result of white antagonism, the removal to Bloody Island, and the epidemics that swept through the group. The culminating influence of these difficulties might well have sufficed to quash group enterprise. In addition, the Eastern Pomo at the vicinity of the present town of Upper Lake had developed Bole-Maru activities in which the Eastern Pomo of Kelsey Creek could participate. At present the Indians in the vicinity of Lakeport attend the Sulphur Bank dances.

Barrett confirms details concerning the dance house and so forth. According to his report, the white people estimated that between three and four thousand Indians were present. "The celebration at this place lasted nearly a year, after which part of their number moved to Behépal near Upper Lake [q.v.] where the ceremonies were continued."[88]

From Kelsey Creek there is no evidence that dreaming began simultaneously with the introduction of the Ghost Dance doctrine as it did in Sulphur Bank. In fact, there is no evidence that it ever gained any very strong foothold for reasons just reviewed.

UPPER LAKE (EASTERN POMO)

The northern group of Eastern Pomo who lived at Behépal near Upper Lake received the Earth Lodge cult directly from Lame Bill, who had invited them to Lolsel. On their return, the Upper Lake people built a deep earth lodge at Behépal and awaited a world catastrophe in their own country. Accounts of this first affair were secured from two informants and are quoted below.

[BILLY GILBERT] "Bunkas or Captain Bill of Long Valley said the world was to end. He invited the people from Behépal to go over there. He dreamed that the Upper Lake people should build a dance house so all could be in it and die together when the world ended. Lame Bill had not started yet on his Maru dances. He just called the people together for his first dreaming. After the Upper Lake people came back they built this dance house at Behépal. It was so deep that the roof was just about level with the ground. Indians came here from all over, from Mendocino County and as far as the coast. They were waiting all the time for the world to end. After supper all went in the dance house to sleep for the night. Hardly anyone went to his own camp to sleep. Most of the people

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wanted to die together in a pile. People danced all the time. If they didn't dance, they wouldn't go to the best place. If they believed, they would go to God. If they didn't, they would go to the fire place. People who had never danced before danced then."

[CHARLIE GUNTER] "Lame Bill preached that the world was going to end in fire. The white people were to die, but the Indians would go to heaven. I was a half-breed and looked white, so I smeared myself with charcoal to look like an Indian. All who didn't believe would turn to rock." Everyone had to be married, even little children, although they did not have to cohabit with the spouses assigned them. The people were to build a dance house. It was deeper than any built before, but it had no gallery and had a corridor rather than a smoke-hole entrance.

The introduction of the Bole-Maru cult followed soon after the Earth Lodge cult. It was brought to Upper Lake by Lame Bill himself. After a short period of dancing at Behépal, the Patwin group and their Upper Lake hosts moved southward to Kelsey Creek to repeat the ceremony. Gifford reports that the Bole-Maru was introduced to Cigom on the eastern shore of Clear Lake by Poni, a man who was half Eastern Pomo and half Hill Patwin.[89] Further inquiries concerning Poni elicited that he was a famous singer and dancer, but my informants did not know him as a proselytizer. On the imported Bole-Maru we have two statements. The second one, by Barrett, clearly indicates the close alliance between the early phases of the Bole-Maru and the Earth Lodge cult.

[BILL GILBERT] "A short time after Bill invited the people to Long Valley he started the Maru dances. Then he came to Behépal and gave them in the deep earth house. He came very soon after the first message. There were people at Behépal from Geyserville [Wappo], Middletown [Lake Miwok], the coast, Sonoma County, Potter Valley [Northern Pomo], Big Valley [Eastern Pomo, western shore of Clear Lake], Sulphur Bank [Southeastern Pomo] and Cloverdale [Southern Pomo]. From Upper Lake, Bill moved on to Kelsey Creek and everyone went with him. He put on his dances there and then went back home." Some went to Kelsey Creek by boat, and seven men were drowned. Lame Bill told the people to look under a certain tree near a knoll. They found a small stone mor-

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tar containing about half a cup of water with blood and seven clamdisk beads in it. This was interpreted as a prophecy of seven deaths. Instead of impressing the people with his clairvoyance, he seems to have aroused some suspicion of witchcraft.

[BARRETT] Behépal "was the scene of a great ceremony at about that time [1873], the Indians from various parts of the region, even as far west as the coast, having gathered about the lake to await the end of the world. The ceremony was one introduced from the Sacramento Valley region, several shamans from the vicinity of Grand Island [*sic*! River Patwin territory] having been brought over to conduct it. The series of ceremonies that was celebrated at this time extended more or less continuously over a period of about two years, the principal ones being held at xa'-dalam on Kelsey Creek in Big Valley. At behe'pal a large dance house of special form for the celebration of these ceremonies was built."[90]

After the introduction of the Earth Lodge cult and the Bole-Maru to the Eastern Pomo of Upper Lake, there seems to have been a gap of approximately seven years before the rise of autochthonous dreamers. In the meantime the ranchería sites and the dance houses of this Eastern Pomo group had undergone various vicissitudes:

Behépal; deep earth lodge; destroyed by fire a short time after Lame Bill's first Bole-Maru.

Temporary site for two years; no dance house (?).

Xabamatolel, present site north of Upper Lake; semisubterranean dance house (?); round lumber dance house with shingle roof destroyed by fire in about 1897; replaced by square lumber dance house, about forty by forty feet, which fell into disrepair in about 1910; present assembly house, which was never used for Bole-Maru ceremonies.

Dreamers arose only after the occupation of the present ranchería, Xabamatolel. They are listed in approximately chronological order. Unless otherwise indicated, the information was secured from Billy Gilbert and Charlie Gunter.

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Evan Brown (Tolokobo)
(Ca. 1880–1898)

"It was about seven years after Lame Bill came that Evan started to be a maru man." He dreamed the following dances:

Big Head (***kaya,*** **head;** ***he*****, dance**)—He made his own headdresses. There were usually two dancers, sometimes three. Leader (*hoagimal*, front-running-around) wore yellowhammer headband and down cap. Big Head danced near door; leader on opposite side of fire. Might be danced by two women.

Women's dance (***maru tarabu,*** **cloth**)—Six or eight women dancers in Bole-Maru costumes. No men. Designs on dresses dreamed. Feather or mink headbands.

He had no Ball dance. Flag and pole in front of dance house. Flag bore same designs as dresses. "No one ever dreamed to put on the Kuksu dances here. There was an old man who remembered some of the eighty songs that go with the Kuksu cycle, so they put it on during the day. Evan's dances were at night. He had nothing to do with Kuksu."

Jim Bateman (Shiye)
(Ca. 1890–1920)

He seems to have been the most outstanding of the Upper Lake dreamers. He dreamed the Big Head and women's Costume dances, but he had no Ball dance and no flag. Two other informants denied that Jim or any Upper Lake dreamer used the Big Head dance. He did not believe that the end of the world was imminent but he thought that men, women, and children should dance to prepare for it. He seems also to have left an impress as a prophet.

Women's or Dress dance[91]—Women wore dream costumes, black and red with triangular designs. Headdress as in figure 15. Was used for various types of common dances, and informant believes it was copied from imported Lehuya (see p. 200). Carried tassel of shredded tule or of bunch grass in each hand. Dancers all had whistles. Formed crescent line between fire and center pole, facing entrance; danced in place; pivoted weight on heels; both rotated in semicircle; elbows flexed, right and left forearms moved alternately up and down.

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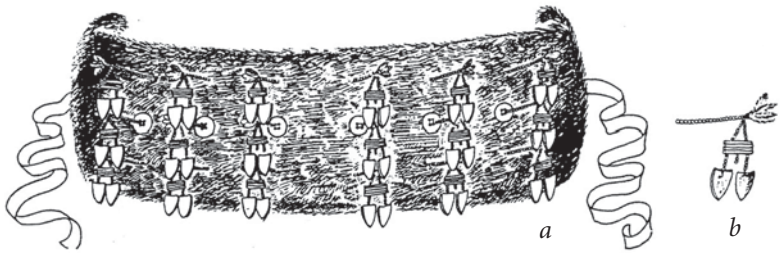

FIG. 15. Women's forehead band in dress dance at Upper Lake (Eastern Pomo). a, band of fur, center row of pearl buttons, three rows of wire strung with glass beads; b, detail of wire decoration, tipped with mallard feathers, pendant of short yellowhammer quills and abalone triangle.

Jack Walker (Gelaa)
(Ca. 1890–1910)

Used the women's Costume dance but had no Big Head or Ball dance. He frequently cooperated with Evan Brown or Jim Bateman. His flag was then displayed in front of the sweat house as opposed to the dance house. Ben Wood: "He never gave dances, he was just a prophet." He foretold automobiles and airplanes, and believed in the end of the world. "The birds and all the world would cry when that was to happen." He began at approximately the same time as Jim Bateman but died before the latter. "He was as much of a maru man as Jim even though he didn't put on dances."

Doctor Lewis (Kaltcau)
(Died ca. 1917)

[WILLIAM BENSON] "He came from Calpella [Northern Pomo], but he married a Clear Lake woman. He began dreaming about fifty years ago [ca. 1880] and came to Upper Lake after Jackson Walker stopped giving dances. He dreamed that he should give old-time dances, like Kuksu and the Pole dance. He left out all the dangerous parts. He admitted that Kuksu and the spirits were men. Women were allowed to see everything. The old people were frightened at Doctor Lewis doing these things. He got young men to dance. Only one or two old men dared join in. The maru did away with all those secret things and came out in the open so people could go to heaven.

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[JOHN SMITH] "Lewis had been at Round Valley with the others [Northern Pomo]. When he left there he went to live at Coyote Valley about seven miles northeast of Ukiah. He built a round dance house of lumber there. It was painted with stripes of blue mud inside, like Bill's house near Pinoleville north of Ukiah [q.v.]. He had flags and costumes too, but he never gave a Big Head or Ball dance. Sometimes visitors from other rancherías put on a Big Head in his dance house. He gave a Djaduwel dance [ghost initiation], like Bill. Doctor Bill was Sarah Brigham's father [see section "Sulphur Bank," p. 183]."

From William Benson's and John Smith's accounts of the Northern Pomo dreamer, Doctor Lewis, it would appear that secularized versions of the old Pomo ceremonies were incorporated by him into the Bole-Maru cult and that the Eastern Pomo of Upper Lake witnessed these hybrid performances when he was resident there. Charlie Gunter made a comparable statement concerning Jim Bateman. He said that Jim's ceremonies were followed by dances from the old Kuksu cycle. He did not claim specifically that Jim dreamed authority to give them, and in fact different leaders were employed to direct the Kuksu dances. He added further that after the introduction of the Bole-Maru, the spirits were known to be simply representations by persons in the ranchería. The dances, however, had still to be performed accurately, and participants were required to abstain from meat and water until sundown. "Those dances weren't dangerous anymore." Billy Gilbert impressed me as the most reliable and best posted of the informants on Upper Lake material. His explanation of the apparent amalgamation of the Bole-Maru and Kuksu cycle by Jim Bateman was that the dances were practiced simultaneously but that the Kuksu dances were not dream-inspired and therefore were not part of the Bole-Maru.

Furthermore, Charlie Gunter and William Benson disagree with Billy Gilbert on the use of the Big Head in connection with the Bole-Maru. I should be inclined to accept Billy Gilbert's statement that the Upper Lake dreamers did use the Big Head.

Gifford, in connection with the nearby Cigom ranchería of Eastern Pomo on the eastern shore of Clear Lake, gives a series of dances that were associated with the Bole-Maru cult in contradistinction to the old

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(*hindil*) sacred dances. They were the Dutuka, Lehuye, Toto, Momimomi, and Kayabatu.

> In kayabatu a "big head" feather headdress is worn, as in the guksu of the hindil series. It is said that the dream priest who supervises the maru dances never dreams of Pomo hindil dances, but always of Patwin boli dances. Moreover, hindil dances are said never to be danced in maru ceremonies. Maru ceremonies last four days and four nights and all five of the maru dances are usually performed.[92]

This statement indicates that the Cigom people sharply separated the old (*hindil*) series and the new Bole-Maru series. In this it coincides with Billy Gilbert's data for Upper Lake. However, Gifford's series includes four "common dances" not considered to have dream authority in Upper Lake, with one minor exception (see below). Since Gifford gives no description of the dances he enumerates for the Bole-Maru, it is difficult to identify them. Barrett[93] also fails to throw light on these performances. However, certain comments may be made:

Kayabatu: *kaya* means head, *batu* is Eastern Pomo for maru. Therefore, Gifford's *kayabatu* seems to be the Big Head of the Bole-Maru cult.

Lehuya or Lihuye was reported by William Benson to have been an importation from the grain fields of the San Francisco Bay region, therefore possibly from Patwin sources, at some time prior to the Bole-Maru or approximately contemporaneously with it. It is often called "whiskey dance" in English.

Toto, according to Benson, had the same history as the Lehuya, but its introduction anticipated it. Charlie Gunter said that Jim Bateman "dreamed songs for a Maru dance which was just about like the toto."

Dutuka and Momimomi have not been traced.

The last four dances may belong to the large series of common dances that could be interspersed simply as diversions in the course of a Bole-Maru ceremony and which did not necessarily require dream inspiration. Of course it is possible that some Cigom dreamer did have supernatu-

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ral commands to give them. It seems not to have been the general rule throughout the Bole-Maru area.

To summarize: Although Gifford's statements for Cigom and mine for Upper Lake cannot be expected to coincide completely, they do serve to reinforce each other. It probably can be said with some assurance that the Big Head existed in both Upper Lake and Cigom, that Upper Lake had the Costume dance, that the Ball dance was absent in both rancherías, and that common dances were interspersed in the Bole-Maru ceremonies. Whether common dances can be divided into an old and new series paralleling the Kuksu and Bole-Maru cults is certainly open to question in Upper Lake. Furthermore, there is evidence that secularized forms of the Kuksu cycle were imported by Doctor Lewis into Upper Lake and that comparable secularized dances were given there. However, they there represented simply a dying off of the old pattern, which overlapped in time the Bole-Maru without having been made an integral part of it by any dreamer. In this it contrasted with certain Northern Pomo groups.

POTTER VALLEY (NORTHERN POMO)

This caption is used to cover the events that occurred both in Potter Valley and in northern Ukiah Valley. After the first Earth Lodge furor in Potter Valley, the Northern Pomo were moved to Round Valley Reservation. A few years later they began to drift back to various pieces of land that had been granted them. Many of the Northern Pomo went to Ukiah Valley at this time. The white settlers had been alarmed by the congregation of Indians during the Earth Lodge cult and had urged their removal. After a few years, however, ranchers became interested in securing Indian labor and persuaded many who were on reservations to leave. As an inducement, they offered small parcels of land as ranchería sites. At present there are groups of inland Northern Pomo at Pinoleville, three miles north of Ukiah, and at Potter Valley. Guidiville, three miles southeast of Ukiah, is a recent extension of Pinoleville. It is from these groups that the material for this section was procured. South of Guidiville begin the rancherías of the inland Central Pomo, the northernmost of which is properly called Ukiah Ranchería (q.v.).

[JOHN SMITH; Northern Pomo, Potter Valley] "Charlie Bowen [Puimiki] was not a dreamer, but he went someplace in Sacramento Valley to get

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the word. He came back and said that the world was to end in a flood. Napoleon Jack was the captain at Potter Valley who called the people together to build an underground house. It was about twelve feet deep and had a gallery of timber. They used oak and grapevine to build it. There was no white man's lumber, wire, or nails in it. That was against the rules." The building was considered a place of refuge when the world ended; it was not primarily a dance house. It had a corridor sloping down into it. "It could hold six or seven hundred Indians.

"At first Charlie Bowen didn't dream or have a flagpole and costumes. He didn't give a dance. But after Charlie came back to Potter Valley from Sacramento Valley, a man called Bill [Tsaka] began dreaming. He didn't say how the world was to end, but that it would. In the meantime word had spread all over that the world was to end. The Willits Indians had gotten together and were dancing all the time. That was just when Bill had begun dreaming. The white people were frightened by this and sent all the Indians from around Willits to Round Valley. The Potter Valley Indians decided to go up there too. Bill didn't dare put on his dances when he got up to Round Valley. He said the spirit didn't come right to him when he was at Round Valley because his people were treated so badly. When he came to Ukiah Valley he started dreaming again. But Charlie Bowen dreamed up at Round Valley, and he used Bill's costumes and things. They put on two dances at Round Valley, then the Indians got disgusted and burned up all their costumes and old-time feathers. The agent ordered them to do this, and there were five hundred soldiers there to make them do it.[94] They never gave the Maru dance up there again. Sometimes outside people came in and preached about what they were doing in other places."

The Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs throws further light on the removal from Potter Valley and definitely establishes the date as 1872. It also reveals the perturbation that the Earth Lodge cult aroused among white settlers.

Last May [1872] . . . a majority of the citizens of Little Lake Valley, in this county, having decided that the presence of Indians was a detriment to their community, forcibly brought here [Round Valley Res-

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ervation] 309 Indians, part from Little Lake and part from the coast. About the same time a large number of the citizens of Potter Valley, also in this county, petitioned for the removal of the Indians in their neighborhood. . . . [With no force or extraordinary persuasion] 685 Indians from Potter, Coyote, Walker, and Redwood Valleys gathered together, and came to the reservation. A few straggling parties coming in swelled the number of arrivals to something over 1000. Some of these remained but a short time.[95]

An account of the subsequent religious developments in the Potter Valley group of Northern Pomo is given by John Smith as follows:

"After nine or ten years [ca. 1881-1882] our people left Round Valley and went back to Potter Valley and Ukiah Valley. They never danced again at Potter Valley, but Bill began putting on dances again when our people bought the old Pinoleville ranchería [just north of Ukiah]. He gave dances until he died about thirty years ago [i.e., dreamed ca. 1872 to 1873; quiescent until ca. 1884; renewed activity from ca. 1884 to 1900 or 1903]. He put up a round house of white man's lumber because Indians didn't have timber and weren't allowed to cut down trees. The house had a shallow pit about three feet deep. It was smaller than the big underground house at Potter Valley [in 1872]. It held only some two hundred people. The house was decorated inside with blue stripes. He had costumes made and a white flag with a five-pointed red star in the middle. Around the door of the dance house were little blue flags with red borders. The flagpole was in front of the dance-house door, and everyone had to pass it to the south." Menstruants were cautioned to avoid it and were forbidden to enter the dance house.

Bill's Matu ke (i.e., Maru dance proper) had only women in it. They wore the dream costumes and feathers in their hair. The singers sang slowly *ye ho tana*, while the women came out on the dance floor and circled the fire. Then they divided into two lines, east and west of the fire. Then the same song was repeated at a faster tempo while the women danced in place, elbows flexed, hands at shoulder height, and moved in and out from the body. The whole body quivered. They repeated the formation four times.[96]

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"Bill dreamed the Big Head right from the beginning. They dressed out in the brush and shouted to let people know they were coming." Informant refused to go farther in describing the dance because it was still used by his daughter, Elvy Patch, who is a Bole-Maru leader in Sulphur Bank.

"Bill never dreamed the Ball dance. He dreamed that they should dance the old Djaduwel[97] [Ghost-impersonation, part of the Kuksu cycle, but not the Kuksu dance proper]. He dreamed he should give it in spring when the flowers came out.[98] Evan Brown, a dreamer at Upper Lake, was the first to say that everyone should know the secrets of the Ghost-impersonation dance [see discussion of this matter in preceding section]. Women and children could see it. There was nothing dangerous in it the way Bill gave it. In the old days the devils [ghosts] came from the graveyard; you didn't see natural Indians in those days. They sang old-time songs for it. When Bill gave the Ghost-impersonation dance he used only women in it [?]. All dreamers had the Ghost-impersonation dance in their dreaming. Lewis [see subsection "Upper Lake," p. 194] had it too, but he used all men.

"No one ever dreamed the Kuksu dance. Its secrets were never made public like those of the Ghost-impersonation. The Kuksu was the biggest old-time Indian dance. It was never put into the maru religion."

The informant stated that all modern dreamers believed that the end of the world was close at hand. He himself believes this also.

"All the old-time prophecies, about the whites coming to this country and about guns, have come true, so the end of the world is probably true too. All the dreamers preach that if you don't believe you will turn into an animal or a bird. When I was a young man I didn't believe. Then a maru man, called Oregon Charlie, came to Round Valley to preach. They didn't dare give dances, but they preached in secret.[99] He didn't know me, but he could see right away that I didn't believe. That night he preached. When he was through everyone raised his hand to show that he believed. He told everyone to shut his eyes. Then he made the whole house shake. After that I believed. Our dreamers never did things like that." (Note: The Pomo dreamers did not perform miracles to convince converts as did the Wintun and Paviotso.)

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From this material it appears that the old Ghost-impersonation ceremony (Djaduwel of the Northern Pomo) was secularized by two Northern Pomo Bole-Maru men, Bill and Doctor Lewis, just as the Patwin dreamers secularized the Hesi. The Kuksu cult, however, never underwent the same process. In place of the Big Head of the Kuksu cycle, the secularized Patwin equivalent, the Bole-Hesi, was accepted.

Another informant, a cousin of the Charlie Bowen who brought the Ghost Dance doctrine to Potter Valley, substantiated most of the data given by the previous informant, John Smith. He made the following additions, some of which are of particular interest in showing the philosophic speculations of a conservative Indian on the Bole-Maru cult.

[CHARLIE BOWEN; Northern Pomo, Pinoleville] "The maru is a Dream dance, that is why all the Indians have died off now. The maru wasn't a true thing [he is an old "outfit," or singing doctor], so the Indians got punished for it. They said the world was to end. Our grandfathers and grandmothers who were already dead were glad when they heard this. The world ending must mean that the people are dying away and that the world ends with the people. Maybe the world will get angry. The Big Man made the world and takes care of it. He doesn't want the world abused. He puts people there for his own purpose. The whites upset everything, they put tunnels through the earth. Maybe the Big Man was angry at this.

"The world was to end and all were to build an earth house to die in. When they died they didn't want to lie around on the earth, I guess, so they built a house to lie dead in. They didn't say exactly how the world was to end. They say that all which is in the world are people—brush, wind, rocks, trees, valleys. They all had a meeting, like a trial in a courthouse. They wanted the world to end in fire, but then they thought that looked bad. Then they said water might be pretty good, it would wash bodies away down toward the south. Maybe they thought the ground would get soft and the bodies would sink down in. The wind was to blow over the people and blow them off. [Much of this is probably the informant's own speculations.]

"We were told not to fight or rob, to keep our hearts free. We must all have a good time. Everyone was to believe this word. Charlie said, 'I am

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not talking for myself but for you people. We all have to die when this world ends. We can't stop it. We can't escape it.' Everyone stopped work and started to build a house. The whites were angry because the Indians stopped working, so they sent them to Round Valley before the dance house was finished. They were building special houses at Upper Lake, Sulphur Bank, in the Sacramento Valley, everywhere. When we went up to Round Valley the Yuki had already heard the word. Someone from the Sacramento Valley had brought the message to them.

"The new houses were different. They were deeper and bigger. They were called *le* [death] *tca* [house]. When they built the one at Potter Valley, no one but the captain was allowed to talk; no one could eat or drink unless all stopped and ate together. That was usually only at the beginning of the day. Maybe that is what happened up there among the dead.

"They used the old-time dances for this message. The Big Man up there wanted things in the old way. The new Maru dance with striped dresses is what killed off the people. The maru men dream these dresses just for this dance; they make them up. It came from the east. Those striped dresses were used even before we went up to Round Valley."

After coming back from Round Valley there were two maru men, Bill (Kawotsaka) and Sam Hasket (Kocha). Bill built a dance house at Toldam (first ranchería site north of Ukiah), and Sam, who started shortly after Bill, had one at Kibukabul (nearby site with which Toldam amalgamated after a few years). When Bill moved to Kibukabul he used Sam's dance house. Both gave dances there. "They preached not to do wrong, steal, kill, or be bad, but to have a good time and have fun while we were still alive. If you believe a maru man it helps him out."

The informant denied that these two dreamers had costumes and flags. He insisted that they used the "old-time" regalia, but he admitted that they had new powers and new songs. These powers came from Yamaenemo (Our Father).

Among the Pomo living north of Ukiah, the movement came to an end in about 1903 when the site of Kibukabul was sold for the present ranchería site at Pinoleville (Yamobida). Bill was still alive at the time but did not build a new dance house or continue his ceremonies.

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To summarize: Charlie Bowen, to be distinguished from the informant of the same name, was the messenger who obtained the Earth Lodge cult from the east. Although he showed some inclinations as a dreamer, Bill was the most prominent Bole-Maru leader in the vicinity of Potter and northern Ukiah valleys. Despite the denials of the informant, Charlie Bowen, there can be no doubt that Bill used the Big Head and the Costume dance. In the latter, only women performed. In addition, he used the flags and flagpoles and the decorated round dance house of lumber, which are characteristic of the Bole-Maru. He seems also to have sponsored a secularized Ghost-impersonation dance (Djaduwel) drawn from the Kuksu cycle. The informant, Charlie Bowen, stressed these activities of Bill rather than his share in the Bole-Maru. John Smith said that Bill dreamed authority to give the Ghost-impersonation dance but that traditional songs were used. Yet personal dream songs were invariable accompaniments of Bole-Maru inspiration. Therefore, I should consider it still open to question whether or not the secularized Ghost-impersonation dance should be placed in the Bole-Maru cult. Even if it should not be placed in that category, it is significant that a Bole-Maru leader was instrumental in directing and preserving aspects of the old cult. It will be recalled that in Upper Lake different leaders directed the portions of the Kuksu cycle that persisted.

The Ball dance was never given by Bill. It was first introduced to Pinoleville by Charlie Warthon in the last two decades, which means that it came from the Chico Maidu (see sections "River Patwin," p. 174, "Chico Maidu," p. 171, and "Wintun and Hill Patwin," p. 135).

WILLITS (NORTHERN POMO) AND COAST YUKI

In the preceding section, John Smith stated that the Northern Pomo in the vicinity of Willits were dancing at the same time as the Potter Valley group (i.e., 1872). No satisfactorily detailed material from these northernmost Pomo, now congregated on the Sherwood Rancheria, was procurable. It would appear, however, that not only did the coastal Northern Pomo from Fort Bragg go to Willits, but also that representatives of the Coast Yuki and Sinkyone were present.

[NANCY MCCOY] "The Indians from Sherwood, Fort Bragg, Juan Creek [near Union Landing, Coast Yuki], and Usal [Sinkyone] all came to-

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gether at Willits. They said if they did not come together they would be lost. The world was to end and the dead were to come back. The Indians gathered all kinds of food. When the dead came they were to enjoy those things. Those who didn't help would not see their dead relatives. When the dead came, everybody was to die. The world was to burn up. The word about all this came to Willits from Walker Valley to the south.[100] At first they built a brush house in Willits. Then they were to build a deep sweat house underground, but they never finished it. The whites around Willits were afraid when the Indians gathered together. About that time most of the people left Willits to go to Round Valley Reservation. Others went home to their own places. The agent at Round Valley promised everybody a home there. When the Indians left Willits the whites ordered them never to come back again. The Indians must have stayed at Willits four or five months, I guess."

This first furor was comparable to that in Potter Valley in three respects: (1) the white people had the Indians removed to Round Valley Reservation before the group disbanded of its own accord; as a result, (2) the deep earth lodge was never completed; and (3) autochthonous dreamers arose only after the people drifted back to their own territory.

Only very brief accounts of subsequent dreamers among the Coast Yuki and northernmost Pomo were procured. They were all given by Nancy McCoy, a Fort Bragg Pomo now resident at Sherwood.

Tcitcuwel (Coast Yuki, Westport)

"He started a long time ago when I was still a little girl [i.e., ca. 1880s]. He said the world was not to end. This generation would not see it end. It might come afterwards. He built a sweat house, gathered people there, and had a dance. I don't think he had cloth dresses for his dances."

Dick Bell (Coast Yuki, Juan Creek)

"He was a dreamer. They built a round dance house for him. He died about forty years ago."

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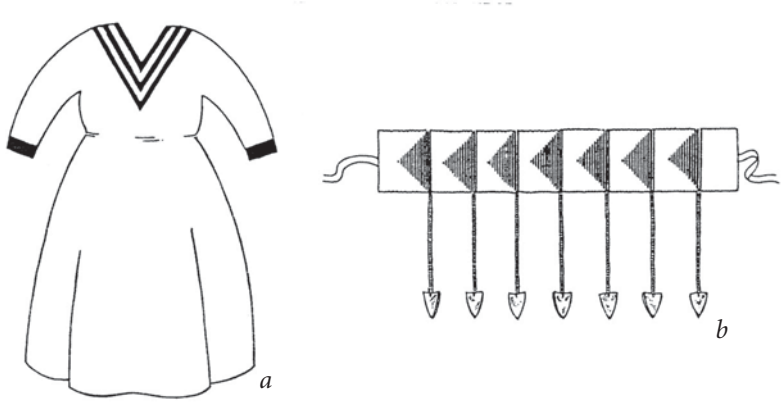

FIG. 16. Susie Campbell's Bole-Maru regalia, Fort Bragg, Northern Pomo. a, white with black decorations; from verbal description. b, women's bead forehead band, white background, red triangles, fringe hangs to tip of nose; from specimen.

Susie Campbell (Northern Pomo, Fort Bragg)
(Ca. 1907–1908)

"She was my mother. She died in 1927 but she only had dances for about one year, and then stopped. She never traveled anywhere to give her dance. She dreamed the Big Head dance and the Dress dance, but never the Ball dance. That was never known up our way." Used square-lumber dance house with dirt floor.

Big Head (***kisu ke***)—Dreamed songs for it. Danced by two men, no women.

Dress dance (***matu, tunku,*** **dress;** ***ke,*** **dance**)—Made six dresses and bead headbands herself (fig. 16). Men only yellowhammer headbands. There were three songs: one for entrance on dance floor, one for main body of dance, and one for exit. Men, two or four, entered first, danced in center; women formed line of three on each side of fire; withdrew followed by men.

Susie had split-stick rattle, which no one was allowed to touch. Had no flag. Dance lasted four days and four nights. Between Dress and Big Head dance used "old-time common dances." Did not dream who should be dancers; selected them on basis of ability. Women dancers who received dresses might do as they wished with them; no sanctity

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attached to them. One man appointed to keep dance house in order, procure wood, and so forth. Called *limaosh*. After dance, feast was given; all helped pay for it.

Tildy Lockhart (Northern Pomo, Sherwood)
(Ca. 1900–1910)

"She is still living at Sherwood. She only gave dances for about ten years. She got sick, that is how she became a dreamer. She used a brush house for her dances. She used to give them every once in a while. She never had dream dresses or a flag. The men and women just tied bandanas around their heads to dance in. She used about the same dance formation as Susie Campbell. I don't believe she ever had a Big Head."

From even these brief statements it is evident that the Bole-Maru existed in its conventional form even among the northernmost Pomo. Although the Ball dance has never reached the region, and the flag does not seem to have been used, the Big Head and Dress dance with their dream songs remain as the core of the ceremony.

No field work was done among the coastal people north of the Pomo, yet as we have seen, both the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru reached the Coast Yuki. The Sinkyone had contacts with the first Ghost Dance furor at Willits. Kroeber reports further that the Wiyot obtained from the Mattole a message that the dead were returning.[101] However, it is probable that there was no marked development of either the Earth Lodge cult or Bole-Maru among the Sinkyone, Mattole, and Wiyot. Ethnographers who have worked with the few survivors of those tribes have failed to secure any trace of the two cults.

UKIAH (CENTRAL POMO)

The chief ranchería of the Central Pomo who occupy Ukiah Valley is located today some seven miles southeast of the town of Ukiah. Prior to the Earth Lodge cult, many of the Central Pomo had been removed to Noyo Reservation on the coast. They had wandered away from the reservation and, in 1872, were settled on a ranchería called Bosha at Robertson Creek. Here they were brought word of the new religion by Salvador, the Eastern Pomo messenger from Kelsey Creek. At Robertson Creek, Xalkom super-

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vised the erection of a deep earth lodge, and the surrounding tribelets were invited to await the end of the world. Xalkom was the chief dreamer of the group from 1873 to about 1883. During that decade the ranchería was moved from Robertson Creek to Burke's Ranch near El Robles, some five miles south of Ukiah, and again from El Robles to the present site, which was occupied first in about 1881. After Xalkom's death, Monk Robertson succeeded him as the chief dreamer. By that time the Bole-Maru was already falling into disrepute among the Central Pomo of Ukiah Valley. The last dances were given in about 1894.

The best account gotten of the Earth Lodge and Bole-Maru developments among the group now occupying Ukiah Ranchería is given herewith. It is unusually sophisticated in its description of the historic factors at work.

[STEVE KNIGHT] "Word came from the Long Valley Hill Patwin. A man called Munkash [Lame Bill] invited the Kelsey Creek people to his place. The first big gathering in this country was at Kelsey Creek. The leader there said that the half-breeds would be condemned, and in order to save themselves they had to tattoo their faces. That is why you see a lot of old women with a line tattooed across their cheeks [diagonally from ear to corner of mouth; not actually observed]. From Kelsey Creek it branched out and a lot of dreamers sprang up in their home rancherías.

"At Robertson Creek Xalkom was the first one. He took it up after the Kelsey Creek dance. He pretended that the Indian God had told him to start these things. There is no word for God in Indian, just a designation, like creator. In the old days they confounded God and Coyote [*madumda*]. When the Catholic priests came they spoke of 'our father,' and the maru men used the same words. What complicated things was that the Catholic fathers started coming in at about the same time [as the maru men]. The fathers put on robes in their services, and the Indians adopted the robes. Right now women have funny-looking dresses for ceremonial dances.

"Xalkom built the first big house at Robertson Creek. He preached that a great wind was to come and sweep everything from the earth. So they dug a large hole and covered it with timbers and earth. Inside were two or three galleries around the side walls. Whenever a storm came,

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all the Indians went in there and were afraid. Xalkom prayed to God to spare his people. One man who is still alive and took part in it tells a story that always makes me laugh. Two of them were working for a white man pitching hay. A big wind started to blow. They had been told to go to the big underground house whenever a storm came up. Those two men set out for the house that was about a mile away. On the way they stopped to sing and dance as they had been told to do. Now they tell that as a big joke. That is why things died out. The dreamers told big lies that never came true.

"Xalkom was the chief dreamer for about ten years. When he first began, the Robertson Creek people invited the people from Point Arena, Yorkville, Hopland, and those around Noyo.

"Monk Robertson lived during Xalkom's time. When Xalkom died Monk became the chief dreamer. In Monk's time they were beginning already to give up the underground dance houses. Monk built the dance house that is standing now in Ukiah Ranchería [octagonal, lumber, completely aboveground]. He gave only a few Maru dances there. After that the priests held mass in it. Lately they used it just for good times. When the world did not end, the dreamers said it wasn't ripe [i.e., ready] yet. Then the Indians in time lost confidence altogether, so that young fellows made fun of Monk until he was so angry he wanted to fight. He got things all mixed up. He heard the Catholic fathers talking about the devil with a long tail, so Monk began preaching about "our father" with a long tail [*yake*, our; *mae*, father; *baa*, tail; *xul*, long]. He was a great fraud. He had some new dreams and got four or five old men in the dance house to make dance vests decorated with abalone shells. All the time they were working he talked to them. He said the creator lived up above four heavens. [This seemed utterly ridiculous to the informant.] The Indians always insisted that these dances were their salvation. They never preached that you should not steal, but that you should dance. They gave the people new songs and claimed that they had dreamed them. Those dreamers had good imaginations and thought out some beautiful dresses and motions for their dances.

