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THE WINTUN

THE numerous Wintun bands possessed a stretch of country about two hundred and thirty miles long, from the shores of San Pablo and Suisun bays in the south to Shasta Retreat, near the very headwaters of Sacramento river, and the sources of McCloud river at the base of Mount Shasta, in the north. Approximately this territory is the entire western watershed of Sacramento river. It is only less extensive than that of the Yokuts, which in turn is second in the state to the great Shoshonean country. From Redding southward the Wintun in some places possessed both sides of the Sacramento, in others they were confined to the west bank. Within the limits of Sacramento river and the crest of the Coast range were two small detached alien groups, the Lake Miwok at the head of Putah creek, and the northeastern Pomo at the head of Stony creek. On the other hand, the Wintun in the north considerably exceeded these approximate limits. Here the easterly boundary, beginning at the divide between the upper waters of Fall river and McCloud river, ran southward and crossed Pit river in the vicinity of Round mountain (at which natural monument Achomawi, Yana, and Wintun territory met), passing thence through the head of Cow creek and on to the Sacramento below Redding. And on the western boundary, from Cottonwood creek northward, there were Wintun bands considerably beyond the summit of the Coast range, on the headwaters of Trinity river.

The word Wintun, meaning "people," occurs in the language of the northern part of this region. For the group as a whole there was no native name.[1] It was long customary to restrict the application of

1 Lieutenant Emmons, who in 1841 explored the country from Fort Vancouver to Suisun bay, found the "Kinkla tribe" at the head of Sacramento river; and his colleague Lieutenant Ringgold reported the same tribe from "Prairie Butes" (Marysville buttes), near the site of Colusa, to the mouth of the river. The source of this name is unknown. It was probably a place-name applied improperly to all the Wintun-speaking people by Captain Sutter, at whose settlement of New Helvetia near the mouth of American river the Ringgold party spent a few days, and from whom they obtained information regarding the Indians. The use of the name in the account of Emmons's explorations at the head of the river would then be explained as due to the fact

this term to those Indians found between the northern limit of this territory and the branches of Stony creek in Glenn county; and south of this point the people were called Patwin, which in the southern dialects means the same as Wintun in the northern. Wintun and Patwin were the two divisions of the Copehan linguistic family of Powell. But Dixon and Kroeber have shown that there is linguistic affinity between this group and Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, and Costanoan, and this enlarged family they call Penutian, from the word for two, which exhibits cognate forms in many branches of the stock language.

Along with this simplification of the linguistic map and the abandonment of the word Copehan, it has become customary to extend the application of the term Wintun to this entire branch of the Penutian family, and to identify its dialectic divisions by the use of qualifying directional adjectives. There are six well-marked dialectic divisions:

1. Northern Wintun, occupying all the northern part of Wintun territory as far south as Redding, on Sacramento river, and the divide between Cottonwood and Elder creeks, in the foothills; excepting the foothill course of Clear creek and the Wintun area west of the summit of Trinity mountains. This division includes many minor groups, among which may be mentioned:

(a) Waí-1eka (a central dialect word signifying "north language"), on the upper Sacramento from Shasta Retreat to Redding.

(b) Wénim-mem-wìntun (central dialect, "middle water people" on McCloud river.

(c) Púi-mem-inbâs (northern dialect, "east water dwell"), on Pit river from McCloud river to Round mountain.

(d) Púi-bâs (northern dialect, "east dwell"), on the upper waters of Cow creek and between that stream and Redding.

The most appropriate native term for this northern division is Waileka. It must not be confused with Wailaki, which is actually the same word misapplied by early writers to a neighboring Athapascan group.

2. Northwestern Wintun, on Clear creek, a Shasta County tributary of Sacramento river, and west of the Coast range on the headwa-

that the findings of both Emmons's and Ringgold's parties are reported in the words of Lieutenant-Commander Wilkes, the head of the expedition.

ters of Trinity river. Many northwestern Wintun words are entirely different from the corresponding northern Wintun words, yet the two dialects are mutually intelligible. The division includes:

(a) Nómsus (northern and central dialects, "westerners"), on Clear creek, with their principal winter village, Tlabál-pom (northern dialect), at French Gulch.

(b) Waí-ken-mak (northern dialect, "north lower belong"), around the headwaters of the main branch of Trinity river.

(c) Nâríl-mak (northern dialect, "far-south belong"), on Hay fork of Trinity river.

The northern Wintun sometimes extended the application of the term Nomsus to include all the groups of the northwestern branch, and the central Wintun employed it exclusively in that sense. The fitting name for this division is therefore Nomsus.

3. Central Wintun, in Tehama and Glenn counties, on Elder, Toms, Grindstone, Elk, and Stony creeks, in the rolling hills from the sources of these streams to the lowlands of the Sacramento. In their own language they are Nâi-mak ("south belong"); in northern Wintun Nâru-mak, with the same meaning; in the eastern dialect, Nóm-leka ("west language"). Nomlaki is the term generally and fittingly applied to this group.

4. Eastern Wintun, in the lowlands of Sacramento river from south of Redding to about the mouth of Stony creek in Glenn county. The central Wintun (Nomlaki) call them Púi-mak ("east belong"), which in the form Puimak should prove convenient and appropriate.

5. Southeastern Wintun, in the lowlands of Sacramento river from about the mouth of Stony creek in Glenn county to Suisun bay. In lieu of a native name for this numerous division, Valley Patwin is probably the most satisfactory.

6. Southwestern Wintun, in the foothills from Stony creek to San Pablo bay. This division is the Hill Patwin.

Between the Patwin and the other members of the Wintun family there were greater differences than between any two of the northern groups. Nevertheless, the languages are so similar that the most casual inspection of vocabularies reveals the relationship; and culturally there was less variation from the northern groups to the inland Patwin bands than from the latter to the Patwin bands near the bays. The entire Wintun family presents an aspect of fairly homogeneous culture, such

variations as exist being those that are inevitable from differences of environment; and variations of language, physical type, mythology, and ceremonial life are far less wide than might be expected in view of the extent of Wintun territory from the base of one of the loftiest mountains in the United States down to salt water, with high mountains, rolling foothills, secluded valleys, and the alluvial bottoms of a large river included in its boundaries.

