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PLATEAU SHOSHONEANS

THE Mono-Paviotso branch of the Shoshonean stock includes the Mono in California, the very similar Paviotso in western and northwestern Nevada and northeastern California, and the bands of southeastern Oregon loosely known as Paiute and Snakes. All these, as well as the desert Shoshoneans of southern California and the bands in the rest of Nevada and western Utah, have at different times been described as Paiute, and this is the designation generally used by local white residents today.

THE MONO

THE habitat of the Mono, who number about fifteen hundred, is in east-central California, including all of Mono county and Inyo county as far south as Owens lake. On the west are the towering, snow-covered peaks of the Sierra Nevada, beyond which colonies of the Mono have established themselves in Madera and Fresno counties. These western Mono have assimilated much of the typical culture of central California.

The Mono country is far from being the desert it is often imagined to be. The rainfall, to be sure, is scanty, and districts directly dependent on the clouds are barren wastes of sand, volcanic ash, naked mountain ranges, and cinder cones. But it is south of their territory that such conditions become the rule. Most of the Mono area is near enough to the Sierra Nevada to receive unfailing streams from the snowy heights, and it would be difficult to find more pleasing landscape than is presented in the series of valleys from Owens lake northward to the Nevada line — Big Pine, Independence, Lone Pine, Bishop, Round valley, Long valley, Mono lake, and the charming headwaters of Walker river.

Not an acre of this region drains into the sea. The extreme northern part is tributary, through Walker river, to Walker lake in Nevada. A small portion of the northern section lies above Mono lake, but far the greater part of the area drains through Owens river into Owens lake. The three lakes are salt. Strikingly symmetrical volcanic cones rise above the surface of Mono, recalling the aspect of Pyramid lake in Nevada. The forestation of the mountains is prevailingly coniferous, and the piñons furnished a very important food staple. Alders,

cottonwoods, and willows grow along the streams. Oaks do not occur here, and the Mono made regular visits to the Miwok and western Mono beyond the mountains, to secure acorns by purchase. John Muir, mounting the western side of Mono pass in 1869, met a band of them on their annual pilgrimage to Yosemite valley. His habit of viewing everything in terms of animals, trees, rocks, and glaciers gives the account an amusing turn.

"As I entered the pass ... a drove of gray hairy beings came in sight, lumbering toward me with a kind of boneless, wallowing motion like bears ... I soon discovered that although as hairy as bears and as crooked as summit pines, the strange creatures were ... nothing more formidable than Mono Indians dressed in the skins of sage-rabbits ... I afterward learned that they were on their way to Yosemite Valley to feast awhile on trout and procure load of acorns to carry back through the pass to their huts on the shore of Mono Lake. ... These ... were mostly ugly, and some of them altogether hideous. The dirt on their faces was fairly stratified, and seemed so ancient and so undisturbed it might almost possess a geological significance. The older faces were, moreover, strangely blurred and divided into sections by furrows that looked like the cleavage-joints of rocks, suggesting exposure on the mountains in a castaway condition for ages."[1]

The origin of the name Mono is undetermined. The southern Yokuts generally call them Monáchi, which may be simply their adaptation of Mono, as are Southern Miwok Mânaíya and Northern Miwok Mónak. The northwestern Maidu name for the Paviotso is Monázi, which is another form of Monáchi. Quite possibly the word was an erroneous application by trappers of Mána'ts, the Pyramid Lake Paviotso name for the Washo. Kroeber[2] eliminates from consideration "a Yokuts folk etymology, which derives it from *monai*, *monoyi*, 'flies,' on the ground that the Mono scaled the cliffs of their high mountains as the insect walks up the wall of house." But this Yokuts term might well be the original form of Mono, with reference to the well-known fondness of the people so called for *kuzávi* small, water-born larvæ

1 The Mountains of California, New York, 1894.

2 Handbook of the Indians of California, *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78,* 1925, p. 584.

which English-speaking Indians generally call flies. Their Nevada congeners still call the people at Mono lake "*kuzávi* eaters," a fact which points to some such appellation as the usual aboriginal term for the tribe.

The northern neighbors of the Mono were the Washo, from Lake Tahoe to the upper course of Walker river, and the Paviotso of Walker lake in Nevada. Southward were the desert Shoshoneans known as Koso, inhabiting the region of Coso, Panamint, and Death valleys. Westward were the western Mono and beyond them the Yokuts, and farther north the Miwok. Eastward beyond rugged desert were other Shoshoneans in southwestern Nevada.

There are marked lexical differences in the language as spoken at Mono lake in the north and Owens valley in the south, and even within the southern area of Mono occupancy there is considerable lack of uniformity.[3]

Before the advent of white men there was period of warfare with the Yokuts. Hostilities are said to have started when the Yokuts began to steal the wives and children of the western Mono at North Fork, who appealed to the chief at Pagwi-húu ("fish river"), a southerly affluent of Mono lake in a district reached by way of San Joaquin river. This chief sent a summons to the young men of all the Mono bands, who assembled and crossed the mountains over the Mammoth Lake trail. With other tribes, particularly with the Miwok, whom they visited regularly, the Mono apparently had no difficulty; and they were quite unlike the people of central California in that warfare between bands was unknown. Even the killing of shamans suspected of nefarious practices did not result in feuds, because they were invariably recognized as properly doomed to death when they had supposedly misused their power.

There was a brief Indian "war" in 1862, when Fort Independence was established. The Mono at Keeler on Owens lake killed some cattle, and the owners killed an Indian. A native known as Jim then declared war and proceeded up the valley to incite the other Mono

3 Cf. the Owens Valley vocabulary, pages 182-188, with Kroeber's Inyo Mono and Western Mono vocabularies, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.,* Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907. Owens Valley seems to agree with Western Mono about as frequently as with Inyo Mono.

bands. Soldiers soon appeared and built the fort, and in a fight at Black Rock near Big Pine a number of Indians lost their lives. The troopers then marched up the valley, fighting as they went, and after scattering the belligerents they returned to the fort. Hunger drove some of the younger natives to the post to make peace, where they received food and were told to summon the others. When the Indians responded to the invitation, they were driven across the mountains and established on Tejon reservation south of the present Tule River reservation. None remained long in exile.

The ordinary garment of Mono men was a narrow strip of deerskin between the legs and supported by passing the ends under a thong girdle. Those of the better class wore in addition to this a deerskin flap in front and another behind. Women wore two knee-length skin aprons, one in front and one behind, and a few draped over these a bunch of deerskin fringe. The upper part of the body and the legs were bare. Leggings were never used, and two-piece moccasins with soles made of the neck-skin of large deer were worn only in travelling over very rough country. For protection from cold both sexes wrapped about the body a robe made of strips of rabbit-fur with *Asclepias* cord twining. Women wore bowl-shape basketry caps. Snowshoes were used wherever they were required, but armor of any kind was unknown.

Women piled the hair on the top of the head and covered it with a cap. They frequently painted white stripes on the face, and many had perpendicular lines tattooed on the chin by the process of scarifying the skin with a flint chip and rubbing charcoal into the wound. Their ear-pendants were two pieces of flat shell about an inch long and one-eighth wide, which, dangling on a cord, produced a pleasing tinkle.

Men doubled the hair up at the back and held it in place with a head-band. They frequently covered the face with red paint obtained as iron oxide in a natural state among the rocks, and their ear-ornaments were wooden plugs with a whorl of mountain-quail crest-feathers at one end, surrounded by crest-feathers of a valley quail.

The house was approximately hemispherical and twelve to fourteen feet in diameter. A shallow pit was dug, and green willow poles set up close together around the excavation were bent over and bound together at the top. Battens were lashed around the outside, and dry bunch-grass was applied in as many courses as were necessary. This was covered with green grass, or in some cases with the leaves of cat-

tails, and the thatching was held in place by horizontal battens laid on the grass and lashed to the frame. A doorway was left in the east side, and a small hole at the peak. In the centre was a small fire-pit, which was used in common by the several related families occupying the house.

