POMO FOLKWAYS

BY

EDWIN M. LOEB

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Volume 19, No. 2, pp. 149–405, plates 1–3

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA
1926

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS

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Cited as Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn.

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Volume 19, No. 2, pp. 149–404, 2 figures in text, plates 1–3

Issued September 29, 1926

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON, ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION

During the winter of 1921 a class of graduate students at the University of California, working under the direction of Dr. A. L. Kroeber, obtained from William Benson, a visiting Eastern Pomo, certain data on which is based part of the paper here presented. Other results of the investigation with the exception of a paper, "Pomo Doctors and Poisoners," by Lucy S. Freeland, are still unpublished. In the Berkeley fire of 1923 a portion of the valuable results obtained by Miss Freeland concerning the Kuksu religion was destroyed.

The work here reported was divided as follows:

Miss L. S. FREELAND: Shamanism and the Kuksu cult.
Miss R. GREINER: Material culture.
Miss V. HUGHES: Calendar and counting system.
Mr. MATTHEW A. STIRLING: Sociology.
Mr. H. STORY: Pomo economic life.

In the fall of the year 1924 a generous donation was granted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of California by the Guggenheim brothers of New York City for research work among the Indians of California during the year 1924–25. I was the person specified for the carrying out of this research, and Dr. Kroeber suggested an investigation of the general culture of the Pomo Indians. Utilizing the above-mentioned manuscripts as a basis for my work, I spent the year in repeated field trips to rancherias inhabited by various fragments of the Pomo-speaking Indians, and in doing the necessary reading.

In my work in the field I made use chiefly of five informants: William Benson, a half-breed Eastern Pomo of Lakeport; Charley Bowen, a Northern Pomo of Willitts; Jim Pumpkin, an Eastern Pomo of Cigom; Boston and Drew, both from the Coast Central village of Pdahau.[1] The final form and completeness of this paper are largely due to the knowledge and peculiar genius of the informant Benson, a man who has spent his adult years in systematic ethnographic research among his own people, and who has made his livelihood by the utilization of this knowledge.

[1] Benson, Boston, and Bowen now live at Ukiah.

The Pomo, a typical linguistic group of North Central California, belong in speech and origin to the wide assemblage of Indian natives that have been designated the Hokan family[2]. Linguistically, the Pomo, as shown on the map, have been divided into seven groups. Of these linguistic groups I have investigated the culture of three; the Eastern, Northern, and Central (the Coast Central, a cultural subdivision of the Central). From the viewpoint of culture the Pomo might be divided into two areas: the redwood belt west to the coast, and the Russian river area east to and inclusive of the Clear Lake Pomo inhabitants. This cultural division is fundamental, and it cleaves linguistic divisions of both the Pomo and neighboring stocks. A great part of my theoretical conclusions have been obtained by the method of comparing these two culture areas. The coast area was the simpler in culture, the least touched by historical diffusion of custom.

In the spelling of Pomo words in this paper the vowels are to be pronounced as in the European Continental languages. The consonants are to be pronounced as in English, with the following exceptions. Italic *t* represents the dental sound, roman t the alveolar; lowercase x is the palatal fricative having the sound of the Spanish jota. A capital X represents the corresponding velar fricative to be found in the Eastern dialect. Capital X has been written initially in Pomo proper names. The alveolar fricative 'sh' of English "shall" has been written 'c.' There is a velar fricative sonant in the Eastern dialect pronounced much like the 'r' in the French word *raison*. This I have written 'gh.'[3]

Words taken from the Eastern dialect have been followed by E, from the Central by C, and from the Northern by N. I have dispensed with this lettering where the location of the dialect is made apparent from the text.

[2] For a description of the Pomo environment, divisions, populations, and village sites, see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California. Kroeber sums up the profuse but unwieldy information given by Barrett, The Ethnogeography of the Pomo.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. Jaime de Angulo for suggestions concerning this simplified phonetic system.

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC LIFE

1. CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Early travelers describe the Pomo men as being usually completely nude.[4] There are several devices, however, which were worn by the East Pomo for the sake of warmth; for example, the rabbit skin blanket (mohia citc), which was held over one shoulder and pinned down on the side; the icits, a cloak made from the woven feathers of the crane, and shredded tule coats (k'atoli) worn especially by fishermen. These coats were tied around the neck, and the arms were stuck through at any place in the material. They were considered very warm. On the coast, sea-otter skins were a cherished possession of the opulent male. The use of the buckskin breech clout (cukake) is probably modern.

The women of the East Pomo wore buckskin skirts (cutserk) made out of buckhides, the hair being turned inside. The skirts were allowed to overlap, and were then tied into position. In the summertime either nothing was worn over this undergarment, or else a strip of wildcat skin. In the wintertime shredded tule was used as an outer garment by the ordinary woman, and panther hide by the lady of fashion. This outer garment, however, was subject to regional variation; the shredded inner bark of the redwood was used on the coast, and willow bark in the Russian River valley.[5] The outer skirt was so fastened that it covered the breasts of the younger women, while the inner skirt (or the inside of the outer garment if only one was worn) was always kept soft and clean, the brains of the deer being used as cleaning fluid.

Moccasins (Xama masoX, E, foot pads) were worn as occasion demanded. These usually consisted of buckskin wrapped around the feet. Sandals and leggings of tule and perhaps of netted strings are also described as Pomo footgear.[5]

Special hats (tsuka, E), fashioned from the wing feathers of the buzzard or eagle, were worn in times of fighting. The dancing decorations are described in the chapter on dances.

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[4] Gibbs, in Schoolcraft, III, 108.

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 240.

Considerable attention was paid to ornamentation and personal decoration. The outside of the skirt of the woman was always decorated. A border of flicker or yellowhammer feathers, beads, and dangling bits of abalone was placed along the bottom.[6] This border varied according to the taste of the owner.

Four rows of red paint were placed on the skirts of girls who were under the age of maturity. After they reached this period of womanhood, the paint was removed or left off.

Wristlets (tanotema, C) were worn only by women. They were from one and a half to two inches wide, and were made entirely of fine beads. Both men and women wore beads around their necks. The necklaces of the women were often very elaborate. They were about one and a quarter inches wide and made of woven beads; long pendants of beads with abalone shell attached were fastened to the neckpiece about a half-inch apart across the front. The whole was tied close to the neck at the back. Sometimes, in place of the abalone shell, woodpecker scalps were used after they had been dried, tanned, and stuffed with tule fiber. Quail plumes came next, and finally a bead to hold the ornament in place.

Beaded belts (hmúgi, E) five to eight inches wide and perhaps four feet in length, were worn by the women. A belt of this nature was given by a bride's family to the bridegroom as a wedding gift.

Feathered belts (kibúgal, E) were worn by the wealthy Pomo men and women. These belts were made from milkweed fiber string, with red and green feathers woven together in any suitable design; white wampum beads were put on in a checker design. The family of the bridegroom gave this variety of belt to the bride's family.

Nasal ornaments, called nose sticks (lamó tcioklé, C), were worn by the men. They were made from elderwood. Abalone shells were allowed to hang down from strings on each side of the stick. Any man might wear this ornament, but it was assumed more especially for dances. The septum of the nose was pierced when the man reached adult age.

All boys and girls had their ears pierced at the age of six or seven (cma canu, C, ear hole). The mother pierced the ears with a bone awl. This was done without ceremony. The opening in the ears was filled in with a mountain fern called maidenhair. As the ears healed, more and more maidenhair was pushed in, until the opening was large enough for the ear plug.

[6] "Beads" always means the white wampum bead in use by the Pomo.

The earrings of the men were simpler than those of the women. They were called hai pak'ili, E (wood blackened-by-charring). The ornament was usually made of bottomwillow about six or seven inches in length and the size of a pencil. The stick was hollow and a cord ran through the length with a large bead fastened on each end. Around the bead quail plumes were held in place by pitch. From the center of each bead was hung a piece of abalone shell. The wooden portion of the ear plug was colored with red willow leaves which had previously been mashed and mixed with a little charcoal. The coloring was rubbed in with the hands until it became sticky; this gave a glossy finish and helped the color to adhere (pl. 2*a*).

The earrings of the women (hia gapi, E, cranebone stretched) were about eight inches in length by a fourth of an inch in diameter, and were made from the wing bone of the crane. The piece that went through the ears was carefully etched with crossed straight lines. A string ran through the center of the bone and held in place two circular ornaments two or three inches in diameter. The latter were made of coiled basketry into which red feathers had been woven; a couple of pieces of shell hung from the center of the basket, and usually two from the bottom. The bone was packed tightly with tule and pitch applied to both ends; this kept the circular pieces from moving about. On the coast, the ends of the cranebone were decorated with thick beads and green feathers from the neck of the mallard duck. Only wealthy women used the above elaborate ear ornaments; others were content with plain unfeathered bones, or quail plumes. Ear decorations were usually made by the men.

Both men and women allowed their hair to grow. They combed their hair with a comb (gúmilis, E) made from anise root or soap root fiber (pl. 3*a*). A rather large bunch of anise root was collected and tied in the middle, doubled over, and securely bound. The ends were either evenly trimmed with an obsidian or flint knife, or were burnt with a hot coal. The women tied their hair in the back with milkweed string.

Men and women both wore fancy hairpins (hyaga nó, E). The hairpin was made from the leg bone of a deer and was ten or twelve inches long, being spliced with sinew in the middle. A ring of feathers started at the point where the splicing was done, and ring after ring was put on extending nearly to the top. The first ring was always red, then green, yellow, and blue feathers would be added, always ending with green or red. The yellow feathers came from the oriole, the

green from the mallard duck. The upper end of the pin was etched and filled in with red paint, and from it there was suspended a cord. At the end of the cord a bead held in place a tassel of down feathers. Women were not allowed to wear hairpins during their menstrual period.

Hairnets (musú' kiap', E), made from milkweed cord, were worn by both sexes. The cord, grayish white with a silky gloss, was worked into a square mesh ornamented with beads in a zigzag design or in straight rows. The nets worn by the women had a finer mesh and more ornamentation.

Fancy headdresses (cutáhli, E) were worn by the men on special occasions. A small hoop, just the size of the head, was made from an oak withe and a string coiled about it. A large bunch of tail feathers was held in place at the back of the head, the tight head band spreading them out into the shape of a fan. A hairpin was woven into the hair, over the feathers, and into the hair again. At the end of each feather a little spine protruded and on this a bead and a red feather were placed.

A woman's headdress consisted of a woven band of woodpecker feathers about one and a quarter inches wide, which extended across the forehead to a point just above the ears and then passed over the middle of the head. Quail plumes were placed across the front so that they stood erect and curled toward the front; around the lower edge flat beads were sewn. A string was attached to each end and tied at the back of the head.

All women and some men were tattooed (aci, C; maci, N). It is said that among the North Pomo all the people of the same village followed a certain pattern in tattooing, but among the Central and Eastern Pomo everyone followed his own aesthetic bent. Women did the tattooing, usually a member of the family who was clever in the art so that the markings did not swell. The patient had to refrain from hot foods for four days following the operation in order that the markings might be permanent. The tattooing was applied in the space of a single day. A sharp deer bone (ya, C) was used for pricking the skin. The pigment consisted of soot and the juice from the wild violet mashed up together and worked around in a mussel shell with a little water until a thick purple paste was formed.

Men might be tattooed at any age. The markings were applied to their bodies and arms. Young girls were tattooed on their arms and legs, and on their faces later when they were grown up. Both men

and women sometimes tattooed themselves when past middle age. This was done to cure rheumatism, and was always applied to the knees.

Both men and women painted themselves for dancing. Black, red, and white paints were used for this purpose. Black paint was made from charcoal mixed with the juice of soaproot which had been previously baked in ashes. Red paint was prepared in a similar manner, except that the pigment was prepared from a ferric rock which was powdered before mixing. The white paint consisted of blue clay. The black paint was also used by the men in painting for war, and the white paint by the women for the purpose of mourning.

2. DWELLINGS AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

The types of Pomo dwellings, dance houses, and sudatories, have already been described.[7] A brief résumé will be given here together with some new material.

On the immediate coast and in the adjacent belt of heavy timber the living house was built of slabs of redwood bark leaned together into a cone ten or fifteen feet in diameter and little more than half as high. True planks were not used, and there was no covering of earth. A forked stick served as a center pole. The slabs were placed so as to leave an opening of sufficient size at the top to permit the ready escape of smoke. The door opening was made by omitting one or more slabs from one side; this was closed when desired by setting in the necessary slabs to fill it. This variety of house (na pona po, C, place stay place) is said to have contained as many as twelve people. Sometimes two families lived in one house, but there was never more than one fireplace. There were six people living in the house in which my informant (Drew) was born: Drew, his father and mother, his father's mother, mother's mother, and mother's father. In the home of another informant (Parish) there were seven people: Parish and two brothers, the father and mother, the mother's father, and mother's mother.

The house was allowed to stand so long as the center post stood up. When this decayed, they tore the house down and built a new one. In case of a death the house was burned.

The ground around the house (ma, C) belonged to the family that owned the house. It was fenced around with bush and used for drying acorns. The oldest woman was said to own the ground and house; she was called mata kedja, C (woman house).

[7] Barrett, Pomo buildings, and Kroeber, Handbook, p. 241.

In the summertime the coast people migrated a short distance from their winter quarters, and erected a bush house (se'e edja, C, bush house). The center pole was erected first, as customary, then sticks were laid around it, and finally grass strewn on top.

The Russian River Pomo erected a framework of poles, bent together at the top, and thatched with bundles of grass. These were attached to horizontal poles on the frame, and each course clamped down by another horizontal stick. The shape of the structure was sometimes circular, perhaps more often rectangular, or like the letter L. . . .[8]

The Clear Lake Pomo built a similar dwelling, usually elliptical in plan with the door in the side, and with thatching of tule replacing the more laborious grass. The long axis measured up to 25 or 30 feet; poor or old people and individual families were content with an humbler abode. The walls were lined with mats sewn or twined from stems of one of the varieties of Scirpus.[8]

The house of my informant (Calpella Pete) held thirty people. Each family had its own fireplace and doorway. The different families were not partitioned off from one another. It took five or six days to build a house of this nature, and the house would last from one year to a year and a half. The people kept on repairing it, the old poles were kept, and grass was put on from time to time.

Brush shelters, consisting of mere brush roofs on four or more posts, were used in the summertime.

The Clear Lake Pomo had taken over from their Wintun neighbors the habit of storing their acorns in large outdoor granaries or caches. The Russian River and Coast Pomo, however, kept their acorns in large baskets in the living house, like the northwestern tribes.[8]

Among the Lake Pomo the floor of the house was of dirt, although tule mats (bits'áo, E) were sometimes placed upon it. Beds were sometimes constructed of four forked sticks about two feet high with cross-pieces; tule mats were placed upon these until the bed was soft and comfortable.[9] A space was marked off for each bed, and the owner kept his personal belongings hung on the wall at the head of the bed.

A portion of the house was reserved for the storage of food. This was kept in large basket bins (ditir, E) which were covered with tule mats. Each fireplace had its own oven.

In every village throughout the Pomo region there was at least one relatively small, semi-subterranean structure, used as a sudatory and men's house (hóli cane, N, hó cane, C). A diameter of fifteen or twenty feet sufficed for this sudatory or "fire lodge." The men built the sweat house in the springtime. They dug out the dirt with

[8] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 241 ff.

[9] Barrett, Pomo buildings, p. 4, denies the use of raised beds for the Pomo. My information was given by William Benson, and I believe it to be accurate.

sharpened sticks, and with their hands, and carried it away in baskets. The floor dimensions were measured by picking out a tall man and laying him as a radius five times on each side of the center pole. The height of the house was four men. The men were accustomed to sweat morning and evening in the sudatory. After the first sweat they took a swim; then they had another sweat. They usually slept in this structure, which was peculiarly theirs, and spent much of their spare time in it during the winter. The living house, therefore, was for women, children, property, cooking and eating; the sweat house belonged exclusively to men.

On the coast the sweat houses always faced either east or west, on the river and lake they always faced either north or south. In whatever locality the sweat house was situated the inmates were drawn up into two sides, and these sides took turns in fanning each other with the heat from the fire. The object was to see which side could endure the heat the longest. When the contest was ended, all the participants ran down to the river and plunged in headlong. These sides also lined up as opposing parties in the games out of doors, and the same sides were maintained in the "ghost house." A boy followed his introducer into the sweat house, and assumed the same side. On the coast these sides were taulawa (north), and yowa (south) C. On the river these sides were bomol pomo (west), and comel pomo (east) N. On the lake these sides were bolmalbax (west), and colmalbax (east) E.

Women as a rule were excluded from the sweat houses. One informant claims that the language used inside was too rough for the ears of the excluded sex. All the gambling, however, was done in the sudatories, and women would often go into the sweat house in the daytime or the evening when a grass game was on. Sometimes, also, an oldish woman was taken in to be sweated, probably for medical purposes. Affairs that were discussed inside the men's houses, however, were kept secret from the women, and the younger members were cautioned about talking to the women concerning these matters.

When the people wanted a man to come into the sweat house, the customary form of invitation was belhum holio (N) (come-on, eat-soup). There is a pun, however, on the word "holia" for the same word is used either for the acorn soup spoon, or for the act of knocking the fire around.

Small boys built their own little sweat houses (TSUTSU, E). I do not know how complete these were. In one case, on the coast, after

the boys had built their miniature sudatory, the affair caught fire, and the undertaking had to be started over again. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the introducer, usually the maternal uncle, took the boy into the men's sweat house. There was no ceremony for this.

The ghost house (luigauk marak, E; djaduwel cane, N; guya cane, C) was earth-covered and forty to sixty feet in diameter. This house was probably constructed afresh about every seven years, and served only for the purpose of the ghost ceremony (xahluigak xai, E).

> A large center post was surrounded by a polygon of eight smaller ones connected by stringers. Across these stringers radiating rafters were laid and fastened with grapevine or withes, and on the rafters four circles of poles. Then followed successive layers of interwoven sticks placed horizontally, another radiating, mats of rushes, dried grass, mud and earth that had been taken from the excavation. One entrance was at the south end [or on the coast at the east or west end], through a long, descending tunnel; another, probably used only in certain ceremonies, was the smoke hole directly over the fire. At the rear the wall was prepared so that it could be readily pushed out to furnish an emergency exit.[10]

In recent times these houses were used for the maru or modern ghost cult, in which case the posts were rudely painted. The building of the ghost house was attended with considerable ceremony. These houses were built in alternative years in the different valleys, and they were always built in preparation for a burial ceremony (xai, E). Hence, as in the case of preparation for burial ceremonies, the mourners had to be first bought off with a gift (ghal gumek, E, wampum gift),[11] or they would be insulted.

When the chiefs had decided to build the ghost house, the head chief[12] first called together all the men of the village who were not in mourning and made the announcement. This was always done in the springtime, and usually after the death of some important man of the village. The head chief then asked for a contribution of beads to be given to all the people of the village who had lost relatives within the past year. When this was taken up the chief himself filled up the quota, if there was a deficiency. A messenger was then sent to inform the mourners that they were to receive this present at a certain

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[10] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 242.

[11] "Ghal" also means "restrictions," so "ghal gumek" may be translated "restrictions gift." The identity of the names for money and taboo leads me to infer that money might have been used for ceremonial purposes among the Pomo before it became a medium of exchange. In like manner, in Melanesia, both shell money and money of other kinds are denoted by words, such as *tambu* and *rongo,* which mean sacred. (Rivers, Social organization, p. 126.)

[12] I am presenting a corrected version of this ceremony, as found in Barrett, Pomo buildings, p. 10. I am making use of Barrett's word "head chief," although I believe it indicates only spokesman for the chiefs.

time, usually from two to four days after receiving the message. The mourners at once set about procuring and preparing food for a feast, the men hunting and fishing, and the women making bread, acorn mush, and other foods. On the appointed day the head chief took the members of the village who were not in mourning to the house of the head mourner, which had been designated as the place of assembly, and in front of which a brush sun-shelter or canopy had been erected. The chiefs came carrying the beads, and the head chief presented them with a speech to the head mourner, giving reasons for the gift. These reasons were presented as a bit of lengthy exposition, although the reasons were well known to everybody beforehand. The head mourner then carried the beads into the house, and presented them to the women, who thereupon commenced crying and scratching their cheeks until the blood flowed. After each woman had received her share of the beads, either from the male head mourner or from his deputy, she performed the mourning dance over the spots where the deceased had trod, sprinkled meal, and sang mourning songs. The ghal gumek was kept by the mourners, and they, in turn, at a set date, gave back beads of equal value to the village. After the presentation of beads to the women mourners, the speeches and feasting followed, as described by Barrett.

In building the ghost house the center pole and five of the rafters were first brought in. The head of the secret society (yomta, E) blessed (winagudeX, E) the center pole both when it was first brought in, and while it was being erected. This was done in the secret language of the society. The five rafters were blessed in the same fashion. There was no further ceremony connected with the construction of the building.

No women ever took part in any of the ceremonies enacted within the sacrosanct portals of the ghost house, and if they ever gained admission to the building at all, it was at special times and under rigorous rules. The Pomo of today make the same claim as in the time of Stephen Powers; namely, that all the "devil raising" transactions which took place in connection with this structure were directed solely against the women of the tribe, for the purpose of terrifying them and rendering them submissive to male domination. While the ceremonies which were enacted in the ghost house were under the supervision of the head of the secret society (yomta), and while the more esoteric features of the ritual were enacted by members of the secret society, yet the house itself belonged to all of the adult

male inhabitants of the village. Any man might, if he wished, take part in the performance, or act as spectator. Nay, more, on the coast a man had to pay a fine if he wished to stay away from the ghost ceremonies and never to be thus introduced into the company of his village mates. The ghost house was not a part of the secret society ritual; it greatly anteceded, I believe, this north-central Californian religious growth, and was part of a very ancient North American institution, the "men's house" and tribal initiation.

The Pomo held their common dances and their secret society or Kuksu ceremony out of doors in the springtime and summer. These were held in a bush enclosure (TSE marak, E; ke cane, N). This bush enclosure was the actual dance house of the Pomo people. It contained a center pole and radiating rafters. The walls, however, were of bush, and the top was open to the sky.

There was one further ceremony given on the river, and on the lake, which required a special earth-covered lodge. This was the damaxai, E, so called from the down headdresses (dam) that were worn by the performers. This ceremony was given very rarely, at intervals of twenty, thirty, even fifty years perhaps. The last damaxai was given in 1882 at Yokaiya in Russian River valley. A description of the house (damaxai marak, E; kalima toto cane, N) will be given in the chapter on religion.

3. THE OBTAINING AND PREPARATION OF FOODS

The Pomo, like other California Indians north of the Colorado river, did not practice agriculture before the coming of the whites; nor did they have domestic animals beyond an occasional pet, such as a deer or squirrel. They were therefore entirely dependent on the use of wild animal and plant foods. It will be of interest to list some of the insects which were eaten.

Cagho, E (grasshoppers) were considered a great delicacy. A circle of fire was made around a group of grasshoppers, and as the fire advanced the insects were forced to make their way to the center. After the grasshoppers had been caught and burned they were gathered up and reparched if of sufficient size.

Xe li, C.—This was said to be a large green caterpillar eaten by the Central Pomo.

Holi, E.—Said to be a hard skinned worm having a mouth like a caterpillar. They were caught in the month of June, parched in the sun, and baked underground.

Bilà, E.—The worms used in fishing. These were used as medicine for a cold in the head. They were put in a cooking basket and boiled with hot rocks. After this they were steamed. These worms were also eaten by people enjoying good health. Common earth worms were called by this name among the Eastern Pomo. According to Miss Greiner the worms were obtained by thrusting a digging stick (wacú, E) into the ground at an angle and working it up and down in order to disturb the earth. The worms then came to the surface. According to my Northern Pomo informant the Indian tapped the ground with his stick and sang a song for the purpose of enticing the worm. Worms were boiled, and the worm water, if such it may be called, was partaken of with gusto.

Among the North Pomo a peculiar variety of red striped caterpillar appeared every ten or fifteen years on the ash trees. This caterpillar (lip) came so seldom, and was so great a delicacy, that the people considered him a special gift of their thunder god, and treated him accordingly. When a tree was seen to be covered with this variety of caterpillar the people gathered around it, preserving the utmost gravity of mien and keeping a profound silence. Baskets were prepared, and a special variety of leaf tied around the tree. Then the people started in singing a refrain which was only used in honor of this insect, "Li li li li." The caterpillars listened, shook their heads from side to side, and slowly descended the tree. After the lip were gathered in baskets they were allowed to stand for a day and a night, until they all perished. Then they were boiled in the customary manner and eaten. These caterpillars must never be thrown around or mishandled in any manner, and while the people eat them they must maintain a strict silence.

Doctors and members of the secret society never eat any variety of caterpillar. Young people are not allowed to eat worms or caterpillars, but they may drink the water in which the worms have been cooked.

Snails (tsaka, C) were gathered by the women. They were picked up from the ground and the water, either boiled or roasted in hot ashes, and eaten with salt.

Along the coast the men did all the fishing, while the women gathered abalone and certain kinds of sea food. The women gathered katit (sea urchin eggs?) and pacad (sea anemone?). The latter were cooked in hot ashes. Kau (mussels) and lamla (eels, lampreys?) were also gathered by the women. Tjaco (barnacles?) were gathered

by the women and cooked in hot ashes. At low tide both men and women went down to the shore and gathered these foods.

Mud turtles (xana rihioa, E) were caught in basket traps at the lake.[13] The traps were weighted with stones and placed under water. The turtles were cooked in hot ashes. Crabs were caught on the coast with a piece of string, using meat as bait. The fisherman summoned the crab with the cry of "Pe pe pe pe." Then the crab came out from his place of concealment. A hand net was used for the purpose of removing the crab from the water. Lobsters (k'i, C) needed no enticing, but were netted out of the water at low tide. Frogs (kawo, C) were never eaten, but were used for poisoning.

The following kinds of eggs (tco, C) were eaten: ʇcakaka tco (quail eggs), dalà tco (goose eggs), k'aiyan tco (duck eggs), kawina tco (turtle eggs). Eggs were eaten only when fresh. They were wrapped in grass and baked in ashes. Members of the secret society were forbidden the use of eggs.

The Pomo caught many varieties of birds for food and decorative purposes. Quail were caught in traps, shot with blunt arrows, or driven into baskets. The common or valley quail is tcakaka, C, while the mountain quail is called kohoi, C. In the summertime long baskets with funnel-shaped mouths were set out in the open, and a little black seed placed inside.[14] Quail were also hunted at night with oversize blunt arrows having no obsidian point. The men surrounded the quail roost and shot off the quail. A third method of catching them was to construct a bush fence from eight to ten inches high around the feeding place of the quail and then drive the quail into a net which was propped open at the opening in the fence. Small props were used to stretch the mouth and sides of the net. Black seed was strewn inside and around the mouth of the net. Quail were either roasted in coals and eaten, or else their flesh was pounded up with salt and preserved.

The California woodpecker (kata, N) was caught in traps similar to the quail trap.[15] When a woodpecker hole was found in a tree, a basket was placed over the hole. In the morning the woodpecker came out of his hole and into the basket. The woodpecker was never eaten because it was said to be the oldest bird in the world. Its quills were used for the well-known red headdress. The quills were also worked up into a belt, along with heads of the mallard. This kind of belt was very expensive, and was worn only by chiefs and women for dancing. It was called tsapa putemá, N "look-good belt."

[13] Barrett, Pomo Indian basketry, pl. 27, fig. 6.
[14] Barrett, Pomo Indian basketry, pl. 28, fig. 3.
[15] *Ibid.*, pl. 27, fig. 1.

A number of small birds were caught with the bird trap (Tsia badiX, E). These included robins (tsatototo, C), sparrows (gatitis, C), blue jays (tsai i, C), meadowlarks (tecil, C), and pigeons. In this form of trap a loop of string, which held down a small wooden trigger baited with acorn, was coiled around four pegs. The further end of the string was attached to a small bent-over sapling so that, when the bird pecked at the acorn, he put his head through a noose, released the sapling, and was borne up strangled into the air.

The lark was eaten by old people only. Its yellow feathers, however, were highly prized for basketry. The thrush, called su'a, C, was also caught with the acorn trap.

All kinds of ducks (yan, C) were killed and eaten. Ducks were either trapped with a net, or else shot with bows and arrows from a boat. A special trap was employed for catching mud hens (katsia, C). The customary sapling was bent over and attached to the milkweed string, but the trigger piece was placed two inches under water. A tule fence was constructed so as to prevent the mud hen from passing elsewhere than through the loop.

Crane (mako, E) were either shot with the bow and arrow, or else they were snared. Since the manner of snaring cranes typifies a method employed by the Pomo in catching many of the larger birds, I give the details of the method as given by Benson to Miss Greiner.

The snaring of cranes was called mako gakoxale (crane bite-for). A hook and line were used. The hook was made from the leg bone of a rabbit, was pointed at either end, and notched in the center for the string. Any kind of small fish was used as bait. The fish was pierced with the hook from the belly to the mouth; then it was attached to the line and laid flat on top of the lake tules, and the line concealed. A crane would light on the tules, walk over to the fish, swallow it, and so become hopelessly caught. Sometimes cranes were caught on dry land. A six-foot line was attached to a salamander or a frog and the other end to a stout willow or oak branch stuck deep in the ground. When the crane swallowed the bait he became snared, for the willow would bend but not break. When the trapper came along he hit the crane over the head.

Cranes were either roasted or baked for food. The leg bones were used for earrings, and the long feathers taken from under the wings were used for head bands (ti suo, E). The neck feathers were made into blankets. Whistles were made from crane bone, and the crane bill came in handy for shredding tule.

The buzzard (kuenà, C) was caught with a bone and meat bait. Its feathers were used for the common dancing. The eagle (cai, C) was caught in the same manner, and its feathers used by the members of the secret society for dancing. The same manner of trapping was used for the condor (sul, C). In a special impersonation dance, performed as an esoteric rite, the feathers and wings of the condor were used. The crow (kaai, C) was snared with a mouse as bait and its feathers were worn on dancing costumes. The kingfisher (daba cudi, C) was not caught.

The California road runner was caught in sport by means of a variety of bola. The bola consisted of a string with two small cylindrical rocks on the ends. The young men ran after the birds and cast the bolas around their legs. The birds themselves were of no use, but the doctors sometimes made use of their feathers in preparing medicine.

Grouse (tcabobó, C) and cormorant? (kiú, C) were also eaten by the Pomo. Only the small seagulls (cwi, C) were eaten.

Some birds were not eaten. The humming bird (téle, C) was never molested. Because of the peculiarity of its flight it was thought to be under the protection of the thunder god. The owl (bakuku, C) was considered a bird of ill omen. When the people heard this bird hooting in the night they became afraid and they prayed: tja cilda wàtadu, C (far off walking-around). The feathers of the owl were used for medicine by the Coast Pomo. The jacksnipe (cuktauk, C) was never eaten but its feathers were used for poisoning. The hawk was perhaps the most dreaded of all birds. It was never killed. When the people saw a hawk swoop down and catch a fish, they became frightened and prayed: tja cilda tcau wadum, C (far off circling around). They prayed in this manner so that the hawk would stay away. There are several names for hawks, each species being differentiated; batcal, tcia, and tata (the falcon, C) are some of the names.

A very important source of food supply for the Pomo was found in the fish of Clear lake, its affluent streams, the Russian river, and the Pacific ocean. In the spring certain fish would swarm up the creeks to spawn. At this time they were caught in enormous numbers. Salmon, sucker, and trout were the most abundant fish in the Russian river.

A fishing line and pole has been described as used in the lake. The pole was made from the willow tree, and the line from milkweed fiber. A small straight bone, sharp at both ends, was used as a hook (caka

ulkale, E). This bone was obtained from the leg of a deer and was baited with a worm.

Fish nets (wayaX, E) were used in the lake. These nets were bags about ten feet wide at the mouth, and the same in length. The pole (to, E) to which the net was attached was made of either pine or fir. At the end of the pole was fixed a straight cross-rod. To the ends of the cross-rod were fastened the ends of a bent rod whose middle was fastened to the pole. The mouth of the milkweed net was held open by these two cross-pieces. The use of baskets in Pomo fishing has been told by Barrett. [16] Soaproot was used as a fish poison in the tributaries of the lake and in the river.

Along the coast fishing was done from the rocks, since the coast people made little use of rafts. A line made of kelp was thrown out into deep water (káce, C). A wooden hook was attached to the line, and a whole abalone used as bait. Sea trout (taci maca, C), bull heads (batók, C), and codfish (shumaca, C), were caught in this manner. Smelt(tsuca, C) were caught with a dipnet.

The general name for salmon is camuca, C. The varieties, however, are differentiated, as hookbills (bakat), and steel heads (cameoca). Salmon were caught in dipnets (bayak, C) as they went up the coastal rivers to spawn. The fisherman waded out into the river in search of his quarry. Sometimes a dam (bakau, C) was constructed at night across the river. A hole was dug on the deepest side of the dam and a man sat there holding a dipnet; as the salmon came the fisherman scooped them up and threw them into a hole which he had dug beside him in the bank. At other times baskets twelve feet long were set out at night over breaks in the dam. Harpoons with detachable heads were also used in salmon fishing.

While salmon were caught in the fall only, the river trout (meum, C) were caught by similar methods in the summer time when the river was low. A dam was made and a basket put in the break. Sometimes a drag was constructed of willow shoots weighted down with rocks; the women held the drag down and the men pulled it. There was no ceremony about making a fish dam. The dam was the private property of the builder. Fish were roasted on hot coals, and eaten with salt obtained from the Stewart Point Indians.

Small bullheads (batala, C) were caught with a special harpoon consisting of a slender willow shaft with a salmon spearhead. The fisherman got onto a log jam in the river, and thrust the stick into the

[16] Barrett, Pomo Indian basketry, pp. 164 ff.

water, then he pulled it up slowly through his hand. The fish came up with the stick and was thrown into a basket.

Devil fish (cil, C) were said to be poisoned by the Coast Pomo. The fisherman put "man roots" (sika lolo, C) on the end of his stick and poisoned the devil fish in his hole.

There were a number of religious observances connected with fishing. Whenever a man caught a fish he gave thanks (ya hui, C, thank you). When he caught his first fish he must hit it four times over the head in order to kill it. Whenever anybody caught the first fish of its kind for the year, he made a wish: Tedu to Tcómna, C. (Lots will come). The lake fishermen always purified their fishing implements before using them. They filled a basket full of water, placed special herbs in it, and boiled the water with hot rocks; their nets were dipped four times in the water, and they also rinsed off their poles. In case of bad luck this ceremony was repeated.

The frail rafts of the coast people were not strong enough to make the trip of a mile to a mile and a half in the open sea to the farthest sea rocks, so seals (piun, C) and sea lions (ka pduka, water bear, C) were obtained after a long swim. Seal hunting was done at low tide during a certain month in the summer time. The hunters chosen were all good swimmers, and each took the precaution of abstaining from meat and women for a day before the enterprise, furthermore each man prayed to the sharks before entering the water. The shark would be addressed after this manner: yal kanea nigum capeduia, C (You-two[17] bite not O shark). The swimmers carried a special club (piun catco kale hai, C, seal hit for stick) for hitting the seals, a straight club made of half green hard oak. When they landed at the rock they killed three, four, or five seals by hitting them over the head while they slept; each swimmer then dragged back a seal or two attached to a rope. Seal meat was cut into strips and roasted. The sealskin was used for clothing by both men and women.

The seal rock was called piun kabe, C. One is situated out in the ocean just above Point Arena. Near this locality there was also a seal lion rock kap dáka kabe, C). The sea lions were killed in the same fashion as the seal, their flesh was eaten, but no use was made of the hides.

Both whales (goté, C) and sharks (capel, C) were held sacred by the Coast Pomo and were never attacked or eaten.

[17] The Pomo placed parents-in-law and sharks in the same class, both were addressed in the plural as a mark of respect.

The Pomo never ate snakes or frogs, their blood was used for poisoning. Turtles, however, were eaten, and turtle blood and eggs were used for medicine. Men dove for turtles and searched around the bottoms of the rivers for them. Lizards were not eaten, but were used for medicine.

The Pomo ate bear, deer, elk, wild cats, raccoons, otter, beaver, mink, skunk, rabbits, cottontails, squirrels, wood rats, field mice, and gophers. They also ate the mountain lion. The coyote, fox, and wolf were never eaten. The dog (haiyu, N) was not kept by any of the divisions of the Pomo before its introduction by the Spanish. This is somewhat strange, because the Sierra Miwok always had dogs.

Deer hunting was a profession to which a man had to be especially trained. Not only had the hunter to be a good shot and a brave man, for he might encounter bears, but there were many hunting songs and charms to be learned.

Deer hunting was sometimes done by a single man who kept watch over a deer trail from a little bush house (bice pusex, E). This watch was carried on in the evening. At times, also, a single hunter would go out in the daytime, using a deer head disguise. More often deer hunting was conducted by a band of men who would surround the deer and chase them to where three or four hunters were in hiding. These hunters had to station themselves on the windward side of the deer. They stood with their deer head disguises fastened securely, chewing pepper tree leaves, and singing deer songs. When the deer arrived they stalked among them, shooting them down with their bows and arrows. The venison was divided up equally among all the stalkers. A deer hunt could be carried on without the aid of the trained deer shooters, although there was in this case a head hunter to direct the proceedings, and a deer fence (bo omlé, E) and a deer snare (sulima, E) were used. The hunt was conducted in the daytime. Shoots and twigs were bent over, and broken bush placed in them making a fence. Snares were placed over the deer trails in the openings in the fence. To make the loop two twigs were bent over and twisted on top, a rope was then passed over this loop, allowed to fall in a circle, and then passed back to a stout pole planted in the ground. The net formed in this manner was called uita, E. Milkweed was not sufficiently strong for the making of deer snares, and the outside covering of a strong variety of grass (tsilim, E, iris) was utilized. Beaters armed with sticks, and bows and arrows drove the deer along the fences and into the snares. They approached the

deer from the windward side, beating on the ground with their sticks, and shouting "ho, ho, ho," in unison. The deer stampeded and were either cornered in the fences and shot down with arrows, or else became entangled in the nooses.

After a kill the deer was cut up on the spot and the meat divided among the hunters, each man carrying home his own portion to his family. He was particularly careful to give an ample supply to his mother-in-law. If he were recently married he had to carry home the entire deer to his mother-in-law, and the animal was quartered in the house.

The Pomo were not in the habit of hunting bear for their meat, unless they were short of food. The hides, however, were much sought after for arrow quivers and robes. Bears were shot with the bow and arrow and were also fought at close quarters with spears. The general name for bear is buraghal, E. The black bear is ciobural, the brown bear, limá, the grizzly bear, burá, and the cinnamon bear is bural q'ida q'idak.

Wild cats and skunks were hunted with the bow and arrow. The flesh of the skunk was said to make very good eating, and the grease came in handy as medicine. Ground squirrels were shot, and they were said to be also run down by fast runners armed with clubs. Rabbits, raccoons, and wood rats were trapped.

A number of religious observances connected with hunting may be mentioned here. Before a man went out hunting in the hills he had to rub himself with angelica and pepper tree leaves. If he did this he would not be molested by the spirits in the hills. He never prayed to, or propitiated in any manner, the animal hunted, but he addressed in prayer certain animal spirits which were considered the masters of the hunt. These spirits were asked to impart their powers to the hunter. Wi'qá, E, panther, and tsiméu, E, wild cat, were the masters of big game; cai, E, eagle, and tata, E, falcon, of birds; ghighi, E, otter, was master of fish.

Men always built a fire before hunting deer. They burned angelica, pepper wood leaves, and pine berry seeds in the fire, over which they smoked their bow and arrows, quivers, and false deer heads. Before and during the hunt the hunter kept up a constant flow of deer songs. These were magical in nature and were considered indispensable to success. The old men at home, who had been hunters in their youth, aided while a hunt was in progress by also chanting these songs of which the following is a sample:

petcon	muli	a	tsemeva	dja	naimo
nose-short	long	me	puma	person	me-human

petcon	muli	mabatem	da
nose-short	long	open	ground

ya	kudi	ta	ya	balanto
wind	good	blow	wind	one-side

a	bice	bia	dja	naimo	N.
I	deer	hunter	man	me-human	

I run around like the puma,
I run over the open ground,
I creep up on the windward side,
I am a deer hunter.

If a deer hunter had bad luck and had followed the deer all day without success, he went to the place where the deer had been rubbing themselves (mikal hai, N). He rubbed his bow and arrow on the spot, and sang this song:

bice	kinuia	dawilwi	
deer	lucky	rub	
yalimai	dawalwi	yalimai	N.
handle	rub	handle	

After the hunter had rubbed his bow and arrow on the spot he commenced to shake and get sick (mai igin, to-get-sick-by), but the singing of the song cured him. According to tradition, if he had not sung, he would have really become sick.