On account of its elongate form and its position along the axis of the northern half of the state, the territory of the Wintun family was surrounded by a larger number of alien tribes than any other in California. On the east were Miwok, Maidu, Yana, and Achomawi; northward were the Shasta proper and allied tribes, and the Chimariko; westward, Hupa, Wailaki, Yuki, Pomo, Wappo, and Miwok; southward were the Yokuts, and, across the bays, the Costanoan peoples. Of course no one band of Wintun had relations with any considerable number of these tribes.

The Waileka (northern Wintun) fought principally with the Shasta Valley Shasta, who called them the bravest of their enemies, because they attacked in daylight. On the other hand, the Shasta bore a good reputation as warriors. The usual feuds on account of the supposed activities of medicine-men were of frequent occurrence; for example, between the Waileka on McCloud river and those on Stillwater creek. The Nomlaki bands (central Wintun) combined to oppose the Yuki, the Puimak (eastern Wintun), and the Waileka, and sometimes the Stony Creek band would summon the others to help them against the Sacramento Valley Maidu. The Puimak were hostile to the Maidu of Concow creek.

In the early years of the decade 1850-1860 the Nomsus from the head of Trinity river repeatedly came into Sacramento valley and committed depredations on the miners, who naturally attributed the thefts to their neighbors and on several occasions punished them. At length T!áha, head-man of one of the most northerly bands, determined to put the blame where it belonged, and led the white men to a rocky retreat near Castle Crags, where they attacked the Nomsus marauders and killed a number of them.

The Patwin took no scalps, but all the other divisions of the Wintun family scalped what an informant calls "gentlemen," who were distinguished in battle, as in dances, by a head-dress of white down-

feathers set thickly in a knitted cap. When scalps were brought home, the victory-dance, Húpus, was performed, in which the trophies were held aloft on staffs by female relatives of the successful warriors. The Wintun never made use of poisoned arrows.

Before the departure of a body of warriors, the dance Hiwíli (Waileka dialect) was given. A bundle of brush, representing an enemy, was tied at the top of a post five or six feet high, about which the warriors danced in a circle, pretending to dodge hostile arrows, gesticulating fiercely at the " enemy," and all the time uttering their warcries. They were practically naked, and had black stripes fantastically lined on their faces and bodies. Gradually the circle contracted, and at length all discharged their missiles and filled the "enemy" with arrows.

In their material culture the Wintun were on about the same plane as the tribes heretofore described in this volume. Artifacts of stone included pounding, cutting, and piercing instruments. The spool-shape maul was used by the mountain-dwellers in the north for driving elk-horn splitting wedges; the southern and central bands, having no elk-horn, had no use for the maul. All, however, used the rudely cylindrical stone pestle for pulverizing acorns and edible seeds, the mortar for this operation being a flat stone base with a basketry hopper, except among the Valley Patwin, who employed a section of oak log hollowed out by means of fire. Knives were merely thin fragments of obsidian or flint brought to a fairly regular edge by flaking, and axes were fragments of serpentine without handles. Arrow-points were of obsidian and flint.

The principal bone implements were the deer-bone awl, the double-pointed, detachable head of the fish-spear, and the fishhook. The bands on McCloud river and the upper Sacramento made a hook by lashing two double-pointed bones at right angles, and attached the line to the intersection. The Nomlaki used no fish-hooks at all, and the Patwin made a gaff by binding a bone sliver to a shaft. Only the Patwin had spoons, the valley bands using mussel-shells, the hill bands clam-shells. Elsewhere semi-liquid foods like acorn mush were conveyed to the mouth on the ends of the fingers.

The Wintun had several musical instruments, or at least instruments for marking rhythm. The rattle used by song-leaders was a partially split section of an elder stalk, that of shamans consisted of a number of oak-galls hanging at the end of a wooden handle. Four-hole elder flutes were everywhere found, and double-note whistles made

by attaching two hollow bird-bones of different pitch side by side on a wooden handle, stopping one end with pine gum. The most important, if least musical, of these devices was the drum, a half-cylinder of sycamore or oak. A hollow section about seven feet long was cut off, and then chipped out with frequent testing of the tone. When the pitch was about right, pinole was smeared over the inside, the chips were placed in it and ignited, and the surface was thus burned smooth. Pinole was used in order that its oil might penetrate the wood and prevent cracking. The drum was inverted over a hollow in the floor of the assembly house, each end being supported on a grapevine rope suspended between two stakes.

Cords and ropes for various purposes were made of sinew, rawhide, and grapevine. Finer cordage, produced from the fibres of iris, milkweed (*Asclepias*), and hemp (*Apocynum*), was used principally in making dip-nets and seines. Throughout the Wintun family the bow-and-arrow type of dip-net was employed, and the Patwin had also an improvement in the form of a net-bag which they attached to the restricted bottom of the dip-net (which in this case was left open). When the bag became well filled, it was removed and another was substituted. The Waileka used also a frame consisting of two diverging sticks lashed at the intersection near the upper ends. The Patwin had a seine from ten to twenty feet long with a stick handle at each end. This net was manipulated by two men. Among the Valley Patwin there was also a seine about one hundred feet long, with bundles of dry tules (*Scirpus lacustris*) for floats and balls of clay wrapped with tules (*S. robustus*) for sinkers. Wherever rushes were found, that is, among the Valley Patwin, the Puimak, and some of the Nomlaki, twined mats were made of the triangular tule, which is less brittle than the round, the strands of cord twining being spaced at intervals of about six inches. Such mats were used as mattresses and cushions.

Weaving attains its greatest development in basketry. North of Cottonwood creek in Tehama county twining is practised exclusively; south of that point all the Wintun (Nomlaki, Valley Patwin, and Hill Patwin) make both coiled and twined baskets.