In each village there was house of this same type, but more tightly built and with the excavation about three feet deep, where the men passed their days and evenings working at various tasks, talking, and smoking. Here slept all bachelors, all male visitors, and any local married men who lacked sufficient blankets for protection during cold weather.

In summer a willow-brush pent-house was erected wherever the family resided for any length of time.

The sweat-house was about the same size as a dwelling. In the three-foot pit two forked posts were set up near the north and south sides, and a timber was run from one crotch to the other. Strong willow poles were set close together around the edge inside the pit, and the tops were bent down and lashed to the ridge-timber. The doorway was in the east side, and a small vent was provided in the top. The frame was thatched with bunch-grass, which was thickly covered with mud.

The sweat-house was used at any time of the day, but not necessarily every day. Some individual would begin to provide wood, and any others who felt like taking a sweat would come to his assistance. The man who started the work was charged with the duty of building and maintaining the fire. He thus became more heated than the others, and frequently appeared to be intoxicated, and sang. After the sweat they bathed in the stream or lake. Women did not use the sweat-house, and, contrary to the custom among various tribes, sweating was not employed in treating sickness.

The manufactures of the Mono show no high development, though they include not only basketry, the typical aboriginal industry of California, but, among the southern bands, a limited quantity of crude pottery, such as the more southerly Shoshonean and the Yuman tribes make.

Basketry is both twined and coiled. The warp and the woof of twined baskets are always willow-shoots, and reddish designs are effected by leaving in place the inner bark, black designs by the use of

fibres drawn from the core of bracken-roots. Work done by this process takes the form of conical burden-baskets as large as three feet in diameter, small-mouth, urn-shape water-jars, shallow baskets for parching seeds, winnowing-trays, sieves, and caps for women. The water-jar holds as much as five gallons. After the weaving is done, pine-pitch is heated and poured into the vessel, which is slowly turned until the inner surface is completely coated. Some of the pitch oozes through to the outside, but the outer surface is never intentionally coated.

Coiled, bowl-shape baskets of excellent quality are made with the cord-like ground-shoots of willow found in the mountains. Redbud-bark gives brown patterns and bracken-root fibres produce black.

Seed-beaters were not used. Wild grasses were cut just below the head, and the tops were spread on the ground to dry. They were then burned, and the parched seeds remained.

Granaries were grass-lined pits in dry ground, instead of the usual California basketry receptacle, and the stone or wooden mortar here gave place to the flat stone metate and oblong muller.

Cord made by twisting the fibres of milkweed was employed in the twining of tule mats, and in constructing balsas, or cigar-shape bundles of tules which an individual either sat on or straddled and propelled over the water. But the most essential use for milkweed cord was in building up rope for the all-important rabbit-nets. These were about thirty inches high and hundred yards long, and the making of one, always the task of an old man, consumed an entire winter. In use several of them were joined, and as the rabbits, driven toward them, became entangled, they were removed by men stationed in hiding places at suitable intervals.

The potter's art was represented only by tubular pipes and globular cooking-pots. The latter were made by the process of rolling the plastic material into rope and coiling it round and round upon itself, thus building up the sides of the vessel. In the preparation of the material the sticky liquid obtained by boiling the branches of a small, unidentified bush bearing red blossoms was mixed with the pulverized clay.

The Lake Mono made no pottery, but fashioned cooking-vessels of red tuff. Their axes for cutting cedar to make into bows were of serpentine, and tobacco-pipes were either tuff or serpentine.

Objects of wood were rare, and implements for such work were

limited to stone knives and pumice abraders. The flute was made of a section of elder stalk, and the baton for marking rhythm was a split cane. There was no drum. Fuel and house-timbers were secured by breaking up fallen trees with heavy stones. Deer-horn wedges were employed in splitting wood. Both base and spindle of the fire-drill were sage, and fire was transported in a roll of sage-bark.

The Mono arrow for small game had a cane shaft and a foreshaft of greasewood, or of any other available hardwood, straightened and toughened by heat. For large animals and for fighting, the end of the cane shaft was split and filled with hot pine-pitch, the base of an obsidian point was forced into it, and the halves of the split end were held firmly together until the pitch hardened. Sinew wrapping is said not to have been employed. The shafts were straightened by heating them and bending them between the teeth, and smoothed by drawing them through a groove in a piece of pumice or other stone. The hunter's sheaf was carried in a fawn-skin quiver. The bow was about three feet long, recurved at the ends, and made of a piece of cedar taken from the trunk, not from a branch. The better ones were strengthened with a reinforcement of sinew glued to the back.

The fish-hook was made by lashing two double-pointed bones at right angles. Suckers, chubs, and minnows were caught by embedding a large, rather flat basket in the middle of a creek and damming the stream on both sides. The fish, driven down-stream, fell into the basket and were removed by hand. Another method was to dam one branch of a creek, causing the water to go down the other fork, and then gather the fish from shallow pools. In deeper, quiet pools fish were stupefied by means of a root, which, from the description, cannot be soap-plant. In the shallow water of lakes the Mono employed a long cane shaft with a wooden prong by a which fish was pinned to the bottom until it became helpless.

Edible animals of wide variety were available to the Mono. Great herds of antelope roamed the plains, deer were abundant on the mountain slopes, and mountain-sheep among the lofty peaks. Elk however were too distant to be hunted. Horse-flesh was highly esteemed, and black bears, mountain-lions, and wildcats were eaten when they chanced to be killed. The grizzly-bear however was too highly respected for its ferocity. The abundance of jack-rabbits and cottontails, and the comparative ease of capturing them, resulted in

their furnishing the greatest part of the flesh food of the Mono, and their soft, fluffy fur was of great importance in making blankets. Porcupines, badgers, skunks, dogs, woodrats, kangaroo-rats, squirrels, and moles were eaten, and all species of waterfowl, which abounded along the reedy shores of the lakes. The waders too, especially cranes and herons, were relished. Although bats and lizards were eaten, the Mono avoided many animals that were used as food by some tribes in California. Such were the predatory and carrion birds, coyotes, foxes, wolves, minks, and serpents.

The Mono are still very fond of *kuzávi*, the larval form of a small fly. The larvæ hatch under water, rise to the surface and are blown ashore in enormous quantities, where they are swept into baskets by means of a besom. For the time being they are piled on the ground, and later are spread out to dry, after which they are rolled in the hands and passed through a basketry sieve in order to separate the edible portion from the enveloping tissue. Many Caucasians testify to the palatableness of the larvæ, which the Mono however mix with kind of thick soup made of pine-nuts. Mono lake is so noted for its yield of these larvæ that its people, as noted heretofore, are known to the Nevada Paviotso as "*kuzávi* eaters."

For the methods of hunting the reader is referred to the following section on the Paviotso, whose usage did not differ from that of the Mono.

With the advent of spring the Mono abandoned their winter houses, or even demolished them with the intention of rebuilding in another place in the fall, and began to wander about the country in quest of food. The most important vegetal foods were pine-nuts and the seeds of various grasses and Compositæ. The harvesting of pine-nuts was the principal business of the autumn. The entire band moved in a body to a favorable locality, and every member of the family engaged in the labor, men and boys swarming into the trees or knocking off the cones with long poles, and women and girls gathering them in great piles. If the cones were ripe, the nuts could be removed without further ado; but most of them were gathered green in order to forestall the busy squirrels and jays, and consequently had to be roasted in pits until the scales opened and exposed the seeds, one beneath each scale. Then all gathered around to pick out the nuts, and after appetites sharpened by months of expectation had been satisfied, the work of accumulat-

ing the winter stores proceeded. At such times the pine groves were scenes of intense animation and industry.

The bunch-grasses, wild oats, the tarweeds, and sunflowers were important sources of edible seeds, which, parched in the harvesting, were ground with metate and muller and eaten without further preparation.