Acorn meal furnished the main article of diet among the Pomo people. This food was partaken of in the form of "bread" or "soup." The acorns were gathered and prepared among the Pomo as among the Northern Maidu, the acorns being shelled, pounded, the meal sifted, and finally sweetened in a sand bed with the aid of hot water.[18]

Fish and deer meat were often preserved. Fish racks (xai dasóri, E, wood bundled-together), were used by the Eastern Pomo. Four to six food poles were planted in the ground and connected by cross-pieces. The stalks of a weed resembling the sun flower were laid on the cross-pieces as rests, and fish were spread on them to dry in the sun. The fish were beheaded, split down their backs, and spread out with their inner surfaces next to the frame. It took about a week to dry them, turning them once a day. The rack was sometimes constructed inside of a large living house, and a fire used for the drying. Among the Northern Pomo a special bush house (se tja) was built for the drying of fish. The dried fish (ca tabo) was rubbed with salt and kept in a large basket inside of the living house.

[18] Dixon, The northern Maidu, pp. 184 ff.

A brief description of the Pomo process has been furnished by Hudson in Holmes, Anthropological studies in California, p. 175.

Deer meat was dried on racks, bice k'alulk xale dasóri (deer meat-dried for rack) by the Eastern Pomo in much the same manner as fish. According to Miss Greiner the method of treating the meat was as follows: A piece of the deer meat was held in the hand and "strings" or strips cut off as we would skin an apple. The strips were then laid on the drying frame, and dried in the sun for two weeks. A small fire was kept going in order to keep away the flies. Dried meat or fish could be kept for four or five months. Men built the racks or bush houses, but the women did the actual drying.

The coast people kept acorns, buckeyes, pepperwood nuts, and manzanita berries stored in large baskets in their homes. The buckeyes, being poisonous, required even more thorough leaching than acorn meal. They were gathered in the fall of the year when they dropped and after being soaked in hot water the shells were removed. A big fire was built and plenty of rocks placed in the fire bed. When the rocks were white hot the fire was removed and ferns placed on top of them. The buckeyes were placed on top of the ferns, then a layer of ferns placed on top of the buckeyes and finally soil was placed on top of all in order to retain the heat. After being cooked in this manner for from two to two and a half hours they were removed, placed in baskets, and mashed up and squeezed with the hands. Then they were dried, soaked in cold water, and squeezed again. Finally they were taken down to the river bank and the bitterness removed in the same manner as with the acorn meal. This last process took about two hours, then the buckeye was ready to be eaten. It was eaten cold.

Grass and various small seeds were gathered by the women, and roots were dug out with the digging stick, as elsewhere in California. The women also gathered hazel nuts (mdic, C) and sugar pine nuts (kamdic, C) which were eaten raw. Berries of various kinds were gathered, blackberries (titama, C), salmon berries (dawoi), thimble berries (snarde), salile berries (toltol), huckleberries (kakai), red huckleberries (koto), strawberries (manuel), raspberries (backut), and holly berries.

While the Pomo, in common with the other California Indians, made no use of intoxicating drinks before the coming of the whites, they did have several kinds of refreshing fruit juices. Elderberry juice (kite bakai ka, N) was made by squeezing the elderberry by hand into a basket. The juice was kept for about a day and a half and partaken of as soon as it had settled. A beverage was also made from the juice of the manzanita berry (bakai ka, N).

The number of plants consumed was considerable. Clover (so, E, san, C) in season, furnished a hearty banquet. The women went out into the meadows and gathered the young shoots of clover, carrying it home in their baskets. It was also a common sight, in former times, to see the entire population of a village crawling over the fields on all fours and digging for the tender parts of the clover, which were consumed raw. Mushrooms, a variety of radish (gomash, E), and wild onions (xabai, E) were also eaten raw. Wild potatoes (bu, E) were dug up by the women and cooked over night in an oven. Various kinds of fungus were also cooked in the oven and said to taste like mushrooms. Three kinds of tule were eaten at the lake. The tender part of the young growth was parched, and the outside husk removed before eating.

The Pomo had salt and pepper as condiments. Pepper balls (behé, E) were gathered from the ground in the fall after they had fallen from the bay tree. They were roasted, hulled, and ground up; a glowing ember was then applied to the ground pepper, melting it enough to make it viscous. More and more pepper was added until a small sized cake was formed. These cakes were kept on hand, and bitten into by the Indians when eating acorn bread or clover.[19]

Anise roots (cibú, E) were eaten both raw and baked. The roots were dug out of the hard earth by means of a large digging stick in the summer time. In the winter the women searched for gopher holes, because the gophers stored away anise roots. Once a gopher hole was located, it was dug into, and often as much as a quart of anise roots was thus obtained.

The Pomo made but little use of salt. It was used for preserving and was eaten with fish. In order to preserve the salt during the rainy season it was made into cakes. The salt was pulverized, moistened, and heated in the same way as the pepper balls. The cakes were then baked in ashes. The raw salt was obtained by the River and Lake Pomo from two sources, one was a salt deposit situated in Northeast Pomo territory near Snow mountain, and called ce'e mo. It is said that in former times the Indians used to come to this spot from all over, in spite of the opposition of the proprietors. This caused considerable warfare. Another place from which the Pomo obtained salt was the coast. The salt was gathered here off the rocks. Parties of men went to the coast for the sole purpose of collecting and carrying home this salt.

[19] Miss Greiner supplied the information concerning the use of pepper and anise by the Pomo.

The coast people had a more simple method of getting salt into their systems. These people were very fond of kelp (tapau, C) as an article of diet; it was sometimes cooked, and sometimes eaten raw. Frequently the kelp was hung up to dry, and then chewed for the sole purpose of obtaining the salt that adhered to its folds.

The Pomo were not at all particular in their food habits. In former times they were not at all averse to eating deer and elk which had died a natural death, providing that the corpses were not too far decomposed. Later they consumed with equal relish the dead cows and horses of the early settlers. Mothers in delousing their children would swallow the vermin.

While the above list of the food supply of the Pomo is probably far from complete, yet it gives some idea as to the wide variety enjoyed by the natives. In spite of the lack of agriculture and domesticated animals and the density of the population, estimated at one person per square mile, famines were infrequent. Such shortages of food as did occur worked hardships chiefly on the old and infirm who were unable to go out and search for food. Failure of the acorn crop was the most dreaded disaster. It may be supposed that the careful precautions used to preserve foodstuffs provided against much serious want, while the highly developed trading system of the people was a sufficient safeguard against anything but a widespread crop failure. The people were conservative, never gluttonous, and were capable of undertaking long expeditions with a remarkably small supply of acorn bread and pinole. They ate two meals a day, the first at daybreak and the second late in the afternoon.

Such food taboos as existed were for the most part of a temporary nature, such as at childbirth, and will be considered later in their proper chapters. Members of the secret society alone were under permanent taboos, being prohibited the use of the flesh of the gray squirrel, the wood pecker, the oriole, the quail, and the wild pigeon. These taboos are kept to this very day, although the secret society has long been a thing of the past. The reason given for abstaining from the flesh of these birds is that the members of the secret society imitated the sounds of the birds at the time of their ceremony.

The Pomo were a hunting people, and as such, it is not surprising to find that they kept a rather considerable variety of pets (kiococu, C, playthings). Women frequently brought up fawns, alongside of their own children. They even nursed the fawns with their own milk, in a manner similar to the Ainu women with the bear cubs. Bear cubs were

also brought into the house as pets, although there is no record of the Pomo women ever nursing this animal. When the cub grew up it was killed, the meat eaten, and the hide used for quivers.

Rabbits, squirrels, and raccoons are also mentioned as having been kept as pets. Even birds were sometimes kept in captivity, most commonly the quail, woodpecker, or shrike. One method of capturing eagles was to climb up the dead tree in which the eagles had their nest, and carry home the nest and young. The parent eagles were shot if they interfered with this procedure, while the young were triumphantly carried home as prisoners of war.

4. OCCUPATIONS, MANUFACTURES, AND DIVISION OF LABOR

According to the census taken at the East Pomo village of Cigom:

> Certain occupations fell to the men: fishing, hunting, housebuilding, balsa (raft) making, and manufacture of fish traps and fish baskets. [Chiefs were not compelled to hunt, as their followers furnished them with game.] Basketry in general was produced by women with the exception of the fish baskets mentioned above and with the further exception that men as well as women manufactured basketry cradles. All women learned the art of basket making.[20]

Both men and women also made the carrying baskets.

Women did all the cooking, men the carving up of the animals. Both men and women gathered acorns, but women alone gathered clover, nuts, and seeds for the pinole. Men gathered the wood for the fireplaces, obtained salt, made the money, made all clothing, including the tanning of hides, and wove the rabbit skin blankets. Men alone made ceremonial costumes, even though they might be for the women to wear. When on a trip, the women carried all the household utensils on their backs, while the men stalked ahead with their bows and arrows. If the loads were too great, however, the men would help carry.

Money Making[21]

The Pomo were the principal purveyors of money to central California.[22] The chief source of supply was Bodega bay, Sonoma county, where two well-known clam shells abounded, *Saxidormis gracilis* and *Cardium corbis*. The Pomo from all over went to this spot, where

[20] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo Society, present series, XVIII, 327.

[21] Hudson gives a good account of modern Pomo wampum makers, in Overland Monthly, n. s., XXX.

[22] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 248.

they were allowed to dig for the shell free of charge. In making common wampum from clam shells, the shell was first broken into conveniently small bits, the rough corners of which were chipped off with flint. By holding the piece of shell between the thumb and forefinger and breaking or chipping off the projecting portions, the bead was given a roughly circular shape about half an inch in diameter. All men were capable of performing this first stage of the work.

The second stage, the drilling of the wampum, was always given to a specialist before the days of the pump drill. The driller was called ghal dawi xale gauk, E (wampum drill for person). The profession of wampum driller was inherited, but had no special sanctity connected with it. The driller among the Eastern people had, however, to observe certain taboos; he had to arise early in the morning, and abstain (ghal) from meat and women before undertaking the task. The money was always drilled in the bush and never in the house.[23] It was thought that if a taboo were broken both the drill and the wampum would break. The drills were bought from another man who specialized in the making of them, and were flaked from grayish flint (dawixaga, E).

The wampum driller bored a hole through the center of each shell, and then they were strung together. The string was made from wire grass. It was soaked in water after the beads had been placed upon it, causing it to swell and stiffen. After the beads were strung they were given a uniform size and smoothly rounded edges by grinding them with a rotating and rubbing motion upon a flat surface stone. As a final touch the edges were polished on deer skin. About two hundred beads were customarily strung together, and large numbers were counted by the string. The name for the finished wampum varies, ka ya, water bone (N), talea (C), and ghal (E).

Long cylindrical beads were also made from the thick heel of the clam shell. In diameter such beads were about the same as the common wampum. They were especially valued, being worth from twenty to forty of the common beads, according to their length and finish. Not more than four, and often but one such bead could be made from the heel of a shell.

From the scraps of the heel a few very slender cylindrical beads could be made, valued from four to six ordinary beads. Scraps of the

[23] My coast informant told me that in his region money was drilled in the house. Care was taken, however, to avoid drilling if any of the women were in the period of menstruation.

remainder of the shell furnished material for beads smaller in size but similar in shape to the ordinary disc beads, and valued the same as the larger ones, although always strung separately. Each clam shell afforded material for about forty of the common beads. A skilled worker in wampum could produce from a hundred and fifty to two hundred common beads a day, given good implements.

My East informant Benson said that 160 ordinary beads were worth one dollar in the olden times. According to Dr. Kroeber the value was increased by the age of the beads and the degree of polish that they had acquired. All values were measured in ordinary wampum. A deer was priced at 1200 beads. A good imported bow was worth about 4000. A domestic bow which required from eight to ten days of steady work in the making brought from 2000 to 2500, according to its quality.

The Pomo and neighboring tribes had a bimetallic system, for they considered their cylindrical beads of cooked magnesite (po, C) as gold. The raw magnesite was obtained from the Southeastern Pomo of Sulphur Bank, Clear Lake. The coast people never went to Sulphur Bank to obtain this material, but the people from the latter region came in large crowds to the coast in order to sell their merchandise.

"Gold" was manufactured in the form of beads from one to three inches in length. The raw material had to be ground down, perforated, baked, and polished. Dr. Hudson, who made a special study of this manufacture, was unable to ascertain the means used formerly in the art of perforation. "Gold" was sold separately, and not by the string. It was considered very valuable, a piece measuring to the first joint of the index finger, and of good finish and coloring, being worth $5.00 or 800 beads.

The Minor Professions

The making of drills for the boring of wampum was a highly specialized art. The knowledge of this craft was customarily handed down in the matrilineal line of descent, as was the case with all other specialized knowledge. The drill maker was called: dawi xaga duyi gauk, E (drill flint make person).

The makers of ornamented hair nets were called: cutali kibu xale gauk, E (hair net weave for person). The materials used in making these hair nets were milkweed fiber, red feathers, and quail plumes.

A couple of rows of wampum were inserted where the net came down above the eyelids. This variety of hair net was only used by wealthy people and chiefs. Everybody knew how to make the ordinary hair net. The maternal great uncle and namegiver of Benson (ghalganal) taught him how to make the ornamental hair net.

The making of the ceremonial wampum belt, which was worn with the ornamented hair net, was also a specialized art (kibu ghal, E, weave wampum). These belts were from six to seven feet long, and woven in red and green feathers, ornamented with wampum, and bearing a checker design.

The flaking of obsidian was a specialized profession. Two kinds of obsidian were made use of at Clear lake. The arrow point obsidian (bati xaga, E, arrow obsidian) was superior as regards flaking. The cutting obsidian (dupa xaga, E, to-cut obsidian) was harder, and flaked in round pieces, cleaner than arrow obsidian. The obsidian for cutting came from Cole creek. Among its other uses it came in handy for shaving. The arrow obsidian came from Lower lake. A man who specialized in flint chipping was usually also a bow and arrow maker (ce emai tsu donta, N, bow arrow maker).

Net making was a specialized art (wayaX kibu xale gauk, E, net weaving for person). According to the census taken at Cigom, certain men specialized in the making of fish nets, while others specialized in the making of duck nets. Net making had to be started early in the morning, accompanied by the singing of certain songs. The craftsman had to abstain from women while making the net.

In compiling a list of these minor professions I have not desired to give the impression that a man who was skilled in one or several of these arts was a specialized craftsman in our sense of the word. There were, however, certain trade secrets, such as the drilling of wampum, which were handed down in families, and a man might learn one or several of these trade secrets according to his bent and his opportunity. Owing to the diminution in the size of the Pomo population, and the apathy of the younger generations towards the old time culture, most of the private crafts have by this time been entirely forgotten.

The making of rabbit skin blankets (citc, E) was not a professional activity, since all the men might engage in the occupation. Two similar processes were employed in the weaving of these blankets. According to the first process the rabbit skin was made while still green into one long strip measuring three-quarters of an inch in width.

The cutting was commenced from the hind legs of the rabbit, and care was taken not to cut into the strip itself. Next a nettle fiber string about an eighth of an inch in diameter was placed under the strip of skin, and two men sat a short distance apart for the purpose of twisting the skin and string into a stout rope. The skin was twisted with the fur side towards the string. When this process was completed one of the men wound the rope over his hand, to prevent snarling, and then tied it around two pegs for the purpose of drying. Two or three rabbit skins could be twisted onto one string in this manner. When the maker was ready to weave the blanket, a loom was set up in the following manner: Two poles, about two inches in diameter, were placed in the ground, and cross-pieces laid at the top and bottom, the distance apart being determined by the desired size of the blanket. A cord was drawn from one pole to the other close to the bottom stick and another at the top in the same way. These cords were bound to the cross-poles in several places in order to prevent sagging. The twisted rabbit skin was then drawn over the top cord and under the bottom cord, and so on. This formed the warp. The weaving was done by hand and consisted in using a plain nettle string as weft. One string at a time was drawn through the warp strands, a lock hitch being tied in each warp. A complete knot was tied on the two final warp strands.

In the second method, the loom was constructed in the same manner except that two temporary poles were used instead of the two cords at top and bottom. After the weaving was completed the poles were removed and the top and bottom wefts terminated the blanket. The method of weaving was the same as in the first process. Some considered this method easier than the former, but in regard to superiority of results, there seems to be no difference between the two.

True Professions

A Pomo might be said to belong to a true profession if (1) he devoted a considerable part of his time to one specialized occupation, and (2) if he were initiated into the profession by an elder relative and given the magical outfit and charms necessary to the successful accomplishment of his daily undertakings.

The true professions of the Pomo may be listed as follows: (1) hunter man, (2) fisherman, (3) doctor. The last-named profession will be described in the chapter on religion.

If a boy became a hunter it was because his maternal uncle, father, or some close relative was a hunter, because this relative took a liking to him, and because he showed an early aptitude towards the hunting profession. The relative would take the boy along with him when he went out hunting, and give him instructions. When the two were home together, they would rehearse deer hunting songs until the youth had acquired a full repertoire. When the youth arrived at a mature age, from twenty-five to thirty,[24] he was ready to do a man's work and hunt without the aid of his elder relative. The instructor then took the youth to the spot where he secretly kept his hunting costumes, the false deer heads, and his charms and herbs. There the elder relative built a fire in a little hole and burnt four sacred ingredients: turtle eggs (ti kalip, E), yana, pine bur seed (k'uacip) and angelica (bako). After this the boy was sweated over the fire. Finally the elder relative took bitter leaves and bay leaves and wiped off the sweat. Prayers were said during the entire ceremony. The purpose of this sweating, as in the case of all ceremonial sweating, was to free the young man from the contamination of women so that when he took hold of the sacred instruments of his profession he did it with clean hands. After the initiation of the boy the older man gave up hunting and stayed home and sang deer hunting songs in order to bring good luck to his successor. When the boy came home from the hunt the two rehearsed the songs together.

Hunters were almost always arrow makers as well. While it is true that almost all the men in the village hunted, only those who inherited the hunting outfit may be considered as the professional hunters.

Less is known about the professional fisherman than about the professional hunters. There were certain men in Cigom who fished all night and slept all day; they did nothing else and were seldom dancers. The profession of fishing was inherited. Fishermen had songs and charms. Curious dried fish tails are mentioned as having been used for fishing charms. Hunters, fishermen, net makers, and money makers were forbidden to engage in their occupations after intercourse with their wives.

All the men in the village engaged in the more general labors and most of them had a specialty as well. There were a few who did noth-

[24] All my informants have told me that a boy never married in former times until he arrived at this age and was ready to do a full man's work. Until that time a boy was not permitted to hunt alone for fear of bears. On the coast a boy was not allowed to swim out for seals alone for fear of sharks.

ing except gamble. While this was scarcely a profession, I have no reason to believe that such individuals were looked down upon. There were always a few individuals, however, who were just plain lazy. The name for such a man was gai dagerl, E (earth hesitate). This individual was quite unpopular; he was usually a fluent talker and invariably lived off of his family.

5. IMPLEMENTS, MUSIC, AND ART

Boats

On Clear Lake boat-shaped rafts of bundled tule rush were used, accommodating three or more persons. These balsas, to use the customary Spanish word, were trimly modeled in the best examples, with rising sharp prow, a stern, and gunwales to prevent the waves from washing over the top. They were in every way boats except that it was the specific gravity of their content and not their displacement that floated them. They could scarcely last more than a season or two, but were much less laborious to build than canoes.

Russian River is not navigable except in the last few miles of its course, and tule balsas were not used in its drainage except in the Santa Rosa Lagoon.[25]

The people on the coast made very crude rafts from redwood tree drift wood. Twisted hazel wood shoots were wound around the logs for rope. Two men could stand on this sort of raft. Any variety of wide stick was used for paddling in the ocean, but long poles were used to push the craft on the Rio Garcia. These rafts were used for a day only and then allowed to drift away; they were not owned by individuals, nor were they made by special craftsmen. On the river the men used the boats to chase the fish into the nets, but they were not considered good enough to fish from. They were used in the ocean for the purpose of gathering mussels. When seals were gathered on near-lying rocks, the men went out on the rafts to get them; if the seals were killed on the out-lying rocks it was considered safer to haul them in by swimming. Kroeber points out that all the coast tribes from Cape Mendocino to Point Concepcion had a similar lack of real boats, and this in spite of the ideal canoe building material furnished by the redwoods. I asked the coast people why they never had canoes, and I was informed that they never wished for any because they moved around too much. In support of this rather unsatisfactory statement, they pointed out to me the fact that their former houses were just as "makeshift" as their boats.

[25] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 243.

Bows, Spears, Slings

According to the information received by Miss Greiner the Eastern Pomo manufactured four kinds of bows. The first variety was called yima namk' cuhmúi (sinew to-bind-on-back bow). This variety of bow was made from either the wild nutmeg, mountain mahogany, or yew wood. It was about three feet long, the exact measurement being from the center of the chest of the owner to his finger tips and about one and a quarter inches wide. The inside surface of the bow was slightly concave, the outer surface was rounded out. It was used for deer hunting, target practice, and warfare.

The second variety of bow was called q'aiyán cuhmui (duck bow), though it was not designed for the killing of ducks. This was also a sinew backed bow made from baaúxale, a hard evergreen tree. The usual measure for the length was twice the distance from the elbow to the finger tips; it was about one and three-quarters inches wide at the widest points, and one and a quarter at the handgrip. This bow was wider than the first variety, a little stiffer, and the wood was better looking and always decorated. It was used for big game hunting.

The third variety of bow was called gaiyé cuhmui (manzanita bow), and was also sinew backed. This bow was a little narrower than the first two varieties and the handhold was cut in rather deeply. It could not be used much during the rainy season as it would lose its seasoning. This was also a big game bow.

The common variety of bow was called xai cuhmui (wood bow). It was left undecorated and had neither sinew backing nor sinew for the bow string; instead the string was made of nettle fiber and the bow itself was made from either dogwood or red willow. The same length was given for this bow as the second variety, the width was given as one and a quarter inches, and the thickness as three-quarters of an inch. It was rounded convexly on the inside, and slightly rounded on the outside. It was used for small game only, such as birds or squirrels.

Arrows were made from a variety of woods, including the dogwood for common arrows, and the mountain mahogany and willow for fine arrows. An arrow measured three-eighths of an inch in diameter and commonly projected about eight inches beyond the bow, when the latter was drawn full length, its length measuring from the finger tips to the chest of the owner. Fine arrows were made in two pieces,

the foreshaft (baaó) and main shaft (bati). There was a notch (hámitse) on the main shaft for the insertion of the arrow point, and a notch on the foreshaft for the bow string. Quills, about four inches long, were split into three pieces and laid on the main shaft at equal distances from one another, usually the tail feathers of a squirrel hawk were used. The quills were lashed on with wet sinew. Arrows were straightened by being drawn through three holes drilled through wood, oak, or mountain mahogany. In the first two holes the apertures were smaller at the centers than at the outsides, but the third hole was almost the exact diameter of the arrow, and of the same dimension all the way through (pl. 1*a*).

It has often been stated by anthropologists that no weapon exists which might be classified as an incomplete bow; that either a bow is complete and works, or else that it is incomplete, and therefore does not work. It is perhaps for this reason that no reliable theory for the evolution of the bow has as yet been advanced. The Pomo, however, besides having the common and reënforced bow, also possessed two forms of incomplete bow. The first form might be better classified as a catapult, and in fact was called mutsip' xale, E (to-spring for). A stick inserted into the ground was used to hurl small stones some short distance. While this instrument was commonly only employed by small boys in play, yet grown up men also employed it in the killing of small birds. The second form of incomplete bow was actually a bow, excepting that the bowstring remained untied at one end. This instrument was called bati cutsip, E (arrow whip) and was used only as a toy. The arrow was put on the end of the string, and the stick given a flick. This caused the arrow to fly.

The Eastern Pomo sling (bicik', E), according to Miss Greiner, was composed of a "pocket" of deer hide with nettle fiber or sinew strings attached to either end. The pocket consisted of a strip of deer hide about four and a half inches long and two or two and a half inches wide. The strings were about two and a half feet long, and one of them had a loop for the insertion of the middle finger (pl. 1*b*).

When trying to hit a goose the Indian used a round stone one and a half to two inches in diameter, but when trying to hit a duck or mud hen he used round balls of clay one and a half to one and three-quarters inches in diameter. These balls of clay (t'a) were made of adobe, rolled in the hands when moist and then dried over a fire or in the sun. The Indians preferred clay balls to stones when shooting at ducks or mud hens because they were lighter and would skate along

the water. They were said to be sometimes able to kill three or four mud hens at a shot.

In shooting, the ball or stone was placed in the pocket, which was then folded over. The middle finger of the right hand was inserted in the loop of one string and a knot tied in the other string was held between the thumb and the forefinger of the same hand. Then the sling was twice twirled around the head and the knot released, throwing the missile.

Slings were also used in warfare. The sling throwers remained a little way to the rear of the battle line and were supplied with stones brought to them in baskets by small boys.

Spears were of two kinds, the straight variety and the harpoon with detachable head. The ordinary fishing spear, hia xai, E (bone stick) was used for fishing in the lakes in the spring for various kinds of fish, the shaft measured from twelve to fourteen feet in length. A similar spear was used to gig fish from the banks of creeks. The shafts of these spears measured eight feet in length and were made of ash or young fir; they were one and a half or one and a quarter inches in diameter at the large end and tapered to a pencil-like point. Near the lower end of the shaft a notch was formed for the purpose of allowing the bone point to be lashed on. The point was made from the ulna of a deer, and was three inches in length, the lashing was done with milkweed fiber.

The war spear (batsui, E) bore a close resemblance to the simple fishing spear. The batsui consisted of a shaft about six feet long and an inch in diameter. It was split at the end, and an obsidian arrow point fitted on. Spears were made the same as arrows, from ashwood or dogwood, and were heated and straightened in the same manner by being drawn through circular holes. The war spear was usually used for thrusting, but it was sometimes used for throwing.

The harpoon spear was called napá hia xai, E. It was used both in the lakes and rivers for catching large suckers and salmon. The shaft was about ten feet long, one inch in diameter, and made of fir. According to Miss Greiner two varieties of toggles were employed. In rough specimens the lower end of the shaft tapered to one-half inch in diameter, and two wooden prongs made of ashwood were lashed to the shaft by many simple turns of string. In better specimens three prongs were used, and pieces of bone surmounted each prong.

No spear throwers were used by the Pomo.

Dishes

Miss Greiner has classified and described the Eastern Pomo dishes as follows:

(*a*) Baskets of many sizes for many purposes.

(*b*) Mussel shells used for spoons. These were called dixár lako (to-scrape shell). The outside of the shell was ground to smooth off the edge. The shell was held on the narrow end (pl. 3*b*).

(*c*) Wooden bowls used for catching grease.

(*d*) Wooden trays.

(*e*) Tule trays for serving roasted fish. These were used instead of the wooden trays because the coals did not adhere to fish as they did to meat, and fish was not so juicy as meat. Ducks and other dry meats were often served on tule mats.

(*f*) xalá (fresh-water clams). The male clams are elongated like mussel shells and were used as spoons.

In the making of wooden bowls burls were taken from redwood or oak trees. The inside of the burl was burned out, the charcoal removed and the remaining walls smoothed with a rough stone, usually sandstone. The bark was removed from the outside of the burl. The largest wooden bowl that the informant ever saw was ten inches in diameter, the smallest one about six inches in diameter. The bowls were two or three inches deep, usually round, but if the burl was elongated the bowl became oval shaped.

The wooden tray (xaibahlao) was a slab of either oak or cottonwood. It was twenty to twenty-four inches long, ten to twelve inches wide, and about one-half inch in depth. The tray was first rudely shaped with an elkhorn chisel, then burned on the inside, and later scraped with a piece of lava. The under side was flattened also and highly polished, so that either side could be used.

Fire Making and Usages

The common way of making fire (ho, C; xo, E) was by drilling with a stick from the wild currant bush. These drills were always carried in the arrow quiver. The stick which was twirled in the hands was called xo dawi xai, E, while the stick in which the hole was bored was called yomer xale xai. Wood punk (xai tiwo), or the dried sap of a tree, was powdered and used to catch the sparks.

Kroeber was told by Barrett that the Pomo were also in the habit of making fire by rubbing or striking two pieces of quartz together, and catching the shower of sparks on tinder.[26] None of my informants knew about this method.

The Northern and the Eastern Pomo were in the habit of carrying fire with them when they went hunting. The spark was kept alive in a thick piece of bark from the oak tree. It is said that fire could be carried the entire day in this manner. All of the Pomo were careful never to let the house fires go out, for they were too difficult to rekindle. A piece of hard oak was always kept smoldering on the hearth. When the people moved their dwelling place they carried the glowing hardwood embers with them. After a death the house fires became contaminated and were permitted to go out.

The usual illumination for the interior of the house was furnished by the fireplaces. Willow sticks were sometimes also burned inside of the house for the sake of their light. This was called hai xo, E (stick fire).

Pipes and Smoking Customs

A type of the Pomo pipe (saka hai, C; saxa xabi, E) is shown in figure 1.[27] This pipe is made from ashwood and is twelve inches long. Today the Pomo imitate the white man's pipe, and make the bowl of the pipe much wider than the stem and the line of cleavage very sharp. The old pipes were very simple and never decorated. Now the bowl is made in many different shapes.

The wild tobacco (saxa, E) smoked was, according to Kroeber, of two or more species of *Nicotiana*. The men pulled up the plants by the roots in the summer time and dried them. Then they crumpled up the leaves and put them in sacks. Later they put the leaves out in the sun again and repowdered them. This time the leaves turned gummy. The tobacco was then powdered in the hands, put in smoking sacks made of fawn or weasel skin, and kept for use. Before the tobacco was put into the pipe it was mixed with a small quantity of ashes. The ashes were supposed to absorb moisture. The native tobacco was of a very pungent quality, and is no longer smoked. It was never chewed.

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[26] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 249.

[27] A photograph of this pipe, taken from our museum collection, is shown in Kroeber's Handbook, pl. 30*b*.

Men commenced smoking when they were from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Some of the older women also smoked. Smoking was usually done in the sweat houses, where the men had one pipe in common which they passed along from one to the other. Each man would take the pipe in turn, make a wish, such as that he would soon

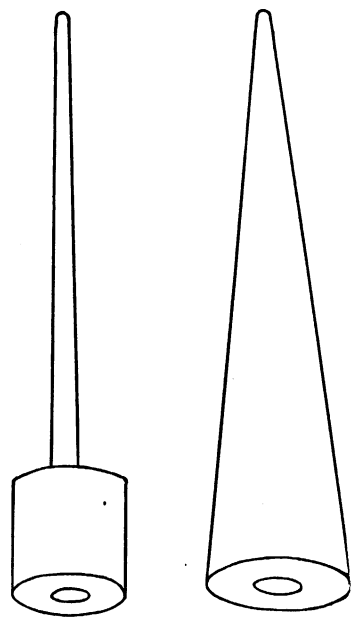

Fig. 1. Ancient and modern forms of Pomo smoking pipe.

kill a deer, then take several puffs and pass the pipe along. At feasts the pipe was also passed around. If a man smoked at home he had his individual pipe. Individual smoking was not, however, a common custom. A man would not smoke if his wife were menstruating, or for a month after she had a child. If a man smoked after the birth of a child the child's nose would become stopped up.

Musical Instruments

The principal musical instruments of the Pomo were the drum, whistles, rattles, the flute, and the musical bow.

The drum (tsiló', N) was about six feet long. It was hollowed out of fir or oak wood, and supported with grape vines. One man played

this instrument by trampling upon it.[28] Among the Pomo the foot drum was chiefly played upon in the ghost house, and therefore was associated with the ghost cult and not with the "Kuksu cult."

The whistles were of three kinds: the two-bone whistle (libú, E); the one-bone whistle (lilibu) and the large kuksu whistle (kuksu libu). The two-bone whistle was made from the wing bones of the crane. Each bone was about four inches in length, one hole was pierced through the center and another from end to end. Then heated pitch was applied to the ends and the under holes in order to form a permanent closure and the bones were placed lengthwise and bound together. The whistle was blown from the open ends. Each bone had a different pitch. The libu was used for dancing.

The one-bone whistle (lilibu) was about ten inches long. It was made from a single bone, either a crane bone or a pelican wing bone. It had one hole in the center which was blown into, and two holes on the underside halfway between the center and the ends. The latter holes were partly filled with pitch and the ends were stopped with pitch. Two different notes could be obtained from the same whistle. The lilibu was also a dancing whistle.

The kuksu libu was made from elderberry wood. It was about seven inches in length and approximately three-eighths of an inch in diameter at the mouth piece, running to about a half inch at the center. The hole was in the center, while one end was stopped with pitch and the other end was blown into. This whistle was only used by the kuksu impersonator. It was used both at the time of a ceremony and during kuksu doctoring.

There were two forms of rattles, the split rattle or clapper (bitau bitau, E) and the cocoon rattle (wayau, which is both the name of the rattle and the insect of which the rattle was made). The clapper was made of elder wood, it was a foot and a half in length and one and a half inches wide, split some six inches down, and tied below the split so that the break would not proceed farther. This rattle was used as an accompaniment to dancing. The cocoon rattle was formed by fastening about six cocoons to a stick from six to eight feet in length. Each cocoon was carefully wrapped and tied to the stick separately with wild hemp. Little pebbles were taken from the ant hills and tied inside of the cocoons. Singers kept time with these rattles in the thunder dance (kalimatoto xe, E) and the down cere-

[28] A more complete description is given in Barrett, Pomo buildings, p. 17.

mony (dama xai, E). These rattles were also used in the sucking doctors' initiation dance.

The cocoon rattle which the ordinary outfit doctor used was a little different from the above. This rattle was put together on the quills of the falcon and had as many as twenty cocoons.

There was only one kind of flute (walwal, E; wolwol, C). It was made from an elder shoot about ten and a half inches in length; at the center it was about seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, tapering to a mouth piece at either end to a little over half an inch. On the upper side there were four segments which together were about four inches in length. Each segment had a hole in the center; a bridge about one-eighth of an inch thick formed a division between them. The flute was held a little to one side of the mouth so that the breath could be blown partly into and partly across it. The flute was mainly blown for amusement by men either in the home or in the sweat house. Magical love songs (puella absente) were also played upon the flute.

The musical bow, pitjol pitjol cumui, E (strike with-stick bow), appears to have been used only by the Lake people. The bow was made from willow wood and was about two feet in length, an inch and a half in width, and approximately a quarter of an inch thick. It had two sinew strings about a quarter of an inch apart and was played by having one end of the bow placed in the mouth, the strings being struck with a round stick of ash perhaps a foot in length. The notes varied according to the degree to which the player opened or closed his mouth. Men used the musical bow in their homes or in the sweat house. The music was very faint, and the instrument was played merely for amusement.

Another instrument, which might possibly be called musical, was the acorn string (likó likó, E; duka toto, C). This instrument was devoted entirely to the use of young girls. The acorns were strung on a string, one of them was placed in the mouth, and the others rattled. The string of acorns acted as a weight, and made the acorn held in the mouth vibrate. The girl used her mouth as a resonating chamber, and opened and shut it for tonal changes.

My informant Benson suggested that the clam shells used by the members of the secret society in ceremonies might be classified as musical instruments. These were held concealed in the mouth, and blown through, thus giving bird imitations.

Decoration and Art

Among the Pomo, as among the Maidu, we must look to basketry for the chief and almost only expression of the art sense of the people. The people showed great ingenuity in the weaving and decoration of their basketry, and it has frequently been stated that the Pomo baskets are "the best in the world."[29]

The Pomo, like the Central Californian Indian in general, knew practically nothing about plastic art or painting. A single example of plastic art might be found in the dolls (padok, E) which were used by the women for the purpose of becoming pregnant, and by the poisoners. These were, in both cases, rude images made out of clay.

The Pomo, however, were in the custom of decorating their utensils in much the same fashion as they decorated themselves. The bow was decorated with black and red paint which was applied in triangular form next to the place where the grip was taken; on both sides, at the back, and at the end.

The arrow was painted in black and red in two simple rings which were placed under the feathers near the foreshaft; two also were placed in front of the feathers.

Beads were extensively employed on the Pomo basketry and frequently were also utilized as ornaments on their more cherished possessions. Little bags (t'súlu, E) were made of fine mesh and ornamented with beads and bits of abalone which hung from the bottom, around the mouth, and here and there on the sides. The large carrying net had a beaded band (kibú' xátala, E) two and a half to three inches wide and about fourteen to sixteen inches long which went over the head. The bottom of the bear skin quiver was decorated with hanging beads. Ducks' heads stuffed with shredded tule and ornamented with beads were used as toys.

[29] Barrett has written an exhaustive monograph on "Pomo Indian Basketry," whose salient points have been summed up by Kroeber in his handbook on the Californian Indians, pp. 244 ff.

6. TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

The Pomo, due to their non-use of dogs and the paucity of boating facilities, are classified in the main as "human carriers." Loads were carried both in the large carrying nets and in the conical carrying baskets. The load was always placed on the back, never on the head, and regularly hung from the forehead, rarely from the chest. The women were almost invariably the burden carriers. On the march they were compelled to carry their infants as well as their household utensils. The temporary baby baskets of the East Pomo were fashioned from tule, and were provided with a carrying strap, thongs, and cord for lacing the child in, and a hoop to hold the covering away from the child's head.[30]

The Pomo appear to have been great travelers, because of their extensive trading activities. Buying and selling was carried on extensively both within and beyond the borders of a village territory. Bows and arrows, basket materials, food stuffs, shells, salt cakes, snares, belts, robes, and skins were common articles of commerce.

The Kuhlanapo and Habenapo of Clear Lake received trade articles as follows: From the north came iris fiber cord for deer snares; arrows; and sinew-backed yew bows . . . .; from the east, magnesite; from the south, clam shells; from the west, mussels, seaweed, haliotis shells and sea-otters. For these objects the Clear Lake people gave fish, acorns, skins, and magnesite.[31]

The North Pomo from the river went to the coast for abalone, seaweed, mussels, kelp, and sea fish. When the people went to the coast it took them two days to arrive there. They usually stopped the first day at Orr's Springs. The second day they arrived at the coast. When heavily burdened the trip took three days. One basket was carried on the head in this case, and one on the back.

The people on the coast gave seaweed (tono, N) feasts. The seaweed was cooked in ashes, and it was also prepared like acorn bread. They also gave abalone (tem, N) feasts. The abalone was dried in the sun, and kept in baskets for a long time.

The manner in which feasts were given was as follows: Suppose that the Lake people had a superabundance of fish. They might then ask the Yokaia people to come over for a feast. In order to do this, they would send a messenger, a good runner, with the woven invitation sticks.[32] Since this was to be a fish feast, the sticks were

[30] Barrett, Pomo Indian basketry, pl. 24, fig. 2.

[31] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 157.

[32] See this chapter, "Records."

called ca Xai digha, E (fish stick given). After the chiefs of Yokaia had decided to accept the fish feast invitation they called upon the men of the village to each contribute as much wampum as he could spare to a common fund. Then at the appointed time, when the last stick had been broken off, the Yokaia Indians moved, *en masse,* to the Lake village. When the Yokaia people arrived at the lake, the spokesman among the Yokaia chiefs presented the beads to the spokesman among the lake chiefs, saying, "Here are a few beads with which to help yourself." Then he mentioned how much the people of his village appreciated the friendship of the Lake people, and how pleased they were to accept the invitation. After this several days of festivities were in order before the deal was consummated.

In finally making the deal the host chief divided up the presented wampum into strings of hundreds. These he placed upon the ground in a spot agreed upon, after the chiefs had arranged in council upon the amount of produce they were willing to give for each string of wampum. After this the several family representatives of the selling party went to their respective stores and each brought forth measures of produce to the value of one string. The fish were all piled up in a common pile. The giver of the fish, after he had left his produce, walked over to where the strings of wampum were laid out, and took the string of a hundred beads to which he was entitled. The fish givers kept up this transaction of piling up the fish and taking the wampum as long as they desired to sell, or as long as the wampum held out.

It will be noted that the buying party thus far had nothing to do with the transaction, simply waiting to take what was offered and making no effort to haggle. When the commodity was all heaped up the chief of the guests took possession and proceeded to divide it among his people. To each family he allotted a basketful or other equal portion, going as many times around as the pile permitted. When there was no longer enough to go around once more in the same proportion he took the remainder for himself. It is thus to be finally noted that the chief of the selling party arranged for division of wampum according to the amount of food each of his people contributed, but the chief of the buyers divided food without regard to the amount of wampum supplied by the several members of his community.