In twined work the warp is exclusively willow shoots; except that the northern divisions sometimes use poison-oak (*Rhus diversiloba*) in burden-baskets, and always "skunk-berry" (*Rhus trilobata*) in storage baskets, and the Nomlaki make their receptacles for storing edible

seeds, as well as caps for mourning women, out of hemp twine for both warp and weft. All except the Patwin find their weft material for twined basketry in the roots of the yellow pine, split to the desired fineness by means of teeth and thumb-nail; the Patwin originally used *set,* the underground stock of *sayák,* a sedge (*Carex*), but within the present generation this has been superseded by the roots of the willow *áwal*, a species distinct from *tar*, which furnished the warp rods. The use by the Nomlaki of hemp for both warp and weft has already been mentioned. Designs are the result of overlaying the weft with straw-white Xerophyllum, the two fibres drawn from the frond stalks of Woodwardia ferns and dyed brown-red by drawing them between the lips while chewing alder-bark, the reddish bark of redbud (*Cercis*), or the black outside fibre of maidenhair-fern stems (*Adiantum*).

Coiled baskets of the Nomlaki and Patwin are made of tar willow rods for the foundation (the horizontal, coiled elements) and roots of *áwal* willow for the wrapping material; but previous to the present generation the wrap was sedge-root. The colored overlay is redbud-bark, Xerophyllum grass, and Woodwardia fern fibres, the same as in twined basketry.

The commonest example of twined work is the well-known conical, tight-mesh basket used for carrying burdens on the back by the aid of a strap, or tump-line, passing across the bowed head. This is made and used generally by women, but the men of the Valley Patwin sometimes formerly engaged in this work. Everywhere except among the Patwin there were similar baskets, open-mesh and of rough construction, which were made and used by men, principally for carrying firewood.

All storage baskets are twined, but various types occur. The Waileka make a basket of " skunk-berry" (*Rhus trilobata*) warp and pine-root weft, while the Nomlaki, as mentioned heretofore, use hemp twine altogether. In both cases these baskets are squat at the bottom and contracted at the top, with a small opening. The Patwin build outdoor cylindrical granaries of willow and line them with grass. These are from four feet to eight feet high, and half as wide, and in the larger ones several species of seeds and acorns are stored in layers.

Shallow parching baskets and trays, both open-mesh and tight-mesh, are everywhere twined. The Waileka cap for women is of twined willow and pine-roots, the Nomlaki twined hemp. Patwin women

are bareheaded. Other forms of twined work are confined to Waileka culture: cooking vessels, dippers, and liquid-food dishes. Among the Nomlaki and Patwin all baskets for such usage are coiled.

There remains a group of miscellaneous manufactures, some of which require no extended mention. The fire-drill, the digging stick, the oaken soup-paddle were not different from those of other California tribes. Tubular pipes of ash were used for smoking tobacco. The best bows were of yew and were backed with sinew and salmon-skin; but the Patwin purchased such bows from the northern people. Patwin arrows had reed shafts, hardwood foreshafts, and obsidian points; their spears, which probably were for ceremonial use, were six to seven feet long and had very large obsidian heads. Arrows were kept in quivers, which were simply the entire skins of small animals. The Waileka and Nomsus used rod corselets as well as elk-hide tunics for protection from arrows. The Nomiaki had only the latter form of armor, and the Hill Patwin simply wrapped a rabbit-skin robe about the torso. The northern bands were acquainted with the use of snowshoes. The Waileka method of crossing water that could not be forded was to build a rude raft of drift logs and grapevine withes, or to place the impedimenta in a large basket, which was pushed ahead of the swimmer. The Valley Patwin, in the land of tule swamps, used the balsa on which the navigator kneeled while pushing alternately on both sides with a long pole held in the middle. The Hill Patwin and the Nomlaki had no need of water craft of any kind.

The northern and central Wintun divisions differed from the Patwin more perhaps in their dress than in anything else.

Waileka, Nomsus, and Nomlaki women wore ordinarily a single garment, a short kilt, or more correctly a double apron open at the sides, consisting of bark fibre (usually maple-bark) hanging from a girdle. The more fortunate possessed similar kilts of deerskin fringe, and for ceremonies garments of this kind had shell beads strung on the ends of the thongs. For cold, snowy weather there were deerskin moccasins with uppers reaching nearly to the knee and in some cases with bear-skin soles; but many women had no footwear whatever. Deerskins were thrown over the shoulders in cold weather, and basketry caps were possessed by all women, although they were not used on all occasions. The Nomlaki women indeed wore their caps only as a symbol of mourning.

Everywhere the Wintun men in warm weather wore nothing but a small deerskin breech-cloth, and sometimes not even that. In the northern and central parts some had high moccasins for cold weather, a few used hip-length leggings, and all had deerskin robes. Fur headbands, usually mink, were worn by some.

Patwin women of the lowlands wore tule aprons, rarely bark, and those of the hills simply belted a piece of deerskin about the waist. Moccasins were unknown to both sexes. In the uplands men and women had rabbit-skin robes, but on the river a specialized garment was made by entangling goose-feathers in hemp or milkweed cords during the twisting, and then weaving the fluffy ropes thus produced. The Valley Patwin protected themselves in rainy weather by wearing a bundle of triangular-stem tules with a hole in the middle through which the head passed. The tules were not woven nor sewn, but simply hung from a cord, in the same fashion as a woman's skirt.

Wintun women generally divided the hair in the middle and wrapped the two parts with strips of fur, the resultant ropes hanging down the back; in addition, the Sacramento River women from Redding northward banged their hair by burning it off with a smouldering stick. Men doubled the hair up into a knot, which, with feathers thrust into it, was worn either near the front or at one side, or in the back; but ordinarily it hung down the back in a loose rope. Girls had the chin tattooed with perpendicular lines, and in some parts they had also lines from the cheekbones down to the neck. Some of the leading men had rows of arrow-point designs tattooed across the chest, the lines curving from the sternum up toward the shoulders; and a few had the same design on each side of the throat. Emmons saw women also tattooed on the arms and the chest. Head-men and a very few women wore a dentalium shell in the nasal septum, and both men and women had a shell dangling from the hair on a deerskin thong. Strings of clam-shell beads, which were more highly valued than dentalia, formed the necklaces of the most fortunate of both sexes; and a very few magnesite cylinders were in circulation.

Wintun houses were not all alike in every particular, but we may say that in general they were partially subterranean, circular or elliptical, conical or truncated, and roofed with earth or bark. Various departures from these generalizations will be noted.