Acorns were a luxury. They were secured by the Mono Lake bands from the Miwok in Yosemite valley and by the more southerly Mono from their cousins across the mountains. Like the Washo and the Paviotso, the Mono congealed the cooked mush by pouring it into cold water.

A nutritious food greatly enjoyed, and still used by the Nevada Paviotso, was obtained from the leaves of the cane used for arrow-shafts, which were dried, beaten with sticks on a skin, and winnowed in a basket. There remained a sweetish meal, which solidified into a hard mass. It was prepared for eating by adding enough water to soften it to the consistency of taffy, or it was warmed at the fire until a piece could be bitten off.

Cattail-roots were roasted in pits, and the core of the underground stalks of tules was eaten fresh.

The Mono lacked the great variety of fruits available to the Indians west of the Sierra Nevada, but chokecherries, elderberries, and grapes were in fair abundance.

One of the few definitely religious practices of the Mono was the offering of a morsel of food to being known as Tsídaga, or Ta*r*amugáa,

The favorite amusement of Mono men was a game foreign to the central and northern Californians. This was *pásitû,* the hoop-and-pole game, in which a hoop made by bending a piece of willow branch and lashing the ends together was rolled along the ground, and each of the two contestants launched after it a wooden shaft about six feet long. A point was scored by the player upon whose javelin the hoop came to rest, and three consecutively gained points decided the wager.

The hand-game, *nayágwiti,* was played with a marked and an unmarked bone in the manner so frequently described heretofore; and in the women's dice game, *napoghohínu,* ten flat sticks marked on one side were cast end-foremost upon a skin. The method of counting in the dice play appears to have been forgotten. *Wichi-múinnû* was a game of football, in which a ball of deer-hair covered with deerskin

was kicked across a goal.

The Mono are an aggregation of local bands with no connection other than common language and the ties of intermarriage. Chiefs formerly were selected at a public meeting, the principal qualification being ability to harangue the people. At frequent intervals the chief summoned the entire population of his village and exhorted them to lead good lives, and sometimes discussed questions of public importance. He was the director of dances and hunts, but had no power to enforce his desires.

There are no clans.[4] Children are named at the age of a few months without ceremony, girls receiving names from the father's mother's family, and boys from the father's father's family. Examples of boys' names are Paghayuhíi, Kazávûû, Saivághaa, Siyavágha; of girls' names, Maha*r*iyúniû, Piya*r*unaíû, Ya*r*uníû. These all are without meaning to the modern Mono. The childhood names are retained until death, and no additional ones are acquired. The ears of children were formerly pierced without formality.

Although dancing and ceremonial singing were not observed for a girl at her first menstruation, there was a prescribed treatment for her. Each evening for six days she was enveloped in a blanket above a basket containing steaming water and heated stones, but during the day she went about much as usual, doing little work now and then. Meat and fish were taboo, but not salt, and she wore no special clothing or badge. At the end of six days the old woman in charge bathed her in warm water. Nothing was done at the recurrence of her periods, and menstruating women were not segregated, although, regardless of age, they ate neither meat nor fish. Marriage usually did not take place for a considerable time after the age of puberty.

There were no ordeals of any kind for adolescent boys.

The parents of a marriageable youth selected a suitable girl and gave a present of shell money to her parents, who, if they favorably regarded the suit, gave food in return. Assured that the marriage would be consummated, the youth's relatives provided a quantity of blankets, baskets, and other property; and this exchange of presents continued

4 Moieties of the central California type became a feature of Western Mono sociology, but remained unknown to the tribes east of the Sierras.

to be made between the families. After a short time a paternal uncle or other male relative led the young man to the house of his bride and remained there overnight to see that they slept together. A Mono husband lived with the family of his wife, and it was his duty for several years to be particularly industrious in providing game for the household. Conversation between a man and his mother-in-law was not prohibited, but it was required to be serious and respectful.

Blood relationship, no matter how remote, was a bar to marriage. Some men had as many as three wives, but these, unless they were sisters, did not occupy the same house and indeed were kept in camps well separated. Frequently widows married their deceased husbands' brothers. Although this procedure is now said to have been entirely optional, the fact that the term for stepfather is the same as that for paternal uncle, which latter relationship is also expressed by a compound translated as "little father," indicates that the levirate was once a well-established custom. Adultery on the part of either husband or wife was cause for the other to leave. Occasionally two men fought over a woman, but the payment of money for damages was never asked.

Berdaches — men who dressed like women and did women's work — were not uncommon, and there are now two at Big Pine. The statement that they did not cohabit with men is probably made to conceal a shameful fact.

The dead were usually buried, but cremation was not unknown. Usually the body was kept overnight and buried the next day. It was wrapped in a robe belonging to the deceased person or provided by relatives, and was laid at length with the head southward. Some personal possessions, but neither food nor water, were deposited in the grave. The remaining personal property was divided among the near relatives, or in some cases was preserved for two or three years and then burned at a public ceremony much like the annual crying of other California tribes. Men and women relatives cut the hair to about half-length by means of an obsidian flake, and very old people cut it quite short. The house was always demolished or burned. There was a stringent rule that the names of the recently dead must not be spoken. In mentioning a dead man they called him, for example, "the grandfather of Paghayughíi"; and even though the deceased man's name were identical, this was regarded as observance of the taboo.

The spirits of the dead, it is believed, proceed to a nameless place

in the south, where they pass their time in dancing. At the entrance to this land is a sapling covered with a sticky substance. Each spirit grasps it. The hands of the truly dead do not adhere, and they pass on; but the hands of those not actually dead stick to the sapling, and they turn about and go back to the earth.

Before eating, a Mono takes a bit of food and tosses it away, saying, "There is what you are asking for." This is an offering to the spirit Tsídaga, who is also called Taramugáa. It is thought that he will take out the sinews of anyone who fails to feed him, and he is besought for abundant crops of seeds. Tômaa is believed to send rain, and is addressed on this subject. There seems to be no very definite conception regarding these spirits.

Medicine-men treated sickness in the usual way. Having received his fee, usually the equivalent of fifteen dollars, the shaman marched around the fire, singing with the assistance of those who happened to be present, and then proceeded to suck out the "poison." The treatment was repeated on the following night. If the patient failed to recover, but did not die, no money was refunded, but in the event of death portion of it was given back. Often medicine-men were killed by those who believed that a relative had been bewitched by them, but contrary to the usual California practice this did not result in a feud. Shamans acquired their power through dreams, which were not deliberately sought.

Mono culture is characterized by a marked lack of ceremonial life. The puberty rites can hardly be called a ceremony, and the burning of property in memory of the dead was too sporadic to deserve the name.

A dance for amusement is called Nûgháva. The people assemble at night in a circular enclosure of willow boughs, and men and women in a circle join hands and pass slowly to the left with a shuffling movement. All sing, and at the end of a song rest, still standing in their places. This is continued for six nights, with the sexual promiscuity that characterizes so many Indian celebrations.

In Tozohóïdi, the war-dance, three or four singers sat side by side and sang to the accompaniment of split batons, and apart from them sat four or five other men, also singing. When the chorus of song was reached, these latter stood up and danced with vehement gestures and posturings. They wore circlets of eagle-feathers about the head and sometimes feather streamers down the back, and about the waist was

a belt supporting a kilt of cords in which were twisted white down-feathers.

THE PAVIOTSO

THE Paviotso themselves recognize four divisions of their people:

The Aghaí-tikárû ("trout eaters"), in the region of Walker lake.
The Kuyúi-tikárû ("black-sucker eaters"), at Pyramid lake.
The Tâé-tikárû ("cattail eaters"), at Carson lake.
The Warárá-tikárû (" tarweed-seed eaters"), at Honey lake.

The first three are in western and northwestern Nevada, the last was formerly in northeastern California. Many Paviotso consider the Mono also as being another division.

The etymology of the terms Paiute and Paviotso is unknown. Both are undoubtedly Shoshonean words, and one is probably a dialectic variation of the other.