"The maru died out in Ukiah Ranchería in about 1894. Monk was the last one to give them. When people made fun of him here he gave up and went to Sulphur Bank, where he preached until about ten years ago [ca. 1924]."

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Flag—"All maru dreamers had flags, even Xalkom. They probably got the idea from the soldiers. They got tall, thin poles, painted them in different colors, and stood them up in front of the dance house. These poles were sacred. The center post of the dance house was sacred too in both the old-time religion and in the maru."

Big Head—"The Big Head was a Patwin dance. It does not belong to our people. It was introduced at the same time as the maru religion. The Kuksu used a Big Head headdress, but it was made of buzzard or eagle wings tipped with down. In the old days the Kuksu was nude, his body was painted black, and he wore only the headdress. He was related somehow to Coyote and creator. The Pomo never mixed their Kuksu with the maru religion. In the Patwin Big Head they used sticks tipped with down. Later they were tipped with colored rags. There were two men in the Bole-Maru Big Head dance. One wore the [pincushion type of] headdress and carried a split-stick rattle in each hand. The other wore old-time feathers and carried a bow and arrows in his hands. He danced on the opposite side of the fire from the Big Head. At the end of a set they changed sides. It took two active persons." Women never danced in the Big Head at Ukiah, but the informant knew of this usage at Point Arena.

Dress dance—"This was a Maru dance." (See subsequent description.)

Ball dance—"It came from the east at the same time as the maru religion or a little later. Monk and Xalkom never used it at the Ukiah Ranchería, but the Pinoleville people [Northern Pomo] used it sometimes."

"Picnics"—"They always had picnics after a maru dance at Ukiah, but they never went so far as to make tablecloths for them as they did at Point Arena."

This statement contains a number of interesting points. The informant attributes to the Catholic priests the Bole-Maru concept of God, which is usually rendered "our father" in the Pomo language. He distinguishes between Coyote, who was the old creator-god, and the new supreme being. Also, to the Catholic priests he attributes the use of ceremonial cloth costumes. I should be inclined to minimize this influence. Cloth costumes

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were first used by Lame Bill among the Long Valley Hill Patwin. They show no marked resemblances to Catholic robes but rather to the ordinary white clothing of the period. It is true that crosses were frequently used as decorative elements in Bole-Maru regalia, but old design elements such as diamonds were even more in favor. That flags and flagpoles were entirely inspired by the example of the American soldiery is possible. However, poles and feather banners were used in the Kuksu cult,[102] so that there was also native precedent for their use in the Bole-Maru. The fact that they had sacred connotations implies that they may have been equated with the pole and feather banners of the old cult. The informant definitely denies any adaptation of the Kuksu to the Bole-Maru. He differentiates between the feather Big Head of the Kuksu cult and the rod or pincushion Big Head of the Bole-Hesi. The latter form of headdress he considers, quite rightly, a Patwin introduction. Women dancers in the Bole-Hesi and the Ball dance were not accepted by Ukiah dreamers.

In 1872 Powers visited the Robertson Creek Ranchería. He noted a "unique kind of assembly house," which was doubtless the large Earth Lodge cult type. The poles supporting the roof were "painted white and ringed with black, and ornamented with rude devices." He speaks also of "four officials connected with the building who are probably chosen to preserve order. . . . They wore black vests trimmed with red flannel and shell ornaments." These are doubtless Bole-Maru costumes that have been met with elsewhere. He describes a ceremony that he believes was a mourning service for a chief recently dead. In it "an old man and a young woman who seemed to be priest and priestess" presided. The first dance of the ceremony seems to have been the Maru or Dress dance of the Bole-Maru cult. As it is a vivid and detailed description of an eyewitness, it is quoted in full. Particularly good is Powers's description of women's regalia:

> One end of the room was set aside for the dressing room. The chief actors were five men, who were muscular and agile. They were profusely decorated with paint and feathers, while white and dark stripes covered their bodies. They were girt about the middle with cloth of bright colors—sometimes with variegated shawls. A feather mantle hung from the shoulder, reaching below the knee, strings of shell ornamented the neck, while their heads were covered with a crown of eagle feathers.

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They had whistles in their mouths as they danced, swaying their heads, bending and whirling their bodies; every muscle seemed to be exercised, and the feather ornaments quivered with life. . . .

The five men were assisted by a semicircle of twenty women, who only marked time by stepping up and down with short step; they always took their places first and disappeared first; the men making their exit gracefully one by one.

The dresses of the women were suitable for the occasion. They wore white dresses trimmed heavily with black velvet. The stripes were about 3 inches wide, some plain and others edged like saw teeth. This was an indication of their mourning for the dead chief in whose honor they had prepared that style of dancing. [I doubt this interpretation.] Strings of Haliotis and Pachydesma shell beads encircled their necks, and around their waists were belts heavily loaded with the same material. Their headdresses were more showy than those of the men. The head was encircled with a bandeau of otters' or beavers' fur, to which were attached short wires standing out in all directions, with glass and shell beads strung on them, and at the tips little feather flags and quail plumes.[103] Surmounting all was a pyramidal plume of feathers, black, gray, and scarlet, the top generally being a bright scarlet bunch, waving and tossing very beautifully.[104]

HOPLAND (CENTRAL POMO)

The history of the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru in Hopland closely paralleled that of the Central Pomo in Ukiah Valley. Again, Salvador was the first messenger and again a deep earth lodge was built. People assembled on the Hopland Reservation from Cloverdale (Southern Pomo), Stewarts Point (Southwestern Pomo), Point Arena (Coast Central Pomo), and Yorkville (Northern Pomo). A Hopland dreamer called Sam gave successful Bole-Maru ceremonies during the same decade (ca. 1873–883) that Xalkom was directing the Ukiah cult. However, Sam had no successor who paralleled even Monk Robertson's feeble efforts at Ukiah. Catholic priests on the Hopland Reservation probably did much to divert and discourage the Bole-Maru. From about 1900 to 1920 a woman curer was active on the reservation who was considered to have Bole-Maru powers, although she did not give cult ceremonies. This indicates that Bole-Maru ideas had not died out com-

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pletely with Sam's death. The activities of this woman curer will be discussed in a subsequent section on Bole-Maru and curing (p. 236).

Details of the Hopland affair were given by the son of the first Bole-Maru leader. He was thoroughly catholicized and held the cult in some contempt. His attitude was revealed when he spoke of the persistence of the Bole-Maru at Stewarts Point: "Those people at Stewarts Point are just ignorant savages. They never go anywhere or learn anything. They are like the Hopland Indians of forty-five years ago."

[SAM ALLEN] "At Sulphur Bank there was a family of three brothers. One was a fine-looking man. He never went to work like the others, he just stayed home, but even so he died. One of the other brothers went away after that. He felt badly. He went east someplace and there he became a dreamer. [Does this refer to Awutu, the first dreamer of Sulphur Bank?] When he came back he told the people there was a God somewhere. In those days the priests had not visited all the people yet. Persons were sick and he cured them. People thought he had power and believed him. He said the world was to end. When the world ended all must gather together to die. They built a dance house for this at Sulphur Bank. It was so big everybody could get in it at the same time.

"Salvador and another man, called Bourke [?], brought the word to Hopland. Salvador belonged somewhere near Lower Lake. Bourke came from Sulphur Bank. Salvador was the chief one. He spoke Spanish because the Spaniards used to take men down south to work for them. The man at Hopland who could speak Spanish best interpreted for Salvador. Some of our people went to Sulphur Bank [Kelsey Creek?], and when they came back they built a big dance house at Hopland. Indians came to Hopland from Cloverdale, Point Arena, Stewarts Point, and Yorkville. When the Cloverdale people started north to Hopland they burned all their property, their houses, everything [cf. Wappo]. They thought they would never need them again. The people who came here stayed less than a year. They danced all the while they were here; only some of the men went off to work. The dead were supposed to be coming from the east. There was a big band of them who were supposed to be only forty or fifty miles away. On the day they arrived the world was to end. They said it would burn up. When that happened all were to die dancing in the

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sweat house with all their relatives. People who could not crowd into the house camped close to it. They cried because the world was going to end soon. They cried for twenty or thirty minutes; then singers and dancers back of the middle post started to perform and everyone felt happy for a time. Then people would preach and people would feel badly again.

"After that the dreamers started. They preached to be good. Dreamers always doctored and cured people in some way so that people believed in their power. Dreamers would predict certain things, and three times out of four or five they would come true, but they always predicted troubles, never good luck. My father used to cure four or five people a year. [Denied by other informants.] He built a round sweat house for his dreaming. He had new dances and songs that had never been heard before. I don't know much about these things because I went to the Catholic school on the reservation here."

The account just given was substantiated by other informants. Besides, they gave supplementary details concerning the first dreamer, Sam:

[JEFF and CECELIA JOAQUIN] "When Sam started to be a dreamer he had his own dance house. It was about two feet deep and the walls were upright pine logs. In front he had two flagpoles. No one was allowed to touch them. That meant death. He had watchmen by each one to guard them day and night. North of the dance house he had a small tule house for himself. It was his office. When he gave [a Bole-Maru ceremony] he had running races start from there. First four men raced and then four women. After that the people went in the dance house. They went in barefooted and no one was allowed to wear watches, rings, or any valuables like that. In the dance house they put on their costumes. When he first started Sam had women make dresses with crosses, stars, and moons on them. They hung Haliotis pendants on these designs. Men had velvet vests with the same designs. His flags had the same designs too. He dreamed that he saw that flag in heaven. First they danced with these dresses. They circled the fire four times in one direction and four times in the other. After that they could dance the old common dances. At the end they had a Ball dance with eight balls. There were four men and four women. They did not wear the costumes for this. No one was

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allowed to watch it from outside the dance house. He never used the Big Head dance. After the Ball dance they spread a tablecloth on the ground and had a picnic. The dancers were not allowed to drink water all the time they had been dancing. After eating they smoked Indian tobacco in the dance house. Sam preached about the world ending. All night they put on these dances and preached. They did this every night until Sam died. His maru powers came as a punishment for being wicked. God made him do these things for his sins."

In Sam Allen's account we see that Hopland accepted the Sulphur Bank version of an autochthonous origin for the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru. Therefore Hopland Indians did not distinguish clearly between the two phases of the modern cults as they occurred in Sulphur Bank. Yet Hopland informants did distinguish in their own case between the imported doctrine of an imminent destruction of the world, which would occur when the dead returned, and their own subsequent development of the Bole-Maru. The ceremonies of the latter cult show three slight variations from those of other rancherías: (1) the use of a separate tule house by the dreamer, (2) the preliminary races, and (3) the use of the Ball dance but not the Bole-Hesi. The Ball dance often was adopted later than the Bole-Hesi. The informants just quoted made the comment that the "Hopland Ranchería was never very strong for the maru because we had a Catholic church on our reservation to believe in."

YORKVILLE (CENTRAL POMO)

No informant native to this area was found. However, from other sources it was learned that the Central Pomo from Yorkville went to Ukiah and Hopland during the furor of the Earth Lodge cult.

Of subsequent Bole-Maru developments in the vicinity of Yorkville only one statement was obtained. It came from a Southern Pomo who had lived in the community for some years. He remembered only one local dreamer, whose activities are given below.

Billy Doc

[PEDRO MARIANO] "Billy went to Ukiah when the world was to end. He became a maru man after coming back. When he first started he

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went nine days without food. A dreamer can't eat when he is dreaming. He had an old man in the sweat house with him during that time. He dreamed that he would learn to read and write through his dreaming power. He saw himself with pencil and paper. He really did learn to read and write that way, but after he had learned he lost interest in dreaming. He dreamed too that stars would fall between Yorkville and Whitehall [?]. As he rode one night with some men, a star fell at his horse's hoof, just as he had said. People believed in him.

"Billy had dresses for women and vests for men. I bought one of Billy's vests for twelve dollars. It had a red cross on the shoulder. There were clam-disk money and abalone plaques hung all over the front of it. He did not use the Big Head or Ball dance, but he had a women's Dress dance. Twelve or fifteen women dressed up and stood in place around the fire. They waved their arms in time to Billy's song that went with it.

"Billy put on a dance at Cloverdale [Southern Pomo]. He used a flag there, but at Yorkville he didn't have one. At Cloverdale he dreamed to have a shinny game and he made people play. He had a nice song for it. He never did that at Yorkville."

CLOVERDALE (SOUTHERN POMO)

The Cloverdale and Dry Creek groups of Southern Pomo participated in the Earth Lodge cult first and primarily at Kelsey Creek. There also seem to have been some Southern Pomo from Cloverdale at Hopland a few months later when those Central Pomo built their deep earth lodge. The Cloverdale people were notified of the Kelsey Creek affair by Salvador, the messenger from the Lower Lake ranchería (Southeastern Pomo). He had already carried the news to the Central Pomo of Ukiah and Hopland. Many of the Southern Pomo who went to Kelsey Creek stayed long enough to learn of the Bole-Maru. When they returned to their own territory, they accompanied the Wappo group (q.v.).

[PEDRO MARIANO] "Salvador was the messenger who came to Cloverdale. He was a wonderful talker. He spoke Spanish. He had dug for gold for over ten years over in the Sacramento Valley. He said the world was to turn over, to end. He told the people to go to Kelsey Creek in Lake County.

"At Kelsey Creek there were people from San Rafael [Coast Miwok],

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Nicasio [Coast Miwok], Tomales [Coast Miwok], Healdsburg [Wappo], Geyserville [Wappo], Napa [Patwin], Stewarts Point [Southwestern Pomo], Dry Creek [Southern Pomo], and Cloverdale [Southern Pomo]. The Point Arena, Fort Bragg, and Yorkville Indians went to Ukiah.

"The man who started all this was Jim [Batci] from either Lower Lake [Southeastern Pomo] or Sulphur Bank [Southeastern Pomo], but he preached at Kelsey Creek. There were three brothers and a sister. The sister died. Batci dreamed that he went out to look for her. He went east to the ocean but he couldn't cross, so he went away crying. He went up to a high mountain and there he saw his sister. She asked why he had come. He said he wanted to die. She said he would have to go back because he wasn't dead yet. His sister told him all the things he preached to the people. She told him the world would end. She said to build a sweat house so that the water would roll over it when the flood came to wash away this world. The water would not come into the big earth houses.

"Batci was a short, young fellow at this time. He was good-looking and had money because he had been a gold miner like Salvador. He wore a stovepipe hat and a net veil over his face that hung to the tip of his nose when he preached to the people. He stood there in the dance house with three or four other big men. We were all afraid of him. The chief at that time was Tolewok. Batci preached all night. People went crazy about dreaming, but the world never ended.

"The maru men said not to eat beef or sheep. I ate some and my father drove me away. They said that those who ate those two kinds of meat would turn into animals and wouldn't come back to life.

"People from Cloverdale stayed at Kelsey Creek for about two years. When the Wappo left, I and my people went with them. Jack Harrison was their leader.

"The dance house at Kelsey Creek was about eighty feet around and about twelve feet deep. They built a house with a gallery at Upper Lake, near Ukiah, and at Sulphur Bank. They all helped each other build these houses. At Kelsey Creek, Batci used the Big Head dance but not the Ball dance."

After the Cloverdale group returned to their own territory they seem not to have developed dreamers or a Bole-Maru cult of their own, although they were cognizant of the movement in other areas. An infor-

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mant gave the following reasons for the absence of the Bole-Maru at Cloverdale.

[PEDRO MARIANO] "Padre Lucian came to Cloverdale. He was barefooted and bareheaded. He never cut his hair. He looked just like a woman. Captain Charlie wanted to kill him, but my father wouldn't let him. Padre Lucian was against the maru religion. Later Padre Lucian went to Stewarts Point where the Indians killed him [?]."

The only Southern Pomo dreamer seems to have been Jack of Dry Creek. His efforts seem to have received very little encouragement.

Jack of Dry Creek (Kia Yaman)
(Ca. 1875)

[PEDRO MARIANO] "He built a common dance house aboveground with a drum in it. He said the world was to end. No one was to wear gold or silver. He made all the girls give up their rings. Jack took his word to Stewarts Point, and I saw him afterward with gold rings he had taken from the people there. Captain Charlie, a Cloverdale chief who lived at Dry Creek, and Jack Harrison, the Wappo dreamer, made him stop dreaming because he was no good. Captain Charlie said they had been fooled once, and that was enough.

"His main dance was the Ball dance. He had twelve balls with a red cross on each one. A line of men faced a line of women across the fire and tossed the balls back and forth. The women wore red dresses, but the men had no special costumes. He was the first and only man to use a Ball dance around here.

"Jack lasted for two or three years. He was killed by a white man between 1880 and 1890."

POINT ARENA (COAST CENTRAL POMO)

Among the coast Pomo there are at present two centers of Bole-Maru activity: Point Arena (Central Pomo) and Stewarts Point (Southwestern Pomo). Previously, Boonville (Northern Pomo) seems also to have had its cult, but there are no Indians left in that region now. Most of the coastal belt received the Earth Lodge cult at Robertson Creek, south of Ukiah, or

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at Hopland, where they were invited to await the end of the world. According to one informant, the world was to be destroyed by an earthquake. Another said, "The world was to drown." This lack of agreement on the nature of the world catastrophe is characteristic of the whole Pomo area. The Indians were all badly frightened. "We danced day and night. We had to do something to keep alive."

When the coastal Pomo returned to their own rancherías they developed versions of the Bole-Maru. The cult development at Point Arena was gotten in some detail. Although this ranchería was relatively isolated and had features peculiarly its own, its history is undoubtedly representative. Despite their isolation, some members of the rancherías were accustomed to pick hops annually in the vicinity of Hopland and Ukiah, and there they undoubtedly came in contact with other Bole-Maru developments. Today Point Arena and Stewarts Point have a reputation for strictness in giving their dances and for hostility toward strangers, even Pomo, who are not reverent. The dreamers are given below with approximate datings.

O'Neil (Tepel or Tcayam tcayam)
(1873 or 1875 to 1877 or 1878)

[SEALION WHITE] "When he started dreaming he had a swing put up in the old dance house. He didn't build a new one. The swing was of white man's rope, two or three inches thick. The seat was a round stick painted with red stripes. Some eight or ten people could swing on it at once, and one man pushed them.[105] There was no song or dancing with it. He had all the people who came throw arrows into the dirt of the dance house floor. After that, O'Neil stood by the center post and preached. He said the world was not going to end but that the whites would have a war among themselves and kill each other off. He had six flagpoles and flags. The flags had alternate stripes of black and white. All the adults had dream costumes of white material with black crosses. He did not give a Big Head or Ball dance, or any of the old-time dances. He only gave a Maru dance in which women alone participated [compare to Bill of Ukiah]. They came out from the rear of the dance house and formed a crescent between the fire and center pole. There were special dream songs for this dance.

"O'Neil dreamed for only two or three years; then he turned into a

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sucking doctor and gave up preaching because nobody believed in him much. The same spirit that gave him dreams also gave him his powers as a sucking doctor. It was Yakibaea [Our Father]."

George (Kaodem)
1876 or 1878 to 1879 or 1881

[SEALION WHITE] George started dreaming about one year after O'Neil became a sucking doctor. He lasted only three years and then he died. He had four (?) flags with red and black horizontal stripes and dresses with horizontal bands of chevrons. His flagpoles had horizontal black bands. After a person was buried he said that people should dance and wear those dresses for a dance in the dance house. It was the only time they were used. After George died the custom was abandoned. He also dreamed that he should give a Big Head dance. He was the first one to dream that. (The informant knew that the same dance was given by the inland Pomo.) He built a big round house of redwood slabs over a pit about four feet deep. It had a white man's door. It was not painted inside. In his Big Head dance no women participated, although they were allowed to witness it. There was no leader in the dance, just two Big Heads with black and white feather headdress. He never gave a Ball dance.

[SUSIE SHOEMAKE] George started about three years after everyone had gone to Ukiah (i.e., in ca. 1875). He didn't believe in the end of the world. He preached "according to the Bible." (Tom Pike, interpreter, interpolated that Point Arena was isolated and had developed more nearly Christian customs than other rancherías.) George had dresses made for postburial dances. "People are supposed to be buried in their dresses. That is why there are only two left." Men had vests with shells and beads strung on them.

John Boston
(1882 to 1930 or 1931)

[SEALION WHITE] About six years after George started, Boston began to dream, and he kept on until he died two or three years ago. He said the world was going to end in a flood but that he had stopped it with his prayers. He had no cloth costumes, but he did dream a pectoral of

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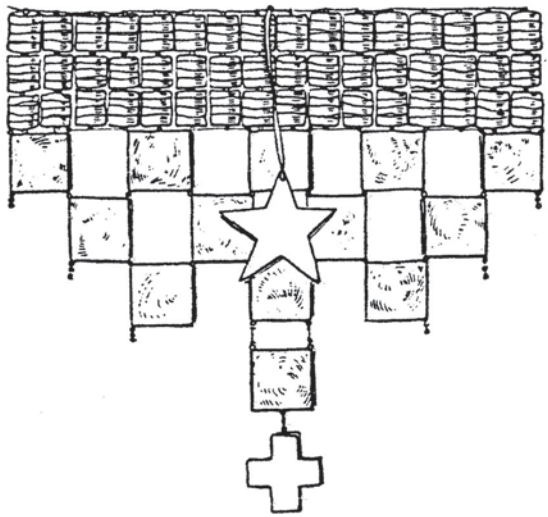

FIG. 17. John Boston and Drew Shoemake's pectoral for Bole-Maru ceremonies at Point Arena (coast Central Pomo). From specimen.

clam-disk beads and abalone plaques. It had an abalone star on it. Drew, who dreamed after Boston, used the same thing except that he added an abalone cross to it (fig. 17). Boston's Maru dance was the Abalone dance (*wil*, abalone; *ke*, dance). Men and women danced it together. They wore the pectoral. They circled the fire four times, then stood in place and danced. This was repeated four times to one song. After the dance they had a feast (usually referred to by informants as a picnic) in the dance house. They had a table and a tablecloth. Boston dreamed the tablecloth. It was white and had black cloth stars on it. The stars meant something, but he kept that a secret. Later in his life he made two Big Heads, but he didn't start with that dance.

Boston was a singing doctor too, but he used dream songs for it. [SUSIE SHOEMAKE] "Boston preached the Bible." He said that when a person died he didn't have to work anymore, everything would be nice and clean and there would be many flowers (i.e., in afterworld). In heaven there was no work, no buying of clothes. Each person at birth had a predestined number of years to live. The world was to end, but not within his lifetime. The end would be presaged by a gradual change of

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weather, colder winters and hotter summers. (Informant believed these changes were occurring now.) He was the first to dream the Big Head (sometime prior to 1897).[106] He had no flags or flagpoles or costumes, just the dream tablecloth and the pectoral worn for his maru dance (*wil*, abalone; *tciukle*, pectoral; *ke*, dance).

Drew Shoemake
(1919–1926)

[SEALION WHITE] He began preaching in 1919 and continued until his death in 1926. He used a cross symbol instead of Boston's star. He built the unexcavated round house of lumber now standing at Point Arena. The center post and door both have black crosses about two feet high painted on them. He added a cross of abalone shell to the pectoral used by Boston. In addition he had costumes for men and women of white cloth with black crosses. He added black crosses to Boston's dream tablecloth. He made four Big Head headdresses. In his Maru dance only women performed. They formed a crescent between the center post and fire. They danced in place. In their hands they held shredded tule tassels about eight inches long with cloth handles on which a black cross was sewed. The women swayed their hands from side to side. "Boston and Drew worked together. If one called a dance the other also gave his Maru dance."

"They both preached that if you didn't believe, you would go to a place of fire when you died. You would be put in a big pot there. While you were on earth you would have bad luck. They preached how to be good, how to get along with people."

[SUSIE SHOEMAKE, wife of Drew] Drew added crosses and heaven flowers[107] to Boston's tablecloth. He had a white flag with eight black crosses on a pole in front of the dance house. When he raised that flag it meant there was to be no drinking, no swearing, no bad habits of any kind in the ranchería. He had a Dress dance (*tumuku ke*). There were about eight women (number indefinite) and a man leader. Sometimes both men and women might dance. They circled the fire eight times, in alternating directions. The leader carried a flag about seven by eleven inches with four black crosses on it. The two women in charge of the feast after the dance also had a similar flag. Drew supervised the making of the

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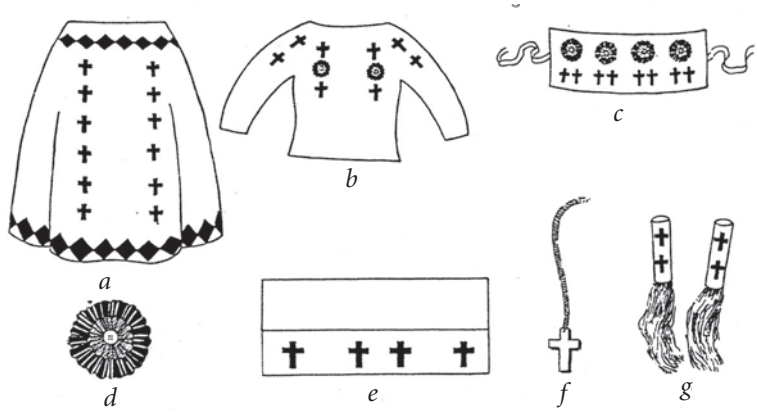

FIG. 18. Drew Shoemake's Bole-Maru regalia; Point Arena, coast Central Pomo. White cloth, black ornaments. a, skirt, same back and front, four rows of six crosses; b, blouse, same back and front, sixteen crosses, four heaven flowers; c, double seat cover for benches around interior of dance house; unmarried persons had smaller covers with only two crosses; d, headgear, about seven inches high; e, heaven flower, pearl button center, two layers of shirred cloth, red and black; f, clam-disk string of 160 beads, abalone cross; g, hand tassels, grips of cloth, whisk of basket grass about ten inches long. From the specimens themselves.

first dress (fig. 18). Heaven was to be a place of flowers, so everything had to have crosses and flowers on it. People had to be buried in their costumes just as in George's dream.

Dreamers have to do everything their dreams tell them. They don't rest well at night. They stay awake most of the time until they have done all their dreams directed. Then they feel relief.

Nancy

(1931–1932)

[SUSIE SHOEMAKE] Nancy dreamed for only one year before she died. She had two Big Head headdresses and was the only local dreamer who used the Ball dance. She had four rubber balls covered with white cloth on which a black cross was sewed. It was "just a fun dance for young people" in which four men and four women stood on either side of the fire and tossed the balls back and forth. There were accompanying dream songs.

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Since the death of Drew Shoemake and John Boston, the future of the Bole-Maru cult in Point Arena rests with Susanna Frank, one of John Boston's daughters. She is at present custodian of the tablecloth, although it is recognized to be community property. In about 1931 she began to dream in her own right. At present she is using Drew's costumes (her father did not originate any), but it is expected that she will soon dream some of her own. She had already dreamed her own dance and songs. Another daughter of John Boston, Annie Bijola, has married an Italian and lives in Bay. She is said to come occasionally to Point Arena to "preach." Both of these recent dreamers are more properly discussed under the subsequent subsection on the Bole-Maru and curing.

There is some disagreement as to whether George or Boston was the first dreamer to introduce the Big Head (i.e., Bole-Hesi) dance. The more reliable informant said that Boston was the first. In all events, there was a lag in the diffusion of this dance to Point Arena. At one time there were eight headdresses in the ranchería, of which two belonged to Boston, four to Drew Shoemake, and two to Nancy. They were crowns of upright sticks or wires on the tips of which were attached feathers or ribbons; in other words, they were the pincushion type used in the Bole-Hesi. Men, women, or both sexes might participate in the dance. As many headdresses as were available could be employed in one performance. The three dreamers who incorporated the Bole-Hesi dance used the same steps but had different songs. "It was a quick-moving dance. There was nothing like it in the old days."

Of the "picnic" or feast that formed so important a part of the Bole-Maru at Point Arena, Sealion White said:

> "Boston was the first to start it about forty years ago [ca. 1890]. He got it in his dream. He had eight women make the tablecloth. When it is washed four women are chosen to do it. We have a picnic whenever we have a big time—at Christmas, Fourth of July, when a person has been sick and gives one to celebrate getting well, or after a Maru dance. The people who give a feast tell the keeper they want the tablecloth. Boston dreamed that it was for everyone to use. They take it to the dance house, and all the children spread it out and march around the fire four times with it. Then it is spread on the table in the dance house. When they

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are ready to eat, each person stands by his place and prays. After that they sit down and are served by women who wear dream dresses. Sometimes two or three servings may be necessary to provide for the crowd. A dance doesn't have to go along with the picnic, but it belongs to the maru religion because Boston and Drew dreamed about it."

STEWARTS POINT (SOUTHWESTERN POMO)

The only remaining center of the Southwestern Pomo is a ranchería called Kashia Reservation, some five miles inland from Stewarts Point. In 1872 the Fort Ross Indians attended the Earth Lodge cult assemblies among the inland Pomo. In about 1874 the Fort Ross group moved to the Haupt Ranch near the present reservation. In 1880 they were joined by another group of Southwestern Pomo that had been on the Porter Ranch near Annapolis. Some twenty years ago (ca. 1914) the group on the Haupt Ranch demolished their dance house and moved to the nearby ridge, where they are still to be found.

The present ranchería is anomalous among California Indian settlements in its close-knit hostility to interference either by whites or Indians. Their solidarity is the direct result of a revival of the Bole-Maru cult within the last twenty years under a "priestess" called Annie Jarvis. Attempts to obtain information from the local Indians on current cult practices were fruitless. Informants were resentful that the existence of the cult and the name of the dreamer were known at all. Guardedly and reluctantly they gave meager data only on Christobal, a minor dreamer who is now dead. The material in this section was secured partly from Stewarts Point informants, partly from white people who had attended dances before the present secretive attitude developed, and partly from gossip on other rancherías. It is presented therefore with reservations concerning its accuracy. In the paragraphs that follow I have assembled such material as I got on the Earth Lodge cult and on the sequence of dreamers.

Earth Lodge Cult

"Salvador carried the message from Sulphur Bank to Hopland. He said that the first dreamer [location unknown] had lain by the side of a grave for two days and the ghost had told him that the world was to end and that the dead were to go to a good place. From Hopland the chief, called

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Tcaialum, carried this message to Point Arena where his relative, Charlie, was captain. The two brought the word to Fort Ross." The Fort Ross Indians then went to join the inland Pomo gatherings. There is some doubt whether they went to Kelsey Creek (Eastern Pomo) and Sulphur Bank (Southeastern Pomo) as well as Hopland and Ukiah. Very possibly they split into various groups or went to different centers in succession. During 1872 they left their own territory from early spring until fall. Among the Lake County Pomo they claim to have learned for the first time the Lihuye, Toto, Gilak and Oho (fire) dances, which were at that time recent importations into Lake County. This substantiates William Benson's claim that the dances were new in the Pomo area shortly before the Ghost Dance furor. Maria Meyers, a Stewarts Point informant, said they had been brought to Lake County from Napa (Patwin or Wappo) by two women, Juana Loretto and Josefa.

After their return in the fall of 1872, the Fort Ross Indians remained in that ranchería only two years. In 1874 they moved to the Haupt Ranch, where their first Bole-Maru man arose.

Christobal (Kotce)
(1874–1900)

"He dreamed that the world was not going to end. He said that even if it did, it would end everywhere at once so people might as well stay home. We have never believed outsiders since then. We believe only our way, and it always comes true. Christobal built a round dance house on the Haupt Ranch. He had a flag and flagpole in front of it. On the flag was a large red cross. Every time he dreamed, he put up the flag to show that he was giving a [ceremony]. It always lasted four days. He dreamed dance dresses, who should make them and who should wear them. About six months after he dreamed the dance dresses, he dreamed the Big Head dance [*tsina*, head; *bate*, big]. He never dreamed a Ball dance. All these dreams came from God [*yake*, our; *apin*, father]." In the Big Head a pincushion type of headdress seems to have been used. There were four Big Head dancers and no leaders, according to informants, who were, however, chary of giving details. The same informants said that Bole-Maru dreamers were called *yompta*. This word is used ordinarily among the Pomo to denote a member of the Kuksu society. Its generalized meaning is extraordinary.[108] The

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Stewarts Point informants denied that they had used this term prior to the introduction of the Bole-Maru.

Big José
(1880–?)

Christobal was the only dreamer whom the Stewarts Point informants would discuss. White people in the vicinity said that he was a minor character and that the first dreamer who came to their attention was Big José. He moved to the Haupt Ranch from Annapolis in about 1880. He was the leading figure there until he went to Yorkville an indeterminate number of years later. In his dances women wore white skirts on which black stripes of cloth and abalone plaques were sewn. Big José is said to have used two or four Big Head dancers flanked on either side by a row of women dancers. If the information is correct, this is an unusual form of Big Head dance in the Bole-Maru among the Pomo.

Concerning José, the Southern Pomo informant, Pedro Mariano, stated:

> "He went to Ukiah when a big sweat house was being built there. Then he went back to Stewarts Point and became a maru man. He had dresses for the women and used the Big Head dance. He said all were to marry, little children, widows, everybody. If they weren't married they would go below when the world ended. He came to Yorkville when I was there but he didn't give dances. Then he went to live in Hopland, where he died."

The lesser dreamers whom the white people mentioned were Humbolt Jack and old Anton. Until the time of his death, Humbolt Jack was the chief leader of the cult after Big José's departure. The pit of the dance house, which is still to be seen on the Haupt Ranch, is a shallow, circular depression some forty feet in diameter, with a door facing southeast. When the site was abandoned, the dance house was taken down and the sacred center post was either burned or removed to the new location on Kashia Reservation.

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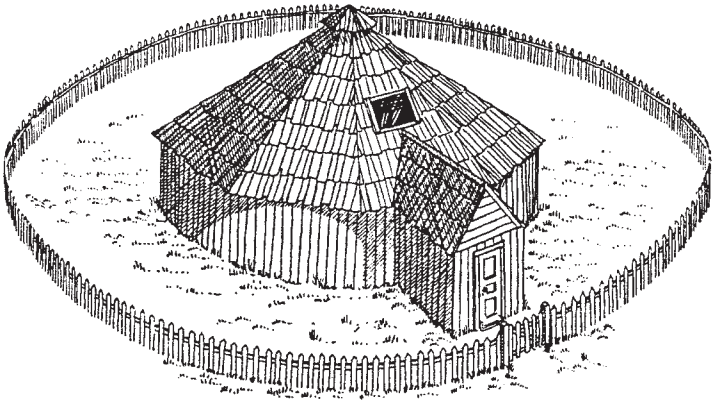

FIG. 19. Dance house for Bole-Maru ceremonies at Stewarts Point (Southwestern Pomo).

