THE MAIDU

THE Maidu occupied a large number of settlements consisting of round, earth-covered, partially subterranean houses from one to perhaps twenty in number. Roughly defined, their former territory is the eastern drainage area of Sacramento river from a point a few miles north of Chico southward to Cosumnes river, a distance in a straight line of about a hundred and ten miles. In the northeast it extended into the alkaline plains of the inland basin about Eagle and Honey lakes, so that on the eastern side it attained a length of some one hundred and forty-five miles. The average breadth is approximately ninety miles, and the area nearly ten thousand square miles.

This region is marked with a number of characteristic features of California topography. In the west, from north to south, extends the valley of the Sacramento, with waving tule swamps bordering the river and a level plain, once a vast field of native grasses studded with great oaks, stretching some twenty miles or more to the foothills. Near the centre of the plain, like cones on a table, stands the remarkable cluster of volcanic peaks known as Marysville buttes, a landmark for the explorers of other days.

East of the valley are the foothills of the Sierra, partially covered with oaks and conifers, but exposing many open slopes and ridges where various shrubs and annual plants yielded edible nuts, fruits, and seeds. Manzanita and ceanothus are the prevailing shrubs. The foothills are cut by numerous southwest-flowing streams — notably Feather and American rivers and their branches, — which generally tumble through deep glacial gorges or cañons. East of the foothills lies the heavily forested Sierra Nevada, where at elevations of five to ten thousand feet a snowfall of twenty feet is not uncommon.

At the extreme northwestern corner of Maidu territory is the volcanic peak, Mount Lassen, still mildly and intermittently active, the northern outpost of the Sierra Nevada. From its northern slopes flow streams discharging into Pit river and so into the Sacramento, and its southern slope drains into the North fork of Feather river and a multitude of creeks flowing more directly into the Sacramento. Immediately east of Mount Lassen is a region of cinder cones and hot springs, a place of mystery to the Indians.

Farther eastward, in the extreme northeastern part of Maidu ter-

ritory, is an extension of the great interior basin of Nevada. Here the drainage is into salt lakes — Eagle Horse and Honey. Arid sagebrush plains and alkaline flats, the beds of ancient lakes, predominate. The Maidu probably did not extend far out into this plain, because one of the four divisions of the Paviotso, as recognized by themselves, roamed this country and claimed Honey lake as the principal feature of their territory.

The northern neighbors of the Maidu were the now extinct Yana, from Rock creek in the northwestern corner of Butte county northward to Round mountain, and eastward to Mount Lassen; and the Achomawi, on Pit river. Eastward were the northern Paviotso, or Paiute, of the Great Basin country, and the Washo about Lake Tahoe, both essentially Nevada tribes, but extending into California. South of the Maidu were the Miwok, and westward across Sacramento river the Wintun, by whom the Maidu were profoundly influenced, especially in their ceremonial life.

On linguistic and geographical grounds Dixon[1] recognizes three divisions: the northeastern Maidu, partly in the arid plains of Lassen county, but more numerously in the mountain valleys of Plumas county; the northwestern Maidu, west of the first-named division and north of Yuba river; and the southern Maidu, south of Yuba river. Considerable differences, all due to environmental and other external influences, existed between these divisions. The northeastern Maidu led the more simple life of the interior plains people, like the neighboring Paviotso and Achomawi. The northwestern Maidu had a very elaborate ceremonial system borrowed from the Wintun. The southern Maidu resembled the Miwok more than they did the other Maidu.

It must not be thought that within each of these more or less arbitrary divisions there was a uniform culture. In every case there were rather wide differences between opposite borders. Thus, among the northwestern Maidu the people of the valley and those of the foothills were nearly as divergent as the two northern major divisions. Their habitats were entirely dissimilar, consequently habits of daily life necessarily differed. The ceremonial organization of the foothills was

1 The Northern Maidu, Bulletin American Museum of Natural History, XVII, 1905.

much simpler than that of the valley. Lastly, the vocabularies show many variations, mostly lexical, not phonetic.

The name Maidu is the native word for person, or people, and was first used by Powers in 1877. The southern Maidu he classed as a separate tribe under the name Nishinam. For themselves the Maidu have only local names. They are the sole representatives of Powell's Pujunan linguistic stock, but the studies of Dixon and Kroeber show their linguistic relationship with Wintun, Costanoan, Miwok, and Yokuts, all members of the newly conceived Penutian family.

Spaniards from the south explored the lower courses of Sacramento and Feather rivers in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and trappers, approaching from the opposite direction, made a beginning of exploration in the mountains. None of these activities left any impression on the country or the native people. In 1839 John A. Sutter, a Swiss soldier, obtained a grant near the mouth of American river, and there built a fortified private establishment, which he patriotically called New Helvetia. It was in this region that gold was discovered in 1848. A large part of the placer area lay within Maidu territory. The very names of the counties carved, in whole or in part, from their domain are bathed in the glamor of the days of gold. Sacramento, Eldorado, Sutter, Placer, Yuba, Nevada, Sierra, Butte, Plumas — every name brings a romantic picture of the Argonauts.

For the Maidu the period was far from romantic. To them the Argonauts did not appear in the golden haze that surrounds them in modern imagination. Not a few of them mere desperadoes, most of them hard living, hard fisted, hard hearted, their sole aim was the acquisition of the yellow nuggets in the shortest possible time. The fact that their operations filled with debris the streams from which the natives had always obtained a substantial part of their food, and drove the game into remote fastnesses, was unheeded if considered at all. Patient, pathetic entreaty was answered with a laugh, protest with a curse or a kick, resistance with premeditated slaughter of guilty and innocent. Unaccustomed diseases had been steadily playing their part for nearly a generation, and now drunkenness was added to the Indian's already impossible burden.

Today there are about two hundred Maidu, probably one twentieth of the population at the beginning of the last century. With the exception of a few at Round Valley reservation in former Yuki terri-

tory, the Maidu live in small groups here and there in their old domain, most of them on allotted land. Their principal centres are in or near Chico and Mooretown in Butte county, for the northwestern Maidu, Prattville and Genesee in Plumas county for the northeastern Maidu, and Nashville in Eldorado county for the southern division; but others are to be found, one family here, two there, throughout the entire area. The largest number at any one place is on the Bidwell ranch at Chico, and it is on information there obtained that the material for the following pages is based. It must be understood, therefore, that statements therein made do not necessarily apply outside the valley section of the northwestern Maidu.