The physical geography of the country is typical of much of the great interior plateau. Mountain-fed streams bordered with cotton-woods and willows drain into salt lakes: Walker, Carson, Pyramid, and Winnemucca in Nevada; Honey, Horse, and Eagle in California; and there are many marshes and beds of extinct lakes, all relics of ancient Lake Lahontan. Numerous ranges of naked, rugged mountains trend approximately north and south. Scattering piñon groves abound in the hills, but the wide plains produce little besides sagebrush, bunch-grass, and various annuals.

Blind Tom, who was born at the southern end of Walker lake and was an adult when white people first entered Mono territory in California, said that when he was a youth his people ranged over the California line into the Mono Lake country, being on very friendly terms with the people there. The "Diggers," from what is now the northern part of Madera county,[5] once came across the mountains to harvest

5 These apparently were western Mono. Either Miwok or Yokuts would have had to pass through western Mono territory in order to reach "Fish river."

pine-nuts, and the Paviotso, resenting the intrusion, set upon them and killed some. In revenge the strangers threatened to "witch" them. The Paviotso, when they heard of this, went up into the mountains along Pagwi-hu ("fish river"), which flows into Mono lake from the south, surrounded a camp, and killed nearly all the people. One who escaped brought help, but these also were destroyed by the Paviotso.

The Paviotso were generally good friends of the Shoshoni. In spite of the fact that the Washo are still regarded as enemies, Blind Tom never knew of any actual fighting with them.

American trappers came early into Paviotso territory. In 1825 Jedediah S. Smith descended Humboldt river, naming it Mary's river, crossed to Carson river, and passed through Churchill cañon to Walker river in Mason valley. Following this stream to its source, he went on to the coast, discovering Mono lake, and returned to the Rocky mountains by way of Columbia river, accompanying Peter Skeen Ogden's party to the trappers' winter quarters in Jackson's Hole, Wyoming. Ogden followed the same route in 1831.

In 1832 Milton Sublette reached the head of Humboldt river, and a year later Captain Benjamin L.E. Bonneville sent an expedition under Joseph Walker from Green River valley to trap along the Humboldt. Walker's party shot some "Shoshones" who had committed petty depredations, and who made no resistance, and from Pyramid lake ascended Truckee river and crossed the Sierra Nevada to Sacramento. Many trapping parties followed, and the Indians frequently committed minor offenses, which the white men were ever prone to punish.

In 1852 the Washo several times raided the stock in Carson valley, and in retaliation the settlers captured two of the tribe, one a powerful man dressed in full suit of deerskin, the other a naked youth. The man was killed in attempting to escape, and his companion was liberated. In 1857 two men were killed by the Washo south of Lake Tahoe.

Peter Lassen (for whom Lassen county, California, is named) and a companion were killed by the Paviotso in Humboldt county, Nevada, in 1859, and in the following year Dexter E. Deming lost his life at a ranch north of Honey Lake valley, California.

Governor Roop then appealed for troops to the general commanding the Department of the Pacific, but none were sent. In April, 1860, the Paviotso held a great council at Pyramid lake for the purpose of deciding on a course of conduct, and on the first of May Indians at

Williams Station killed several men, who were said to have captured two young girls for immoral purposes. Volunteers were organized at Genoa, Carson, Silver City, and Virginia City, and on the ninth of May they started for the scene. They proceeded down Truckee river to the present Wadsworth, four companies numbering 105 men. Major Ormsby is generally called the leader of the party, though they did not elect a commanding officer, thinking the Indians would not fight. On May fourteenth, about half mile north of the present reservation buildings and within two miles of the southern end of Pyramid lake, they were confronted by Indians, and charged them. The enemy vanished, then suddenly a volley of bullets and arrows poured from the surrounding sagebrush. The volunteers became demoralized, and many fled, leaving a few brave men to be slaughtered by overwhelming numbers. About a fifth of the force were killed, but only three Indians fell.

General Wright, the departmental commander at San Francisco, then ordered to Carson a company of soldiers stationed at Honey Lake valley. Many settlers fled to California, and volunteers sent from that state proceeded northward and on May 31, 1860, at the site of Wadsworth, Nevada, were joined by about 750 regulars. By common consent Colonel John C. Hays of the volunteers was given the command. On the second of June a detachment of eighty scouted down the Truckee, and at the scene of the battle of Pyramid lake were met by 300 mounted Indians and an equal number on foot. They retreated fighting to the main body, which came forward to support them. In this "battle of the Truckee," which lasted five hours, the Indians were defeated with small loss to either side. The soldiers then proceeded northward beyond the lake, and on June seventh returned to Virginia City and disbanded.[6]

In 1862 occurred the Owens River difficulties with the Mono, and conflicts of a more or less serious nature between the two races continued until 1868.

In 1874 the reservations of Walker River and Pyramid Lake were confirmed, the former comprising 268,000 acres, the latter 322,000. The population at each reservation is about five hundred, but this is a decided minority of the tribe. Owing to the extent of the country in

6 Thompson and West, History of Nevada, Oakland, 1881.

which the non-reservation Paviotso are found, and the fact that most of them are in small groups on private stock and agricultural ranches, an estimate approaching accuracy cannot be made. It appears likely that the total of all Paviotso may approximate thirty-five hundred. They are good laborers, and therefore are in demand among ranchmen. Approaching the Plains type of Indian, they are a refreshing contrast to the California tribes, who are generally less alert, in many cases rather sullen and in some instances in the northwestern part of the state markedly avaricious.

Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist, and in cold weather threw about the shoulders another deerskin or robe made of rabbit-skin strips with cord twining. A few had hip-length leggings and fringed shirt of the well-known Plains type, but this costume was much more common at Carson lake than among the other bands. Most men had moccasins, and all wore the breechcloth, which was the only garment possessed by the very poor. In fact the majority of the people were almost destitute of clothing. Old men can yet remember the time when entire families slept naked and so close to the fire that their bodies were covered with blisters and sores.

Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind, and therefore avoided as much as possible appearing in the presence of strangers. The more prosperous wore skirts reaching to the knees or nearly to the ankles, according to their means. A man with daughters was constantly bestirring himself to obtain enough deerskins to provide them and his wife with skirts reaching from waist to ankles, in order that they might go about freely without shame. Women in the regions where deer were not to be had made skirts of tule fringe.

Men arranged the hair in two braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter-fur to which shell and bone ornaments were attached. Eagle-feathers were worn in the hair and sometimes in the fur wrapping. Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum, and many wore similar ornaments in the ears. Many, but not all, of both sexes had various lines tattooed on the face and sometimes on the arms, and both men and women painted the face daily with a red material, obtained in a natural state as it oozed from rocks, and white clay, or possibly gypsum. The red was laid on either solid or in alternate lines. Women and dandies used graphite

beneath the eyes. Such men were called *panánanatsi* ("trail men"), because they never left the trail to hunt or fish. Necklaces were strings of thin sections of eagle-bone variously dyed. Women let the hair hang loose, but when working they doubled it up on the head and covered it with small basketry cap to keep it clean.

The Paviotso prepared deerskin, the material of nearly all their clothing, by removing all bits of fat and flesh, soaking the hide, and scraping off the hair with the sharp-edged ulna of a deer. The brains and marrow were then placed between two hot stones, and mixed with water in a large basket, in which the hide was put to soak. When this softening solution had completely impregnated it, the skin was removed and thoroughly worked in the hands until it became pliable. Several skins were then sewed together and supported like a tent over a sage fire, in order to impart a pleasing yellow tinge.

Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical. Willow saplings were set closely together in a circle about twelve to fourteen feet in diameter, the tops were bent over and lashed together, and the interstices were filled with bark. A very thick thatch of dry piñon-needles was applied, and this sometimes was covered with earth. A small hole was left at the top, and in the east side a narrow doorway, which was closed at night by a swinging door of poles lashed together. Inside and outside the earth was scraped up to the base of the walls. Such were the winter houses, which were built in groups wherever wood, water, and food were convenient.