Annie Jarvis
(1912 to present)

Annie Jarvis began dreaming two years before the group left the Haupt Ranch for Kashia Reservation. It is said that she lost her voice for a prolonged period when her powers were first developing. On the new site she directed the erection of a dance house (fig. 19). It may be entered only on bare feet. During the ceremonies the center pole is wound with cloth on which "the rising sun, the moon, stars, and crosses are sewn." The interior of the dance house is said to be lined with trunks in which regalia are stored. A Big Head dance is used, and all women participants of the cult are reported to own Bole-Maru costumes. When ceremonies are in progress, six flagpoles are erected within the enclosure around the dance house. A white flag with three black triangles, placed base to apex across the field, is flown from each pole. Black and white are the ceremonial colors now in use. It will be recalled that these were also the colors in Big José's Bole-Maru costumes. At certain times every house in the community has hung over its door a wooden or stuffed-cloth cross suspended in an almond-shaped frame.

Annie Jarvis lives in a house immediately adjacent to the dance house. She avoids ordinary contacts with the community and is seldom seen far

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from her home. She is reputed to cure through dream powers. Recently she has been assisted by Essie Parrish, who married into the Point Arena Ranchería but who still spends most of her time at Stewarts Point. She has not yet called a dance in her own right. Ceremonies are given only when Annie Jarvis has received dream instructions. The content of her harangues is largely moralistic. Intoxicants are strictly forbidden at all times. Members of the cult are not allowed to attend Christian churches. "We are a different nation and we should stay apart." It is said that the Bible plays some part in ceremonies since Annie Jarvis has become the dreamer. A white woman believed that she detected the use of either Spanish or Latin in the ceremonies.

The Indians at Stewarts Point have made a virtue of their isolation and have consciously intensified the group solidarity that their geographical location makes possible. The activities of the group represent not only a survival but a revival of such customs as survived. I feel that much of the situation is directly attributable to the forceful personality of their leader, who had the vision and opportunity to consolidate this isolated remnant of Indian life. The chief of the community was elected in recent years without possessing hereditary rights to office. His functions seem to lie in the relatively unimportant field of lay affairs. The coherence of the social life centers in the Bole-Maru, and in this realm Annie Jarvis represents the ultimate source of authority.

BOLE-MARU IDEOLOGY

In the course of field work one receives a distinct impression that, at least within the last three generations, the religious ideology of the north-central California Indians is vague, confused, and contradictory; in other words, it seems not to have been formalized and categorized for the social group as a whole. An occasional individual may attempt an ordering of religious concepts, but that seems to be a purely individual feeling for clarity and system which has not the validity of "type" for the group as a whole. In my opinion, the formalization that ethnographers in the area have presented is based on such occasional individuals. None such was found among the Pomo. Nevertheless, there was a sufficient number of casual and isolated statements to permit one to portray certain of the general attitudes that

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may be considered the underlying ideology of the Bole-Maru cult among the Pomo.

Specific beliefs, such as a flowery afterworld and a more sharply crystallized concept of the afterlife in general, seem very definitely to be wrapped up with the Bole-Maru religion. Among other things, the Bole-Maru seems to have opposed the old Pomo custom of cremation and urged burial instead. The following quotation gives some details on the subject.

> [PEDRO MARIANO; Southern Pomo] "Batci, who was the head dreamer at Kelsey Creek, said that they should not burn people but bury them. If you burn them they won't come alive again, but the body comes to life again in heaven if it is buried. The last burning at Cloverdale was for my mother just after we got back from Kelsey Creek [i.e., ca. 1875]. My father died about ten years later, and he was buried. Batci said that we should say good-bye to the dead people. They walked around the grave, and as each person passed the body he turned a circle in place. Batci said they had to sing and give a dance at funerals; not to cry."

Although the abandonment of cremation was inevitable in the acculturation of the Pomo, it is interesting that the Bole-Maru should have assisted the change by giving it native sanction.

The prophetic significance of dreams received greater emphasis, and informants repeatedly attempted to explain their attitude toward them by saying, "It is just like the Bible." This is a statement that would undoubtedly have been applied to the body of religious myths in the preceding religious system of tribal initiation and secret societies. With the Bole-Maru there rapidly became associated a series of vague ethical concepts that seem most frequently to have taken the form of injunctions by the dreamer against killing, stealing, quarreling, drinking, and swearing. The last two prohibitions are distinctly borrowed from white ideas of behavior, but the first three were old precepts. The general procedure of admonishing the people was the ancient prerogative of Pomo chiefs and priests, which quite naturally was assumed by the dreamers when they became the new leaders.

The source of authority upon which the new dreamers drew is invariably called "our father."[109] This "spirit" is vaguely anthropomorphic and

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seems on the whole unlocalized beyond the fact that he is "above." His chief function seems to be the inspiration of dreamers. The vague anthropomorphic character of "our father" sets him off in the minds of some informants as a new deity, while others do not differentiate so sharply. On the whole, the Bole-Maru cult and the more intimate contacts with Christianity have tended to identify "our father" with the Christian God. Informants are much inclined to use the English word *God* when speaking of these matters, and when asked for the native term they give "our father," never Coyote or Marumda.

[CHARLIE GUNTER; Eastern Pomo] "Maru men were prophets for 'father above.' Marumda was Coyote. He was different from 'father above.'"

[GEORGE PATCH; Southeastern Pomo] "Dreaming is just like the Bible. It isn't plain sleep dreaming. Dreamers get sick, faint, do terrible things, before they get their dreams. They preach not to steal, not to drink, not to kill. 'Do good and we shall go to the dance house above.' 'Our father' tells the dreamers these things. He is just like the white people's God."

[CLIFFORD SALVADOR; Southeastern Pomo] "Dreamers all say they dream from God. If they don't do what their dreams say, they will be punished. Marumda [Coyote] is just a story. It isn't true. Dreamers are like the angels coming from heaven to Abraham. The whites put that in the Bible, but the Indians just carry that in their heads. In the beginning there was a story about Coyote and his brother, Kuksu, making this world because there was no place to rest. That creation is just a story. It is different from dreaming. Coyote stories are different everywhere, but the maru God is the same everywhere. No one ever saw God; they just hear him. The maru say dead people are in a different place. All who die go there. When the world ends we shall meet with the dead. If you believe in maru, you go to the dead land when you die. If you don't believe you will go to another place, which is bad. The world has to end and be cleaned out before the dead can come back."

[WILLIAM BENSON; Eastern Pomo] "Maru means to tell a tale. Maru men believe in God, who appears to them in different forms, sometimes human, sometimes as a woman [*sic*]. They call him *waimai*. They don't speak of old-time Marumda. They leave him out, but I guess it means about the same thing."

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[BILLY GILBERT; Eastern Pomo] "The word for God in our language is *maru*. In this maru religion, the three dreamers from Upper Lake all preached the same things as Lame Bill. The world was to end someday. Everybody must believe to go to the best place. If you don't believe you will go to the fire. Good Indians must believe in their preachers, just like the whites. A good person, one who doesn't kill, steal, or lie, goes up to heaven like a bird flying up. The bad go to fire. There are two roads forking. The left one goes west, the right one goes north. The right one is a fine, smooth road with flowers along the way and all kinds of good food, like meat, pie, bread, and cake. One man [*xo*, fire; *gauk*, person (i.e., devil)] stands at the divide and tries to make people take the smooth road. That fine road leads to the bad place, where there is gambling and whiskey. Chairs and tables are upset. There is fire all around. The other road is just a common road. It looks untraveled because there is grass growing on it. That is the way to heaven. In heaven everyone is young and wears good black clothes. They don't have any worries. There are no bad men. All is clean, and everybody is friendly.

"Evan Brown talked like Lame Bill for the first seven or eight years. He said the world was just to drop away, not burn or overflow with water. When the world tipped over, all were to drown in the water. After Evan dreamed that way for awhile, he began to dream about giving dances and feasts.

"Jack Walker was awful when he first started. He had songs, and everyone had to go in the dance house and sing them before starting dances. They were just like hymns. After a while he had good dreams to give dances and dinners. These dinners were like giving food away for God. They gave it to all the people who came from other rancherías. Everyone in the home ranchería had to help the dreamer out."

[JOHN SMITH; Northern Pomo] "Maru means to dream something. Indians always dreamed, but this maru is new. God gives the dreams to the maru dreamers."

[SEALION WHITE; coast Central Pomo] "'Our father' isn't just like a man. He is more like a spirit. He isn't anywhere in particular. It is just like white religion. The Indians know there is someone above who created them. When Indians die they go to a place of flowers. Going to a good place started with the maru religion. Before that they never

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said what happened to the dead." (For further comments on the coast Central Pomo concept of the afterworld, see Point Arena data on Drew Shoemake, p. 225.)

[SUSIE SHOEMAKE; coast Central Pomo] "Dreamers work with power gotten from *yakibaea* [our father]. Old-time curers also got power from *yakibaea*, but in the old days he was Coyote. He isn't Coyote anymore. He is like a man. Dreamers see things as in a looking glass. They see right through people and their thoughts. Common people don't know about these things."

Loeb says on this general subject: "Some unknown person or possibly someone who has recently died appears in the dream as a messenger from Marumda and teaches the dreamer. On the coast, Coyote was supposed to have been the beneficent creator in former days. The modern maru dreams, however, do not come from Coyote, but from the 'Father in Heaven.' The person who tells about the dreams says that he saw God in the form of a mist, and that he talked by means of the wind."[110]

Some dreamers did make the association between "our father" and Coyote, but it cannot be generalized. It is probable that with the growing influence of Christianity the concept of "our father" is being divorced more and more from the Marumda or Coyote concept of older days, and attempts to bridge the gap between the old mythology and the newer Christian influences are becoming rarer.

BOLE-MARU AND CURING

The manner in which the Bole-Maru dreamers among the Pomo have assumed curative functions is a complex subject whose problems can only be indicated in the following paragraphs.

Freeland has made a preliminary statement of the situation:

Of late years, since the introduction of the maru cult . . . around Middletown, Sulphur Bank, and Manchester, the maru priests have practiced as doctors. The informant described their method as "a sort of faith healing." They make no diagnosis of disease, but treat all alike with a single set of prayers which they have dreamed, addressed to Marumda under their own name of gaidu'yiYal, creator

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of the earth. They do not practice bleeding or sucking, but perform with elaborate motions, accompanying with cocoon rattles and split sticks the song which they sing to gaidu'yiϒal and spirits which they see in dreams. The cure is ended with a big feast given by the family. The maru do not fast. They sometimes charge five or ten dollars. By Indians of the old school, they evidently are not considered a very reputable crew.[111]

Loeb, who drew his material in part from Freeland, adds that the maru "are not only dreamers and leaders of ceremonies, but they engage in healing the sick to a much greater extent than the yompta (secret society members) ever did."[112] The implication of this statement is that Bole-Maru curing is in part a transfer from the Kuksu cures.[113] Although none of the specific features are comparable, still the concept of the leader of a cult who functions as a curer is present in both. The feast, which Freeland and my informants report as terminating maru cures, is reported by Loeb as the most common form of vow that patients made when treated by the old outfit doctors.[114]

The statements made by various informants concerning the relationship between the Bole-Maru and curing are given herewith.

[CLIFFORD SALVADOR; Southeastern Pomo] "In Lower Lake and Sulphur Bank maru dreamers were never curers."

[WILLIAM BENSON; Eastern Pomo] In the course of discussing Elvy Patch, a maru woman from Lower Lake, Benson said, "She started as a power doctor,[115] that is, she smoked herself into a trance and then sucked. About five years after she married she started to be a maru. Now she keeps up both the power doctoring and the maru."

[BILLY GILBERT; Eastern Pomo] "Dreamers are not doctors. They just help for little sicknesses like headaches and rheumatism. They have no power for big sicknesses. The dreamer takes his own special split-stick rattle that is all painted and decorated. He presses it four times on the person where the pain is. Then he says 'pfu' and whisks the pain away."

[NANCY MCCOY; Northern Pomo] "Anyone who was sick could be doctored by going to a Dream dance. The dreamer's song would help them even when no dance was being given. Their dream power did a person good."

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[JOHN SMITH; Northern Pomo] This informant gave the clearest classification of curers among the Pomo. It throws light on both specific and general aspects of the situation. Data explanatory of the first two categories listed below have been deleted because of full descriptions by Freeland and Loeb. "There are four kinds of doctors: (1) Singing [outfit] doctors, who sing over patients for four days, give them medicine of rock, rattlesnake, water dog, herbs like poison oak and laurel, all that is bitter. They are least powerful. They were old-time doctors. (2) Sucking doctors smoke and call on ghosts (*tcaduwel*). They use devils, dream, cut, and suck. They are also old-time doctors. (3) Power doctors are new. They came to Clear Lake about fourteen years ago [ca. 1918]. They smoke and go into a trance. They don't know what they say so they need an interpreter. That kind of doctor hasn't started around Ukiah yet. Power doctors can go to another tribe and doctor even if he talks his own language because he has an interpreter to talk English for him. The power doctors I know are Conway of Chico [Maidu], Albert Thomas of Anderson [Wintu-Achomawi], and Elvy Patch of Lower Lake. Elvy Patch has morning star and 'above' [?] as her powers. Power doctors have different spirits from sucking doctors. The new power doctors are stronger than the old sucking doctors. They can cure the same kind of sickness. [Here the informant told of a rapid cure by a power doctor called Johnson, who was summoned from Santa Rosa after singing and sucking doctors had failed.] Power doctors give just one kind of herb, worm weed, either internally as a decoction or externally as a poultice.[116] (4) Maru dreamers are not really doctors. You wouldn't call them if a patient were sick. [This is not generally true.] They don't suck or smoke. But the maru man is a great person among the Indians, and their singing should help cure a person. I have seen a person taken sick at a maru dance, and they will sing and dance over him right there and he gets better."

At Point Arena there are at present two Bole-Maru women, daughters of the old cult leader, called John Boston, whose efforts are usually interpreted in terms of curing rather than pure Bole-Maru religion. Loeb goes so far as to say of the ranchería that "of late years all doctoring has been in the hands of the priests of the maru . . . cult."[117] To trace the rapprochement between curing and the Bole-Maru cult that has been taking place

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at Point Arena, it will be necessary to discuss briefly the local sequence of dreamers from this angle.

It will be recalled that O'Neil began as a dreamer and then forsook it to become a sucking doctor. His successor, George, seems not to have been in any way affiliated with curing. Drew Shoemake "put on dances mostly for a good time, but he did a little curing on the side." He was apparently a singing doctor who used dream songs therapeutically. John Boston "preached religion mostly and his dances went with his preaching. He doctored some." He also was a singing doctor who used dream songs. As one informant said, "Before the maru religion, doctors used old traditional songs for curing, but since the maru religion they use dream songs." Then he went on to say of Annie Bijola, "She has been going about six years. She sings dream songs to cure. She never calls a dance. She preaches about what is wrong with a person; she looks through them and sees what is wrong with them just like an X-ray." Of her sister, Susanna Frank, he said, "She doctors with dream songs too. She dances when others call a maru dance, but she has never called one herself. They are called now mostly to help a person when he is sick. All who have costumes get together and help. If a sick person is able, he comes to the dance. Anyone who can pay for it calls the dance, and if there is enough money they have a feast afterward. That helps the sick person."

Another informant said, "You can cure by maru dream songs. They are different from the maru dance songs. If a person is sick his family may call a maru man to cure him. The maru man cures by singing the songs he dreamed. Maru dancing is no cure, but a sick person may ask for a dance, or he may put one on after he is cured to celebrate. If a sick person asks for a maru dance it may be given during or after the sickness, depending on what the patient wants. Everyone must join in and help. Dreamers work with power gotten from *yakibaea* [our father]. Old-time curers also got power from *yakibaea*, but in the old days he was Coyote."

The Point Arena dreamers seem to be indebted to singing doctors of the old culture in (1) the use of songs and (2) the terminating feast or celebration.

Kato

The introduction of the Earth Lodge cult and the development of the Bole-Maru among the northernmost Pomo at Sherwood were not investigated.

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However, the thread of their history was picked up farther north among the Kato of Laytonville. They received the end-of-the-world message that characterized the Earth Lodge cult among the Pomo. Among the Kato it was a short-lived affair without subsequent developments; in other words, no form of the Bole-Maru grew up among them. Subsequently the tribe participated in the sale of the Big Head dance and its regalia, which was transmitted from south to north on the western side of the Coast Range crest. The later movement will be described separately in part 4. In the following paragraphs only the Earth Lodge phase will be described. The sole informant used among the Kato was Ray Gill, a well-informed man of sixty years, whose verbatim account portrays the situation nicely.

"Before I was born [i.e., before 1873] some kind of spiritualist down south dreamed about the world ending. Word was relayed from Ukiah to Willits, Sherwood, and the Kato Ranchería. So a man from Kato was sent to Sherwood [Northern Pomo] to see what it was all about. Then all the people were called together at Kato Ranchería. They built a dance house, just like the old ones but bigger so it could hold all the people. Everybody danced day and night without stopping for food. They had four guards watching every night outside the house waiting for the flood to come. The rest were dancing inside the house. Those who didn't believe would drown when the world ended and stay dead, but those who believed would come back to life. They danced to save themselves. There were only two white men in the country at that time. They came to watch and asked what it was about. They didn't know if it was true. There was no antiwhite doctrine because there were so few whites. There was a lot of talking. They preached about God [Tcenes, Thunder]. They wanted to go to him and have him save them. They gave big feasts. The Wailaki on the north fork of the Eel River came to see what was going on, and they took the word back [no trace of Earth Lodge cult found among Wailaki, however].

"One night a guard came in and said that the big flood was coming and the world was ending. Everyone took their goods and climbed up to the top of a high mountain near the village. They stayed up there for four nights and four days. Nothing happened, so they drifted back a few at a time and started dancing again. Old Man Doctor [KoteLesh] was

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the leader in all this. He had dreamed ever since he was a boy, but he didn't dream about the world ending. He tried and tried but couldn't dream it. Others tried too, but couldn't. After a while all the old-time people who were smart and had been to school [Kato instructed young in tribal lore] were gathered together one afternoon by Old Man Doctor. Some said the world wasn't coming to an end. They argued all afternoon. That night they danced. One old man, Luningham, preached. He was smart. He said so in his talk. He said they had to find out the truth. So he sent four men southwest and four men north, all painted and carrying sticks, to hunt for Nagaitco [Great Traveler—mythical person]. You have to shout in a certain way under logs, in the brush, in the water. Those who went southwest did not find him, but those who went north located him at Tsebetakut Creek. They brought him a short way and left him in the brush. They went back to camp and said they had found *nokta* [father].[118] All that day nobody went far from camp, they stayed near the sweat house. Everyone was there, women and children. It was the first and only time the women and children were to see Nagaitco. Then four men went out to get Nagaitco and bring him to the sweat house. He circled it to the right four times. We do everything by fours; we are taught that in our schools. Then Nagaitco stood there. He was a big fellow—fifteen or sixteen feet high. He had a top-knot just like a stick that grew out of the top of his head. He never walked, he just spun around. Luningham and some men went up to him and asked him if the world was to end. Nagaitco spun around in one place and then stood still. He said, 'No, the world is not going to end.' Everyone heard him say there was nothing to all that talk. Then Nagaitco spun around and danced some more before he went home. They sang a song for him as he spun off."

This account of the Earth Lodge cult among the Kato is of particular interest because it portrays the Earth Lodge cult without the localized dream features that somewhat overlaid the first movement in the minds of Patwin and Pomo informants. It gives additional proof that a furor of excitement based on the end of the world swept through this portion of California before, and independently of, the Bole-Maru. In addition, the absence of white people in the region had left the Kato culture sufficiently intact

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for the authority of the aboriginal god, Nagaitco, to be still supreme. The only break in the old pattern occasioned by the furor was that women and children were permitted to witness the god. Also, that he was summoned to decide the troublesome issue may have been aberrant. Another point of considerable interest in showing the influence of individual psychology on cultural development was the statement that Old Man Doctor and other dreamers attempted to dream concerning the end of the world but failed. Had there been an individual with sufficient authority, information, and suggestibility among the Kato, it is conceivable that they also would have developed Bole-Maru features. Obviously, it is unsound to speculate too far on the basis of a single informant's statement. However, the Kato seem to offer interesting points of similarity and contrast with the Yurok. Both groups received a Ghost Dance doctrine, both accepted it temporarily, but neither developed a subsequent Dream cult. Among the Yurok one gathered that a Dream cult failed to develop because of an aggressive rejection of the whole idea, whereas among the Kato the dreaming failed to develop because the group, which was small, happened to have no individual capable of keeping the ball rolling along the developmental lines generally followed in the rest of northern California.

Round Valley Reservation

Round Valley has been used for almost eighty years as a reservation into which a variety of north Californian tribes have been imported. They have only partly retained their identity. Most of the material obtained in the region was from Yuki. Undoubtedly, further data could be gotten from the Maidu who are there, particularly on the post–Earth Lodge dreamers. It appears that two early phases of the new religious movements reached the Yuki. One seems to have been the early Earth Lodge doctrine, imported by Santiago McDaniel, a Salt Pomo of Stonyford (see "Wintun and Hill Patwin," p. 135). The other was the Big Head cult described in part 4. There is some uncertainty as to which was the earlier. Yuki informants are not in agreement, but certainly the two movements were not more than a year apart. The Northern Pomo state that the Yuki had already received the Big Head cult when the Earth Lodge cult was taken to Round Valley. I am inclined to believe that the situation was the reverse and that the Earth Lodge preceded the Big Head cult in Round Valley.

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SANTIAGO MCDANIEL'S DANCE

All the Yuki agreed that Santiago McDaniel was the proselytizer at Round Valley. This, however, is not substantiated by the Wintun and Hill Patwin, who know only of his later Bole-Maru dances, which, they say, began not longer than twenty years ago (ca. 1912). Santiago McDaniel himself volunteered no information on the subject, and when finally it was broached directly he denied any knowledge of it.

[LITTLE TOBY and CHARLIE GRAY] "Santiago brought the word to the hop ranch in Round Valley. He never told where he had gotten the message. It was a dead people's dance he put on. He said you must dance to see your dead relatives. If you didn't you would turn into grass, wood, or something; you will have lizards as earrings. Santiago's dance was the old-time Feather dance [*kopa wok*].[119] This message of Santiago was the same one that they were preaching all up and down the Sacramento Valley from Dunsmuir to Cottonwood. People in Round Valley gave up their dances and danced what Santiago brought. Dominic Hastings and Jim Fennell [both Wintun] used to say that the Indians died off because they broke the rules of the old-time strict dances, like the Hesi and Saltu."

[RALPH MOORE] "Santiago dreamed things himself. He got it from no one, and he didn't pass it on. He had a dance in Stonyford before he came to Round Valley. The dance was a fake. They found that out later. They dreamed about a dance and were told what to do. They wanted the Round Valley people to give a feast. If they didn't they would die. Another gift he got from dreaming was to make sticks dance. He wanted to make people pay a lot to see it. They were about as thick as his finger [see next account for description of same miracle]. Santiago lighted a pipe, smoked, and passed it to my father. He smoked, too, then Santiago took the pipe and shook out a fifty-cent piece. 'That is the way to get money,' he told my father. He said, 'If you want to see your dead relatives you should dance.' My father wanted to see his dead mother, so he gave up sheep herding and did nothing but dance. Santiago said, 'You go out and gather wood, go a mile or two. No white man can do that. Build a fire, get it hot, sweat. That is the way we shall conquer the white man. We shall get ahead of them on that. If you dance a lot you will see your

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mother. We shall have a lot of money by smoking [vide supra]; then we are going to be around the white people, marry white women, we shall all be one people. If you do as I tell you, it will happen so. We shall live in good houses. We shall hire white men to work for us. Your wife won't have to cook. White women will cook for you.'

"When Santiago came he had many people with him. Some of the Round Valley people thought he was trying to get something for nothing, so they didn't want to dance. If people didn't believe in the dance, some of the poisoners Santiago brought with him would kill them. They danced four nights, then they invited the people to dance at Stonyford. Many went over there. They expected to see their dead relatives at Stonyford. They stayed about a week, but nothing happened. When they complained, Santiago showed them tricks. He said they didn't dance enough and that was why they didn't see the dead. Finally all the Yuki came home. People made fun of them afterwards. My mother said to my father, 'You just went crazy. You know these things can't happen. Why do you want to believe them?'"

[PONI] "Santiago said he was going to make sticks dance, so I sat right up close to see what would happen. The stick was stuck in the ground and had a lot of feathers hung on it. Santiago danced around it alone. He had a long whistle in his mouth. As he danced he blew on the feathers with his whistle and it made them move. It looked as though the stick moved but really it stayed right there stuck in the ground. But it made people think it shook.

"He preached that Indians would have more money than whites. He brought a dance and feathers, but he didn't bring the Big Head this first time."

These accounts of Santiago's activities at Round Valley reflect, quite naturally, the Wintun and Hill Patwin forms of the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru, which differ in certain respects from the Pomo. For instance, emphasis is primarily on the return of the dead rather than the end of the world. Secondly, miracles are used to compel credence. The stick trick is reminiscent of Homaldo's, although it seems to have been less pretentious. It may be significant in this connection that Santiago McDaniel was almost as reticent concerning Homaldo as he was concerning himself. If

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we may assume that Santiago McDaniel, or whoever it was who converted the Yuki, is indebted to Homaldo, then the earliest date for the conversion of the Round Valley people would be approximately 1873 to 1875. If the Big Head cult were earlier, then the Earth Lodge cult came in about 1875. It is significant that the costumed Bole dance, which Lame Bill probably originated, seemed not yet to be part of the cult. It is apparent that the Yuki were not so completely overwhelmed as were some other groups. Santiago's reticence about the role he played may be due in part to his lack of success, the animosity or ridicule now felt for the doctrine, as well as his overt expressions of hostility toward the whites, which he seems to have expressed more openly than most converts. All this, of course, is over and above the widespread reticence on the part of dreamers in speaking of personal experiences.

There is another account of an affair in Round Valley, which was secured from an Atsuge near Burney who had lived on the reservation as a boy. I am somewhat at a loss to reconcile it with the data from Yuki informants, but I include it herewith in abbreviated form. The informant had a dramatic imagination, which may have invested his account with distorting features. He may be referring to Santiago's visit, concerning which other informants were more prosaic.

[SAMSON GRANT] A prophet came to Round Valley from the south. He told the chief to build a large earth lodge because the dead were to return. He promised to come back later. The lodge was almost finished when the prophet came again. He entered the lodge carrying a staff, walked to the center pole, faced south, closed his eyes, and sang. Then he thrust the staff in the ground, continued singing, beating time on his chest. The song was *yolol mi a kam, wala kene no, esa wita kam*.[120] After this he preached, ordered everyone present to shut his eyes while he talked. He predicted rain in ten days and that it would not enter the lodge even though the roof was unfinished. He said he would return and relate his dream. He ordered a feast for the occasion. He commanded all to shut their eyes again. They heard a noise outside. When they opened their eyes the prophet had disappeared.

In ten days it began to rain slightly. The prophet came with his staff. People gathered in the lodge; the prophet sang the same song; the people

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feasted, but he ate nothing. When they were through he told his dream. In it he went to the top of a certain mountain. It was burning, even the rocks. Two men stood in the midst of the fire. They walked out from the fire unhurt. They told him the dead were to return and to make a large earth lodge. Everyone was to dance that the dead might see them. Young women were to dress in their best. Children were to be painted in red pigment. "Red paint is our love and so is white. Get ready. When you hear something like thunder the dead will be coming. Never put on black clothes. That is no good."

The prophet said that those who were good would live in heaven. He told them to dance to the song which he had been singing and which was given him in his dream. They were to see the dead just once, then not again.

People danced for about one year. The prophet did not return. People decided the dead were not coming and they would see their dead relatives only in heaven. "Some tried to dream for themselves, but they never got very far." There were no flags, poles, or special costumes. (This makes it unlikely that the account refers to a later Bole-Maru dreamer.)

This account adds to previous ones in hinting at a moralistic tone on the part of the proselytizer. That it was indeed present may be assumed from the following statement by the Indian agent on Round Valley Reservation in 1874: "Under the influence of their religious teachers a remarkable change in character and life of nearly the whole tribe has taken place during the last year, in the renouncing, not only of their pagan customs and beliefs, but the vices of gambling, swearing, drinking, etc., learned by contact with so-called civilization."[121]

BOLE-MARU

From the account of Santiago McDaniel's dance, it would appear that he brought to Round Valley only the doctrine of the Earth Lodge cult as it was known in the Sacramento Valley. Subsequently, various Bole-Maru leaders developed or imported dances in which the Round Valley group shared. A list of these Bole-Maru men follows:

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Jeff Davis (Stonyford)

[LITTLE TOBY] He died about 1930. He dreamed songs and danced at Stonyford for Santiago McDaniel. He danced in Round Valley, too. He put on his own dances until he got old, then he gave his feathers to Ralph Moore (q.v.).

These dances were Dream dances (*inomwok*). They are called bole, too. People dream dances and feasts (much emphasis on feasting aspect). There are usually one or two dreamers at a time. The dreams tell them what to do. For a while there may be no dreamer, then someone will start again. They can give their dances either in a dance house or outdoors. Santiago brought the Bole dance here; it started after the Big Head went through. In a Bole you can buy your feathers from someone who knows how to make them, but you have to dream first. A bole man can't sell his feathers, but he can pass them on to another dreamer. If he wants to destroy them he puts them in a sack and throws them into a deep hole in the river.

[RALPH MOORE] Jeff Davis started in about 1887 at Stonyford when he was a young man. After a time he came to Round Valley and danced the common Feather dance first. Then the head dancers asked for a Bole. Jeff had his feathers and songs, so he put it on. There are just certain songs for the bole. In front of the dance house he had a pole twenty to twenty-five feet long with a crown of feathers on top and a yellowhammer headband as a flag. He had two dancers with Big Head headdresses, one large and one small. Three or four women wearing striped dresses danced on either side of the Big Heads.

George McCoy

[PONI] In about 1890 George McCoy came from Laytonville (Kato?). He said he was a bole man and put on a dance with Big Head feathers, the upright crown kind. Jo White was with him and danced too. They held a split-stick clapper in each hand. Just two men danced, a Big Head and a companion. No women participated, although they were allowed to witness the performance.

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Wailaki Tom
(Wailaki on Round Valley Reservation)

[RALPH MOORE] In about 1908 he started to dream. He dreamed dresses, white with vertical red stripes on the bodice and horizontal ones on the skirt. The men wore ordinary feather regalia. Tom was the first to give a bole at Hulls Valley, about nine miles north of Round Valley. The Big Head (i.e., Bole-Hesi?) was never used there. He put on several dances. He had a pole with feathers on the tip and a flag. A spirit gave him the dream. It was not Taikomol (Yuki equivalent of Kato Nagaitco), but some other kind. In 1912 he called a dance. It was to bring back the old customs and show friendship. He put on his striped-cloth dance (*atnoyam wok*, i.e., costumed Bole or Maru dance). It was the dance that started in Pomo country a long time ago. He had a round dance house with a roof of shakes, one center post, and it was entirely aboveground. The fire was between the center post and the entrance. In the rear of the house was a board drum partly underground. Women dancers wore old-fashioned dresses, white with stripes. They put them on in the rear of the house behind a curtain. People came from all over and put on their local dances. The informant took a band of Yuki, who gave the Feather dance.

Ralph Moore (Round Valley Yuki)

[LITTLE TOBY] "He dreamed dances too. Jeff Davis gave him his feathers. He danced at Ukiah two or three years ago, but it was just for hire."

Autobiographical—"I started dreaming in about 1915 [note: after Wailaki Tom's dance at Hulls Valley], but I haven't dreamed for about five years now. [Informant during these five years has supported the Pentecostal Church, but he did not give this as his reason for not dreaming. He is somewhat apologetic to white people about his Pentecostal leanings.] I had started dreaming when Jeff Davis gave me his feathers. That is why he gave them to me. He was an uncle of mine. I dreamed two songs but didn't do anything about them. Jeff read my mind and told me I had dreamed songs. He said I had better give a dance, so I did. At night I sing and see visions that tell me to give a feast. I see people dancing in other places. Then if I don't give a dance something goes wrong with me. When I dream a dance I can always get lots of help from the people. It seems to get into other people, and they are willing

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to dance and make things go easily. If people hire you to put on a Bole dance, the dreamer has to ask the spirit if it is all right."

Sally Bell

[RALPH MOORE] She was brought up in Lake County (Pomo), but she has become bole since she came back here. She stopped in about 1916. Her father and mother were Wailakis. She only put on one dance.

Jim Stevens

[RALPH MOORE] He was a dreamer who lived at Round Valley and put on feasts and dances. He started a long time ago. He lives now in Redwood Valley (Huchnom territory).

Obviously, more material on the Bole-Maru in Round Valley would be desirable. There were in all probability more dreamers than are listed here, and more should be learned concerning the details among them of the Bole-Maru cult, of the Bole dance proper (i.e., the striped-dress dance), of the Big Head or Bole-Hesi history, and so forth. On the whole, the data procured were confused and unsatisfactory. By far the best accounts were of the Big Head cult transmitted through Round Valley, which is discussed in part 4. From this fact I should be inclined to assume that the Big Head cult was the most significant movements to the local group, even though it was short lived.

Wappo

The preceding three sections traced the northern diffusion of the Earth Lodge cult from the Pomo to the Kato and its manifestations on the Round Valley Reservation. A consideration of the Wappo to the south of the Pomo brings us back to the early Earth Lodge cult phenomena in the vicinity of Clear Lake.

EARTH LODGE CULT

The Wappo were invited to Pomo territory when the imminent destruction of the world was anticipated. Both Powers[122] and informants agree in reporting that large numbers of Wappo went to Pomo territory in 1872 to await the catastrophe. The following is an account by two Wappo:

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[MARY ELI and JOHN TRIPPO] Tolewok was a dreamer at Kelsey Creek (actually was local chief). He said the world was to end and everybody was going to die. They should all come together to die. He thought the world would burn up. The half-breeds were to turn into rocks and stumps. After the end of the world everybody was to come back to life except the half-breeds and the white people. The Indians were not supposed to eat meat or grease. They shouldn't eat white men's food, like hogs, beef, and bread. "Mary burned up a new pair of shoes because they were white people's things. I don't see why he didn't tell us to burn up our blankets too."

When the Indians heard this they all came together. They called the Indians from all over. All the Wappo went and all the Indians from the coast. They all came together. This was just when the railroad came to Healdsburg (spring of 1872). The Indians at Kelsey Creek just starved. Then the white people threatened to kill them, so they moved on to Sulphur Bank, but they just starved there too. So a group of Wappo went on to Middletown (Lake Miwok and Wappo ranchería), but no one was there because they had all gone to Sulphur Bank. From there they went back to Alexander Valley (Wappo settlement, place from which informants had started). Before going to Kelsey Creek they had burned up everything they couldn't carry, so there was nothing in Alexander Valley when they got back.[123]

At Kelsey Creek there was a large underground sweat house. It was different from any seen before. "It was so big it could hold about a thousand people." It had a down-sloping corridor entrance oriented eastward, a square smoke hole, and a small rear exit. Around the interior was a raised bench (the gallery described in the section on the Pomo?). There was a cottonwood drum in it, and a man played it by dancing on it. The center pole was painted with white clay and had charcoal chevrons painted on it. Outside was a flagpole and a flag with designs in red, white, blue, and black "like a quilt. That was the first flag we had ever seen like that."

In the dance house everyone danced all the time. They danced naked. Tolewok's spirit told him how everything had to be. "His spirit was a ghost [*ote.u*], the spirit of someone who had died. Only one dancer went out of his mind. He got a song. He sang for Tolewok and worked for him."