During the stay of the visitors at the village they were fed free of charge by the chiefs. The men visitors made free use of the sweat

houses, where they gambled and sweated. They went to their home sides, either east or west, for the sweating contests. It not infrequently happened that marriages resulted from these feasts.

Feasts commonly resulted from fish invitations, acorn invitations, and occasionally seed invitations. Once a year the East Lake Pomo were visited by the Sherwood people from the north, who brought bows and arrows and accepted wampum in exchange. The common method, however, for the obtaining of arrow heads, or bows, was for the Lake people to travel uninvited in parties of nine or ten to the north.

The name for a feast on the coast was hai da kayo, C (sticks give). Dances and all varieties of games were held at this time. The Point Arena (Pdáhau) people were in the custom of inviting the following villages: the people of Mendocino (Búldam); the people of Stewarts Point (Kacaya and Yutaya); the people from Boomville (Datayama); the people from Rock Pile (Mbamui or Knoya). In late times the Yorkville people and the Yokaia people were also invited.

At times an intermediate party was employed to make a transaction instead of through the holding of a direct trading feast. One village, in this case, sent a product to a second village with the request that it be sold to a third village. The inconvenient distance from the first to the third village might have been the reason for this proceeding, but bad feeling between the first and the third village was the common cause for this indirect selling. In this method of commerce the selling party placed a price mark on the article to be sold by attaching a bundle of little sticks to it, each stick representing the number of wampum beads desired in exchange. The middle party in such a transaction received no commission or other remuneration for the service, but paid over to the sellers exactly what was received from the purchasers.

There were no monopolies, either individual, community, or tribal, among the peoples of this region. Clam shells, magnesite, and salt were procured in definite localities to which the Indians of the entire region had resort after proper presentation of gifts, and which were usually neutral ground by intertribal custom. Stones for arrow heads, and materials for paints were also procured in definite localities. Even when parties from hostile villages met by accident on such a spot they dispensed with their quarrels for the time being, although they made separate encampments and went about their business without communication. Naturally, villages located near these sources

of valued products were well supplied, and it was not uncommon for an expedition to buy from them salt cakes, clam shells, or magnesite at fixed prices if the visitors were unfortunate in securing a good supply. For example, the natives of the Bodega Bay region sold clam shells to expeditions from inland at a rate of twenty beads per pair; that is, for ordinary shells—very thick ones might bring as high as eighty per pair.

Credit was never extended among the Pomo except in gambling. There was no such thing as interest, and no penalty but a "bad name" was attached to a failure in paying debts. Saving and hoarding of wampum was not practiced extensively, and there was but little opportunity for the growth of inequalities of fortune, funeral customs playing their part in prohibiting the amassing of great wealth. Wampum was kept among the seeds in the granary, or buried in the ground under the house for safety, but thefts were practically unheard of. Wampum was never marked to identify it with a certain maker or community, but bows and arrows usually bore tribal ornament.

Certain peculiarities of individual trade among the Pomo deserve mention. In the first place, the presumably more ancient custom of barter was maintained alongside of the ordinary buying and selling methods. The word for barter was galel digha, E (for-nothing gift-given). As in the case of the Polynesian "love gifts" the name of the transaction belied the actuality of the intent, for in every case where a gift was given a present of equal value was expected in return.

Individual selling (elcé or gumagagi, E) also showed an apparent transition between barter and selling. No price was named in a transaction of this nature. One man simply offered to sell something to another, and the offer had to be accepted. The normal price for the article under consideration was well known to both parties, but the buyer, in this case, always paid more than the normal price. This was done in order to be polite to the seller. If a person, on the other hand, made an offer to buy something the offer could not be refused without insult being given. In this case, however, the purchaser only paid the standard price. To sum up: When a Pomo sold in an individual transaction he obtained more than the standard price. When he bought he paid the standard price.

The Pomo had a rather strange code for trading with strangers, which was noted by the early investigator, Mr. Stephen Powers.[33]

> They have an absurd habit of hospitality, which reminds one of the Bedouin Arab. Let a perfect stranger enter a wigwam and offer the lodge

[33] Powers, Tribes of California, p. 153.

father a string of beads for any object that takes his fancy—merely pointing to it, but uttering no word—and the owner holds himself bound in savage honor to make the exchange, whether it is a fair one or not. The next day he may thrust the stranger through with his spear, or crush his forehead with a pebble from his sling, and the bystanders will look upon it as only the rectification of a bad bargain.

I have found that Powers' observations in this matter were entirely correct, but, it may as well be remarked, what appeared absurd in the custom to Powers appeared entirely sensible to the Pomo Indians. The Cochiti Indians of New Mexico have much the same custom, and Mrs. Parsons writes,[34]

Indeed much of Pueblo Indian mannerliness is motivated by fear of witches. At Zuñi, if you ask for any article, it is straightway given to you—you might be a witch, and, were you refused, you might work injury. "The reason we always ask visitors to eat," I have been told, "is because a witch might enter and be angry if not asked."

The Coast people were not always very pleased to have strangers (dja cudu, C) visit them from the neighboring villages.

"Supposing, " I was told, "a man had a good deerhead, bow and arrows, or what not. The stranger would come and offer anything he pleased, and the native was bound to make the exchange. If the man refused, he feared that the stranger would poison him. Indeed, the best way to poison a man was to offer an unfair price, and then be refused. Then you would poison the refuser."

So great was the sway of this custom among the Pomo, that it has been known for a stranger to demand a man's daughter or some other woman in the household, setting his own price in beads. One story relates how a stranger asked for a man's wife. The husband had to accept the proffered beads, but the wife had a mind of her own and she refused to go with the stranger. So the husband handed back the beads. No ill effects followed the incident, so far as known.

My coast informant stated that the entire matter regarding the treatment of strangers was motivated by a fear of poisoning. It was thought that the stranger often came to the village for the purpose of poisoning. The Yokaia Indians[35] were stated to be the very worst at this kind of trading. They gave hardly anything, and they took everything in sight. This was especially done at times of feasts and dances, when the town was overrun by the visitors. The informant further stated that dances were often given for the sole purpose of poisoning.

[34] Parsons, *in* Dumarest, Notes on Cochiti, p. 162, fn. 2.

[35] This statement should not be taken too literally. All villages of today deny that they themselves practice, or ever have practiced, poisoning, but accuse some other village of all manner of atrocities in this line. The art of poisoning is still practiced today among the Pomo; perhaps as frequently as it ever was.

7. PROPERTY

The customs concerning the ownership of land among the Pomo were subject to regional variation. Everywhere, however, the different villages laid definite claims to the surrounding hunting grounds. Each village had its well-known markings, by which it could fence in its hunting preserves. One method of marking off these preserves was by twisting the branches of the oak tree. Place names were also given to every rock and ridge, and the young boys were taken to the village boundaries where they were carefully taught their locations. There were no watchers over the boundary lines, but if strangers trespassed without permission they were liable to be shot. I could not obtain certain information as to whether or not a hunter might follow wounded game across the boundary lines.

Village land was, in general, communal property.[36] Among the East Pomo certain trees on the village land belonged to individual families. These trees included the juniper, the acorn tree, the pepperwood tree, the digger pine, and the manzanita. These trees were marked by knocking off a patch of their bark with a piece of elkhorn. Each family had its own mark; some marked with a straight cross, and some with a curve, etc. The marks were not all put on the same side of the tree, but some families marked on the north, some on the east, etc. All these marks were well recognized by everybody. The trees were mentioned as belonging to the eldest member of the family, either the grandmother or the grandfather, but they actually belonged to the entire family. Among the Coast Pomo trees were also family property, owned by the oldest member of the family as representative of the entire family. Here also the acorn tree, the pepperwood tree, and the manzanita tree were family property. A bunch of grass was tied to the tree indicating private ownership. Among the East Pomo there were no fishing rights in Clear lake itself. Fishing landings were, however, private property. If a stranger put his canoe in another man's landing place without permission, he would find the boat missing the next day. Fishing places along Kelsey creek, Cole creek, and Adobe creek were private property belonging to individual families. Marks were placed on near-by trees in order to point out the private nature of the property. Sometimes a post was stuck up near at hand on the bank. During the fishing season dams were built at these spots, and fish snare baskets laid down at night. These places

[36] Gifford, in his paper, Pomo lands on Clear lake, has shown that the island peoples in the southeast divided the village land into family strips (pp. 80 ff.).

were not said to belong to the oldest member of the family, but to the member who was the professional fisherman. The spot was transmitted from maternal uncle to nephew, or father to son, similar to the manner with the sacred fishing outfit. Among the Coast Pomo there were, of course, no private fishing rights as regards the ocean or the seal rocks, but private places were owned along the fishing streams flowing into the ocean.

Among the East Pomo seeds and bulbs were mostly collected in patches and areas recognized as belonging to the several families by right of discovery. Upon locating a new field where edible seeds or bulbs could be procured in abundance, the family signified its claim to proprietorship by setting up a long pole in the center of the area. Later the man of the house announced the claim to the other males of the village when they congregated in the sweat house, as they usually did twice a day. Such a claim was seldom violated, and it remained the right of the family as long as the family cared to keep it. In case of a crop failure on the claim, one family might secure permission to gather food from the claim of a neighbor, but such property rights were never permanently alienated by gift or sale, and were always under the control of a family rather than of an individual.

Houses, and the ground upon which they stood, belonged to the families in occupation by use tenure. The oldest wife is everywhere reported to have been the nominal owner of the house. She was also said to have the power to put out the people that she did not like. It is stated that among the Northern and Coast peoples the house was invariably burned when a death occurred in it and the house grounds were allowed to remain vacant for a number of years. Among the East Pomo, it is stated by Benson, the burning of the house at the time of a death was the invariable procedure.

At the East Pomo village of Cigom:

> Half of the money of a rich man was destroyed at his funeral. The remaining half was divided among the children, widow, and siblings of the deceased. The children had first right. The division was made by a brother, or if no brother, by a sister or aunt. A dead man's balsa, his bows and arrows, and his fish and duck nets were inherited by his sons. The dwelling house was not destroyed, nor did the relatives move. . . . In addition to clam shell money there were burnt at a man's funeral, baskets, some of his deerskins, his rabbit skin blankets, and any other clothing that he might have possessed.[37]

Among the Coast Pomo the following personal possessions were burned at the time of death: bows and arrows, wampum, nets, spears,

[37] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society, p. 377. This information was received *fide* Jim Pumpkin. My East Pomo informant, William Benson, states that the joint houses were burned at a death, as noted above.

harpoons, fire drills, flint knives, carrying nets, grass nets, fern nets, arrow quivers, deer skin skirts, rabbit skins, and baskets.

The following personal possessions were handed down by hunters and fishermen to the boy who succeeded in the trade of his elder. If a possession is repeated from the list above, such as bows and arrows, it indicated that not all of the bows and arrows were destroyed. A hunter handed down bows and arrows, his deer head, deer songs, love songs, and charms. A fisherman handed down harpoons, nets, charm bags, fishing and love songs, and bows and arrows. It will be noted that the things handed down consisted for the most part of intangible possessions, such as songs and charms. The greater part of the material possessions were destroyed. This matter of legacies is fully in accord with the Pomo's primitive philosophy of life; that if a man had mana[38] he required little else, while if a man did not have mana, nothing else that he had would be of avail.

Names were also inherited. The genealogies which I have collected show that a name was inherited usually from the female line two generations removed. The name was supposed to carry mana with it, inasmuch as prayers were made that the boy would have the same powers as the original possessor of the name. Names were kept very secret, both for fear that they and their included mana might be stolen, and for fear that the owner might be poisoned through the use of his name. One Eastern Pomo claimed that names might be sold outside of the family.

Songs were considered private property and were passed on only by inheritance, necessarily before the decease of the possessor. Songs were sometimes stolen, if they were thought especially "lucky."

The Eastern Pomo were a migratory people to a certain extent, and as such maintained several residences. The most substantial house was occupied through the winter. Another would be in the village settlement on the lake shore, or near some stream, during six weeks or two months of the spring fishing season. Returning to the first site, they would make this their headquarters during the summer while expeditions to the coast, to the salt beds, and to the magnesite diggings were being made. In the fall the village would move to the mountains to gather acorns, always going to the same place. Each family usually had a hut in each of these three places. The Coast Pomo broke up their winter encampment in the spring and followed the course of the summer fishing.

[38] The term "good luck" has usually been substituted for the Pomo idea of mana (kaocal, C).

8. WARFARE

Causes for Warfare (tcumacadu, C)

The commonest cause for warfare lay in the desire for revenge after a poisoning. Since a great portion of sickness and death was believed to be due to poisoning by strangers, this habit of mind kept neighboring villages in mutual suspicion and engendered armed reprisals. Disputes over boundaries and fishing rights may be listed as the second greatest cause for warfare.

A war party was often organized by a group of young fellows for no other reason than for the adventure and glory attached. Anyone who could get followers might organize such a party. The usual procedure was to waylay a small group of a neighboring tribe and kill them. Such killings usually did not lead to warfare on a large scale, but were settled by the chiefs of the aggressive party by wampum payments. There was no stated amount to be given as compensation.

On the whole, the Pomo, in common with the other stocks of Central Californian Indians, were not a warlike people. The carrying on of war was not a profession, it brought little distinction, and there were no actual war chiefs. The war leader (gudin ma'qyak, E, fighting brave) was always a good fighter and one who had proved his bravery and ability in leadership. He was not formally chosen. To be as concise as was one of my informants, he was "a good bad man."

Weapons and War Costume

Warriors painted themselves with charcoal around the mouth and cheeks. A network bag filled with down feathers (té, E) was worn over the head. On top of the bag and encircling the head was the tsuq'a, a string of feathers made of the black wing feathers of the buzzard. A breech clout was worn (cuq'arke) made from tanned deer skin. No armor of any kind was used except the protecting arrow quiver. A Pomo would have been considered a coward if he made use of armor.

The weapons used were the bow and arrow, the spear, and the sling. The spear (lim, C) was used only for thrusting, rarely for throwing. The slings (picuk) were of the same variety as those used for throwing stones at birds. The quiver (kot') was held on the left arm and used as a shield.

It is highly uncertain whether or not the Pomo ever used poison on their arrows. A common report among certain western Indians is that they prepared poison from deer liver and the rattlesnake venom. Dixon has reported this of the Maidu.[39] All of my Pomo informants except the North Pomo denied the use of arrow poisoning. This man affirmed the use of poison on arrows, but he did not know how it was prepared. The man further stated that the arrow shaft would prove efficacious in poisoning even though the obsidian point were broken off. This last point furthered my doubts concerning the actual use of poison. It is quite possible that magical poison might have been used on arrows instead of actual poison. The two ideas are synonymous to the Pomo. Codrington has pointed out how these two ideas have been confused in Melanesia in the discussions on arrow poisoning.[40]

Preliminaries of War

The preliminaries of going to battle were brief, since the war dance performed in the north was held after the battle, and not before.

On the way to attack the village of the enemy, the war party stopped in order to allow the war leader to make prayer and sacrifice. The leader first threw beads up into the air as an offering to the sun. Then he took out his pipe and puffed on it, offering prayers to the various spirits that might prove of aid. These included the sun, the moon, thunder man, the bull roarer, the whirlwind, and Gilak. After this the war party got together and gave four war hoops (ui hē!) and then started off to the war.

The Conduct of Warfare

The description given by Bancroft[41] concerning Pomo warfare is well substantiated by later information.

> Battles, though frequent, were not attended with much loss of life. Each side was anxious for the fight to be over, and the first blood would often terminate the contest. . . . Among some tribes, children are sent by mutual arrangement into the enemy's ranks (?) during the heat of the battle to pick up fallen arrows and carry them back to their owners to be used again. . . . When fighting they stretch out in a long single line, and endeavor by shouts and gestures to intimidate the foe.

[39] Dixon, The northern Maidu, p. 204.

[40] Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 306.

[41] Bancroft, Native races, vol. 1, p. 379.

Among the East Pomo the war party was composed of young men who did the actual fighting, and of boys and women who stayed behind the lines to pick up arrows and furnish the fighters with stones. The arrows were usually blunted by use, but were sent in anyway. They were shot off in order to find out the manner in which the enemy dodged. The two lines were said to be about thirty (?) yards apart. One hundred men on a side would have furnished a good sized battle, although it is said that there were sometimes as many as three hundred men on a side.

The war captain stood in the middle of the line. He was supposed to do a trifle more than his share in casting arrows, stones, and vituperation at the enemy. The actual military maneuvers were for the most part impromptu and the fighting was of a cautious variety. The warriors fought pretty much as individuals, each man taking his place in that part of the line where he thought he could do the most good. Each warrior had his opponent picked out, but the danger lay not in the direction of the actual opponent, but in cross-firing by a man three or four paces off from the opponent. The opposing warriors merely endeavored to confuse and agitate each other.

As soon as a man was hit the thrower of the missile shouted hī-ī-ī, then the whole side took up the terrifying cry bir-r-r purr! and at the same time charged. They did not endanger themselves by coming too close to the enemy, however, but approached near enough to see the whites of their opponents' eyes. The lines never came into hand to hand combat. The idea when fighting was to dance from place to place, advance and retreat, boast and make fun of the enemy. The death rate was low, seldom were more than two or three men killed.

After someone was wounded, if the opposing line held under the charge, the battle continued. The fighting was in any case terminated by nightfall. If the opponent's line broke, the people were driven back over their own village line and told to stay home and be good. Sometimes, if the opponents were very angry, the village was burned. Each side endeavored to seize the dead bodies of the opponents. The North Pomo warriors slashed the body on the field and removed the upper portion of the skin of the head as a trophy. The remainder of the body was then handed over to the women mourners who gouged the eyes out and otherwise mutilated the corpse. When the people came home defeated the chief went over to the enemy and asked for the bodies of his own dead which were then returned to his mourners.

The scalps (kaiya kadats, E, head skin) that were taken in time of war consisted of the upper skin of the head down to, and including, the ears. They were taken home, dried for use in the war dance (kuma xe, E, war dance; djuma ke, N, war dance) and carefully kept. After any victory they were taken out again and danced over.

When the victorious party arrived home the war captain placed all the scalps on a stick, and the warriors danced around it. The dancers were still attired in their war costumes, and while dancing they shook their spears and bows and arrows at the heads. According to one account, arrows were fired into the scalps. During this dance the warriors called out the names of the enemies whom they had killed and the names of those for whom they had killed them. In return the mourners gave beads and blankets to their avengers. I succeeded in obtaining a record of only one war song, and this was said to be in the Yuki language.[42] It went "Yo hinó hinó, yo hinó, hinó."

The Central, Coast, and Eastern Pomo denied having the custom either of scalping or of the war dance.

It is doubtful whether men were ever taken prisoners before the coming of the whites. The Pomo had no slaves. In former times the Pomo sometimes captured women and children and adopted them into the tribe. Later the Pomo stole women and children from the Yuki and sold them to the Spaniards as slaves.

Peace Treaties

Among the Pomo it was the victorious party, and not the defeated party, which sued for peace. This was due to the fact that it was the victorious party that had done the killing, and therefore was in need of making amends. Chiefs were the peacemakers. They first collected a certain amount of wampum from their village. No definite amount need be collected, but the more that could be given the more certain would be the proposed amenities. Next a messenger was sent to announce that on a certain day the chiefs of his village would make a visit to arrange for peace. The messenger was usually related to the other village by marriage. At the appointed time the two groups met at the council house. The spokesman chief of the visiting party then presented the wampum which his party had brought, making at the same time a formal speech to the effect that he was sorry the

[42] Both the war dance and the custom of scalping were probably borrowed from the Yuki.

trouble had occurred, and that it was caused by some minority of individuals who did not have the consent of the chief or of the tribe. "Therefore we are willing that you take this gift and call everything square." There may have been some parleying, but usually the other chief took the gift and made a speech of acceptance. He, too, was sorry that the trouble had occurred and hoped for peaceful relations between the two tribes in the future.

Some few days later the defeated party sent back the same wampum or a similar amount, to the victorious party and the treaty (guhoqmak', E) was completed. If the wampum had been handed back at the time it was presented, it would have meant that peace was not acceptable, and the feud would have continued.

The grief of the mourners had next to be appeased. At the time when the defeated chief was visiting the village of the victorious party, the chief of the latter village announced to him, "I will be over some day to see you." Some days later he went over and for the second time presented beads to the chief of the defeated party. A messenger was then sent to the mourners inviting them to send men representatives to the council party. When the male mourners arrived the visiting chief handed wampum to each of them, saying "This is to settle the trouble, so that you will not think that the killing was done on purpose, and so that you will be at peace with us." The male mourners went back to their homes and gave the wampum to the women mourners who at once commenced to tear their faces, cry, and dance, as was the custom on such occasions.

Some days later a fourth trip was made. The male mourners returned to the chief of the victorious village the beads that had been given them. The chief then took half of the amount given back by each mourner and hung it around the mourner's head, saying "This is a real gift (panak', E) to be burned with the dead." If the mourners had not brought back the full amount, but had kept back 30 or 40 per cent, they would have shown better appreciation, and there would have been no need of the gift, the panak'. When, however, they returned the funeral offering in full, they showed that they still harbored resentment and only the panak' which followed could do away with all hard feelings.

If warriors were killed on both sides the chiefs of both villages would have to pay the opposing mourners. The chief of the village which killed the most men was the proper one to initiate a peace settlement.

It was the duty of chiefs at all times to put an end to feuds between villages. If a feud existed a chief would often call together the village, or that portion of the village over which his power extended, and give the young men wampum in order to quiet them. Such a gift was called ghal Xau baneX, E (wampum out thrown). After this the village chiefs sent a messenger over to the other side in order to make a treaty. The spokesmen chiefs and their warriors met at some neutral place and gifts were exchanged in the usual manner.

In the case of boundary disputes, councils were sometimes called between two villages for the purpose of peacefully establishing the border lines. The old men were consulted, and some old story was related telling where the proper boundary line should be. If the boundary did not agree with the legendary boundary, the old people were again consulted as to the advisability of a change. Gifts of wampum were exchanged as usual.

Accounts of Some Wars

This feud may have taken place about 1830 or 1835. A party of nine East Pomo women and children were out gathering roots in a little meadow about a mile and a half from the village of Kabenapo. The women were all busy digging and the children were playing and laughing, when there was a sudden shout and a party of about thirty strange warriors, wearing down headdresses, came dashing down the hillside into the meadow.

When the women saw the warriors coming, they called to the children and ran into a little gully where there was a live oak thicket. Some of the women were overtaken and killed before they reached cover. The remainder were hunted out and killed, with the exception of one woman, Ghalmuk, who was suffered to live because she was related to the invading party. Another woman tried to escape by burrowing into a wood rat's nest. The invaders found her, however, and after torturing her by running sticks into her vagina, they put her to death.

Ghalmuk returned to the village before sundown and related the story of the massacre to the enraged and grief-stricken Pomo. A party of about sixty was immediately organized under the leadership of Xadasotiya, a brave Pomo of the Kuhlanapo (Water Lily Tribe). This man was a strong personality and possessed all the qualifications that go toward making a natural leader. He was a very tall,

rawboned fellow, with piercing, deep-set eyes, a loud, rough voice, and bluff, abrupt manner, the terror of all the small boys, and the logical man to lead such a war party. He was not formally chosen as a leader but was naturally accepted as such. The party left immediately for the scene of the massacre where they gathered up and solemnly laid out the dead. Men were then sent to investigate each of the trails leading into the meadow. The tracks of the murderers were located and recognized as having been made by Guenoc Indians who lived near the location of the present town of Cloverdale. The Pomo followed the trail for a short distance, when it made an abrupt turn. They followed it all night until they came to a hill overlooking a little valley near where the town of Preston is now situated. In the valley the party of Guenoc was camped.

The war party halted on the brow of the hill and carefully figured out the lay of the land. Then they began gradually working up closer and closer to the main camp, crawling flat on their bellies until they were within seventy-five yards of the camp. Here they lay motionless until it became light enough to see. At a given signal the East Pomo charged into the camp, shooting everyone in sight. The Guenoc broke in wild confusion and those who could fled into the semi-darkness and escaped. Seventeen old and young were killed by the Pomo.

The survivors of the Guenoc had by this time gathered in a small group, but the Pomo did not carry the attack further. Instead, they went back to the top of the little hill from which they had first located the hostile camp. Xadasotiya stepped out in front of the party and addressed the group of Guenoc, below. He said: "This act of ours is a payment. You killed our innocent women and children and this is your reward. I, Xadasotiya, say it."

The Pomo party then returned to their village, well content with the vengeance they had taken.

The following day another party was organized, larger than the first. Armed and wearing the headdresses of the war party they went to the main village of the Guenoc. No attempt was made to conceal their approach, so when the Guenoc saw them coming the two parties lined up as for battle. Once more Xadasotiya stepped in front of his party and spoke: "We have paid you for what you did to our innocent people. We are willing to call it square. If you wish to fight more, we are willing to begin at once." The Guenoc chief then stepped in front of his party and spoke in answer: "The deed of which you speak was done without the knowledge or consent of our old men.

You have taken payment. We do not wish further trouble and are willing to call matters even." The exchange of gifts was arranged for, and further trouble was thus avoided. The Pomo party returned home and the affair was ended.

The following feud illustrates the causes which lead to the migrations of peoples, and also the difficulties which often arose over boundaries.

The Yokaia Pomo laid claim to the entire Russian River valley up to the mouth of the East fork. In about 1820 "they allowed a body of Northern Pomo to settle at Komli and utilize the northern end of the valley. A dispute arising about hunting or fishing rights, the southerners attacked the hitherto tolerated intruders and drove them to Scott Valley, Clear Lake."[43]

When the North Pomo from Komli arrived at Upper lake they ran into further trouble. The Upper Lake tribe of Danoxa claimed all of the territory as far south as the present location of the Burger ranch, and wanted to claim as far as the place where Lakeport is now situated.

There was a small point running into the lake at this place called by the Indians xabai putsun (Onion point). This was the boundary mark for three tribes. North of this point was Upper lake territory; to the south the land belonged to the Kuhlanapo (Water Lily Tribe) as far as Adobe creek. From Adobe creek to Soda bay the territory was claimed by Xabenapo (Rock Tribe).

The small tribe of Komli people at this time drifted into the upper part of Scott's valley, where they amalgamated with the original owners of the place. The speech of these amalgamated people differed from the other Lake Pomo, and we shall refer to them as "the Scott's valley tribe." Presently these people migrated farther down the valley toward the lake. The territory around the mouth of Scott's valley was claimed by both the Upper Lake and the Kuhlanapo. The old men of the Kuhlanapo gave permission to the Scott's valley tribe to have access to the lake at Kabel in order that they might hunt and fish and gather tule.

The Scott's valley tribe now moved toward the lake, intending to establish a camp near the shore at Onion point. Instead, they were met by a party from Upper Lake who refused to let them come any farther, and being superior in numbers, drove them back. Imme-

[43] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 236; also, Barrett, Pomo Ethno-geography, p. 192 ff.

diately the Scott's valley people sent messengers to the Kuhlanapo, telling what had occurred. The Kuhlanapo promised to support their claim and sent messengers to the Xabenapo, asking that they lend their aid. As a result of this message, the Xabenapo sent over some fifty or sixty warriors. After holding a conference, they sent the Scott's valley messenger back to his people to tell them to move back to the lake, promising that the Xabenapo and Kuhlanapo allies would be near at hand if any further trouble developed.

The Scott's valley people therefore moved down to the lake again, equipped for fighting. Warriors of the Xabenapo and Kuhlanapo followed, keeping out of sight. An Upper Lake Indian saw the Scott's valley fishing party and warned them to go back but they paid no attention. The camp of the Upper Lake tribe was on one side of a cove; that of the Scott's valley party on the other. The allies, who had come up unobserved, were hiding behind the brush back of the cove where they could see both camps.

The Upper Lake people sent some men to the Scott's valley camp to order them away, but the latter's chief told them that they had a permit from the Kuhlanapo to hunt between the creek and Onion point, since that was Kuhlanapo territory. The Upper Lake men denied that the territory in question belonged to the Kuhlanapo and claimed it as their own. A quarrel was at once started and the wordy war was apparently about to give way to violence. At this point the Kuhlanapo leader, wearing his war headdress, stepped out from the brush and spoke: "Let these people camp here; I have given them permission to come." He walked up close to the Upper Lake spokesman, reached out his hand and pushed him back violently, telling him to get back into his own bounds. "Why do you bother these people?" he shouted, "you have plenty of hunting and fishing ground of your own." The Upper Lake people, angered by his speech and action, gathered in a group and started to advance on the Xabenapo leader, thinking him alone. As they started toward him, he turned and held up his hand. Immediately a hundred warriors of the Xabenapo and Kuhlanapo sprang from the bush and rushed to their leader's side. The party, armed and dressed in war costume, made an awe-inspiring display. The Upper Lake people, thinking discretion the better part of valor, retreated to their own camp, giving the impression that they had been driven back from their own bounds.

The Xabenapo waited in the neighborhood for two days, keeping constantly in hiding but having at all times a man on watch on a

hilltop. The second day it was noticed that only the Upper Lake women were fishing. Early the next morning the watch saw several boatloads of warriors in feather-down headdresses put out into the cove.

The Xabenapo warriors gathered and stealthily advanced single file to the brush back of the Scott's valley camp where they lay in hiding a little way up the hillside. The boat party of the Upper Lake had landed and were creeping up towards the Scott's valley camp. The Xabenapo and Kuhlanapo let them come until they were within about thirty yards. Then the Xabenapo leader sprang out, having previously given orders to the others to stay hidden and not to shoot until the signal was given. He stepped in front of the advancing Upper Lake and in fine sarcasm inquired as to where they were going in such a hurry. He then dropped his mask of curious inquiry and spoke in a tone of command. "I want you to leave these people alone. They need to come here to get tule and to fish. Go and see your old people. They will tell you that this is not your territory."

The enemy refused to give way, so the leader gave the signal to his men. The Xabenapo shot and crippled a few of the Upper Lake band. These were placed in the boats by their companions and the two parties were soon lined up for battle. For two hours they fought. At the end of this period of skirmishing the Upper Lake were driven across the creek. Again the Xabenapo leader stepped forth: "Now you are in your own territory. See that you stay there. See your old men and you will find that this is not your land."

The Xabenapo and Kuhlenapo stayed in the region for a couple of days longer and then received a message that in a few days the Upper Lake chief would come over for consultation.

On the day he was to come, a feast was prepared. The Upper Lake chief, together with some of the old men, came on the day appointed. They were received by the chief of the Xabenapo and met in council. The visiting chief gave the chief of the Xabenapo a present of beads, saying as the formal presentation was made: "Our men did something wrong. They were young and hot-headed and did not consult the old men before acting. That land is yours to use as you see fit. The other side of the creek is ours. I will tell my children not to bother your people or the Scott's valley people while they are on your land." The Xabenapo chief then arose and made a speech in return, saying that he, too, was sorry the trouble had occurred and hoped that in the future there would be peace between the two tribes.

He gave a present to the Upper Lake chief, and the treaty was complete. A few Scott's valley men were invited to the conference that they might understand the situation, and were told that they also must adhere to these terms and not overstep their allotted grounds.

The largest war of which record is found was fought between the Lile'ek Wappo and their allies and the Xabenapo Pomo and their allies. The dispute was over the diverting of the fishing stream, Cole creek. It is said that there were about six hundred men engaged in the battle, and that the opposing lines stretched two miles along the course of Kelsey creek. Although the battle lasted all day only two or three men are reported as having been killed.[44]

The East Pomo also had wars with the Northeast Pomo. The fights centered on the use of the salt hole at Ke'emo on Stony creek, near Uncle Sam's mountain. The Northeast Pomo killed the East Pomo men and captured the women. It is said that the Northeast Pomo cut the tendons of the feet of the East Pomo women so that they could not run away.

The North Pomo of Canel, the center of Potter valley, were at constant warfare with the neighboring Huchnom. The two peoples fought over fishing rights on the Russian river. My North Pomo informant stated that the two peoples shot at each other on sight, and he volunteered the information that the Huchnom usually got the worst of such conflicts. In one battle the Huchnom came down and cut the head off of one Pomo, and killed three others. In retaliation the Potter valley people obtained a Huchnom head and held a dance over it.

The Point Arena Indians of the coast had wars with Stewart Point, Yorkville, Yokaia, and Mendocino (Buldam). It is said that most of these wars were due to deaths from poisonings, and that there was little trouble about boundaries. A man would get sick. Then he would remember who had stood in back of him at the last feast. An accusation and a war would follow.

The Point Arena and the Fort Bragg peoples once had a war over a woman. They shot at each other for two entire days across the Noyo river. Nobody was killed, but several were wounded.

The casualties of war were only severe in case of a surprise attack. In one event of this nature the entire population of Stewart's Point (Danaga) were slaughtered by the Point Arena (Pdáhau) Indians.

The leading character in this war was a Point Arena man by the name of Kabekel. He was a chief and also a member of the Secret

[44] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 220.

Society. (He happened to be the maternal uncle of my informant Drew.) There was also a man named Kabekel at Stewart's point. Both men were chiefs and great friends. The two villages, however, were hostile to each other. Kabekel one time went down to pay the Stewart point Kabekel a friendly visit. He brought with him many valuable presents, including beads, sea otter skins, and arrow quivers. But the Stewart point Kabekel had his people strip the visitor of all he had, and then they sent him home naked.

The Point Arena people crowded around their leader in surprise when he came home naked and ashamed. The women commenced crying, they felt so sorry. Then everybody brought their chief blankets, for when he had gone down to Stewart's point he had carried all of his possessions on his back. Kabekel made a speech to the Point Arena people telling them what had happened to him. "I do not wish to tell you people to do anything wicked," he concluded, "because I am your chief. But you see what the Stewart point people did to me. So you had better start in making arrows."

The Point Arena warriors made arrows for three days, and on the fourth day they started out to war. They obtained two brothers from Brush creek (Calim) to act as war captains. These brothers were noted boasters and fighters. They disputed with each other as to who would kill the enemy chief. Each of them said, "It is I who will kill Kabekel."

The Point Arena warriors camped outside of Stewart point. Kabekel went with his people. They decided to attack at four o'clock in the morning, just before daylight, and kill the entire village. The two Brush creek men first went ahead to spy. Then all of the Point Arena men rushed into the village while the enemy was still asleep. It was the older Brush creek brother who killed Kabekel. The entire village, including some fifty men, women, and children were slaughtered by the forty-five warriors from Point Arena. The Kabekel from Point Arena then made a funeral oration standing with one foot placed on the head of his dead friend. "My friend," he said, "these are the presents that I bring to you, sea otter skins, quivers, and beads." This was the same speech that he had made in the first place, when he had come to the village bearing the gifts in friendship.

The bodies of the dead were not mutilated, but were left where they had fallen. After this massacre the Indians from the south were afraid of the Point Arena people and avoided them.

My informant (Drew) was a witness of the last war fought at Point Arena. Drew was about twelve years old at the time, and the whites were already there. Kaliltim, a Rock Pile man who had married into the village, was the war captain of the Point Arena village.

The trouble started with the death of a Point Arena woman. The husband of the woman believed that she had been poisoned by a Yorkville man. The husband at once made a trip to Yorkville where he accused the supposed poisoner, and then clubbed him to death. The Yorkville people complained to the whites concerning the murder, and twelve Yorkville Indians came with the white sheriff for the purpose of arresting three Point Arena men. The sheriff arrested the three suspects and departed with his prisoners, but the Yorkville Indians remained to gloat over their foes. As soon as the sheriff had departed Kaliltim turned upon the Yorkville men. "What are you staying around here for, do you think that we are dogs?"

Both sides commenced shooting from a distance of about one hundred yards or more. The fight lasted for about half an hour, but no one was hurt. Finally the Yorkville men ran away. The three prisoners were later turned loose, and the real culprit was never discovered. Hard feelings persisted between the Point Arena people and the Yorkville people as long as any of the Yorkville people survived. There is only one Indian in the white man's town of Yorkville at the present time.

9. GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

Games of Chance (Guessing)

The favorite game of the Pomo and tribes of the surrounding region was cóka, E, N, C, the name of the grass or men's bone gambling game. The word cóka is very old, and has no meaning at the present time. The game is still played by the Pomo, although less frequently than in former times. It is now more often called duwé ga, E (night game).

The bones used are made in pairs, about two and a half inches long by a half inch in diameter. One is marked by having a string tied around it; the other is left plain: pakó, E (anything that is lashed), the marked bone; yámi (naked), the plain bone. The game is played by two or four players, but as many may partake in the gambling as desire. Frequently as much as two hundred dollars will be in one

pot. If four men are to play, there are two on each side. Someone must act as the guesser for each team. Usually the guesser is chosen by one of the holders of the bones from among those in the game or from the onlookers. At any time new players may step in and handle the bones at the request of the first players, or a new guesser may be chosen to represent either side.

Each player has two bones—one plain, one wrapped. These he shuffles in a bundle of grass behind his back. The guesser of the opposing team then makes a guess as to which bone is in which hand of each player. The players thereupon are required to show their hands. When the two men holding the four bones present their hands they keep two hands behind their backs and two hands extended in front. All four hands, however, are opened simultaneously. This arrangement makes cheating more difficult. There are four possible combinations:

(1) The tied bone in front of both players, held either in the right or left hand, but in the same hand by both players. Called weh.

(2) The same method is followed, only the naked bones are held in front. Called dep.

(3) One player holds out the marked bone in front and the other player the naked bone. The two naked bones are in the center, one in front and one in back. Called ko.

(4) One player holds the marked bone in front and the other player the naked bone. The two marked bones are in the center, one in front and one in back. Called tule.

If the guess made is wrong for both men, the guesser says "guberx" (both men get a counter, or, I guessed wrong in each case). If the guess is correct for one man, but wrong for the other, the guesser says, "pa sas gi." The person who has been guessed right is now out of the game, but the person who has been guessed incorrectly gets a point, and continues to play alone. He still keeps the marked and naked bone, and calls for guesses until he is either guessed out or gets the pot. If the guesser is correct as to the position in which each of the two men hold the bones, or as to the position in which the surviving member of the team holds the bones, the team playing the bones gives them up and the opposite team takes a turn at the shuffling. When both players are guessed out at the first shuffle, it is called q'agule.

The bones change from one side to the other according to the fortunes of the game. Whichever side makes a continuous run of

twelve (formerly eight) first, wins the pot. The points are kept track of by counters. Usually it takes from one to four hours to complete a game.

If two play instead of four, the game is called padu. The man who holds the bones first hides them in his hands, holding one out in front of him and the other behind his back, his opponent having to guess which bone he is holding in his outstretched hand. There are two possible positions: either pako, the marked bone, is in front, in which case the position is called wé; or yámi, the plain bone is in front, when the position is called tep'. If the guess is incorrect the holder of the bones gets a counter, if correct the guesser gets the bones. The game is played to eight or twelve counters for the pot.

An interesting situation and exciting moment is almost sure to arise, namely, when one team has collected all but one of the eight or twelve counters. Will they get the last one and win the game or will the opposing player guess correctly, in which case they will have to give up the bones to the other side? If (as in the case of four players) one team gained two counters on a play which left only one counter to be gained, the game was considered won and they say 'duhlá ok,' which means to separate with one's thumb. If, however, that particular play netted them only one counter, leaving two to be gained, play must be continued until all have been won.

Often the friends of a team try to help the players, and if they sit where they can see which play is being made, they signal the guesser. One finger up means the position is wé, two up means it is tep'. This is called a stolen guess (pudi); guessing of the regular sort is called t'ol. Stolen guesses, as well as the use of legerdemain by the users of the bones after the guess has been made, are considered cheating and involve the loss of the pot as penalty. No particular discredit befalls an habitual cheater—in fact I have heard old men boast about how they used to cheat when they were young—but people who are known to be addicted to this form of vice have a difficult time in getting into a game.

The Pomo are good losers. They seldom quarrel over a game, and never fight unless inflamed with white man's whiskey. Powers has described the intense excitement which ruled during a grass game, the frenzied singing of lucky gambling songs by the players, and the excited buzz of comment which followed each guess of wé or tep'.[45]

Witcli, E, C, a man's gambling game. The implements consist of small sticks, thirty-five or forty in number, each about three inches

[45] Powers, Tribes of California, p. 190.

long and a little larger than a match. They may be made either of wormwood (gapulá) or of buckbrush (pucuitál). A number of counters are also used. Formerly eight was the number, now it is twelve. The counters are about eleven inches long by one-half inch in diameter.

There is a pot in which everyone who wishes puts something of equal value. The player holding the sticks takes a bunch of them in his hand and holds it in front of him. Someone then guesses whether there is an odd or even number of sticks above groups of four. The guess is either yet' (odd) or pon (even). If there were twelve or fourteen sticks in the player's hand, pon would be the correct guess, since four is divisible into twelve exactly three times, or in the case of fourteen, three times with two (an even number) left over. If there should be thirteen or fifteen sticks in the hand, yet' would be correct, since there would be one over in the first case, and three over in the second.