For summer habitations green boughs were set up to provide shade, and the dance-house was a brush fence roofed over with branches. Sweat-houses were not used at Walker lake, but at Carson and Pyramid lakes the hemispherical Plains type of sudatory had been adopted before the historical period. Its name, *tûbí-navagye* ("rock bath"), indicates the method of generating heat.

All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, and the material is willow, designs being produced by the use of shoots showing the reddish bark and by stripped shoots dyed black by burial in mud. The large, conical burden-baskets are either coarse-mesh for pine-nuts or fine-mesh for grass-seeds, and parching-baskets are similarly of two kinds, some of them being actually water-tight. Cooking was formerly done mostly in baskets by means of hot stones, and water-vessels are urn-like baskets coated with piñon-gum. Cradle-baskets have adjust-

able hoods, on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child.

Other products of weaving were tule mats and rabbit-skin robes, which were made with cord twining, and nets for rabbit drives and for fishing. The rabbit-skins were cut into continuous strips, which were wrapped spirally on poles, so that in drying they assumed a shape in which the entire outer surface was fur. When sufficient number had been sewn together, end to end, the furry rope was stretched as the warp on frame consisting of two horizontal poles, one above the other. Milkweed was the source of the fibre used in twisting cord and rope.

Pottery was not made, but some cooking-vessels are said by the Walker Lake people to have been made of soft stone, while at Pyramid lake this art is denied.[7] Tubular tobacco-pipes were made of a soft bluish stone called *puítoïs,* which probably was serpentine. The metate and muller were the means of grinding seeds, and food was stored in grass-lined pits instead of baskets.

Arrows were tipped with obsidian, and the rosewood shafts, without foreshafts, were smoothed with flat piece of pumice. They were kept in fawn-skin quivers. Most of the bows were juniper reinforced with sinew, but the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon, reminding the observer again that here he is on the western edge of the plains and mountain culture area. Knives were obsidian.

Fishing devices were the hook, made of two crossed bones; the milkweed-fibre line; the spear, a two-pronged pole with which fish were pinned to the bottom; the weir, by which streams were dammed; and the dip-net and gill-net. Tule balsas were used on the lakes, especially in hunting waterfowl.

The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together and partially filled with rattling bits of whatever material the individual's guardian spirit may have indicated. The medicine-men used also bird-bone whistles.

Among the common objects not found among the Paviotso are the

7 Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, *Anthropological Papers American Museum of Natural* History, 1924, mentions soapstone pots among the Wind River Shoshoni.

drum, elder flute, horn or bone wedges, spoons, and armor.

Piñon-nuts were the most important food, and even today are considered indispensable. The cones, brought to the ground by men and boys wielding poles, and collected in burden-baskets by women and girls, are roasted, the nuts removed from the opened scales, and the refuse is winnowed out. Like other winter foods piñon-nuts formerly were stored in dry pits. In preparation for eating they are parched, shelled, and parched again, and then, thoroughly dried, they are pulverized on the metate and made into a thick mush by the admixture of cold water. The roasted nuts are eaten either shelled or unshelled.

Second only to piñon-nuts were the small seeds of various plants — bunch-grass, wild oats, tarweed, tumbleweed, sunflower, and sage. All these were merely parched and ground into the well-known pinole of the California Indians. Like the Mono, the Paviotso are very fond of the candy-like substance obtained from the meal of dry reed-leaves. Roasted cattail-roots and fresh tule-roots were esteemed, and in addition to the small fruits enjoyed by the Mono their congeners had the buffalo-berry, so typical of the plains.

The principal game animals were much the same as in the Mono country. Antelope and deer were the only large animals regularly hunted, but most important were rabbits and hares. Elk were sometimes killed, but bears were not hunted and indeed were rarely seen. Waterfowl and fish were abundant at certain seasons and very easily caught.

Both deer and mountain-sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral. The entrance to the wings was perhaps sixteen to twenty feet wide, and the enclosure itself was about a hundred feet in diameter. When the game had thus been rounded up, the owner of the corral selected the animal that best pleased him and shot it down; then the others, one after another, killed the remainder.

In rough country deer were hunted by small or large parties, some of the men driving the game and others lying in ambush. Deer-hunters so well understood the habits of their prey that from the tracks they could tell when the animal was about to lie down and rest, and they knew in what direction it would turn in circling back to its range. They exercised great care in preserving and increasing the acuteness of the sense of smell by avoidance of excess in eating, sleeping, and especially undue familiarity and association with women. Dan Vorhees, a Walker

Lake man of about forty, averred that he could smell mountain-lion as quickly as his dogs, and could distinguish between a mountain-lion and a coyote at a considerable distance. He described the sensation as a tingling of the nerves. Sometimes a hunter would pursue a large buck for two days across the hills before killing it, and then far from home would flay and butcher it and carry the meat home in the hide. Disguises, pitfalls, and deadfalls were not used by the Paviotso.

Antelope were driven into a large and high brush corral by a numerous body of men and there brought down with arrows. After horses were obtained the fortunate possessors would a drive band of antelope along the valley for some distance and then apparently abandon the chase. These animals would then always return toward the place from which they had been driven, and hunters lying in concealment could easily shoot them.

Rabbits and hares, the principal game, were taken in nets from one hundred to two hundred feet long. Sometimes three men would set their nets together, each standing at the end of his net, while other hunters drove the animals and shot them when they could. A very good man might thus bring down three in the course of a drive. Those that escaped the arrows ran headlong into the nets, and the waiting men killed them with clubs. The owners of the nets kept all the game thus secured, and the drivers retained what they killed with arrows. Quarrels between hunters who simultaneously shot the same animal were not infrequent.

Small rodents are still relished. In 1922 one of several old men, met to pass the time in friendly conversation, was observed to remove from a cloth bag a number of roasted gophers. The hair had been more or less completely burned off, but the skin was unbroken. The men ate them much as one eats banana, from end to end, consuming intestines and organs and discarding only the bones. The feasters rather enjoyed the observer's qualms.

Large game taken by a party of hunters was divided among them on the spot, and when a hunter returned to the camp, those who needed meat stood significantly waiting until he supplied them. But there was no general distribution among all the people, nor was meat regularly given to the chief. The family of the hunter's wife, however, always received a portion.

Each year when waterfowl were not quite full-grown and the

adults of certain species had lost their wing-feathers so that they could not fly, the chiefs of the Paviotso at Carson lake sent to the neighboring people an invitation to the annual bird drive. A great many answered the call, and each man who purposed building a tule balsa for the occasion brought a twenty-foot willow push-pole, because no willows grow at Carson lake. When all preparations were complete, men on balsas started among the tules at the north end of the lake and slowly drove the fowl out into open water and across the lake to the southwestern corner. The drive started about midnight and lasted until the middle of the afternoon, and after dawn the hunters shot the adult birds as they slowly moved forward. Arriving at the southern end of the lake, they drove the young birds up on shore, where women and boys and other men caught them among the bushes. Some secured whole horse-loads of birds. When a handful of fowl was caught, a turn of a rope was made about their necks, and the rope was dragged behind as the hunter proceeded to take more game. Because ducks spoil very easily in this hot climate, the catch was immediately taken home, and was there plucked and dried in the sun.

Although the entire area of Paviotso occupancy is without drainage to the sea, its numerous lakes support an abundant fish life. Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes are fed by the two mouths of Truckee river, which receives the outflow of Lake Tahoe, more than six thousand feet above sea-level near the crest of the Sierra Nevada, two hundred square miles in area, and sixteen hundred feet deep. Pyramid lake, at the other end of the Truckee's hundred-mile length, is twenty-three hundred feet below Tahoe, and its three hundred and fifty square miles of surface are broken by some striking islands, which are frequented by numerous birds at the nesting season. Farther south, Walker and Carson lakes receive Sierra waters through rivers of the same names.