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"When we went on to Sulphur Bank everything was fixed up the same way."

[MARION MARANDA] "The maru started in Lake County about sixty years ago. The world was going to come to an end. That is how it started. Everybody from rancherías everywhere went to Sulphur Bank because the world was going to end. The white people were afraid because there were so many Indians together. They thought they were going to make war on the 'whites,' so they wouldn't sell the Indians powder and ammunition, but they let them keep their guns. They got some soldiers in. The Indians made a big sweat house, maybe twelve feet deep. It would hold two, three, or four thousand people [*sic*]. On top the maru man[124] talked to the people, said the world was coming to an end. Everybody went inside, but nothing happened. This happened day after day, nothing happened, but the people began to starve and went home. The maru man claimed only those in the sweat house would be saved. The earth was to burn up, rocks, trees, water would burn just like oil. A lot of people died from hunger. This man had a flag on a pole outside the sweat house. It was half blue and half white.

"That was how the maru started. From there it spread out and more dreamed."

BOLE-MARU

The Wappo seem to have had about six *omewilish*, or maru dreamers. They are listed in their approximate time sequence and with very approximate dating.

Jack Harrison
(1874 [?]–1882)

[MARTHA MCCLOUD] Jack (*holopute oshak*, basket empty) was the first Wappo around Healdsburg to start dreaming. In a dream, his dead uncle came to him and told him what to do. He called a dance and built a special dance house for it. It was a little bigger than the old-time ones. He had feathers hung on strings from the center post to the walls. He had been told to do this in his dream. The center post was sacred. No one could touch it without his permission. In case they took the house down, the post might not be burned or chopped up. It had to be thrown

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in the water. It meant death to burn it or chop it up. It was called *hala*, like other center posts in dance houses. There was no special name for it. It wasn't painted, but the people in Lake County painted theirs. He didn't have special dance costumes or a flag and pole. His best dance was the Lihuye and old-time dances (*hintil olol*). He didn't make up dances. He never used the Big Head (*hututca*). He took his dances to other places, like Stewarts Point (Southwestern Pomo), Ukiah (Central Pomo), Hopland (Central Pomo).

[MARY ELI and JOHN TRIPPO] "Jack [*tsowile*, a black mushroom] led us back to Alexander Valley from Sulphur Bank. He became *omewilish*. He dreamed the world wasn't going to end. We were all going to die one by one, not all together. He dreamed of seeing a fine young man all dressed up. The young man gave him a piece of acorn bread, but when he ate it, it grew bigger and bigger. It was the same with a little water in a mussel shell. He couldn't drink it all. When he left the young man turned into an old, old man with a cane and a white beard. Then all of a sudden he was gone. He was white, not brown like an Indian. This was *omewilish* dreaming. When Jack called a dance he told everything he had seen in his dream. His ghost [*ote.u*] told him that the Wappo were not to burn people when they died. It looked bad. His spirit didn't like it. [Informant made no association between prohibition against burning the center post and cremation. This was made a point of particular inquiry in view of the Wintu data in which the pole was called 'person,' and Lame Bill's term of 'chief' for the center pole.] Jack said he would live only eight years after he began dreaming, and after eight years he died. Some didn't believe, just as some now don't believe the priests.

"Jack had the headman build a dance house. Everybody got together for a picnic. Everyone brought food. The center pole [*hala*] wasn't painted, but it was special. Jack went out and measured it, told how to cut it. He took care of it. Not everybody could touch it. People who cut it down weren't allowed to have meat or water. He took the same care of his flagpole [*tsewo*]. He had an American flag [?] for it." No menstruant could go in the dance house or touch either of the poles. After the dance the flagpole was taken down and hidden in the brush.

Jack danced the Lihuye. It was a common dance, and his songs were no different. He never had the Ball dance or Big Head.

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One of the best accounts of Jack's dances was procured from an old Lake Miwok called Salvador Chapo:

> Maru in Lake Miwok is called *huni*. The first huni man Salvador remembers and the first one who ever
> dreamed was Jack from the Russian River in Sonoma County. "He sent two boys over to invite the people on Putah and St. Helena creeks. Everyone went and stayed four days.
>
> "Jack preached that the dead had only just moved out of this world. He dreamed and saw those who had died. He saw his relatives who had died before him. There is a God up in heaven called *lila wali utel*.[125] This God had been known in the old days. It was nothing new with Jack, but Jack said that God made him dream those things and see people in heaven.[126] Before, people used to suffer when their relatives died. They got sick from feeling badly and never got over it. So God told Jack to teach the people not to feel so badly, to tell them that the dead relatives just moved on to another place and that you would see them again when you died. He told them to be good, be nice, be happy, and dance his dance. He preached all these good things. We shall see our relatives again if we are good in this world. Whoever believes in God and does right will not die in middle life but will live until he is blind and can't walk.[127] Then he will go to the next world. When a person dies he stays buried for four days, then he goes to the top of Mount St. Helena and stays there one night, from there he jumps up from a large flat stone on the mountain and goes south. In *utel yomi* [ghost place] the dead all bunch together and watch for the new dead to come, just like a big dance, or watching a horse race. Jack preached against burning. He said it made it too hard for God to make the dead over again in the next world where they were to live. No Indians were to burn the dead anymore. We [Lake Miwok] had stopped burning before Jack preached. Jack told them he was glad to hear it. Jack dreamed over and over again, and he was bothered. That was why he called the people together and taught them what God had been telling him.
>
> "Jack's dance lasted four days. He used the Lihuye—that was just a common old-fashioned dance. He had a dance house and in front of it a flagpole with a spiral line running around it. His flag was white with

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a blue cross. At the end of four days he took down the flag to show the dance was over. Then everybody sat down at a long table and feasted before going home. He told everyone to have a huni [i.e., Bole-Maru] dance just like his in their own rancherías."

[PEDRO MARIANO] "Jack [Ishin] led his people back from Kelsey Creek after about two years. He never used the Big Head or Ball dance, but he dreamed the Lihuye. He had a willow stick like those used in baskets, which his brother's wife had made for him. On the tip were a few glass beads. He made it disappear in broad daylight in the sweat house. That was his dreaming power. He said the world would not end but that people would die one at a time. He had no flags. He built a dance house about twelve feet deep at Asti [?].

"He was working for a white man hauling hay. He told his brother Jim that he [Jack] would die at four o'clock that afternoon. Jim was making clam-disk money and didn't pay much attention to what he said. At four o'clock Jack went in the brush house and lay on his bed. A whirl of wind came and broke down the house, and Jack was killed right there."

John Trippo (Matasatala)
(1884–1886)

[MARTHA MCCLOUD] "He was the second one to dream. He brought in special clothes and the Big Head headdress. It was the first time the Wappo had it. A little owl [*wodti*] came to him and told him to put up the dance. He had a special house built. The Big Head [*hututca*] is different from the Kuksu because it has sticks standing upright instead of feathers. The Big Head is danced by four men. Two wear the Big Head headdress, and the two others danced with them on the other side of the fire. Those two did everything the Big Heads did."

Concerning the Big Head and the Bole-Maru cult, another informant stated:

[MARION MARANDA] "The headdress used for Kuksu is called Kuksu ho, that is, Kuksu head. It was made of long feathers tipped with white down. The *hututca* is different, it is maru. It is made of long sticks wrapped with rags and with a tuft of feathers on the ends. It started

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when the maru did, when the world was coming to an end. Only four men danced the Big Head [*hututca*]. They put on their feathers in the dance house and then danced up near the fire. When the dance was over they stored the feathers in a trunk. They were strict about handling the Big Head dance." (Probably we are dealing here with the Bole-Hesi as contrasted to the Kuksu.)

The maru dances lasted two, three, or four days depending on the dream. They got songs in their dreams. They sing at the dances. Before the dance they teach the songs to the singers. They are afraid of these songs. To sing them at any time when they aren't dancing makes them sick. To talk about one's own maru is dangerous. It makes a maru man sick and kills him.

Frank Peet (Ta'mo)
(Ca. contemporaneous with John Trippo)

[MARION MARANDA] He started about the same time as John Trippo. He was at Middletown then, but when he came to the Russian River Reservation (north of Healdsburg) he was a Maru man. He gave dances there. He had the Ball dance, just like Rosie Thomas. He had a flagpole too. "If you don't have the pole it isn't Maru." He used the Big Head headdress, but he kept his dream secret.

[MARY ELI and JOHN TRIPPO] Frank was an *omewilish* man. He came from Santa Rosa (?). He danced the Big Head, dreamed songs, and had a flagpole with a flag. He danced an old-time common dance, too. It was just for four women. They wore bands around their heads from which beads and abalone pendants hung over their faces.

Jim Trippo (Tupe yokuma, quail crest trail; Lutcetuku, tobacco pouch)
(1895–ca. 1919)

[MARY ELI and JOHN TRIPPO][128] "He was John Trippo's uncle [father's brother], but he started after John. He had the Big Head in his dance, too. He dreamed it for himself. He was married to Rosie Thomas" (see below).

[MARTHA MCCLOUD] He did his Big Head when she was through with her Ball dance. "It looked as if they worked together with the same *omewilish*. I don't know if they had the same dream and spirit, but they always worked together."

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Rosie Thomas (Sala taope, bead pile middle)
(1895 to present)

[MARTHA MCCLOUD; sister of Rosie Thomas] "Rosie got sick all the time and had fits. At night when she was asleep a dream came to her to put on the dance. She had special clothes. The women wore solid-green dresses. The men wore a strip of green cloth diagonally across their chests. There were four men and four women who danced with balls. There were sixteen balls for these eight dancers. They threw them back and forth over the fire. The balls were made of cloth—green, red, black, and white. They were about the size of a baseball. This was the most sacred dance of all [usually a common dance]. The balls were put in a bag and kept in the house when they weren't being used. No one but the dancers were allowed to touch them. Rosie gave a dance every year in the spring until two years ago [1930]. She gave her dance in a brush fence. She picked her dancers and they practiced ahead of time. She always put up all the food and paid for the dresses.

"Her flag was green with three red balls in the corner [lower right]. The flagpole had four stripes on it and was secret, just like Jack's center post. My husband cut down the flagpole, and he wasn't allowed to drink any water the day he cut it. He brought it in the night of the dance. As he came up close, Rosie blew her whistle. Then they raised the pole and the dance began. The ball dancers had to go without water for one day, too. Rosie didn't have the *hututca* [Big Head or Bole-Hesi], but her husband, Jim Trippo [q.v.], did."

Among the Wappo the development of modern cults parallels the Pomo situation. The Wappo participated in the Earth Lodge cult on Pomo territory. Upon their return, the first dreamer, Jack, seems to have acquired only some of the Bole-Maru elaborations. It will be recalled that the Bole-Maru cult and the Earth Lodge cult were practically contemporaneous at Sulphur Bank, where the Wappo went after the collapse of the Kelsey Creek affair. Jack's claim to be classed as a Bole-Maru leader was that he drew his inspiration for dances and doctrine from dreamed revelations communicated by ghosts. Informants gave conflicting testimony concerning his use of a flag, which one informant overtly stated was diagnostic of the Bole-Maru cult. It is probable that he possessed one. However, the

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Bole-Hesi and Ball dance were introduced later and probably were inspired by Pomo example. They represent the same cultural lag recorded for the coast Pomo. The Big Head is the Patwin Bole-Hesi, to judge from the dance formation and the "pincushion" headdress, which was stated to be different from that used by the Wappo Kuksu impersonator. It is interesting that Jack's doctrine reflects the general attitude that developed after the failure of the Ghost Dance prophecies—the crystallization of concepts concerning afterlife, communication with the dead, and a modification of mourning. Also, his influence in abolishing cremation is an example of how emotional content was injected into the diffusion of a trait already known to the Pomo and Lake Miwok.

Middletown Ranchería

It seems desirable to consider the situation at Middletown geographically rather than tribally. Middletown is located in Coyote Valley, which was originally Wappo territory. However, after 1872 the Wappo, Lake Miwok, and even one Coast Miwok of importance were all present in the valley.

The best account of the Middletown development came from an old Lake Miwok named Salvador Chapo. Of the Pomo Earth Lodge cult in 1872 he said:

> "Jim [Batci] and Jack Grant called people from all the rancherías to Sulphur Bank. They weren't huni [Bole-Maru] men, but to the north was a huni man who preached that the world was coming to an end and that everybody was to stay together in one sweat house when that happened. I never went to Sulphur Bank, but a lot of my people did and so did the people from Russian River."

Salvador Chapo then went on to enumerate the various Bole-Maru leaders he remembered. The influence of Jack Harrison, a Wappo, has been discussed in the preceding section. He seems to have been the first dreamer of importance known to the informant. The next one was Tom Smith, a Coast Miwok. A former wife among the Southwestern Pomo sketched Tom Smith's earliest contact with the Ghost Dance and Bole-Maru.

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Tom Smith

[ROSIE SHEARD] He went with the people from Fort Ross to Lower Lake. He stayed there all summer and finally returned with the same group to Fort Ross. He then went on alone to the Russian River. In approximately 1875 or 1876 he began dreaming. He built a dance house on the Russian River, but there were very few Indians left in the vicinity to participate in his ceremonies. He then went to Stewarts Point and Middletown to give dances. In both of these rancherías he had a wife and children. His last dance was given at Stewarts Point as late as 1921 or 1922. At this time he no longer owned regalia, but in his earlier dances he had used both the Costume dance and the Ball dance.

[SALVADOR CHAPO] "Tom Smith was the next huni man after Jack [Wappo]. He came from Bodega Bay. He got his power there and then came to Middletown [old ranchería site of Hukuyume, on Putah Creek, ca. five miles northeast of present site; Tom Smith had never heard Jack preach, so far as Salvador knew]. He preached just the same things Jack did. He said that God [*lila wali utel*] told him just the same things. That shows it must be true. He was a young man when he came from Bodega Bay. He married a woman from Middletown [Lake Miwok]. He got the people to build him a dance house. He invited his own people from Bodega [Coast Miwok] to come over.

"When Tom turned huni, stripes grew all over his face and body. They looked like paint, but they wouldn't wipe off. After a while they went away by themselves. Many came to his dance and saw him that way. He didn't put them there himself.

"His dance lasted four days, like Jack's." The dancers had to fast on meat during that time. If they were careless death would result. He had special dream songs for the dances. The only one recalled was:

1. *he he*
2. *helinai o*
3. *wilinai o*. (12121212 13131212)

The costumes worn by the dancers are indicated in figure 20. In addition, the women wore a crown-like headgear of crow feathers. The men wore yellowhammer headbands with a chicken-hawk feather stuck in

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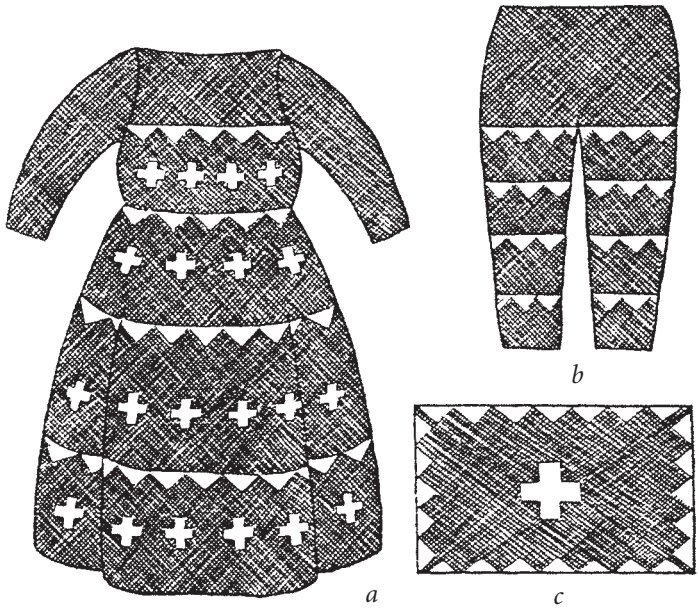

FIG. 20. Bole-Maru regalia used by Tom Smith, Coast Miwok, at Middletown. Black with white ornaments. a, women's dress; b, men's trousers; c, flag. From verbal description.

the back. Later, dancers substituted cloth headgear for feather bands. A flagpole and a flag (fig. 20c) were also part of the regalia.

Carrie Smith

[SALVADOR CHAPO] "She was Tom Smith's daughter by a Lake Miwok woman. She stayed in Middletown after her father went back to Bodega Bay. She became a huni dreamer in 1900 or 1902. She was already middle-aged at that time. She went on giving dances for ten years until she died. She said if she didn't give dances she would die, so all her relatives helped her out. She said she would live only if they believed in her. If they didn't she said she would go back to her father. She died because they didn't treat her right, I guess."

Regalia—"She had two sets of costumes. The first was red and white. She danced with that for three or four years. The second was black and white, just like her father's. She made costumes for everyone in

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the ranchería. She had a flag and pole [measured as it lay on ground: twenty-five to thirty feet]. It was kept in the dance house when a dance wasn't going on. You have to be careful of it. The man who put up the flagpole had to go without meat and grease for one day. Carrie did not eat meat or grease all the time her dance was going on."

Dance house—The ruins of the dance house were still visible. It was forty or fifty feet in diameter and was completely aboveground. The main entrance was oriented south. To the north was a small rear exit. The foot drum was in front of the rear exit and consisted only of board laid over a pit about two feet deep. The walls were of upright logs. There was only one center post, said to have been painted with alternate bands of black and white.

Bole-Hesi—"Carrie was the first to bring in the Big Head dance [*uditsana*]. They danced it three nights and on the fourth used the Ball dance. Carrie called the Big Head 'shaltu.' That means spirit.'" Either two men or two women danced it, but never a man and woman. The leader wore a net cap filled with down, with three white feathers behind each ear. He carried a bow in one hand and a wildcat quiver in the other. He came in the entrance, danced to a place between the fire and center pole, and from there called the Big Head. He wore a tule cap into which were stuck slender rods tipped with down. This was the first time the "pincushion" headdress had been seen in Middletown. The Big Head had a whistle in his mouth, which Carrie had made, and in either hand carried a split-stick rattle. He and the leader danced facing each other across the fire. At a signal from the singer the two came together and danced on the same side of the fire. A special song dreamed by Carrie was used for the dance.

1. *shaltu wea*, spirit drill (i.e., dance figure)
2. *bole wea*, bole drill
3. *wile wea*, good health drill
4. *shaltu we*. (11112233114; [2] and [3] are sung in a raised key.)

"All this was new with Carrie." The Lake Miwok did not have the Kuksu ceremony.

Ball dance—"This was new with Carrie too. They danced on the last

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night and it was just a fun dance." Six men stood on one side of the fire and six women on the other. They used twelve balls, which were tossed from one line to the other. The balls were of white cloth with red crosses on them. All the dancers had bone whistles in their mouths. They wore white cloth headbands with red chevrons on them. The dream song for the Ball dance was:

1. *haton ela*, toss
2. *olom wali*, toward south
3. *huni lama*, dream dance earth lodge. (111231111231; all in same key; [2] and [3] are sung in a faster tempo than [1].)

Carrie directed the four nights of dancing. She preached, gave the singers the songs, and told the people what to do. She stood in the rear of the house near the singers and drum. "Huni [i.e., Bole-Maru] means showing something; a huni man showed what he saw in a dream. It didn't have anything to do with curing, only the dreamer got sick if he didn't give dances. All the huni men had the same spirit, *lila wali utel* [see p. 258]. Huni didn't have anything to do with the dead coming back. The dead came back in the old-time *yompta* business."[129]

Obviously, Carrie Smith was an important innovator in the Middletown ranchería and was responsible for the introduction of local versions of the Bole-Hesi and Ball dances. The Bole-Hesi may have been used by her father, Tom Smith. The Ball dance seems definitely to have been included in his dance series. The somewhat aberrant practice of permitting women to wear Big Head headdress may be attributed to a feministic inclination on her part. It was made possible by her evident influence, as well as by the fact that the regalia was new, so that no traditional attitudes toward it had to be overcome. Her debt may be to Patwin rather than Pomo sources, as indicated by the use of the word *bole*, not *maru*, in her dream song. The use of the word *shaltu* is obviously the word *saltu*, common to both older Pomo and Patwin cult terminology.

There seems to have been at Middletown another development that can probably be attributed to Bole-Maru influences. Its inspiration was also drawn from dreamed revelations, but its expression was not in dances. Accounts of two individuals so inspired follow. One is Jo McGill, Salvador

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Chapo's uncle, who began shortly after Tom Smith's Bole-Maru dances and who is now dead. The other is Henry Knight, whose supernatural powers are still in the process of crystallization.

Jo McGill

[SLVADOR CHAPO] "He lived in the old ranchería at Hukuyume on Putah Creek. He didn't call dances or have outfits, like Jack and Tom Smith. He just called people together to preach to them. All he had was a split-stick rattle of elderberry. He made it himself, and no one else was allowed to touch it. He rattled that before preaching. In his sleep he dreamed about dead people. Every time he dreamed he called the people together in the sweat house to tell them what he saw. He called them together right away. He didn't have to wait like huni men. People had to be quiet, not talk, while they were in the sweat house. Jo talked very low, and then Francisco [Teksa], who was his interpreter, told what he had said. The people in Sulphur Bank called him over to preach. He dreamed things one doesn't see in this world. He told people how to live."

Henry Knight (Meatalpa; Wappo)

[SALVADOR CHAPO] "The present dance house at Middletown was built six or seven years ago [1926 or 1927] by Henry. About six years ago a big crowd came and Henry told them he had dreamed of a spirit who said he was to preach to the people, tell them how to live, to be good to one another, not to steal, not to drink wine because it makes your mind think in a different way. Henry had been a heavy drinker, but he became a wonderful man for a while. He could tell when people on other rancherías were going to be sick, and it would always turn out to be right. He could tell two or three months ahead of time when anyone was to die. He has a song, and he sings it before preaching or telling what will happen. He sees things in the song. But his two sons drank all the time. They didn't understand what he was doing. They came in drunk or with liquor on them and it spoiled his spirit. He tried to tell them not to, but they wouldn't stop. A couple of months ago Henry lost his power and went back to drinking. Now his wife is sick because his spirit was spoiled. They got Wilsey Lewis [Hill Patwin] from Cache Creek to doctor her. He brought his grandson along who can see through everything.

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This grandson said that Henry's sons were making their mother sick and they had to pray for her. One son is trying."

This manifestation of supernatural power belongs partially, I believe, to the influence of the Bole-Maru cult, and Jo McGill shows there was precedent for Henry Knight's efforts. De Angulo and Freeland, on the other hand, speak of Henry Knight as a convert to the "Chesterfield Cult" at Sulphur Bank in 1927.[130] The cult is described as an outgrowth in part of the new power doctoring introduced by the Achomawi-Wintu shaman, Albert Thomas. Undoubtedly, both influences, the Bole-Maru cult and the northern form of shamanism, are at work, as indicated under "Pomo."

Coast Miwok

The influence of the Earth Lodge cult and the Bole-Maru among the Coast Miwok was indicated in the paragraphs dealing with Tom Smith in the preceding section. Only three Coast Miwok survivors remain. Maria Frias, formerly of Nicasio, is a relatively young woman and unable to give much information. At Bodega Bay there are two half brothers: Bill Smith, a half-blood who is unwilling to serve as an informant, and Tom Smith, a full-blood. Despite the advanced age of the latter, Dr. Kelly was able to secure certain data that amplify the material from Middletown. Dr. Kelly was kind enough to permit me to use her material from Maria Frias and Tom Smith.

[MARIA FRIAS] "There was a man called Salvador in Lake County. This happened before I was born or when I was very small. He got the people to dance, saying the world was coming to an end. He didn't come to Nicasio [near San Rafael], but the Nicasio people heard about it from the Hopland people [inland Central Pomo]. Very few Nicasio people believed. My mother went to Ukiah for the end of the world. Salvador had them all sweating, men and women. Then they jumped in cold water. He said all the young girls must marry old men and all the young men must marry old women. He said everyone must have a little money in his pocket when the world ended. Then they "would be rich when they came back. They thought the dead would come back too. The dead people play the ball game. They hear them shouting. It sounds just like a woman's voice."

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[BILL SMITH] "Tom Smith went to Sulphur Bank for the end of the world. He married a woman from Middletown. He was a dreamer and traveled all over Lake County and to Ukiah."

[TOM SMITH] "Once I saw my brother-in-law's sister, who had been dead a long time. She came up to Russian River. I was living in a house up there. She came down through the ceiling. She had a fine dress, with abalone shells attached so they made a noise when she walked. She asked me, 'Do you know me?' I said no because I was frightened. She didn't want my brother-in-law to marry again [?]. He was married to my sister. She told me to get up in the morning and go down and tell him I had seen her. In the morning I didn't feel like eating. The next night I was asleep and dreamed that she came in with a feather. She was singing. I dreamed that I sang with her. I got up and smoked. I dreamed this woman asked me to sing with her. I told her yes. Next day I didn't stay home. I went up a hill, taking a piece of bread and a small bottle with me. I was thinking about her all the time. I didn't see her anymore. Maybe she was outside, like the wind, but I didn't see her.

"Afterward I moved down the Russian River to where the bridge is now [Jenner]. I worked there. *I built myself a sweat house because of that ghost*. I set eight forked sticks in a circle, dug down about four feet. I built that house for myself; old people were all dead. I put one post right in the middle and posts to it from the other forked sticks. We worked two months on that—my own brother, my brother-in-law, and my own half brother. I put a little dirt on top of this sweat house.

"I told my people, 'I am going to have a dance.' My father asked, 'What kind of dance can you have? Everyone is dead.' I said I dreamed a song; it was in my head. I said I would dance myself. 'I'll get people to come from the coast and from Healdsburg.' I went up the coast and invited people. I sent two boys.

"My father talked to the people. He called me and said, 'This is my boy, who is making a dance now. All the old people are dead. This is another kind of dance.' I prayed before I danced, and when I was through I prayed to the people. We danced four nights and then stopped. I had that kind of dance for six years. Then my brother was poisoned and I quit that dance. I burned all the things.

"*Polo hote* [ball throw] is a dance with balls. I made this dance when I

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was living the other side of Ocean View and once up the Russian River. Young people dance it. It was held out in open space. Men and women were partners on opposite sides of the circle. They toss balls back and forth across the fire. They catch with one hand. About ten or twelve young fellows and about eight girls played at once. When you miss much, they don't want to dance with you, and get another partner. The ball [*polo*] was of wood, burned and rubbed into shape. When they got through dancing they wanted bead money. I had eight foot-lengths of clam money, and I paid the girls with that. I gave the young fellows unworked shells."

From these statements it is apparent that the Coast Miwok heard of the Earth Lodge through the Central Pomo. At this time Tom Smith seems to have been one of the few Coast Miwok who went to the Earth Lodge gatherings of the inland Pomo. Later he became the only Bole-Maru dreamer among the badly disintegrated Miwok of the coast. Dr. Kelly reports that there were ties between the Coast Miwok and the Pleasanton group in Alameda County east of San Francisco Bay, but there seem to be no indications that the Earth Lodge cult or Bole-Maru complexes spread any farther southward than the Coast Miwok. The subject is considered in the next section.

Delta Region

In the central portion of California which lies to the north and south of the Sacramento delta there occurred during the 1870s an interchange of dances and ceremonies. Gifford described a portion of these movements when he presented data concerning the Pleasanton revival.[131] One man from Pleasanton, called Yoktco, took the Kuksui and other dances to the Nisenan of Ione, while Sigelizu, also of Pleasanton, imported a series of dances to the Central Miwok of Knights Ferry. Gifford is inclined to attribute the Pleasanton "revival" and the spread of dances from there to the 1870 Ghost Dance. Beals, Gayton, and Kroeber have followed Gifford in attributing these movements to the stimulation of the 1870 Ghost Dance.[132] Gayton suggested three possibilities to account for the Pleasanton revival of 1872: (1) either it was the result of a northern introduction of the Ghost Dance, or (2) the Ghost Dance had a separate introduction into Califor-

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nia via the Washo, Southern Maidu, or Northern Miwok. These first two possibilities are discarded by Gayton as unlikely, and my subsequent field work indicates that her judgment was accurate. Her third suggestion was that the Pleasanton revival was due to a Yokuts or Southern Miwok introduction of the revivalistic cult. A quotation from Powers to the effect that there was among the Northern Miwok in 1875 "a great orator and prophet" is cited to strengthen her suggestion.[133]

Unfortunately, the last survivor of the Pleasanton period is unable to throw light on the tentative suggestions of Gifford and Gayton. Repeated attempts to elicit information were useless because of his physical disabilities and senility. North of San Francisco Bay there were no indications that either the Ghost Dance (i.e., Earth Lodge cult) or Bole-Maru was taken southward. As matters now stand, the hypothesis of the Pleasanton revival as an offshoot of the Ghost Dance stimulus cannot be proved or disproved.

However, except for the approximate simultaneity in time, I see no reason for linking the general exchange of dances between tribes of the Delta region with the Ghost Dance and its proliferations. In my opinion, the so-called revival at Pleasanton was merely part of the general state of unusual mobility in the interchange of tribal customs and ceremonies among the California Indians during the nineteenth century.

First, there seems to have been in the dances exchanged at that time nothing diagnostic of the Ghost Dance and its subsequent developments. Secondly, there is material to prove the particular fluidity of the culture of that period. For instance, when a Nisenan informant (William Joseph) was questioned concerning the introduction of the Kuksui to Ione by Yoktco, he stated that the ceremony had previously existed among the Nisenan but had more or less fallen into disuse. Yoktco, who brought the Kuksui dance to Ione, had made the acquaintance at Fort Sutter of Motos, who was one of the Nisenan purchasers of the regalia. The different headmen who met each other there were simply interested in seeing each other's dances, therefore Motos invited Yoktco to bring the Kuksui and related dances to Ione.

Similar transmissions of ceremonies that occurred independently of ascertainable influences by modern cults are illustrated by the Kilak and Lihuye. They seem to have been introduced into Pomo territory shortly

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prior to the Earth Lodge furor of 1872. These two dances have been mentioned in the description of the Bole-Maru and are selected for special discussion at this point because of possible affiliations with that cult.

KILAK OR GILAK

History—Three Pomo informants agreed in believing that the Kilak came from the south shortly before the Earth Lodge cult. Two informants estimated that it was brought in the 1850s or 1860s. One informant believed that it came from Walnut Creek, which is Costanoan territory, although mixed groups must have been living there at the time. The same informant, William Benson, told Loeb upon another occasion that it came from the Wappo.[134] Pedro Mariano, on the other hand, said the Kilak was introduced to the Southern Pomo from San Rafael or Nicasio, Coast Miwok territory, by one Manuel, who said that the Coast Miwok in turn had received it from the vicinity of San Jose. This may represent the influence of the Pleasanton revival previously mentioned. Loeb lists the Kilak as a hawk or monster dance and reported it among four Pomo groups (Yuki-Wappo, Coast and Lake Miwok, Nisenan) and three Hill Patwin groups.[135]

Description—Men strip; paint chests and cheekbones with red pigment on which eagle down is stuck. Wore feather skirts; down cap with tail-feather crown on top of head instead of back as was customary; yellowhammer headband hung from forehead over tail-feather crown, which was parted, and down back. Tremblers thrust in at temples rather than behind ears as was usual. Organizer of dance preceded men performers on to dance floor, scattering clam-disk money or seeds. Firetender gathered them and kept them. "This is not just a common dance because the leader made an offering. To leave that out would bring bad luck." Meat, water, and sight of menstruants taboo to dancers. Women dancers stood in line to one side; had no special dance regalia but let hair hang loose over shoulders and wore fur headband with wire prongs (fig. 15). William Benson said this headpiece was introduced with the Lihuye. It may be the prototype of Bole-Maru headband illustrated in various text figures. Women held grass whisks in each hand. Arms flexed upward at elbow and moved up and down alternately.

Men entered on hands and knees. When song changed, arose, did shuffling side step in place. With one hand, held up feather skirt in rear;

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other arm flexed upward. Reversed arm positions in time to side shuffle. Two Kilak songs were:

1. *hai mo hula ho*
2. *we le hina ho*
3. *yo wila ha a ho*. (1111122331111122331)

1. *huni kani wahe huni*
2. *huni kana wahe hinti*
3. *huni kana wahe gilak wawe*. (11112311231123)

Meaning of these words unknown to Pomo informant, who thought they were in Petaluma language (Miwok).

LIHUYE OR WHISKEY DANCE

History—Four informants agreed that the Lihuye came from the south. Two said it was introduced from Napa (Patwin?) by two women called Josefa and Juana Loretto. The date seems to have been in the middle 1860s. "They were just giving fun dances." The Lihuye was incorporated into the Bole-Maru by Jack Harrison, the chief Wappo dreamer. A few years after the Earth Lodge furor, Jim (Batci), who had been the leader of the Kelsey Creek gathering, visited the Wappo. He learned the Lihuye at this time and "spread it all over the north." Jack Harrison, meanwhile, had given his Lihuye at Nicasio among the Coast Miwok.

Description—Men dressed in rear of dance house. Wore feather skirts and headgear similar to that described for Kilak, except that yellowhammer headband was tied across forehead and did not hang down in back. Songs differed from Kilak. "Those two dances belong together, but the Lihuye is a faster dance."

From ten to fifteen women dancers sat in rear center of house and assisted singer while men dressed. Then women arose, formed arc facing rear of house. Five or six men dancers came out, one at a time; danced through line of women and took places facing entrance. At signal, women wheeled to face entrance also. Men then circled fire, shouting *hai, hai*; returned to original position in front of women. Both lines moved sideways, first to left and then to right. Alternate formation was

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to have women in two arcs on either side of fire, instead of in one semicircle back of fire.

The Pomo differentiated the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru, which reached them from the north and east, from these other introductions, which came earlier from the Delta region. An occasional dreamer may have incorporated the Lihuye and Kilak as such into the Bole-Maru. But the significant similarities occur between these dances and the Costume dance of the Bole-Maru. The position of dancers seems to have been the same. In both, women formed an arc either back of the fire or on each side of it, and kept time by waving whisks or bandanas with arms flexed upward and forward. The forehead bands in the Bole-Maru costumes are reminiscent of those supposedly introduced with the Lihuye. As part of the Bole-Maru these modifications of the Lihuye and Kilak spread over most of the area covered by the Bole-Maru and seem to have invaded Wintu, Shasta, and Achomawi territory at an early date.

In discussing the general state of flux throughout California, the mission system of the Spaniards and the reservation system of the Americans, which antedated the economic exploitation of American entrepreneurs, must have been enormously influential. How important they were will not be fully appreciated until a detailed history of forced removals of Indian populations is written.

We have some evidence from these examples of the widespread state of flux in cultural matters within at least the last six or seven decades. On the whole, therefore, the points to be made are (1) that the south-central Californian Ghost Dance cannot at present be linked with the northern manifestations and (2) that the spread of dances occurring in the so-called Delta region may legitimately be considered a result of the new and closer contacts established between tribes as a result of the exploitation of Indian labor by the whites, and therefore it need not be associated with the stimulus of the Ghost Dance, particularly since diagnostic Ghost Dance and Bole-Maru features are lacking. Moreover, the insistence upon a state of flux, if it is legitimate, is significant in setting the stage for the extremely rapid diffusion of the modern cults in the north and the fluidity that characterized its subsequent proliferations. The reverse flow of the Bole-Maru carried northward with it elements of recent introduction from the Delta area.