The typical house was about fifteen feet in diameter. Its construction was begun by digging with sticks, and with baskets used as scoops, a circular excavation about three feet deep, and setting near the centre and some six feet apart two forked posts, one, the main post, eight to ten feet high, the other, the front post, somewhat shorter. A beam connecting the two crotches was next put in place, and in the circumference of the excavation was set a number of short posts, scarcely higher than the earth wall, the tops of which were connected by a series of plate-timbers. Horizontal battens close together were bound to these posts from bottom to top. All timbers were securely lashed by means of grapevine withes. From opposite sides two heavy beams extended from the plate to the taller of the two central posts. Then a great number of rafters were erected, their bases resting on the plate and their tops on the central posts or on the beam connecting them. Small transverse poles were lashed across the rafters. Grass and brush were spread thickly on these battens, tules were set up outside the wall battens, and dry grass was stuffed down between the tules and the earth wall. Lastly a heavy layer of earth was applied to the roof and piled up against the wall, so that the visible part of the structure was nearly a low-angle cone. An opening back of the main post served as a smoke-vent and an exit, from which a pole ladder led down into the interior close to the fireplace. In the front wall at the level of the floor was a circular hole for ventilation; but at night it was stuffed shut with a bunch of grass. This hole served also as a doorway for the aged and for children, an incline extending from it upward to the ground. Under modern influence this grew into a practical doorway with a pent-roof. Every autumn a fresh covering of earth was applied to the roof of the

house.

The roof-plan of Maidu houses, that is, the number and arrangement of the posts and timbers, but not the ultimate shape, varied not only among the major divisions, but even in the valley section of the northwestern Maidu. Here, in addition to the two posts near the centre, there was sometimes a row of shorter ones midway between the centre and the two sides, and from each central post a heavy timber extended to the wall, one in front, the other in the rear. The other roof-timbers rested either on these main ones or on the central posts, being supported at the middle by the shorter, secondary posts.

Poor families in the valley, and nearly all in the foothills, contented themselves with smaller, conical lodges of poles meeting at a point above a shallow excavation and covered with brush, bark, and slabs, — a very inferior shelter. Its general use in the foothills, where thorough protection was more desirable than in the lowlands, was doubtless due to the difficulty of excavating earth in the stony ridges and hillsides on which their settlements were pitched.

The assembly house resembled the earth-roofed dwelling, but was considerably larger — from twenty-five to thirty feet in diameter and correspondingly lofty — and had a different arrangement of posts and roof-timbers. A tall post stood in the centre, a shorter one behind it, and another in front of it. Each of the two shorter ones was connected with the central post by a heavy beam, and with the plate by several radiating main rafters. Other main rafters rested on the central post and the connecting beams. The door, always facing west, was very low, so that one who chose this exit instead of the smoke-hole in the roof had to crawl out and then climb up the incline to the surface of the ground.

The Maidu had no sweat-houses. In dancing the performers perspired profusely and at the end of the dance bathed in the river; but other than this the sweat was unknown.

The beds were rather low platforms of willow poles, which paralleled the wall and were supported by a number of transverse pieces extending from the wall posts to stakes embedded in the earthen floor. Bunches of fine willow twigs were tied transversely on the poles, or pine-needles were strewn on them, and tule mats frequently covered the twigs or needles. The Maidu slept with the head to the fire (an unusual position), and the head-rest was commonly a stout pole extending along the edge of the platform. With a comparatively large number

of people sleeping in a small house, practically air-tight except for the smoke-hole, covering was rarely needed, and they usually lay naked. In emergencies they covered themselves with fur or feather robes. A reliable informant, Jack Franco, stated that some of the Maidu were so wretched that they curled up on the floor like dogs. For the poverty of the Indians, their hardships and ignorance, he blamed Coyote, the mischief-making companion of the benevolent creator.[2]

The household utensils were mostly numerous basketry vessels for containing and preparing food.

The prevailing type of basketry was coiled, with three-rod foundation of willow or redbud, and wrapping or sewing material from the same source. In this manner were made the circular, flaring cooking vessels; baskets, shaped like a truncated cone and having a diameter of as much as three feet, for the storage of acorn meal, seeds, and other vegetal food; parching baskets, the shape of which may be deduced from the fact that the Indians sometimes used them as gold-pans; trays for sifting meal; and hoppers for use with flat stone mortars.

Twined work was confined to the sharply pointed, conical burden-baskets; open-work storage baskets; seed-beaters, and trays for holding dry food; and great out-door granaries, cylindrical, and as much as five or six feet in diameter and six to eight feet high - so large in fact that sometimes a man would take his paramour to sleep in one of them, secure from detection.

The mortar used in pulverizing acorns, seeds, and dry fish, was simply a flat stone sunk in the floor, or the flat surface of a granite bowlder, with a basketry hopper set on it and held in place by the worker's legs. When the gradually worn conical hole became four to six inches deep, so that it was difficult to remove the meal that became firmly packed in the bottom, a new stone was procured for the house or a new spot was selected on the bowlder. As elsewhere in northern California, globular mortars are found buried in the ground, apparently by natural causes, and like other Indians the Maidu disclaim any knowledge of the makers, believing these objects rather to

2 After relating the myth of the creation and naming the evil customs instituted by Coyote, he became oblivious to the presence of an auditor, and speaking quite to himself he exclaimed softly but earnestly: "Oh, poor people! Dog-gone that devil! Wasn't for him we would have had it nice! Oh, sugar!"

be supernatural in their origin and dangerous for ordinary persons to handle. They were used only for religious purposes, and principally by shamans. The fact that these mortars are found beneath the surface of the ground may be connected with the ancient shamanistic practice, as among the Luiseños of southern California, of burying their ceremonial mortars when not in use. These southerners also believed that stone objects of this kind were capable of motion, but only in the performance of their ceremonial function. Although the Maidu, unlike the Shasta, did not credit these prehistoric mortars with the power of instantaneous motion, they held a somewhat similar belief in regard to the water-worn stones that were sometimes used as pestles instead of those artificially shaped by pecking. They thought that such stones had life, and in winter went dashing through the water against the banks, hollowing out great caves. Sometimes they threw themselves out of the water, and were found.

Clothing could hardly be simpler than that of the Valley Maidu. Men, elderly women, and children wore nothing whatever, except that in cold weather they threw a feather or fur robe about the shoulders and fastened it in front with wooden pins. Younger women wore as an apron a mere thick switch of bark, either willow or maple, the latter being preferred, and when gathering seeds, and consequently stooping much of the time, they had another bunch behind. Fur robes were either entire skins sewn together, or more commonly the skins of rabbits cut into continuous strips, which were wound spirally on poles, so that after drying they retained the spiral shape and were in effect hollow cylinders covered with fur. These ropes of fur were wound on a frame consisting of two horizontal poles, and through the warp thus formed was passed the milkweed or hemp cord weft in the process known as double twining. Among the Valley Maidu the most common robes were made by the same process out of the skins of crows, or of ducks, geese, and other waterfowl.