The first step was the excavation of a circular pit about thirty

inches deep and twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, or an elliptical one as large as thirty feet in length for the accommodation of two or three fires and as many families. Two heavy forked posts were placed in the pit near opposite edges, and on each side near the top, connecting the two posts, was lashed a ridge-timber, either in the natural state or split from a cedar log. At each side of the excavation, to right and left of the axis of the ridge, another pair of shorter posts was set up, and the members of each pair were connected in like manner by a timber lashed near the tops of the posts. These two timbers were the plates. Sections of sap-wood obtained from decayed logs were laid for a roof, from plate to ridge, with the concave side exposed, like tile. Then shorter slabs were set up in an approximate circle (or ellipse), with the tops leaning against the edges of the roof and the bottoms on the edge of the pit. Finally, roof and walls were covered with bark slabs. There were the usual exit for smoke and the low, narrow doorway between two wall beams. Sometimes there were only two upright posts, and leaning against them and against the ridge were long rafters with their butts resting on the edge of the excavation; in other words, the roof and the walls were one. Both of these types are called *wai-pom-kewél* ("north land house"), and characterized the mountain regions, where rain and snow would have damaged an earth covering.

The Nomlaki and Patwin house-frame consisted of a number of heavy rafters meeting in the crotch of a central post, with their bases on the edge of the excavation. Excepting the smoke-hole at the peak and the low doorway between two of the rafters, all interstices were partially chinked with poles and slabs, and the whole was thatched with brush and grass, and covered with the excavated earth. The doorway was protected by a watershed, and the fire-pit in the centre was lined with stones. This type is called *nâ-kewél* ("south house"), or *nâ-pom-kewél* ("south land house"). In the Nomlaki district there were also houses with a long roof sloping to the ground and a short upright wall in the front.

The sweat-house, or ceremonial house, of both the Nomlaki and Waileka was of the same conical, earth-covered construction, and its size from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter. Here the men of the community assembled, to loll about and exchange gossip, tell stories, or discuss matters of public interest. Unattached men slept in this house, but in good weather youths generally preferred to sleep outside. Here

dances for shamans were held, and sweats taken evening and morning, though seldom with an accompanying plunge. The Waileka within the present generation have been using true sudatories of the Plains Indian type, a low, hemispherical frame of flexible shoots covered with skins, mats, or cloths. These are for purposes of ceremonial or ritualistic purification, and the sweat is followed by the orthodox plunge. Nomlaki men, however, regularly used these individual sudatories before starting on the hunt, in order to remove the human taint which would betray them to their prey.

The Patwin had not only earth-covered sweat-houses, where the men spent most of their unoccupied hours, but very large ceremonial structures from sixty to a hundred feet in diameter. One of these sufficed for each community.

The menstrual hut of the Wintun was little more than a windbreak of bark or brush, large enough to shelter two or three girls during the first and second menses.

A vast variety of animal life was found in the Wintun country, and comparatively few forms were rejected as unfit for consumption, from the largest mammals down to worms and insects. Some of the species not often used outside of California and Nevada, but eaten by the Wintun, are hawks of various kinds, skunks, earthworms, grasshoppers, yellow-jacket larvæ, and what are locally known as "salmon-flies." These insects emerge from water in the springtime in the pupa state, crawl upon bushes and rushes, and undergo metamorphosis into large-winged insects, which the Wintun on Sacramento river boiled and ate. Putrid salmon was a delicacy. The remains of a salmon that had decayed under water and become almost liquid were boiled and devoured with relish.[2] As the Wintun, except some of the mountaineers in the north, were poor hunters, they depended more on fish than on game. They were successful fishermen, and those who lived on the river and the larger creeks dried considerable quantities of salmon for winter use. A part of their supply the Valley Patwin, after drying, pounded up in their oaken mortars and stored in tule bags, in the same

2 This recalls the fondness of the Indians on the upper Missouri (Mandan and Hidatsa) for the gamy flesh of drowned buffaloes that came floating down the river when the ice broke up. Compare also the North Pacific Coast taste for almost rotten salmon-roe, which the natives there compare to cheese.

fashion as the Wishham at the Dalles of Columbia river.

Of vegetal products there was almost as great a variety. Acorns were found everywhere, and provided the great staple, acorn mush. Pine-nuts and hazelnuts were prized, although they were not very abundant. Pinole, a favorite food and second in importance to acorns, was the meal of parched seeds, especially the "black seed" of tarweed. The plants, gathered in large quantities before the seeds were quite mature, were piled with the heads downward on a plot of clean-swept ground, where as they dried the seeds fell out. There were various bulbs, including camas in the northern district, where also fresh, not steamed, pine-bast was eaten. Among the edible fruits were service-berries; manzanita-berries, which were dried, mashed, and mixed with cold water; laurel-berries, dried and roasted in a pit; the berries of *Rhus trilobata,* soaked in water to remove the acidity, then dried and pounded into flour, which was mixed with cold water. Fresh clover was eaten in the flowering season. Salt was considered almost a necessity.

In spite of the great variety of food available, the Wintun bands led a rather miserable existence. All summer they wandered about in search of berries and roots, and at least one man was kept constantly seeking new fields where mast abounded. They were much like bands of wild pigs, explained an informant; and sometimes they became so weak from hunger that they could hardly march to new fields discovered by the scouts.

The Patwin, especially those of the lowlands, seldom hunted large game. In the other Wintun divisions, however, and particularly in the three most northerly, some of the men were assiduous and fairly successful hunters. They caught deer in snares, which were set in trails flanked by brush obstacles, so that the animals could not evade the traps by going around them. The noose, suspended between two supports, was held open by a network of small, easily broken cords. In flat regions long nets were stretched and deer were driven into them, where, plunging and kicking, they were brought down with arrows by men lying in ambush. Elk could be killed only by running them down on snowshoes. In the autumn black bears were driven up a gulch into the narrowing head, where other hunters were concealed among the rocks and bushes. In winter a hunter would creep into a bear's den with a torch, discharge an arrow into the animal, and quickly retreat. When the wounded bear followed, the band of hunters attacked.

Grizzly-bears were rarely hunted, but sometimes when a den had been discovered a number of men would climb into the trees thereabouts, and two or three would secrete themselves near one of the trails leading from the den. Another would creep up close to the mouth of the cave, and hurl a stone into it. If the bear were struck, it would rush out, and its tormentor would dash along the trail where the hunters were hidden. Their shower of arrows sometimes killed the bear in its tracks, but if not, the men in the trees finished the work while the hunters on the ground escaped.