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PART FOUR ○ Big Head Cult

In part 2, which dealt with the Oregon material, informants stated that Bogus Tom and particularly Frank had promised them that a Big Head dance would be brought to them. In part 3, the section on Round Valley Reservation contained indications that a Big Head cult had passed through the area. In the following pages these strands and additional material will be drawn together into a description of a somewhat aberrant modern cult that seems to have been linked definitely to other religious developments in northern California, although its manifestations were quite distinct.

Diagnostic of this cult[1] was the sale of particular regalia from the Pomo northward. With the feathers went specific dances. In the following sections the progression of the cult from south to north will be described under tribal headings. Figure 21 diagrams this northward progression.

Pomo Origin

There is some uncertainty as to the particular group of Pomo who gave the movement its northern impetus. The Kato say that it reached them from Willits (Northern Pomo) through Sherwood (Northern Pomo). Kroeber says:

> The Ghost dance of 1872 came to the Huchnom [Redwood Valley Yuki] from the central Pomo of the coast, who in turn had it from the eastern Pomo. From Round Valley and vicinity it was carried north, according to modern survivors, to the Hayfork Wintu and Hupa. The latter statement is probably not to be taken in a literal geographical sense, but it corroborates the inference, already derived from the existence of circular dance houses among the Whilkut, that this distinctly northwestern group derived the type of structure through a northward extension of the ghost dance.[2]

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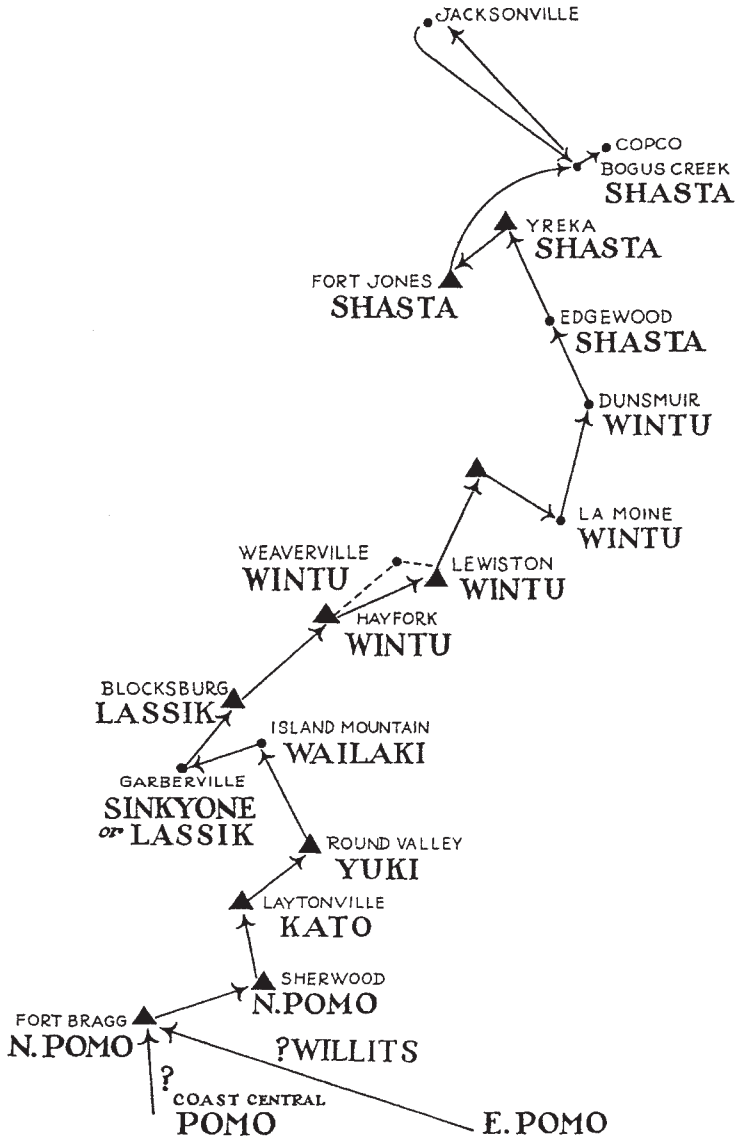

FIG. 21. Route taken by Big Head cult. Triangles, sites of major dances.

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Since the Big Head cult was the only modern movement that extended into this region, Kroeber must be referring specifically to it, although he uses the term "ghost dance." His statement may be taken literally, at least in part. The movement did reach the Hayfork Wintu. There is no information, however, that it reached Hupa. Whether the circular dance house of the Whilkut is due to Earth Lodge or Big Head cult influence has not been ascertained by specific inquiry. The diffusion of the Big Head cult does not include the Whilkut, nor for that matter the Chilula, who also seem to have had two circular dance houses of southern type.[3]

In Kroeber's account, the coast Central Pomo are named as the group that gave impetus to the transmission of what is now known to be the Big Head cult. Loeb definitely identifies Point Arena as the point of departure.[4] He secured the information from a Wailaki, John Tip. In the following section on Round Valley and the Wailaki, further material by the same informant is given and evaluated. Inquiries at Point Arena on the subject not only drew forth a denial, but the informants seemed rather shocked at the idea of transmitting regalia in this fashion.

One Northern Pomo informant, John Smith, knew vaguely of the movement and attributed it to Salvador of Kelsey Creek, who has been mentioned repeatedly as the messenger for the Earth Lodge gatherings.

A second Northern Pomo made the following statement concerning the Big Head cult in Pomo territory:

> [NANCY MCCOY] "A Big Head dance was brought to Little Valley, a Northern Pomo rancheria about seven miles east of Fort Bragg, by some people from down south. My uncle Bill was chief at Little Valley. The people danced four nights with the Big Heads, and then they went back to their own place. Bill took the dance up north to the Sherwood people, and they took it to Laytonville [Kato]." There were men's and women's dance regalia. Men wore Big Heads of pincushion type, but with feathers lashed along the length of the upright wings. This headgear and the dance were called Kisu ke. "The real old-time Big Head was different. He was called Dasan."

The person or location responsible for creating the Big Head cult has not been satisfactorily established. The movement could not have been

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of much importance in Pomo territory, since most informants were completely ignorant of the cult. This is in contrast to the northern tribes.

Kato

The Kato were intermediaries between the Northern Pomo, of Sherwood, and the Round Valley group in the transmission of the Big Head cult. Only one informant, who was not wholly satisfactory, was procurable among the Kato. His account follows:

[BILL RAY] "The Big Head was sold from Willits to Sherwood, to the Kato and to the Wailaki on the North Fork of Eel River. Captain Jim bought it for the Wailaki. This Big Head was Nagaitco's. It was a devil dance.[5] They dressed just like Nagaitco. This happened when I was still in the cradle [ca. 1874].[6] First, four Pomo brought a pole ten or twelve feet long with charcoal and blue designs on it. They had feathers and beads, too. They stuck the pole outside the chief's house. That meant there was to be a big time. The captain made a speech, and everyone brought beads to pay for the big time. Then the four men left the pole and went back with the beads. After a while a big band came from the south. They stopped about a mile from the rancheria. Two captains went out to meet them. They were weighed down with all the beads they carried. The people who had come hung even more on them so that they could hardly walk. Then the man carrying the Big Head headdress came. The Big Head dancer lies down, he doesn't drink water or eat food. He gets power to fast from the people who believe in him. The dance started and they called in the Big Head dancer. They danced the Big Head for a while, then the captain made a speech and they had other common dances. Toward morning the Big Head danced again. In the morning they ate breakfast and rested. Then the Big Head danced again; after that they had common dances and toward evening the Big Head. This went on for four days and nights. Women weren't allowed in the sweat house while the Big Head was going on, but they came in for the common dances. They were allowed to stay outside and listen. The Sherwood women stayed outside too.

"After four days the Sherwood people who weren't good walkers went home, but the stronger ones and some Kato took the Big Head on to the Wailaki on the North Fork of the Eel River."

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Although the informant referred to this dance as one that was bought and sold, he said that the beads exchanged between the two groups were of about equal value. The informant knew of no doctrine connected with the dance except the compulsion to sell it to the north. "It was just for a good time." I have the impression that Bill Ray was confusing in his mind aspects of the indigenous dance in which Nagaitco figured[7] and the imported cult that passed through. Also, his account differs radically from those of other informants in the exclusion of women. Everywhere in the more northerly groups, women participated in the Big Head cult. Also, the northern groups describe two Big Head headdresses, not one. Despite these discrepancies, which may be attributed to inadequate information on the part of Bill Ray, there is little doubt that the dance he had in mind was the same described by Round Valley informants as coming from the Pomo via the Kato.

Round Valley Reservation and Wailaki

The fullest account secured at Round Valley was from the Wailaki informant, John Tip. Comments and data from other Round Valley informants will follow.

[JOHN TIP] "The Big Head [*siten tcal*] started at Point Arena. From there it was taken to Sherwood and then to the Laytonville people [Kato]. They brought it to Round Valley, where they wanted to sell the feathers, but the Round Valley people had them already so they didn't buy them. [Ralph Moore, a Yuki who was present, inserted at this point that the Round Valley people just bought ordinary feathers from them since they wanted to sell things. 'The Yuki had their god, Taikomol, who had a big feather horn, and they didn't like to represent him in that way. It was like mocking Taikomol.'] The Wailaki in the old days never had Big Head feathers. All these feathers were new, so they bought the feathers for white man's money. I don't know how much was paid. Everyone joined in and bought them piecemeal. They told Captain Jim [Kiltcindha] who bought them if he did not build a sweat house and keep the feathers in there, he would die.

"There were six sets altogether. There were two Big Head feather hats, two sets of beads for men, and two sets of striped dresses, bead head-

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bands, and necklaces for women. There was a stick about five feet long with cocoons on the end to rattle for the dancing, but there was nothing about a long pole or a flag.

"The feathers were powerful. If you eat meat and aren't careful when you dance with them you will die. People went drunk with this dance. If you talk or laugh while it was going on, you got dizzy in the head. You had to be quiet. It was a dangerous dance. There was nothing about the dead coming back with the dance." (Particular pains were taken to establish the accuracy of this statement. The idea seems to have been absent, as it was among the Kato in the same connection.)

After Captain Jim bought the feathers he began to travel northward with them. Word was sent ahead to the rancherias. The host rancheria was not required to build a dance house to receive the guest regalia. The itinerary, as given by John Tip, was the following:

They took the feathers to Horse Ranch across from Island Mountain (Wailaki territory) on the Eel River, where they stayed for about one week. Then they were moved to Fenton, which was Captain Jim's home (Wailaki). There is some doubt of how long the feathers remained there. The informant said they were there for a year, then later he said they went on after a week's stay. The next stage was across the Eel River to Bill Wood's place, where they stayed two nights. The next stop was at Jewett's place for three or four days. The group then passed through Garberville (on border of Sinkyone and Lassik territory), where they stayed only one night. The next stop was Burdick Creek (Lassik), some ten or fifteen miles farther north, where they stayed a week. At Blocksburg (Lassik) the feathers were sold to two men, Waielthlele and Sedibinta, who were said to be half Hayfork Wintu and half Wailaki. Their names are definitely Wintu. Captain Jim stayed in Blocksburg some ten days to teach the dance to the new owners. He then left, but in a month he was called by the new owners to accompany them to Hayfork. After two or three weeks in Hayfork they were taken on to "Weaver." (Informant probably meant Weaverville. Wintu data indicate they were taken from Hayfork to Lewiston, a town some ten miles east of Weaverville.) This was as far north as Captain Jim went with the regalia. The informant was not consistent in the time consumed traveling from Round Valley to Hayfork. In one instance he insisted that it took only one summer. If this was the

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case, it was a remarkable journey, particularly over the rough terrain of that section. John Tip lent plausibility to his assertion when he said that Captain Jim and his party returned only after the fall rains had begun.

The same informant who gave me the above account of the purchase of the dance and regalia by Captain Jim (a Wailaki) from the Kato or Pomo at Round Valley told Loeb that Captain Jim had seen Ketanagai (our father) when he was hunting in Lake County (Pomo territory), and as a result of his vision he instituted the new dance.[8] He also gave Loeb the information mentioned previously, that the Big Head came from Point Arena.

We have accumulated a series of conflicting places and persons in connection with the origin of the Big Head cult. Point Arena has been given by John Tip in his conversations with both me and Loeb. Kroeber also indicated the coast Central Pomo as the place of origin. Since Kroeber, in conversation, said that he never interviewed John Tip, who was consulted by Loeb and me, his printed statement represents a second and corroborative source. The Point Arena origin is open to question, however, as long as the natives of that place deny any affiliations with the sale of the Big Head. Furthermore, this localization is reported by one informant at least who was quite remote from the putative place of origin.

Another possible place of origin is the Eastern Pomo territory. This is based on the statement of John Smith, previously quoted in the section "Pomo Origin," page 271.

The actual originator is also indefinite. John Smith, who has just been mentioned, believed that Salvador of Kelsey Creek was the originator of the cult. On the other hand, the Wailaki, John Tip, attributes the cult to one Captain Jim who secured a permissive vision when he was hunting in Lake County. This Captain Jim, the Pomo, must not be confused with the Captain Jim, a Wailaki, who purchased the regalia in Round Valley.[9] The Pomo called Captain Jim carried the cult from his own territory, supposedly somewhere in Lake County, to Willits, Fort Bragg, and Sherwood groups of Northern Pomo, to the Kato, and to Round Valley. The Wailaki Captain Jim transmitted the cult from Round Valley northward to the Wintu. Although it has been possible to disentangle the two Captain Jims concerned with the first stages of the Big Head cult, the actual originator and his place of residence is still in doubt. The Pomo Captain Jim from

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Lake County is considered the originator by the same informant who gives Point Arena as the place of origin. The inconsistencies of his statements are not irreconcilable, since Captain Jim may have gotten his vision while hunting in Lake County and then have gone to Point Arena in Mendocino County to organize the movement. However, the whole subject hinges upon some still undiscovered informant who can clarify the matter.

In Round Valley, Yuki informants were also consulted concerning the Big Head cult. Their accounts were not so complete as that of the Wailaki, John Tip. The best Yuki account is quoted below. It gives some supplementary material and substantiates John Tip's account, except in the matter of doctrine. Little Toby believed that the Big Head was to make the dead return. From the Kato, Wailaki, and western Wintu informants this doctrinal aspect was denied. By the Yuki and Shasta informants it was asserted to be part of the cult. The number and quality of the informants who held the former opinion incline me to believe that the return of the dead was not everywhere an integral part of the cult, although some individuals may have inserted that aspect.

[LITTLE TOBY] "About a year after Santiago McDaniel brought the message to Round Valley [i.e., Earth Lodge cult], the same word came from the Laytonville Indians [Kato]. It was brought by Two pesos Jim [Moshum konk' auk, "live oak acorn knee"] and a man called Forster. Jim could speak Redwood Valley language [Huchnom], but maybe he was from the Kato tribe. These two carried the word on to Blocksburg with the help of some Round Valley people. Those feathers went as far as Trinity Center [western Wintu]. They brought the feathers to Round Valley, but they didn't sell them here. They just danced with them and then took them farther on. The feathers stayed in Round Valley about two years.

"Jim preached before the dance. He said all must join in to see their dead relatives. If they didn't join they would turn to grass or a tree or something. When the dance came, old people who could hardly move got up and joined in. They never said when the dead were to come; no day was set for it. There was nothing about the world coming to an end.

"They danced in the sweat house near the hop ranch in Round Valley,

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but they could dance outdoors or anywhere. Only the two leaders, Jim and Forster, could handle the feathers. At dance time they gave them out to those who were to dance. The headman of this dance was given a stick about one foot long by each of the three tribes who went to the dance. I don't know what it meant or what became of the sticks. They had special and different songs for this dance, but the feathers were like those we have always used here in Round Valley. This Big Head isn't tied up with the Big Head or Bullhead they dance here now [i.e., with the Bole-Hesi of the surviving Bole-Maru cult]. In the Big Head that came from Laytonville, four men danced with the feathers in the middle and two women danced on either side of them [i.e., four women altogether]. The women wore headbands and carried handkerchiefs, but they didn't wear special dresses [this does not agree with the statements of John Tip and subsequent informants]."

Western Wintu

The next clue in tracing the northern movement of the Big Head through an area that is now practically devoid of Indian population was in the Upper Trinity subarea of the western Wintu. It will be recalled that the eastern Wintu were engrossed by various aspects of the Earth Lodge cult and Bole-Maru. They did not participate in the Big Head. The two western Wintu informants were John Towndolly, one of the dancers, and Jim Feder, one of the purchasers.

[JOHN TOWNDOLLY] "The Big Head [*bohem poyok*] came from Ukiah and went to Yreka. Captain Jim from Ukiah way brought the dance as far as Hayfork. He brought two Big Head dancers called Bill and two front dancers called Tip and Yellowjacket [Hubit]. There were about twenty of them. They danced about two weeks at Hayfork, then they went home. The chief at Hayfork called Tom [PilikaL] bought the feathers for about two hundred dollars. There was no fixed price. They danced at Hayfork for four or five years. While they were at Hayfork they took the feathers to Rusch Creek [ca. eight miles northwest of Hayfork] and danced there with them. Then Jim Feder bought the feathers and took them to Trinity Center. Jim Feder had them for about five years. Then they took the dance to La Moine, where Alexander had a big dance house. They

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danced there two weeks, then they went on to Dunsmuir, but they didn't dance there with the Big Head. They didn't dance with it when they were just camping. Next they went to Shasta Valley near Edgewood and from there on to Yreka, where Bogus Tom was chief. They danced common dances and the Big Head for about two weeks at Yreka. From there the feathers were taken to Scott Valley to a place about eight miles from Fort Jones. After dancing there two weeks they left the feathers and went home. Tyee Jim [Shasta] was the one who bought them there. He had them for about two years and then gave them to Bogus Tom [Shasta].

"The Big Head had nothing to do with the dead coming back, but the down below Indians [i.e., those to south] put the idea into it. When you danced with the feathers, you mightn't eat deer meat or fish until you were through. It would kill you to eat them. If you lost a feather or fell while you were dancing, you had to stop. When you were through dancing you had to swim in the creek and wash yourself, take the paint off, and get clean.

"The dancers were the two men who danced in front of the Big Heads. They were called front-up dancers [*tune el tconos*]. There were two Big Heads [*bohem poyok*]. There was one watchman [*tcimat* or *tcimato*],[10] who carried water, watched the fire, and woke up the dancers in the morning because the dancers must not sleep much. There were eight women dancers. The two singers wore special vests and had sticks with five or six cocoons on the end. They struck the butt end of the cocoon rattle on the ground to keep time. That kind of rattle was new to Hayfork and Trinity Center."

Regalia—Big Heads: two big hats of eagle feathers, two forehead bands from which strings of beads hung over the face to the mouth, two chicken-hawk feather coats reaching from shoulders to ankles, four long bird-bone whistles. Leaders: four tremblers. Singers: black vests with red flannel stars, in centers of which abalone plaques were sewn. Women: eight white dresses, and pronged tremblers like those of the two leaders. The informant said there were other articles that he could not recall. He knew nothing of a special pole or flag. There was no formalized way of painting, according to him. The foot drum was introduced into area by the Big Head. It was not played with the feet, but was beaten with the butt end of a vertically held staff.

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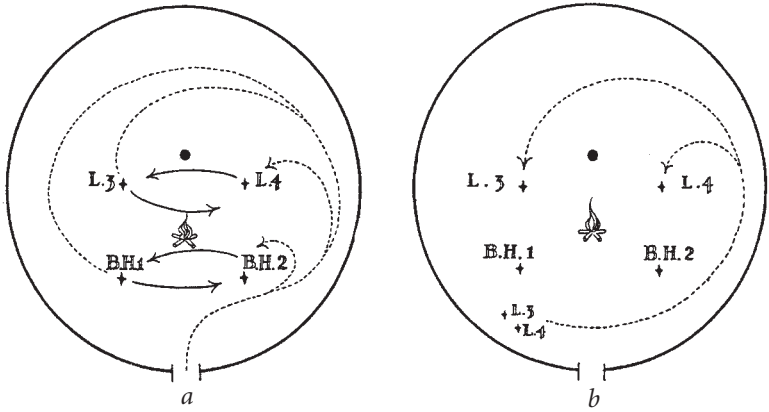

FIG. 22. Big Head dance described by Wintu informant. B.H., Big Head dancer; L., leader; numerals, order of entrance. a, first cycle (dotted line, first position taken; solid line, second position); b, second cycle.

Dance house—The dance might be held indoors or out. Dance houses at Hayfork, Rusch Creek, Trinity Center, La Moine. At Yreka and Scott Valley brush enclosures used. Jim Feder built a dance house for the Big Head just east of Trinity Center. "He used the old kind of sweat house but made it larger." Was five or six feet deep, had approximately four center poles. Door faced east. No rear exit. Drum built in at rear of house (i.e., west, facing door).

"When a Big Head dance was given they danced the Big Head first, then other common dances. These common dances were new, too. The Big Head would be put on only once or twice during a big time lasting a week or two."

Big Head dance—Dancers dressed outside in small brush enclosure. Whistled to announce their readiness. Singer raised cocoon rattle. Big Heads whistled four times, then singers began. Two Big Heads came in, one at a time; then two leaders followed, one at a time. The movements of the first cycle are indicated in figure 22a. The exchange of places indicated in figure 22a took place four times, after which the first cycle was terminated by having the leaders (L) jump over the fire and withdraw to one side. After a slight pause they began the second cycle (fig. 22b),

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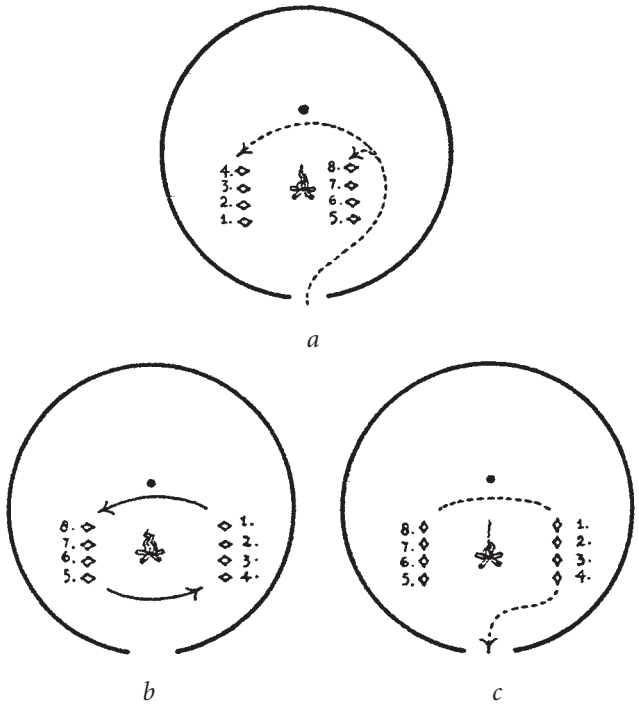

FIG. 23. Women's dance, which follows Big Head dance according to Wintu informant. a, entrance in single file; b, lines exchange sides; c, exit single file.

which consisted simply of having the leaders resume their places one at a time, dancing in place opposite the Big Heads who have remained in situ during the pause. The combination of first and second cycle is repeated four times, then all the four dancers leave the floor one at a time. When the floor is cleared the head singer circles the house singing and the Big Head proper is finished. It is followed immediately by the women's dance. The women also entered one at a time. Each dancer held a small bunch of feathers in each hand. Figure 23 suffices to describe the dance formation.

[JIM FEDER] Informant believed that the dance came originally from the Round Valley Reservation (Yuki territory), where it was very old and well established. He said, "I guess if any of them are alive today, they would still be dancing it." Sometime before the Big Head dance reached

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them, the Indians who were to be in its path had heard of it and were anticipating its introduction. The first performance of the Big Head, of which Jim Feder knew, was held at a place called Xentintcau, south of the present town of Hayfork. Here Jim Feder said the dance remained one year before its owner, Captain Jim, took it to Lewiston.

To the Lewiston performance came Jim Feder and a group of people from Trinity Center and other settlements north of Lewiston on the Trinity River. Alexander, an eastern Wintu chief from the region around La Moine, was also present. He must have traveled a little over forty miles to get there and have crossed the Trinity Mountains by an Indian trail that begins at Delta. He was accompanied by three men and two women. At this performance it was announced that the dance was to be sold only in a northerly direction. At the Lewiston dance, Jim Feder, who was a chief near Trinity Center, and Bear Tom, a dancer of repute among his followers, agreed to purchase the ceremony and the regalia from Captain Jim. The price was twenty dollars for each of the two sets of Big Head regalia consisting of a headdress and feather cape. With the purchase went instructions in the dance and songs. Pantitewis, who was the host at this gathering, did not buy the dance, although he did purchase some of the women's costumes, which anyone might procure but without securing a claim to give the dance.

Jim Feder and Bear Tom introduced the Big Head to their village, Tcenakbuli, on the east fork of the Trinity, three miles east of Trinity Center. It remained there for about two years. Then the regalia and ceremony were taken to Yreka in Shasta territory. A stop was made at Portuguese Flat, where Alexander was chief. Here Jim Feder said a dance was held but that it was not the real Big Head. Jo Bender, an Upper Sacramento informant, saw this performance and was under the impression that it was. At Yreka a full performance was given but no purchaser came forward. From there Jim Feder took the dance to Scott Valley. Here a purchaser was found in Tyee Jim. The price was again twenty dollars for each set of regalia. According to Jim Feder, it was one of the stipulations accompanying the purchase of the dance that it not only be resold to the north but that the price should not be altered. At the time of a sale all the regalia is spread out on the ground and sung over. The syllables of the song are *noi man*. Jim Feder then returned to Trinity Center. He

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heard subsequently that the dance had been taken to the headwaters of the Klamath River but that Tyee Jim had been unable to interest anyone else in its purchase.

The purpose of the Big Head dance seemed vague in the mind of Jim Feder. To witness a performance would redound to one's personal welfare. In a minor way it was supposed to ensure a bountiful supply of food for the following year. At one point in the performance the Big Head dancers (?) spoke to the audience, instructing them to "be good, act good. When you die your spirit will be good, and later on maybe you will come back to this earth." These elements, in addition to the fact that some individuals lost consciousness in the course of the dance, would indicate that a certain revivalistic atmosphere surrounded the ceremony. Upon questioning, Jim Feder said that the supreme being, NomLestawa, was probably immanent in the ceremony, but he definitely denied that the two Big Head dancers were god impersonators.

The costumes worn by the dancers have already been described. Jim Feder added that the Big Heads had their faces and trunks covered with black paint. On their legs were scrolls of white clay. The leaders were stripped to the waist but were unpainted. In Jim Feder's account, the women did not dance after the Big Heads but stood on one side in two lines while the four men danced. He also said there were two watchmen (*tcimato*), not one. This is contrary to the consensus of opinion among informants. His duties were to tend the fire, keep order, and see that no one slept. No one was allowed to leave the dance house without asking his permission. Furthermore, a person was not allowed to leave alone but must be accompanied by someone else. They were warned not to look about them but to look straight ahead. To disobey this injunction would give unlucky dreams and "would make them turn sorry." Also they ran the risk of seeing the spirits or ghosts of the dead who were supposed to be immanent in the ceremony (?). A solemn and respectful demeanor was demanded. Whiskey was considered injurious to a participant. Anyone who entered drunk or behaved in a rowdyish fashion was either tied and placed in a corner or was expelled. The atmosphere of tension and awe created often produced a distraught behavior in the audience even before the actual Big Head dance began. "Some people would seem to lose their minds, but they always came to afterwards and

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were all right." It was the *tcimato*'s duty to care for persons so affected.

The actual dance ceremony began early in the evening with the customary local dances. The owner of the dance house was in charge. If anyone wished to dance he was led to the owner by a third person, whereupon the owner took him by the hand and led him four times around the fire in the center of the house. Those who did not offer to dance gave usually a voluntary contribution in goods or money. They then withdrew against the walls of the house. The headman during the preliminary portion of the evening welcomed newcomers in the manner customary to Wintu chiefs. He told them to "feel at home, to sleep or gamble between dances, to do what they wanted." Furthermore, he announced each new dance. Finally, between nine and ten o'clock the Big Head dance itself was announced. The participants had withdrawn shortly before to dress outside in the brush. The singers then repeated four times the following song, the meaning of which was unknown to Jim Feder.

Hoho wili le (repeated twice)
Tcomo mati mat (repeated three times)
Hoho wili le (repeated four times)
Tcomo mati mat (repeated twice)
Yu he (prolonged shout)

This song was never sung by the women. The audience meanwhile stood and kept time by stamping their feet and singing *ya ya*. Then the Big Head dancers outside were heard to whistle four times. They circled the dance house or brush enclosure four times. The Big Heads, accompanied each by his aide, then entered backward and danced to the center of the floor. The six or eight women followed and took their places in two lines on either side of the center circle. They danced in place throughout the performance. (This description differs from that of John Towndolly, who is probably the more accurate.) As soon as the Big Head dancers entered, members of the audience who had chewed wild celery root spewed it out on the dancers and wished for luck. During the pauses the audience again spewed wild celery root at the dancers or lighted a piece of dried root and waved smoke in their direction. "They prayed for luck and good health. They were kind of worshipping the Big Heads."

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According to Jim Feder, a second set of Big Head regalia existed. No other informant corroborated his statements. Briefly, his account of the second set was as follows:

> Approximately four or five years after the sale of the first set to the Scott Valley Shasta, Captain Jim again offered Jim Feder another pair of Big Head costumes at Lewiston. This time Jim Feder was the sole purchaser, and each set of regalia cost only ten dollars. In the meantime, however, interest in the dance had flagged and some of the dancers, from Jim Feder's village at least, had died. In all events the feathers were never resold until 1930, when they were purchased for the Museum of Anthropology at the University of California. A dance was given with the later regalia in Jim Feder's village immediately after they were procured, and another was given a year or two later in Redding. This latter performance was disparaged by Jim Feder as a money-making affair of no significance.

The explanation of the second set may lie either in Captain Jim's desire to make money at Jim Feder's expense or in Jim Feder's desire to make money at the ethnographer's expense. The latter, however, seems improbable because the white people of the vicinity testified that the feathers which were bought had been in Jim Feder's possession for at least thirty years. It is also possible that Jim Feder regretted the sale of the first set and himself made a second to use or to resell to other Indians.

Shasta

It has already been mentioned that the Big Head cult was diffused to the Shasta from the western Wintu. This was the third and last wave of the modern cults to reach the Shasta. It had been preceded by the Ghost Dance and various early Bole-Maru importations.

> [ROSIE EMPTER] "We heard about the Big Head coming every year for a while before it was brought. The people down south kept saying it was coming. Then Trinity Jim [Jim Feder] brought it. They passed through Alexander's place at La Moine. Then Tyee Jim from Fort Jones bought it from Trinity Jim. After that, Bogus Tom, who lived at the mouth of

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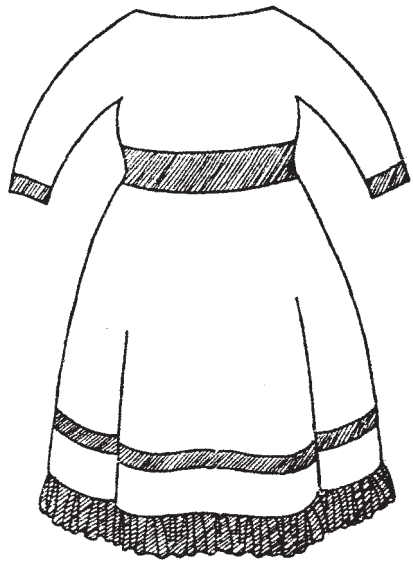

FIG. 24. Women's costume in Big Head cult, described by Shasta informant. White with red flannel trimming.

Bogus Creek, bought it from Tyee Jim.[11] They danced only four times with the feathers, once at Yreka, once at Fort Jones, then at Yreka again, and then once at Bogus Creek. The feathers are near Copco [a few miles northeast of Bogus Creek]. They are kept in a small sweat house. They are going to pieces, but they are still pretty powerful. A rattlesnake lives in that sweat house with them."

Participants and regalia—There were two Big Head headdresses (*kimpi tcaduweu*), the feathers of which hung over the face as well as standing up like a crown. If one of the Big Head dancers lost a feather he was fined twenty-five cents. There were four or five women's dresses made in two pieces. The skirt was gathered and stitched to the blouse. The dresses were made of a heavy white material, like muslin, trimmed with red flannel (fig. 24). Women also wore short yellowhammer headbands. There were two men's vests of black cloth on which abalone plaques were sewed "so the whole vest front glittered." These were worn by Bogus Tom and another man appointed by him. They were called chiefs [*kuwehexa*]. There was a *tcimato* who watched the fire and saw

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that no one misbehaved. "No one was allowed even to smile while the dance was going on. He gave the Big Heads water to drink if they raised their fingers."

Dance—The dancers dressed in a small partitioned section to the right of the entrance. In it was a drum on which they stamped before coming out on the dance floor (?). The chief gave the signal, then the Big Heads whistled and called from outside. "People got excited and felt faint when they came in. Everyone cried when they saw those feathers because they said the dead had made them." The women came in after the Big Heads, using little short steps. The two Big Heads circled the fire from right to left, facing each other and keeping the fire between them. "They drew their legs way up when they danced. It was a hard dance." They carried split-stick clappers and bone whistles. The women circled the fire and the two Big Heads. They had folded bandanas in their hands. They held them with bent arms in front of them at shoulder height. The arms and shoulders were then swayed from side to side.

Dance house—The dance house at the mouth of Bogus Creek had two center posts, which were painted with alternating spirals of red, white, and black. "It didn't have any meaning, it was just pretty," only menstruants were forbidden to go near them.

Song—The only Big Head song recalled was *he loma he he me pelma kitu tutu saltu mahe*. Its meaning was unknown, but the word *saltu*, which is a Patwin and Pomo term, is probably significant.

"When the Big Head came in there was the idea that the world was coming to an end with fire. The world was going to turn over, and the old world was coming back. The whites and the Indians were to go, and the land was to be as it was before the whites came. They preached that you mustn't steal. They preached that all were to believe in it. If you believe you will go to heaven. If you don't believe you will turn into some kind of animal. If you believe, you will dream after a while and see your dead folks and talk to them. The Big Head started people dreaming.[12] No one is supposed to see the feathers except at a dance. They paid to come in and see the dance [cf. Jim Feder's account]. Only certain people are supposed to handle them. In the crown of the Big Head headpiece are four bones of dead people. The dead people are supposed to have made those feathers. You can hear these bones whistle and sing at night

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if you go near them. You can hear them even now in the sweat house where they are kept. The dead people are still expected back, and the world is expected to turn over. All who are left still believe this."

Another account by a Shasta informant follows. He had been speaking of imported Bole-Maru features that had reached the Shasta from the McCloud and Upper Sacramento Wintu. He then went on to say:

[SARGENT SAMBO] "Then the people from the south said they had a Big Head that belonged to the same dance. They brought it to Yreka. All the Klamath River Indians from all over went there." They set a day for their arrival. One or two men went back and forth telling how near the visitors were coming. The Yreka people were waiting in a big brush enclosure with a fire in the center. The visitors came, but they put the Big Heads to one side so no one could get near them. Then they started dancing right away. They danced around the outside of the brush enclosure five times in one direction and five times in the other. Then they entered the enclosure and joined the Shasta who were already there. After dancing for about two hours, the visitors unsaddled their horses and rested. They danced at Yreka for about a week.