Women wore flat-topped basketry caps, which in many cases were made of tules. Close-mesh net-caps were worn by men, principally on ceremonial occasions. The fabric was about eight inches wide and twice as long. On each long margin was a draw-string, and when the cap was adjusted over the mass of hair bunched on the top of the head, the extremity of the strip of netting drooped down over the back of the neck, A deerskin band covered the front edge. The hair of

women and children was kept very short by means of a glowing ember of oak-bark, and after this treatment pulverized charcoal of tarweed was rubbed into the hair. How extensive was this practice among the Maidu is uncertain. At Âlâlâpa, a Feather River town below the site of Oroville, they wore a tonsure, the hair being burned short on the top of the head and left fairly long at the back and sides. Men had the hair long and doubled up on the top of the head beneath the knitted cap, and a rather long, sharp stick was thrust transversely through cap and hair above the forehead. The comb was a porcupine-tail with a thong handle on the under side. The beard and the pubic hair were burned off.

Moccasins and leggings were practically unknown in the valley, but the mountaineers habitually wore them in winter, as well as for hunting in summer.

Tattooing was accomplished by scarifying the skin with a flake of white flint and rubbing charcoal into the cuts. Women had several perpendicular lines on the chin, always an odd number for the sake of symmetry, a line from each corner of the mouth to the cheek-bone, and very often marks across the chest. A few men had a line or two on the chin, but most of them were ornamented with rows of dots on the arms and across the chest.

Both sexes in the dance wore ear-pendants or plugs inserted in holes in the lobes of the ears. The pendants were clam-shell, dentalia, or abalone-shell beads on deerskin thongs, the plugs were bone or wooden cylinders, either plain or with a cluster of quail crest-feathers or red woodpecker-feathers at the forward end. The commonest ear-ornament for men was a ten-inch wing-bone of a swan or a crane, and for women a smaller bone from the wing of a pelican. Designs scratched on the bone were filled in with charcoal powder. In everyday life a tule plug was frequently inserted to keep the perforation open. Certain head-men in dancing wore a feather or the entire wing of a yellowhammer in the septum of the nose. Principal dancers used red paint, *hi*, on the face, arms, and chest, and others employed charcoal. Women were fond of necklaces, which were made of clam-shell discs, dentalia, or magnesite cylinders. All these were obtained from the Wintun, who procured them from the Pomo, by whom both clam-shell and magnesite beads were manufactured. Dentalia and magnesite were rare among the Maidu, but they possessed quantities of clam-shell beads, which

were a common medium of exchange. For this purpose also they used woodpecker scalps, those of the smaller species being equivalent to twenty-five cents each, those of the large, pileated woodpecker a dollar each. Recently the price of the latter has advanced to two dollars and fifty cents, as they are in demand for decorating dance costumes.

The principal vegetal foods of the Maidu were acorns and pinole. Acorns of every species were used in making mush and bread by the process heretofore described in this volume, but those of the black oak were preferred by the valley dwellers. Pinole was the parched and pulverized seeds of various grasses and other plants, the most prolific being tarweed, wild oats, and sunflowers. Other edible nuts were buckeyes, which were prepared in the same manner as acorns, sugar-pine and digger-pine nuts, and hazelnuts.

Roots of many kinds, especially camas and other liliaceous bulbs, were roasted in pits, and certain unidentified root-stocks were eaten raw. The subterranean stock of the tule was a fairly important article to the valley bands, and young clover and pea-vines were devoured in the fields with gusto.

Fruits were dried and stored, and their great variety gave them importance in spite of the relatively short season for any one species. Elderberries, service-berries, chokecherries, gooseberries, blackberries, plums, and grapes were so treated. Laurel-berries were roasted and eaten, and manzanita-berries, which at maturity become dry and mealy, were used for making a sweetish beverage.

Fish of all kinds were staple food, and all species except sturgeon were dried and crushed, bones and all, in a mortar, and packed away in tall, twined willow baskets lined with grass on a thick floor of bark. The bones of fish that were eaten fresh were tied up in bundles, and when winter rations became short the bones were crushed and used in soup. Nothing was overlooked by the Maidu. A great delicacy was a putrid salmon, cooked by boiling with plenty of salt, which was secured from various deposits within Maidu territory. Whenever a dead salmon was seen floating down the river, there was always someone ready to volunteer to swim after it.

An immense variety of animal life was available to the Maidu, and they refused little of it. Reptiles, batrachians, dogs, wolves and coyotes, minks and otters, grizzly-bears, and buzzards, were not eaten.

Deer and elk, driven from the mountains by snow, joined the

swarming bands of antelope in Sacramento valley for the winter. Black bears were sometimes captured, but the grizzly-bear was generally avoided and his flesh was not eaten even if available. The carnivores, fox, wildcat, cougar, badger, porcupine, skunk, and raccoon, were eaten, but of greater importance, because more numerous and more easily killed, were the rodents — rabbits, squirrels, gophers, wood-rats, kangaroo-rats, and mice.

The waterfowl, including brant, swans, and a vast variety of ducks and geese, were remarkably abundant, and the Maidu ate not only these, and game birds such as quail and grouse, but the smaller birds, like robins, doves, larks, and woodpeckers, and all predaceous and carrion birds excepting buzzards, these being owls, hawks, eagles, crows, and ravens.

Fresh-water clams and mussels, turtles, bats, earthworms, grasshoppers, and yellow-jacket larvæ were esteemed.

Deer were killed by stalking and by driving. A hunter with a deer-head mask on his head, a rabbit-skin blanket about his shoulders, and *kôkoko*, probably gypsum, smeared over the front parts of his body, stood in the brush on the windward side of the quarry and simulated the movements of a feeding deer, and thus enticed his prey within perhaps a few yards of him. The antlers of the mask were made of wood, and in the spring they were wound with deerskin, so as to resemble horns in the velvet. Deer were also driven into long nets and clubbed as they struggled there, or past ambushed hunters who brought them down with arrows. In mountainous country the deer were driven between long brush wings behind which the bowmen were concealed, or less commonly over a cliff. Elk were killed from ambush when driven by other hunters, and antelope were stalked in the same manner as deer, the horns of the disguise being made of soap-plant fibres blackened with charcoal. But the commonest method of killing large game was in winter to drive the animals into backwater along the swollen river, and there catch them by a hind leg and stab them in the throat. Bears were seldom killed. They were not successfully caught in nets, because they would destroy too much of that valuable material before they could be killed. Such bears as were taken were killed by hunters who surrounded the animal and shot arrows from all sides.

Rabbits were driven into long nets and there despatched with clubs, and geese, attracted by decoys, were entangled when the hunter

jerked a string and so dislodged the upright poles on which a flat net, its lower edge pegged down, was held perpendicular to the ground.

While still without well-developed wings, grass-hoppers were driven by a circle of people with ash boughs into a number of large pits partially filled with water. They were dipped out with open-mesh baskets, poured into burden-baskets, and baked in pits. Some were then dried and pounded up. The adult insects were captured by setting fire to the dry grass of a meadow and so singeing their wings.