Games of Chance (Pure Chance)

Mlaick'a, C; Gadiaga, E (gadaik ga, agree game). This is a woman's game. Men never play, as there is a tradition that it was made for women. Six sticks, each about eight inches long by one inch wide, are used. They are made of willow and are flat on one side and round on the other. They are held together in the hand and thrown, dice fashion, along the ground. Counts are made as follows: three face up round, three face up flat—one counter. If all face up the same way—two counters. Any other combination loses the dice. Game is played to eight or twelve points to the pot as usual.

Kulu, E; ya ka, C (bone game). This game is like dice, except that it is played with a deer knuckle. There are four sides to it. If it falls on either knuckle end the thrower gets two sticks. On the narrow end, one stick. If the bone falls on the flat side the thrower loses dice. Game played to twelve sticks for pot. The game is said to be aboriginal.

Gambling Superstitions

Gambling was always done in the sweat houses. Women were admitted at the times when gaming was going on. The women, however, had always to watch from the sides, and never from in back of the men. No one was allowed to pass in back without enquiry; it might be a menstruating woman or a poisoner.

The preparations for gambling were similar to those for hunting. One got mana by means of charms, stayed away from women, cleaned up, and sang kanu, C (charm) songs.

There were many ways in which a man might get mana (gha dŏŏlki, E; kaocal, C) for gambling. A man might go to a particular rock, or anything unusual, such as a mountain plant that grows in the valley. He takes the leaves of the plant, rubs his arms, and prays E:

Hio!	banex[46]	bae	ui	
	lucky streak	happen	me	
tai	bae	ha	gada	huilyal
win	will happen	I	opponent	him

The man neither names the rock or plant, nor does he pray to any god. He always leaves a small sacrifice, such as about eight beads. Gambling charms were sometimes taken by the East Pomo from trees which had been struck by lightning.[47] Pieces of wood were taken off from the black spot where the lightning had struck, and brought home wrapped in buckskin. The name of this kind of charm was Xonu. It had to be prepared with prayers and songs in order to make it full of mana. When the man gambled he first rubbed his hands with herbs in order to insulate them. Then he prayed and rubbed the charm on his hands. This gave him banex (good luck).

A man who had small children would not use this charm because it was too dangerous. In fact, a man who had small children usually refrained altogether from gambling for fear that he might come in contact with the dangerous charms used by other men. The following story illustrates this point:

There was a certain man who was in the habit of going up Uncle Sam's mountain and collecting angelica root (baqo') for gambling charms. This man would make himself pure and then climb the mountain early in the morning. Upon arriving he would make a hole and place a stick upright. From the ends of the stick he stretched out lines like the shrouds of a ship; one going north, one south, one east, and one west, and on each string he placed some wampum.[48] After this he took some angelica and went back to the camp. On his return trip he never looked back. He would go away, sit down, then go a little way farther, and again sit down. He would rest four times in

[46] When receiving good luck it is banex. If one speaks of a charm being lucky, it is bitex.

[47] Things connected with the thunder god were considered very potent among the Pomo.

[48] These offerings were probably to the gods of the four directions. The Pomo often placed their wampum sacrifices on long strings, since in this manner they could attach very few beads to a string, and thus deceive the spirits.

this manner and when he got to the camp he always hung the angelica in the branches of a tree where it would be well aired.

One day this man made the trip according to his custom, and when he was approaching the camp on his return he happened to pass near a young child, only a week old. Just as he passed the child he became conscious that he had done something wrong. The child immediately began to breathe fast and then froth at the mouth. Presently it had convulsions and half an hour afterwards it was dead. The man kept his unwitting murder a secret, and it was only after many years had passed that he confided the story to my informant.

The Coast Pomo had similar preparations for gambling. A man took a bath early in the morning of the day that he was to gamble and rubbed himself all over with pepperwood leaves. This was always done, but it was done with the greatest care after contact with women. Both hunters and gamblers did this in order to acquire mana.

The Coast Pomo also used charms for gambling. Anything unusual could be used, such as a white, forked rock. These charms, however, did not have mana in them until they were sung over by a person who knew the proper songs. It was only in this way that mana (kaocal, C) could be induced. If a man did anything wrong, such as breaking a menstruation taboo, it spoiled his mana.

Games of Dexterity

When men played the games of dexterity they always lined up according to their sides in the sweat house. Gambling was not an essential part of these games, and in most cases the playing for stakes was introduced at a late period. Mana is not mentioned as essential for success in games of skill.

Pi k'o, E; pukun hai, C, shinny stick. In the game as described for the East Pomo, any number of men constituted a side. Often the sides were East and West, as in the sweat house, and they held together for about a year. Gambling in this game was a modern innovation. Each player had a straight stick some four feet long by an inch and a half in diameter. In more modern times a crooked stick like a golf club was used. The ball was made from the knob that grew under the bark on exposed roots of the California laurel. This knob was cut out and placed in hot ashes for a week or two in order to harden it. If a ball of this sort could not be had, the knee bone of an elk or the knob from the pelvic bone was used. The knob was burned off for use.

Goal lines were drawn from one-fourth to one-half of a mile apart. On each of these goal lines two green saplings were set six or eight feet apart with the tops bent inward and lashed together, making an arch. The object of the game was to drive the ball through the goal defended by the opposing team. One goal constituted a game.

If a player had the opportunity he might pick up the ball and bat it like a baseball in the direction of the opponent's goal. If, as was usually the case, others were crowding close to the ball, he could bat it along the ground.

As can readily be seen, this game was very trying to the players' endurance. The teams often became completely exhausted, and it was no uncommon thing for players to faint from overexertion. At the conclusion of the game a plunge was taken in the lake or creek.[49]

The coast people made use of a net stick instead of the plain stick used on the lake. Two hazel sticks were attached with a net on the end, st'im, C, and the ball was dragged along. When the coast tribes first came over to the lake and made use of these nets it was thought highly unfair.

Hai cumuk mak, E (stick pull from-one-another). This game was a local variation of shinny. Two men first grabbed hold of a stick about six feet long made of red willow. The men held the stick sitting down and with their feet placed one against the other. After some striving one of the two men succeeded in wresting the stick from his opponent. He then started to run, holding the stick above his head. The men on the opposing side tried to grasp the stick from him.

There were two goals. These were upright sticks, about six feet high, and two inches in diameter. They were placed on each end of the field, about a hundred yards apart. The man with the stick tried to carry it to his goal while the opponents tried to take it away from him. "Interference" was made use of, since the men on the side of the stick carrier tried to down their opponents and clear the field for their runner. The object was to strike the stick against the goal. If either side did this, it won the game and called out yi!

Dakiro, E (hoop game). The men from the east and west side of the sweat house lined up for this game.

The implements used were a stick four or five feet long for each player, and a hoop about a foot in diameter made of split oak which was bent when green, then hardened in hot ashes. It was made of two concentric strips with the joints opposite and lashed together.

[49] Powers, Tribes of California, p. 151, has a description of this Pomo game of "tennis." Evidently Powers saw a modernized version of the game, for he mentions high betting and the extensive participation of women in the game.

The two sides lined up about fifty feet apart. A player from one side rolled the hoop as hard as he could at the other side. Some member of the opposing side had to catch the hoop on his stick without letting the stick touch the ground. If he succeeded it counted one score for his team. The first side threw again until someone missed. When a miss was made, a player on the side which missed had to throw the hoop at the other side, whose turn it was to catch.

Twelve scores constituted a game. Gambling on a small scale was practiced with this game. The game is said to have been unknown to the Coast people.

Individual Field Sports

Field sports were for men only. There was no line-up in the field sports into east and west sides.

Xai po'doi, E (pole leap). This was a distance pole vaulting contest. The pole was about twelve or fourteen feet in length. The contestants ran to a take-off which was marked. As the vaulter left the ground at the take-off he did not relinquish his pole as is done by modern vaulters. The pole was not released on landing. The distance was measured from the take-off line to the landing spot. This sport was not known to the Coast people in former times.

Batsui yai pun, E (spear with target). The spear which played a part in this game was made from a straight stick five or six feet in length with a hole bored in one end and a hardwood point inserted. The target consisted of a bundle of tule about eight or ten inches in diameter and four feet high. The target was stood on end. The contestants stood off at a distance of twelve or fifteen yards and threw the spear with an overhand motion. If the target was struck, the thrower obtained one point. If the opponent did likewise, the points of each were canceled. Twelve points constituted a game. There was some betting on results.

P'un, E (target). This game is really archery. The target was made as follows: an arch just wide enough for two arrows to fit in was made of green oak and set in the ground in front of a bundle of tule about a foot high and an inch and a quarter wide. The archers knelt some twelve or fifteen yards distant. Scores were made as follows: If the arrow hit the bundle of tule outside the arch, the archer scored one point. If he hit inside the arch, he scored two points. Archers shot alternately. If an opponent hit in the same way, it discounted the score of both. If one hit in the arch and one in the tule bundle, the man who hit in the arch got only one count. Twelve points won the

game. Gambling was practiced on a small scale. Sometimes with good archers competing only one tule stalk was used, they could hit such a target about three times out of five.

Batig'al, kalkaiyue, E. This was long distance archery. For this contest special arrows (kalbati) were made of green buttonwillow which was drawn down by rubbing until hardened. The heat caused by the friction toughened the wood which did not lose weight as it would have done had it been allowed to dry out. The bow used was also of special construction. It was longer than the ordinary hunting bow and was made of very stiff seasoned dogwood. The bow was called ghacumui.

In shooting, the bow was held diagonally, and the distance measured to the spot where the arrow fell. Some of the best archers were able to shoot over three hundred feet.

Various kinds of diving contests were engaged in. A diving contest was called lup', E. Plunging, or seeking to see who could go the farthest, was called camul diyan (seeking to go). In high diving the man won who dived off the highest bank. High jumping was called kai wi nadai gup. Broad jumping was not indulged in.

Foot racing (wel, E) seems to have had something of the sacred aspect which it enjoys in the southwest. Foot races were always held at the time of the pole ceremony. The men from the visiting villages acted as contestants. The course was about four miles. Other field sports were indulged in whenever there was an inter-village feast.

Wrestling was called gho nim mauk, E (laying down each other). One man would place his hands in front of him for protection, while his opponent would try to trip him up and lay him on his back. When the man was down the contest was ended.

Boxing was unknown.

Bihia gamuk mauk, E (hand twist each other). This was a form of Indian jiu jutsu. Two opponents grabbed each other by the little finger, and tried to twist each other's hand. They stood at arm's length from one another.

There was only one form of contest to which women were admitted. This was a sort of tug-of-war called cuwile, E. A line of women stood up against a line of men. The men held each other by the waists, and the women held each other by the waists. At the call of "cuwile" they all started in to pull. Sometimes the men would suddenly let go, so that the women would fall down exposing their legs. The older men and women were placed at the heads of their respective lines so that the younger members of the two sexes would be kept separate.

Children's Games and Toys

Acorn tops were called bice ku tirltirl, E (deer whirling about). The name has a story in explanation. A deer once tried to pick up an acorn, but missing it, he caused the acorn to whirl about. Both children and grown up people played with these tops. A small stick was inserted into the whole acorn. The stick was then twirled between the two hands. The object was to see who could spin the top the longest. On the coast these tops were called pidutṣati and had no connection with the deer name.

Batsui nelXale, E (arrow to-throw), the skating arrow. When played by boys, the game was as follows: An arrow, about three feet long and three-fourths of an inch in diameter, was made of red willow or boxwood. Designs were placed on the arrow by charring through the bark, and then peeling the bark off. The game was usually played in the springtime. A low mound, such as one formed by a squirrel hole, was located. The object of the contest was to throw the arrow in such a manner that it would glance off this mound and travel a considerable distance on the other side. The arrow was thrown in a manner very similar to that employed by the Polynesians in throwing the tika or dart, that is, from the shoulder, using the index finger as the propelling force. The boy whose arrow traveled the farthest won; the boy whose arrow traveled the shortest distance got a crack on the "crazy bone" of his elbow from each of the other players. If he lost twice, he got two blows from each, and so on until he stopped playing. It was considered a sign of weakness to stop for this reason. Consequently the players often came in with their arms numb and swollen from this treatment.

Girls played this game in a slightly different manner. They used an arrow about twice the length of that employed by the boys, and very much more flexible. The arrow was placed on the mound, bent over, and allowed to spring off.

The game of gliding arrow was also played on the coast, where it was called miluika.

When boys and girls were very young they were allowed to play together.

Dá tutc was a ball game for both young boys and girls played by the Eastern Pomo. A ball, made of tule fiber and a trifle smaller than a baseball, was used. The players formed in a ring. Someone would start the game by tapping the ball up inside the ring. Another player

would tap it up again as the ball came down near him. When a player missed or tapped the ball out of the ring, he was eliminated. The game continued until only one player was left.

Boys and girls also played tag, both on the land and in the water.

Heaha. A Coast game for small boys and girls. The object was to see how far you could go and come back on one leg.

Tcim. A Coast game for small boys and girls. The boy or girl lay down in the sand and dug small holes in a line with a feather. As he did this he called out "tcim tcim tcim." The object was to see how far he could go without drawing a breath.

Boys and girls each had their own games which were played in imitation of their future vocations.

Thus little boys on the coast used to throw sticks into the rivers, and pretend that they were catching salmon. They also practiced shooting with small bows and arrows.

Girls played with dolls (kudji, C (children); padok, E).[50] The dolls were made of wild parsnip tops, or were images of clay. They were made to talk to one another, or were taken into the dancing house where they were made to dance.

Sweat House Festivities

The principal game enjoyed in the sweat house was the competitive sweating already alluded to in the discussion of sweat house seating arrangement. This game was always played when visitors came to the village, the visitors taking sides according to their home seatings.

A huge fire was built in the sweat house and the men all took their respective places. Each side had a number of men with fans. They wielded the fans in an endeavor to send as much heat as possible to the opposite side. The heat was called mush (to'o, E). The men taunted one another, saying, "You can't eat as much mush as I can." When one of the fanners left, it was an acknowledgment of defeat. Often they stayed until completely out of their heads from the effects of the heat. It was said of a man who was in this condition, "He has eaten too much mush."

As soon as the flames died down the men ran to the water for a short plunge. Then they returned to the sweat house and sat around the

[50] The Eastern word for the bull roarer was *kalimatoto padok,* or doll of Thunderman. The bull roarer was, however, every bit as sacred among the Pomo as among the Australians. It would therefore have been altogether out of the question for the Pomo children to have played with the bull roarer as the Maidu children did.—Dixon, Northern Maidu, p. 209.

embers. It was at this time that they really sweated. While the flames of the fire were hot their skins were quite dry, but after the plunge and while they were sitting in the warm air of the sweat house, the perspiration ran from their bodies in streams.

Social gatherings, feasts of a purely social nature, were frequently held either in the sweat house or in the home. These were generally arranged by a group of young men who went on a special hunting trip to get such game as they could for the occasion. Everyone contributed something in the way of food or money. Such a gathering often lasted for a day and a night. The day was devoted to playing games, and the night time to singing. A singer, either male or female, was paid with wampum to furnish the singing. When men sang the feast was called duwe, E (night). Sometimes two or three men, who were called helema (singers), were hired to sing. The leader was called Xe mihia (song throat). The men in the sweat house gathered around the singers in a circle, while the women listened in. The men first ate pinole or mush, then they turned the wooden containers over and beat time on them.

Sometimes a woman was hired to furnish the singing. This kind of feast was called ghagho ma Xe, E (field earth song), pakóma ke, N. Only one woman sang. She had a quivering voice and sang special songs. The men danced around the woman singer and called out "he he he." They shook their hands in front of the woman, peered at her grotesquely, and attempted to make her laugh. At the end of every song the men cried "hī ī ē," and clapped their hands. The woman singer was called ghagho ma Xe mihia, E.

This kind of feast was sometimes given in response to a vow for a sick person's recovery.

10. CALENDAR, ASTRONOMY, AND COUNTING

Calendar

The Pomo had both a descriptive calendar and a numeral type of calendar. Since the Pomo year had either twelve or thirteen lunar months, it has been suggested that an attempt was made to correlate an essentially lunar calendar with the solar year.[51] This was true among the Pomo, for their timekeepers were acquainted with methods of determining the solstices. The year as such, however, began in mid-winter and was marked by the first cold or frost around what is our November or December.

[51] Cope, Calendars of the Indians north of Mexico, p. 140.

The Pomo divided the year into four unequal seasons. The Eastern Pomo called the year ma ainal (one food) and named the seasons as follows:

EAST POMO SEASONS

Spring, gai Xoa gax, earth went out.
Summer, muta winal, sunlight over.
Fall, al puběx, anything falling.
Winter, Xutsai: This word was used in referring either to the winter or to the whole year, probably connected with the fact that their year began and ended in the winter season.

The new year commenced when the last, or thirteenth moon was completed. This took place either in November or December. If the thirteen moons ran beyond this time, a spring moon was dropped in the next year.

I was unable to obtain the names of the months from my North and Central Pomo informants. The names of the seasons correspond closely to the East Pomo calendar. The Central Coast Pomo, however, began their year in the springtime.

NORTH POMO SEASONS

Spring, ma homo, everything green.
Summer, múlamonel, hot light.
Fall, ma'acuwemo, everything ripe.
Winter, kitsama'a, commence now.

CENTRAL COAST POMO SEASONS

Spring, tcido mit, flower time.
Summer, mtai nal, light(?).
Fall, sital cal, leaves fall.
Winter, qutsáma. Informant stated that this was a foreign word and he did not know the meaning (cf. North Pomo).

Thus the Pomo recognized their seasons as we do; for instance, spring began when the flowers and grasses appeared, or as E, "earth let them go out."

The following is the numerical count of moons among the East Pomo with their probable meanings:

lal xadatsám, month commences.
xol tci nai merim, twice to lie.

(This was explained by the fact that the moon seems to them to be lying in the sky.)

Now commence counting with the fingers, first with the thumb.

Thumb month,	tsawal	bihya	lal	merim,	thumb
	perch (fish) or thumb	hand	moon	lie	

(finger) moon to lie.

Second finger month, dusut bihya lal merim.

Third finger month, dile bihya lal merim.

Fourth finger month, bihya dol lal merim.

Little finger month, bihya gutc lal merim.

Eighth month, hogodolba lal merim, eighth moon to lie.

Ninth month, hadagalc'om lal merim, ninth moon to lie.

Tenth month, hadagaldirk lal merim, tenth moon to lie.

Eleventh month, hadagal na q'ǻli lal merim, ten over one times the moon to lie.

Twelfth month, hadagal na xotc lal merim, ten over two times the moon to lie.

Thirteenth month, hadagal na xomq'a lal merim, ten over three times the moon to lie.

In ordinary conversation the moons were often spoken of in the following manner, starting with the first moon in the winter and continuing through the thirteenth:

First moon or month.—The moon after this moon[52] it will be hard to go out and hunt game.

Second month.—The moon after this moon the fish won't come to shore.

Thumb month.—The moon after this moon fish will begin to come out.

Second finger month.—The moon after this moon there will be better weather, can hunt, fish, etc.

Third finger month.—The moon after this moon you can get clover, etc.

Fourth finger month.—The moon after this moon the fish begin to run, we will move nearer the lake.

Little finger month.—The moon after this moon we will be moving back, packing the fish, etc.

Eighth month.—The moon after this moon if the moon is good we will go to Bodega Bay and get shells.

Ninth month.—The moon after this moon we will go home and men will be sent out to find good acorn crops.

Tenth month.—The moon after this moon we will be camping and gathering acorns.

Eleventh month.—The moon after this moon we will still be gathering acorns.

Twelfth month.—The moon after this moon we will finish with the acorns, move home, and get settled again.

Thirteenth month.—The moon after this moon we will be settled and resting for there will be nothing to do.

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[52] The Pomo always reckoned one moon ahead.

The responsibility of running and keeping account of the calendar among the East Pomo rested with the head of the secret society (yomta). Around the first cold weather in November or December he watched the moons and announced to the people which was the first moon. At this time he collected thirteen sticks of equal size and about the circumference and length of an ordinary pen. These he placed side by side and wove together with strings, over and under, employing a double twine stitch. When this had been completed, he took out one stick and placed it aside. Then he announced to the people that this was the first month. When the next moon appeared he took out another stick and placed it aside. This continued at the appearance of every moon throughout the year.

Besides the thirteen sticks, there was another bundle of eight a little larger and with some mark to differentiate them from the first series. They were woven together in the same manner. When a year was completed, that is, when the thirteen sticks had been separately laid aside, one was taken from the bundle of eight, and so on, until the thirteen sticks had been used eight times. Then came another bundle of eight woven together in the same manner. These were a little larger with a burned place on one end so that they could be distinguished from the others. When the bundle of thirteen sticks had been completed eight times, one stick was taken from the second bundle of eight, and so on until all of them had been removed; hence each one of these sticks meant that eight years had been completed.

Next came a third bundle of eight sticks. This was bound in the same manner as the other bundles, but the sticks were a little larger with both ends burned. Each one of these sticks stood for sixty-four years having been completed, totaling five hundred and twelve years.

The informant Benson, when a boy, saw the yomta of Ghulanapo keep track of the years with these sticks. The yomta had in his possession the third bundle of eight, but the informant does not know whether or not any sticks had been withdrawn. The yomta was said to have inherited the sticks from this mother's brother. The purpose of keeping track of the years among the Pomo, as among certain Plains tribes, was the dating of important events.

The yomta also kept track of the summer and winter solstice. The solstice was called ghamaluhu, or starting back. The yomta kept track of the solstices by observing over what part of a certain hill the sun rose. At the time of a solstice it was said that the sun rose four times over the same spot. If the thirteen-month year ran over the winter solstice, the yomta made the following year a twelve-month year.

The day itself was divided by the East Pomo according to a descriptive method:

Before dawn, Xa'a cughapgi (day appear).
Sun rise, la guk' (sun run).
Midday, damal dile (day middle).
Evening, before sunset, dano winá ditik (hill top sitting).
Sun down, la lilXaluhu (sun goes-over).
Gets dark, pitic gi (dust becomes).
Evening, duwe.
Dark, piti.
Night, duwena.
Midnight, duwedilel.
Before day, Xa'a Xaiyulal (day before).

When there is no moonlight the night is said to be duwel laduweX. When there is a moon the night is said be duwel lamutaX.

Astronomy

The sun is called la, E; da, C; da, N.

Among the Eastern Pomo there was a certain myth in which the sun said, "I will go down in peace, but when I go down, I will take something with me." The meaning of this was that the sun always took a soul with him when he went down. The Eastern Pomo had certain prayers which they offered to the sun. The Northern Pomo believed that the sun was malevolent, that he always kept his face turned towards the earth in order to see everything that went on, and that he punished people for their sins. If a person got sick from the sun, the sucking doctor diagnosed the case. Then the outfit doctor cured the sick person by making an image of the sun, and praying:

"I know you did this,
Give me man back again,
Give up, help me!"

When the outfit doctor was finished doctoring, he gave beads and feathers to the sun. The Coast Pomo did not believe that sickness came from the sun. The members of the secret society, however, prayed to the sun when they were doctoring.

The moon is called duwela, E; duwel da, N (night sun). The Coast Pomo call the moon laca, C. Among the East Pomo a crescent moon upside down was mentioned as unlucky because it did not hold water. Hence this period was looked upon as unfavorable to any undertaking, mainly, if not entirely, from the weather viewpoint. The

new moon, on the other hand, was thought to be unlucky because women were in menstruation at that time. At the time of a new moon the men did not like to go out and hunt. Among the North Pomo if a boy or man was taken sick the sucking doctors sometimes found out that the moon had married the man and wished to take him away. Then the outfit doctor made an image of the moon and prayed to her.

An eclipse of the sun is called lalal bu raghal ranea, E (sun got bit bear); petaka ya da kanu, C (grizzly-bear now sun bite).

When an eclipse either of the sun or moon occurred it was thought that the heavenly orb was being overpowered by a bear. The people then went up on the hills, clapped their hands, and shouted ho, ho, ho! This was in order to drive away the bear.

The Eastern Pomo call the milky way buraghal xama (bear foot). They say that a bear walked along it. The story relates that the bear walked across the sky and met the sun. The sun would not get out of the way of the bear, and the two had a fight. This made an eclipse of the sun. Then the bear met the sun's sister, the moon, and there was another fight. The Coast Pomo appear more lacking in imagination, for they simply call the milky way basol, C (many).

The Eastern Pomo call the Morning Star Xa'a da (day woman). Another name for it is Xa'a uia xo (morning eye fire), uiaxo is the common name for any star. The story about the Morning Star runs as follows:

Xa'a da was once a woman, in the days before the mythological flood. Presently the people became wicked, committing incest, etc. Xa'a da became disgusted and disappeared. After Xa'a da had left, the people were destroyed by the flood. But Xa'a da saved herself by mounting into the sky. She reappears every morning now to look over her people. The people had certain prayers to the Morning Star, which they chanted in the morning. This star aided in all events, such as hunting, which took place in the morning. The Evening Star, duwe da (night woman) was thought to be the younger sister of Xa'a da. The Coast Pomo call the Morning Star ka amul bate (star big).

The North Star is called guhula uiaxo, E. This star was thought to be the eye of the creator, Marumda, who kept a constant watch over his people. The people could tell their directions by means of this star.

The Big Dipper is called baghal, E. This was the name of a big stick with a hook which was used for the purpose of pulling down withered limbs from the trees. The yomta knew that during certain

months the Big Dipper stood erect in the east. At other months it was upside down. The fishermen on Clear Lake gauged the time of night by the position of the Dipper. It was necessary to know time during the night in order to predict the kind of fish that would bite.

The Pleiades are called baca latsó, E (buckeyes bunched up). These stars were never prayed to. The yomta knew the months in which the Pleiades would appear. The three stars under the Pleiades are called camul ibúi, E (sucker strong).

Shooting stars were thought to be fire dropping from the heavens.

In general, the knowledge of astronomy appears to have been far more developed among the Lake people than among the Coast people. Among the former, however, the knowledge was of an esoteric variety in the hands of the head of the secret society (yomta). It was this official who knew the fixed prayers to be addressed to the sacred stars, and who kept the heavens under his observation as an aid to calculating the calendar system.

The Enumeration System

"The Pomo are great counters. Their arithmetical faculties must have been highly developed. They counted their long strings of beads. Methods of measuring such as most California tribes use were probably also in vogue, but must have been less usual, since they have not been described."

Kroeber believes that the interest which the Pomo showed in counting developed from the wealth they acquired by being the principal purveyors of the standard disk currency to north-central California. The Pomo skill in counting was merely one of the many intellectual developments of the complex Pomo civilization.[53]

The divisions of the Pomo under consideration have a vigesimal system of counting. Twenty among the Eastern Pomo is called xai-di-lema-tek, a full stick, and in counting small amounts a stick is laid out for this primary unit. The numeral systems of the Pomo divisions from one to two hundred have already been explained in detail and need not be repeated here.[54] I see no reason, however, why Barrett stopped his investigation at two hundred. The Pomo do not stop at this figure, but are well able to continue counting indefinitely. The large counts run as follows among the Eastern Pomo:

[53] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 257.

[54] Barrett, Ethno-geography of the Pomo, pp. 65 ff. Dixon and Kroeber, Numeral systems of the languages of California.

80. dol-a-xai. 4 sticks.
100. lema-xai. 5 sticks.
200. hadagal-a-xai. 10 sticks.
300. xomka-mar-a-xai. 15 sticks.
400. kali-xai. First (big) stick.
500. kali-xai-wina-lema-xai. 400+5 sticks.
800. xotc-guma-wal. two (big) sticks.
2400. tsadi. (big) six.
3600. hadagal-com. Ten (missing).
4000. hadagal. Ten (big) sticks.

In counting large quantities of beads two methods are employed. According to the first, and older method, a small stick is laid out for every eighty beads. When five of these small sticks have been laid out, they are taken back, and a larger stick substituted for the Pomo large unit of four hundred. According to the second method a small stick is laid out for every hundred beads, four of these small sticks making the large unit. When four hundred has been reached the counting goes on in units of four hundreds until ten of the larger sticks have been used and four thousand beads have been counted. Now another group of ten sticks is prepared. They are all equal in size, a little larger than the former bundle of ten, and have some mark to distinguish them. Each stick represents four thousand. It must not be forgotten that while you are going on with each of these counts the previous bundle must be counted before you can "put out a new stick." Hence a great number of sticks are in use at one time. When each of these latter ten sticks have been counted, you reach the number forty thousand, xai-di-lema-xai. This is known as the "big twenty."

My informant, Benson, has himself seen counting in which five or six of the four thousand bead sticks were utilized. Large counts were commonly performed by the Pomo at the time of deaths and peace treaties. In a myth recounted by Barrett the first bear shaman gave forty thousand beads in pretended sympathy for the victim whose death he had caused.[55]

The Keeping of Records[56]

Knotted strings and sticks were the two means employed by the Pomo in the keeping of their records.

The Pomo kept a record of the number of days which it took to make a journey by tying knots in a string. Each knot stood for a

[55] Barrett, Pomo bear doctors, p. 449.

[56] The information concerning Pomo records was obtained by Miss Greiner from Benson, the East Pomo informant.

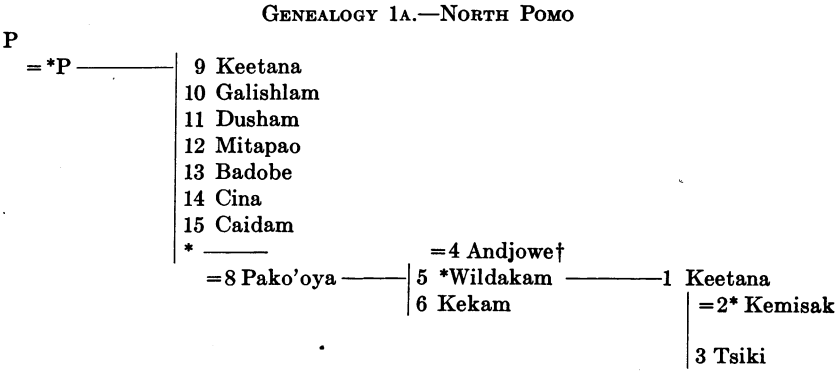
day's travel, the knots being tied at night while the Indians were in camp. A record of this kind would contain only four or five knots. This was called damálduyik, or day count.

The Pomo used both the stick method and the knotted strings for the purpose of keeping track of wampum exchanged at a treaty. Supposing that one group gave the other a peace offering of say twenty-four thousand wampum. The group which received the wampum made a record of the number of beads received. To do this they tied one knot in a string for every four hundred (kali hai) wampum received. This was used as a check on the tying together of the counting sticks. When sticks were used a certain small stick indicated one hundred wampum, and a larger stick four hundred wampum. The smaller stick measured one and three-quarters inches in length and the larger stick about three inches. The string record and the stick record were put away together in a bag and kept until the party returned the wampum to the original donors.

Barrett has described the custom of sending invitations to foreign villages to attend festivals by the means of invitation sticks. The messenger carried a bundle of sticks in his hair behind his right ear, and one of the sticks was broken off each day until the day of the festival.[57]

Bows were decorated with a man's individual mark in the form of a wavy line. Arrows bore no individual marks. Every arrow which killed a deer, however, received a small scratch just below the feathers as a matter of record.

GENEALOGY 1A.—NORTH POMO



* Females. † Reappears in another genealogy.

[57] Barrett, Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians, p. 402.

GENEALOGY 1B.—NORTH POMO

7 Galmadim
=*—— ——| 22 Galnoi
21 Katok
20 Ramon
4 Andjowe†
24 Tona
23 Bicemata
16 Jose
=17 Kalpokom —— 18 Galmadim
=19* Walupa

GENEALOGY 2.—EAST POMO

——| 40 Green
39 Cita
38* Ghalpitau
32 Tinorkaya
41 Bicecago = = (White man)
=42* Xepitau | 33* Ghepigul ——| 25* Huwem (Ghepigul)—| 30 Bicecago
(Ghepigul) —| 34 Ghalghanol | 26 Jose | 29* Ghalpitau
35 Bagancon | 29a* Ghalmuk | 27 Ghalganol
36* Gheghanol | 30a Majodugul =28* Wilake
37 Sapu =31* Ghalpitau

GENEALOGY 3.—EAST POMO

49 Xehulum
=*—— —— 47* Ghetali [110]‡—— 45* Cimada [111]——43 Xehulum [113]
= =44 Xelipu [112]
——| 46 Cingiti [109]
48 Hoskonda

GENEALOGY 4.—CENTRAL POMO

61* Kalebimen—| 58 Djaidam
=—— 59 Makaladja
60 Tsamodju
55* Wacman——| 52 Kumalo
= 51 Wakin
——| 54 Kalbanel 50 Djaska
56 Djaska =*—— —— 53 Kalbanel
57 Oistu

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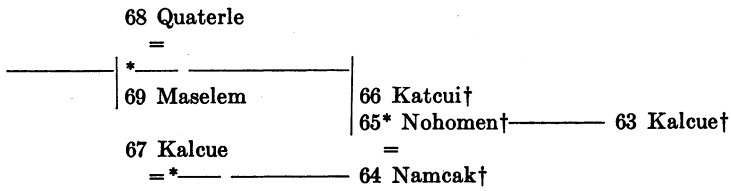
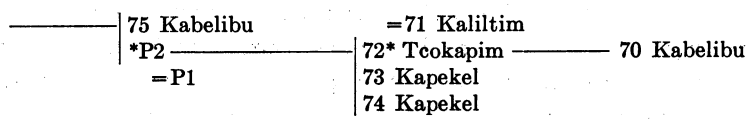
* Females. † Reappears in another genealogy.

‡ The numbers in brackets refer to Gifford's notations in Clear Lake Pomo Society, present series, XVIII, no. 2.

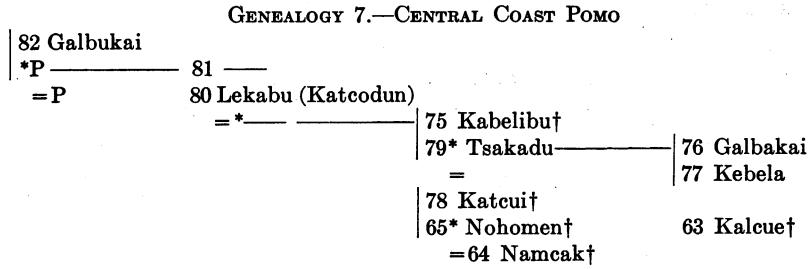
GENEALOGY 5.—CENTRAL COAST POMO



GENEALOGY 6.—CENTRAL COAST POMO



GENEALOGY 7.—CENTRAL COAST POMO



* Females. † Reappears in another genealogy.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CEREMONIES

The social organization of the Pomo was very simple. There appears to be no trace of any true clan or totemic grouping. The various villages looked upon themselves as tribes and each was an independent unit.

The location of the village and the territory regarded as the property of the tribe were determined purely by natural geographic divisions. The villages were rather definitely fixed and it appears that there was very little shifting of location and no strong nomadic tendency. The historic sites were for the most part occupied as far back as tradition will take us. The villages were usually scattered along a creek course with varying distances of a hundred yards or more between houses. There was no system of putting up houses excepting where a group of friends or relatives would build a rude row.

Among the East Pomo the largest village was said to belong to the "Rock Tribe" (xábe napo). In primitive times Benson stated that it had a population of about nine hundred. This village was located about two miles from Kelseyville on Kelsey creek. It was strung out for about two miles, with a ceremonial house at each end. Ceremonies would be held sometimes in one, sometimes in the other, but would always be conducted by the same men in either case.

The "Water Lily Tribe" (kuhlanapo) lived on the west side of the valley toward Lakeport (tsewic bidumi). The population as stated was about four hundred.

Most of the smaller tribes appear to have drifted in from outside. This is shown from historic examples, by tradition, or by comparison of dialects spoken. Thus the Komli and Lileek seem to have migrated, the former apparently from the Northern Pomo, and the latter from the Wappo.

The Xabenapo and Kuhlanapo appear to have been the oldest established tribes of the Big Valley region. The account of the manner in which the Scotts' Valley tribe immigrated to this region has been told in the last chapter.

1. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chieftaincy

Chieftainship among the Pomo was hereditary, with inheritance subject to the candidate's possessing the qualities of "goodness of heart," oratorical ability, and apparently sometimes, wealth.[58]

Chiefs were divided into two varieties: (1) those who were actually in power, and (2) those who by reason of descent were eligible to election.

Among the East Pomo the elected chiefs were called gaxalik puk, or gaxalik batin (big chief). The male relatives of the chiefs, usually sisters' sons, who were eligible to office, were called gaxalik kutci (boy chiefs). A large village, such as Cigom, had as many as three big chiefs at one time all enjoying equal power. Allegiance to the chiefs followed the Californian custom, being through relationship rather than through territorial ties.

Among the North Pomo the chiefs were called djakalĕ (man above). The larger villages had two or three unrelated chiefs. The boy chiefs were called ho djakale. They were always relatives of the big chiefs. My North Pomo informant (Bowen) stated, "All the people of the chief's family were called chief (djakalĕ) and they had to be careful how they acted. The sister or wife of the chief was called mata kale (woman above), and her son was called ho djakalĕ."

Among the Central Pomo the big chiefs were called tcayedūl baté, while the boy chiefs were called maláda tcayedūl (surrounding chiefs).[59]

At the village of Pdahau on the coast there were formerly five chiefs, three big chiefs and two boy chiefs. All five chiefs were called djaedul. The names of the head chiefs were Kabakel, Caiyam, and Djabuso. These three were called djaedul mate (chief big).

Among the Central Coast Pomo the same ceremony was performed for the making of chiefs as for the initiation of members into the secret society. Hence women members of the secret society were also chiefs. These women were called mata kaletc. They neither danced nor cured as did the male members of the secret organization, their duties were to look after and feed visiting women from other villages, and to make speeches along with the chiefs at times of festivities.

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[58] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society, present series, XVIII, 333.

[59] Barrett, The Ethno-geography of the Pomo Indians, p. 15.

No mention is made of actual women chiefs among the North or East Pomo.

Among the Southeastern Pomo there were so-called "chieftainesses" or *balakbutet*. Their only function seems to be to feed guests at ceremonial gatherings and also casual visitors. There are three at Sulphur Bank at present. Each is the daughter or granddaughter of a present-day chief, by whom she has been appointed to this office.[60]

Duties of Chiefs

The duties of the chief were many and various. He acted mainly as peacemaker and preacher. He settled quarrels, disputes, and decided the value of settlements. He was always an orator and made frequent speeches to his people on all current affairs and problems. Whenever any new undertaking was on foot, the chief went through the village talking loudly and telling the people what was to be done on the next day.

In Cigom, where there were three chiefs, the three acted jointly.

In matters of public interest the three chiefs of Cigom conferred and coöperated. If a ceremony was to be given and one of the chiefs chanced to be away, he was recalled. Then the three chiefs discussed their plans, assembled the people in the dance house, and talked about the proposed ceremony, each chief in turn standing by the center post and talking to the people. When a chief finished talking the people would shout: "Very well. It is good. O! O! O!"[61]

The chiefs had no mandatory power, and hence it is easy to understand the absence of any head chief in the large villages.[62] Both in speech and in action a chief had to follow stereotyped formula.

Boy chiefs made no speeches. Their main function was to act as aids to the big chiefs. In the formation of village councils the boy chiefs sat in with the big chiefs, and there had to be unanimous agreement before any project could be carried out. No action of any kind, however, was contemplated which was not in full accord with public opinion.

Big chiefs rarely, if ever, went hunting or fishing while in their own village. The chief either bought his food or had things given him by his relatives. He furnished, however, weapons and deer ropes

[60] Gifford, *op. cit.*, 342.

[61] Gifford, *op. cit.*, 338.

[62] The use of the word "head captain" by Barrett is unfortunate (The Ethno-geography of the Pomo Indians, p. 15). Barrett misunderstood the meanings of the native terms. There were only two varieties of chiefs among the Pomo, full chiefs, and boy chiefs. A man became a boy chief by right of family. If he proved competent he might later be elected a full chief.

for the hunt. The non-participation of the chief in active enterprise may have been due to his age, since a big chief was usually past his physical prime.

Chiefs were usually a little more wealthy than the common men. The relatives of the chief gave him extra wealth, since he had to trade with strangers, and compound war debts. He also had to put up the most money when ceremonial houses were built. According to some informants, the position of chief was not altogether a desirable one. The chief, however, derived certain material benefits from his position. He received a small revenue from the odd portions of the division of any product of community enterprise. To make such division was one of his official duties. When the members of several families or the entire village engaged in securing a quantity of food, it was brought to the chief for fair distribution. This he accomplished by awarding to each partner in the enterprise a measured portion as many times around as the store afforded, keeping for himself whatever remained insufficient for another allotment. In the case of hunting parties the meat was usually divided before being brought into camp, some relative of the chief making the distribution with due regard to both quantity and choiceness of cuts, and carrying the odd portion to his noble kinsman.