Pitfalls were not used, but the deer-head disguises so successfully employed by the Shasta and other tribes in the north were sometimes used in stalking deer. Most small animals could be killed only with arrows, and were not hunted with much regularity. In the sparsely wooded hills and valleys of the Nomlaki and the Hill Patwin, however, field-mice were trapped in great quantities by placing a thin dry acorn between two flat stones, in such a way that when gnawed asunder it would permit the upper stone to fall and crush the mouse. Men would spend the entire day setting multitudes of these miniature deadfalls.

Fish, the most important animal food of the Wintun, were taken in many ways. On the upper Sacramento a favorite method was to dam the stream in such manner that the water would cascade over the obstruction and pour into a trap below. At one side of the stream and just below a riffle two stout saplings lashed together near one end with grapevine, were set up with their bases well separated. From the crotch extended a long pole, with its base firmly embedded in the gravelly bed beyond the edge of the riffle, and five or six feet from the bank another, but shorter, pair of shears was placed under it. Just above the water-level the up-stream members of these two pairs of shears were joined by a horizontal sapling. To this were bound the butts of willow poles, which were so arranged, with their tips down-stream, that they formed a cradle. The converging lower end of this trap was above water and was closed by means of fagots placed crosswise. Across the foot of the riffle a dam of poles, brush, and stones was constructed, so that the water poured over it in a small cascade and fell upon the upper end of the trap. Then in the quiet water above the riffle, where the salmon were resting after their difficult passage up the swift water, the fishermen stretched a long thick rope of twisted vines across the stream, and while some held it down on the bottom, others dragged it forward

and drove the salmon down-stream into the swift water, which carried them over the fall into the trap. There on each side stood men with fish-clubs, ready to seize and kill them, and string them on long pieces of grapevine; while at the sides of the broken water stood others with short spears, taking as many as possible by that means. Some would even plunge headlong into the water to drive the fish into the desired direction. Because of the necessity of being so long in the water, they generally waited until midday before beginning the drive, and after fishing one or two days at a pool they moved up-stream to the next, where they built a new trap. In this fishing the people of Sacramento river above the mouth of Pit river were joined by the Wintun bands of McCloud river and Clear creek.

For catching suckers weirs of two types were built in the central and northern parts of the Wintun country. *Káha* (Waileka dialect) was a stake-and-brush structure built in two wings which converged down-stream and almost met in the channel, at which point they were joined by a short transverse section. Here the water poured over into an open-meshed willow box. *Káhi* was a dam of brush and stones just above a riffle, with a wing extending down-stream along the side of the swift water. Into the quiet back-water thus enclosed between bank and wing suckers were driven and taken in dip-nets.

At favorable places, where the water was comparatively shallow, the Valley Patwin threw their fish-weirs completely across Sacramento river, which in their territory attains a considerable width. One such place was at Koru, a large rancheria where now stands Colusa (the name is a corruption of the Indian term). It was at this point that Lieutenant Ringgold in 1841 encountered the first fish-weir, and signalled the obliging fishermen to desist from making a passage through it, because he saw rough water beyond and decided he had gone far enough. In building one of these weirs, they first drove a pair of shear-stakes into the bed of the stream as far from the bank as a workman could reach, and then tightly wrapped the intersection. From the bank a thick timber was pushed out and rested in the angle of the shears, and the workman, advancing to the end of the timber, drove the next pair with his oak-gnarl maul. When the last of the requisite number of supports had been driven, there was a continuous rail connecting them; and they were further strengthened by other horizontal members lower down. Then closely set stakes were driven until a compara-

tively tight fence spanned the river. Leading up-stream into box-like enclosures were several openings provided with doors, which could be raised and lowered, and above each doorway sat a watchman, grasping a stick to which were attached several cords leading down across the opening. When a salmon entered the enclosure it inevitably touched a string, and the watchman dropped the door. He then descended into the box, plunged into the water, and with a small net scooped up the fish, which in many cases lay on the bottom unconscious from striking the walls. The right to construct one of these weirs was hereditary, and the builder observed considerable formality, especially in preparing for the work by fasting and ceremonially washing for several days. All the salmon caught in the Patwin fish-weir belonged to the chief and his head-men, and all other persons, even though members of the same village as the owners of the weir, had to pay for the fish they got. Only at public celebrations did the poor receive free food.

In midsummer the Waileka, on the upper Sacramento, took salmon, with spears fifteen to twenty feet long, in deep, quiet pools. A number of scaffolds were built from each bank, and when all the spearsmen had taken their places, the chief shouted, "Are you all ready?" They replied in the affirmative, and the chief cried, "Proceed, spear!" A great many fish were taken in this way, and these, as well as those caught in traps, were divided by the chief among the families according to the number of their members. While the men fished, women and children gathered fuel and small, flat, water-worn stones, and laid great fires with the stones among the wood, several families using one fire. When the fires had burned out, the stones were raked aside and the fish, with the tail, the sides of the head, and the belly cut off, were laid on the embers, spread open with back upward, and were covered with the hot stones. The interstices between the stones were filled with embers, and in about an hour the fish were cooked. The flesh was then shredded and spread out on sheets of pine-bark or on slabs of sap-wood from decayed or partially burned logs, and left to dry in the sun, after which it was stored in large sumac baskets shaped like the seed-storage baskets. The roe was either rolled in water-lily leaves and roasted in ashes, or was dried in the sun and then stored. The heads, tails, and bellies were dried in the sun without cooking, and subsequently were boiled; but the shredded flesh was eaten without further preparation. Fish were never smoked.

Another Waileka method of spearing required no community co-operation. Above a quiet pool where salmon were in the habit of resting the spearsman built a platform to support a brush hut, in which he sat with his slender, twenty-foot spear-shaft projecting up through the leafy roof. If no favorable pool were available, the fisherman would sometimes cut a large bundle of brush and fix it firmly upright in the stream, and so create a bit of quiet water. The hut, by preventing surface reflection, enabled him to see the bottom clearly. These huts with long spear-shafts projecting through the roof may still occasionally be seen by the traveller from his Pullman window. In the autumn salmon were speared while spawning in the riffles, and in the spring spearing was carried on at night by torchlight, the salmon at such times being frequently seen resting on shallow, sandy bottoms.