Dance—There were two Big Heads. They whistle with bird-bone whistles when they are coming. When they come in everyone must cover his face and wait until the *tcimato* tells you to look up. There were two other dancers who danced facing the Big Heads. There were about eight women, in two lines of four on either side of the Big Heads. The Big Heads carried a split-stick rattle in each hand. They wore only trousers and headgear (no feather cape?), and they had their chests painted. The two others wore knee-length trousers, a shirt, and yellowhammer headbands. The singers wore vests and shook cocoon rattles. During the week there were many common dances that were given before the Big Head was brought on. The Big Head dance was the climax of the week's performance. Most of these common dances were new to the Shasta. (When questioned on the common dances the informant was vague. I am not sure that those he named were actually used at this time.) The Chico dance was a lot like the Big Head, but it was just for fun and the songs were different. The round dance (*kaprik*)[13] was the only old-time

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Shasta dance used with the Big Head. The Dream dance (*kihai*, dream; *kostambik*, dance) was used too.

Dance house—Tyee Jim built a dance house in Scott Valley for the Big Head. He had a shed nearby in which he kept the feathers, because no one was supposed to go near them. The first time they built a house just to dance in was for the Big Head. It was built on the same plans as the large sweat houses (*okwa'ama*),[14] and it was called by the same name. It was larger than the old sweat house, however. Sometimes they erected a fir pole in front of the dance house. It was tall and slender with foliage still on the tip. It was painted with bands of red, black, and white. "When the Big Head first came to Yreka they said there were men carrying that pole but they didn't put it up at that time. They didn't always put up the pole. It was called *xuti* like the center poles in the old sweat houses." The informant knew of no significances attached to it. In the dance house there was "a box half underground." When the Big Heads danced they kept time by pounding the box with the butt end of the cocoon rattles. There is no native term for this foot drum, and it was unknown to the Shasta prior to the Big Head.

Purchase—"Tyee Jim, of Scott Valley, bought the Big Heads. The headbands and other things anybody could offer to buy. The Shasta bought everything. Tyee Jim must have had it several years. I'm not sure if Bogus Tom bought them or just danced with them. They took the feathers to Jacksonville in Oregon. Some people there said they might buy them, but they never came to meet them so they came home."

These last accounts from the Shasta describe the terminal dances in connection with the Big Head movement. However, information concerning the cult had spread to the Oregon reservations chiefly through the efforts of Frank. In Shasta accounts, Bogus Tom is given credit for taking the regalia to Jacksonville, in southern Oregon, in order to interest Indians of that state in their purchase. In Siletz the prime mover is given as Humbug John. The following section deals with the Jacksonville gathering.

Jacksonville

The meeting at Jacksonville was between a group of Shasta and two delegates from Siletz Reservation who had been appointed by the Indian su-

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perintendent. The Siletz delegates were instructed to investigate the truth and worth of the Big Head cult and to pass upon its importation into Oregon. A circumstantial and detailed account of this conference was secured from an excellent informant on Siletz Reservation. His statements are quoted almost in full, but in a somewhat paraphrased form.

[COQUILLE THOMPSON] The agent from Siletz sent a letter to the agent for the Yreka (Shasta) Indians, telling those Indians to meet his investigators at Jacksonville. The Shasta agreed to be there on a certain day with their dance. George Harney and John Adams, both Indians living at Siletz, were appointed by the government to go to Jacksonville. Before they left, Depot Charlie[15] told them to be on their guard, not to be fooled. He said they should find out the truth. He said, "I dance all the time for this. I sweat hard and I want to know if it is true." The two investigators arrived at Jacksonville, which was a thriving community at this time. At about ten in the evening they heard the Shasta arrive in town with forty or fifty horses. Some six *tcimato* erected a canvas enclosure on the evening of their arrival. The following morning everyone gathered in the enclosure. The meeting was directed by "one big fellow, called Humbug John, who wore a stovepipe hat." Frank was there, too. To one side there was a small enclosure in which men dancers dressed. The songs started and everyone sat down. "They had fine songs." At about noon the dancing began. Humbug John shouted, *hi, hi, hi*, and started to circle the fire. Everyone was quiet, even the whites who had paid a dollar to come in and see the dance. Then a dancer came out of the dressing room, circled the fire, and stood to one side. He was followed by three others. "They held their heads down so that you couldn't see their faces. It looked pretty good." Their dance was just about the same as the Earth Lodge dance at Siletz.

That afternoon they held a council to decide "if the dance was good and true." Humbug John spoke Shasta and had a man interpret for him. John Adams's mother was a Shasta, so he could understand what was said, but he pretended not to. Humbug John hurled defiance at them for trying to stop the dance. He called them slaves of the whites and said they could never stop him from giving his dances. He said no one tried to interfere with the white man's church. About five Shasta spoke. Then George Harney called on Frank to speak. He said that the dance was all

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right, that it didn't do any harm, that it was a good way to pray. Humbug John talked again. He was angry. He said the Shasta were men, not slaves. There were recriminations about the Rogue River War, and general hostility was current. Then Humbug John said they would dance there for three nights and on the fourth day they would go home. He said that since they had asked him to come, they had better pay him. So when the council was over, George Harney and John Adams took Humbug John into town and bought provisions enough to feed all the Shasta.

That night they danced until about midnight. The *tcimato* were posted all around. Humbug John said the Big Heads were to come out that night. They hadn't been seen yet. They heard whistles. They started the right song. One man came out dancing and stood near the fire. "Then the Big Head came. It was the first time they had seen anything like that. He had on a great big feather headdress with feathers standing out all the way around. It was awful. Everyone blew on him as he went by."

After that dance, John Adams got up and made a speech. He answered what they had said before. He said that the Siletz Indians were trying to become civilized and become law-abiding citizens. He tried to calm the Shasta. He said they didn't want to stop the dance. He said they did not want to buy those Big Heads.

The next morning at about ten o'clock the Shasta went back to their own place.

It was not clear from the informant's account whether the Shasta remained in Jacksonville one, two, or four days, but four days was certainly the maximum length of their stay. The feather regalia were taken back to Shasta territory and disposed of in the fashion described in the preceding section.

The dating given by the informant for the Jacksonville council was "sometime after Depot Charlie took the message about the dead coming back down to the Tolowa [1872] and before Chetco Charlie and I traveled with the Warm House Dance [1878]."

Summary of Big Head Cult

It would be desirable to date the various stages of the northward progression of the Big Head cult. This cannot be done with any certainty, but table 1 gives some idea of the estimates by informants. From it we can at

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TABLE 1. Estimated dates of northward movement of Big Head cult

TRIBE	INFORMANT	DATE	BASIS OF ESTIMATE
Kato	Bill Ray	1874; 1880–1881	On basis of informant's ascertained age. Contradicted himself on his age when Big Head came to Kato.
Round Valley	Little Toby	ca. 1874	One year after Santiago McDaniel's introduction of Earth Lodge cult—in 1873 (?)
Wailaki	John Tip	ca. 1881	Before cookhouse burned on Round Valley Reservation in 1883.
Western Wintu			
	John Towndolly		On approximate age; and memory of period feathers remained in one place.
Hayfork		1878–1883	
Trinity Center		1888–1890	
Yreka		1890–present	
	Jim Feder		On vague estimate of age.
Hayfork		1880 or 1885	
Trinity Center		1881 or 1886	
Yreka		1882 or 1887	
	B. Lancaster	in 1880s	Sophisticated informant; depended on memory.
Shasta	Dixon*	1870 or 1874	
	Jake Smith	1876–1877	Four or five years after the Earth Lodge cult (1872)
	Emma Snelling	1875	Three years after the Earth Lodge cult (1872)
	Rosie Empter	1876 or 1878	(1) Six years after Ghost Dance. (2) When about ten years old.
	Sargent Sambo	ca. 1882	When about fifteen; established date of birth 1867.
Jacksonville	Coquille Thompson	1874–1877	After introduction to Earth Lodge cult to Siletz (1873); before Thompson's Warm House Dance (1878).

*Dixon, "Shasta," 491.

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least say that the decade from 1875 to 1885 covers the major activities of the Big Head cult diffusion. I am inclined to accept the year 1874 as the one in which the Big Head regalia left Pomo territory and to consider 1877 as the latest probable date for its arrival among the Shasta. In all likelihood the statements by western Wintu, which give the periods during which the regalia were kept in each settlement, are gross exaggerations.

Now that the data on the Big Head cult have been presented, it seems desirable to justify its definition as a separate movement in the general religious upheaval in northern California subsequent to 1870, and also to point out its major relationships with that upheaval. The discussion resolves itself into three parts: (1) its differentiation from the Earth Lodge cult, (2) its differentiation from the Bole-Maru, and (3) its possible relationship to the Bole-Hesi. Of course, superior to any analysis by an ethnographer attempting to establish its identity as a separate movement is its recognition as such by informants.

The reason for separating the Big Head from the Earth Lodge cult is, first, the time element. It developed subsequently to the Earth Lodge cult and after the Bole-Maru was under way in Patwin and Pomo territories. Second, it seems only occasionally and secondarily to have had associated with it the doctrines of the return of the dead and the end of the world. Third, its ritualistic features are rooted in the old Patwin and Pomo ghost-initiation ceremonies. It is therefore a post–Earth Lodge cult development that arose in central California. More convincing than any of this inferential reasoning is the specific information concerning its origin and its historical course.

The reasons for differentiating the Big Head from the Bole-Maru as a whole are the following. First, the Big Head cult here described attached itself to one specific set of regalia that was essential to the religious observances. This special attachment of cult observances to one particular set of regalia is not duplicated in any of the other cult manifestations. Another facet of the same question is that regalia were passed from tribe to tribe (a new concept in the area) and that the cult lasted in any one tribe only as long as it possessed that essential regalia. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Big Head movement anywhere gave rise to dreaming. It detached itself from the Bole-Maru and was launched on a separate career of its own divorced from dreamed inspiration of local prophets.

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On the other hand, the Big Head does seem closely allied to one phase of the Bole-Maru, namely, the Bole-Hesi. It will be recalled that the Bole-Hesi is the secularized form of the old Patwin Hesi ceremony that arose under the influence of the Bole-Maru cult. In speaking of modern religion, Pomo and Patwin informants use "Bole-Hesi" synonymously with "Big Head" because the large "pincushion headdress" (*tuya*) of the Hesi ceremony became the distinguishing piece of regalia in the new Bole-Hesi or Big Head (or Bullhead). The Big Head cult probably detached itself from the Bole-Maru cult and attached itself to a specific set of regalia. It then embarked upon a brief and limited career. It seems to have contained, however, Bole-Hesi and generalized Pomo-Patwin features in (1) the use of the Big Head headdress, which seems, however, to have been of the Pomo kuksu feather, rather than pincushion, type; (2) the incorporation of women in the dance either as participants or as spectators in a form reminiscent of the specific Bole (Maru) dance; (3) the official watchman, whose functions and very title (*tcimato*) reveal his Patwin affiliations;[16] (4) the long cocoon rattle; (5) the foot drum; (6) the split-stick rattles wielded by the Big Head dancers; (7) black paint on the upper body of the Big Heads; (8) the high steps employed by the Big Heads; and so forth. All these features might be a synthesis of the Bole-Hesi, Bole (Maru) dance, and certain features of Pomo kuksu regalia.

These specific features, as well as the cult as a whole, were then carried to the Wailaki, western Wintu, and Shasta, to whom almost all of the traits as well as the cult itself were quite new. The Shasta in some details present an exception because they had received the Bole (Maru) dance costumes for women and possibly the foot drum a few years before from the eastern Wintu in connection with an early phase of the Bole-Maru cult.

It must also be stressed that although the Big Head cult discussed in this section may now be considered extinct, the Big Head as the Bole-Hesi is still occasionally performed in central California.

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Summary of Chronology

A summary of chronology and diffusion can be made most conveniently and concisely by the use of the map in conjunction with the following tabulation. Definitely established dates appear in bold type. A knowledge of the route of diffusion permits the dating of intermediate tribes.

Ghost Dance

Wodziwob, Walker Lake Paviotso, originator, **1869**.

Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), Pyramid Lake Paviotso (?), converted Washo, Pyramid Lake Paviotso, Surprise Valley Paviotso, Klamath Reservation Paviotso, some Klamath (?) and Modoc on Klamath Reservation, **1871**.

Doctor George, Klamath Reservation Modoc, converted Tule Lake Modoc, 1871.

Tule Lake Modoc transmitted doctrine to Shasta, 1871.

Sambo, Shasta, converted Karok, **1871**.

Several Shasta transmitted doctrine to Siletz Reservation Tututni and to Grand Ronde, 1871.

Depot Charlie, Tututni, converted Tolowa, 1871 or 1872.

Naigelthomelo, Yurok, or Hena Tom, Tolowa, converted Yurok, 1872.

Hupa rejected doctrine, 1872.

Yurok brought second wave to Karok, 1873. (This constituted a closed unit with no indication of how the doctrine reached north-central California. The second ingress was via the Achomawi.)

Biritcid, Honey Lake Paviotso (?), converted eastern Achomawi, 1871.

Achomawi transmitted cult to Northern Yana, 1871.

Abortive attempt to convert Mountain Maidu by group of Paviotso, 1871 (?).

Earth Lodge Cult

Norelputus, Northern Yana–Wintu, inserted deep earth lodge element,

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stressed end-of-world motif, and carried this transformed doctrine to Wintun and Hill Patwin, 1871 or 1872.

Lame Bill, Long Valley Hill Patwin, converted southern Hill Patwin at Cortina, 1871 or 1872.

Cortina and (or) Long Valley Hill Patwin converted inland Pomo, **1872**.

Inland Pomo at Sulphur Bank, Kelsey Creek, Upper Lake, Potter Valley, Willits, Ukiah, and Hopland converted by congregating in their territories the Lake Miwok, Coast Miwok, Wappo, Southern Pomo, and Coast Pomo, **1872**.

Paitla, or Frank, convert of Homaldo, took Earth Lodge cult to Wintu and Achomawi, 1872.

Achomawi movement culminated at Fall River, **1873**.

Wintu transmitted cult to Shasta, 1872.

Bogus Tom, Shasta, took cult to Siletz and Grand Ronde, where it was known as Warm House dance. Made abortive attempt to convert Columbia River people, 1872.

Klamath responsible for abortive introduction to Oregon City, ca. 1875 (?).

Bole-Maru

Homaldo, Wintun, and Lame Bill, Hill Patwin, contemporaneously created Bole-Maru while Earth Lodge was diffusing, 1872 and 1873.

Homaldo's Bole-Maru features took northern and northeastern course, following the Earth Lodge cult into Wintu, Achomawi, and Shasta territory, 1873 onward.

Lame Bill's Bole-Maru carried to southern Hill Patwin at Cortina.

Southern Hill Patwin converted River Patwin.

Charlie, River Patwin, converted Chico Maidu.

Inland Pomo transmitted Bole-Maru to all groups that gathered at Earth Lodge cult centers, 1872 to 1873. These groups established Bole-Maru cults shortly after returning to their own areas.

From this time onward Bole-Maru underwent fragmentary dissemination and alterations, which make sharp dating impossible. The Bole-Maru has persisted until the present, particularly in Pomo and Patwin areas.

Big Head Cult

This was an early offshoot of the Bole-Maru, which was launched on a separate northerly diffusion. It spread from probably 1874 to 1877.

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Pomo to Kato.

Kop pesos, or Pomo Captain Jim, to Round Valley.

Wailaki Jim, Wailaki at Round Valley, through Wailaki and Lassik territory to western Wintu at Lewiston.

From Lewiston to Jim Feder, western Wintu of Trinity Center.

Jim Feder to Tyee Jim, Shasta.

Tyee Jim to Bogus Tom, Shasta.

Terminated after unsuccessful attempt to introduce cult at Jacksonville, Oregon.

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Summary of Contents

Part 1 of this volume described the origin of the Ghost Dance among the Paviotso and its diffusion in northernmost California along the Klamath drainage. The idea of the imminent return of the dead can be attributed to Wodziwob, a shaman prophet of Walker Lake in western Nevada. He was not himself a proselytizer, but his doctrine was carried by a disciple, variously called Frank Spencer, Doctor Frank, Weneyuga, or Tsawenega. Frank Spencer converted the Washo at Carson City, the mixed Washo and Paviotso group near Reno, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso, and those on the eastern portion of Klamath Reservation who were living in close contact with part of the Modoc tribe. On the way back from Klamath Reservation, Frank Spencer also converted the Surprise Valley Paviotso in the vicinity of Fort Bidwell. The Klamath Reservation and Surprise Valley Paviotso sent delegates to visit the original dreamer, Wodziwob. If we may trust recently gathered data, the delegates returned with skeptical reports. Wodziwob repudiated some of Frank Spencer's ideas and at the same time tried to impress his guests with transparent hoaxes. As a result of these missions, the Ghost Dance was discredited among these two groups.

Meanwhile, a Modoc, Doctor George, carried the message from Klamath Reservation to a band of his tribesmen at Tule Lake. This group was under the leadership of Captain Jack. The following year they were embroiled in the Modoc War, which can only indirectly be attributed to the Ghost Dance. The doctrine also spread to the Klamath tribe on the western part of the reservation.

From the Tule Lake Modoc the furor spread to the Shasta, who were lukewarm in its reception, partly, I believe, because it reached them through their archenemies, the Modoc. Nevertheless, a Shasta called Sambo transmitted the doctrine to the upriver Karok. Reverberations of the Ghost Dance also reached Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. This was the result of visiting back and forth between Shasta who were still in

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their original territory and those who had been moved to reservations. At least five Shasta were involved in disseminating Ghost Dance ideas to Oregon during this first year of diffusion. A group of Tututni under Sixes George on Siletz Reservation seems to have been markedly affected. One of their group, called Depot Charlie, carried the message directly to the Tolowa from Siletz. The Tolowa, in turn, were responsible for the conversion of the Yurok. The Hupa were attending a White Deerskin dance among the Yurok at this time, and although they were exposed to the revivalistic furor, they rejected it completely. The Yurok cult spread up the Klamath River and met the Karok version, which was coming downstream.

Contemporaneously with the introduction of the Ghost Dance via Klamath Reservation, two other introductions occurred in northern California. These are discussed in the first sections of part 3. The Mountain Maidu at Susanville were introduced to the doctrine by a group of Paviotso, but they took no interest in it. Simultaneously, a Paviotso called Biritcid, and his brother, who came probably from the vicinity of Honey Lake, introduced the idea of the return of the dead to the easternmost Achomawi at Madeline Plains. From there it was carried westward with that minimum of ritual behavior which characterized the Ghost Dance. The message reached the western Achomawi and Northern Yana. There it found a new and zealous proselytizer called Norelputus, who was responsible for the further diffusion of the Ghost Dance and for its transformation into the Earth Lodge cult. His activities will be referred to again later.

This northernmost and early movement was characterized chiefly by the psychological excitation engendered by the doctrine of an imminent return of the dead. The army of the deceased was pictured marching back from the south or east. Among the Klamath and Karok the tribal culture hero was in the vanguard of the returning horde. To hasten the dead on their way, faith and continual dancing were essential. The immediacy of the expected advent fostered the rapid diffusion of the doctrine. Skeptics were threatened with transformation, usually into rocks or animals. Antiwhite ideas were present but were minimized by informants. In no instance do there seem to have been plans for overt aggression. The whites were to be exterminated at the time of the advent, and there was no need to hasten matters by armed efforts. Half-breeds were threatened with the same fate as the whites, at least among the Washo and on the lower Klamath. Each

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group learned the doctrine from a proselytizer, who spoke simply as a messenger for a dreamer. However, almost immediately after the message was received, local persons copied the example of the dreamer known only by hearsay, and confirmation of the advent was sought in their own dream experience. At first, under the influence of mass excitement, dreaming was generalized. Sometimes communications from the dead were secured during sleep or in trances induced by dancing. After a year or two, the general excitement quieted down and dreaming was concentrated in the hands of those few who were most able in composing new songs, directing dancing, and haranguing the group.

Besides these doctrinal and psychological aspects of the Ghost Dance there were certain ritual observances. The outdoor round dance was used everywhere except among the Tututni on Siletz Reservation, the Tolowa, and the Yurok, who had an established pattern of indoor dancing. The outdoor round dance is attributable to the Paviotso, among whom it was practically the only dance form. It was used in connection with the Ghost Dance by all Paviotso groups, by the Washo, Modoc, Klamath, Mountain Maidu, Achomawi, and Shasta. The indoor circular dance of the northwest coastal groups was comparable. The round dance was not new to California, but its choice in connection with the Ghost Dance doctrine was probably influenced by Paviotso precedent. In northern California the round dance had been associated primarily with girls' adolescence ceremonies. The double concentric circles reported for the Shasta, Karok, Tolowa, and Yurok seem to have been merely an adaptation to a large number of participants and possibly to indoor dancing in the case of the last three tribes cited. This form was not new with the Ghost Dance.

Immersion, which informants often render into English by the word *baptism*, was also common to all groups touched by the Ghost Dance doctrine. It seems to have figured less prominently in the minds of the Tolowa, Yurok, and Karok. Among these three tribes there seems to have been instead a water-and-ash marking of participants. Among the Paviotso the morning swim after a night of dancing is customary. In California it is also widespread in association with sweating for men. The Paviotso custom was made doctrinal in the Californian adoption of the Ghost Dance. It not only placed the local antecedent in a different setting but also extended it to women and children. The inclination to view post-dance bathing as

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baptism is probably the result of the complete-immersion practices of Christian cults, such as the Pentecostal Church, which subsequently proselytized in the area. The concept of baptism may be a retroactive interpretation.

The use of a pole in connection with the round dance is far from clear. Park reported its use among the Paviotso as a point of orientation in large round dances. On the other hand, Frank Spencer was reported to have carried a staff, probably of the type used by Paviotso shamans, which he planted in the dance circle. The use of a center pole is more frequently denied than reported. Among the Karok two decorated poles seem definitely to have been employed at Cottage Grove. The use of poles as flagstaffs in connection with the Bole-Maru was in all probability based on Pomo and Patwin precedent and has no genetic connection with the problematic use of the pole in the Ghost Dance.

A few other traits of sporadic occurrence among the tribes under consideration might be mentioned. There is the use of cowbells among the Yurok and questionably among the Klamath. The killing of dogs is noted for the Yurok. Face paintings and dance regalia were unstandardized and followed local aboriginal patterns. Aspersion with a sagebrush twig was reported for the Paviotso and for Klamath Reservation. It is part of Paviotso shamanistic practices. There are indications of the abeyance of sex restrictions at dances in some groups. In others, the idea of mixed bathing, for example, was shocking and was reported not to have been accepted. The idea that participants must all be married, even the children, was also common. In the northwest coast tribes—the Tolowa, Yurok, and Karok—the wealth emphasis and wealth-display elements of their old culture were important local incorporations into the Ghost Dance.

On the whole, it may be said that the Ghost Dance in northernmost California and Oregon was largely doctrinal and psychological, with a minimum of ritualism, and even that minimum contained few elements new to any of the participating tribes.

Part 3 of this volume contains the major discussion of the more elaborate central California outgrowths of the Ghost Dance. These are the Earth Lodge cult and the Bole-Maru.

It will be recalled that the Ghost Dance traveled across Achomawi territory from east to west until it reached the Northern Yana. From there a

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mixed Wintu–Northern Yana, called Norelputus, carried the doctrine to the Wintun and Hill Patwin. Since he had been definitely established as the proselytizer, those alterations of doctrine and practice that which constitute the Earth Lodge cult may be attributed to him. He carried the message in person through Wintun country and at least as far south as Stonyford to the mixed Hill Patwin and Salt Pomo group located there. However, he was known as the protagonist as far as the Southeastern Pomo of Sulphur Bank, who claimed that the Earth Lodge cult was brought to them by another messenger-missionary, called Sheephead. Of this individual no traces could be found in other groups.

Unfortunately, the Wintun and Hill Patwin tribes are today only scattered remnants, so that adequate material on the Earth Lodge cult is impossible to collect. More satisfactory material was procurable among the Pomo.

Among the Pomo, Hill Patwin, and Wintun the end of the world was the dominant doctrinal content, although the dead were also expected to return. The world catastrophe was to be either by flood, fire, or wind. To meet this emergency the doctrine demanded that all Indians gather in groups. Large, deep earth lodges were definitely known to have been built for this purpose in Long Valley (Lolsel) and Cortina by the Hill Patwin and by the Pomo at Sulphur Bank, Kelsey Creek, and Upper Lake (Behépal). A few months later, similar deep earth lodges were built at Potter Valley and Willits by the Northern Pomo and at Ukiah and Hopland by the Central Pomo. In the seven Pomo centers gathered not only representatives of all the Pomo tribelets but also those of the Coast Yuki, Sinkyone, Wappo, Lake Miwok, and Coast Miwok. There seems to have been among some of these groups, notably the Wappo, a destruction of property at this time. Worldly goods were envisaged simply as encumbrances. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok, Tolowa, and Karok attitudes previously noted for the Ghost Dance. After a period of feverish intensity, expectations of a world catastrophe were deferred or rejected and the various groups dribbled away. Some persons returned directly to their own territory. Others moved on to another center of congregation before abandoning their beliefs. Meanwhile, rumors reached the Kato from the Northern Pomo of Sherwood that the world was to end, and they had their own assembly at the rancheria of that name. Also, Round Valley received word chiefly concerning the return of the dead from a Salt Pomo to their east.

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During this time, to the east and north of the Coast Range, the Earth Lodge cult had spread back over much of the area covered by the Ghost Dance proper. The most widely traveled proselytizer in this area was a Wintun variously called Paitla, Chico Frank, and Yreka Frank. He may already have been, at this time, under the influence of Homaldo (or Mexican Jo) of Dachimchini, a Wintun site near the present rancheria of Grindstone. In any event, he spread the Earth Lodge cult to the Wintu, who had not been touched by the Ghost Dance, and to the western Achomawi. This movement swept through Achomawi territory from west to east, culminating in the Fall River dance of May 1873. The Earth Lodge cult took a far stronger hold on their imaginations than the Ghost Dance of the preceding years. From the central Achomawi, Klamath Reservation received the Earth Lodge cult at this time. Meanwhile, the Shasta had received the Earth Lodge cult from the Wintu. This was the second wave of modern movements to reach them, and as among the Achomawi, the impress was far stronger than that of the Ghost Dance. Under the influence of the second and more convincing movement, Bogus Tom, a Shasta, carried the cult to Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations. It was known locally as the Warm House Dance and was markedly successful for several years. Encouraged perhaps by this success, Bogus Tom is supposed to have made an abortive attempt to convert the Columbia River people. Within the next five years two other unimportant offshoots of the Earth Lodge movement arose. One was its abortive introduction to Oregon City. The other took the form of Thompson's Warm House Dance, which traveled down the Oregon coast from Siletz to Coos Bay.

It has been indicated that the major doctrinal stress of the Earth Lodge cult was an imminent world catastrophe. This is only partly correct. The idea of the return of the dead was also present, but it was minimized particularly in Pomo and southern Hill Patwin territory. On the other hand, in the northernmost part of California and in Oregon, which had been affected directly by the Ghost Dance, the end of the world was minimized and the return of the dead was the major doctrinal emphasis. The line between the two areas of emphasis lay between Hill Patwin and Wintun territory. Throughout the Earth Lodge cult area, the punishment of skeptics by transformation and vague antiwhite doctrines existed, just as it did in the Ghost Dance.

The necessity for distinguishing between the Ghost Dance and Earth

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Lodge cult lies in the idea of the earth lodge itself. This is obviously a central Californian innovation and is diagnostic of the new and reversed spread of the cult in the northern part of the state. The deep-galleried earth houses of the Pomo centers did not occur, however, among more northerly tribes. Although the Wintu and Achomawi built larger houses than they had previously known, and adopted the corridor entrances, still the structure varied from that of the Pomo, for instance. The earth lodges on Klamath, Siletz, and Grand Ronde reservations were new architectural features in those areas, but they were not comparable to the Pomo houses. In fact, square structures were used at Siletz and Grand Ronde. With the introduction of the earth lodge were associated also new songs and a change in dance formations. It has been found impossible to determine the exact ritual concomitants of the Earth Lodge cult because it preceded by so brief a period a whole series of Bole-Maru waves of influence. At best it is possible to indicate new features acquired by tribes like the Wintu, Achomawi, and Shasta during a period of some three to four years, and these have been listed in the appropriate sections.

During the time that the Earth Lodge cult was spreading outward from its place of origin among the Wintun and Hill Patwin, the Bole-Maru had been taking shape. As with the Ghost Dance, the Earth Lodge cult everywhere stimulated dreaming in local converts. The Bole-Maru represents a particularly elaborate and original form of a local Dream cult that spread with great rapidity. Probably Lame Bill of Lolsel, a Long Valley Hill Patwin, was mainly responsible. However, Tele of Tebti, another Hill Patwin, and Homaldo (Mexican Jo) of Dachimchini contributed to its formation. Homaldo's influence lay to the north. Paitla (or Frank) was one of his most forceful and diligent messenger-missionaries. Groups of Wintun seem to have traveled northward for several years in succession with new songs, dances, and items of regalia. This proselytizing fervor makes it impossible to sharply differentiate the content of the Bole-Maru and Earth Lodge cult in the north. Impressions of Homaldo as a personality have already been expressed in the body of this study. He seems to have made an impression more by his command of legerdemain than by his religious sincerity. The area of his influence is the only region where sleight of hand was used in connection with the modern cult developments. The exception to this is Walker Lake, where it was used by Wodziwob.

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Lame Bill disseminated the Bole-Maru chiefly to the southern Hill Patwin and the Eastern Pomo. He carried it to Cortina, and from there it spread to the River Patwin and Chico Maidu. The two latter groups had not been touched by the Earth Lodge cult. There can be little doubt that the Southeastern Pomo of Sulphur Bank were also influenced by Lame Bill, whose rancheria lay only some eight miles to the north. However, Sulphur Bank informants insist upon the local origin of their Bole-Maru under the dreamer Awutu. Eastern Pomo from Upper Lake frankly admit that Lame Bill brought them the Bole-Maru shortly after the Earth Lodge furor, and they report that many of them accompanied him when he moved from Upper Lake to Kelsey Creek at the southern end of Clear Lake to give further dances. It would appear that most of the visiting tribelets were still present when the Bole-Maru entered Pomo territory. On almost every rancheria of importance that had accepted the Earth Lodge cult invitation, there arose dreamers with characteristic Bole-Maru traits when these groups returned to their own territory. The various local developments need not be summarized at this point, since the material can easily be found under the various geographic headings in the body of this volume.

It seems appropriate, however, to summarize briefly the content of the Bole-Maru in north-central California where it had its most elaborate development and to make a few comments upon its affiliations with older patterns. It is significant that this most complicated of the modern cults arose in the area where ceremonialism was most elaborate in prewhite times.

The doctrine of the Bole-Maru was the creation of dreamers, supposedly inspired by God, whom they generally called by a native term meaning "our father." The dreams not only dealt with ethical and eschatological material but also furnished the authority to give certain dances. The details of the dances, the costumes, and the songs were all contained in dreams. During the ceremonies, Bole-Maru leaders imparted to the people the content of their revelations and preached a moralistic code. They inveighed against drinking, quarreling, stealing, and so forth, and urged all to believe and to dance. It cannot be stressed too strongly that dancing was the preeminent form of religious expression to these central Californian Indians. Reward for faith was life in an afterworld of flowers, plenty, and peace. Today the concept is generally rendered into English by the word *heaven* and is envis-

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aged as a reward of the good. An ethical dualism reflected in the concept of heaven and hell, and even in that of a God and devil, was often present and undoubtedly shows the influence of early Christian missionaries.

Ritually, the content of the Bole-Maru is to be found in three dances that were dreamed again and again with minor variations by the various cult leaders. These were the Bole-Hesi; the Costume or Dress dance, called either Bole or Maru; and the Ball dance. Other diagnostic features were the patterned flag and flagpole and the cloth costumes.

The flag was overtly stated by one informant to be a borrowing from the American soldiery. Whether or not this is a historical fact, the flag does seem to be an imitation of a Euro-American feature. However, there was an aboriginal parallel in the feather pennants attached to poles in the Pomo Kuksu cult. Similarly, the pole may be considered a feature common to both aboriginal and European culture. The sacredness frequently associated with these poles suggests that its antecedents lay, in part at least, in the Kuksu cult. The presence of one or more flag flying in front of a dance house was the sign that a Bole-Maru ceremony was in progress. At the end of the ceremony, the flag and pole were usually taken down and stored in the dance house.

The women's costumes, which are so frequently diagnostic of Bole-Maru influences, were definitely patterned on rural American dress of the period. They consisted either of flaring one-piece dresses or of a plain blouse with a full gathered skirt. Men often wore decorated vests and trousers. Although the basic garments were obviously European, many of the patterns, the abalone pendants, and clam-disk decorations were of Indian origin. The patterns and colors used by any one dreamer on his costume were usually repeated on his flag. The use of a cross as a pattern on dresses and flags was probably based on Christian prototypes. The favorite colors were red, black, and white, which were also aboriginal pigments. The costumes were used in various ways. Sometimes all members of the community possessed them and wore them throughout the four-day ceremony. In other communities they were worn only for the Bole (Maru) dance or for the Ball dance. In some cases the costumes were cherished as burial clothes. The dreamer directed the making of all regalia and costumes, but the dresses were the personal property of their owners.

The Bole or Maru dance is often called the dress or women's dance. The

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formation varied in detail from place to place, but on the whole the principal feature was two lines of women dancers on either side of the fire who danced in place with one or two bandanas in their hands. Grass whisks sometimes replaced the bandanas. A small number of men dancers performed between the women and the fire. Frequently the women formed a semicircle between the fire and the rear wall with the circle open toward the entrance. In some instances no men performers were used. The costumes and songs served primarily to differentiate this Bole-Maru feature from older common dances, especially the Kilak and Lihuye, introduced from the south shortly before the Earth Lodge cult movement.

The Ball dance consisted of two lines of dancers on either side of the fire, with the men on one side and the women on the other. Each dancer had a ball, which he tossed across the fire to his partner. The ball itself was usually made of rag strips that were wrapped and stitched into proper shape. It was then covered with a piece of cloth on which dream patterns were appliquéd. The Ball dance seems to have been a Patwin contribution whose cultural antecedents are undoubtedly European. Its assimilation into a dance form I am inclined to attribute to the River Patwin dreamer, Charlie, of Kusempu. However, it is possible that Lame Bill or Tele was the originator. It is interesting that the Ball dance, like the Bole-Hesi, lagged in its diffusion. Today it is the principal surviving element of the Bole-Maru. At present Ball dances are held occasionally at Colusa, Rumsey, Cortina, Stonyford, Grindstone, Sulphur Bank, Pinoleville, Point Arena, and probably Stewarts Point. They are now often only one-day affairs, held either on Saturday or Sunday and followed by a feast. Kroeber suggested that the Ball dance is "pure ghost dance"[1] on the basis of its reappearance among the Arapaho in connection with the 1890 Ghost Dance. Since the publication of that suggestion, it has been learned that the Ball dance does not belong to the Paviotso version of the 1870 Ghost Dance but is rather a Bole-Maru addition. In view of the twenty years intervening between the two movements, the geographical hiatus, and the absence of descriptive material from the Arapaho, I should hesitate to connect the two Ball dances.