The fish in these two systems are principally trout and suckers. The trout are *Salmo Henshawi* (the so-called cut-throat) and *S. regalis,* the royal silver trout. The former species attains a weight of twenty to twenty-five pounds. The "black" sucker, *Chamistes cujus* (Paviotso *kuyúi*), is found only in Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. "It lives in their depths, and is never seen until in the spring, when great schools suddenly appear at the mouth of the Truckee River, crowd up the channel and cover the bars, often pushing each other out of the water in their struggles to find room enough to deposit their eggs. Formerly

this was an occasion of rejoicing among the Indians, for here were numbers of large, fat fishes which only need to be kicked out of the water and hung on the bushes to dry. The Piutes still continue to cure them in large quantities for winter food."[8]

In the rivers both trout and suckers were taken by building a willow weir across the stream with an opening in the middle small enough to be filled by a dip-net called *yáni.* A man sat on the weir holding the two divergent poles on which the net was stretched. From the mouth of the net to the top of the poles ran a string, to which a light feather was tied, and when a fish entered, it touched the string and agitated the feather. In lakes the Paviotso used gill-nets, *pagwí-wana,* about seventy-five feet long and four feet wide, which were kept properly spread by means of reeds four feet apart. At the bottom of each stick was a grooved stone sinker, and at each end of the net was a float consisting of a bundle of reeds about six feet long. Spears were used in daylight by fishermen standing on shore and watching for the fish to pass.

The larvæ known as *kuzávi'*, though not so abundant as in Mono lake, were taken in fair quantities at Pyramid and at certain other salt lakes of central Nevada.

Although the culture of the plains exercised considerable influence on the Paviotso, they never adopted the custom of making use of dogs as beasts of burden. After horses were obtained, a few of the house-poles were sometimes transported from place to place, the tops being lashed to the sides of the animal and the butts trailing. But the travois was not used.

The favorite play was *mayágwiva,* the hand-game. *Watsímuiva* ("ball play") was a football game in which holding, pushing, tripping, wrestling, in fact almost any tactics, were permitted. The ball was a small one of deerskin, and each of the goals, which were about forty yards apart, was marked by two posts. *Madzítsakaya* was played by women armed with sticks, by means of which they tossed toward the goal a piece of half-inch rope about eighteen inches long. *Wâgwâkatatsaninu* was a dice game for men, in which eight half-sections of cane, painted red on the inside, were cast upon a skin. The player counted one for each piece that lay with the convex side exposed. After peach-

8 Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 63, No. 8, 1914, page 36.

es were introduced into the country, women played dice with halves of the pits.

Each band of Paviotso had at least one chief, whose principal duties were to direct his people in their quest for food, sending the men out now for rabbits, now for deer, again for fish or ducks; and the women for various seeds and roots. His authority was slight. His successor might be one of the subchiefs, or his own son, according to the consensus of opinion.

Relations between the different bands were friendly and fairly close, and a dance was always attended by many visitors from the other bands. The principal enemy of the Walker River Paviotso was the Washo, whom they regarded as a not particularly worthy foe. They say that the Washo pointed their arrows with averted face. Conflict between the two tribes was limited to the harmless encounters of parties of hunters and food-gatherers. With the Shoshoni there was an ancient war, which is said to have terminated because they were too easily killed! The Bannock are regarded as "our own tribe," and their enemies the Nez Percés are named as Paviotso enemy. The Pyramid Lake bands were inveterate enemies of the Achomawi from the upper course of Pit river and the northern part of Lassen county, California.

The origin myth describes the growth of two tribes, Paviotso and Saíi, or Saíduka,[9] the Pit River Indians, from two pairs of brothers and

9 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, quoting Powers, Indians of Western Nevada (MS, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1876), defines Saiduka as "Shoshoneans of eastern Oregon." Quoting Gatschet in *Contributions to North American Ethnology,* Vol. II, Pt. I, it gives Saidoka as the Shoshoni name for the Modoc. Quoting Campbell in *Indian Affairs Report,* 119**,** 1866, it gives Sidocaw as equivalent to Paviotso. Saituka (" camas eaters") is also noted as "a collective term applied in various forms by the Paiute and other Shoshonean tribes to the camaseating Indians of Oregon and Idaho, especially to the tribes of the Shahaptian family." The translation "camas eaters" indicates that the second component of the term *(tuka, doka, duka)* is Paviotso *tikárû*, eaters.

The Paviotso employ Saíi and Saíduka, the former said to be an abbreviation of the latter, to designate the Achomawi. At Walker River reservation are two young women known as Saíi; they were born near Alturas, give Humáhwi (an Achomawi division) as their tribal self-name, and count in the Achomawi language.

sisters, who fought even in childhood. Following is the history of the long conflict with this tribe and others, in the words of Billy Williams, who was born east of Honey lake in California "about ten years before the first white men came from the north, ascended Truckee river, and went on to California." He refers to the Bonneville party of 1833, and not the earlier ones of Smith and Sublette.

The Paviotso were attacked by the Saíi at Carson lake, and forced their enemies to take refuge in the lava rocks, where they smoked them out and killed them. At Mudhen lake, near Pyramid lake, occurred a fight with the people who lived there, and the chief made a war speech in which he used the words, *"Nakahûhúûtsi nakamómosovaki.*" The Paviotso killed all these or drove them away.

Later the Modoc and the Ute of Green river, where there is now a reservation [Uintah], came down from the north. The Paviotso were living on the east side of Pyramid lake, and while hunting antelope on the west side found the tracks of the invaders. They turned homeward and travelled all night in order to protect their camp. At sunrise two chiefs, who were in advance, were suddenly attacked by the Modoc, and ran back to the main party, which quickly attacked. The chief shouted: "Push them back! They are women!" During the skirmish the two parties exchanged positions, the Paviotso being now to the east of the Modoc. They challenged their enemies in the Modoc language to fight, "*Tunôtunôsupáha!*" Then the Modoc closed in. Their chief wore a stuffed owl as a headdress. He pointed his arrow here and there, to frighten the Paviotso; but two of the latter went against him, taking one arrow from each of their companions, and while the Modoc chief was threatening them, they shot him in the eye, and his body rolled down the hill. Then they charged and drove the Modoc back to the lake and killed them. They buried the bodies in a long grave. [A long mound on the west side of Pyramid lake is pointed out as the grave.]

When my Grandfather Tûná-qaa ["antelope shirt"] was a young man, the Saíi attacked the Paviotso on the west side of Pyramid lake and killed a great many. Two women, Tú-qta ["black neck"] and her

In his narration of the origin myth, Blind Tom, Walker Lake Paviotso, says that the Saíi originally lived at Humboldt lake and were driven northward by the Paviotso, who lived at Carson lake. Probably the term was loosely used to designate various alien tribes of the northern region.

sister, and Tûná-qaa escaped. A man named Kûdââ lived in Long valley at Honey lake. He was making a bow and some arrows, and was testing them by shooting up into the air. The Saíi attacked the village and the people took shelter behind a great rock. Kûdââ, some little distance from the camp, heard the barking of dogs. The Paviotso behind the rock, being few, kicked up a great dust in order to frighten the Saíi, and then climbed up among the rocks. When the Saíi followed, the boys threw stones and rolled rocks down upon them. From a small cave a Paviotso shot and struck the eye of the Saíi chief, whose companions dragged the body back, cut off the head and placed it behind them, and then fought. They did not wish his scalp to be taken. When at last the Saíi were driven away, they tried to conceal the head, wrapped in a wildcat-skin blanket, under a bush; but one of the pursuing Paviotso dragged it out. A long knife [rather, a short spear] was with the head, and from this circumstance the Paviotso man received the name Long Knife.[10] His great-grandson is now living. The Paviotso pursued the Saíi to Honey lake, and the effort of the Saíi to make Pyramid lake their own was frustrated.