Salmon to be dried and stored were caught in autumn by means of long seines. The fish-weir *t!u* was a structure of stakes and poles with grass and earth filling. At each end was a long basketry trap with its mouth up-stream, and in the middle was an opening at which, on a platform, stood a fisherman plying his dip-net, *sûkitu,* by night. This net was of the bow-and-arrow type. When a run of salmon passed through the gate by day, they were frightened back into the traps. The weir called *leu* was of the same construction, but had a single trap at the middle, and no gate, being used for steelhead trout in their seaward migration. The dip-net called *sápenim-bíni* was arranged on two long, divergent poles with a cross-piece at the bottom, and was used in eddies in the same manner as the same type was handled on Klamath river. Spears with two bone points loosely socketed on the prongs of the long shaft were employed at riffles or at the salmon-weir. The gorge-hook, a straight, double-pointed bit of bone attached at the middle and covered with bait, was used for trout.

The northwestern Maidu traded with the Wintun and with the northeastern hands. From the former they obtained principally shell beads, woodpecker-scalps, and yellowhammer-feathers, which with nets and rope snares they passed along to their Maidu neighbors in exchange for yew bows, arrows, and skins. Shell beads are said to have been a comparatively late acquisition. The Maidu never wandered far from home, and these commodities travelled by passing from village to village.

No canoes were made in Sacramento valley,[3] but small tule balsas were in use. Ordinarily streams were crossed by swimming with a tule

3 Dixon says that canoes were used to a limited extent. No confirmation of this statement was secured.

or wooden float under one arm. Rude canoes are said to have been made by the northeastern Maidu for the navigation of the lakes in their territory.

Tobacco pipes were of two kinds. The more common was a cylindrical piece of ash branch about thirty inches long. Tubular steatite pipes from four to six inches long were less numerous.

The war activities of the Maidu were almost exclusively feuds, which were caused by trespass on food preserves and fishing stations, and by the supposed practices of shamans in "poisoning" people. The individual possessed exclusive and absolute rights in certain fishing places and in certain oaks, and if he detected anyone, even a member of his own village, in poaching, a fight was certain to ensue. And this personal affair of course grew into a feud between families or between villages. Payment before revenge was not the thing. If one caught a man stealing his fish or acorns, he did his best to kill the intruder; and his friends did not send a mediator to arrange terms of peace, but fighters to exact revenge. But when peace was to be concluded, all the lives lost on both sides were paid for. The victorious side therefore paid the greater price.

In ancient times a deadly enemy lived on the upper part of Mill creek, east of Tehama. These were of Yana stock. Scalps were taken in war, and they figured prominently in the victory celebration, dangling from a pole upon which was hung a bundle of tules representing the enemy. Two warriors with blackened faces danced about the pole, dodging and posturing like fighting-men, and discharging arrows at the effigy. When they retired, two others danced, and thus it went until all the warriors had shot at the "enemy." Then all the people swarmed out and danced around the pole.

The Valley Maidu used a long, elk-hide shirt for protection in war, and the hill tribes a vest of round, hardwood rods with cord twining. Their weapons were yew bows, arrows tipped with obsidian or flint, shafted preferably with syringa or reed shoots and triply feathered, and obsidian-bladed spears about six feet long with a stout elder shaft and a hard-wood foreshaft. Arrow-shafts were straightened by bending in a notch at the edge of a heated stone implement, and smoothed by rubbing with a bunch of dry Equisetum. The hill people, however, used stone smoothers.

The grass game was the favorite gambling play of the Maidu, and

was conducted in the same manner as elsewhere in northern California. Two pairs of bone cylinders, one of each pair being marked with a black band around the middle, were concealed in separate bunches of dry grass by two leaders of one party, and the leaders of the opposing side attempted to guess the location of the marked ones, employing prescribed gestures and exclamations to indicate their choice. The game was usually between villages, and, continuing as long as an entire day and night without pause, was attended with energetic singing and intense concentration.

Women sometimes played the hand game, concealing two bones in the hands, but they had no dice play.

Gambling was a feature of all athletic contests. Chief among these was football, which was rather a race for the same goal than a struggle for opposite goals. The opposing players stood in parallel rows, the individuals of each party being from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet apart, and each leader, the man farthest from the goal, at a signal kicked forward toward his nearest partner a ball of deer-hair covered with skin. The party that first brought its ball to the goal was the winner.

Women played a form of shinny, using throwing sticks and a missile made by tying two blocks of wood together with a thong.

The Valley Maidu divided the year into summer and winter, but the hill bands named four seasons. Twelve moons were recognized, but of course there was no difference between the solar and the lunar year. The informant who named the moons of the valley calendar has for many years so closely observed the phases of the moon that he has discovered the discrepancy between the Indian system and ours. He complained that for the last three years the Fourth of July had occurred in Kúménim-sémenimpoko, the first winter month, and Christmas in Sawím-poko, the first summer month. For this confusion he holds our system at fault. The Valley Maidu calendar is as follows: Sawím-poko ("leaves moon"), the first summer month, when buds begin to

appear. Laílam-poko ("grass moon"). Kânmâkâm-poko ("gather-pinole moon"). Kôkatim-poko ("summer moon"). Túmim-poko ("foggy moon"), referring to the smoky atmosphere. Tém-sémenim-poko ("little gather-acorns moon"). Kúménim-sémenim-poko ("winter gather-acorns moon"), the first winter

moon. Châhwâdâm-poko ("granary moon"). Yápaktom-poko

("cut-asunder moon"), so called because the weather is partly good and partly inclement.

Yépânim-poko ("chief moon"). So many people are sick in this month that it is properly called "sickly moon," but in order to avoid offense and an aggravation of conditions they call it chief.

Âmhin-chúlim-poko[4] ("stone frosty moon"), or Bâm-pénem-poko ("trail two moon"), so named because many new trails are made over the frost and ice, as the old ones become slippery.

Kákakánnom-poko ("intermittent-shower-and-sun, moon").

The Hill Maidu name the following moons:

Kânâm-pâkâm, the first spring moon. Wûnûtim-pâkâm. Bûhkéldekem-pâkâm, in which month the roof of the house, expanding under the sun, seems to say, *"Keli, keli."* Tém-diâkâm-pâkâm ("little —— moon"), the first summer moon, when fruits begin to ripen. Ném-diâkâm-pâkâm ("big —— moon"), when all fruits ripen. Dûyâkâm-pâkâm, vegetation dries. Sápim-pâkâm, all animals breed, autumn begins.Útim-wûnûtim-pâkâm (" acorns —— moon"). Hekalûmpim-pâkâm, acorns fall. Bapálakam-pâkâm, the first winter moon. Íntâm-pâkâm. When old people lie on the back beside the fire, it is said of them, " *Íntâ."* Âmhin-chúlim-pâkâm ("stones washed-away moon"), referring to the action of freshets.

There is no trace of tribe or clan among the Maidu. Each village was a separate entity, and had its head-man, who occupied his position by virtue of public opinion that he was best qualified for it by intelligence, judgment, energy, and wealth. It follows that the office was not hereditary. The position itself carried less authority than did the forcefulness of the incumbent.