At McCloud river, half a mile below the present fish-hatchery, they formerly used nets at night, wading and swimming. Two men managed each net, and there were usually six or more crews. Each net crew included a man with a fish-club and a long grapevine, his duty being to kill the fish and string them, which he did by striking them on the head with his club, grasping the tail between his teeth, and passing the vine through the gills. The line of net-men was closely followed by the torch-bearer with a long, thick bundle of pitchy wood, which illuminated the water so that the net-men could see the salmon. On each bank blazed a large fire, and after seining the length of the pool the men would go out and warm themselves; then after a rest of about half an hour they covered the same course again. This was done four times between dark and midnight.

The Patwin used spears in the shallow water of the swamps.

The games of the upper Sacramento Wintun may be taken as characteristic of the family. The grass game is called *bohím-chuhus* ("big gamble"). A handful of thin rods of equal length, with a single short one, is divided, and the two halves are wrapped separately in dry grass and laid on the ground. If the leader of the opposing side guesses which one contains the short rod, the inning passes to him; if he fails, the other takes one of the twenty tally-sticks.

A variation of the grass game is called *kéni,* in which a single wooden counter the size of a finger is wrapped in dry grass, while another bunch of grass contains nothing at all. There are always two men on each side, each one having a counter and each winning or losing inde-

pendently of his companion. But they are partners, nevertheless, and place together the tally-sticks they win. The sticks number ten.

In *dâpi* there are numerous willow sticks, short enough to be concealed in the hands, and the object is to guess which hand contains the single black one. This game, like *kéni,* is played "double," but for twelve points. As the sticks are shaken one by one out of the indicated hand, the player repeats, *"Dâpi, dâpi, dâpi."* There is no singing, but the guess is made with the usual accompaniment of false motions, while the guesser tries his opponent's immobility of countenance.

Success in *sâlâp* requires a different kind of skill. Each of several men has two flat stone discs, not artificially shaped. A roundish stone is thrown a short distance, and the players in turn pitch their markers toward it, the one who places his disc nearest the mark winning from each of the others one of his six tally-sticks. When one player has all the sticks, he wins the wagers. A similar play is *chúsinhlalas* ("slide wood up"), in which the contestant grasps the leafy tip of a stripped pine sapling, swings it, and hurls it forward with one hand, trying to make it alight close to a mark.

Kahlús was a shinny play, with-three or four men on a side. The ball was made of oak, and the goals, three hundred to four hundred yards apart, were marked by sticks two feet apart. The enthusiastic crowd bet on the result. This game was frequently played between villages.

Kárupui ("fling with stick") was played by women armed with sticks five feet long, with which they hurled toward the goal a missile made by connecting two bits of wood with a thong. It was played with great gusto and earnestness.

Hlúchus is a form of the pin-and-ball game. A number of salmon vertebræ, strung on a cord which is attached to a wooden skewer, are swung forward and upward, to be impaled, if possible, on the pointed skewer. If a player catches any of them, he has the privilege of thumping the hand of his opponent once for each vertebra caught, or sometimes of pulling his hair.

Arrows were shot at a mark for heavy wagers. Sometimes the archers stood beside the target and discharged their arrows straight up into the air, endeavoring to have them strike the mark as they fell.

Apparently there were no dice games, but string-games were common.

Wintun society was organized in the loose manner common to California Indians, although in many localities there was something like tribal organization, as on McCloud river, Cow creek, the head of Sacramento river, and Elk and Grindstone creeks, where the smaller communities as a rule had no head chiefs and counted themselves as outlying settlements of the nearest large village. Each of these principal villages had a head chief, whose duties were to harangue the people at frequent intervals, standing in front of his dwelling while they sat in their houses and listened attentively; and to institute the various community undertakings, such as dances of different kinds, hunts, and fishing expeditions. A few men exerted influence over a considerable territory.

At the occurrence of her first menstruation a maiden *(báhlus in* the Waileka dialect) was isolated in a rude hut in company with several other girls of about her own age, but not necessarily in her condition. She performed no labor, except that on the first day or two she carried invitations to the people of adjacent villages or camps. The nights were devoted to songs peculiar to the occasion, and to the performance of *wai-paníki* ("north round-dance"), in which men and women joined hands, palm to palm, in a circle, and moved slowly to the left while singing. In the centre, attended by an elderly woman, danced the *báhlus*. She wore a head-band, from which hung a number of deerskin ribbons in front of each eye and down to the breast. Little straw-colored rings of Xerophyllum grass were attached to the ribbons. A maple-bark apron reached from her waist to the knees, and a fawn-skin was draped about her shoulders. She wore moccasins, and held a staff. With intervals of rest they performed all night; and the ceremony lasted five to ten days according to the temper of the assembly. At dawn of the last day, the dancing having just ended, the *báhlus* bathed in the stream and was then painted with charcoal on the face, arms, and legs.[3] On the last day, before the assembly broke up, it was customary to celebrate the war-dance, and this sometimes was followed by a social dance or the dream dance. These puberty rites were held in the ceremonial

3 Almost invariably the principal in an Indian puberty celebration was painted after her final bath. Was the origin of this custom perhaps a desire to prevent immediate cohabitation without detection?

house in winter, and out of-doors in summer. Its name, "north round-dance," is an indication of its derivation.

Polygyny was customary for prominent men. A certain Waileka man had six wives, each of whom occupied a separate house. This number of course was exceptional.

Although the Wintun never observed the taboo on conversation between a man and his mother-in-law, the custom had begun to take root in the northern district. There a man might converse with his mother-in-law, but not touch her nor even pass close to her. If she sat near the door and he wished to depart, he would say: "Move aside, mother-in-law, I must go out." But a woman who had little regard for her daughter's husband, thinking him a worthless fellow who would not remain long with his wife, did not accord him the honor of insisting on the observance of this rule. It is thus clear that the custom here was merely a question of respect, not a religious or a social taboo. The same rules applied to a woman and her father-in-law.