Since the chief, as guardian of the village, was confined to home labors, he always had a supply of wampum, belts, and similar articles which the other men had less time to make. They, on the other hand, frequently brought him presents of foodstuffs and hides, always expecting a gift in return.

Duties of Boy Chiefs (Captains)

The use of the term "boy chief" is somewhat misleading, although a literal translation of gaxalik kudci. Among the Pomo, according to Benson, a man was looked upon as a mere boy until the age of forty; between forty and sixty he was considered as a young man, and he did not reach man's estate until he was over sixty. It can therefore be readily seen that a "boy chief" was actually a mature man, while a "big chief" was a man well past his physical prime. The Pomo now refer to the "boy chiefs" as captains (El Capitán). It does not appear that the name of boy chiefs was mentioned in the statistical work of Gifford on the Pomo. The general statement was made, however, by the informant Benson, that there were as many boy chiefs as big chiefs in a village.

The duties of the boy chiefs consisted in acting as assistants to the chiefs. If there was to be a feast, everyone in the village would contribute food which they brought to a designated spot. It was the duty of the boy chiefs to distribute this. In the gathering of acorns, each family would usually gather its own. Sometimes, however, all the families would gather the acorns from a common area. The acorns would then be placed in a large pile which would later be divided and distributed by the boy chiefs. In hunting, the boy chiefs divided the animals killed by the party. If a deer were killed, the boy chief would divide it according to a definite system among all the members of the party. In the case of the chief's being absent from the village the boy chief performed his duties *pro tempore*. Should a stranger visit the camp or village during this time, it was the boy chief's duty to entertain and take charge of the visitor.

The Election of Big Chiefs

The succession of the candidacy for the position of big chief was in the mother's line.[63] Usually the chief's eldest sister's son would be chosen, but if some other in the line of descent were better fitted, he would become chief.

Among the Eastern Pomo, in the case of a nephew or other male member being lacking, the chief's niece was appointed. The chieftaincy title appears to have been more or less honorary in the case of women, the actual oratory and many of the duties being performed by some elder male relative.

In regard to the matter of election of chiefs, Jim Pumpkin, an Eastern Pomo informant, told Mr. Gifford that when there was a choice of candidates, as for example the sons of a chief, the people made the selection at a special gathering. Apparently the chief proposed the name of his successor and all the people agreed. If there was no direct heir, the chiefs and leading men of two or three tribes were called together and the retiring chief prepared a celebration. The old chief made gifts of wampum, blankets, furs, etc., and a big feast was held in the council house. During the feast, all the people in the village took out food, blankets, baskets, etc., and placed these articles in the ceremonial house around the base of the center post. The chief

[63] Of seven Eastern Pomo examples of succession to chieftaincy, four are from the mother's brother to the sister's son, two are from brother to brother, and one is from father to son.—Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society, present series, XVIII, 337.

then went outside and led in the man whom he had chosen as his successor. He led him in by the hand and seated him by the center post. The old chief then made a speech in which he described the virtues of his successor, and the policy which he would carry out during his term of office. He then formally presented his successor with his gift of wampum. The young man was now considered as the newly appointed chief, and his first duty was the distribution of the food about the center post.

The chief might resign whenever he saw fit, but he always remained an important and influential man. He was never deposed. There was one instance in which such an attempt was made but it failed. About 1860, Peter Beggs, an Eastern Pomo, learned to speak English. Since the Indians were thrown more and more into contact with the whites, some of the Pomo thought that Pete Beggs should be made chief because of his ability to parley with the whites. Old Hulio was the incumbent. A meeting was held in the council house, but tradition was upheld: the change was not made because, as the chief opponent to the change said, "Why should a man be made chief when his relatives are not chiefs?"

When a chief died, his last words were usually orders that all ceremonies and social gatherings should be carried out according to schedule, and so they were. If on the other hand a common man died, the chief ordered all ceremonies and merrymaking to stop for a short period during which time there was to be no dancing. Thus we have the peculiar situation of a tribe mourning the death of all excepting one of their leading men.

There was a certain amount of religious ceremony connected with the assumption of the office of big chief among the Eastern Pomo, and probably among the North Pomo as well. This resembled the initiation into the secret society, but was enacted in the home of the novice chief, and not secretly in the hills. The day before the assumption of office the novice chief was sweated over a small fire built in his own house. He bathed the next morning. After this the head of the secret society (yomta) came in to say prayers and administer the oath of office. The novice promised that he would take care of the village, be friendly to everyone, do no wrong, always take strangers into his house and give them food and drink. Then the yomta took angelica in his hands, blew on it, and rubbed the novice with the herb. Finally the yomta made a mixture of small red pine seeds (quacip), turtle eggs, and angelica. These he blew upon, chewed in his mouth,

and then offered them to the novice for further mastication. After this the arms and legs of the novice were rubbed down with the mixture. This was done for the purpose of giving mana.

Among the Northern Pomo when a man was made a big chief everybody had to pay him on the first day of his tenure of office. They went out and killed twenty or thirty deer, and presented them to the new chief. Then they bought their deer meat back again. This was done for the purpose of making the chief a rich and important man. After this first day only the chief's family hunted for him. He had to buy food from other members of the village.

Among the Eastern Pomo the people also hunted for the chief on the first day of his office. The chief, however, had to pay for the meat, which he then distributed among the people. After this every time that the chief bought meat he had not only to pay for it, but also to give away a little of the food to the sellers.

The Central Coast Pomo had elaborate ceremonies which were participated in by the men and women destined to become chiefs and members of the secret society. These ceremonies will be described in the chapter on religion.

The following is an account given by Benson (Ghalganal), an Eastern Pomo informant, to Mr. Stirling. It relates how the former was made chief of his tribe. The account is lacking in certain small details, which I have inserted. No mention is made of the initiation by the yomta, although Benson assured me that this took place.

The word for chief is gaxalik (sitting heavy); but in the case of a woman you say daxalik; if there is no man in the line of inheritance a woman becomes chief.

My uncle (mother's brother) Jose was a chief; my grandfather was also a chief; his name was Bagancon;[64] he was a very old man, over eighty years of age; I was then nineteen. My uncle was younger, about sixty; he used to tell me a lot of things; he and my grandfather used to call me and make me sit down and they would speak to me about many things and teach me songs and how to make speeches. Of course I was respectful and I listened but I didn't pay much attention, for my mind was off on other things—I was thinking about baseball. I was young, I was only nineteen and it never entered my mind what they were up to, that they had decided to resign their post and make me chief. They were getting old, you see, and they thought a younger man should take charge of the people; but there was no one else in line excepting myself.

Well, one time my grandfather told me to stay in the next Sunday, because we had a team and I used to be very fond of baseball; he said that he would need me. He made me purify myself the night before and that day he made

[64] Bagancon was really a great-uncle on the mother's side. The Eastern and Northern Pomo call the elder brother of the grandfather "grandfather." Bagancon was a retired chief, although he still made speeches.

me sit with him by the fire. He kept me there a long time telling me all sorts of things about our people. I began to get uneasy, I didn't know what he was up to, but I knew that something was being prepared. I noticed my uncle going in and out and talking to the people outside, so I guessed that they were preparing a feast; I was fasting, of course, and I was hungry and I began to think of the good things there would be to eat.

Then my grandfather told my uncle, "All right, go and tell the people to get ready." Then he said to me, "Son, I am getting old, I have taken care of our people for a long time; I have always tried to do good and to do what is right; I have kept away from quarrels and I have made peace; I have not said bad words; I have gone around among our people and told them good words, what is right and what is good. Now I am an old man, and your uncle also is old." I was sitting between the two men, and each of them took my hand. Then my grandfather continued, "We have decided to give you our post. Now you are the chief of our people and from now on you must take care of them as we have." When he said that I began to feel dizzy, and I started to tremble; I was afraid, and things began to swim around my head and I couldn't see clearly. Then my grandfather undid his shirt, and putting his hand inside his bosom he fumbled around in there; he was a very old man and his hand trembled; then he began to pull out a string of wampum; and it came and it came, more and more of it, yards and yards of it, I have never seen so much wampum. Then my uncle went to a corner of the room and he brought out his wampum, and there was also a lot of this. Then my grandfather tied together the ends of both strings, so that it made now only one string. After this he started to coil it on his arm, slowly, coil after coil, coil after coil, and when he was through he could hardly lift it; he was a very old man; but he lifted it and put it around my neck and then he said, "Son, this is the wampum of our people, this belongs to our people; with it we have taken care of our people for all these years; now you must take charge of it and care for our people as we have. Now we will go and tell the people." And they led me out between them, each holding me by the hand, and took me to the sweat house where the people were assembled.

My grandfather made a long speech in the sweathouse; he spoke for about twenty minutes; oh, how he could speak! the words just flowed and flowed, so easy, so smooth; he was a great speaker. Then he led me four times around the room. Then he said to the people, "This is the wampum with which we have taken care of our people; now we have given it to him as a sign that we resign our post to him." Then he told me to make a speech. But I was so scared that I could hardly see what was in front of me. I made a speech but I don't know what I said; I think I didn't even then while I was speaking.

That's how I was made a chief. I acted as chief for some years; I got used to making speeches; but things began to change; the people have been losing their customs and I was glad enough to drop out of it gradually; it was too much responsibility. But they know that I was made a chief, especially the old ones; there are many of them who remember when I was made a chief. But I don't talk about it, I don't claim to be a chief although I have the right to. There would be people who would say, "What right has he to call himself our chief?" Our people are losing the old customs and they don't need chiefs any more.

Succession to Office

All the divisions of the Pomo which I have investigated have expressed the opinion that chieftainship, membership in the secret society, the office of outfit doctor or shaman, and the true professions run in certain families. Names are also said to be family property. The rule for succession in all cases is said to be matrilineal, providing that suitable successors can be found in the female line. Benson (Eastern Pomo) also stated that the reason for the loss of certain knowledge by his people was the dying off of family lines.

In order to arrive at a scientific proof or disproof of these assertions, Gifford has gathered together statistics from certain village censuses from the North, East, and Southeast Pomo. The results of Gifford's investigations prove that chieftainship runs in families, following matrilineal descent, but ". . . . the preponderance of evidence is clearly against any hard and fast rule of membership in the secret society running in families." Concerning occupations, including shamanism, Gifford states that "the data indicate a certain amount of transmission of occupations from father to son and from maternal uncle to sororal nephew. There seems, however, no reason to believe that functional families existed such as W. C. McKern describes among the Valley Patwin." The transmission of names, according to Gifford, followed a patrilineal pattern, "Six out of eight namesakes belong to the paternal grandparent generation; two in the maternal grandparent generation."

Now there are certain advantages and also certain disadvantages to be gained from gathering statistics from a village census. On the one hand, a greater array of material may be obtained in Californian Indian work by this method than by purely genealogical inquiry. The principal disadvantage of the village census lies in the fact that it reveals conditions only at a certain set period of time. Thus in the matter of membership in the secret society, Gifford has furnished evidence only as to transmission between adjacent generations, father to son, uncle to maternal nephew. Yet I have reason to suspect that transmission often skipped a generation and went from maternal granduncle to nephew. In fact, the sole genealogical record which Gifford obtained, that from his informant Jim Pumpkin, revealed "the best example of extensive secret society membership within a family. His matutsi (secret society) relatives were his father, mother, mother's father, and mother's mother." I also found that the mother's

father's brother was a secret society member. In order, therefore, to supplement Gifford's investigations I am submitting certain genealogical records taken from the Eastern, Northern, Central, and Coast Central Pomo. While the matter of succession to chieftainship is the particular subject under discussion, the reader will be referred back to these genealogies for concrete data in connection with other matters.

Succession to Chieftaincy and Professions[65]

The first genealogy was obtained from the informant Charley Bowen (Keetana), an outfit doctor now residing on a reservation above Ukiah. He was born in Redwood valley (Kátelbidak), North Pomo territory. His father (4) came from Willits (Tsaká) and his mother (5) from Centerville (Canel). The only chief given in this genealogy is Galishlam (10). This man was a big chief, but not a member of the secret society. Since there are no further chiefs mentioned in this list, the rule of succession cannot be determined upon. Galishlam is said to have had three wives at the same time, names unknown. My informant said that chiefs and important men among the North Pomo often had more than one wife before the white people came.

The professions given were as follows: (3) singer, (8) net maker, (12) bead maker, (13) bead maker, (15) fireman, (22) bead maker, (23) deer hunter, (24) fireman. It will be noted that two brothers and a maternal nephew were bead makers. The position of fireman entailed the duties of keeping the sweat house and ceremonial house supplied with fuel and other necessities. The man holding this position was not a member of the secret society. In this genealogy the position was handed down from uncle to maternal nephew.

The second genealogy was obtained from William Benson (Ghalganal). Benson now resides at the Ukiah rancheria. He was born at Soda bay near Lakeport, East Pomo territory. His mother's people, four generations back, were forced to migrate from North Pomo territory. The succession to chieftainship has already been given for this genealogy. Numbers (35), (26), and (27) were chiefs, the office descending in every case from uncle to maternal nephew. None of these chiefs are known to have been members of the secret society. The professions given were as follows: (32) fisherman, (34) worker in beads and feathers, (39) fisherman. In this genealogy two brothers were fishermen. The informant (27) learned how to work in beads and feathers from his great-uncle (34).

[65] The occupation of doctor, although listed as one of the true professions, is omitted for the time being.

The third genealogy will be omitted for the present. It contains the names of no chiefs, nor does it give any clues as to succession in profession.

The fourth genealogy was furnished by Captain Jack (Djaska), now residing at the Hopland rancheria. Captain Jack was born at Canel, and he and his people were Central Pomo. Numbers (56) and (50) were chiefs. Number (57), the younger brother of (56), was a boy chief (leicman); (57) was also a hunter of deer. In this genealogy the office of chief descended from uncle to paternal nephew. None of the three chiefs were mentioned as being members of the secret society.

The fifth genealogy was obtained from Boston (Kalcue), now residing at Ukiah. Boston was born at Point Arena (Kabemo) and he and his recorded ancestors are Central Coast Pomo. In this genealogy numbers (63) and (66) were chiefs, the chieftainship descending from uncle to maternal nephew. Number (63) was a member of the secret society, but the uncle (66) was not. The informant (63) was made a member of the secret society by his maternal grandfather (68).

The sixth genealogy was obtained from Drew (Kabelibu), now residing at Point Arena. Drew was born at Pdahau and is a Central Coast Pomo. The father (71), however, came from Rock Pile (Kubahmoi) and was a South Coast Pomo. The mother (72) and her people came from Tsidopate and were Coast Central Pomo. Kabekel (74) has already received mention as the hero of the Stewart Point war (p. 210).

Numbers (70), (75), and (74) were chiefs and also members of the secret society. The succession to the chieftainship went in every case from the maternal uncle to the nephew. Number (71) was a deer hunter, but due to the coming of the whites he did not hand down his profession.

The seventh genealogy was obtained from Steve Parish (Galbakai), now residing at Point Arena. Parish was born at Pdahau and is a Central Coast Pomo. The father (78) came from Point Arena (Kabemo). The mother (79) came from Boomville (Lemkolil). The father of (79) came from Boomville and the mother from Tsidopate. In this genealogy numbers (63) and (70) were chiefs and members of the secret society. If it had not been for the coming of the whites the informant would have been made a member of the secret society through (82), (81), (70), and a chief through (70).

Polygamy was practiced among the Central Coast Pomo. The chief Kabekel (74) had two wives at the same time. The wives resided

with their mothers and Kabekel visited each in turn. This was in recent times. The informant stated that in ancient times three or four men in the village had more than one wife, and that there was no need of being either a rich man or chief in order to have more than one wife. Polygamy was not represented as an unalloyed blessing, and an instance was cited in which a man with three wives was put out of doors by each in turn, and finally forced to sleep in the sudatory.

SUMMARY

Insufficient concrete data were gathered on the succession to professions to establish proof of any rule. No data at all were obtained concerning the succession to the real professions of hunter and fisherman. One case appeared in which a fireman was succeeded by his sororal nephew, and one case in which a bead maker was succeeded by his sororal nephew. The art of working in beads and feathers was, in one case, taught by a maternal granduncle to his nephew. Judging from Gifford's results, further data would have also indicated a certain amount of transmission of occupations along the patrilineal line, especially from father to son.

The strong tendency toward matrilineal succession is better indicated in the succession to chieftaincy. Out of six clear-cut cases of succession to the office of big chief, five went from maternal uncle to sororal nephew, and only one from paternal uncle to fraternal nephew. Only one example of boy chief was given, the boy being the brother of a big chief. Out of the twelve chiefs whose names have been recorded only four were members of the secret society, while eight were non-members. The four chiefs who were members of the secret society all came from the Central Coast Pomo. One chief of the Central Coast Pomo, however, was a non-member.[66] Two of the chiefs recorded are said to have had more than one wife. One of these chiefs was a North Pomo man and one a Coast Central man. No instances of polygamy are recorded from the East Pomo, and my informant there said that polygamy was very much frowned upon by his people.[67]

[66] Gifford found that in the Eastern village of Cigom thirteen out of fourteen chiefs were secret society members. He therefore concludes that the chiefly office was somehow connected with the secret society. I myself cannot see just how this was true, excepting possibly on the coast, where the chiefs went through the secret society initiation before appointment to office.

[67] Gifford found no traces of polygamy either among the East or the North Pomo.

2. BIRTH, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

Methods of Obtaining Children

It does not appear likely that the Pomo had any conception of child begetting by the process of nature alone. Bowen, my North Pomo informant told me, "A woman can't get children simply by having sexual intercourse. She must do something else besides. She has to make use of a certain tree or rock, or the sacred dolls or bull snake. She must also pray." Drew, one of my coast informants, confirmed this statement. He even went so far as to state that his people in former times did not believe that sexual intercourse had anything at all to do with the getting of children. A woman had to employ certain magical processes known to the coast people, or she would prove barren. I believe the latter to be an overstatement. I note that virgins did not employ magical means for the getting of children, and doubtless the Pomo believed that sexual intercourse was a necessary preliminary to the process.[68] Getting children by magical means was called·kus doolki by the Eastern Pomo. One method employed by the East and North Pomo was the use of dolls (padox, E; gáwi, N). These dolls were fashioned in the ghost house before a ceremony. They were made by one of the men about to take part in the ceremony (the ghosts that run in). The dolls were made of white clay and wood. The eyes were made of wampum. The dolls had heads, but no arms or legs. The nose and mouth were simply dents in the clay. The figures were flat, but breasts were placed on for girl babies. The figures themselves were not sacred, for children played with similar toys. The dolls, however, acquired mana after they were blessed by the head priest (yomta). After the dolls had been made in the ghost house they were set up on the walls to dry. While they were drying the yomta made a short prayer over them. The women knew what was being done, and if they wished children they set about making baby baskets (hai q'adoli, E) from dogwood shoots. Then male members of the house were sent to fetch home the sacred dolls. Each woman received a male or female doll, according to her desires. She put the doll inside the cradle, took it to bed with her, suckled it, and in every way treated it as if it were a child. Both the North and the Eastern people conducted this ceremony in the same manner. The dolls of the Northern people, however, were evidently a little differ-

[68] I may, however, be wrong in this opinion. Virgin conception is believed in by many savages and I have myself encountered stories of its occurrence in Polynesia.

ently made for they were called pó kabe gáwi (red rock dolls). My Northern informant said that this method of getting children was not a certain one, as it was just asking, i.e., prayer. Going to the child rock was a certain method, i.e., magic. The Coast Central people had never heard of the doll method of child getting.[69]

The most common method employed by the East Pomo for the procuring of children was the use of certain carved rocks called gawik xabe (children rocks). There are two of these, one between Lakeport and Upper Lake, the other between Hopland and Ukiah. The latter is about a mile and a half north of Fargo station and fifty yards or so west above the railroad track. It is a dark gray granite boulder, sunk in the side of the hill so that only a three-sided surface is exposed, perhaps sixteen inches high and three feet across. The rock in Lake county is red. It is on the south side of xabi put'sum (called the fishing bank), only a few yards from the tule, and is about the same size as the other. The east side is very smooth and flat and this is the carved side.

If a woman wants a child she fasts for four days, taking only a little mush after dark. On the fifth day she goes alone to the rock at daybreak, taking with her a small flint knife. She walks around the rock counter-clockwise four times, then clockwise four times. Then she stops, facing the carved surface of the rock. She raises both hands and extends them before her, the finger tips level with her eyes, then draws them in and lays them on her breast, finger tips meeting. This is done four times. Then four times she bends her knees. The fifth time she sits back on her heels. With the flint knife she makes four motions as though to cut the rock. Then four times she really cuts it and with the dust she has ground from it she marks upon her body two long lines from lower lip to navel, from left armpit to right, and then a circle around the point of crossing, and, to make four, a dab upon the forehead where the parting of the hair begins. Then she speaks to the rock, asking for a child. There are no set prayers for this. She rises and, beginning again with the lifting of her hands, goes through her ritual four times. Then four times she walks about the rock counter-clockwise, then clockwise four times. She stops where she has been crouching, turns her head to the left four times and then goes home. Four times on the way she stops and turns her head to the left, but on no account must she look back. All this must be kept secret from every one.

[69] Almost the identical rite was practiced by the Zuñi, Hopi, and Cochiti Indians of the Southwest.—Dumarest, Notes on Cochiti, p. 141.

The North Pomo had both a rock and a tree to which the women went when they desired offspring. The rock was the more desirable method, because the tree was likely to give children with small eyes. The rock was called káwi kabe (child rock), and is located below Horse Co. Ranch on the hillside of the Russian river. The tree is in Potter valley, and is called dasan bida (powerful creek). When a woman went to the rock she put her arm around it, and her body against it, as if it were a man. She prayed kudi homTo kawi (good bring-me child). The woman stayed at the rock for an hour or so. The rite at the tree was the same. Not many women, however, went to this place.

A third method employed by the East and North Pomo was the use of the bull snake (tjato, N). This snake was brought down from the hills by one of the performers in the old-time ghost ceremony. One of the performers threw it into the crowd. Any man or woman could handle the snake. If a woman desired children she lifted up her dress and wrapped the snake around her thighs. The Central Coast Pomo had also a child rock to which their women went. If they wished a boy they drew a straight line, and if they wished a girl they drew a curved line. There was also a certain spring at Hathaway's called gawi ka (child water). No married people ever drank of this water unless they desired children. If they desired children they prayed and drank the water. Another spring in this locality was called ku ka (baby water). A member of the secret society (yomta)[70] went to this spring and obtained some mud from it. He then dissolved the mud in water, and rubbed it on a woman's body. If this were accompanied with the proper prayer it was certain to bring results.

Another way for a coast woman to get a child was to go to a gopher mound (lam matoc). The gopher was supposed to be a very fast breeder. The woman sat on the mound and sang. Sometimes she just sat, and the grandmother or grandfather sang for her.

Among the East Pomo if a woman desired to have no more children she consulted an outfit doctor who gave her medicine and performed for that purpose. This, however, was rarely done. A man or woman who had no children was called das, E, N (berdache). If a man had no whiskers he was also called das.

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[70] On the coast all the members of the secret society were called yomta. There were no doctors here, but all the yomta practiced the healing art.

Pregnancy

The Pomo women knew that when their menstruation stopped (balai djutin, N, blood stop) they were pregnant (wini, E; kamal kawi mitin, N, inside baby lying down). During pregnancy certain taboos were observed by both parents. Among all the branches of Pomo interviewed, a pregnant woman was forbidden to look at the sun or the moon. If she did it would delay the coming of the child. In order to prevent this a pregnant woman had to remain indoors. If she went outside she had always to be accompanied by someone. Among the East Pomo the pregnant woman and her husband were forbidden the killing of rattlesnakes. If they did this the child would have a harelip. It was safer not to kill any snakes. Among the North Pomo a pregnant woman was careful not to lay her hand on her stomach. If she did the navel cord would cling to her. Among all the Pomo a man could not hunt, fish, gamble, or drill wampum during the period of his wife's pregnancy, and for a period of a month or two afterwards. If, however, the man had started to gamble at the time of his wife's conception, he continued. Among the North and East Pomo the expectant mother was forbidden the use of hot foods, and meat or fish. If she ate fish, the fish would drink up all of the liquid inside of her and cause her death. The father was forbidden the use of meat.[71] Among the East Pomo the husband's people gave the pregnant woman a necklace of eight or ten strings of wampum. The gift was called winiyeel ghadik', E (pregnancy to-welcome). The necklace was called Xebina. The woman wore this necklace a day or so in order to make her condition public; then she turned it over to her mother who also wore it for a day or two. After that it was carefully put away.

Among the North Pomo a pregnant woman was given rabbit skin blankets by her family. Among the coast people a pregnant woman simply informed her family concerning her condition and no presents were given.

[71] The food taboos applied more especially to the later period of pregnancy.

Childbirth

Some Coast Pomo families used the menstrual huts for this purpose, and others partitioned off a place in the house. Among the North and East Pomo the menstrual hut was always used. The mother was assisted by old women relatives. If she had a difficult time of it the male relatives and a doctor were called in. Among the North Pomo the child was born while the mother was sitting upright. A blanket was put under the mother for the baby to fall upon in case of difficult labor. On the coast the woman was placed upon another woman's lap. Among the North Pomo the mother was given a piece of raw meat, just touched to the coals, the day on which the child was to be born. This made the child come quickly. Among the East Pomo either the grandmother or one of the parents bathed the child in warm water. After this the water was thrown out of doors very carefully. If the water were thrown out quickly it would cause a storm.

The cutting of the navel cord (gho gaXa, E, cord cut) was done by someone in the family, either on the mother's or on the father's side. This had to be done by somebody who was both wealthy and good-natured. If it was done by a mean person the child would develop a mean disposition. Both the navel cord and the placenta were placed in a robe by the women on the father's side and buried in a secret place. If an enemy obtained possession of these he could poison the child. Among the North Pomo the father or the woman's father buried the navel cord. The small remnant that remained attached to the umbilicus of the child was allowed to hang until it fell off. This was kept by the mother as medicine for the child. It sometimes came in handy for snakebites. Also, if the child's ankle swelled the cord was wrapped around it to reduce the swelling. Among the coast people the cord was cut by the woman's mother with a sharp mussel shell. As she cut she made a wish: that the baby grow up healthy and have plenty to eat, or, if a boy, that he become a good hunter, etc. The cord, the placenta, and all blood-stained objects were taken away and buried in a secret spot.

Among the East Pomo, if the child belonged to an important family, the head of the secret society (yomta) was called in at birth. When the child was born, the yomta dug a hole in the ground and built a fire in it, putting in herbs and medicine; he covered the coals with soft, wet grass to keep it from being too hot. This served as a

bed. Just after the child was born, the mother was put on this bed. It was warm and comfortable and supposed to have healing qualities. The yomta recited some prayers over the child and was the first to wash it.

In case of difficult parturition among the Pomo women a doctor was always called in. Among the North Pomo an outfit doctor was summoned, who gave aid with herbs and prayer. A sample of such a prayer was given by the outfit doctor Bowen:

dauke	wibadai	djemē
baby	coming-out	feel
kawi	kudi	
child	good	

This song was said to be very comforting to the woman in labor.

On the coast either a woman or a member of the secret society (yomta) was called in to assist a woman in difficulties. The yomta sang and gave the woman herbs. Often he brushed down the body of the sufferer four times with the tail of a deer, and gave utterance to a tiny baby cry. The deer tail was used because the deer have young early in life.

Among the East Pomo, as soon as the child was born the mother's relatives made up some wampum which they had been preparing for a long time. They also bought or made the best basket (tásitol, or red feather basket) in the village. When the child was a day or two old they put the wampum (mogil) in the form of a belt around the mother's waist, and also filled the basket with pinole balls and placed it beside the mother. These gifts were called muki, or belt.

The father's mother came every morning and evening to wash the child. Just before she was to come, the wampum was placed around the mother's waist and the red feather basket by her side. When either the husband's mother or sister arrived, the mother handed over the basket and unfastened the wampum belt, and giving it to her said, "This is the child's gift to his grandmother." This was regarded as a payment for the Xebina, or pregnancy necklace which was given the mother by her husband's family. When the basket and belt were taken home by the father's family and they were satisfied, they took fine beads and wampum and made two strings, each containing about eight hundred beads with an inch and a quarter of magnesite on the end. The next day they went back and put the strings upon the wrists of the child's mother. If they were especially well pleased with the child, they put in addition a string of wampum around the neck

of the mother. The mother wore these strings a day or so, then her mother took them off and put them away. If she had an aunt or uncle, the wampum strings were given over to their keeping. Sometimes when these gifts were given the mother, small duplicates were put around the wrists of the child. The latter gift went to the child's maternal grandmother.

The basket in which the child was washed was called tiribugu, E. This washing was a very important proceeding, and the basket was carefully preserved by the child's paternal grandmother. If the child was a girl, the basket was given her when she was grown up; if a boy, he used it for pinole meal and always took great care of it. The basket never left the family. Among the North Pomo this basket was called sik'a. If the parents were rich this basket was very fine and had plenty of wampum on it. It was very important how it was made, and a woman with good luck, who never got sick, was employed in the making of it. If the baby had good luck, the same basket was used for the next child. It was likely, however, in this case, that an outsider would buy the basket. This had to be sold for eighty beads, no more nor less.

There were a large number of restrictions and ceremonies to be observed after a childbirth. Among the East Pomo, every new moon the strongest and healthiest member of the family carried the baby around the house four times counter-clockwise, then four times clockwise. This was done until the child could sit up. Then when the parent entered the house he threw the baby up into the air four times. This had to be done carefully, for fear that the fontanels would sink in and kill the child. This was done for the good health and strength of the child.

On the coast when a child was born the father made a speech over it:

ba'aba	ya	djagauki
food	will	stay

menke	a	badedju
that	I	pray

Later on, mana songs were sung over the child. The variety of the song depended on whether the child was to be a fisherman, hunter, or gambler.

Among the North Pomo the people prayed that four birds should remain away. The birds were first called by name:

cai'i	tata	ka't	tsikini
eagle	falcon	chicken hawk	night owl

This song was then sung to the birds,

to	ya	mumenume
my	bones	do-not-move (?)

Four days after the baby was born a doctor sang the hawk song. This was for fear that a hawk would be seen catching a bird and the child would be affected. Both the North and East Pomo believed that if a hawk or a falcon (tata) caught a bird over a house where there was a newborn child, the child would become ill. Even if the hawk merely hovered around the house, the child became restless and frothed at the mouth as if in a fit. In case the hawk caught a bird over the house, it was customary to send for the head of the secret society (yomta). The yomta, upon arriving, sent children out to look for the feathers of the bird that had been killed. The yomta then held the child in his arms and prayed. He finally rubbed the feather on the forehead and mouth of the child. An ordinary outfit doctor could effect this cure if he knew the proper prayer.

After the birth of a child the Pomo father had to undergo a mild form of the couvade. Among the Eastern Pomo the father was required to remain at home for eight days. If the father went out during the first eight days the child became restless and foamed at the mouth. Then for a month after this he was not allowed to hunt, fish, gamble, dance, or drill wampum. As long as the child was taking milk from the mother the father as well as the mother had to abstain from harmful foods. The Northern Pomo placed the same restrictions on the father. Among the Central Coast Pomo the father remained idle at home for eight days. During this period he avoided the use of meat, fish, and grease of any kind. At the end of eight days the father took a bath with warm water, and made a wish:

kudie	ke	mata	bantke,	ke	kuel
good	my	wife	happen will,	my	baby
kudie	ke	kudie	ke kuel	batecke	
good	my	good	my baby	grow up will	
kudie	ke	dakětě	ake.		
good	my	wife	will be.		

After the eight days were over the father could eat anything he desired. He was not allowed, however, to enter the sweat house, fetch water, wood, or build a fire. He was not allowed to smoke. These restrictions lasted for a month. The Pomo wife underwent the same restrictions that she underwent at the time of her first menstruation. It was claimed that she was even more dangerous at the time of child-

birth than at the period of her first menstruation. This fear was doubtless due to her loss of blood at childbirth. For eight days the wife was forbidden to wash, scratch herself with her hands, dress her hair, etc. When she went out she had to wear an eyeshade. At the end of the eight days the woman was purified, and, among the Coast Pomo, made a wish for her child. The mother did not suckle her child for two or three days.

All food restrictions which the father and mother underwent were for the sake of the child. It was feared, and not without a certain foundation of fact, that the wrong kind of food would injure the mother's milk. The peculiarity of the custom lay in the fact that the same restrictions were imposed upon both parents. Since the baby was fed on its mother's milk until it could walk, the restrictions must have proved very irksome to the father, if they were fully maintained.

The mother's milk was called t'o, N. The mother's breasts were called t'o dja, N (milk house). There was a belief that if the mother ate plenty of salty things she would produce an abundance of milk. California poppy was used to dry up the milk.

The following restrictions held for the East Pomo. The parents could eat most kinds of fish. A hard-mouth pike (capal) was forbidden until the child was a month old. If the parent ate this, the child's legs became sore (capal birirr). The parents were not allowed to eat a variety of gold perch (tsawal) when the child was small. If they ate this, the hair of the child became dry and he developed sores on his head (galas). The cure for both of these ailments was to take a twig which had been used for cleaning a pipe stem and rub it over the child's legs. Sucker (k'om) and dried black fish (cakal) were also forbidden. The latter gave the child loose bowels. A number of vegetable foods were proscribed for fear of giving the child loose bowels; these included Indian beets (ghumac), one variety of mushroom, clover, and honeysuckle (ilibai). If any of these foods hurt the child, a little of it was placed in water and the child washed with the solution. A few meats were forbidden. The use of blue jay (tsai) by the parents made the skin of the child become scaly. The cure for this was to remove the scales of the bird and rub them on the child. Squirrel meat (ghúma) gave the child the itch. Certain of the above foods were doubtless harmful if eaten by the mother. Clover may be classified as such. Others were tabooed for no apparent reason. A third class of food, including the blue jay and the squirrel, was at all times forbidden to members of the secret society, and the taboo was

extended to parents. Cures were effected by the well-known principle of *similia similibus curantur;* a formula applied, as we shall see, by the Pomo to both physical and mental ailments.

When the child was weaned he began to eat mush and certain kinds of fish. But hard-mouths, black fish, squirrels, blue jay, and honeysuckle were forbidden. The child was allowed mushrooms, but not clover. At times certain of the forbidden foods were given for the purpose of moving the child's bowels. At different ages the child was allowed more liberty in his diet, and when he became two or three years old all restrictions were removed.

The detailed food restrictions on the parents among other branches of the Pomo were not ascertained. The North Pomo young children were forbidden the use of anything hot, including meat, soup, or bread. Hot foods made them shortwinded. Certain kinds of fish, including salmon, were forbidden. Panther, wild cat, and bear meat were forbidden, but deer meat was permitted. Worms might not be eaten, but the worm water in which the worms had been cooked could be partaken of.

Twins (yaiya, C) were put to death by the Northern Pomo and buried. It was thought that twinning was caused by the evil wishes of an enemy and that if the twins were allowed to live they would harm each other. No beliefs about twins were obtained from the East or Coast Central people, and it was stated that twins were not put to death in these regions.

The majority of informants were somewhat reticent on the subject of abortion and infanticide. Drew (Coast informant) said that children were killed in the olden days if they were not wanted. The mother killed them by strangulation. If an unmarried woman was getting a child she was apt to commit abortion (ku dasamatca, C, baby squeeze). Bastards (ku baba etco, C, baby father less), were brought up by the maternal uncle, who treated them in every way as if he were their father. The use of this word was an insult if you said it in a nasty manner. The boy or girl bastard had no difficulty in getting married, but the mother was ashamed to give birth to a bastard. The following information on the care of the child was obtained mainly by Miss Greiner from the Eastern Pomo informant, Benson:

When the child is old enough to sit up in the cradle without being strapped in they turn him around and lay the cradle on its back. Thus the part of the cradle that formerly served as the seat is now used for the back, and what was formerly the back now serves as the seat.

This gives the child a chance to move around a little without falling out of the cradle. Several charms and playthings are then given to the child. If the child is a girl small baskets are given to her so that she will be a skilled basket maker when she grows up. If a boy, a quail or dove head is given in order to make the boy mild tempered and beautiful. Duck heads, strings of wampum with abalone dangles, little bunches of abalone shells which rattle, and other objects are suspended from the hoop at the head of the cradle, and with these the child amuses himself.[72]

When the child is old enough he tips over the cradle and creeps out. After he has done this a few times the parents allow him to stay out and creep around. The child is usually naked. When the child tries to stand the parents give him something to hold on to in his first attempts. They do not rush the process of learning to walk. A child is fed nothing but milk until he is old enough to stand up, then he is given other foods such as mush, pinole, and certain varieties of fish. If a mother is unable to nurse her child the grandmother frequently attempts to help out. She sometimes makes small marks in the flesh around the breasts with a meal made of digger pine seeds and a smaller variety of pine seeds. A child can be nursed while he is in the cradle by placing the hoop of the cradle under the mother's arm.

A child is washed twice a day, morning and evening, in a water-tight basket. The water is heated, as usual, by hot stones. A very little soap root is used for cleansing purposes. A small loose bunch of tule is substituted for a wash cloth. A new-born baby is washed with k'uwácap, the small pine seed mentioned above, angelica (bak'o), and water (xa).

A basket maker often sits with her legs outstretched and the cradle resting across her legs near the feet. By wriggling her feet she is enabled to rock the cradle. At other times the cradle is leaned up against a basket or some other object. When out in the field the mother carries the child in the cradle on her back. When she sits down to work in the field she sets the cradle upright in a hole that she has dug.

When the parents travel, and take the child for his first journey, they put charcoal around his mouth to keep him from being restless or tired.

[72] In order to make the toy bird's head, the head was cut off at the base of the neck and the skin rolled back, care being taken to prevent splitting. The bill was cut so that it would come off with the skin, and was tied with a string in the inside to keep it closed. The skin was then stuffed with shredded tule. After being stuffed the head was washed with angelica root.

Children were less frequently punished by the Pomo than by the whites. Boys were sometimes slapped, had their ears pulled, were made to sit down suddenly, or had a handful of water thrown in their faces. Girls were merely scolded. Children were sometimes deprived of their meals. Some families whipped children, and others did not. An informant said that whipping was frowned upon because it made children mean when they grew up. Nowadays Indian parents whip their children more frequently.

Names

Pomo personal names constitute a subject of great importance, but one which has remained obscure to the present time. Informants are likely to be reticent concerning the matter because of the great amount of superstition still clinging to the use of names. When I first entered the field I met an old-fashioned North Pomo, "Sugar Jim," and asked him his Indian name. "If you want to talk about that sort of thing," replied Jim, "I will have nothing more to say to you." And he didn't.

The village census method is peculiarly ill-adapted for obtaining information on this score. The informant will know his own name, and certain of his family names, but for the remainder of the village he will fill in with nicknames. This is due to ignorance and not malice aforethought. As the inquirer goes from one informant to another he is everywhere met with the question, "What is the real name of so and so?" Woe to the hapless white man who supplies information of this kind broadcast. Names are private property, and they may be mishandled by the iniquitous poisoner. Only the father and mother call the children by their real names. Relatives use relationship terms. Other people use only nicknames.

The genealogical method of inquiry is the method best adapted to obtaining real names, because each informant knows at least some of the names handed down in his own family. Moreover, this method goes back to more past generations than the village census method, and hence yields more fruitful results concerning the transmission of names. Both methods are restricted by the Californian taboo on mentioning names of the dead.

Gifford obtained the following East Pomo information by the census method:

> A child was sometimes given a new name, but often was named instead for some relative alive or dead either in the mother's family or in the father's family. Sometimes a grandparent named a child, but usually a parent. Children

were named when five or six years old; not when born. Before naming they were called *kus* (baby), *ghawi* (boy), or *dahat* (girl). Out of ten recorded cases the father is the bestower of the name in eight cases, the mother in one, the mother's father in one. In this latter instance the name-giver named the child after himself. *Six out of eight namesakes belong in the paternal grandparent generation; two in the maternal grandparent generation* (italics mine).[73]

Gifford has made no distinction in his work between real names and nicknames. He merely states that he is not certain which of the names in his list are real names and which are nicknames.[74] Yet the distinction is of importance. Gifford finds that the transmission of names runs in the patrilineal line, while I find that the transmission runs, for the most part, in the matrilineal line.

Under the heading, Names, I will take up the following topics: (*a*) the giving of names; (*b*) the meaning of names; (*c*) the transmission of names; (*d*) adoption, and the gift of names.