In childbirth a woman was helped by two or three old midwives. Difficult parturition was not rare, sometimes lasting two days, and not infrequently resulting in death. The navel-cord was cut off with a clamshell knife, and the end of the stump was smeared with charcoal. The woman and the child were then placed in a small grass hut, in which the husband kept a fire day and night, and a flat stone was heated and kept on the woman's abdomen in order to "bring out the

4 A different translation of this term was given by a Hill Maidu informant. See below.

blood." The protuberant abdomens of the women of the present time are attributed to the fact that these women did not use the hot stone after childbirth, and hence their "stomachs" are full of blood. For five days the parents ate neither meat nor fresh fish, and at the end of that time they bathed in the river and returned to the dwelling-house. Five days later they bathed again, and for several weeks longer the woman spent most of her time in the house. After her first parturition a woman spent about a month in the grass hut, but she bathed at the end of five days, and then ate sparingly of meat. The father of a first-born child laid his fuel down carefully, lest the jar harm the infant. Sexual relations were resumed "when the baby was able to cry a little louder," for the old people admonished the young not to indulge themselves too soon lest they thereby kill the child.

Twins were never reared: one was always strangled. Sometimes a small child was buried, living or dead, with its mother. The informant as a boy twice saw a child thus buried alive at Eskini. In one instance a fouryear-old girl, thrown into the grave of her mother, screamed and kept thrusting her head up through the loose earth as the men filled the pit. At last one of them leaped upon the grave and trampled the fresh earth down. "That is the time she did not come out any more," added the informant pensively but without emotion. On four occasions he saw a man strangle a child with a stick and throw the body into the grave of the mother. He thinks this was done because the father did not wish to have another mouth to feed.

Very young children were given nicknames, such as Bûpaka ("big head"), Wísûyi ("slim"), Kûisuduti ("cow-lick at the nape of the neck"), Némsûnda ("big forehead"), Bâspâi ("little leg"), Némkam ("big belly"). Later they received ancestral names, which usually but not always were from the father's family: such as Kâmitni, Tâkaími, Séwetni, for girls; and Tásik, Wûleki, Képetu, for boys. These are said to have no known significance. At the time of initiation into the secret society the names of youths were changed again, the new ones being those of ancestors or of deceased collateral relatives.

No matter what the season, a girl in her first menses went to live in a *dânim-dû* ("menstruating-girl shade"), which was a small grass-thatched hut. A small girl accompanied her, and sometimes there were three or four virgins with their attendants in the same hut. After the first flow girls and women passed their periods of menstruation in the

dânim-úyi, which was a small house built like the ordinary dwelling. For about two weeks the virgin (so called) spent her days in the hut, fuel being provided either by her father, or, if she were married, as was not infrequently the case, by her husband. She ate no meat and no fish, her diet being confined to acorn mush, bread, pinole, and sometimes pulverized grasshoppers. Her attendant fed her. Daily, with a deerskin over her head and face, she was led out in the company of a party of women who gathered clover or roots or fuel. She herself did no work. Daily, too, her attendant painted the virgin's face, as well as her own, with perpendicular stripes of charcoal on the cheeks. Each night the women of the village assembled outside the dance-house, or the principal dwelling of the place, and holding hands in a circle, they sang, while at a short distance the men stood in a row and sang a different song. After several songs they went inside, and the girl was led in through the tunnel at the base of the wall, her head and face covered by a deerskin, her only other garment an old bark apron. The fire was merely a bed of coals, and in the half-gloom sat men and women, each with two small sticks or two stones, which were struck together in time with the puberty songs. Whenever anyone made a mistake in the singing, the others shouted, "*Húhem pébâ wéwâsi!*"[5] he girl and her little attendant sat close to the hole in the wall, and though she did not sing she must not sleep. There was no dancing. Just before dawn some of the men stood on the roof and sang, "Dawn appears on the manzanita hill!" Then they ate, and the girl returned to the grass hut. On the last morning she bathed in a large basket, put on a new bark apron and a necklace of beads, and returned to the family house.

Even before the age of puberty girls began to refrain from eating meat, and this restriction was observed for two years or more after the puberty singing. Then in the winter, at the season of high water, the virgin bathed in a large basket, and the men caught a great number of gophers for a feast. All the people were invited into the house, and the girl gave each one a small present valued at about twenty-five cents, after which she partook of the meat. But it is said that some, having by long abstinence acquired a distaste for meat, would spit it out. Re-

5 "Húhe [a mythic animal] eat throw-him-out!" That is, "Throw him out and let Húhe eat him!"

cently there died two old women who said that they had not tasted meat since the age of about twelve. Pulverized fish was the mainstay of abstaining girls and women.

Although there were no puberty rites, as such, for boys, it was at about this age that boys of promise were instructed in tribal lore and initiated into the secret society. The custom of keeping vigil in order to commune with beneficent spirits did not exist among the Maidu.

A young man usually had sexual relations with a girl before marrying her. By degrees the fact became known to her parents, and if they regarded him as a worthy man they welcomed him as a son-in-law, and he paid them whatever he could, the average price being equivalent to about forty dollars. But if he was lazy and improvident, they bade him begone, and the girl might follow him, if she chose to do so. Sometimes a man took his wife away from her home at once, and built a house of his own, but usually he lived with her parents for an indefinite period. After a time his energy in providing food and performing various other tasks expected of a son-in-law might flag, and they would tell him to go home, saying to their daughter, "If you want that man, you will have to go with him."

A man who discovered his wife in adultery either told her to go with her lover, or he engaged in a fight with his rival. These brawls, however, were never bloody, but consisted in pulling the hair, wrestling, and striking with the fist while the thumb protruded between the index and middle fingers. Knives and arrows were not used in such cases. The woman kept her own child as a rule, but the man had a legitimate claim on his sons if he desired to exercise it. Sometimes he sent food for the children kept by his divorced wife, for animosity did not long endure in such cases.

There was no rule requiring the choice of a wife outside the man's own village, and as there were no clans, any woman not related by blood was eligible. Prominent men usually had two or more wives, and a widow was required to marry her deceased husband's brother if he desired her.

In the presence of her son-in-law or her father-in-law a woman covered her eyes and held no conversation with him, and neither ate in the immediate presence of the other. Even between a man and his father-in-law there was little conversation. That this was not the rigid, pseudo-religious taboo existing among many tribes is deduced from

the fact that sometimes a woman teased her husband by tickling him and in other ways trying to make him laugh in the presence of her mother.