The Bole-Hesi has already been discussed in a separate section, but a brief summary may be desirable. It is the secularized Big Head dance of the old Patwin Hesi cycle. It became an integral part of the Bole-Maru cer-

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emonies after Lame Bill introduced it. Two dancers were used. Usually they were men, but in later times and in certain communities two women might also be used. The Big Head dancer is so called because of a large pincushion headdress that he wore. Usually, hazel twigs were fastened to a basketry skullcap. The ends of the twigs were originally tipped with down. In the Bole-Hesi there was a tendency to tip them with pieces of colored cloth instead. The Big Head carried a split-stick clapper in each hand and sometimes wore a shredded tule or feather skirt. The dancer who performed opposite the Big Head was generally called the leader. He is characterized by headwear consisting of a short yellowhammer band, a down cap, and a magpie tail-feather tuft. He carried a bow, arrows, and a quiver. In its secularized form this dance spread almost everywhere within the area of strong Bole-Maru influences, although it lagged somewhat behind the use of flags and costumes. It has only lately extended into the Wintun region, and so far as I know it has never reached the Wintu and Achomawi.

Another feature of the Bole-Maru was the terminating feast, which was a communal enterprise much like the terminal feast of the older ceremonies. In some places it seems to have been given ritual elaboration. Thus at Point Arena a tablecloth for this event was part of the dream inspiration of two Bole-Maru leaders. In the minds of less religious individuals, the feast was a great attraction that served to swell attendance. Although, theoretically, Bole-Maru ceremonies were given whenever a leader secured dream instructions, actually, I feel sure that economic surpluses were also a factor. Informants have said repeatedly, for instance, that dances have not been given in the last few years "because times were so hard."

Lastly, in part 4 the Big Head cult was discussed. This was a separate cult that must be differentiated from the Bole-Hesi, which informants also call Big Head. The Big Head cult originated in Pomo territory and spread northward to the Kato, the Yuki, and Wailaki of Round Valley Reservation, the Lassik, western Wintu, and Shasta. The Shasta failed to interest Siletz Reservation Indians in the cult when a joint meeting was held in Jacksonville, Oregon. Characteristic of the movement was the sale northward of regalia. Each group was supposed to dance with the paraphernalia and then pass them on to the next tribe. The cult appears to have contained Bole-Hesi and other Bole-Maru features, which have been listed in the summary of part 4.

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Conclusions and Speculations

In this section I have allowed myself a certain latitude in summarizing and speculating upon the various factors involved in the growth of modern cults in northern California and Oregon.

First, a brief comment concerning terminology may be pertinent. It is apparent from the material presented in this study that, strictly speaking, the 1870 Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult cannot be called messianic movements, since the appearance of no great savior was anticipated. More properly they might be called adventist or revivalistic cults. No single leader can even be considered mainly responsible for these religious phenomena. They were the creation of many religiously minded individuals of varying cultural backgrounds. The Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult depended for their strength more upon febrile psychology than upon established institutions. As the cults developed, imaginative personalities attempted to create, especially in the Bole-Maru, a new system based on foreign and aboriginal ideas. It represented the last flash in that area of creative Indian culture and the last attempt to establish native values.

Diffusion has been obviously one of the major processes that functioned in the history of the modern cult movements under consideration. I feel that the processualists have failed to stress the importance of this old anthropological concept. It is one that has been used incessantly by both anthropologists and historians, yet we have relatively little detail about the manner in which it functions. On the whole, it has been made a tool for historical reconstructions rather than being recognized as a major cultural process itself deserving of study. Until diffusion as a process is clearly understood through the study of historically substantiated cases, it seems premature to use it as a tool in cases where history fails us. Different types, varying velocities, and different mechanisms of diffusion are to be expected. In the examination of the material on the modern cults, several factors affecting diffusion suggested themselves.

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Intertribal marriage has often been suggested as a device that facilitates or precipitates the transmission of cultural traits. In the Ghost Dance at least three cases have been established. There may have been more. Thus Sambo, the Shasta who carried the Ghost Dance message to the Karok, was married to a woman of that tribe. The Yurok who brought the same message back from the Tolowa had been there on a visit to his wife's relatives. Depot Charlie, who brought word to the Tolowa, was a Tututni whose sister had married a Tolowa man and was living with that tribe.

Another factor that affects diffusion is the obvious one of language. Thus, one of the proselytizers of the Ghost Dance who covered the widest territory was a Paviotso, Frank Spencer; yet with the exception of the Washo, he was everywhere within his own linguistic group. The multiplicity of linguistic groups in northern California is directly correlated with an increase in the number of missionary-messengers. The greater the number of persons involved in transmitting such concepts, the greater seems the possibility of alteration and change. For example, certain distortions arose somewhere between the introduction of the Ghost Dance doctrine to the eastern Achomawi, who stressed the return of the dead, and its introduction to the Hill Patwin and Pomo, where stress was laid on an imminent world catastrophe. In such cases, stability of doctrine may depend in part upon the proficiency of a bilingual individual who acts either as a missionary or as his interpreter. Parenthetically, attention may be drawn to the fact that bilingual individuals are usually the result of intertribal marriages and that therefore these two mechanisms of diffusion, namely, mixed marriage and language, are closely related. In a consideration of language, dialectal differences also should not be neglected. Cases can be envisaged in which direct communication by a proselytizer with a group speaking a different dialect might produce greater distortions than would occur in instances where languages are so entirely different that a bilingual interpreter is necessary. I should suggest that this may explain, at least in part, the differences of doctrine that first appear among the Hill Patwin, and for this reason: Norelputus was a Northern Yana who spoke Wintu (the result of an intertribal marriage). He carried the Ghost Dance doctrine received from the Achomawi to the Wintun, whose language differs only slightly from Wintu to the north. Among the Wintun the doctrine still centered around the return of the dead. However, Norelputus pushed on farther south into north-

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ern Hill Patwin country. Here the dialectal change was marked, and at the same time we find it correlated with an alteration in doctrinal emphasis. I should not like to stress too strongly the linguistic factor as the cause of the distortion, since I secured no confirmatory statements from informants to this effect, but it is a possibility that should be borne in mind.

On the other hand, a third language may greatly facilitate the communication of ideas between two linguistically unrelated groups. English and jargon were two such mediums. In the mixed groups of Grand Ronde Reservation, jargon was used as the common tongue. Bogus Tom had no facility with this language and therefore used an interpreter. His junket to the Columbia River tribes may have failed in part because he lacked a medium of communication. Only an unusual interpreter could overcome the hostility directed toward a complete stranger attempting to introduce a new cult. Often when proselytizers like Bogus Tom, Frank Spencer, Frank, Norelputus, and Lame Bill were in different cultures, they were still within areas where they were known. For example, Bogus Tom was a Shasta known to other Shasta on Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and was able therefore to make a far deeper impress than Wintun Frank, who was a complete stranger with no one to vouch for him. Being known could compensate somewhat for the lack of a common language.

The reservation system was also undoubtedly an influence in the dissemination of modern cults. It brought tribes into contact with each other at the same time that it split tribal groups into two areas of residence. Both of these situations had their repercussions upon diffusion. For example, Paviotso who had been gathered together on Klamath Reservation were in closer contact with Modoc and Klamath groups than they would ordinarily have been. When Frank Spencer brought the news of the Ghost Dance to the Paviotso, it naturally reached also the Modoc and Klamath. On Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations were groups of Shasta who kept in close touch with their Californian relatives still in situ. Any movement of significance was naturally transmitted. Once it reached a conglomerate group like that on both Siletz and Grand Ronde, it spread outward again to other areas in which there were nonreservation groups with relatives on reservations. Similarly, when the Pomo were moved to Round Valley Reservation, they helped familiarize the Indians already there with the new ideas that were current to the south.

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Postwhite methods of transportation probably affected not only the range but also the velocity of the diffusion of modern cults. Almost all the proselytizers who traveled marked distances were reported to have traveled on horseback. In a minor fashion, the fluidity of these modern cult diffusions were a duplication of the increased mobility of Plains culture after the introduction of the horse. Another case in point are the comments of the Chico Maidu informant. She was aware that wealth and the means of transportation that it afforded facilitated the interchange of dances. She gave the Hill Maidu as an example of a poor tribe who could not afford to travel to ceremonies.

Still another postwhite factor affected the spread of cult ideas. This was the exploitation of Indian labor in agriculture. The hop fields of Ukiah Valley drew Pomo from the coast each summer. This brought them in more intimate contact than they had previously had with the inland Pomo and their Bole-Maru developments. Even before the Earth Lodge cult, the system of gathering Indians as harvesters in the grain fields of the Delta area was a distinct impetus to the diffusion of new dance forms. The importation of dances from Pleasanton to the Nisenan and Miwok, which has been discussed in the section on the Delta region, is another example of the cultural interchanges resulting from the economic exploitation of Indian labor.

Intertribal marriage, language, reservation systems, transportation, and employment of Indian labor all influenced the diffusion of modern cults in northern California and Oregon.

In addition to these mechanisms there were two types of diffusion that were evident. One might be called linear and the other centrifugal. In linear diffusion each tribelet learned the cult in its own territory. For example, the Karok received the Ghost Dance from a Shasta who brought it to them. It might also have been introduced by a Karok who had learned the doctrine among the Shasta and carried it back home. The essential point is that one tribe at a time learns a new complex by having it imported to its own territory and into its own cultural sphere. In the Pomo centers of the Earth Lodge cult, however, a heterogeneous gathering representing many different tribal groups gathered together for joint ceremonies. The guest groups then carried back the new ideas to their own territories. This type of dissemination might be called, somewhat anomalously, centrifugal diffusion.

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Once an idea or complex has been introduced to a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection. Certain factors that made for the rejection of modern cult elements are discussed first.

Insufficient deterioration of a culture as a whole served to quash the cult movements. This was true for the Hupa and to a lesser extent for the Yurok. The matter has been discussed at length in part 1. A similar situation seems to have obtained for the Kato. Even when the whole group did not react negatively to religious changes introduced after 1870, certain conservative individuals within it rejected them. The not infrequent appeal to myths on the origin of death to prove the absurdity of the doctrine of advent is an instance of this attitude.

On the other hand, too great sophistication was also a deterrent to acceptance. Statements were made repeatedly that the young people did not believe in the new religious ideas. The rejection speech made by John Adams when the Siletz Indians refused to accept the Big Head cult was definitely the rejection of a sophisticate. With no grounding in the old culture, an adventist and revivalistic doctrine was meaningless. There was no emotional need for even diluted forms of the old life. The cults, to be acceptable, had to strike a group at that precise time when the old culture had deteriorated but faith in it had not.

Skeptics, whether they were allied with European or aboriginal culture, must everywhere have raised obstacles to cult acceptance. There are many cases of skeptics who opposed the religious innovations cited in the course of the study. The two Paviotso delegations, one from Klamath Reservation and one from Surprise Valley, returned with negative reports because they had not been misled by Wodziwob's attempted "miracles." Similarly, a delegation was sent from Ingot to visit Homaldo's rancheria, where the dead were supposedly appearing among the living. The envoys saw through the hoax, and their adverse report must have had deterrent results even though it did not definitely end the Earth Lodge cult. Skeptics and conservatives both were opponents of cult movements.

In addition, certain specific doctrinal ideas must have blocked the receptiveness of some individuals to the cults. For instance, the teaching in some tribes that half-breeds would suffer the same fate as the white people must have aroused a good deal of resistance in the offspring of mixed marriages. A fear of ghosts and of the dead in general must have been over-

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come before certain persons could envisage the advent of the deceased with any pleasure.

Balanced against the rejective factors were an equal number of factors that must have made the cults acceptable. The first and most general appeal lay, of course, in the hope that the doctrine offered for the rehabilitation of the shattered aboriginal culture and the attendant improvement of economic conditions. A real aesthetic appeal undoubtedly helped to make the cults acceptable. Informants remarked even more often than their quoted statements reveal that "they had awfully pretty songs; those dances looked awful nice." In addition to aesthetic appreciation, there were also opportunities for aesthetic creation in many tribes where dreaming became epidemic. Another factor was the direct emotional appeal to recently bereaved persons. Whether or not the psychology employed was conscious, it was nevertheless excellent when it couched its promises in the specific terms of "seeing your dead mother and your dead father." This has been brought out from time to time in the body of this volume when material dealt with the experiences of particular converts.

Once a complex has been accepted, it is frequently adapted to local cultural forms. This phenomenon has been observed frequently and has been labeled by anthropologists with the catchphrase "pattern theory." In the decade from 1910 to 1920 it was suggested in various articles.[1] Since that time the concept has altered and expanded, but little overt discussion in print has occurred. The phrase "pattern theory," although descriptive, seems unfortunate in giving a static quality to what is in reality one of the fundamental cultural processes. It might be more desirable to give the concept an active connotation by using a word like "patterning." Certainly this is a process that deserves to be placed alongside diffusion as one of the major forces in shaping culture. Whereas diffusion represents the process of expansion in history, patterning represents the process of absorption. Both terms are perhaps too general to be specifically useful, but at least they vaguely delineate trends of cultural growth.

In the strict accuracy of the word, "acculturation" might be used whenever a diffused trait or complex is accepted by a culture upon which it impinges. That is, "patterning" and "acculturation" might be practically synonymous. However, acculturation seems to have been given special meaning. It is used most frequently to describe minimal cases of pattern-

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ing, that is, cases in which dislocations accompanying the absorption of foreign features exceed integrations. More specifically, it seems to have been used to describe the manner in which a shattered aboriginal culture makes the best of a bad bargain. It may be legitimate to distinguish between external contacts that can be integrated to the dominant social values without destructive dislocations and those that cannot. In the modern cults of northern California there has been a continuous and progressive change from 1870 to about 1920. When the Bole-Maru cult first developed it was definitely recognized as a substitute for the old esoteric ceremonies. The ceremonial organization was already partly shattered. The old Kuksu, Hesi, and Waisaltu ceremonies had been dangerous affairs for which participants needed rigorous training. By 1870 the number of men capable of directing the ceremonies was already dwindling. It was assumed safer to abandon the old religion and adopt the less potent forms represented by the Bole-Maru cult. Although the Bole-Maru had definite features showing white influence, it was in essence and in much of its detail adapted aboriginal practices and as such seems to have been a highly satisfactory religion. However, as it changed and developed, Christian ideas and the white man's paraphernalia became more and more important, until now little separates the Bole-Maru from some of the marginal Christian sects that proselytize among the Indians. Where patterning ends and acculturation begins in such a sequence, I should hesitate to say. The difference between patterning which represents integration and acculturation which represents at best only a partial integration is not always obvious in cultural phenomena.

A nice example of the development involved in acculturation in the sense of patterning as well as in the narrower sense can be traced in relation to eschatological beliefs. The communication of shamans with the dead was a concept frequently met in northern California. Soul restoration in cures was also known. If a soul could be restored to a body it had left, and the shaman could communicate with the dead, it was apparently not difficult for the Indians of many tribes to envisage a mass return of the dead as predicted by dreamers. The return of the dead, in turn, was logically and historically an intermediate step to the Christian idea of resurrection, which is now widely held by the Californian Indians, probably because of the combined influence of Bole-Maru and Christian doctrine. These steps,

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in turn, assisted speculation on the concept of afterlife and the flowery heaven of the earlier Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult. Christianization had progressed far enough, it seems, even to have led to the concept of hell. A concept of heaven and hell is, of course, bound by an inner necessity to the Christian concept of ethical dualism. Moralistic discourses had been part of the chiefs' harangues in the older cultures. It was part and parcel of the early dreamers' speeches. Before long this old pattern of moralistic discourse centered around ethical dualism.

In conjunction with the development of eschatological concepts might be considered the concept of a supreme being. I should like to suggest tentatively that much of the Californian idea of a supreme being is a post–Ghost Dance crystallization. Quite probably prior to Christian influences a supreme being was immanent in Californian ideology, but it was vague and without attributes. Christian and Ghost Dance stimuli were necessary to crystallize the concept into a clarity that now permits the Indians to render it by the English word "God." Norelputus is a case in point. Curtin's *Creation Myths of Primitive America* has been used as an example par excellence of a supreme God concept in aboriginal California. Norelputus, however, was the sole source of Curtin's myths. Quite apart from any tampering with the data by Curtin in the interests of journalism, we know that Norelputus had a definite share in the Ghost Dance doctrine and that he was an apologist for adaptation on the part of the Indians. This impression of recency in connection with a crystallized concept of the supreme being is not susceptible to definite proof at this late date. It was gratifying therefore to discover that my impressions, formed independently, were also those of Powers, who said in 1875, "With the exception, perhaps, of a few tribes in the northern part of the state, I am thoroughly convinced that a great majority of the Californian Indians had no concept whatever of a Supreme being. True, nearly all of them now speak of a Great Man . . . . but they have the word and nothing more. This is manifestly a modern graft upon their ideas, because this being takes no part or lot in their affairs, is never mentioned in the real and genuine aboriginal mythology or cosmogony, creates nothing, upholds nothing."[2]

Specific illustrations of patterning and/or acculturation could be multiplied indefinitely. However, before leaving the subject I should like to contrast briefly the acceptance and rejection of the Ghost Dance in three

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Klamath drainage tribes—the Shasta, Yurok, and Hupa. They illustrate nicely the relative stability of the three groups involved, and they may indicate tentatively that patterning is in proportion to stability. That is, the greater the stability of a group, the more pronouncedly it will pattern foreign traits to established institutions.

The Shasta were badly disintegrated at the time they received the Ghost Dance. They accepted all three waves of the modern cults—the first Ghost Dance doctrine from the Modoc, the second confirmatory wave of the Earth Lodge cult followed by certain Bole-Maru features, and lastly the Big Head cult. They then amalgamated some aspects of these waves into their deeply rooted pattern of shamanism. The Yurok accepted the cult, but only reluctantly. Many features they adapted to their ceremonial requirements. Their Ghost Dance had wealth-display features; they used a separate house for the prophet comparable to that used by the priests in many Yurok ceremonies; and so forth. However, certain elements were not made palatable by patterning. Mixed bathing was shocking to Yurok sensibilities; a real fear of ghosts inhibited easy acceptance of resurrection; a strong sentiment against speaking of the dead was also involved. Possibly the best example of their traditionalism which made for stability was the demand for precedent in myths and formulae for religious behavior. We see, therefore, that despite certain attempts to make the cult acceptable to Yurok religious life, the resistive factors were many and strong. The older people and the aristocrats with vested interests in the established order formed the backbone of the resistance. After approximately a year and a half, during which the tribe was divided against itself, there was a violent revulsion of feeling and the Ghost Dance movement was quashed. It was not able to survive failures of prophecies. The resistive factors in the long run outweighed the acceptive ones. So far as historic consequences are concerned, they served to cut short any continuance or transmutation of the cult after the first excitement wore off. In this the Yurok are in marked contrast to the Shasta, for instance, who went on adapting themselves to disappointments, perhaps for want of a better alternative in the shattered remnants of their old culture.

The Hupa had been present when the Ghost Dance was first introduced to the Yurok. However, the cult was completely rejected, and even today disapproval is keen and outspoken. Hupa informants overtly state that the

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new doctrine was rejected because it was so antagonistic to traditional attitudes. Their objections were much the same as those of the Yurok but seem to have been more deeply entrenched so that they were able to exclude completely any innovations.

Therefore, among these three tribes, who were territorially contiguous, we find three degrees of stability. The Shasta, who enthusiastically embraced the new cults with a minimum of patterning; the Yurok, who accepted the cult provisionally but largely on their own terms, only to reject it subsequently; and the Hupa, who were completely resistive to it. These three grades of receptiveness suggest that social integration and stability are closely allied.

In very general terms, I have considered successively the mechanisms and types of diffusions observed, the factors making for acceptance or rejection of diffused concepts, and the manner in which accepted changes are patterned. Obviously, this discussion is not exhaustive, and a single historic unit does not exhibit all the possible types of even those cultural processes that are known. I have also not lost sight of the fact that cultural processes may vary under postwhite and prewhite conditions.

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APPENDIX ○ Informants

Approximately one hundred and forty informants were interviewed from the fall of 1932 through the summer of 1934. Only those quoted in the body of the text are listed here. Where interpreters were used, they are listed under the names of the informants for whom they translated. The evaluations are obviously superficial, but they may serve to reflect the degree of rapport I established with informants and my estimates of the worth of quoted material.

Paviotso

BLIND BOB. Wellington, Nevada. Late 80s. English almost incomprehensible. Willing, garrulous, incoherent, probably senile.

HENRY WILLIAMS. Schurz, Walker Lake Reservation. Ca. 50s. Prefers to use native language. Willing, careful, not very intelligent. His wife, Jennie, probably more alert. Their son a willing and able interpreter.

GILBERT NATCHEZ. Nixon, Pyramid Lake Reservation. Ca. 50s. English good. Dull, uninformed, moderately cooperative.

JACKSON OVERTON. Nixon, Pyramid Lake Reservation. Ca. 60s. Needs interpreter. Taciturn, well informed, needs prodding. Gilbert Natchez, interpreter (see above).

RAWHIDE HENRY. Pyramid Lake Reservation. Ca. 80. English very poor. Willing, thoroughly unreliable, but probably well informed.

DOCTOR SAM. Beatty, Klamath Reservation. Ca. 80s. Needs interpreter. Coherent, well informed, interested, clear mind. David Chocktoot, interpreter; willing, interested, conscientious.

PETE POLINA. Beatty, Klamath Reservation. Ca. 70. Needs interpreter. Meager in presentation; needs questioning. David Chocktoot, interpreter (see above).

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Washo

MINNIE JO. Carson City. Early 80s. No English. Fluent, informed, talks without questioning, probably accurate. Frances Brown, grand-niece, good interpreter.

DICK BENDER. Carson City, Steward Indian school. Ca. 72. English fair. Willing, garrulous, informed but not careful as to accuracy.

Modoc

HARRISON BROWN. Beatty, Klamath Reservation. Early 70s. Needs interpreter. Bedridden; much information he is eager to have recorded, needs questioning for detail, otherwise is fluent and coherent. Interpreter, Winnie Schiffbauer, interested, willing, intelligent, but does not possess a perfect command of Modoc.

PETER SCHONCHIN. Sprague River, Klamath Reservation. Over 80. English poor, but insists upon using it. Willing, self-important, careless. Wife has real bulk of information, which she skillfully inserts. Took part in Modoc War; son of old Schonchin, who was hanged after war.

JENNIE CLINTON. Williamson River store, Klamath Reservation. Late 60s, early 70s; claims greater age. English good. Bumptious, given to religious harangues, most of life spent in Oklahoma after Modoc War.

Shasta

SARGENT SAMBO. Near Hamburg on Klamath River. Ca. 69. English excellent; intelligent, coherent, well informed, friendly. Trained as informant by R. B. Dixon.

ROSIE EMPTER. Hornbrook, California. Ca. 67. English good. Well informed, clear mind and presentation, good detail, hostile until confidence is gained.

JAKE SMITH. Hornbrook, California. Mid-80s. Needs interpreter. Friendly but uninterested; incoherent but probably well informed. Blind. Good singer and myth narrator. Rosie Empter, interpreter (see above).

EMMA SNELLING. Yreka. Late 60s. English good. Fluent, effervescent, friendly but only moderately well informed, probably not reliable.

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Karok

HENRY JOSEPH. Happy Camp. Ca. 86. English adequate. Willing, well informed, friendly.

IRA STEVENS. Crescent City. Ca. 66. English excellent. Sophisticated, talkative, not very well informed.

Tolowa

EMMA VILASTRA. Crescent City. Mid-50s. English good. Friendly. Presentation confused; moderately informed.

JENNY SCOTT. Smith River. Ca. 70. Friendly, talkative, assured. Well informed but incoherent and confused in presentation, perhaps due to poor English.

HENRY JOHNSON. Smith River. Ca. 70. English poor. Reticent; needs constant questioning; shy and withdrawn. Probably well informed. Resentful attitudes on several subjects.

Yurok

ROBERT SPOTT. Requa. Mid-40s. English excellent. Cooperative, unusually well informed, exceptionally retentive memory for detail, coherent.

Hupa

SAM BROWN. Hupa Valley. Ca. 55. English excellent. Intelligent, well informed, fluent, cooperative.

JAMES MARSHALL. Hupa Valley. Ca. 71. English excellent. Cooperative but only moderately well informed, lacks fluency. Trained by Goddard as informant.

Siletz

COQUILLE THOMPSON. Lower Coquille; born at Myrtle Point; taken to Siletz as an infant. Ca. 84. English fair. Clear mind, willing, well informed, accurate. Does not need questioning. Circumstantial and detailed data. Blind.

LOUIS FULLER. Tillamook. Ca. 71. Catholic schooling on Grand Ronde Reservation. Willing but reticent. Either not well informed or too shy to talk freely after brief contact. Needs constant questioning.

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BILLY METCALF. Tututni; born among Tolowa; moved to Siletz. In mid-60s (?). English good. Only moderately interested and informed. Skeptical, indolent, amiable.

ABE LOGAN. Tututni; born at Siletz. Ca. 74. English excellent. Clear mind, well informed in certain fields, willing, self-respecting. Strong Shaker.

HOSKIE SIMMONS. Half-breed; born on Siletz; has always lived there. English excellent. Sophisticated, self-respecting, intelligent. Inclined to disparage old culture. Only moderately well informed. Amiable, willing. Highly religious.

Grand Ronde

JOHN SIMMONS. Half-breed; born on reservation. Mid-70s. Self-assured, intelligent, willing, friendly. English excellent. Coherent, needs no questioning, but distractible.

JENNIE RIGGS. Yakima-Tualatin (?). Almost 100. Born in Oregon City. Married Umpqua on Grand Ronde. Frail, delicate, friendly. Well informed but difficult to secure coherent information. English poor but comprehensible.

JOHN WATCHINO. Clackamas. Ca. 86. Brought to Grand Ronde as a child. Has lived there ever since, but has traveled. Well informed, intelligent. English fair. Willing, friendly, fairly coherent, skeptical in general but does not reject old culture.

Coastal Oregon

ANNIE PETERSON. Coos; living at Empire on Coos Bay. Lived on Yahatc Reservation; married at Siletz. Returned to Coos Bay in 1880s. Late 70s, early 80s (?). Pleasant, willing, moderately informed. English good. Trained by Jacobs as informant.

FRANK DREW. Coos; living at Florence in Siuslaw territory. Born on Yahatc Reservation; left there ca. 1876 for Florence, has been there ever since. Mid-60s. Pious, pompous, verbose. English good. Presentation digressive; moderately well informed. Interpolates his own religious speculations. Informant for Frachtenberg and Jacobs.

LOTTIE EVANOFF. Coos; living near Marshfield. Ca. 60 (?). Willing but needs questioning. English fair. Moderately informed but not very interested. Slovenly.

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Achomawi

JACK FULSOM. Alturas. Ca. 70s but claims greater age. English good. Cooperative but self-important, unwilling to admit limitations of his knowledge.

JOHNNY STEVE. Alturas. Late 70s. English poor. Shy, but friendly, probably pretty well informed if his diffidence can be overcome. Jack Fulsom, interpreter, was overbearing and probably not accurate.

JOHN LAKE and BUDKAS PETE. Likely. Both ca. mid-70s. Interpreter used, probably not necessary. Alert, moderately informed, but not given to elaboration. Jack Fulsom, poor as interpreter, made estimate of informants difficult.

PETE OTTER. Ash Valley. Ca. 75. Needs interpreter. Intelligent, informed, coherent but reserved. "Preacher." Samson Stonecoal (now dead) as interpreter; interested, himself well informed.

BILL WRAILER. Stonecoal Valley. Ca. 90. Needs interpreter. Willing but incoherent, limited interests. Interpreter, Sam Spring, 59, sophisticated, intelligent.

SALLY KING. Adin. Mid-80s. Needs interpreter. Willing, incoherent, moderately informed, Modoc captive in youth. Loula Eppie, interpreter; dull but willing.

HARRY GEORGE. Adin. Early 80s. Needs interpreter. Interested, clear mind, fluent. Jeff Edes, a nephew, as interpreter, was also interested and able.

JOHN SNOOKS. Burney. Ca. 80. Needs interpreter. Willing and informed, inaccuracies probably due to faulty memory. Daughter Mattie as interpreter was poor.

DAVIS MIKE. McArthur. Ca. 53. English excellent. Fluent, well informed, cooperative, intelligent.

MARY GRANT. Goose Valley, near Burney. Ca. 70. Needs interpreter. Moderately well informed, willing. Daughter good interpreter.

WILLIAM HALSEY. Big Bend. Ca. late 80s. English fair. Garrulous, bumptious, confused, but a mine of information if used carefully.

LILY TAYLOR. Upper Hat Creek. Ca. 75. English fair. Reserved, moderately well informed.

JULIA BOB. Hat Creek. Early 70s. Needs interpreter. Willing, garrulous, incoherent. Son, Ike, very poor interpreter.

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SAMSON GRANT. Goose Valley, near Burney. Ca. 83. English good. Dramatic sense which probably leads him into inaccurate elaborations; eager to talk. Spent boyhood on Round Valley Reservation.

Yana

MALCOLM CAYTON. Anderson. Between 60 and 70. English good. Pretentious, uninformed, willing but avaricious.

Wintu

FANNIE BROWN. Antler. Early 70s. Needs interpreter. Well informed but incoherent. John Stacy, interpreter; able, interested.

SARAH FAN. Anderson. Early 60s. English good. Mass of localized, detailed information; willing; moderately coherent.

JIM FEDER. Trinity Center. Late 80s. Needs interpreter. Much information, interested, oratorical, needs questioning for detail. John Stacy, interpreter, intelligent and interested.

JOHN TOWNDOLLY. Dunsmuir. Mid-70s. English good. Willing, moderately interested, much accurate detailed information.

Wintun

BILLY FREEMAN. Paskenta. Ca. 75. English adequate. Careful, full knowledge but geographically circumscribed, slow, coherent, friendly.

NANCY JORDAN. Paskenta. Ca. 77. English excellent. Careful, reliable, but limited information, too much white influence.

JEFF JONES. Grindstone. Ca. 66. English excellent. Willing, intelligent but uninformed; too much white influence.

CHARLIE WARTHON. Pinoleville, Ukiah. Ca. 77. English excellent. Knows no native language. Mother from Paskenta. Brought up by white father in Round Valley; married and lived with Chico Maidu; moved to Grindstone among Patwin and Wintun; now among Pomo. Intelligent, narrow sphere of information but accurate within its bounds.

Patwin

JOHN WILSON. Grindstone; born at Stonyford. Ca. 75. Needs interpreter. Taciturn, probably informed if he would talk. Jeff Jones, interpreter.

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JIM (TOMASO) SMITH. Grindstone; lived at Stonyford. Ca. 75. English poor. Information geographically limited; careful, not very intelligent, religiously minded.

SANTIAGO MCDANIEL, Stonyford. Mid-70s. English fair, but insists on his son as interpreter. Is last Salt Pomo; married to Patwin. Fund of information, intelligent, friendly but definitely secretive and given to falsification about his role in modern cults. His son, Oscar, as interpreter, intelligent, interested, himself informed; abets father in secretiveness.

SUSIE LEWIS. Long Valley. Ca. 70s. Needs interpreter. Willing, reasonably well informed, somewhat incoherent and unwilling to admit ignorance. Her son, Harry, poor interpreter, uninterested and stupid. Her grandniece, Evelyn McDaniels, better as interpreter but loses interest in translating details.

WILSEY LEWIS. Long Valley. Ca. 80. Needs interpreter. Apathetic, dull, probably informed if he would make the effort to recall. A shaman. Interpreters same as above.

PEDRO WRIGHT. Cortina. Ca. 66. English fair, willing, slow, careful but reserved.

SARA LOWELL. Rumsey. Ca. 80s. Needs interpreter. Fund of detailed information, coherent, cooperative; was unreserved on subject of modern cults until her daughter interfered. Interpreter, Mabel Jake, painstaking, self-effacing, moderately intelligent.

JOHN LOWELL. Colusa. Mid-70s. English good. Willing, careful, not fluent, fairly well informed.

WILLIAM BENJAMIN. Colusa. Over 70. English adequate. Willing, but garrulous and tangential, fairly intelligent, moderately informed.

SUSAN CLEMENS. Chico. Ca. 68. English good. Ignorant of Indian life except for fragments remembered about her mother's part in the Bole-Maru.

Maidu (Valley)

MANDY WILSON. Chico. Ca. 70. English fair. Active emphatic mind; moderately informed; assured, scattered presentation.

Maidu (Hill)

GEORGE MARTIN. Enterprise. Ca. 50s. English good. Intelligent, willing, good stock of hearsay information, retentive memory.

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Maidu (Mountain)

ROXY PICANO. Susanville. Ca. 77. Needs interpreter. Willing, clear mind, detailed but geographically limited information. Daughter, Inez Picano, interpreter; alert, intelligent, interested.

INEZ and LENA PICANO. Susanville. Both in late 50s. English fluent. Alert, intelligent, moderately well informed, but marked white influence.

Southeastern Pomo

GEORGE PATCH. Lower Lake. Late 70s to mid-80s. Needs interpreter. Slow, careful, moderately informed, capable of orderly presentation. His son, Raphael, interpreter; himself well informed, interested, willing. Both were involved in Bole-Maru cult and therefore guarded on this subject.

CLIFFORD SALVADOR. Lower Lake. Ca. 61. English good. Friendly but uninterested, not very well informed, no reserves.

Eastern Pomo

WILLIAM BENSON. Mission, near Lakeport. Ca. 70. English excellent. Sophisticated, professional informant; no interest in Bole-Maru.

BILLY GILBERT. Upper Lake, northern rancheria. Late 60s, early 70s. English good. Willing, fluent, well informed within narrow geographical limits, unreserved.

CHARLIE GUNTER. Upper Lake, southern rancheria. Late 60s. English good. Facetious, moderately informed, uninterested.

Northern Pomo

NANCY MCCOY. Sherwood. Ca. 60. English good. Lived at Fort Bragg until ca. 40. Slow, careful, serious, reserved; much information which comes gradually.

CHARLES BOWEN. Pinoleville, near Ukiah. Ca. 70. English fair. Friendly, painstaking, accurate, well informed; religiously minded and given to this type of speculation. Is a singing doctor.

JOHN SMITH. Pinoleville and Potter Valley. Ca. mid-80s. English limited. Well informed but mentally lazy; reasonably accurate except when he becomes impatient with material which bores him; no marked reticences.

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Central Pomo

STEVE KNIGHT. Ukiah rancheria. Ca. 54. English excellent. Intelligent, alert, coherent sequential accounts, information largely from hearsay.

CECELIA JOAQUIN. Hopland. Ca. 60. Needs interpreter. Intelligent, alert, much anecdotal information, willing once goodwill has been secured. Her son, Dave, alert, persistent and intelligent, interpreter.

JEFF JOAQUIN. Hopland. Ca. mid-80s. Needs interpreter. Dancing is dominant interest; slow, unaggressive; data come slowly. Interpreter same as above.

SAM ALLEN. Hopland. Ca. 50. English good. Willing, garrulous, uninformed, rejects old culture.