The Giving of Names

The East Pomo informant Benson states: the child is given two names, usually within the first month after birth, each parent's family giving one. The name in each case is that of some prominent member of the family, usually one still alive. Each family gets together and argues over the desirability of several names, there being a number proposed. When the name to be given is finally decided upon, the mother's brother takes the infant in his arms and formally gives him the name, saying, "gauk puk baolki (person important desire), I hope he will be like this person for whom he is named." The second name is given by the paternal uncle, who comes in a little later, goes through the same procedure, and gives the child his paternal name. The affair is concluded by a few remarks wishing the child success.

If the child is a boy, and a brother is born, he receives one of the names of his elder brother. This leaves the brothers with only one name each. If the elder brother received one important name, a matutsi (member of secret society) name for instance, and a common name, he keeps the matutsi name, provided he is a favorite. The important names are usually given from the mother's side of the family, and the common names from the father's side.

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[73] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society, present series, XVIII, 387–390.

[74] Mr. Gifford has stated to me in conversation that certain of the names on his list were of such a disreputable nature that he felt certain that no Pomo parents could have inflicted them upon their own offspring. My East Pomo informant confirmed this opinion.

A girl also gets two names taken from females on both sides of the family. She may receive an important male name from a maternal uncle or grand-uncle, provided there are no boys to inherit the name. A younger sister then gets one of the names, leaving each sister with one name.

One always knows to what family a person belongs by his name, since the names are always handed down in the same family line. An individual is called by either of his two names—his paternal relatives calling him by the name which they have given him, and his maternal relatives by their name for him. This statement holds true, of course, only if the child keeps both names. These names are the only real names a child ever receives. He may later, however, receive a number of nicknames.

The informant Benson (Ghalganal) received two names; Ghalganal from his maternal great-uncle (34) and the nickname Tinorkaya from his maternal grandfather (32). Since the father of Benson was a white man there was no possibility of getting a paternal name. The maternal uncle (26) was the giver of the names.

Jim Pumpkin, of the Eastern Pomo village of Cigom, received the name Xehulum from his maternal great-grandfather (49). I do not know from whom he received his other name, Xalilkunak. The name giver was the maternal grandmother, wife of (46).

Bowen (1) was my informant for the North Pomo. Only one name is given by his people. No name at all is given until the boy is eight or nine years old.[75] The father and mother decide upon the name. If the grandfather wishes to give the name, he may do so with the consent of the parents. Names are always taken from the family list of names. The informant was given the name Keetana by his maternal great-uncle (9). The great-uncle gave the boy his own name; he said that the boy was old enough to have a name. Bowen was twelve or thirteen at the time. Bowen also received the nickname Kabebak (rock kick). He was called this by his paternal uncle Ramon (20) when the latter came back from the mission.

The Central Pomo Captain Jack (Djaska) (50) was ten or twelve years old when he received his name. The name was given by the paternal uncle (56) who named the child after himself.

[75] It is probable that different villages had different customs in regard to the proper age for naming children. Thus in Cigom a child was not named until five or six years of age, while the Xabenapo named children at the age of a month. Wokox, the Southeastern Pomo, told Gifford that children were named when four or five months old. It also appears likely that certain villages gave children two names, and others only one.

Drew (70) gives this information concerning the giving of names among the Central Coast Pomo. Whether the child is a boy or a girl it is treated the same way. When the child is about a year old the father's side gives him birdskin and deerskin for clothing, and sometimes a cradle basket. The mother's side gives beads to the mother. Both sides may give a name to the child at this time, or either side may give the name. The name is given by the father's side from the father's family, and by the mother's side from the mother's family. All the relations from the side in question decide upon the name. The name is usually associated with the idea that the recipient of the name becomes like the person whose name has been taken.

A certain amount of ceremony is connected with the giving of the name. The cradle basket is first taken into the house and the child allowed to see it. Any member of the family is allowed to carry the cradle. The carrier of the cradle first runs around the house four times counter-clockwise. Then he enters and places the child in the cradle. One of the mother's relations then says a name over the child, if the name is taken from the mother's side. After this a wish is made that the child grow up in conformity with the name given. The following is a sample of such a wish:

kudi	emul	batecke	
good	like-him	grown-up	
lokma	batecke		
rich	grown-up		
talea	ma	emul	batecka
beads	plenty	like-him	grown-up
atol	tco	emul	batecka.
sick	not	like-him	grown-up.

If the child is named "Libu" the following wish is made first of all: Libu min ebatecka (Libu like-him grown-up). In regular naming (the giving of real names) the name is usually given before the death of the person whose name is taken. The mother usually takes the name from her side of the family, and the father agrees to it. Some families, however, give two names; one from the mother's side and one from the father's side.

The informant Drew (Kabelibu) (70) received his name from his maternal great-uncle (75). The giver of the name is not stated.

The Central Coast Pomo informant Boston (Kalcué) (63) received his name from his paternal grandfather (67). The name was given

him by his mother when the informant was a little boy. In this case the mother gave a patrilineal name. The informant later received the nickname of Tslau from his father. He does not know where this name comes from. It is untranslatable and not descriptive.

The Central Coast Pomo informant, Steve Parish (Galbakai) (76), received his name from his maternal great-great-uncle (82). The mother gave him the name when he was a little boy.

Summary.—In the cases of all seven informants interviewed the informants' real names were taken from the family stock of names. These names were given because there was supposed to be mana in the names. This mana was handed over in a name-giving ceremony, accompanied by "wishing." Out of these seven cases the mother was the name-giver in two examples, the mother's mother in one, the mother's brother in one, the mother's great-uncle in one, and the father's brother in one. In two cases the name-giver named the child after himself. In five of these cases the name taken was from the matrilineal line, and in two cases from the patrilineal. In the two cases in which nicknames are known to have been given they were imposed by the father and father's brother. In both of these cases the real names were given by the mother's side. All Pomo have nicknames, and more information on this point would be desirable. A more complete discussion of the transmission of names from both sides of the family, and the data on name and occupation linkage will be taken up in a separate section.

The Meaning of Names

Pomo names sometimes have a meaning and sometimes they have no known meaning. The meaning of a real name is, however, never thought of in connection with the name itself. The mana given in connection with a name has only connection with the person bearing the name, and none with the meaning of the name. Nicknames, on the other hand, are often given for the sake of making fun of some peculiarity of the recipient. In other cases nicknames are handed down in families.

I was not in all cases able to inquire for the meaning of names. I obtained, however, the following data:

North Pomo—

NAMES FOR BOYS

(1) Keetana	Top notch hand.
(3) Tsiki	Something that does not taste good.
(4) Andjowe	No meaning.
(6) Kekam	Top notch awl.
(7) Galmadim	Noise bead.
(8) Pako'oya	Pine wood.
(9) Keetana	Same as (1).
(10) Galishlam	No meaning.
(11) Ducam	No meaning.
(12) Mitabao	Reflect sun.
(13) Badobe	No meaning.
(14) Cina	Grape vine.
(15) Caidam	Eagle white.
(16) Jose	Native name unknown.
(18) Galmadim	Same as (7).
(20) Ramon	Native name unknown.
(21) Katok	Water stick you.
(22) Galnoi	No meaning.
(23) Bicemata	Deer hunter.
(24) Toná	Sea weed.

NAMES FOR GIRLS

(2) Kemisuk	Top notch burn.
(5) Wildakam	Help up.
(17) Kalpokom	No meaning.

NICKNAMES

(1) Kabebak	Rock come back.
(4) Bakaitokaiyo	Manzanita berry mush eat.

East Pomo—

NAMES FOR BOYS

(27) Ghalganal	Pursuing much wampum.
(30) Bicecago	Deer leg
(30a) Majodugul	No meaning.
(32) Tinorkaya	Real name not known.
(34) Ghalganal	Same as (27).
(35) Bagancon	No meaning.
(37) Sapu	No meaning.
(39) Cita	No meaning.
(40) Green	Indian name not known.
(41) Bicecago	Same as (30).

Further Names Not in Genealogies

Gaimawi	Twisting foot in the earth as he walks along.
Ghalmayé	Measuring wampum.
Xawobahal	Grasshopper shoulder blade.
Xawotsulu	Grasshopper bag.
Xadasoti	Water splasher.
Batitoc	Arrow hitting with a crack.
Witsi	Potato bug.
Xabaxel	Water flowing smoothly.
Tolewaq'	Brains down.
Maloc'xitu	Trout.
CuXal	Digging stick.
Ghalbidum	Holding Wampum with arms folded.
Huilu	No meaning.
Poineh	No meaning.
Coyogu	No meaning.
Nŏtau	No meaning.

Nicknames

Alán	Stumbling along.
Tinorkaiya (32 and 27)	Beaver head.
Pauca	Magnesite fish.
Xanarihua	Turtle.
Ouitiya	Big eyes.[76]

Names for Girls

Ghepigul (33 and 25)	Cutting of quail plumes.
Ghalpitau (29, 38 and 31)	White wampum.[77]
Ghalcubak	Wampum blossom.
Dotcali	Mincing along on tiptoe.

Nicknames

Matsohohoh	No meaning.
CaXal	Black fish.
Yempi	No meaning.
Gharigharix	Ribs sticking out.[78]
Laldjodo	Round goose.
Tsa'wal	Perch.

[76] The eyes of this person were very small.

[77] This woman (31) married into the family and bought a family name.

[78] A woman having this nickname was very fat.

Central Pomo Names—

MALE NAMES

(50) Djaska	No meaning.
(51) Wakin	No meaning.
(52) Kumalo	No meaning.
(53) Kalbanel	Wampum (?).
(54) Kalbanel	Same as (53).
(56) Djaska	Same as (50).
(57) Oistu	Face (?)
(58) Djaidam	Eagle down.
(59) Makaladja	Jack rabbit.
(60) Tsamodju	Live head.[79]

FEMALE NAMES

(55) Wacman	No meaning.
(61) Kalebimen	The name of a tree.
(62) Kabemok	Rock player.

Central Coast Pomo—

MALE NAMES

(63) Kalcué	Beads, or to abstain.
(70) Kabelibu	Rock whistle.[80]

The Transmission of Names

It has already been shown that real names carry mana with them. I now propose to investigate from the concrete data at hand the number of times these names are handed down in the matrilineal line, and the number of times in which they are handed down in the patrilineal line. After this I will count up the number of times that occupations and professions are linked with the transmission of names, and the number of times in which professions and occupations are handed down without the transmission of names.[81]

[79] This man (60) was a yomta, or head of the secret society. I believe that the informant made a mistake and gave me a nickname. Perhaps the error was intentional.

[80] I was unable to obtain meanings for the remaining names in my Central Coast Pomo genealogies.

[81] We have already seen that the data are insufficient for any formularization as to the succession of hunterman and fisherman. I will, however, now introduce the data on doctors and members of the secret society. Succession in both these cases is clearly matrilineal.

Name	Transmission	Transmitter	Method
North Pomo—			
Keetana M.	9 to 1	mother's mother's brother	Mat.
Galmadim M.	7 to 18	father's father	Pat.
East Pomo—			
Ghalganal M.	34 to 27	mother's mother's brother	Mat.
Ghalpitau F.	38 to 29	mother's father's sister	Mat.
Ghepigul F.	33 to 25	mother	Mat.
Bicecago M.	41 to 30	mother's mother's father	Mat.
Xehulum M.	49 to 43	mother's mother's father	Mat.
Central Pomo—			
Djaska M.	56 to 50	father's brother	Pat.
Kalbanel M.	54 to 53	father's father	Pat.
Central Coast Pomo—			
Kalcué M.	67 to 63	father's father	Pat.
Kabelibu M.	75 to 70	mother's mother's brother	Mat.
Kabekel M.	73 to 74	brother[82]	
Galbakai M.	82 to 76	mother's father's mother's brother	Mat.
Kebela M.	? to 77	mother's great uncle	Mat.

Nine out of thirteen cases show matrilineal transmission of the name. Names then are handed down from the mother's side in 70 per cent of the cases. I do not doubt that the percentage would have proved somewhat higher had I not run into a family among the Central Pomo where chieftainship was entirely on the father's side.

It will be noted that a woman always takes the name of a female ancestor, usually on the mother's side; a man always takes the name of a male ancestor, usually on the mother's side. Benson, my East Pomo informant, states that a woman may succeed to a male name if there are no males in the family for the name to fall to. There are no examples given, however, of this occurrence.

New names are never given, but a child is always given an ancestral name. I can only prove this point by circumstantial evidence. All of my seven informants knew exactly where their own names came from, even though they inherited the names three generations back. I therefore infer that I could have obtained similar information from all those on my list, had they been available. This opinion of mine is substantiated by the opinions of all of my informants.

[82]The older brother died and the younger brother succeeded to the name Kabekel. With the name went the position of chief and member of the secret society.

An examination of the genealogies shows that all seven extend further back, and give more names on the mother's side than on the father's side. This supplies further evidence that transmission of names was ordinarily from the mother's side.

One East Pomo informant, Benson, said that marriages were prohibited between cousins, up to fifth cousins. Another East Pomo informant said that marriages were prohibited between cousins, and between uncles and nieces. Presumably the chief manner in which the Pomo kept track of distant relatives were by their names, since a person's kin was at once revealed by his name. Hence people bearing names of the same kin were unquestionably prohibited from intermarrying no matter what their degree of relationship to each other. Since the names were, for the most part, handed down in the matrilineal line it might be argued that the Pomo had a clan system. The Pomo, however, did not employ a clan classification of relatives; thus, mother's brother and mother's father were both grouped together as belonging to the mother's side. The sole method of classification employed was mother's side (mikbek, E) and father's side (ilaimilaia, E). There were, moreover, no clan consciousness and no names for clans. It may well be claimed that while the Pomo had no actual clans they were nevertheless on the way to the formation of matrilineal clans.

My interest in the linkage between names and occcupations was first aroused by the following statement made by Bowen (Keetana, 1): "After the old man Galmadim (father's father, 7) died, my father wanted to name me Galmadim. But my cousin (18) received the name instead. If I had obtained the name Galmadim I would never have received my medicine (become a doctor). When I received the name Keetana my instruction as an outfit doctor commenced at once in the sweat house." Now Keetana (9) was an outfit doctor and a member of the secret society. His brother Ducam (11) was a sucking doctor and a member of the secret society. Another brother Galishlam (10) was a chief. All these relatives were on the mother's side. Galmadim (7) was nothing at all, "just worked," and he was on the father's side. There are therefore two possibilities. It may be that once the name Keetana was given to the young man he was bound to follow the profession of his name-giver and be a doctor. On the other hand, the name Keetana may have been simply a mana name, while the name Galishlam was a common name. The assumption of the mana name permitted the boy to follow one of the higher professions on his

father's side. The statement of the informant was as follows: "The name Keetana was given me by my uncle Kekam (6) who was a doctor, and who wished me to become a doctor. I received the name when I was one year old."

The transmitted names which appeared to carry a profession or occupation with them are as follows:

Name	Transmission	Transmitter	Occupation
Keetana	9 to 1	mother's mother's brother	Outfit doctor
Djaska	56 to 50	father's brother	Chief
Kabelibu	75 to 70	mother's mother's brother	Chief, singer, member secret society.
Galbakai	82 to 76	mother's father's mother's brother.	Member secret society.[83]
Kabekel	73 to 74	older brother	Chief, member secret society.

The following Pomo had no known occupation or profession to transmit with their names: Galmadim (7), Ghalpitau (38), Bicecago (41), Xehulum (49), Kalbanel (54), Kabela (?).

In three of the cases in which a name was transmitted the ancestor had no profession or occupation to give with the name, and the namesake received his or her occupation from another ancestor. Ghepigul (25) received her name from her mother (33) but she became a member of the secret society (flag carrier) because her mother's sister (36) had this function. Kalcué (63) received his name from his father's father (67), but he received his chieftaincy from his mother's brother (66) and his membership in the secret society from his mother's mother's brother (69). The case of Ghalganal (27) is more uncertain. He received his name from his mother's mother's brother (34). He was also instructed in the art of feather and bead working by this relative. On the other hand he was made chief by his mother's brother (26) and his mother's mother's brother (35).

Both Keetana (1) and Ghalganal (27) were brought for the first time into the ghost house by the men whose names they had assumed. This I believe was the usual matter of procedure providing that the relative whose name was taken was still alive. The boy naturally was seated by this elder relative, and this determined the side of the sweat house he was to belong to, whether east or west.

[83] The informant Parish (76) inherited only the right to become a member of the secret society. The modern Maru cult put an end to the old order before his initiation. It will be remembered that all of the members of the Central Coast Pomo secret society were called yomta, and were also doctors.

From the facts thus far brought out it will be seen that the assumption of a name always meant the assumption of a profession or occupation, providing that the name assumed was linked with some profession or occupation. To render this custom more flexible many Pomo families gave two names and the favorite child was allowed to keep the occupational or mana name. The election of big chiefs from among the boy chiefs also made the system more flexible.

I will now list the cases where there is an apparent succession to position without any apparent transmission of names. These cases may be misleading, for it will be remembered that we do not know where these particular names come from. For all we know the original holders of these names may have held the positions to which their descendants succeed.

Transmission	Transmitter of occupation	Occupation	Method
9 to 6	mother's brother	Outfit doctor	Mat.
75 to 74	mother's brother	Chief, member of secret society	Mat.
82 to 81	mother's brother	Member secret society	Mat.

To this list might be added the names on genealogy 3, given by Jim Pumpkin (Xehulum) (43). We do not know whether the senior Xehulum (49) was a member of the secret society or not. In this family there were four known members of the secret society on the mother's side: (48), (46), (47), (45), and one on the father's side (48).

In this section we have listed the occupations of chiefs, doctors, and members of the secret society. The succession to office in these occupations has proven overwhelmingly matrilineal. Fourteen cases were matrilineal and only two (one involved chieftaincy, one the secret society) patrilineal. Therefore while the transmission of names was only 70 per cent matrilineal, the succession to important office has proven 86 per cent matrilineal.

Adoption, and the Gift of Names

Names, as we have already stated, are considered private property. As such they may be bought and sold. When (31) married into Benson's family, she bought the family name Ghalpitau. This, however, was a rather unusual proceeding, for there is no record of a similar transaction. Benson said that among the Eastern Pomo if you wished to name your child a name which occurs both in your family

and in another family you had to give a present to the second family in order to avoid confusion. There is no case in the genealogies where the same name occurs in different families.

In the case of adoptions (pirok, E; pecmoc, C) family names were given to persons outside of the family. Adoptions took place among the East Pomo in Big Valley (Kabenapo) and Sulphur Bank. They also took place among the Central and Coast Central Pomo. Among the East Pomo if a man in the family died a man from another family was adopted as brother; if a woman died a woman from another family was adopted as sister. It did not matter whether the deceased were young or old; all that was required was that the adopted person should look like the beloved departed and should be of about the same age.

The person about to be adopted was kept in hiding for four days and allowed to go out only at night. During this period of time he was kept fasting and was not allowed to eat meat or grease. The fifth day was the day of the adoption. At sunrise on this day he was taken out of the village and sweated over a small fire, by aid of the four sacred herbs. Then the man who was destined to be uncle or father of the adopted (or woman who was to be aunt if the adopted were of the female sex) led the adopted person in by the hand. There was a big crowd waiting, for a place had been fixed beforehand and a house made ready for the purpose. The person to be adopted was naked except for a loin cloth around the waist.

The mother and father of the dead appeared and embraced the man who was to take his place. At once all the women commenced crying and tearing their cheeks as a sign of mourning and of joy. For the beloved son was dead, and yet he had come to life again. Then the adopted person was clothed with hair nets, beads, and rabbit-skin blankets. He did not keep these presents, however, but his real father and mother came and stripped him of all that he had on. This was to pay them for the loss of a son. The gift was called cátane, E. A lesser number of beads was given back to the adopting family; this was called kocul Xamak, E.

Finally the real cousins and the adopting cousins exchanged gifts by alternately clothing and stripping the adopted person. This was done as a mark of affection. The ceremony was closed by a speech from one of the village chiefs.

The adopted person (dimot, E) was forever after treated better than any of the living family. Harsh language was never used toward him, and he was at all times loaded with gifts. The name of the dead

person was given to the dimot, and if the deceased had a wife she was likewise given (da habanik, E, woman take-for-own). If the deceased were a member of the secret society the dimot became a member of the secret society.

According to the account given by Benson a dance was held the fourth night either in the house, the sweat house, or, if it were summertime, in the bush house. This dance was called piroi qa'xe, or adoption dance.

Adoptions were made in much the same fashion among the Central Pomo, according to the meager information received on the subject.

Among the Central Coast Pomo adoptions were called pec moc. A child or grown-up person was adopted who resembled the dead. Beads were exchanged between the two families, and the boy or girl taken home amid the joyful lamentations of the women. There was no ceremony connected with the adoption and neither the name nor the position of the deceased was given to the adopted person.

Among all the Pomo who had the custom of adoption, the event took place as soon after a death as a person looking like the deceased could be located.

Puberty Ceremony

None of the Pomo had puberty ceremonies for boys. The Eastern Pomo, however, had what might be called a pre-puberty ceremony. When a boy attained the age of eight or ten a feast was held in his natal season. Both families of the boy's parents joined in giving the feast. If the boy were a common boy, i.e., not destined to become a member of the secret society, he was given a plain milkweed net at this time by his father. This was called mosukiláp, E. If the boy was destined to be a member of the secret society the man whose place he was eventually to take made him a present at this time of an elaborate wampum hair net (ghal bolmak'i, E).

The boy was carefully prepared for the occasion. He was washed, his hair coiled and neatly covered with the new hair-net. This was the first hair ornament that he wore. After he had worn it a short time he was advised to put it away and to wear it only on certain ceremonial days. He was also given a cotton-tail robe which was worn at the same time as the net. Previous to this ceremony all that the boy had in the way of clothing was a simple wildcat or deerskin breech clout.

Usually the boy was given a toy bow and arrows at this time with instructions not to shoot at people, but only at birds and game. As part of the ceremony the father or uncle put angelica root in water, and bathed the boy with it. This was to make the boy strong, i.e., give him mana. It was called dasolki, E, meaning to rub and bathe. The parent made a wish at the same time: kudi iba, bitax iba, E (good will-be good-luck will-be). Then the father or uncle took the boy on his knee and recited to him a code of conduct: "You must not tell a lie, steal, revile, show disrespect, run with girls, etc." Particular stress was laid on the obligation to help the aged and to do it voluntarily.[84]

Among the Central Coast Pomo the hair net and bow and arrows were likewise given to the boy when he was about ten or twelve. Mana was said not to have been given until the boy was about thirty and ready to be a full-fledged fisherman or hunter. At that time the father or uncle rubbed the legs and arms of the boy with angelica and pine sugar. Fishing or deer songs were taught from earliest childhood on.

A girl's puberty ceremony took place at the time of her first menstruation. This menstruation was considered of far more importance than subsequent ones, and, following the general Californian custom, it was given a special name. The East Pomo called it tsidimal (important-act), ghoné (you-lie-down). The ordinary menstruation was called ghalai yoX (abstain become).

When a girl among the East Pomo attained the age of puberty she told her mother of the fact, and all her friends and relatives were notified. A small menstrual hut called tsidimal merXale ga was erected. The hut was a dome-shaped lean-to, seven feet in diameter and six or seven feet high, its framework was of willow and it was covered with tule. A doorway connected it with the main house. This door was used by the woman who looked after the girl, usually the mother or aunt. Another door led directly outdoors. A tule mat hung inside each doorway. The mats were called hwápusex bits'áo (door to-prevent-coming-in).

Inside of the hut a little place three by four feet wide and four by five inches deep was scooped out from the ground floor. A fire was built in this depression. Any kind of wood could be used. When the fire burned down to a bed of coals the coals were spread out over the whole area of the depression and then extinguished by being sprinkled with water. Tule stalks were then laid lengthwise on top of the coals,

[84] My Coast informant Parish told me that when he was young he was continually urged to show respect and be kind to the aged, for "those are the people who know the most about poisoning," his parents warned.

with shredded tule as a top layer. The fire and the tule bed were remade at least once a day, and sometimes twice a day. The tule which was removed from the bed was carefully laid to one side (but inside of the hut) and fresh tule was placed upon the bed. Eventually the discarded tule was sunk in the waters of a pond or buried in the mud. The bed was called ghálaiyoX simága (menstruation bed).

The girl lay on this bed all day. She was allowed, however, to sit up awhile if she became tired. No eyeshade was used, but she was not allowed to leave the hut excepting after sundown or early in the morning. She was not allowed to eat meat or fish, but lived on mush and pinole. Meat was forbidden because it contained blood. Blood would have poisoned the girl as it was the very thing that she was trying to get rid of. She was not allowed to drink cold water or be washed in cold water for fear of catching cold. She was not allowed to scratch herself, but a smooth round scratching stick was provided for this purpose. If she scratched herself she would have become covered with permanent black streaks. She was not allowed to comb her own hair or wash her own face. Her mother or aunt had to perform these offices for her. If the girl combed her own hair she would acquire a scalp disease, and her hair would split at the ends and even fall out. If she washed her own face she would acquire a skin disease; white spots would appear on the skin and the flesh would turn dry. The patient was allowed to have some company; a girl playmate might come in and stay with her during the day.

The fourth night or early on the fifth morning all the discarded tule was removed. On this morning the girl took a hot sponge bath in her little hut. After this she was given a panther robe dress, a good buckskin skirt, and a hair net similar to that given to the boys but with a different decoration. Her hair was done up in the same manner as the boys' hair, and a string of wampum was placed around her neck.

Along with the clothing the newly fledged young squaw was given a large but shallow basket one-half or two-thirds full of acorns, hulled but not yet ground up, and an acorn pestle. It was the girl's duty to grind these acorns into meal. This was her first attempt at making acorn meal. After the meal was prepared the girl went down to the leaching place on the sands. Here her mother instructed her in the domestic art of acorn meal leaching. Finally she took the prepared meal home, heated rocks, and made the mush. The mush was served to her family and a few friends. As the dinner was partaken of, everybody complimented the girl on her cooking, "This is what you will

do when you are a woman and get married," they said. The party was a small affair; there was no great feast given.

The wash-basin and other baskets used in the menstruation hut were never used for any other purpose. When not in use they were stored away in the main house. Two or three sisters might use the same baskets. In a wealthy family, as in a chief's family, the best baskets obtainable were given to the girl in the menstruation hut. If there were sisters in the family each girl had her own complete set of baskets.

The idea said to underlie the puberty ceremony for girls was to keep her away from other people while she was unclean, to teach her cleanliness, and to initiate her into the responsibilities of womanhood. Most of the instructions which a young girl received before the age of puberty concerned her future conduct at this most important crisis in her life.[85]

A woman was not considered as dangerous in her ensuing menstrual periods. Instead of being forced to leave the house she had a special corner of the home prepared for her. In other respects she was forced to undergo the same treatment given her at the time of her first period. When a woman was menstruating the husband had to abstain from meat and fish. He was also forbidden to hunt, dance, fish, or gamble. If he started on a war party and his wife was taken sick in this manner, a messenger was sent out to the warriors, and the war declared off. Any infringement of the menstruation taboos was punished, among other ways, by the dreaded sight of the water monster Bagil. For example, if a menstruating woman were weaving and she looked into a basket of water she would see Bagil appear on the surface of the water.

Among the North Pomo menstruation was called tsikadjo, and the first menstruation called yeunemon (lay-her-down). According to Bowen the North Pomo made no use of a separate house for the girl, but she was kept in a corner of her own house. The girl was not allowed to talk and she was compelled to lie down the entire time on the hot bed. The bed was made by heating stones and spreading grass over the stones. These were changed from time to time. Taboos on meat, fish, salt, and cold water were enforced. An eye-shade was employed by placing a piece of deer skin or rabbit skin over the girl's head so that she could only look down.[86] The girl was forbidden to

[85] I am indebted to Miss R. Greiner for most of the information on the girls' puberty ceremony among the East Pomo.

[86] This eye-shade was also used by the North Pomo women at time of childbirth.

comb her hair or scratch herself, the customary scratcher being given her. She was also forbidden to feed herself, the mother or grandmother did this for her. While the girl was lying on the bed she was sung over by the women in attendance. The burden of these songs was that she might grow up healthy and have many offspring. While the girl lay on the hot bed holes were punched in her ears for earrings.

When a woman was married and was menstruating the husband took care of her, tending to her wants and feeding her. The husband during this period had to be very careful to follow the proper diet, and never to wash his face from the same basket, or eat from the same food. He also suspended all activities and remained indoors.

Among the Coast Central Pomo the first menstruation was called cbai a wal, and subsequent menstruations were called gadicit or tsio tim. The meanings of these words are unknown.

It was said that the menstruation hut was not only employed for the first menstruation, but for all subsequent menstruations as well. The hot bed was made with heated rocks, above which were placed grass and wormwood. The mother or aunt attended to the girl. The patient was forbidden the use of meat, bird, or fish. She was allowed to eat mussels, kelp, sea grass, acorn bread, and pinole. The customary taboos against washing, scratching, or combing the hair were enforced. She was not allowed to engage in loud conversation, and she covered her face with a deer skin when she went out of doors. At the end of the four-day period she was washed, but the taboo on meat and grease lasted for a month.

At the time of the girl's puberty ceremony she was given new clothing by her mother's and beads by her father's relatives. These gifts she kept. The mother showed the girl at this time how to make acorn bread, how to pound pinole, and how to make baskets. Ear piercing and tattooing could be performed on her either before or after the puberty rites. Before puberty she was allowed to play with boys, but after this period she was carefully watched. Some families allowed their girls to be promiscuous with young men after puberty, but these families were the exceptions. It was some years after puberty before girls married.

When a man's wife was menstruating he had to be very cautious. If another man touched him or even talked to him it would bring bad luck. The husband remained at home for the four days and on the fifth day he took a bath.

Courtship

Courting women played an important part in the lives of young Pomo men. Courtship and marriage, however, had nothing to do with one another. Marriage was prearranged by the families of the girl and the boy. This was especially true among the better families. Courting was almost entirely for the purpose of enjoying illicit sexual intercourse. These statements might be applied to most primitive peoples, for the idea of combining courtship and marriage is distinctly Anglo-Saxon in tone.

It is also somewhat difficult to find traces of romantic love among the Pomo. The Pomo, like other Indians, had plenty of imagination; but this played around their religion and their mythology, not around their personal relations. Imagination, however, is not required for fidelity and affection; and these traits the Pomo gave ample evidence of displaying towards their wives, children, and a wide group of relatives.

Among the East Pomo the polite word for sexual intercourse is da komak (catching one-another). A more vulgar word for the act is ma omak. The word for sexual love, or, to use a less euphemistic expression, sexual passion, is mara qi'aik mak (wanting one another). When a mother loves her child, however, the Pomo show less purposeful confusion of terms than we do, the love is called natkea, or beautifying.

I asked my North Pomo informant Bowen to reconstruct a courting conversation after the manner in which it took place in the olden days. Bowen lays claim to having been quite a gallant before he became crippled by age, two marriages, and bad whiskey; so I thought he would do the situation full justice.

If a man wanted to cohabit with a woman, he would say to her: to ma to da (I you I want). To this the woman would answer: k'o nake wai? (what do you want to do?) The man replied: ma to dan ahe (you I want I). The woman now replied e (yes), and a time and place was arranged. During this conversation the man stood close to the woman, but did not endeavor to touch or embrace her. Kissing as a habit is foreign to primitive people. The Pomo probably kiss during the act of sexual intercourse, but ordinarily a man does not kiss a woman. The East Pomo word for kiss is sipúl and indicates a mother kissing her child. Another word is used for the kiss a wife gives to her husband, darel sipúl.

In like manner among the Eastern Pomo, when a young man was asking the supreme favor of a girl he never touched her or tried to keep on persuading. "Among our people," said Benson, "there was no actual courtship."

The ordinary method of courting a girl among the Pomo was by the use of magical method. This was called dagol pacil, E (stupid being-in-action), that is, causing to be stupid, or stupefying. This was supposed to be harmful to the victim. One love charm made use of by the East Pomo was to take four white feathers and tie four hairs of the girl to each feather. Then the bunch of feathers was tied high up in a tree where the wind blew. Another method was to take some poison oak which had clung to a tree, some hair from the woman's head, and scorch them both in a fire. The poison oak was thought to have been married to the tree, and therefore would continue clinging to it. Then a stick from the tree was rubbed in the ashes from the tree and the ashes from the hair. After this the man touched the object of his affections with the stick, or hired someone to do it for him. A woman could also employ this method to gain the love of a man.

In either of these methods it was considered necessary that the man keep pure while performing the charm, and that he keep his thoughts concentrated on the object of his affections.

Love songs were also extensively employed by the East Pomo. These songs were in the nature of charms. A man sang love songs either in his own home, or else a group of men got together after sweating and sang love songs, naming the women desired.

The North Pomo used similar methods in their courting. A man who desired a certain woman would take a hair of her head, hang it in a gap on the hills where the wind blew, and sing love songs all day long. While he sang the love songs the woman would be looking for him.

Ideas of Physical Beauty

Miss Greiner obtained from the Eastern Pomo informant, Benson, the following data on the conception of physical beauty held by members of his tribe:

A man should not be too dark, he should have square shoulders, not be too plump of face, eyes should be wide apart and not sunken in. He should have heavy eyebrows, cut near the nose and at opposite ends of the eyes, so that they be in a straight line. He should have heavy black hair, a straight nose, and a flat wide chest.

A woman should be of square build, of about five feet four inches in height, weigh a bit over a hundred and twenty,[87] have plump hands, plump small feet, and flat breasts. She should have heavy hair done up at the peak of her head, thin lips, small ears, and white teeth.[88]

Marriage

Marriage among the Pomo was arranged by the customary exchange of gifts between the two families. The fact must not be overlooked, however, that a certain degree of wife purchase entered into this formality, for the man's family had to give more than it received in return. This variety of purchase was customary in all Pomo social transactions, and the giving of return presents as an act of courtesy should not be allowed to conceal from the investigator the true nature of the Pomo economic structure.

The marriage service itself is not a sacrament among primitive people, but rather an act to solicit publicity. Where it exists at all, it serves as substitute for the written records of the more advanced peoples. Hence it is not to be expected that the priesthood should play a part in this ceremony. On the other hand, the investigator should determine what act, or acts, serve to inform the community as to the nature of the bargain entered into by the compacting individuals, or more especially by the compacting sibs or families.

The ceremony of marriage usually gives the contracting couple some degree of preference in the selection of mates. Theoretically the entire matter of selection is often presumed to follow either some law of kinship or else the dictates of the two interested groups, especially where these groups are of high standing in the community; practically, the form of the marriage ceremony often gives the two groups the power of prohibition rather than the power of selection.

The marriage ceremony differs somewhat among the different Pomo groups, and the groups investigated will be discussed separately. Among the East Pomo when a young man and a young woman decided to marry they disappeared into the bush together. As soon as the mother of the girl discovered that her daughter was missing, she looked around to see which man was also missing. If either the parents of the boy or the parents of the girl were displeased at the mating they

[87] The height and weight estimates were given by comparison with a young white lady.

[88] Pomo women rubbed their teeth every three or four days with charcoal in order to remove the tartar.

hunted the couple up at once, and endeavored to separate them before the sexual act took place. If the mother of the girl approved of her daughter's choice she allowed the couple to remain in the bush for a couple of days. They built a little bough house or shelter in the bush, and sent a boy or girl friend back for robes. Finally the mother of the girl searched until she found the young couple. Then she invited both of them to come home with her. If the families were of importance, the marriage was arranged for beforehand. Either the boy was first introduced by being brought to the girl's house, or the girl was introduced by being brought to the boy's house. The first night of the marriage was always spent in the bush, however,[89] and the couple always took up their residence for the first two days in the home of the girl's mother.

The morning following the first night that the couple slept in the maternal house, the relatives of the groom brought presents to the wife's people. This gift was called ma'a idimot (food groom). The father and uncles of the groom brought wood, and the mother, sisters, and aunts brought various kinds of foods, including pinole, duck, and fish. While the women folk were walking through the village they stuck out their lips and made a peculiar kind of whistle called sitil. This was done for the purpose of announcing to the entire village that a marriage had taken place. The mother of the groom left the food and said, "I will be over tomorrow."

The following day the parents of the groom returned bringing beads, deer skin, and rabbit skin blankets. This was called dusempk', to decorate a person. These gifts were distributed among the family of the bride. The same day the chief went to the house of the girl and made a speech. He told the newly married couple to care for one another in health or in sickness, and to defend one another. He also told them to be good to their parents-in-law. After two days the man took the bride to his people's house. The bride's people now came carrying presents of baskets, belts, and pinole. This gift was in payment for the dusempk', and was called Xama kidi, or track carry.

The chief also came to the young couple while they were staying in the groom's house and made a speech similar to his first address. After remaining a month in the groom's house the couple moved back to the bride's house, bringing with them more wampum and robes. This was called da pugúik, or woman follow. At the time of the

[89] Benson was the only informant to make this statement concerning the Pomo honeymoon. He claimed that the first blood of the woman would have been dangerous to the house. My other East Pomo informants somewhat resented inquiry on this matter.

da pugúik the groom's people put in a lot of extra wampum free, without expecting any return, saying that it was to pay for the girl. As much as could be afforded was given. The groom's people also tied beads around the hands of the bride, expecting a basket in return.

The wampum which was given in payment for the bride was divided up by the mother of the bride. She kept half of the beads for her side of the family and gave the other half to the father's side.

The married couple kept moving from one family to the other, but when a child was expected they always went to live with the wife's family. After the child was born if either the husband's or wife's family house were sufficiently large another doorway and fireplace was installed and the married couple took up permanent residence. If neither house were sufficiently large, the married couple built one of their own. The matter of personal choice probably entered into the question of final location.

Where the wife and husband each came from a different village, Gifford claims that statistics show the immediate residence of the couple to have been 75 per cent matrilocal.[90] According to the census which Gifford took at Cigom the East Pomo were about equally divided as to home and foreign matrimonial alliances. Marriages of 139 Cigom natives were recorded. Of these, seventy individuals married fellow villagers. Sixty-nine marriages were between Cigom natives and inhabitants of other villages. Of the sixty-nine Cigom marriages to people of other villages, twenty-seven were to Eastern Pomo, eighteen to Northern Pomo, six to Southeastern Pomo, three to Central Pomo, three to other Pomo or perhaps Wappo, and twelve to Hill Patwin.

My own informant Benson made the following generalization concerning intervillage and intertribal marriages: Members of such families who served as messengers in treaties, ceremonies, and so on, between villages and tribes usually married outside, or were already married outside, of their own village or tribe. It was customary once a year for the foreign members of these families to exchange gifts with one another. Foreign alliances were also frequently made at the times of intervillage feasts and festivities.

We have already seen that exogamy was rigidly enforced on both sides of the kin group, with a strong tendency towards the formation of exogamous matrilineal clans. While these functional clans extended from one village to another, and even from one tribe to another, yet

[90] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society, present series, XVIII, 287–390, 1926.

the main hold of the individual clan must have been located in the individual village. When a small village began marrying into the neighboring larger villages it was apt, in the course of a couple of generations, to disappear completely. The Komli tribe in Scott's valley was a case in point. Previous to 1840 they were a village of some fifty or sixty inhabitants. The members became interrelated and married into the Rock and Water Lily tribes until shortly after 1860 there were none left. Another instance of the same sort was that of the Yemabak, another Scott's valley tribe. They were absorbed into the Rock tribe until in 1912 only one family remained. The large size of the Rock tribe might be accounted for in this manner. The members were all more or less related and by bringing in outsiders, a large tribe tended to become larger and a small tribe smaller. When a man from one tribe married a woman from another, they could live in either village, as they saw fit. The tendency was to live in the larger village because of certain advantages such as protection, bigger social affairs, and so on, that were not to be had in the same degree with the smaller tribe. This seems to indicate a disposition toward centralization and unification into one main tribe.

There are no statistics concerning the ages at which marriage took place. Any figures on this matter would be unreliable, due to the ignorance of the California Indian on matters of age. Benson placed the age at which marriages took place at a figure which appears rather too high. He claims that men married between thirty and thirty-five, and women rarely married under twenty years. He claims that the late age for marriage may have been partly due to the laxity in sex relations allowed before marriage, and partly to the custom of not regarding a man as having reached an age of complete responsibility until near to middle life.[91]

Contrary to the usual Californian custom the true levirate was not practiced among the Eastern Pomo, and the sororate only rarely, following the death of the wife. All informants agree on these points, and the census at Cigom shows none of these disfavored forms of marriages. Benson claims that a husband might, before he died, leave his wife to his brother. When this was arranged for, and it was understood that the wife of the dead man was to go to the brother, the man's family made another payment in wampum and gifts to the woman's family. The woman, however, did not go to her new husband for six

[91] The remarks of my North Pomo informant, Bowen, appear to me as being less extreme on this subject. "In the olden days," he said, "boys and girls did not think of sex much, as they do now. Men had to be fully grown and have mustaches, and women fully developed before marriage."

or seven months after the death of her spouse. Ordinarily, when a man died the wife lived with his parents for a period of from six months to a year, after which she lived with her own family.