As soon as death occurred, the family and others who were present began to wail, and all the villagers convened in the house and joined in the lamentation. If death had been expected, relatives and friends from other villages either had already arrived or from time to time came in. The body was immediately washed, beads and feather ornaments were hung around the neck, the knees were drawn up to the breast, the fists placed on the knees, and the head was bent forward to them. Then it was rolled up in a bearskin, and a long hemp rope was wound round and round it, a loop being left to serve as a tump-line. It was hoisted up through the smoke-vent, and a man carried it on his back to the burial ground, followed by all the people, who wailed loudly. The grave was a circular pit three or four feet deep. In it the body was laid without any particular orientation; in fact, it would have been difficult to tell which part of the shapeless bundle was the head. Food and water were not buried, but a small amount of property, such as acorn meal, pinole, and baskets, was burned at the grave. If a *pâkélma,* that is, a band of swan- or goose-down, was possessed by the family, it was placed on the corpse; otherwise, one was made before the annual mourning ceremony, at which time it was burned. A net-cap covered with white down and a chaplet of wisps of human hair, such as was worn in the spirit dance, was placed on the head of a dead chief or a dancer.

After a number of years the bones were dug up, the beads were removed, strung, and cleaned with dry sand, and the bones were replaced in the grave. In summer when the ground was too hard for digging, the dead were sometimes cremated. The house was usually burned in honor of a chief, and sometimes his body was buried beneath the floor and the house burned over it.

After a corpse had been disposed of, those who had handled it, and those who lived in the bereaved house, bathed in a stream, and they continued to lament through the long night until dawn. Close relatives cried at intervals for a long time. While crying, men strewed dust on the head, and women cast it on the shoulders and back, sometimes bowing the head into the dust. Women were much more violent in their mourning than men. Both men and women singed the hair short, and blackened the face, neck, and upper part of the chest with a mix-

ture of pitch and charcoal from a small nut that grows on a creeping vine, or from the nuts of California laurel or California nutmeg.

In the moon Tém-sémenim-poko, the last summer moon, was held the annual mourning ceremony, Wéda. Messengers were sent to all the villages within a radius of perhaps twenty miles, and for each village invited there was a string with six to eight knots. Each day one knot was untied, and when only two knots remained those who were to attend the ceremony started out and camped on the way, so that they would arrive on the next day.

Meantime for months the people had been making feather ornaments, baskets, and acorn meal, to be burned in honor of their dead relatives, and as a sign that mourning was at an end. If a man died in the spring or early summer, his relatives could hold the closing rites at the next autumn ceremony, provided they were not mourning very seriously. But if they still grieved, they could defer it another year, or even two years.

The people assembled in a brush enclosure at the burning ground about the middle of the morning and stood about, crying bitterly, for about an hour, after which the men went into a dance-house to a feast of acorn mush. (In more recent times they feasted inside the brush corral.) The men passed the entire day in the dance-house, sitting about and sleeping, while the women were outside, some cooking, others idle. The close relatives of the dead cried at intervals. Sometime during the day they strewed acorn meal on the graves and inverted on each one a large basket. Around the place a number of stakes were driven into the ground, and to each one were tied a small basket and bunches of all kinds of valuable feathers.

In the evening the young men gathered fuel and piled it in the houses, and after dark all went to the burial ground and cried for a time. Returning to the houses they spent the night in crying; but such men as did not care to cry returned to the dance-house, and others after crying a while joined them.

In the morning those who had been grieving cut off the string of beads which each had been wearing about the neck, and all went to the river and bathed. They now began laughing and joking. Close to the burial ground a fire was built, and the families in mourning burned baskets, feather ornaments, beads, and property of all kinds, including the stakes and the inverted baskets. Many of these articles they them-

selves had prepared, and some of them had been given by friends and relatives, who usually were offered pay for their kindness, though they did not always accept it.

After a bath in the river all congregated at night in the assembly house and performed the dance Kénu, in which both men and women danced at random about the fire, while two men sang and clapped their hands. This lasted about half the night, and then they went to bed.

The souls of the dead were believed to go to Estobísim-yámani ("in-the-centre mountain"), that is, Marysville buttes, whence two roads led, one westward to the place where lived Sûmûini-wéwe ("nose talk"), the evil one of the two creators; the other eastward to the home of the good creator, Nem-yépâni ("big chief"), or Yâhâsin-yepâni ("in-the-sky chief"). The body of this Sky Chief was like gold; in fact, the old people used to say that he was the moon, and his sister the sun. The souls of the peaceful took the eastward road, and those who had killed and fought, the westward. The soul was called either the breath or the heart.

The Maidu conceived the country as swarming with supernaturals called *kákeni,*[6] each of which had its individual abode at some particular rock, peak, cave, lake, or cataract. There were spirit counterparts of all animals, or the animals themselves possessed the power of becoming spirits. Maidu conceptions in this matter are vague. Furthermore, there were various semi-fabulous or purely imaginary creatures. *Kákeni,* spirit animals, and fabulous monsters, all were capable of bestowing extraordinary powers on human beings, and those who were thus favored either became shamans or at any rate lucky men under the protection of their individual tutelar spirits.

Boys were not sent out to observe vigils for this purpose, but a grown man walking about in the darkness might meet a *kákeni* and fall unconscious. The spirit then talked to him as he lay there, and warned him not to reveal this experience, nor even the mere fact that he had seen a spirit. If he disobeyed, he would soon die; but if he obeyed, he

6 *Kákeni* appears to be cognate to Hupa *kyihúnnai* and Tolowa *shghuné.* The *kyihúnnai* were a pre-human race with supernatural attributes, and the *shghuné* were diminutive creek-spirits.

would become rich, people would give him property and expect no payment. Recovering his senses, the man went home. He ate nothing, and would not tell why. But the people knew. Later in life this spirit would return and say: "Well, do you think you have lived long enough? In so many days you will die." Then for the first time the man would tell his relatives that he had once had a spiritual experience, and that in a certain number of days he would die.

A man could become a shaman by encountering at night some animal, such as bear, mountain-lion, coyote, or the mythical *wín-winma*, a huge, long monster "with ribs like a cow," and a great head with horns like a deer. When one of these spirit animals was seen feeding or prowling about near a man, he stopped and looked. It would then come closer, and he would fall unconscious. While he lay "dead," it told him that he would become a medicine-man, warning him, however, not to divulge this experience. When after a time he recovered his senses, the animal was gone, and he then returned home and unostentatiously let it become known that he was a medicine-man, without informing anyone how it had come about.

The more orthodox way of becoming a shaman was by meeting the semi-fabulous red-headed bird, *mâlâkâ*,[7] which is said to be of the size and appearance of a turkey, and to live in the water. Emerging, it mounts in circles into the sky without shaking the water from its feathers and without moving its wings. The informant professes to have seen this bird many times. It is apparent from his description that there really is, or was, a bird called *mâlâkâ, to* which the Indians ascribed impossible habits. The *mâlâkâ* was generally encountered in the following fashion: A fisherman, seeing a great many fish going into a cave under a bank, dived, went into the hole after the fish, and brought out one or two. He returned, and went farther into the cave in pursuit of the fish, but when he turned to come out, he found his way blocked by two mâlâkâ, which stood with outspread wings. There he died. A medicine-man, aware by clairvoyance of his predicament, dived in and dragged him out by the feet. He carried the man to the bank, and holding him with head downward, shook the water out of him. The next autumn the man related his experience to the shaman who had

7 Cf. Patwin (southern Wintun) mâluk, condor.

saved him, and the latter said, "I think we shall have to doctor you." Messengers were sent to the medicine-men of other villages, and on the appointed night they met in a house. The people attended. Each medicine-man had a cocoon rattle, which he struck against the left hand while all sang, assisted by some of the young men, who sang and struck two clamshells together. After a while they danced around the fire, and the novice danced in his place between two shamans, each of whom held one of his arms. Later in the night one of the old medicine-men sucked blood from the novice's forehead.