For a month after the birth of their first child, parents camped apart by themselves and ate nothing but acorn soup and other vegetal food. They anxiously watched the stump of the navel-cord, endeavoring to heal the wound and cause the stump to slough off quickly. When it came off, no matter what the time of day or night, the father hurried to the river and bathed. The next morning he built a small sudatory of willow wands and deerskin, placed hot stones inside, and took a long steam bath, concluding with a plunge in the river. This he repeated in the evening. The stump of the navel-cord was wrapped in a bit of deerskin, which dangled at the head of the cradle-basket, and at the end of their period of isolation they attached the little bag to a basket-tray, which they hung at the head of a new cradle-basket provided by the woman's mother. The old one, tied to a bush facing the east, was abandoned. For two days before their return, both parents took a sweat morning and evening, while the infant was cared for by the woman's mother or grandmother, who every morning and evening came to see them. The navel-cord in its deerskin pouch was carefully preserved by the mother until her child became adolescent.

Names of deceased ancestors were given to children, because it was desired to perpetuate them. There seems to have been no rule as to which side of the family should be thus honored, but mostly they were chosen from the paternal side of the house. At various times, but

without ceremony, new names were bestowed, because of this desire to keep alive the names of all their ancestors and relatives in collateral lines. So strong was this instinct that a man who saw no prospect of ever being able to revive a certain name by giving it to a child might say to an adult relative, "Well, I will let you carry this name."

The dead among the northern Wintun divisions were always buried, and graves were dug by women working with digging sticks and baskets. The bottom was V-shape, and all the graves of a cemetery were arranged in a circle. While the body was yet warm, relatives of the same sex as the deceased person covered the face of the corpse with red pigment and placed around the neck whatever strings of beads were to be sacrificed. Then they drew the knees up to the chest, bent the head forward until the face rested on the knees, enfolded the body in a deerskin, and wound about it ten, fifteen, or twenty of the very valuable deer-snare ropes, leaving one end loose to serve as a pack-strap. But when there were relatives in distant villages, the body was kept as long as two nights and a day with the face uncovered, in order that they might see their lost one for the last time. The corpse was carried out on the back of a relative and lowered into the grave, where it was placed in a sitting posture, facing the south. A dish of water, but no food, was set beside it. Then some man capable of making a speech expressed some such sentiments as these: "Our friend has gone away. We will have to go that way. This has come close to us." Baskets and deerskins were cut up and placed around the body and partially covering it, slabs of bark were piled over it, and finally the pit was filled with earth. It was quite a common thing to open an old grave, place the bones in a corner, and deposit another corpse in the usual position, a habit that resulted in the growth of large mounds. For years after sepulture the spot was kept in order by relatives, who would strew sand over it and set a basketry vessel of water there. The personal possessions and the house, if the deceased person had owned a house, were burned. Dogs were killed for the reason that the relatives did not wish to see them and be reminded of their loss; but not at the grave, nor in the belief that they would accompany their master's spirit. After returning from the burial rites, not only those who had touched the corpse, but all who had attended, took a steam bath and burned angelica-root as incense while repeating certain formulas. Children not only did not attend funerals, but were prohibited from

looking at a corpse.

The Nomlaki dead faced the west, instead of the south, and the Patwin dead were sometimes cremated. The Waileka preferred not to use the word *mínil* ("dead"), employing rather such euphemisms as "gone" and "melted." Thus the usage of a certain prosperous sect among us is bolstered with the authority of primitive man.

The hair of women and children was cut short to betoken mourning, and mothers and grandmothers covered the entire head and the face, excepting the eyes, nose, and mouth, with black pitch; but men only spread on the face a little pitch mixed with black paint. A widow might be, but was not necessarily, taken to wife at once by a brother of her deceased husband.

Religious beliefs and practices of the Wintun have to do mainly with the acquisition of good luck from the supernaturals, and they most frequently appear in connection with the customs of hunters and shamans. The following practices are those of Waileka hunters.

Whenever a deer is killed, a hunter searches eagerly and hopefully in the second stomach for a round concretion the size of a marble; and when by rare luck the bezoar is found, he wraps it, with several kinds of roots and grass and leaves, in a bunch of fir leaves, until the whole ball is about five inches in diameter. This object he hides a short distance from his house in a dry, hollow tree, and about once a month he renews its "food," — the roots, grass, and leaves inside the fir leaves. This charm is called*hâsi,* and the happy possessor, if he properly cares for it, will have good luck in the hills. He will never become exhausted, he will be able to overtake deer and kill them quickly. He will never become lost, and will always find water when he requires it. Without this aid the hunter is exposed to the malevolence of the *puyúkilawi* ("mountain children"), which are no larger than human infants. Before drinking a hunter repeats the formula, "Close your eyes, and do not think about me." He is speaking to the mountain children. When a hunter misses a deer, he firmly believes that he has been shooting at the spirit of a deer, which the mountain children have sent to deceive him. They themselves are never seen, but their tracks are; and the various mysterious sounds of the solitudes — the creaking of a bough, the rolling of a pebble — are all believed to be caused by the movements of these spirits. In the mountains one must avoid all levity, proceeding quietly without loud talking and laughing, without reck-

less sliding down the hillside. One may sleep beside his woman, but not cohabit with her nor joke with her. Whenever a deer is brought to camp, its head is cut off; and while cutting it the hunter keeps saying, "Tomorrow we will catch up with some of your relatives." The head is roasted in the ashes without salt, and when it is done a handful of fir leaves is burned in the fire in order that the smoke may carry away the deer's spirit and create a new animal. A youth is not permitted to eat of the first or the second deer killed by him: the first one they say is his mother's left breast and the second her right.

When a bear is killed its skin must not be spread out until the party returns home, for the skin would frighten the deer and no more of them could be killed. But if it is left folded up, it may perhaps be possible to kill more deer, though the experience of some hunters is that no matter how many may be seen, nor how closely approached, not a deer will be killed after a bear. When a hunter discovers a bear's den and looks in, he mimics the bluejay, *"Chaik, chaik, chaik,"* so that the spirit guarding the bear will not be able to warn the animal that his den is discovered.

The Waileka hunter never kills a rattlesnake, but with a *"Súkim* ['greeting']!" passes on. The spring Súkal-mem ("snake water") on McCloud river at the head of Salt creek is always avoided.