Coast Central Pomo

SUSIE SHOEMAKE. Point Arena. Ca. 80s. Needs interpreter. Has lived close to old life; probably needs efforts of her daughter, Jennie Pike, to tap information. Much of information comes from Jennie, who is herself well informed. Reserved but not unfriendly. Tom Pike, husband of Jennie, served as further interpreter; is inconsequential.

SEALION WHITE. Point Arena. Mid-80s when consulted; now dead. Needed interpreter. Willing but rambling, not very intelligent but lived close to old life. James Harvey, interpreter; anxious to please, reasonably intelligent and informed.

Southern Pomo

PEDRO MARIANO. Cloverdale. Ca. 84. Has always lived at Cloverdale except for ten years spent at Yorkville among Northern Pomo. Wife from Yorkville. English poor but comprehensible. Willing, well informed. Elaborates with little questioning. Probably fairly accurate.

Southwestern Pomo

MARIA MEYERS. Stewarts Point. Ca. 85. Needs interpreter. Intelligent, alert, well informed and probably relatively unreserved, but held in check by son, Herman James, who acted as interpreter and who was markedly opposed to divulging information on Bole-Maru.

ROSIE SHEARD. Stewarts Point. Ca. 75. Not very intelligent or alert, but

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probably knows much of old life; also markedly guarded on subject of Bole-Maru. Her son-in-law, Herman James, interpreter.

HERMAN JAMES. Stewarts Point. Ca. 50. English good. Intelligent, friendly, but extremely reticent on Bole-Maru; probably helpful on other topics.

Kato

RAY GILL. Laytonville. Ca. 60. English excellent. Willing, coherent. Information is abbreviated hearsay.

Yuki

PONI and his wife. Covelo, Round Valley Reservation. Early 80s. Needs interpreter. Uninterested and poorly informed, friendly. Ralph Moore, interpreter.

LITTLE TOBY and CHARLES GRAY. Covelo, Round Valley Reservation. Ca. 70 and 80, respectively. Need interpreter. Both moderately well informed but uninterested, not very cooperative. George Moore, interpreter; interested, persistent.

RALPH MOORE. Covelo, Round Valley Reservation. Ca. 52. English excellent. Semiprofessional informant; information largely hearsay; cooperative, reticent only on own religious activities; inadequate as interpreter.

Wailaki

JOHN TIP. Covelo, Round Valley Reservation. Ca. 75. English poor. Willing, well informed, specific data, but probably not very accurate.

Wappo

MARY ELI and JOHN TRIPPO. Geyserville Reservation, near Healdsburg. Ca. 65 and 75 respectively. English of both poor. Well informed but incoherent presentation; pronounced interest in supernatural.

MARION MARANDA. Russian River Reservation, Healdsburg. Ca. 70s. English good. Uninformed, no intimate knowledge of old life. Makes no pretensions concerning his information.

MARTHA MCCLOUD. Russian River Reservation, Healdsburg. Early 60s. Needs interpreter. Unorganized presentation, fair command of detail,

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only moderately willing and intelligent. Grandson, O. K. Williams, interpreter; intelligent, conscientious.

HENRY KNIGHT. Middletown. Mid-50s. English good. Willing but not well informed, assisted by his father, Jack Knight, who seemed apathetic and uninterested.

Miwok (Lake)

SALVADORE CHAPPO. Middletown. Ca. 80s. Needs interpreter. Fund of information, moderately specific, interested, not very coherent. Granddaughters, Doris Yee and Marie Sebastien, interested, adequate.

Miwok (Coast)

MARIA FRIAS. Marshall. Born in Nicasio. Mid-60s when consulted; now dead. English poor. Willing but garbled hearsay information.

Nisenan

WILLIAM JOSEPH. Auburn. Ca. 77 when consulted; now dead. English good. Friendly, well informed, coherent, interested. Born near Ione. Trained informant.

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Notes

Abbreviations

AA	*American Anthropologist*
JAFL	*Journal of American Folk-Lore*
UC-PAAE	*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*

Introduction

1. "Wintun" is used throughout this paper for the group known in the older literature as Central Wintun or Nomlaki. The Northern Wintun are called "Wintu," and the Southern Wintun are designated as "Patwin."

2. A. H. Gayton, "The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South-Central California," UC-PAAE 28 (1930): 57–82.

1. Nevada and the Klamath Drainage

1. For the Paviotso of Owens Valley, Julian Steward says: "Ghosts of the dead, appearing and talking to the people, at night, were the only clearly conceived spirits" ("The Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute," UC-PAAE 33 [1933]: 307).

2. James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2* (1896): 701–4.

3. Ibid., 701.

4. This date given by Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," 764. N. P. Phister ("The Indian Messiah," AA, o.s., 4 [1891]: 105, 106) also identifies the earlier prophet as Jack Wilson's father, but he gives no name. He dates the first preaching in 1869.

5. Park reports that his Paviotso name was Pongi and that the name Weneyuga was bestowed on him by the Washo from the last word in his song, wunu'ga puni^{u} ("sound of the wind"). However, Frank Spencer is known throughout the area of his proselytizing efforts as Weneyuga or some variant thereof.

6. This idea that believers in the adventist doctrine died sooner than skeptics

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is widespread in California. The Ghost Dance is thought to be somehow responsible for the decrease in Indian population.

7. I. T. Kelly, "Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute," *UC-PAAE* 31 (1932): 179–80.

8. Apparently, Wodziwob, like the later prophet, Jack Wilson, suffered under the distortion of his original doctrine and attempted to correct misconstruction without at the same time losing prestige. From the statements in this account, I assume that Wodziwob claimed power to conjure up a few dead and then quite independently prophesied the influx of white people. The latter was a favorite subject for prophecy among shamans at the time. Weneyuga probably confused the two elements, or else dreamed the mass return of the dead in his own right. It will be recalled that the transcontinental railroad was completed in May 1869, the year in which Wodziwob is supposed to have begun his prophecies.

9. For comparable performance see section "The 1890 Ghost Dance" in part 3 (p. 116).

10. This delayed advent was also reported above by Henry Williams. The farther the doctrine was removed in time and space from its Paviotso source, the more immediate became the expected advent.

11. This indicates either that the informant was confused and contradictory or that Wodziwob accepted the idea that Weneyuga had attributed to him.

12. Informant denied that Paviotso ever buried drinking utensils with their dead.

13. Terrestrial catastrophes are also favorite topics in shamans' discourses, at least in northern California. Apparently, this element was amalgamated and maximized in the Ghost Dance doctrine of north-central California. The various "worlds" in the mythology of the area provide a native pattern that could easily be dovetailed with Christian ideas concerning the end of the world and the resurrection.

14. Further descriptions of the Beatty affair are given by Modoc informants in the section on Klamath Reservation.

15. Gayton, "Ghost Dance of 1870," 60.

16. Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," 809.

17. W. Z. Park, "Paviotso Shamanism," *AA* 36 (1934): 104.

18. Cf. five-night dance among Klamath Reservation Paviotso and subsequent account of Reno dance by Dick Dowington.

19. Park, "Paviotso Shamanism," 105.

20. Leslie Spier, "Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon," *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 2 (1927): 39–56.

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21. Cf. Paviotso delegation from Surprise Valley and the various delegations that visited Jack Wilson in the 1890 Ghost Dance.

22. Refers doubtless to Modoc custom of cremation. The Klamath believed that the ashes of the dead revivified the soil. See Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," *UC-PAAE* 30 (1930): 101.

23. This same device was used on the lava beds during the Modoc War (1872–1873) at the recommendation of Curly Haired Doctor to prevent the white troops from surprising them.

24. This approximates Wodziwob's vision concerning the coming of the white people in trains. See the above section on Paviotso.

25. *Yreka Journal*, February 12, 1873.

26. Stephen Powers, "Tribes of California," *Contributions to North American Ethnology* 3 (1877): 260.

27. *Sentinel* (Red Bluff, Tehama Co.), June 14, 1873.

28. Other Klamath leaders of the Ghost Dance were Lobit and O'Toole.

29. Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," 726, 730–31.

30. A. B. Meacham, *Wigwam and War-path* (Boston, 1875), 551.

31. Spier, "Ghost Dance," 52.

32. Between the time this study was completed and it appeared in print, a detailed study of the Ghost Dance in Klamath Reservation has been made. See Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), 377–449.

33. R. B. Dixon, "The Shasta," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 17 (1907): 459: ". . . a large ring is made by the whole audience, on the east side of the fire, or two concentric rings, if the number is large. All hold hands . . . , the ring dances round them [the adolescent girl and two or more helpers] first in one direction, and then in the other, singing the while."

34. This was also the direction from which the Paviotso dead were to come. The Wintu ordinarily believe that the dead travel north and then turn south on the Milky Way. The Shasta believe that spirits first go west and then return eastward also by the Milky Way.

35. F. F. Victor, "Oregon Indians," *Overland Monthly* 7 (1871): 346.

36. Given in third person because Rosie Empter was used as interpreter and she inserted certain information.

37. Dixon, "The Shasta," 471–72.

38. Powers identifies Kareya as the creator of Karok mythology. Kroeber

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("Handbook of the Indians of California," *Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 78 [1925]: 107) defines *ikhareya* as "ancient spirit, i.e., member of the race of beings that preceded mankind."

39. Powers, "Tribes of California," 42–43.

40. Stephen Powers, "The Northern California Indians," *Overland Monthly* 8 (1872): 434.

41. The idea of a river opening up is reminiscent of the world flood met again in north-central California. The two white blankets may indicate the recurrent idea throughout the Ghost Dance area of the increase in wealth among the Indians after the advent.

42. G. A. Chambers, "A Ghost Dance on the Klamath River," *JAFL* 19 (1906): 141.

43. A. L. Kroeber, "A Ghost Dance in California," *JAFL* 17 (1904): 32, 35.

44. Philip Drucker informed me that at Orleans the sexes bathed separately, but if a man and woman fainted at the same during the dance they were supposed to be married.

45. Kroeber ("Handbook," 107) describes the *ihuk* or round dance employed for girls' adolescence rites as consisting of two concentric circles. The men formed the inner ring around the girl; the women formed the outer circle. Both circles revolved to the right. This varied from the single-circle dance of the Paviotso, Modoc, and Klamath and approximates the Shasta form when there was a large crowd. Drucker, on the other hand, reports that a single circle with sexes alternating was used by the Orleans Karok in connection with the Ghost Dance. The Yurok (q.v.) form was quite similar to that ascribed to the Karok by Kroeber. Among the Shasta and Karok, as well as among tribes to be considered later, the round dance was primarily associated with girls' adolescence ceremonies.

46. Drucker obtained indefinite information on the use of center poles, fires, and bells among the Karok. The informants said they were employed occasionally.

47. Kroeber, "Ghost Dance," 32.

48. Kroeber ("Handbook," 107) defines *ikhareya* as "ancient spirit, i.e., member of the race of beings that preceded mankind." The translation of this native term by the word "God" may not be as wide of the mark as might be imagined at first. I believe the Ghost Dance served to fuse and amalgamate supernatural beings of one or several categories into a concept of a supreme being, and that the strength of this concept in native thought today is in large part the result of forces at work during the last sixty years. This point will be discussed at greater length subsequently.

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49. Kroeber, "Ghost Dance," 32–35.

50. Lucy Thompson, *To the American Indian* (Eureka, Calif., 1916), 173–75.

51. L. J. Frachtenberg, ed., "Shasta and Athapascan Myths from Oregon," *JAFL* 28 (1915): 207–42.

52. This statement of the Tolowa source of the Ghost Dance has been revised in the preceding section.

53. Kroeber, "Ghost Dance," 32–35.

54. According to Robert Spott, to whom this was read, the Yurok proselytizer had had a wife belonging to that village, and he had taken his name from it. He denied that He-na Tom converted the Yurok, although he knew of him as a Tolowa chief interested in the Ghost Dance. He said that He-na Tom's wife came from Requa and that the Ghost Dance was first given at Kootep, not Nagelt.

55. Thompson, *To the American Indian*, 173–75.

56. The use of water and ashes is reported only from the Tolowa, Yurok, and Karok.

57. Hayes Scraps, 42. This is a collection of newspaper clippings in Bancroft Library, University of California. Unfortunately, dates and names of newspapers are not always attached to excerpts.

2. Western Oregon

1. The informant used the characteristic gesture to indicate the height of the grass. The advent was expected in late spring or early summer everywhere in northernmost California.

2. The term *Klamath* is used on Siletz Reservation for Shasta Indians. These three men all were Shasta and lived in a separate tribal colony on Siletz Reservation some seven miles from the Tututni colony at Lower Farm.

3. *Corvallis (Ore.) Gazette*, January 4, 1873.

4. Ibid., January 11, 1873.

5. Ibid., February 8, 1873.

6. This agrees well with statement by same informant on introduction of Ghost Dance, in which he said three Shasta from Siletz went to California to learn about the movement and returned to build a dance house before Bogus Tom's visit.

7. At present, this same idea of illness and a similar method of treatment is current among Indian Shakers.

8. Victor ("Oregon Indians," 346) states there were fifty-five Clackamas on Grand Ronde Reservation at this time.

9. From a Klickitat informant it was learned that some of his tribe were in that

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area during the period under discussion. The mobility of the Klickitat is well known in the Columbia drainage. From 1840 to 1850 a group of them traveled from the Columbia River to the Umpqua Valley of southern Oregon.

10. A chief of great repute, described in Spier, "Klamath Ethnography." The inclusion of Leleks is anachronistic, since he is said to have died in about 1868.

11. From other informants it would appear that Coquille Thompson actually did a great deal of the preaching.

12. This is the only informant who ever mentioned a rainbow obstruction. It may well be an individual elaboration.

13. This information was given to Mrs. Melville Jacobs by Clara Pearson, a Tillamook woman at Garibaldi, Oregon.

14. So named because he had sailed with the well-known captain William Tichenor, who founded Port Orford in 1851.

3. North-Central California

1. This date is established by a contemporary notice in the *Yreka Journal*, May 21, 1873.

2. The opposition of shamans to the new cult is brought out several times subsequently in the course of this section. It agrees with the reports of Spier ("Ghost Dance," 44) for the Klamath and is at variance with Gayton ("Ghost Dance of 1870," 80) for the Yokuts.

3. The Shasta, who converted the Karok, gave the same date and also urged them not to delay.

4. At this point the confusion sets in, for William Halsey has implied that the first message gave rise immediately to the Fall River affair, whereas actually at least one year must have elapsed. From this point his data probably deal with the Earth Lodge cult. Actually, however, he denied participating in the second movement, of which he gave a description. Aside from the fact that his memory may have been at fault concerning the time sequence, William Halsey desired to conceal the extent to which he had been duped by the false promises of the cults. By implying that he went immediately to Fall River and discovered the falsity of the doctrine, he glossed over the extent of his credulity, which is manifestly humiliating to him at present.

5. William Halsey's explanation of the miracle was probably a subsequent addition. The meeting called at Baird by Norelputus was attended by Paitla, the Shasta, and others. From there the plan was to set out for Fall River to meet the dead who were coming from the east. There seems to have been no skepticism in the meeting. The skepticism was probably another case of Halsey's self-justification and an attempt to whitewash the credulity of the Indians.

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6. Actually, Crook's campaign against the Achomawi occurred in 1867. Crook was sent to Arizona in 1871. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Oregon* (San Francisco, 1888), 2:532–33.

7. Achomawi houses were ordinarily oval or square.

8. Whirls of dust are considered to reveal the presence of the spirits of the dead.

9. John Lake.

10. Jack Fulsom.

11. Pete Otter, himself a "preacher."

12. Inez Picano.

13. Davis Mike.

14. Jack Fulsom. This Jack Wilson is not to be confused with the Paviotso Jack Wilson of the 1890 Ghost Dance.

15. Davis Mike.

16. Jack Fulsom.

17. Ibid.

18. Here the informant inserted an interesting comment indicating that the 1890 Ghost Dance was known to the Nebraska Winnebago: "When I went through Winnebago, Nebraska, at about that time everyone there said Jack Wilson was the greatest man in the west. They spoke highly of him. They paid the way for Jack Wilson to go there with about sixty of his people. They were dancing and singing just about like Fall River." Despite some effort to learn the itineraries of Jack Wilson's three trips, I heard of none to Nebraska from Walker Lake Paviotso.

19. Coyote and Wolf are the chief characters of the Paviotso mythology.

20. Kroeber, "Handbook," 341.

21. The anticipation of an eastern advent indicates that the Paviotso origin of the doctrine was still dominant. It is interesting that in the Earth Lodge cult among the Achomawi, the west was the direction from which the dead were expected.

22. For a discussion of the concept of the supreme being among the Wintu, as well as some further data on Norelputus, see the author's "Wintu Ethnography," *UC-PAAE* 36 (1935): 1–148.

23. A. L. Kroeber's "The Patwin and Their Neighbors" (*UC-PAAE* 29 [1932]: 335) gives *tsimatu* as the Patwin term for clown-messenger, etc., in River Patwin Hesi society. Their functions seem to have been comparable. It will be recalled that *tcimato* was the term applied to the caretaker in the Oregon dance houses.

24. Cf. this to Kilak dance, described in the section on the Delta region.

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25. Probably the Sotolth of Wintun accounts. He was not known as a dreamer in his native tribe, but he had great repute as a dancer. "He could always draw a crowd." He was known also as a lay messenger of Homaldo's (Mexican Jo's) teaching, from whose rancheria of Dachimchini he also came.

26. I am indebted to D. S. Demetracopoulou for some of these songs.

27. George H. H. Redding, "An Evening with Wintoon Indians," *Californian* 2 (1880): 564–65.

28. Du Bois, "Wintu Ethnography."

29. A detailed discussion of recent changes in Wintu shamanism is contained in Du Bois, "Wintu Ethnography."

30. One wonders in how far truly democratic institutions, like the Dream cult of the Wintu, need be amorphous and whether unformalized institutions are less stable than formalized ones. Obviously, this speculation does not apply to unconscious elements of behavior, but only to overt forms.

31. In connection with the peculiarities of historical research, the following anecdote is pertinent. Among some of the Wintun and in Round Valley there is current a vague idea that the Ghost Dance in California is attributable to the Paviotso. This information was traced to Dominic Hastings, a Wintun who is now dead. His daughter, however, was interviewed. She knew of her father's ideas and said that she still had the book in which he had read all about it. It proved to be a schoolbook with a brief account of the 1890 Ghost Dance and the Sitting Bull affair. Dominic had apparently read this passage, applied it to the 1870 Ghost Dance in California, and disseminated this piece of false historical knowledge, which approximated the facts sufficiently to be quite misleading for a time to the ethnographer.

32. Among the Wintu, *bola* means "myth."

33. A valuable map of the region, which gives both aboriginal and white settlements, is contained in Kroeber, "Patwin."

34. This motif of the world being destroyed by a high wind and world flood is found in Wintu mythology. See Cora Du Bois and D. Demetracopoulou, "Wintu Myths," *UC-PAAE* 28 (1931).

35. Was this influenced by Homaldo's sojourn in Mexico? When Paitla gave a dance at Portuguese Flat in Wintu country, a similar procedure was attributed to him. It indicates that Paitla's activities were directly influenced by Homaldo.

36. For another version of this song, see the statement of the following informant. In the rendition of these songs I could not detect the pattern described for the Wintu. All three of Homaldo's songs ended with a prolonged u.

37. It may have significance that the two bole men used as informants, Jim

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Smith and Santiago McDaniel, both denied that Homaldo preached adventism. They both must have been directly indebted to Homaldo for their religious practices and were in a position to be well informed on doctrinal matters. Their denial of certain elements seems to be deliberate.

38. This indicates that Homaldo was conversant with legerdemain before he used "tricks" supernaturally sanctioned.

39. The numbers represent the corresponding lines in the song. By jotting them down as the informant sings, it is possible to secure a formal if not a musical pattern of the song.

40. Powers, "Tribes of California," 205, 208–9.

41. Susie and Wilsey Lewis claim that Lame Bill lived until about 1900. They are probably accurate in this.

42. The present infrequency of Bole-Maru dances is probably due primarily to the economic impoverishment of the Indians and the breakdown of native culture. However, an associated cause may be the incorporation of the Hesi ceremonial, which was given formerly only once or twice a year.

43. Billy Freeman.

44. Jeff Jones.

45. Jim Smith.

46. Nancy Jordan; Charlie Warthon.

47. Jeff Jones; Charlie Warthon.

48. Jeff Jones.

49. This probably refers to the Hesi element in his dance, while the "red cross" costume belongs to the Bole-Maru strand. Santiago McDaniel himself said that he gave a Bole-Hesi.

50. Nancy Jordan.

51. Susie and Wilsey Lewis.

52. Hintil tono can probably be equated with the Toto of Sarah Lowell's account in the section on Lame Bill. In the earlier interview, these informants called a dance, which they described in the same fashion, the Toto. *Hintil* is from the Spanish *gentiles*, a term applied to Indians; *tono* is probably the Patwin term for dance, which is generally given as *tconos*.

53. Susie Lewis.

54. Sarah Lowell.

55. Kroeber, "Patwin," 308–12.

56. Note the similarity to Lame Bill's owl familiars.

57. Yupu is close to Marysville Buttes, where the Maidu believe the dead go before entering the spirit land (R. B. Dixon, "Northern Maidu," *Bulletin of the*

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American Museum of Natural History 17 [1905]: 260). An informant who was part Wintun but had lived among the Chico Maidu said, in the course of commenting on the origin of the Bole-Maru, "Marysville Buttes are the start of dancing and songs. It is the dead people's dance hall. In the old stories the dead people went there when they died and from there went on to heaven."

58. I am inclined to consider this the origin, truly autochthonous, of the Ball dance now found throughout the Bole-Maru area. Kroeber ("Patwin," 311 n) is inclined to consider it an original Ghost Dance trait on the basis of balls found in Arapaho Ghost Dance (1890) regalia. There is no evidence that the Ball dance occurred in the 1870 Ghost Dance before the Bole-Maru area is reached.

59. Kroeber ("Patwin," 310) gives this spirit as a "human-like ghost (saltu koikoro, 'spirit that takes or possesses')."

60. Here, as among the Hill Patwin of Cortina and Lolsel, the Bole-Maru seems to have had an influence on eschatology. They are modifications of the older pattern of showing excessive grief. Psychologically, a modification of grief allies itself with a more specific concept and greater certainty of afterlife.

61. The informant insisted there was no word for "ball" in Maidu. There is some indication that the River Patwin word *boli* (equivalent of Hill Patwin *bole*) has been equated by the Maidu with the English word *ball*, on the basis of the new ball dance introduced with the Bole-Maru cult. It represents an interesting bit of folk etymologizing.

62. Dixon, "Northern Maidu," 321–22. There seem to have been several Feather dances, supposedly of recent introduction from the Northwestern Maidu.

63. Ibid., 309–10. The erection and dedication of a new dance house was an elaborate procedure.

64. Kroeber ("Patwin," 329) characterizes the River Patwin Hesi as "gentle rather than dangerous" in comparison to the Waisaltu and Kuksu. Probably the absence of dangerous potency went far in making the secularized Hesi of the Bole-Maru acceptable to the River Patwin.

65. Ibid., 344.

66. E. M. Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu Cult," *UC-PAAE* 33 (1933): 225.

67. Or Big Head. Kroeber ("Patwin," 337), speaking of the Patwin Hesi, says, "The t'uya . . . was the most frequently enacted spirit in the hesi. He wore an enormous pincushion headdress of slender rods, honol, tipped with white goose or crane feathers. They were stuck in a tule pad skewered to his net-confined hair. This 'big-head' is the prototype of 'bull-head' t'osa of the modern bole hesi."

68. The informant said she did not know what these deletions were, since, as a woman, she was not acquainted with the esoteric Hesi.

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69. S. A. Barrett, "The Wintun Hesi Ceremony," *UC-PAAE* 14 (1919): 437–88.

70. Kroeber, "Patwin," 358.

71. The question of the "pincushion" type of Big Head, constructed with slender rods stuck in a tule skull cap, as opposed to the feather-crown type of Big Head, needs further clarification. My impression is that the pincushion type may be Patwin and Maidu as opposed to the Pomo feather-crown type.

72. Powers, "Tribes of California," 205. Also, the *Sentinel* (Red Bluff, Tehama Co.), Saturday, May 18, 1872, quotes the *Mendocino Democrat* of May 9, 1872, as follows: "A great sensation has recently been astir among the Indians of the coast and this region generally, and grand dances have been going on on a large scale. Indians were gathered from far and near in several localities and many white people became fearful. . . . The whole stir is said to be caused by a prophetic report on the part of some Indians that the ocean is going to rise and roll in upon the land very soon, or that a comet or some other destructive element is to visit the earth and scatter desolation and ruin."

73. The word varies among Pomo subgroups: Southeastern Pomo, *abko*; Eastern Pomo, *maru*; Northern Pomo, *matu*; coast Central Pomo, *batu*.

74. No trace of this character was found east of the Coast Range.

75. This origin tale bears resemblances to accounts of shamanistic experiences.

76. Barrett observed this later Bole-Maru type of dance house at Sulphur Bank in 1902. The description of the interior decorations are of interest in being more detailed than anything now available. See S. A. Barrett, "Pomo Buildings," *Holmes Anniversary Volume* (1916), 15, 16, plates 6, 9.

77. An interesting example of the power of an individual dreamer to affect the more remote phases of material culture.

78. Informant refused to describe the costumes and flags because he said they were still in use and the present dreamers were strictly opposed to talking about their activities. It would bring misfortune to the dreamers.

79. Mountain men impersonated in Ghost Initiation Ceremony (*kinaupo*) according to E. M. Loeb, "Western Kuksu Cult," *UC-PAAE* 33 (1932): 135. Informants considered it the equivalent of the Patwin Hesi dance (as distinguished from Hesi cycle).

80. Described as a shooting ceremony, which is not identifiable in the literature.

81. Spirit in the Bear dance of the Kuksu ceremonies. Loeb, "Western Kuksu," 136.

82. This information would indicate that a secularized form of the Patwin

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Hesi, or Bole-Hesi, was transmitted almost immediately to Sulphur Bank. Xuya may be a Southeastern Pomo rendering of the Patwin *t'uya*, which was the term for Big Head.

83. See subsection "Bole-Maru and Curing," p. 236.

84. Her husband, Raphael Patch, has still more recently become a convert to the Pentecostal Church. It probably absorbs his desire for religious expression, which has been checked by his wife's dream prohibition. It will be interesting to see if he returns to Indian cults. Since he is one of the most influential and religiously minded of the younger men in Sulphur Bank and Lower Lake, his decisions will do much to shape the development of the entire group.

85. Edwin M. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," *UC-PAAE* 19 (1926): 394–97.

86. Powers, "Tribes of California," 205.

87. Ibid., 208–9.

88. S. A. Barrett, "Ethnogeography of the Pomo Indians," *UC-PAAE* 6 (1908): 199–200.

89. Edward W. Gifford, "Clear Lake Pomo Society," *UC-PAAE* 18 (1926): 348–49.

90. Barrett, "Ethnogeography of Pomo," 188–89.

91. William Benson.

92. Gifford, "Clear Lake Pomo Society," 348.

93. S. A. Barrett, "Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians," *UC-PAAE* 12 (1917).

94. This may refer to an order by the agent that "abolished all the sweat houses on the reservation" as a health measure to combat colds. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1873), 325. If we may accept the agent's reasons for abolishing sweat houses, we have a nice example of how a well-intentioned but ill-advised step served to discourage a cult whose moralistic qualities a subsequent agent approved (see below).

95. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1872), 377.

96. This is probably the Mata ke described by Barrett ("Ceremonies of Pomo," 439–40) and Kroeber ("Handbook," 267). Barrett gives some additional material, namely that there was a male dance leader and that the women held green sprigs in their hands.

97. For description see Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 338–39.

98. Barrett ("Ceremonies of Pomo," 403) states that the ghost ceremony "was usually held in the spring." Bill's dream, therefore, did not depart from ancient practices but served instead to reinforce them.

99. An Assiniboine informed me that his tribesmen were carrying on the 1890 Ghost Dance in the same fashion because the agency official forbade open meetings.

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100. Walker Valley is some ten miles northeast of Potter Valley, where the other Northern Pomo deep earth lodge was being constructed.

101. In note to phonograph record 14-2323 X and 14-2324 XI in Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

102. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 372.

103. The forehead band seems to be the same pictured in figure 15. William Benson (Eastern Pomo) said that this type of headdress was introduced from the south with the Lihuya dance shortly before the Bole-Maru. See section "Delta Region," p. 265.

104. Powers, "Tribes of California," 163–66.

105. This seems to refer to the imitation of the down ceremony (*damaxai*) noted by Loeb ("Pomo Folkways," 391). It indicates another attempt by a dreamer to incorporate old ceremonies into the Bole-Maru.

106. Note that Sealion White attributed the first Big Head dance to George rather than John Boston.

107. Heaven flowers were rosettes made by superimposing shirred circles of cloth having different diameters. They are another manifestation of the strong association between the afterworld and flowers throughout the whole Ghost Dance and Earth Lodge cult area.

108. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 355 n.

109. Southeastern Pomo, *witmee*; Eastern Pomo, *harik*, father, or *harik kayu*, father above; Northern Pomo, *waimai*; Central Pomo, *yakibaea*.

110. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 395 and footnote.

111. L. S. Freeland, "Pomo Doctors and Poisoners," *UC-PAAE* 20 (1923): 58.

112. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 396.

113. Ibid., 322.

114. Ibid., 327.

115. A form of northern California shamanism recently introduced to the Pomo by Albert Thomas, a shaman of Wintu and Achomawi origin. See below for further data.

116. This account of the introduction of a new form of shamanism into Pomo territory is irrelevant to the discussion of the Bole-Maru cult and curing, but it is highly pertinent to the development of modern shamanism among the Pomo. In this connection attention should be drawn to Jaime de Angulo and L. S. Freeland's "New Religious Movement in North-Central California" (*AA* 31 [1929]: 265–70), which also treats of this subject and specifically of Albert Thomas's influence on Henry Johnson, who is probably the power doctor mentioned above. The authors draw attention to the amicable relation between the Bole-Maru

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dreamers and the new "power doctors" at Sulphur Bank. We have seen that actually in Elvy Patch the two are reconciled.

117. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 325.

118. Loeb ("Western Kuksu," 25) says Nagaitco was addressed in prayers as *sta'* (father).

119. Kroeber ("Handbook," 196) describes the dance and speaks of it as "largely social in character."

120. Dr. Paul Radin is inclined to identify the language as Wintun. Santiago McDaniel speaks both Patwin and Pomo. If this song is Wintun it may be one of Homaldo's.

121. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1874), 73.

122. Powers, "Tribes of California," 209–10.

123. The prophecy is now considered ridiculous and the whole incident a ludicrous joke on the Wappo. "I no die" is the amused comment of the informants. Despite this good-humored attitude, the destruction of property which occurred before their departure must have been a severe blow to the resumption of economic existence upon their return.

124. The Wappo know, and frequently use, the Pomo term *maru*. Their equivalent is *omewilish*. "It means doing as you dream. Olol is to dance. Omewilish olol are Bole-Maru dances, different from hintilolol, which are old-time dances handed down from one to another. Ordinary dreaming is hintcome." Paul Radin ("Wappo Grammar," *UC-PAAE* 27 [1929]: 163) translates *omewilesi* as "tell a tale," a translation that Pomo frequently give for *maru*.

125. *lila*, high up; *wali*, whole world; *utel*, powerful, was the translation offered by the interpreter. Dr. I. T. Kelly, who has worked with the Coast Miwok, suggested the following translation on the basis of that language: *lila*, heaven; *wali*, sacred; *utel*, ghost.

126. It is interesting to compare the three sources of inspiration suggested by three informants. Martha McCloud attributed Jack's inspiration to his dead uncle's ghost. Mary Eli laid it to a visionary "fine young man" and later to a ghost (*ote.u*), while Salvador Chapo considers a supreme being as his source.

127. The informant suffered both of these disabilities!

128. The latter refused to mention his own experiences as an *omewilish* man, although he has long since given up dancing.

129. Loeb, "Western Kuksu," 121–23. *Yompta* were "doctors" who called in the ghosts in the ghost initiation.

130. De Angulo and Freeland, "New Religious Movement," 267.

131. E. W. Gifford, "Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies," *AA* 28 (1927): 214–57; Gifford, "Miwok Cults," *UC-PAAE* 18 (1926): 391–408.

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132. R. L. Beals, "Ethnology of the Nisenan," *UC-PAAE* 31 (1933): 399 and passim; Gayton, "Ghost Dance of 1870"; Kroeber, "Patwin," 309.

133. Powers, "Tribes of California," 352–53.

134. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," 393.

135. Loeb, "Eastern Kuksu," see table 1.

4. Big Head Cult

1. I adopt the name "Big Head cult" because all the tribes that came under its influence used a term for it which can be so translated.

2. Kroeber, "Handbook," 207–8.

3. P. E. Goddard, "Chilula Indians of Northwestern California," *UC-PAAE* 10 (1914): 271. Chilula territory lay west and somewhat north of the Hupa.

4. Loeb, "Western Kuksu," 74.

5. Ibid., 25 n, says "modern informants call Tcenes 'God' and Nagaitco 'Devil.'"

6. On another occasion the informant gave his age as six or seven, which would date the event in 1880 or 1881. The earlier date is probably more accurate. His birth was definitely placed in 1873.

7. Loeb, "Western Kuksu," 28–29.

8. Ibid., 74–75.

9. The Pomo Captain Jim was nicknamed Kop pesos ("Two pesos") by the Yuki. It is curious and confusing that so many of the purchasers of the Big Head regalia were called Jim, viz., Two pesos Jim (Pomo), Captain Jim (Wailaki), Jim Feder (Wintu), Tyee Jim (Shasta).

10. The relation of this term to the Patwin one was pointed out previously. It seems to have been current throughout the Sacramento Valley and wherever the Bole-Maru cult made itself felt.

11. Emma Snelling, another informant present, insisted that he paid two hundred dollars for the regalia. This is the same sum that John Towndolly claimed Jim Feder paid for the two sets. Jim Feder said he paid only forty dollars for them and sold them for the same price to Tyee Jim. The discrepancies in price may depend upon whether the informant was referring to the headdress proper or to the whole set of regalia. Since they might be sold piecemeal, this is a possible explanation.

12. This last statement is probably false. "Dreaming" had begun as a result of the earlier movements. The informant may have confused the earlier cults and the Big Head, or it is possible that the Shasta welded earlier concepts to the Big Head dance, as the subsequent statements indicate.

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13. For description, see note 33 for part 1.

14. See Dixon, "Shasta," 418–19, for description of these square sweat houses.

15. The Ghost Dance proselytizer of the Tolowa.

16. For the term *tcimato*, really *tsimatu*, and his functions in the Patwin Hesi, see Kroeber, "Patwin," 325.

Summary of Contents

1. Kroeber, "Patwin," 311 n.

Conclusions and Speculations

1. For example: A. A. Goldenweiser, "Origin of Totemism," *AA* 14 (1912): 600–607; R. H. Lowie, "Some Problems in the Ethnology of the Crow and Village Indians," *AA* 14 (1912): 68–71; C. Wissler, "Ceremonial Bundles of the Blackfoot Indians," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 7 (1912): 100–106; C. Wissler, in *Anthropology in North America*, ed. F. Boas (1915), 120–23.

2. Stephen Powers, "California Indian Characteristics," *Overland Monthly* 14 (1875): 306.

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