Divorce is said to have been rare in former days. When it did occur there was no giving back of the bride price, or ceremony of any kind; the couple simply separated. A divorce frequently resulted in a quarrel between the two families. Mr. Gifford records from among the Eastern and Northern Pomo the ratio of divorces to marriages as 13 to 299, a figure which he estimates as being somewhat below the actual ratio. All divorces recorded were followed by remarriage of both parties. No statistics were obtained concerning the disposal of the children following a divorce. According to Benson, in cases where there were children the rule was for the boys to go with the father and the girls with the mother. If there were several boys, the youngest remained with the mother, but all daughters remained with her. In case there was only one child, it remained with the mother; if the child were a son over sixteen he went with the father.

The statistics taken by Mr. Gifford show that the vast majority of the Eastern and Northern Pomo who reached adult life married. One case of celibacy was encountered in a Yima chief. He lived part of the time with his father, and part of the time with his mother, the latter couple being divorced. Four or five other cases of celibacy were less striking, since the individual in each case died in early adult life.

Benson stated that married men were usually faithful to their wives in the old days, and the wives to the husbands. It is quite likely, however, that the informant is idealizing the past in this statement. If a woman were unfaithful the husband apparently did not divorce her, but took measures to correct her conduct or even killed her. One method of correcting a wife's conduct was to blind her and thus force her to stay at home. The powdered barb of a sting ray called mum was used for this purpose. It worked its way into the eyes. Some husbands preferred to bite their wives' noses off and thus render them unattractive to other men. Three cases of this kind were known to the informant, but he did not give the names of the parties. In still another case the husband found out that his wife had been unfaithful and, following her to the home of her relatives, he slew her with an arrowhead while she slept by the fire.[92]

[92] More cases of this kind could have been secured had other informants been as free spoken as Benson. It is certain, however, that the Pomo men had other resources at hand by which they kept their wives faithful, and had no need to employ the old ghost religion for this purpose as claimed by Powers. (Powers, Tribes of California, p. 158.)

Two cases were known to the informant where the wife killed the husband out of jealousy. An act of this nature was somewhat of a rarity. In another case a more subtle form of punishment was employed. The husband had failed to come home for the night and claimed that he had passed the time at the Indian clubhouse, i.e., the sudatory. The wife, however, knew better; but she, crafty woman, concealed her suspicions. In her accustomed mild tone she requested her spouse to lay his head on her lap, that she might pull out the odd hairs in his eyebrows, and thus dandify his appearance. Unsuspectingly the husband complied with the wife's request. Shortly afterwards when the husband entered the sweat house, what an uproar there was! Not a hair was left in the eyebrows of the unfortunate man, and his misdemeanor and his punishment stood revealed to the entire tribe. In cases where a husband killed a wife or a wife killed a husband there was no fear of direct blood revenge. The family of the deceased was liable, however, to retaliate by poisoning.

A certain amount of reserve was employed by the Eastern Pomo towards relatives-in-law of the older generation. Thus a husband was bashful towards his wife's mother, father, and uncles. There was no concealment of faces, however, nor hesitancy about addressing this generation. The Melanesian device of addressing these relatives in the plural was employed as a mark of respect. Relatives-in-law of the same generation were on terms of joking relationship.

A very curious custom existed among all the Pomo. Bride and groom had their faces washed by their mothers-in-law. This was done as a mark of esteem and for the purpose of getting acquainted with the new member of the household. The act was repeated daily during the early period of marriage.

The marriages of the North Pomo took place in a manner quite similar to the marriages of the East Pomo. The choosing of the girl was sometimes done by the parents and sometimes by the boy with the consent of his parents. It is not likely that an unwilling couple was ever forced into marriage. Occasionally a marriage was arranged for a child bride, but she always had the privilege of changing her mind as she grew up.

No mention was made of spending the nuptial night in the bush. Often a boy stayed with a girl several nights before he decided to marry her. The boy arranged with the girl that she let him secretly into the house, and the parents never found out until they were informed of the matter.

The usual gifts were exchanged between the two families. The man's side gave fish, deer, and game. The woman's side gave fine pinole and bread. The man's side gave small beads, and the woman's side gave large beads. Some of the bridal price was kept by the bride to be worn at dances, and the rest was divided up among her family. The chief made a speech at the marriage. The substance of the speech consisted in giving advice to both families to conduct the marriage exchange gifts in a fair manner, "Do not try to cheat in the trading; do not act as if poor, trade well."

Sometimes marriages took place in opposition to the wishes of the families. In case the girl's family objected to the man, she was prevented from marrying him. If she stayed with him anyway, she was prevented from having children. Sometimes they bribed her with presents to prevent her marrying a certain man. If a man's family objected to a match the man married the girl anyway, but there was no exchange of presents between the two families.

The newly married couple stayed first with the bride's parents. They changed residence frequently after marriage. If the man's father were a rich man or a chief, they were apt to stay with him. After a child was born the couple often built a house of their own.

If the husband died the wife remained with his family for about a year, and then returned to her own family. Whether she remained the year or not depended on how well she was treated. Sometimes the widow married the younger brother of the deceased in order to keep the children within the family. This was only done in cases where both the widow and her family approved of the younger brother. A man often married his deceased wife's younger sister, especially if she had children.

Divorces were not frequent in the olden days. If a man did not agree with his wife he left her. He usually left the children with the mother. If a woman left a man she took the children with her. A woman was hardly ever willing to leave her children.

The married couple averted their faces when they talked with their relations-in-law of the elder generation. The elders did the same when they talked to the relations-in-law of the younger generation. The children-in-law did not speak loudly, they talked gently with their parents-in-law. When the couple were first married the mothers-in-law washed the faces of the young couple. This was done twice a day before meals for about a week. The polite form of address was used by the children-in-law.

Joking relationship existed between relations-in-law of the same generation. One brother-in-law often called another brother-in-law by the name of a dead person. If he did this to anyone else there would have been a fight. A man would point out another man to his sister-in-law and say, "That's your man." She replied, "I saw your woman here the other day."

Among the Coast Central Pomo marriages are said to have been arranged by the two families always. If a girl wished to marry a certain man, or if a man wished to marry a certain woman, the parents were consulted. The older generation always went to the members of the other family and did the talking, never the boy or the girl. Sometimes the side requesting the marriage was refused. Parents were quite particular at this time, for they investigated both the character of the young person and the family making the request. When a girl was at the marriageable age her mother's people looked around for good matches. They preferred a man who was a good hunter or rich. Sometimes, but not often, her father's people were the matchmakers. A girl could not be forced into a marriage, but neither could she marry against her family's wishes. In all cases of marriage agreements it was the women who did most of the talking. After the marriage was arranged, the parents of the boy went in the daytime and carried beads to the relations of the girl. This was the bride price, amau du. Always as much as possible was given and no return was made for this gift. That night a place was partitioned off in the home of the girl, and the groom came there and slept with his bride.

A week later the groom's family came over and told the bride's family that they had gathered together presents and would bring them over the next day. The following day the presents were brought. This gift was called loc ha'o. The groom's people brought beads, blankets, pinole, meat, fish, abalone, mussels, and bows and arrows. The bows and arrows were for the groom that he might hunt for his new family. The family giving the presents had employed their friends in the gathering. When the donation was made the entire village came to the house of the bride to watch the transaction and the counting of the beads. Afterwards the village helped in consuming the feast. The chief also came to the feast and made a speech. He warned both sides not to cheat one another, not to return less than given, and not to complain.

When the groom first lived with his wife, he remained indoors for a month. The bride stayed with him. For the first month the man

could not handle spears, bows and arrows, or fishnets. He had also to keep away from fish dams. He could not even watch a man who was diving after fish. If he washed himself, however, he could go with the fishermen. He was then clean. He said as a charm, "balam kal," I am clean.

When the young couple moved to the groom's family, the parents of the girl paid back the feast. This was called lalil banae, or pay back. The bride's family brought beads, baskets, pinole, buckeye, acorn mush, sea grass, and acorn bread. This finished the exchange. Another feast was held, and another speech made by the chief.

The groom remained with his wife's people until he became acquainted with them. This took a month. During this period the mother-in-law washed her son-in-law's face. The son-in-law always averted his face when eating. He never communicated with his parents-in-law unless necessary. If he wished anything he asked his wife, and she acted as intermediary. When the son-in-law returned to revisit his wife's people he was less bashful. He always addressed one of them, politely, however, as maiya (German *Sie*), and in speaking about a parent-in-law he said mutiya, they. A parent-in-law addressed a son-in-law as maiya, or used the relationship term in reference. Real names were never employed. The same rules and proscriptions held for a daughter-in-law and her husband's family.

Joking relationships held among the Coast Central Pomo as among other Pomo. A man would say to his sister-in-law, "I saw you with a certain young man." The girl laughed and replied, "I think that I saw you playing with the girls." A man tried to get his sister-in-law sexually excited by his talk. He frequently had an affair with her. I was told that it was customary to marry the sister-in-law after the wife's death.

Divorces were managed in the following unceremonial manner among the Coast Central Pomo. If a woman was living with her people and took offense at her husband, she told him to get out of the house. If the couple were living with the man's family, the husband could order the woman out of the house. The children remained in the home where they were at the time of the separation, either with the husband's family or with the wife's family.

Death and Burial

Cremation was practiced prior to 1870 by all the Pomo. Among the Eastern Pomo the sick person was allowed to die inside the house. Crying was started a short time before a death, but sometimes three or four days before the death. Both men and women cried, not only the relatives, but all who attended the funeral. Only the women, however, scratched themselves. This scratching was done with the finger nails from the temples down to the cheeks and sometimes the breasts were scratched.[93] The women cried by means of singing. Without mentioning the name of the dead or dying person occasion was taken to extol his good qualities. How good he was, how beautiful, etc.[94]

When a person was dying the relatives straightened him out in his bed. Then they closed his eyes. After this they laid a robe over him hiding his face. People kept coming in and piling gifts on the body. The relatives of the dead person kept track of these gifts, and gave back presents later on in return. There were two ways of giving presents to the dead. The first kind of gift was called panak. In this case the donators brought, let us say, eight hundred beads, and said, "Burn this with the dead man." Then some time afterwards a return present was made of seven hundred beads. The extra hundred was burned with the dead. A second method of giving was simply to go to the side of the dead man and say nothing, but put the beads around his neck. This kind of gift was called ghal banik (wampum gift). In this case a similar number of beads was later returned. Nothing was burned with the dead.

The body was allowed to remain in the house for two or three days, according to the desire of the parents. During this period of time robes, beads, and baskets were heaped upon the corpse. The best Pomo baskets were burnt with the dead. Finally the body was placed upon a stretcher, consisting of two poles and cross sticks. The body was decorated all over with beads and wrapped in a valuable skin robe. Then the entire stretcher was covered with more robes and lastly wound from head to foot with deer-snare rope. Four men, not relatives of the dead, carried the stretcher on their shoulders to the place of cremation. These pallbearers had to purify themselves afterwards by bathing.

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[93] From a worldwide survey of this and similar customs I have been led to believe that blood-letting for the dead is a sacrificial custom (Loeb, The blood sacrifice complex, p. 24).

[94] I had the same experience among the Pomo as Koppers had among the Yagan of Tierra del Fuego. The Indians would not sing their mourning songs for me, although all other songs were freely revealed.

Each village had its own burning grounds. These were situated about half a mile from the villages and were not concealed nor secret places. Before the body was brought to the burning grounds a pit about a foot deep was dug, and wood placed in the pit. The body was placed face down, head to the south, on the pyre. Then the chief made a speech to the assembled people exhorting them to keep the peace, and in no maner disparage or poke fun at the dead man. He also extolled the dead. Needless to say, the name of the dead was not employed at this time, but circumlocutions were used. Finally, the man in charge of the funeral had fire brought from the home of the dead and the pile was lighted. While the body was burning the assembled relatives and friends acted as though they were in the utmost frenzy of mind. Powers describes the actions of the Senel Pomo upon the occasion of the burning of a chief's body.

> When the torch was applied they [the mourners] set up a mournful ululation, chanting and dancing about him, gradually working themselves into a wild and ecstatic raving—which seemed almost a demoniacal possession—leaping, howling, lacerating their flesh. Many seemed to lose all self-control. . . . Squaws [even more frenzied in their offerings than the males] wildly flung upon the pyre all they had in the world—their dearest ornaments, their gaudiest dresses, their strings of glittering shells. Screaming, wailing, tearing their hair, beating their breasts in their mad and insensate infatuation, some of them would have cast themselves bodily into the flaming ruins and perished with the chief had they not been restrained by their companions.[95]

In this fine description of a Pomo funeral Powers has overlooked but one point. While the close relatives of the dead acted as mad, and stripped themselves of their dearest possessions in acts of frenzy, yet the friends of the family who assisted at the funeral acted in a more calculating manner. They acted as mad, it is true; yet there was method in their madness, for while the body was burning the relatives looked on and kept close tally of all objects thrown into the fire by the associated mourners. Later on return presents had to be made of equivalent value.

The consumption of a portion of the roasting flesh of the deceased by a mourner was not practiced (to the best of my information) among the Eastern Pomo or the other branches under the scope of this investigation. The practice was evidently confined to the Southeastern Pomo, from whom Mr. Gifford received hearsay information on the eating of a portion of the body of the corpse in case the victim had been killed by a bear; and to the Gallinomero, or Southern Pomo. Joseph Fitch told Powers that he had seen among these people "an Indian become

[95] Powers, Tribes of California, p. 170.

so frenzied that he would rush up to the blazing pyre, snatch from the body a handful of burning flesh and devour it.''[96]

The Juaneño of Southern California had a similar custom, for among these people an outsider was paid to consume a portion of the flesh of a deceased fully initiated Jimson weed cult member. No other customs comparable to this astonishing rite are known from any other region of California nor from any part of the Pacific coast, until the Hamatsa practices of British Columbia are reached.[97] In view of the scattered practice of ceremonial cannibalism along the west coast of North America, pointing as it may to a former widely disseminated cult, it is not without interest to note that among the Chukchee of Eastern Siberia the flesh of the deceased was, in former days, distributed and eaten by relatives.[98]

To revert to the Eastern Pomo: while the body was burning on the pyre a male relative took a long pole and from time to time turned over the corpse to insure its burning evenly, much as though roasting a piece of meat. This official had to purify himself that very evening by bathing and rubbing himself with angelica. The mourners gathered around the blazing pyre had water baskets, and they kept urging their friends to wash their faces. This was an honor which was much esteemed. After the fire had died down, the party dispersed.

The following day the father, or some close male relative of the deceased, came to the place of cremation and picked up any pieces of bone which were not consumed in the fire. These were put in a basket or wrapped in a robe. The depression in which the fire was built was then filled in even with the remainder of the ground and covered with bush, thus removing all traces of the fire. Nearby a small hole three or four feet deep was dug and the robe or basket containing the charred bones was buried.

If the dead person were of importance, or a young person, the period of mourning lasted for a year. At the end of the year a modified form of the Maidu ''burning'' took place. The bones of the dead were dug up and reburnt with donations to the dead. Sometimes the bones were not dug up but the objects merely burnt over the grave. No image of the dead was used at this time. The second burning terminated the period of mourning.

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[96] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society, *op. cit.;* Powers, *op. cit.,* p. 181.

[97] Kroeber, Handbook of Californian Indians, p. 641.

[98] Czaplicka, Aboriginal Siberia, p. 146.

The Siberian and Californian cases of cannibalism were omitted from my maps on the ''Blood sacrifice complex.'' If I had known about the cases at the time it would have aided me in pointing out a possible Siberian source for the entire complex as found in the New World.

During the funeral ceremonies women handled female corpses, and men handled male corpses. It would have been a dangerous thing for a man to handle a female corpse, unless it were his wife. A different person from the one who handled the pole buried the bones.

Young people never handled a corpse. They were also kept away from the smoke of burning bodies, for the smoke was supposed to cause disease. The older people dodged this smoke as well as they could. Many people claimed that the smoke affected the lungs. Young people kept away from all smell of the burning body.[99]

As a token of mourning both men and women relatives of the deceased cut their hair short across the forehead and temples, and singed it, curling the tips. The mother and any close female relative or friend took white clay, wet it, mixed it with a stick in a clam shell, and rolled it into little pellets about the size of a number four shot. Each of these pellets they applied to two or three hairs until the entire forehead was covered. Small sticks to which pellets were attached were also worn in the hair. The clay was worn for a year, or even two years, the pellets being replaced as they fell off. During this time the women did not marry.

It was the custom of the Eastern Pomo women, and all other Pomo women, to "feed the spirits of the dead" for the space of one year. The women walked over the places where the dead used to pass, sang the mourning songs, and sprinkled pinole or acorn meal.[100] No mention of the name of the dead was made in the mourning song. "Here he was, he was great, he was beautiful, etc.," may be taken as a sample of such a song. Sometimes the women danced and sang at the same time in mourning, holding beads in their outstretched hands and calling upon the dead to return. That the mourning of Pomo women is real rather than merely ritualistic I can vouch as eyewitness. Powers mentioned the custom of a Yokaia mother who lost her baby. For the space of a year the mother went every day to some place where her little one played while alive, or to the spot where its body was burned, and milked her breasts into the air.[101]

[99] It would appear that a taboo on young people's being at a burning was widespread throughout the region. A Coast Miwok informant of mine, Smith, claimed that he never saw a burning because he was too young at the time. He must have been close to fifteen years of age when burnings took place.

[100] Kroeber points out that the meal offerings of the Pomo at the time of deaths, and at the Pole dance (the throwing of pinole balls) places the Pomo among the meal offering peoples. This custom of meal offering extends through southern California to the southwest (Kroeber, Handbook of Californian Indians, p. 253).

[101] Powers, Tribes of California, p. 166.

The name for soul, or knowledge, among the East Pomo is miyuk. The informant did not know in what portion of the body the soul was located. When a person was dying they said miyuk dacul (soul lost). After a person died the soul turned into a ghost (ghaluigauk). For four days after the death of the person the ghost lingered around on earth revisiting all the places where the deceased had been. The ghost was especially apt to visit the favorite "haunts" of the deceased, and for this reason the survivors kept away from these places. The Pomo were opposed to burial because they believed that the ghost of the buried person would continue to haunt the spot. It never entered their minds that cremation would enable their departed friends to enjoy still the "soft, pale halo of the lilac hills." The Pomo, unlike Stephen Powers, were not poetic concerning matters of routine. The dead were cremated face downward so that it would be easier for the ghosts to arise, and heads pointing south because the ghosts departed to the south.

The Eastern Pomo believed in a ghost land to the south called ghaluig'a gai (ghost place). It was supposed to lie across great waters. The ghosts had the power to rise above the waters in their migration to the ghost land. The inhabitants of this place were always happy and had plenty of hunting and fishing. All the ghosts had to do was to gather food. There was unbroken peace and no death or disease.

The Pomo also held the conflicting belief that the ghosts linger around on earth. A yomta (head of secret society) told Benson that the ghosts lived forever, yowi hiek (under end unending), after the death of the people. They haunted the earth. This belief he said was accredited by all yomta.

Benson himself believed in two souls. He had discussed the matter with a female sucking doctor and found her ideas much the same. One of these souls went out in times of dreams, to return to the body upon awakening; the other soul left the body at death. Benson became convinced of the actuality of the dream soul by seeing in a dream the ghost of a dead man haunting his familiar place.

The East Pomo word for dream is xaduxadum, or xadu for short. It was believed that dreams were caused by ghosts. If you dreamt about a dead person, it was because the ghost of the dead visited you in your sleep. The ghost appeared in very much the same form as at the time of the person's death. Sometimes the ghost was covered up. Ghosts were seen only by a fully conscious person soon after a death.

The reason for burning the possessions of a dead person was not that the dead might use the objects in the ghost world, but because the possessions would be rendered impure by ghostly visitations. Ghosts returned in the form of dreams and haunted their cherished possessions.

The wife of the informant Benson lost her uncle. All the possessions of the uncle were destroyed excepting a hunting bow. This was overlooked and was kept hanging on the side of Benson's house, partly concealed from view. Benson's wife did not know that the bow was there. One night she dreamt that the ghost of her uncle had returned and was haunting the house. The woman became sick (ghost scare) and an outfit doctor was summoned. The doctor searched the house and found the bow. This was destroyed, the woman recovered, and the house was never haunted again.

The mortuary customs of the Northern Pomo were quite similar to those of the Eastern Pomo.

The mourners began crying when a person was dying. The crying was called minaqomkan (everyone cry). All cut their hair at the time of death, and the close female relatives scratched their faces and singed their eyebrows and hair. White clay balls were put in the hair, micala-piman (clay wear). A man sometimes imitated the mourning custom of the women if he had lost a dearly beloved wife. At Willits the Northern Pomo put black pitch into their hair. This was not done further south because a sucking doctor once dreamt that black was the color of ghosts.

After a person died the body was kept in the house for three or four days. Four was the usual number because there was a story that a man was once burnt in three days and he was still alive. The body was carried out on a stretcher made from two poles laced with wild grape vine. Four men carried the stretcher; anyone could be pall-bearer.

The burning ground was located near the village. It was called ca hone ma q'onen (person burnt ground right-there). Mountain white-wood was used in the fire. The pole man kept turning the body so that it would burn quickly. This man was always a close relative of the deceased. The position was called dja kol qadika hai (person roll from-side-to-side stick). This official was unclean for two or three years following the funeral. He was not allowed to eat meat, hunt, or gamble during this period. He had also to keep away from sick

people. If he approached a sick man on the sunward side, the invalid was doomed to immediate death. The parents and relatives of the deceased abstained from meat, fish, and birds until purified after the funeral. The wife of the deceased, or some other close relative, made a very fine basket and the bones were buried in this. Sometimes the bones were dug up and stolen by an outfit doctor to be used for medicine. After one, two, or even three years the bones were exhumed and a second burning took place. Even after the North Pomo commenced burying the dead, this second burning always took place on top of the grave.

The expense of a funeral was so great that afterwards all of the relatives were down to bed rock. The house in which the death occurred was burnt, and all the personal possessions of the deceased destroyed. The sacred paraphernalia of the dead, such as dancing costume or doctor's outfit, was sunk in a swamp. If, however, the boy who was to take the position of the older man was old enough, he inherited the sacred paraphernalia. If the belongings of the dead were retained, they would be contaminated by the ghost. The relatives keeping such objects would have dreamt of the dead. If insufficient beads and blankets were given to the corpse, the neighbors would have gossiped and related how the family "buried the body naked."

The following vocabulary illustrates certain North Pomo beliefs:

djaduwel	ghost. dja is person, duwé means night.
pacit	shadow.
djuká	breath.
djuká wakón	breath going out, or person dying.
iakóm	lifeless body.
bisele	dead.
dipul	faint.
ka'an	dream.

The North Pomo believed in an island of the dead. They also believed that ghosts remained around their old haunts.

One time a father followed the ghost of his dead son down to the ocean. A black-looking canoe came along. One man was paddling. The son stepped into the boat. The father also asked permission to get into the boat, but was refused on the grounds that he was still alive. Another black boat was sent over, and the father allowed to make the voyage. When the father arrived at the island across the sea he was taken into the sweat house. The son was already in the sweat house. The father could only see the shades of people, the sweat house

was also shadowy. The boy and the father remained in the sweat house for four nights. There was dancing the entire time. The chief told the people how to dance. The dead people gave the father the dancing utensils: the sack, the whistle, and the split rattle. The father was given instructions for four days in the art of singing and dancing. Then he was told to return and teach his people how to dance. As soon as the father returned home he started a dance.

There was no sickness, no sorrow, plenty of food, and lots of sunshine in the island of the dead. The North Pomo thought that the dead could go to this island and back again whenever they pleased.

The informant Bowen (an outfit doctor) once had a personal experience with ghosts. He lost his senses when sick and saw all the dead people standing in a row. But the leader of the dead saw that Bowen was still impure and would not allow him to die.

Among the Coast Central Pomo the crying commenced before the sick person died. The invalid was allowed to die in the house. In case of diarrhoea, however, the sick person was abandoned in the house until after death. Usually, in case of illness, all the relatives kept close watch to see that no poisoner came near to hasten the death. After the death the friends and relatives came bringing beads and baskets. If the gift was made without saying anything it was called dakoi doiyan (mourner made), and an equivalent return present was later expected. If, however, the donators said balemen tjojke (this give), no return present was expected, and the beads and baskets were burned on the funeral pyre. This kind of gift was called djadul talea aneyan (person beads put-on).

The body was usually, although not always, left in the house for four days. This gave time for the ghost to leave. These people had no special burning grounds, but the body was burnt just outside of the house. Wood was brought in from the forest for the purpose. Afterwards the house was burnt and also the possessions of the dead. The sacred paraphernalia were either inherited or buried in a swamp. The spot where the house had stood was never built upon again. Even if a small child died, the place was abandoned in the same manner.

After the funeral pyre had burned down, three or four men relatives kept watch, and the next day collected the bones. A woman relative usually buried them. A man relative might, if the deceased were an unmarried man. This woman relative was called dja ya homo dute (person bones ashes make). She was also the official who used the pole during the burning. This woman was forced to gather

the bones in her hands, and dig a hole for them with her hands.[102] These acts placed the woman under severe restrictions. She had to be fed for eight days by another person, and was not allowed to eat grease, meat, or fish. She was not allowed to touch anything, or scratch herself without the aid of the scratching stick. If the woman touched anything she either became blind or lost her voice. These restrictions were called kokodul batei kalin (eight day fast).[103]

The remaining three or four men or women who witnessed the final burning of the bones were unclean for four days, during which period they fasted from anything containing grease. They finally bathed themselves and were purified. The ordinary mourners who were present at the burning underwent no restrictions, but simply took a bath the next day to purify themselves. The woman who had used the pole and buried the bones of the dead had to be purified by a special ceremony after her eight-day restrictions. She was washed by women relatives and doctored with a song by a yomta (member of secret society). The song used was as follows:

Ho ka a la
Ho ka a la
Awi ya tokai ya
coyote bone bear bone
Djaja ya basitca.
human bone coal from bone.

The yomta sang this song while the women relatives were washing the grave digger. He called on these different kinds of bones (all of which had mana in them) so that the woman would not get sick.

A second burning took place on the top of the grave a year after the death. This was called talea hoknom (beads put-in-fire). The friends and kin came from all the foreign villages bringing beads for the dead. If the dead were a chief, unrelated people came as a sign of sympathy and sorrow. A feast was given and the presents destroyed on top of the grave. No return presents were given but in the case of a death in the other villages these visits were returned, with greater gifts when possible. At times like these everybody gave as much as he could afford in order to show off his wealth.

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[102] Among the North and East Pomo a stick was used in digging the grave, and no severe restrictions were placed on the grave digger.

[103] These restrictions were so severe that they closely resemble the Maori mortuary taboos. Among the Coast Pomo they appear to be a transference from the girl's puberty rites. In many respects the restrictions were similar to those of the grave diggers among the Hupa (Goddard, Life and culture of the Hupa, p. 72).

Burnings were repeated on the tops of graves every time that relatives came from a distance bringing presents.

At the present day the Coast people, like the other Pomo, have substituted burial for burning. This was done by command of the whites who thought burning either unhealthy or irreligious, I am not quite sure which. Nothing new is ever buried with the dead, only the old time Indian things, such as baskets, furs, and beads.

Men and women cut their hair in token of mourning. The women put the customary white clay (ta) on their hair. The clay was kept on for a year as a sign of mourning, during which period of time the women were not allowed to marry. Beads and acorn meal were strewn around the enclosure of the dead man's house the first day after the death. After a year of mourning the women washed and were once more clean. Women mourned for the dead, however, as long as the memory of the departed one persisted. They mourned whenever they came to a place which the dead had frequented.

From the above we see that the Pomo mourning customs were much the same everywhere. This similarity in principle, even though not in detail, holds for all primitive and even some civilized peoples. The ritual of mourning consists everywhere of two basic principles, the sacrifice to the dead, and the wearing of some token indicating contamination by the ghost of the dead. Finally there is the purification and the end of the restrictions. Among the Pomo the cutting of hair, the mutilations of body, the offering of food, and the destruction of property may be considered as sacrificial. The use of white clay or black tar was the only token used by the Pomo indicating impurity. The following vocabulary is of significance in relation to Coast Central Pomo mortuary beliefs:

Ghost	guya		
Death	tciken breath, soul		bedjan go-away
Dying	ul now	sloc last	ada breath
Faint	ba breathing	nitc stop	
Dream	ka'an.		

The soul was supposed to leave the body in four days. The soul after death turned into a ghost which stayed around for four more days and revisited every spot where the deceased had been. It was for this reason that the people burnt everything that the deceased had touched.

Most ghosts went south and did not return, some ghosts, however, lingered around on earth. These ghosts were the spirits of bad people dja basit. (Shadows were bacit.) Bad people were those who lied, stole, and killed. This kind of ghost stayed around and killed people. Ghosts were never seen in waking hours. Only lights and noise were observed. When people heard a ghost crying in the night, they went out and yelled, asking, "Who is crying?" Then the ghost disappeared. Sometimes the ghosts carried lights and sometimes they did not

The breath or soul of a person was contained in the heart (kam). If a person fainted, his soul left the body. Then the man had to be doctored in order that his soul should once more return to the body. A yomta (member of secret society) brought back the soul by singing.[104]

Ghosts were seen in dreams. They usually appeared if the belongings of the dead were left around and not burnt. Then the ghost appeared and told the survivors what to do with the defiled property.

There was among all the Pomo a sexual division concerning the matter of credulity in ghostly beliefs. "Women," said my informant Benson, "are much more liable to get ghost sick than are the men. They are more susceptible to the disease." This is another case of intuitive psychology's going wrong. Women were rendered susceptible by nurture and not by nature to this curious ailment. The old ghost religion itself was not directed against the women as its primary purpose, although all of the Pomo still believe that it was; but the feelings and emotions of the Pomo women were played on by the men as a side issue of this cult.

> The Central California women are inclined to rebel against the tyranny of their masters, more than is usual in other tribes. A refractory Tahtoo (North Pomo) wife is sometimes frightened into submission. The women have a great dread of evil spirits, and upon this weakness the husband plays. He paints himself in black and white stripes to personate an ogre, and suddenly jumping in among his terrified wives, brings them speedily to penitence.[105]

It does not appear that this frightening was ever done by a husband to his wife or wives. I was informed that if two families were hostile to each other, the men of the one might thus scare the women of the other. The costume used was the ordinary one used by the ghosts who ran in at the time of the old ghost dance. Among the Eastern

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[104] Among these people all the yomta were doctors, and there were no doctors outside of the society. This appears to be the first statement on record that sickness was due to the loss of the soul in any Californian tribe north of the Mohave. (See Kroeber, Handbook, p. 851.)

[105] Bancroft, Native races, II, 391.

Pomo the man striped himself with black paint and white clay. He put the pitch headgear on his head. Then he dug a hole by the side of a path and buried himself to the waist. He kept his face concealed with the customary half mask of twigs. When the woman he wished to frighten came along the path he uttered a cry. The woman became terrified at the sight and ran away. If she returned a short time afterwards the ghost was gone. Then she became sick. In the same way among the Coast Central Pomo the man dressed in his guya (ghost) costume and hid along the path. When the woman that he wished to scare came along he peeped from the side of the bush, with his body all shining. The woman ran off as fast as she could. The informant stated that some women became sick from the sight and others did not.

3. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS; FOLKWAYS

Crimes and Punishments

It has been seen that chiefs among the Pomo acted the part of peacemakers, and not as the enforcers of law. Moreover there were, in our sense of the word, no laws to enforce. Crimes committed against members outside of the kin, village, or tribe, had to be compounded for in money payment; but unlike the tribes of northwest California, the Pomo had no fixed rates determining the payment for offenses. The rule always held that the greater the payment, the greater the chance of preserving the peace. The ceremonial of preserving the peace always consisted of the customary exchange of presents, with the offending party making the greater gifts.

All my informants were unanimous in declaring that crime was rare among the Pomo before the whites introduced whiskey and their own customs. The Pomo were very circumspect in regard to their conduct towards their kin, for a man's entire security in life depended on his kin affiliations; they were equally circumspect in their treatment of strangers, for the Pomo lived in constant fear of poisoning. Theft was practically unknown. Punishment was lacking, only the return of the stolen article being required. Murder in another village was settled by the chief's giving the parents of the murdered man money collected for the purpose.

Poaching on other people's property was supposed to have a special punishment if a man made a habit of it. The bear doctor, concerning whom more will be mentioned in the following chapter, put on his bear skin costume, which was lined with soaproot fiber and acted as an

armor. He lay in wait for the trespasser and when the poacher came along the bear doctor leaped from behind a bush and proceeded to beat him so that he would be incapacitated for a week or two. The lesson usually did not have to be repeated.

I have printed the above as given by the informant Benson. Actually I do not believe that there was a single bear doctor among the Pomo. The mere fact, however, that the Pomo believed in bear doctors and the power of poisoners must have acted as a powerful deterrent of wrong doing. Once these beliefs were shaken by the contact with whites the Pomo youths became unruly towards their tribal customs. The pragmatic power of a belief is not dependent upon the truth inherent in the conception, but upon the vividness with which it plays upon the imagination of the believer.

Lying was very rare, and considered reprehensible among the Pomo, as among neighboring tribes.

In cases of adultery, one of the two men involved sometimes killed the other. Cases have been cited in this chapter in which the husband wrought his revenge upon the guilty wife, and, more rarely, cases in which the wife wrought her revenge upon the guilty husband.

Unmarried women were not punished for sexual offenses unless they became notoriously loose in their conduct. In this event they were sometimes driven from the house by their parents.

A curious form of procedure was enacted by the Pomo in order to counteract the pernicious influence of the whites. If a man became so contaminated by alien influence that he was considered a dangerous character and a perpetual nuisance, his fellow villagers attempted to lead him back to the fold by giving him honors and responsibilities. He was taken into the secret society; if he had the proper social standing he was appointed a boy chief, or even a chief—all of this being on the theory that he would return to native custom if he occupied a responsible position.

This information was supplied by Benson for the East Pomo. No actual cases were given. Such a proceeding would have been the exact opposite of former Pomo custom.

Oaths of any kind were unknown to the Pomo, other than those sworn to at the time of taking the position of doctor, chief, or member of the secret society. The yomta (head of secret society) supervised the taking of such an oath.

Folkways

Kissing, embracing, or the outward demonstration of any strong friendly emotion was contrary to Pomo custom. When two friends or relatives met who had not seen each other for some time, they put their arms around each other and stroked one another. They might have spoken to one another as follows, using the North Pomo dialect: tjano kudi ta na? (word good is it?) etsin (yes). Or if something was wrong the answer might have been: yi ti'ic kano ma (no bad that way is). O tsin tana? (what is it?). duwe dja bano djana (last-night person kill person, it was done).

If you meet a man and he insults you, you say: sinta ma to djanodin? (what you me talking [person]?) ti'ic djanodin (bad talking [person]).

Sometimes in order to insult you a man will say that your dead father was no good, that he was a fighting man: badi bemo adin (father fighting it is done). The reply is, "No, he was a good man" sinta mona ba kudi mona (what that way he good that way). Then you pick up a rock or stick in order to settle the matter.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION

1. CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

The Eastern Pomo conceived the earth as being flat, floating in water. It was arched over by ghali, the cloudless sky. According to the Eastern Pomo story of creation the earth was made from a ball of gum taken from under the armpits of Kuksu, the first man, and Marumda, the creator. The Coast Central Pomo, in a similar manner thought of the earth as a four-cornered flat island floating upon the water. Each corner was held up by a pole and each pole had a deity whose duty it was to keep the earth firmly in position.[106]

The Eastern Pomo believed that Marumda and Kuksu not only made the world, but that they made the animals and people and gave them all their arts and crafts. Coyote was only briefly mentioned in the creation story which I received, and he entered the plot in the guise of trouble maker. The Coast Central and Northern Pomo, on the other hand, knew nothing about Marumda, but conceived of Coyote as the creator and benefactor of mankind.[107]

The Eastern Pomo had six main spirits associated with their six cardinal points. The outfit doctor prayed to these spirits, when making medicine or commencing the treatment of the day, in the following order:[108]

south	kuksu matutsi	kuksu initiate
east	marumda matutsi	marumda initiate
north	su'ú padax matutsi	whirlwind initiate
west	xa matutsi	water initiate
sky	ghali matutsi	sky initiate
earth	gai matutsi	earth initiate

The god Calnis was supposed to live with Kuksu in the south. However, he was neither prayed to nor mentioned in the creation stories.

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106 For a more complete treatment of Pomo cosmology and cosmogony, see Loeb, The Creator concept among the Indians of North Central California.

107 The Eastern Pomo informant, Jim Pumpkin, told Mr. Gifford and me that he believed Coyote and Marumda to be one and the same. Evidently the original conception of Coyote split into Marumda + Coyote among only certain of the Eastern Pomo.

108 Freeland, Pomo doctors and poisoners, p. 61.

The Northern Pomo outfit doctor also prayed to the spirits of the six directions in the same order as the East Pomo doctor. The names of the spirits, however, were different.

south	kuksu dasan matutsi	powerful kuksu initiate
east	da matutsi	sun initiate
north	shai'i matutsi	eagle initiate
west	ka matutsi	water initiate
sky	makila matutsi	thunder initiate
earth	djawuwel matutsi	ghost initiate

The Coast Central Pomo doctor prayed to only four[109] directions, and in his prayer he mentioned the names of the directions, and not the gods residing at the spots. The names of these gods, according to the creation story, were:

south	kuksu, kuksu mata	kuksu and wife
north	ya djaj	wind man
east	ka'a djaj, ka'a mata, ho djaj	daylight man and wife, fire man
west	ka djaj	water man

The guya or ghosts were believed to be below the earth, and hence this direction was never invoked in prayer by the Coast Central Pomo.

Thunder man was an important god among all the Pomo. The Coast Central story of creation furnished this deity with four names: Cadjata, Bakeela, Hikok, and Kaliba tautau. The Northern Pomo gave one name, Makila; the Eastern Pomo one name, Kalimatoto. Thunder man was described by a Coast Central informant as having white skin and very long hair. He wore buzzard feathers, and also buzzard wings which were not a permanent attachment but were merely donned occasionally. When Thunder man flapped his wings it made the sound of thunder,[110] he flew so fast that he made the roaring sound of the wings, he had something bright under his arms, and when he raised his wings he caused the lightning (tsa). According to a North Pomo informant Thunder man was a god who had a coat made of abalone shell, and he also had abalone shell eyes. He wore a hair net and dancing feathers on his head. When he made the thunder he just stood in one place and shook the abalone shells, this made the thunder roll. When Thunder man winked his eye, lightning (dsat') flashed forth. The Eastern Pomo had a similar conception of Thunder man.

[109] One informant said that a god in heaven was also prayed to, making five cardinal points. I have reason to believe, however, that this informant was influenced by Christian belief.

[110] According to the Coast story of creation Thunder man made the thunder by shaking a deer skin coat.

The Pomo were afraid of thunder as a bad sign, but were not usually afraid of lightning. A North Pomo shaman told me, however, that if an Indian's wife had a young baby, or was menstruating, lightning was liable to get into his blood and make him sick.

Among the East Pomo the humming bird (tsudu yun) was believed to be the uncle of Thunder man. This was because in his swift flights up and down he was supposed to resemble a flash of lightning. The humming bird was never killed, for fear that a thunder storm would come along and do serious damage, and its nest was used as a powerful charm.

The bull roarer everywhere among the Pomo was believed to be the voice of Thunder man. This belief extended to the Coast Miwok. At the same time Thunder man himself made the thunder by means other than the bull roarer. It was sometimes stated that the bull roarer was the voice of the dead, because it was used in the old ghost ceremony. It is not improbable, and I have heard it so stated, that women and children held largely to the latter opinion.

The Pomo had no general name for spirit that I was able to obtain. All of nature, and many abstract qualities, were either personified or thought to be the abode of spirits. The names of certain of these spirits were collected by Barrett.[111] Not only such names as Rock man and Bush man were on the list, but disease and insanity were also personified.