The ceremony continued five nights, and during this time neither the novice, nor the medicine-men, nor the young men who assisted in the singing, ate anything except acorn mush, pinole, and bread. At some time during the course of the ceremony one of the old shamans "shot" a recent initiate. The two stood on opposite sides of the fire, crouching, facing each other, and singing. The young man slowly crept toward the fire. Suddenly he fell backward. The old shaman had shot him with his "poison," that is, with the disease which he could magically project through space and into the body of his victims. He lay there feigning death for a time, then rose and pretended to vomit up something of the appearance of an elongate pebble. Sometimes he could not bring it up, and the old man then sucked it out.

The Maidu medicine-men treated their patients in the same manner as those of other tribes in northern California, by sucking out the "poison." There were certain men, rarely women, who with arms, chest, and the lower half of the face painted white, and with prairie-falcon feathers dangling from the arms and down the back, went about constantly singing and striking the hand with a split-elder baton painted white. All this was in response to the bidding of some spirit in a dream experience. Such persons were called *óya*. A certain woman dreamed that she was caught in a lonely place by a great many *kákeni,* who all day long ravished her, and this experience she mentioned in her songs.

The initiation of boys into a pseudo-fraternity was a rite corresponding in many respects to the puberty ceremony for girls. The correspondence was not complete, in that men of mature years were sometimes initiated. There is great similarity to the Yuki initiation rites, which have been herein described, but in the case of the Maidu a closer approach to the true fraternity has been alleged. The reasons

advanced for asserting the existence of a genuine secret society among the Maidu are, that not all boys were initiated or even brought into the ceremonial house for trial of their qualities; that an initiate bore the special title *yépâni* ("chief"); and that on ceremonial occasions he was distinguished by a net-cap transfixed with a plumed stick.

As to the first reason, practically all males were initiated by the Maidu sooner or later; and the Yuki, instead of initiating every boy, dismissed the incompetent, so that many were not initiated until late in life. As to the second, the Yuki also had a special name for initiates, *Taikómol-woknúmchi*. Thirdly, it is not known that Yuki initiates were distinguished by special insignia. Granting this last point in favor of the Maidu, still there remains no sufficient reason why the secret society should be credited to the Maidu and denied to the Yuki. Fundamentally, both systems were alike. The initiates were pupils in a school of instruction in tribal lore.

The practice of the training school varied somewhat at different places among the valley dwellers. At Eskini boys of good promise, that is, those who were industrious, kind, considerate, rather taciturn, were carried forcibly to the ceremonial house and kept there from two to four months during the winter, while they were being instructed by the old men in the lore and practices of the tribe. They did not come out even to defecate, but wrapped their fæces in grass, to be carried out by one of the old men. There were usually about ten to twelve boys, but the informant once saw twenty-five in one class. At Michopdo the pupils were taken into the house in the spring, and kept only one night.

During the six winter months, approximately from the middle of October to the middle of April, the Valley Maidu observed a series of dances, which from their general similarity are probably to be regarded as forming one ceremonial cycle. They were very like those held by other Indians of central California, notably the Wintun, from whom the Maidu say the ceremonial was derived and with whom they participated as visitors long after their own organization was broken down.

In some of these dances various *kákeni* (spirits) were represented, in others only animals; but in at least some cases these too were regarded as *kákeni*. The only difference then is that in some dances the characters represented creatures of the imagination, in others, actual animals. In most, if not all, of them the predominant motive was to

secure the beneficence of the spirits, to avoid the malevolence of destructive animals (as in the bear dance), and to effect an abundance of animal and vegetal food. From the prominence of spirit personators in the ceremony arose the common name of ghost dance. The most important one of the series, the one that opened and closed the ceremonial season, is called Hési, or Hésinkási, Hésinkámhini ("Hési dance").

The spirits and animals characterized in the dances "belonged to" various prominent individuals; that is, the costumes were personal, and perhaps inherited, property. The owners, however, did not dance, but hired young men to wear the costumes. Some of the roles are said to have belonged exclusively to the important village Michopdo, and never to have appeared in the ceremonies of other settlements. Such were Yâyâ, Síli, and Yáti.

An important character in every dance was *pehépi,* in whom were combined the functions of care-taker of the fire and the ceremonial house, watchman on the housetop for the approaching performers, and fun-maker. As clown he held amusing arguments with the master of ceremonies, and interjected remarks into ritualistic conversations. The original *pehépi* is said by some traditionalists to have been brought into being by the creator, who was waiting within Marysville buttes with the spirit of Coyote's dead son, the first to taste death, and who desired a watchman to advise him of the approach of Coyote. Others say that *pehépi* was with Turtle on the raft, when the creator sent the latter to dive for soil out of which he was to create the earth.

When the beginning of the ceremonial season was not far distant, messengers were sent to the other villages, each wearing over his ordinary net-cap a similar one in which was thrust a very long, slender switch with a tail-feather of the red-tail hawk at the tip. When such a messenger was seen approaching, people knew that they were to be invited to a ghost dance.

Early in the morning of the appointed day the men assembled in the ceremonial house. The presence of women and children at a dance in which *kákeni* were personated was forbidden. The first actor to appear was *mâki*, followed closely by his attendant, *yâyâ*. The former wore a feather cloak, called *mâki,* which was made by covering a net with hawk-feathers, leaving an opening for the head at the centre. At this point was fastened a tall, thick bunch of feathers, which completely covered his head and face. The hawk-feathers were attached to the

net by cutting a long bevel on the end of the quill, doubling this part over a strand of the netting, and inserting the end into the quill. Thus the feathers hung suspended, and were set into motion by the slightest movement of the wearer. This was a prime object in all costumes of the *kákeni* dances. Thrust down into the front of the feather-covered net-cap of *mâki* were two sticks on each of which was tied an eagle-wing or an eagle-wing feather.

The character called *yâyâ* had the breast painted white, and wore a skirt of tules and a head-dress consisting of a net-cap in which were thrust a very large number of slender sticks with white goose-down tied along them. These wands projected forward and downward over the face and cheeks.

Entering the house, *mâki* approached the chief and said, "I am going to give you plenty of acorns, plenty of salmon, plenty of pinole," naming thus every staple kind of food. In his head-dress were numerous small sticks, each representing one kind of food, and as he named each kind he drew out a stick and laid it beside the chief. Then finally he removed his suit and revealed his naked body, painted with horizontal stripes of black and white. His face also was painted. He laid the suit down, and a youth carried it away along with the token sticks. Then each man present, except the chief, made him a gift of small value, which he delivered to the chief.