In former times any one who encountered a supernatural in his goings at night was certain to have good luck. The shock invariably caused him to faint, and there he lay the rest of the night. When he regained his senses, he arranged to have the shaman's dance performed in order to take advantage of his good fortune. If however it was not the proper season for the ceremony, he simply bided his time and participated in the next celebration. This now obsolete ceremony, which is called Kénchi in the Waileka dialect, had for its object the production of a state of real or simulated trance in the candidates for the shamanistic profession, during which they "dreamed," or beheld visions, and from the supernaturals who thus visited them obtained songs. These songs, however, which were symbolical of the power the supernaturals desired to confer, and without which that power could not be possessed, remained inarticulate, until by continued dancing and unintelligible mumbling the candidates, always with the assistance of the shamans, succeeded in bringing forth the unwilling words or vocables of their songs. The motifs, it is plain, are about the same as those of the

shamans' initiation among the Nez Percés and the inland Salish. Unlike the Achomawi, the Wintun did not believe that the gift of shamanistic power was forced upon one by the spirits. It was deliberately sought in the shaman's dance. Very few Wintun men went into lonely places to seek good luck.

The ceremony occurred in the autumn, rarely in the late spring. If the ceremonial house, or so-called sweat-house, were in ill condition, the chief summoned all to aid in the construction of a new one, assigning to each group some particular task, the men to procure timbers, slabs, and bark, the women brush and grass. They soon returned, and the house was quickly thrown up over an excavation that had been prepared in the meantime. That same day the candidates, young or middle-aged persons of both sexes, but mostly males, went to some spring frequented by animals, or to a deer-lick, and rubbed blue clay on their heads and chests, while constantly repeating: "I have come to you, good spirits, to see if I can acquire good luck. Help me!" Then they proceeded into the hills to gather manzanita fagots for fuel, and carried them to the dance-house. Any young boys could help in this work. At night assembled the prospective shamans and all the other men, but few women, of the village. When the singing began, the candidates went individually to the different shamans or good hunters or lucky gamblers. The young man grasped the hand of the older one and exclaimed, "*Tómbe!*" which is as much as to say, "I am sure I am going to have the luck you have." The older man answered, "I am a good shaman [or hunter, or gambler], and I do not think that even if you dream you will have my luck." Nevertheless, he rubbed his hands along the young man's arms and gave him a parting slap on the palm. The candidates then began to dance about the fire, endeavoring to throw themselves into a trance. They were not always successful. Some, however, would suddenly become limp and apparently unconscious, and were then assisted out of the circle to the edge of the room, where they lay down. Others became as if crazed, and these were immediately taken in charge by the shamans, two of whom danced with each one so affected, holding him by the hands. Eventually he fell unconscious. Later in the night all these "came to life," and weakly crawled toward the dancing floor, uttering strange sounds, as if trying to sing. But they neither sang nor spoke intelligible words, yet the shamans pretended to be able to understand them. Then again they lay down in a trance, and

the next time they woke they stood up and sang, having at last really gotten hold of the songs vaguely heard in the trance. Blood sometimes issued from the mouth of a dancer, and this was taken as a certain sign that he would become a shaman. Much dancing was not permitted after blood appeared, and the candidate was led aside and made to recline. On the following night or two all the people, including the women, gathered in the ceremonial house to dance and sing the new songs. About daylight after the last night of dancing the shamans in charge and the novices danced outside in a row, facing the north, the elders at the ends of the line and the novices in the middle. Finally all bathed in the river.

An important ceremony was called by the Waileka Yéchuvischânus ("dream dance"). The costumes were like those worn in Yuki ceremonies. Upright in the back of their hair women wore a *tebébus,* an ornament made by tying two divergent white feathers to the end of a slender rod, which constantly trembled — a thing desired of every article worn in this dance. Across the forehead was the *chiléu* ("yellowhammer"), a band of perpendicular yellowhammer tail-feathers. Men wore a *tebébus* upright in the back of the hair and one projecting forward at each side above the ear, with a *chiléu* above the eyes. Their costume included also the *pitáhlas,* which was an oblong garment of quill-feathers, the quills of which were held by twined cordage while the vanes were free, so that the feathers dangled from the netting. Two corners were connected by a cord, and through the loop thus formed the head was inserted so that the *pitáhlas* hung down the back. Suspended on a cord about his neck each man had a whistle made of a long-bone of any large bird or small mammal. There were two song-leaders and a time-keeper, each of whom, and each spectator likewise, had a split-elder stick with which the rhythm was kept by striking it on the left hand.

Anyone who had experienced a dream, in which he saw dancing and heard a song, rose and said: "I saw such and such dancing and heard this song. I want you to help me sing it." He then started the song, which the two leaders quickly took up, and all joined in as they caught the air and the rhythm. The dreamer himself led the dance. The men struck first one foot and then the other several times forcibly upon the ground, at the same time throwing their clenched fists forward alternately with a downward swing across the body. Women merely

flexed the knees. One following another, the dancers moved around the fire until the time-keeper raised his hands, when they stopped, faced the fire, and danced in a row, sometimes blowing their whistles and again, at the places indicated by the time-keeper, dropping them. If this first dance-leader had learned more than one song in his dream, he sang the others after a few minutes' intermission; if not, then some other dreamer took his place, introduced a song, and led the dancing. This continued all night, and sometimes was repeated on one or two succeeding nights.

If there were not enough dreamers present to keep the dance in operation until all were satisfied and ready to stop, they danced Nomwéres-chânus ("west come dance"), using the same costumes and the same steps, but different songs. So far as the Waileka know, these songs originated with the Nomlaki, passed to the Nomsus Wintun on Trinity river, and thence to the Waileka. In another form of this Nomwéreschânus two of the performers used *bohím-pâyuk* ("big head") head-dresses, consisting of very tall bunches of feathers. When these were used, no levity was permitted.

Sédem-chânus[4] ("coyote dance") was a social dance, in which the men stood in a straight line, joined hands, and danced from side to side and backward and forward. This usually took place during the day, but sometimes at night, and continued for as many days as the people desired. In Panníki they danced in a circle with their hands on the shoulders of the ones beside them. Of course no celebration of any kind could long continue without a feast.

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4 *Sédem* is correct, though coyote is *sédit,* or *sédet*.