Later another band came to Pyramid lake. The war-chief called for men from all the Paviotso bands. They went along the range of hills east of the lake, and were met by a party of Bannock, armed with spears. They camped together, and in the morning the Bannock forcibly took away everything the Paviotso had. But the next night they gave back what they had taken, and the two parties travelled together northward as far as the site of Lakeview, Oregon, and there chose a Bannock and a Paviotso scout. From a hilltop the scouts saw a man with bow and a bag of arrows on his back, sitting under a cedar. They decided to fight with him. He was a Saíi. He shot one of the scouts through the shoulder, but the other shot him in the back and killed him. He was very old, and his hair was gray. With the entire scalp and his weapons they returned to their companions at night, and immediately all set forward. After a time they a saw fire, toward which they travelled, and at daylight they were close to it. The Saíi had been dancing for a menstruating girl, and were sleeping soundly. The Paviotso

10 These short spears, which were carried on the back, are said to have originated among the easterly tribes, probably the Bannock.

crossed a stream, attacked the camp, and killed many. They liberated some Paviotso young women who had been captured by the Saíi as little girls, and captured two Saíi women. The granddaughter of one of the captives was recently living in Reno, a very old woman.

Years after this the Saíi gave up fighting the Paviotso, and the latter then collected arrows, one from each band, and gave them to a woman captive, who took them back to her people as a sign of peace. [This woman was seen by the present interpreter at Susanville.] The Paviotso and the Sail then met near Tohá-kaïva ["white mountain" — Mount Lassen] and made peace. All this fighting the Pyramid Lake Paviotso engaged in to maintain their ownership of the lake, where they obtained their principal supplies of food.

The Paviotso are still fighting for their lake, which they call Kuyúivanûnadû ("black-sucker lake"). More than once white men have launched power-boats on it, but the Indians have always dragged them ashore. Their chief, Captain Dave, is trying to throw it open to public use, but his people will not consent.

There are neither clans nor secret societies. Boys receive the names of the father's male relatives, especially his paternal uncles, and girls those of the father's female relatives. There is no formality in the bestowal of names. Typical masculine names are Namásugagûnúu ("grandson great-grandfather"), Tûbâgi ("water-worn pothole"), Aghaí-zora ("trout cheek"); feminine names are Tsurúkûmaa ("Equisetum edge"), Tagû-donii ("*tagû* [an unidentified root] blossom"), Inágûvûts ("breaking something white with the teeth"). The childhood name is retained until death, unless a new one is acquired by the performance of some unusual feat.[11]

Many of the ancestral names embody obscene allusions or are bald compounds of words not commonly spoken in mixed society. These are not nicknames, and the only way to designate an individual bearing

11 Lowie, *Anthropological Papers American Museum of Natural* History, 1924, cites Sarah Winnemucca, daughter of the Paviotso chief of that name, as responsible for the statement that "the Paviotso named the majority of their girls after flowers, others after rocks; boys ... according to some chance observation they made in infancy." The prevalence of flower-names for girls is apparent from those quoted above. See also plates facing pages 82, 146. Nevertheless, these are all of ancestral origin.

such a name is to suppress false modesty and utter the suggestive syllables. Women sometimes chaff men whose names are of this character.

After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every five days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man. The attendant prayed to the sun that the parent might work hard and provide well for the child, and that the child might have good health and become a strong and industrious person. At the end of three weeks whatever clothing the parents had on was given to the attendants, including even valuable beads, or in later days money, and an entirely new set of garments was donned. This form of purification is obsolete, but even at the present time fathers do not hunt for about three weeks after the birth of child; nor do they ride a male horse, because, as they assert, for about that length of time the father as well as the mother is filled with the odor characteristic of catamenia, and this would "go into" the horse and kill him. But mares are immune.

It is said that girls who never played with boys had their first menstruation at the age of about fourteen, while those who romped with boys and came into physical contact with them had it at about thirteen. Similarly, boys who were fond of girls are said to have matured earlier than others. The cause of course is mistaken for the effect. When the first menses appeared, two elderly women led the girl out from camp, and the three made six or seven piles of brush, after which they returned. This was done each morning and evening until the period was over, not merely as sign to the people that the girl had reached puberty and was ready for marriage, but as a means to making her an industrious woman. During the day she was required to be active, moving here and there, whether working or not, and one of the old women always accompanied and watched her while the other slept or rested. At the end of her time they took the girl to a stream or spring and bathed her, while reciting: "*Táva, naïsudihai* [sun, we pray]. You know everything. You see everything on this earth. Make this girl healthy and strong. Make her industrious and not lazy. Let her have many children without pain." The girl's old clothing was then thrown away or taken by the women, if they wished it, and new garments were put on her. The puberty customs have fallen into disuse.

Paviotso boys were not sent out to observe vigils, although the Bannock had this custom.

Marriage followed at any time after the first menstruation. Not

infrequently girls were married before they reached puberty, but they did not cohabit until after their first menses. A marriage of this kind took place at Walker River reservation about the year 1912. Chastity before marriage was strictly enjoined and is said to have been the rule. Girls were not ordinarily permitted to associate freely with boys, and those who conducted themselves modestly were not molested. Prostitution was practised, but not for pay. There were few berdaches who, as usual, dressed like women and did women's work.

When a youth desired to marry, he consulted his mother. If she did not approve his choice, she might endeavor to interest him in some other girl; but if he persisted she said just what she would have said had she herself approved, "Well, why not buy her?" The family then prepared the purchase price, which consisted of beads or deerskins or clothing, and sent it to the girl's family, who accepted it without word of approval or disapproval. They returned no answer, even after the lapse of several weeks, and at the end of perhaps a month an additional quantity of property was sent. Soon after this either a favorable answer was returned or the young man's mother went and demanded to know what they meant by keeping both the property and the girl. If then they decided not to accept the youth, they gave up the property; but if they returned a favorable answer he went that evening to their home and lay down near the door, afraid to approach the girl too closely, and usually it was not until the fifth or sixth night that their mating was consummated. The man made his home permanently with his wife's people and it was his duty to provide meat for the family.

Sometimes a marriage was arranged without purchase, as when a male relative of the girl, being on friendly terms with a young man, would joke him regarding the girl and the girl regarding him, suggesting marriage, and finally bringing it about. Such marriage was somewhat disgraceful for the girl, who thus gave herself away without price. It might also turn out unfortunately for the man; for if she should die in childbirth, he, as the cause of her death, would be mistreated and insulted until he left the camp. On the other hand the relatives of purchased wife who died in childbirth had nothing to say to her husband; for though he was still held to be the cause of her death, she belonged to him absolutely. Once purchased, a woman belonged to her husband's family so long as they kept her as a married woman. But if she became a widow and none of her husband's people married her within

the usual period of about year, she became free to marry outside and their right to her ceased. Some widows remained unmarried a long time. Good women waited about year for remarriage, others only a few months. The brothers of a deceased man kept close watch of their sister-in-law, to see that she did not disgrace their dead brother's name by a too hasty marriage. An informant's brother purchased a woman and died. His cousin, already married, took her also after the lapse of year, in order to maintain the family's right in their duly purchased property. The informant's wife then died, and he without formality began to live with his deceased brother's widow, his cousin abandoning claim to her. This happened within the last few years. The primitive marriage customs still flourished in 1916, and existed side by side with ecclesiastical rites in 1924.

When a woman died, her relatives, if they had high regard for her husband, gave him one of her "sisters," either a blood sister or a cousin, without payment. Few men had more than two wives, and these two were nearly always sisters in the Indian system of kinship. A man might take a second wife without the consent of the first, and the first wife, even though a purchased woman, had then the right to leave him. Brawls over women were not infrequent, but seldom had a fatal termination.

Conversation between a man and his mother-in-law, and between a woman and her father-in-law, was restricted to necessary and serious topics, and generally was carried on through the wife or the husband, as the case might be. A man coming home and finding his mother-in-law in the house, left it at once; and if any conversation were necessary, he stood outside and spoke impersonally. This custom is obsolete.