Mâki then departed, and later in the morning returned with *másí,* who, naked except for breech-cloth, feather head-band, and a bunch of feathers at the back of his head, and carrying bow and arrow, danced twice with his companion. He then removed his feathers, and the spectators contributed as before.

After a considerable interval came *síli, or sílin-kákeni,* of whom there were usually eight. They had the naked body painted black, and wore a netting belt, a piece of large-mesh net hanging from the head down the back, like a cape, and a head-dress consisting of a band of prairie-falcon wings surmounted by yellowhammer tail-feathers. From beneath the band hung a fringe of human hair, the wisps being held in position by cord twining, and completely hiding the face. Each carried in the left hand bow and arrows, and in the right a long spear, on the end of which was tied a long root of angelica. They constantly shouted. After informing the chief that they brought him acorns, they cut up the roots and placed the pieces in the fire, and as the pungent odor rose

and filled the house, they slowly danced. Finally they removed their insignia, and the others gave the usual presents for the chief. Then with the proper intervals of rest, all danced around the fire four times, until they were in a profuse sweat, when they ran to the river and bathed. This was about the middle of the afternoon. Toward evening there was an acorn feast, and the night was spent in repeating the dancing of the afternoon, except that *mâki* did not reappear. This ended at dawn and was followed by another bath.

In the following afternoon occurred Lúyi, which the Maidu seem to feel was merely the conclusion of Hési, rather than a separate dance. The *kákeni* were naked and covered from head to foot with mud. After the usual bath there was another acorn feast, and the visitors began to depart.

The speeches made by the dancers on their entrance into the house are sufficient indication that the purpose of Hési was to influence the next year's crops. In the person of the supernatural *kákeni* they assure the chief that they bring him all the numerous foods of the fields; and the unexpressed feeling of the Maidu in this connection is a vague sentiment compounded of two ideas: first, that these personators are for the time being actual *kákeni;* second, that at any rate, if they have not the power of *kákeni,* their promises will in some way exert a deciding influence on the spirits. This is a very common phenomenon, and is seen in full flower among the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, where the Kachinas play the part here taken by *kákeni'*.[8]

Two other characters said to have participated in Hési were yáti, or yátin-kákeni ("sky spirit"), and sâhe, or sâhen-kákeni. The parts played by them are uncertain. *Yáti* wore a feather headdress, *káwi*, in which a long, slender wand with a feather on the tip was thrust so that it projected forward and upward. His buttocks were covered with a bunch of feathers, but nothing was worn in front, not even a breechcloth. His body was painted red. *Sâhe* wore a similar head-dress and was painted red.

8 The informant expressed the opinion that the prime purpose of this dance was the enrichment of the chief; for not only did the men in the ceremonial house contribute presents after the performance of each character, but each visitor, regardless of age or sex, gave him something of value. This from an Indian seventy years of age is the very acme of sophistication and cynicism.

After an interval of no prescribed length came the dance called Lâle, in which women wearing a cap-like head-dress covered with feathers and with a cluster of long, stiff feathers rising from the crown, danced in a circle, all grasping a long *pâkélma,* or feather boa. The *pâkélma* was made by tying white goose-feathers between the twists of a double cord.

Salálu, or Salálun-kasi, was performed by men who wore a head-dress like that of the women in Lâle, with slender, feather-tipped wands added, and a feather-covered net on the back. Each had a bone whistle, a bunch of tules in the left hand, and a staff in the right. What they represented is not known. Exact information about these dances is very difficult, if not impossible, to secure, because the cycle has not been given in whole since possibly 1885.

Other dances of the series occurred through the winter. The exact order is not known, and in fact it is uncertain whether there was a prescribed sequence. It is quite possible that a dance could be omitted without interfering with the others, and that on the other hand it could be repeated during the season. This freedom of sequence appears very probable in the light of the fact that the entire system did not fall into disuse at once, like a single inseparable whole. Certain of the dances were being repeated long years after others had perished. Nevertheless a certain tendency to agreement is noticeable in the information obtained from different individuals.

It is generally agreed that the fifth dance of the series was Hát-man-kasi ("duck dance"), which was followed by Âlélin-kasi ("coyote dance") and Pánun-kasi ("grizzly-bear dance"), in either this or the reverse order.

The coyote dance was held in midwinter. Women wearing *káwi* head-dresses danced up and down, flexing the knees and moving the fists, clenched upon bunches of tule fibre, up and down in front of them, while a single man with the same kind of headdress danced forward and back in front of them. After a while they sat down, and *âlélin-kákeni* entered. He wore a coyote head, and on his back a feather cape, and went about imitating a coyote looking for grasshoppers. Then he withdrew to remove his costume, and the women danced again. As in all other cases, the chief who "owned the dance" and had it performed, received payment from every person present, even from babies in the cradle. In return he was host to the local and visiting

public, but in discharging this duty he was assisted by his friends and relations who supplied food for the feast.

Other dances were Tsámyempi ("creeper," a small unidentified insectivorous bird that creeps about the holes of trees in spirals), Éne (grasshopper), Aksâlma or Anúsma (turtle), Chámba (crystallized sap on valley oak), Álâki, Yâkâla, Mâlâkâ (mythic bird), Sûmi (deer), and Áki. The last-named was in the nature of a threat against enemies, and probably had reference to defending their acorn preserves from robbery, for the performers promised the chief plenty of acorns and at one point in the dance they repeatedly struck the principal post of the house with long poles, as if they were stripping the branches of an oak.

In Maidu mythology there are two creators, Yâhâsin-yepâni ("in-the-sky chief," in allusion to the region from which he came), or Kâdâm-yépâni ("earth chief," in allusion to his creation of the earth), and Sûmûini-wéwe ("nose talk"), Coyote. The former, appearing from the north on the surface of the water, found Turtle, whom, attached by a leg to the end of a rope, he sent to dive for mud. After additional lengths had been attached, the fifth attempt was successful. Turtle reached the bottom, and of the particle of mud recovered from his claws Sky Chief made a flat, round cake. Placed on the water, this spontaneously spread in all directions until it attained the dimensions of the present earth. Its surface was perfectly flat. Then Coyote made his appearance, and Sky Chief, urged by his companion, proceeded to improve the earth and to create animals and people. But all his benevolent plans were constantly opposed by Coyote, who thus became responsible for every unfavorable aspect of nature, for all the hardships of human life, even for death itself, which he deliberately instituted lest the earth become overpopulated.

The earth is imagined by the Maidu to be a roughly circular mass of land floating on an expanse of water and moored in place by five ropes. These ropes are sometimes shaken by a monster, and we experience an earthquake. Sun and moon are thought to return to their starting points by passing under the ocean.

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