The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried. The corpse was wrapped with drawn-up knees in a blanket, or, if it were a man who had owned a horse, in the animal's hide, and was laid in a shallow grave made by removing some half-buried stones from the ground. The stones were then replaced and others piled on them. Food and water were not deposited. Even today the death of any member of a household is followed by removal of the house to a new site. Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives, and the widow was left destitute; but sometimes the dying husband stipulated that certain things should remain in her possession during the minority of the children, and in rare cases, even without this provision, his rela-

tives made the same arrangement.

Close relatives of both sexes cut the hair at the level of the ears, and some women in mourning for a son singed it quite short. Reference to the dead by name was an act of the greatest disrespect to the dead man and his family.

The spirits of the dead are said to rise straight through the air to the Milky Way and travel southward to the end of this trail, where is a lake with a conical rock in the middle. Down through the hole in the apex of this rock they pass, and at the bottom they emerge, living bodies, in *Pûgwaínûmû-múguwa-bitíghan* ("place-where spirit goes-in"). Some say that below the Milky Way is another earth like this of ours, but with more abundant grass and flowers. Adults pass rapidly through this land, but children loiter and pluck flowers. Some who have apparently died and visited the other world declare that one cannot see anything there. One hears the voices of people like the humming of unnumbered flies.

The earth is regarded as flat. The existence of a western ocean is known, and it is supposed that water bounds the land on the east. The sun sinks into the western ocean, passes through the water under the land, and emerges in the morning from the eastern ocean, where he climbs up on a rock and dries himself before resuming his daily journey. The stars are believed to be lights fastened to the sky, which is a solid hemisphere.

The power of Paviotso medicine-man is acquired in a dream, which is not kept absolutely secret. In the dream the spirit of some creature, or even of an inanimate object, such as a gun, speaks to the dreamer and directs him to do certain things in order to prepare himself for the profession of healing. Thus, the spiritual counterpart of a gun might instruct him to make a certain number of bullets and keep them in a certain way, and these would give him the power to cure sickness.

The family of a person requiring treatment by a medicine-man name over the available ones and select him whose power they deem best suited to this particular case. One of the men of the family visits him, and laying the fee on the floor, says, "We would like to have you sing over our relative tonight." A string of beads was the customary fee, but at the present time five dollars is the usual payment. The medicine-man then studies to decide which one of his powers is best for the case; for the more capable healers have more than one guard-

ian spirit. After a period of thought he tells his visitor what to do. He may, for instance, direct the preparation of a number of willow wands by peeling them in a certain manner and the concealment of them in a certain direction from the house; or he may require an eagle-feather to be deposited in a certain place. At night the medicine-man comes to begin the treatment, and while the members of the family and any others who are present sing, he dances or walks about the fire. At intervals he sucks the place where the sickness is supposed to be, and in the end he shows either blood, or white foam, or an object which he calls a worm or a bullet. During the night he demonstrates his clairvoyant power by telling the patient how he feels and asking him to confirm or deny it; or by describing the exact manner in which the sickness was incurred, calling for confirmation by the patient. There is an old man, hired by the family, to whom the shaman addresses all his remarks, and who repeats them to the others. Sometimes the shaman declares that the sickness was caused by another medicine-man, who was trying to kill his victim. If his own power is greater than that of the evil-worker, he sucks out the poison and reveals the name of the sorcerer; but if he is unable to remove the poison, he conceals the name lest the relatives of the sick and dying person kill the malefactor. Failure to cure is not cause for returning the fee, but in case of death the medicine-man may give part of the payment to the dead person's mother or widow. Sometimes the medicine-man secretly tells the dead man's family that a certain shaman has bewitched him, and they conspire to kill the sorcerer. The death of medicine-man by violence does not, and apparently never did, give rise to family feud.

There is no fraternity of shamans.

The genuinely religious acts of the Paviotso seem to have been confined to supplications for well-being addressed to the sun and the moon, who were believed to be persons of great power.

Religious ceremonies were lacking. The practices connected with puberty, healing, and death were merely pseudo-religious, customary observances of individuals, and the only public dances were performed largely for amusement and in the hope that the harvest of food would be plentiful.

Nûqáva ("dance") was held in the spring, in the summer, and in the autumn. When it occurred in the spring, the chief sent men to bring in pine-cones, so that the people could see whether there would

be a good supply of nuts. In the autumn the chiefs in the region where pine-nuts would be plentiful sent word to the scattered people to assemble on a certain day. There they danced for several days, and then scattered to the work of harvesting nuts. At such dances the chiefs made speeches expressing the hope that there would be plentiful supplies of food; but apparently they uttered no supplication to any particular deity. When the people assembled in the circular brush enclosure, a few men stood up with the song-leaders, joined hands, and passed slowly to the left with a shuffling movement of the feet. Gradually other men joined them, and after a time women began to take their place in one side of the circle. With brief intervals of rest this continued until a late hour of the night, when the men would say, "Well, we had better close up." The two men at the ends of the arc composed solely of men then joined hands, leaving the women standing in an arc on the outside, and continued to dance around, while the women watched them, each one deciding which man she would dance with. Married women chose their own husbands. When the man of her choice came near, each female took her place in the circle beside him. If man danced for some time without partner, he left the circle and went home. Such occasions were favorite times for arranging clandestine meetings. A youth would whisper to his lover as they danced: "Drop out and go to such and such place. I will continue to dance for a while and then come to you." Affairs of this kind frequently led to marriage without purchase. A young woman or girl might come home a short time before daylight, and her parents would remonstrate: "What are you doing out so long. You have no husband. You should be at home." Perhaps she would say nothing, or she might become angry and boast that she had not been at the dance at all, but sleeping with her lover. In that case they would say: "Well, it is your own doing. We did not tell you to do this. But if you like him and he likes you, you had better bring him here." The next night she would pass again in secret with her lover, and the third night she would bring him home as her husband.

The dancers had various costumes. Men wore loin-cloths, and such as had a deerskin threw it over the shoulder and under one arm. Bead necklaces were marks of wealth. Old women carried on the back a burden-basket with deer dew-claws fastened around the edge. All women who had them wore strings of cylindrical bone beads about the neck or the waist, and both sexes painted lines and spots of red and

white on face and body.

Tûnââ-nûgû (*tûnââ*, hunchback) was a dance of clowns. Half a dozen young men would paint their bodies in grotesque and unsymmetrical fashion and tie lumps of skin or willow withes to various parts of their bodies. One might wear a coyote's ears, another a coyote's tail; some had humps on their backs, and some dressed like women. They stood in line and sang, led by two or three singers who sat opposite them, and stamped on the ground and shook their bodies uncouthly. One of their number was always clad in the entire skin of coyote, and ran about snapping and otherwise imitating that animal. The dance lasted about an hour for the amusement of the people.

These were the only indigenous dances. The war-dance of the Mono was not performed by the Paviotso.

A Walker River Paviotso was immediately responsible for the Ghost dance, a messiah cult that spread like wildfire among the tribes as far east as the Missouri river. Wóvoka ("male infant") known to the whites as Jack Wilson, was born about 1856 in Mason valley north of Walker lake. About 1888 he announced that he had received a revelation promising a complete change of conditions, the elimination of the white race, the recovery of the Indian land in all its former abundance of buffalo, the return of the dead. In short, a new world was imminent, and the people must prepare for it by appropriate dancing. The gospel spread by word of mouth and by the prosaic medium of the postal service. In 1889 came pilgrims from the Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho, eager to become disciples of the prophet and learn the new religion at the fountainhead. A dance was held at Walker river, and as its underlying motive was identical with that of the Sun dance, namely, the inducing of visions, by means of mental excitement and concentration and physical fatigue, these Plains Indians departed for home thoroughly converted. The movement culminated in the outbreak of the Lakota Sioux and the killing of their medicine-man Sitting Bull at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1890.

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