The East Pomo informant Benson furnished this generalization on the religion of his people:

> The people believe that the whole of nature contains spirits. Dano gauk is the mountain spirit. Bagil is the water spirit. Bagil controls running water, such as rivers and lakes. Kalimatoto, the thunder spirit, controls the rain. The spirit of the mountain controls bears and rattlesnakes, and is constantly seeking to work harm on people visiting the mountains. Marumda and Kuksu are the only good spirits. The others are all evil. Evil spirits have to be prayed to in order to prevent mishaps. There are also many charms [prayers?] in which the good spirits are invoked. If a man wishes to cut down a tree, he prays: Hio, wilai piXaghum, Marumda hemip (quick cut-have-it him).
>
> There is a belief that all animals were once people, but at the destruction of the world they were turned into animals. Unusual rocks and natural objects are thought to be alive. A rock spirit looks like a rock but it has a human face and language. Xabe gauk was the name of Rock Man who tried to kill Gray Squirrel. The tree spirit looks like a tree. It can appear as a man, and then turn back again into a tree.
>
> Plants are thought to be alive, the juice is their blood, and they grow. The same is true of trees. All things die, therefore all things have life. Because all things have life, gifts have to be given to all things. This is called gaXol cayoi (outwards gift).

[111] Barrett, Pomo bear doctors, p. 459.

The theory here expounded is animistic. The spirits mentioned are always in the form of human beings, as Rock man, Sun man, Moon woman, Disease man. The Pomo conceives of the entire world in terms of himself. Ghosts play their part in the cosmos, but neither human souls, nor human ghosts have anything to do with the animated Pomo spirit world.

The East Pomo believed in a giant who lived in the olden times. His name was Gauklia. He was very strong and could break down limbs or crush rocks. There were a wide number of peculiar beings which a man or woman might encounter, especially among the hills. If a person saw one of these beings he became sick, or sometimes became a sucking doctor. In no case, however, did the sucking doctor then keep the apparition as a true guardian spirit.

The North Pomo shaman Bowen mentioned the names of some of these beings. Naked people without heads, cina tako (head no), lived in the mountains and had their sweat house there. A striped man, dja dotan (man striped), also frightened people in the mountains. A headless bear or headless ghost might frighten people. Anything unusual would have the same effect, as a house turning over, or the ground shaking.

The water monster, Bagil, has often been referred to in connection with the beliefs about menstruation. The word Bagil is East Pomo, the North Pomo word is Mata kau, and the Coast Central Pomo word Kauwawul. Bagil means long, and refers to the snake shape which she can assume. Her brother was a cannibal dragon called Gilak. This is the story of Bagil, as related by the East Pomo Benson.

Bagil woman lived near a spring. She lived partly in the water and partly on land. She made a boat-shaped basket to keep her things in. It had designs on it, but they weren't usual designs. They were a mixture of frightening objects. She would put it bottom-side up in the water and move it about her head to frighten people: perhaps a woman making baskets when she should not, or a man hunting or making nets or wampum. Her brother Gilak helped her spy. They would both go in strange forms looking for people who were breaking taboos in order to frighten them. Bagil might appear as a snake, or a spotted fawn, or a monster mixture of the two. She sometimes appeared as a woman with a red feather basket on her head, and a kebú ghal, or belt of beads and feathers around her. Whatever the form, the guilty were struck with sickness at the sight.

In order to avoid the dreaded sight of Bagil it was necessary for a woman to obey all the rules and regulations pertaining to childbirth and menstruation. The husband also had to refrain from his usual occupations when his wife had a newly-born child, was menstruating, or after sexual intercourse. To dream of sexual intercourse was quite

as bad as the act itself. The dread which filled the Pomo concerning contact with the female sex is well illustrated by the following North Pomo doctoring song. This song was used after a Bagil scare.

yo	duliwala	Matakau	ya
under	crawling	earth-serpent (Bagil)	him
yeu	balaili	wana	gun
menstruation	blood	walking	were
kawia	loli	wana	gun
birth	placental-fluid	walking	were
ka'an	tsili	wana	gun.
dream	sexual-intercourse	walking	were.

Free translation. Gabil crawled under you. Perhaps your wife was in menstruation, or in childbirth, or perhaps you dreamt of sexual intercourse.

2. MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

In introducing the subject of the miscellaneous beliefs and observances held by the Pomo Indians, a word would perhaps not be out of place as to why I have omitted the use of the term superstitions. I am not here entering protest against the layman's use of the word "beliefs" as labeling his own credulities, and the word "superstitions" as labeling those of others. Such a protest should be needless to the scientific world and would be useless elsewhere. There has, however, been a tendency since the development of scientific anthropology, and long before, to speak about the savage as having another order of mentality than our own. Here again I am not seeking to criticize the so-called French school of "Collectivism." Any mistakes that the philosophers of this persuasion have made on the point in question or in other matters have been amply dealt with by more competent critics than myself. I will therefore limit myself to the views of the English philosopher, Marett. This scholar, while ordinarily having keen insight into the workings of primitive religion, writes "The savage has no word for 'nature.' He does not abstractly distinguish between an order of uniform happenings and a higher order of miraculous happenings."[112]

Now I have found from experimentation that the Pomo, as well as other primitive people with whom I have come in contact, are quite aware of this distinction, or, at least as well aware of it as the non-scientifically trained European. A Pomo will shake with laughter

[112] Marett, Threshold of religion, p. 109.

upon hearing of the beliefs and practices of alien peoples and yet will find ample reasons to excuse his own no less bizarre traditions. He quickly sees the impossibility of the Maori doctor killing a chicken by charms, because this runs counter to his ordinary observations on natural events. That his own doctors should kill people by charms and magic appears natural. He has been taught this from earliest childhood, and any reasoning that he has done on the subject has been in the way of making rationalizations. The Maori give mana to their sons by having the son suck the father's big toe; the Pomo give mana to their sons by the father rubbing the arms and legs of the son and praying. When I mentioned the Maori method to my informant Benson, he laughed heartily over the matter and vowed that if he ever went to that country he would make the chiefs suck his big toe. Benson, in spite of his part-white ancestry and his opportunities to receive Christian training, still believes in his Indian traditions. "The creation of the world by Marumda and Kuksu seems more sensible to me than the account given in the Bible," he said, "Marumda and Kuksu had something out of which they could make the world, but the God in the Bible made the world out of nothing."

The Pomo are an emotionally fatalistic people. While the term "luck" enters into their own language, and more especially into their English vocabulary, I am inclined to the belief that the word mana or medicine affords a better translation for many of the native concepts. Sickness and misfortune are always believed to be the results of the breaking of a taboo, or the work of a malicious enemy; health and prosperity, of proper prayer, charms, or ceremony. Among the Pomo if a man fell down and broke his leg while hunting, his misfortune was not attributed to bad luck but to the fact that he had broken a taboo. While I was visiting the Northern Pomo an old man took sick and died. I listened in on the family discussion concerning the cause of the illness. The shaman Bowen settled the matter. The man took sick because he had burned his ceremonial split stick rattle.

Benson, my Eastern Pomo informant, declared that an infringement of a taboo (ghalé, E) was always punished by the culprit's becoming afraid of something and turning sick. He illustrated this by a case in point. His people had a taboo on a man's giving meat which he had himself obtained to a woman if she had recently had sexual intercourse, or was menstruating, or was heavy with child. Benson himself once gave a piece of venison from a deer that he had just killed to a woman who was heavy with child. The woman at once

vomited up the meat. From that time on Benson spent all of his time chasing deer which he merely imagined seeing. He never killed any and he grew quite thin. An old hunter came upon Benson while he was in this condition. The hunter questioned Benson and then informed him that he had broken a taboo and would die unless doctored up. The hunter took Benson into the woods, sweated him over a small fire with the aid of four sacred herbs, and bathed him in running water. After this Benson regained his health.

Among the Coast Central Pomo the word for taboo was galcidu. Taboos were mostly connected with the functions of women and with the treatment of the dead.

Uncleanliness was called cibas yote. If a man came from contact with a woman, he was told to go away, he was cibas yote. If a man had contact with the dead, a grave digger for instance, there was no word to express his form of uncleanliness.

Kanu was a charm, and kaocal mana used to counteract the effects of bad spirits and ghost fright.

Mana

The mana concept of the Pomo, unlike the tipni of the Yokuts, bears no reference to supernatural beings. Pomo human beings, however, have mana, and transmit mana. The Pomo sometimes translate their words for mana by the English word luck, and sometimes by the English word medicine. The Polynesian word "mana" appears to give the better translation.

Among the Eastern Pomo the act of giving mana by action, that is by rubbing, was called dŏŏlki. Dŏŏl means to reach. A man always gave mana by rubbing the younger relative he was training for his position.

The giving of mana served many purposes, as:

kalbia dŏŏlki	wealth give
gauk masan dŏŏlki	great man give

When mana was given in prayer, by the use of words, the act was called bāŏlki.

When a man gave his maternal nephew or son his position he also gave him his power or mana. He did this by degrees from the time that the child was a young boy until he became initiated. This was done partly by prayer, and partly by rubbing the arms of the boy, if the old man wished the boy to be a good shot; or the legs, if the youth was to be a good runner or dancer.

Among the North Pomo mana was called dotaman. The following is a prayer sung by an elder relative while rubbing the arms of his nephew in order to give him mana:

O	dakam	abual	
Yes	help	this-one	
dja	masan	mo	nakéna
man	powerful	him	be-that-way
huin	dotaman		
come-to-him	mana		
kudi	nakéna.		
good	be-that-way.		

Among the North Pomo all the instructing and giving of mana were said to have been done in the sweat house.

Among the Coast Central Pomo, as elsewhere, mana (kaocal) was handed down in the family. Mana usually was inherited by maternal nephews. In order to inherit the mana it was necessary to be given the sacred outfit, as the fishing outfit, and the kaocal songs. The rubbing was an essential part of the proceedings. When a man was teaching his nephew he rubbed his arms with angelica and sang to him. This gave the nephew kaocal. Everytime that the boy was going on a dangerous hunt or swim, the uncle rubbed his arms and legs. The uncle also prayed:

ba	limto	bacit	am	ketam.
this	will	shadow	struck	not.
ba·	limto	makitsu	ketam.	
this	will	scared	not.	

Bows and arrows were rubbed with pepperwood leaves, in order to give them kaocal. If a man was always successful he was said to have kaocal, and the same was true of a bow and arrow. A prayer had to be uttered while the bow and arrow were being rubbed, as:

bate	mit	to	snē	matci.
big	one	(?)	near	come.

Contamination from a woman was more powerful than kaocal, and a menstruating woman could ruin the kaocal of a poisoner.

Bones were very much used in medicine by the yomta, or members of the secret society, of the Coast Central Pomo. Bones of human beings had kaocal in them by their very nature, but whale bones were lacking in kaocal until this quality was induced into them by a yomta.

Only the yomta could gather the bones of dead people, dja ya (human bone) for doctoring. After the bones had been gathered they were placed over hot stones, and the patient was sweated. The cure

was affected by the singing of the doctor and the use of the bones. Only yomta could work this cure. Rheumatism and fevers were cured in this way.

Doctoring was also done on top of graves, without removing the bones. Permission was supposed to have been obtained from the relatives of the deceased, but if this permission was not obtained the grave was made use of anyway. A fire was built on top of the grave, and the patient sweated over the fire. Any disease could be cured in this manner by the yomta.

The whale bone could be used by the Coast Central Pomo for the curing of disease. A common person could gather the whale bone, for it had no kaocal in it until the yomta sang over it. Usually the yomta, however, gathered the whale bone. He cut it up and placed it in warm water, and while he was cutting it up he sang over it in order to give it kaocal:

amto	kaocal	kadula	kate	ya.
it-take-you	mana	come-get-you	whale	bone.

This was really a prayer to the sacred whale to place healing power in his bones.

The yomta did not sweat the patient over the whale bone, but he acted the part of the East Pomo outfit doctor while using the bone. Cures for sharp pains in the body were effected by this means. The yomta pressed the whale bone four times on the pained portion of the patient's body, singing each time: "wuk, wuk, wuk, wuk." Then the yomta blew on the end of the whale bone and thus blew off the pain which had been extracted from the patient. Another way of effecting a cure was as follows: The yomta first drew the whale bone four times across the chest of the patient, making a lip-sound each time: br, br, br, br. Next he pretended to cut four times with the whale bone over the pained portion of the patient's body. Each time he sang: Hi djaka homle, bagil ya (I cutting am, whale[113] bone).

A flint knife (percikdja, C) was also used by the yomta for curing. It was used for curing consumption and other sickness. The pain was cut away in the same fashion as with the whale bone. The outfit for cutting, either the human bone, the whale bone, or the flint knife, was always gathered for the occasion and not kept permanently. Shark bones were never used for cutting. Nowadays horse bones are substituted for whale bones in curing, and the modern maru cult doctors put mana in them by singing.

[113] The substitution of the name of Bagil for that of the whale is of interest.

The Eastern Pomo also doctored over the tops of graves. The grave had to belong to a person who had died an unnatural death. An ant house made of small sticks was taken and a fire made out of it over the grave. Then the patient was sweated over this fire by the outfit doctor.

The Northern Pomo outfit doctor, Bowen, denied that his profession ever doctored over graves They did, however, doctor with the bones, or coals, of dead people. These were called dja yal (man bone). Sweating by means of these bones was beneficial for thinness of blood or blood in the urine. The cure was also applied to poisoning cases. In the latter case the doctor sang as follows: Hee ma yiyaná (he got sick by this). Then the doctor ran through the list of things which might have poisoned the man, such as the water dog (otter), the water snake, a two-pointed rock, the chicken hawk, red paint, the bone of a dead man, etc.

Charms

Charms were called xunu by the Eastern Pomo. The important men of the family kept them hung up in a deerskin bag called xunú xola (charm bag). The charms were usually handed down by inheritance, usually on the female side, with the professions. Different kinds of charms were used for fishing, hunting, and gambling.

Method of making a charm: In order to use an object for a charm it must in the first place be something unusual. Secondly, it must have mana induced into it by appropriate song and action. If a man found a peculiar rock, for example, a forked rock or one with a hole in it, he might take it home to put it in his charm bag. After he arrived home he built a fire, according to Eastern Pomo custom, and put four sacred herbs on the fire. These were bitter weeds, bay leaves, angelica roots, and pine seeds. He substituted the eggs of the turtle for one of these ingredients when possible. He allowed the fire to burn down, then he put more bay leaves on the coals and finally he wrapped the rock with bay leaves, put it on the coals, and allowed it to remain there for four days. After this it was ready to be put among the other charms.

The following prayer could be said over the stone while it was being heated:

xunu	ibai	catani	xunu	ibai
charm	will-be	bead	charm	will-be
winamuli	xunu	ibai	yawalmiam	
thick-beads	charm	will-be	everything	
xunu	ibai	ganuq'udi		ibai.
charm	will-be	kernel, or good words		will-be.

Varieties of charms: Feathers were also used for charms. The feathers had to be of a certain kind, such as blue-jay feathers, which were considered very lucky. Or the feathers from a white mutation of a certain brown bird. When a sufficient quantity had been collected the feathers were woven together and tied with a string. Then they were washed with water obtained from soaking four herbs. Finally the feathers were hung up on a hill for four days and then brought home and put in the charm bag. There were special deer charms called bice padok, E (deer doll). These were made of rare stone found high up in the mountains, a dark stone which flaked like slate and had the appearance of granite. It was polished. These charms were sometimes sold if the hunter were old and had no one to whom he wished to bequeath his outfit. Humming bird nests were also used for deer charms. Not only was the humming bird related to the thunder god, but he also made his nest out of all sorts of queer hairs, thus giving it a peculiar power. The nest was also very rare. Deer charms were kept stored away in the deer head disguise in the woods.[114]

Obsidian rock was used for charms of various kinds. A little blue striped lizard was used, if the Indians could find one with a forked tail. This was killed and allowed to dry. Nothing more had to be done to the animal to make it efficacious as a gambling charm. The heads and tails of gophers and bull snakes were kept if they were of peculiar form. A string of these were treated like the string of feathers to convert them into charms.

Bowen gave this information for the North Pomo: If a person were out walking and saw a peculiar rock, or a snake with two heads or tails, or a milk white snake, he threw down beads, any number from four upwards. Then he prayed:

dotaman	kakamto	dakamto,
mana	give-it-to-me	help me,
kudina	salánakena,	ō!
good	clear me	yes

Only doctors picked up these things for charms. If an outsider found one of these objects he told a doctor about it.

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[114] Dr. J. W. Hudson in a letter to Mr. Gifford tells about "a deer charm, bice xunu, taken from the stomach of a deer by Pomo of the Kuanapan stock. The stone in question was very hard, and not an artifact. It was supposed, after the needed rites, to have great power in obtaining the sought-for game." The white man who brought the stone to Dr. Hudson placed a fabulous value upon it and declared it as effective in his hands as in the Indians'. He also stated that it saved the life of a snake-bitten woman by drawing out the virus.

On the coast if kelp or mussels were found in peculiar form they were kept as charms, but abalone was not. One man who tried the use of abalone as a charm became presently covered with sores and swellings. A doctor (yomta) told him to throw the abalone away and he soon recovered.

Sacrifice and Prayer

Among the Eastern Pomo when the Indians dug angelica at Uncle Sam's mountain they always left a mock sacrifice of beads or feathers as payment to the spirit of the mountain.[115] There is a story that a white man once wished to put up a flag on Uncle Sam's mountain. He was unable to, for the flag always fell down. Finally the Indians told him that if he wished to be successful he would first have to make a payment to the water spirits. All these water spirits were the children of Bagil, but when you looked down at them they appeared to be merely black or striped fish. The white man paid his sacrifice by throwing beads into the water, and after that his flag remained standing. Another white man wished to cut down a large size tree of peculiar form and the Indians knew that spirits lived in the tree. They saw them. Every time that the white man tried to cut down the tree he got swollen eyes and swollen arms. Finally the man put money under the tree and then he was able to chop it down.

If a hunter saw a rattlesnake he took some mole mound and threw it at the snake, saying: me ha mi ma nak bae (this I you pay you to). The rattlesnakes lived on moles and therefore received the mound as a food offering.

Gamblers threw sixteen beads, four at a time, into a den of rattlesnakes in order to obtain mana for gambling. If the rattlesnakes came out and picked up the beads it was considered a favorable omen for the man making the gift. This kind of present was called cayan dōŏlki, E (gift act-of-giving-mana-by-action).

The Northern Pomo offered sacrifice every time they met a peculiar snake or lizard. If they failed to make the necessary oblation they ran the risk of becoming blind. If a man wanted to hit the sacred animal he had to look the other way. If he did not the animal entered into his blood and made him sick.

The Coast Central Pomo made sacrifice at the time of laying the central pole for the ghost house. The entire village contributed some four or eight beads apiece. These beads were collected and placed

[115] See p. 171.

under the center pole as a foundation sacrifice. After this the leading member of the secret society made a prayer.

These people did not throw beads to animals except when they were preparing to swim out to sea either for seals or for sea lions. Some multiple of four beads was thrown into the sea so that the men would not see a shark. The prayer uttered was: ba la to golcai oiltcu (this I will throw away). The people also prayed in order to keep the whale (possibly "killer whale") away.

Prayer.—The Pomo made sacrifice only to evil spirits and to the ghosts of the recently departed. Prayers, however, were addressed both to good spirits and to bad. Among the Eastern Pomo, Marumda was frequently addressed in prayer, while among the other branches the "father in heaven" was invoked in prayer. I am quite certain that this "father in heaven" was no other than Coyote, although the name of this Pomo creator was never mentioned in the prayer. I was at first told that the Pomo creator and "father in heaven" was "all same as Christian God," but further inquiry made my informant admit that Coyote was the father in heaven to whom his people prayed. Whether or not Marumda and Coyote were primarily otiose gods and only later became supervisors over the affairs of man through Christian influence, or whether prayers were always addressed to these divinities, is a question which is at present impossible to answer.[116]

lilet		cude		kanu	nitop	yowato
up-above (Coyote)		down-below (myself)		I	here	ground

cule	mi	kani	eli	kani	inkala
favor	do	me	watch	me	look-at-me

kanu	cule	mi	kani	toya	ele	kani
I	favor	do	me	good	watch	me

lilet	cude.
up-above	down-below.

The Northern Pomo had a prayer which was to be uttered before starting a journey:

ho!	kudi	dakamto,	edai,	kakamto
yes!	good	help-me	father	give-it-to-me

toda	kudi	a nakena	sana	kohukena
I-want-it	good	I-will-be-that-way	I-will-be-well	that-way-go-round

dutal	co.
sick	not.

[116] Among the Coast Miwok the creator Coyote (wayoki) was also frequently invoked in prayer, but his name was never mentioned. Twice a day the informant (Smith) offered the following prayer, with the palm of his right hand extended to the heavens in Roman fashion.

The Northern Pomo also had special prayers to be said before fishing, such as: Matakau yolde notcaie (Bagil down come-here). The fish were the children of Bagil, and so were summoned in this fashion. After praying, the fisherman, if he wished to be successful, rubbed his hands and pole with angelica and pepperwood leaves so as to throw off all bad luck. This bad luck could have been caused by intercourse with a woman, or his wife might have been menstruating. Another version of this fishing prayer ran: Matakau yol didila (Bagil down going). The Coast Central Pomo had a prayer to the father in heaven which they used before swimming out for seals. It was supposed to be efficacious in keeping whales away. Yaka baeá to ma (our father me you), kitsga nigam (scared don't).

All the Pomo were, as they expressed it, very religious, and it is still the custom of the old men to pray at least twice daily before washing their faces.

Name Taboos

Clodd writes on this subject:

> To the civilized man, his name is only a necessary label: to the savage it is an integral part of himself. He believes that to disclose it is to put its owner in the power of another, whereby magic can be wrought on the named. He applies it [the taboo] all round—to himself, to his relatives and friends, to persons and things invested with sanctity, to the dead as well as the living, and to demons and to godlings, and, in the ascending scale, to the great gods themselves.[117]

I presume that Mr. Clodd does not intend to include all savages in this generalization; certainly the Polynesians were usually free from name taboos. Possibly there is a correlation between the extensive practice of witchcraft and the taboos on names. At any rate the California Indian, and I can especially vouch for the Pomo, specialized in both witchcraft and name taboos.

Mention has already been made on page 257 of the difficulties of obtaining the real names of the Indians. Evidently magic could not be worked on nicknames, for these were freely bandied about. Dr. Kroeber, in discussing the reasons for the taboo on the names of the dead in California, is inclined to treat it as an isolated phenomenon, and as such he places little credence in the ghost-evoking power of the name of a dead person. In his opinion the name of a dead person was avoided chiefly out of respect to the family of the dead.[118] The fact

[117] Clodd, Magic in names, p. 36.

[118] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 360.

remains, however, that the names of evil spirits were also taboo, in a manner identical with the taboo on the names of the dead, and the reluctance about naming these spirits was clearly due to the desire to avoid invoking their presence.

The Eastern Pomo informant Benson stated that there was no belief among his people concerning the custom of avoiding the name of the dead other than the avoidance of insult to the dead person. He stated that this taboo was always observed, and instead of naming the dead his people would employ some circumlocution such as, "that man who died recently." Later he admitted that there were other beings besides ghosts whose names were taboo. "If you talk about the dead, or about Gilak (the dragon), or about Kalimatoto (the thunder god), they hear you, and believe that you are making fun of them. Then they will appear and make you sick."

Other names were also tabooed among the Eastern Pomo. The Shoshonean custom of avoiding the name of the rattlesnake in summertime was observed here, as among the other Pomo. Instead of saying xas, one said instead xauxale, the biter. Another kind of snake never mentioned by either the Eastern or Northern Pomo was a large bull snake called T'in, E, N. It was supposed to come from far under the ground and be minus a head and tail. If an Indian saw this snake it made him sick. There was a story that an Indian girl looked at this snake while white children were throwing stones at it. The Indian girl also commenced throwing stones at the snake and a short time afterwards became sick.

The name for ghosts was never mentioned among any of the Pomo. Circumlocutions were also employed to avoid the name of Bagil. The Eastern Pomo referred to this creature as masan, the powerful one. The name of the head of the secret society was taboo among the Eastern, and probably the Northern, Pomo. Instead of saying yomta the Eastern Pomo said ma neu, or earth placer.[119]

The Northern Pomo, and probably the Eastern Pomo as well, were forbidden to mention the names of certain sacred birds. The oriole (kai yoyok, N, E) was never mentioned. This bird was supposed to rattle when it talked. The cocoon rattle was named after this bird, and it was one of the favorite ones which the yomta imitated in ceremony. The name of TaTa, N, the chicken hawk, was never mentioned.

[119] One of my Eastern informants, Jim Pumpkin, refused to admit that the word yomta existed in his language. He always referred to the official as "the boss." The Coast people constantly used the word yomta both in reference to any member of the secret society and in speaking about anything weird, powerful, or mysterious.

This bird was considered very dangerous for the young. If tata caught a chicken it was just the same as if he caught a baby. The name of the night owl, tsa toto, N, was never mentioned. This bird was also called matutsi because he was supposed to understand the esoteric language of the secret society, and if any misfortune happened to a member of the secret society the night owl was supposed to carry the information around by its cries. The informant Bowen added, "These birds must not be disturbed, hit, molested, made fun of, or named. If a man gets sick from the night hawk, that is the worst kind of sickness that a man can have. Then they doctor the man by imitating the sounds of the night hawk. Also if you named the dead, the dead would be insulted and would come and make you sick."

Very little information was obtained concerning the word taboos of the Coast Pomo. Drew said that his people refrained from mentioning the name of the dead, for fear of offending the mourners. If the mourners were offended they were liable to poison you. If you mentioned the name of a dead relative a man would say, "You too will die." This was one kind of poison.

On the coast the name of the rattlesnake was never mentioned nor the snake even talked about at any season of the year. If a person were bitten by a rattlesnake, the people said, sala bakadin kle (snake somebody bite).

From a survey of these Pomo beliefs it appears evident that the Pomo believed the name of a being to be an integral part of the being himself. As a rule the Pomo avoided the name of a dreaded being for fear of evoking his presence. Mingled with this belief was the fear of disturbing the dreaded or honored being by the mention of his name. The latter belief is alone capable of explaining the Pomo reluctance concerning the names of the yomta and the creator. Necessarily all of these names were talked about by the Pomo and handed down from one generation to the next. All matters pertaining to these beings were, however, esoteric. Not everybody was entitled to the knowledge, and the subject could be discussed only under the proper conditions.

Unclassified Beliefs

Dreams.—According to the North Pomo informant Bowen, dreams (ka'an) were first instituted by Coyote. Coyote was the first person to dream. He dreamt that his two sons had been killed and hung up in a sweat house. He entered the sweat house and found the two

bodies. He had mice gnaw off the strings. Coyote danced while the mice were gnawing in order to drown the sound. He used a sack full of hornets as a rattle. While dancing he put the people to sleep and escaped with the bodies of his children. From that time on Coyote has made people dream.

To dream about a charm or a lucky thing was better than actually seeing it. It was considered a sign of good luck to dream about the rattlesnake or the bull snake. The informant Bowen once had a snake dream. He dreamt that the snake was being pursued and spoke to him saying, "Do not let the man kill me." Then the snake crawled up Bowen's back. After this dream Bowen had bad luck and was always "broke," the bad luck being due to the fact that the snake left Bowen in the dream.

Dreams about the dead were considered bad. If you dreamt that you stopped and talked with a dead person, or especially if you ate with a dead person, you were liable to become sick.

Rattlesnake.—The Eastern Pomo had the following belief about rattlesnakes: If a man were bitten by a rattlesnake it was because he had broken a taboo. It was forbidden to kill rattlesnakes. When a rattlesnake shook his rattle it was a sign that he was in good humor (!). The only time that rattlesnakes could be killed was in the springtime when they mated. At this time it was necessary to kill both mates. If you allowed either or both to live, they would bear a grudge against you because you had seen them do a shameful act and might talk about it.

Rainbow.—The rainbow was called matsa Xala (break clam) by the Eastern Pomo. These people believed that when the rainbow appeared some important child was being born. The Coast Central Pomo called the rainbow hets akala (rain away), and believed that it drove the rain away. The Northern Pomo were the only group afraid of the rainbow. They called it behe tokila (breath blue), and believed that it was the breath of the water snake, Bagila. The rainbow was always considered unlucky, and a man should never look at it. A man might see the rainbow if his wife were menstruating and he went out hunting. In that case he always turned back.

There were no beliefs about earthquakes that I know of among the Pomo. The Coast Central name for this was ma cuil (earth shake). Falling stars were everywhere thought to be falling fire.

Among the Eastern Pomo the whirlwind was thought to be a spirit living in the north. It was addressed in prayer by the doctors. When

a big whirlwind came along the people prayed to it to take their sickness away. The whirlwind was called su'u padax, E (playing doll).[120]

Shadows.—Among the Coast Central Pomo the word bacit meant either shadow or spirit. The shadow of a man was also called bacit. Drew explained why the word had a double meaning. "For example," he said, "a man might think that he sees a whale or a shark, but the whale or the shark is not there. What he sees is a bacit, that is, the shadow or the spirit of the whale or of the shark. A man might also see the shadow of another man, although there is really no one there. In any of these cases the man gets scared, and may get sick."

Boston confirmed this statement. "If you see a shadow and there is no one there, you have seen a spirit. Then you will get sick." The shadow of a person was supposed to be an integral part of the person. The shadow of a menstruating woman was considered to be very dangerous by all the Pomo. A man's dancing outfit was always hung high up in the house so that the shadow of a woman could not fall on it.

The Pomo were able to poison by letting the shadow of the poison fall on a man. A menstruating woman contaminated a man if she crossed his shadow.

The Pomo had no beliefs that I heard of about whistling.

The Coast Central Pomo believed that when you sneezed (eses) someone was calling your name, and that he was coming to visit you. When you heard a hissing noise in the fire it also meant that someone was coming to visit you.

The Coast Central Pomo believed that the woodcock (cokta) brought bad luck. If a man saw this bird when he was out hunting, or heard it cackle above him, he knew that his wife was menstruating and he went home.

Rain-making.—The Pomo were more accustomed to having ceremonies for the stopping of rain than for the starting of rain. In this manner they ran counter to the customs of the southwest for obviously climatic reasons.

The Eastern Pomo had a magical ceremony for the starting of rain which took place once during the memory of the informant Benson's grandmother. The ceremony took place in a lonely spot at some distance from the village. The first part of the ceremony was executed by the head of the secret society (yomta) and was kept quite secret.

[120] The Plateau Shoshonean believed the whirlwind to be a ghost. When a person died a whirlwind was caused thereby (Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean ethnography, p. 297). Gifford informs me that the intermediate Western Mono held similar beliefs concerning the whirlwind.

Then all the people came out and joined him, each carrying a basket of water. They stood first in a great circle and then swung out in a line facing south. The yomta sang and prayed as each one dipped a hand in the basket and threw some water toward the south. Four times they threw toward the south, then turned east and dipped and threw the water four times, then north, then west, then upward, and then down. Then they turned in each direction again, throwing water three times. Then twice, then a single time. At the single throw they tossed it directly from the basket. After that it rained.

The yomta also was able to stop rain. The following ceremony was done after it had rained for a long time. The yomta located a man who had been born in a dry month and took eight hairs from his head. After this the yomta stripped himself, retaining only his head dress. He built a little fire and taking both roots and flowers of certain herbs of dry weather potentiality, such as June grass which bloomed only in the summer time, he sang and prayed, throwing the herbs upon the fire. While doing this the yomta prayed to the six directions in the same order as in the previously mentioned ceremony. Then he held his hands over the fire. Finally he extended his hands in turn toward each of the directions. This was intended as a sacrifice of the herbs to the beings which lived in each of the six directions. After the fire had died down the yomta went home. When he came to his house he first circled it four times counter-clockwise, then four times clockwise. Then he entered by turning to his left.

The Coast Central Pomo also had a ceremony for the stopping of rain. One of the men (yomta) of the secret society stuck up a pole and placed a water-carrying basket under it. The basket was turned upside down so that it represented a mountain and a torch placed under it to burn it up. This cleared up the tops of the mountains and brought clear weather. The yomta sang while performing this ceremony and paced back and forth four or eight times.

Sacred Rocks.—There are two rocks in the land of the Coast Central Pomo which were very much feared by the Indians. One of these rocks is located at the mouth of the Rio Garcia and is called me'au cawa. Formerly the Indians always ran when they passed this rock, no matter how heavily they were laden, for if they tarried they would have grown roots and would have turned into neighboring rocks. There is an old Indian trail still going past this rock.

In the old days eight members of the secret society (yomta) were taking this trail with their fathers and mothers, journeying to the beach. One young girl stayed behind to perform an act of nature.

Some boys looked down at her from the top of a hill and the young girl grew ashamed. She remained there and was unable to get up. Roots grew from her. When her relatives returned they were unable to pull her up. She turned into a rock. Then the relatives put beads on her and these also turned into rocks. After this all her relations visited her, gave her beads, and burned their best possessions on the rock.

Another rock is located in the sea near the mouth of the Rio Garcia. It is called mata lakol. There is a belief that if children eat mussels off this rock they will get sores on their limbs. Even today the mothers and fathers of young children will not eat mussels off this rock.

Gilak belief.—Among the North Pomo if a man is mean and is always fighting and stealing the people call him Gilak. He is a very dangerous man. If a Gilak gets near anybody the person becomes sick. You can tell a Gilak from his eyes. His eyes are bright but he will not look at you. Among the Eastern Pomo they say that a man acts like a Gilak if he tries to govern everybody by force.

3. DOCTORS AND POISONERS

Doctors

While the subject of Pomo doctors and poisoners has already been discussed,[121] I feel that it needs further consideration in view of the additional material available. The published material on the subject is trustworthy, but is incomplete as it was obtained entirely from one informant (Benson) who was not a doctor himself. Moreover, it deals with but one group of Pomo, the Eastern.

It will be necessary in this paper to distinguish between shaman and priest, as far as the material will allow such a distinction to be made. I am not making this distinction from a mere academic point of view, but for the sake of pointing out the development of priesthood from shamanism as we leave the coast and go towards the interior Pomo.

Kroeber has defined shamanism as "the supposed individual control of the supernatural through a personally acquired power of communication with the spiritual world."[122] I presume that Kroeber intends this definition to apply to California only. Obviously it would not hold for the plains, since in this region every man who acquires control over the supernatural by means of a vision cannot be classed as a shaman.

[121] Freeland, Pomo doctors and poisoners.
[122] Kroeber, Religion of the California Indians, p. 327.

Unfortunately the definition, while too broad for North America in general, is too narrow for the Pomo in particular. Visions were seemingly unknown to the Coast Central Pomo, and a man became a shaman by inheriting a place in the secret society. Among the Northern and Eastern Pomo there were certain shamans, the sucking doctors, who acquired their position through visions. The outfit doctors, however, inherited their position by inheriting the curing outfits. A man did not become a doctor among the Northern and Eastern Pomo by becoming a member of the secret society, nor did a doctor have to be a member of this society.[123]

For the purpose of this paper I propose to call all the Pomo whose profession was the healing art, shamans or doctors. Priests have been defined by Wissler as the keepers of the rites, traditions, and sacred things of the tribe.[124] Without entering into the merits or demerits of this definition I propose to use it for the Pomo.

Among the Coast Central Pomo, then, priesthood and shamanism were the same thing, for all the yomta, or members of the secret society, were both priest and shaman. Among the Northern and Eastern Pomo, however, the priesthood, or members of the secret society (matutsi) practiced but little of the healing art and were, in the main, devoted to ceremonies and god-impersonations. The head of the secret society, or yomta, was, according to our definition, a true priest.

There has been, then, a gradual evolution of priesthood from shamanism among the Pomo. It is the opinion of Dr. Kroeber that the priesthood of the southwest can at least partly be accounted for by a similar, although less obvious, process.

Mrs. Benedict has pointed out that the vision is a more inclusive concept than the guardian spirit in North America.[125] I have found no trace of guardian spirit concepts among the Pomo, with the possible exception of the use of charms. Miss Freeland believes that the sucking doctor of the interior Pomo forms connections with a spirit who in some degree acts to him as manitu.[126] The evidence which she gives for this belief, however, is somewhat vague.

> The dreams [of the sucking doctor] do not come again, and the maTu has no more intercourse with the visiting spirit and receives no more instructions. This being is conceived as still having some power and interest, indeed, since

123 Mr. Gifford found that four out of six outfit doctors at Cigom were not members of the secret society. Two sucking doctors of whom I know were members.

124 Wissler, The American Indian, p. 191.

125 Benedict, The concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America, p. 28.

126 Freeland, Pomo doctors and poisoners, pp. 56, 64.

healing songs are addressed to him, but the address is vague and not by name, simply saying, as it were, "You who have taught me to do this thing, to sing this, make this sick man well."

Previously Miss Freeland stated that the being which appeared to the potential maru was a messenger from the creator Marumda, and it appears to me more than likely that the prayer of the maru was addressed to Marumda and not to the apparition.

In discussing Pomo doctoring I will first give an account of the more simple coast methods and then describe the curing as practiced along the river and lake.

All of the members of the secret society (yomta) among the Coast Central Pomo inherited outfits for doctoring. These outfits were called badon kleluk. An outfit consisted of:

(1) A long flint stone (cikdja).

(2) A whale bone (katedja).

(3) A jacksnipe head (cuktak cna).

An outfit had to be sung over and treated when first picked up. This gave it mana, or kaocal.

An outfit was used for counteracting poison in the following manner: The yomta tied the outfit on a string and placed it over the head of the patient. Then while the yomta sang he pulled the string and made the objects rattle. The use of a cocoon rattle was also mentioned. The patient was treated for four days and if he did not recover he was then treated by Kuksu doctoring. There were different methods for effecting a Kuksu cure. Sometimes only one man came in dressed as Kuksu, and sometimes four. Cures could be effected either by the use of the Kuksu dress, or simply by use of the Kuksu stick. A single Kuksu sometimes came in dressed in the regular Kuksu costume and carrying his stick with him. This stick had previously been made kaocal by the yomta who sang while he rubbed it with angelica and wacak (the gum from the sugar pine tree). The Kuksu pried the patient up with the stick, first under the knees and the waist on one side and then going around to the other side he repeated the process. While he was doing this he danced and blew upon his whistle. When he was finished he made a prayer to the father in heaven:

menin	mede	ma	balma	kē	cken	gauke.
our	father	you	will	make	well	will.

This kind of cure was done for an ordinary sickness when the cause was unknown. The cure was effected in the ghost house if the patient were able to walk, otherwise in the patient's home. As many

beads as possible were hung over the patient as payment for the yomta.

In the cure for Bagil scare four yomta dressed up as Kuksu. One of these yomta was head man and the other three were subordinates. The four Kuksu ran into the ghost house blowing their whistles. They circled the center pole and the fire four times counter-clockwise and then lined up in front of the patient. The head yomta ran up to the patient and blew his whistle on four points of the sick man's head. After this the head yomta ran around the patient and the fire four times counter-clockwise and between each rotation stopped to shake the sick man. During the entire period he kept blowing on his whistle. When this was done he went back and stood in the rear of the house while each of the other yomta went through the same performance in turn. After the last yomta had finished his performance all four Kuksu circled the patient four times clockwise, and to make him ashamed they called out hē ē ē. Then each Kuksu pivoted around once and they all went out together. The Kuksu undressed themselves outside in the bush. Finally the head yomta came in and washed the patient with cold water, singing over him at the same time. This was the end of the cure, and the patient stood up and walked home.

In another method of curing by Kuksu only the head yomta dressed up as Kuksu. The stick was not carried this time, and the clothing of the Kuksu was used as kaocal.

The patient was first carried outside where it was warm. When Kuksu came he made four charges to the patient. Then he took off his outfit and laid it on the patient's body. Next he blew his whistle four times, beginning with the patient's head and going down to the patient's feet. After he was through whistling he took his rigging off the patient's body and placed it on the patient's feet. This he did four times. Then he picked up the big head and smacked his lips at it four times, afterwards throwing the headgear on the ground. After this Kuksu stood in front of the patient and blew four times in his face, twice on each side. Next he shook the patient's head four times, making his lip sound. Then he did the same with the patient's arms, waist, and legs. Finally he said a few words: yoma badjewia cken gadea (south live there well get). The same words were used for the west (boma), north (djulamà), and east (coma). When Kuksu was through doctoring he told the relatives of the patient to bring out four baskets of acorn mush and four baskets of pinole.

The Coast Central Pomo, in a manner similar to the Eastern Pomo, cured cases of fright by recalling the haunting vision. If a patient had imagined that he had seen Kuksu, Bagil, or a guya (ghost), a cure was effected by a representation of the object in question. In cases of ghost scare the men who took part in the old ghost ceremony, and who were called ghosts (guya), dressed up in their ceremonial costumes and were called in as healers. These men were not necessarily yomta, or members of the secret society. Two methods were given which were used in this cure.

According to one method the sick person was taken into the ghost house. He was placed lying down in front of the center pole. Then four guya entered from the outside, dressed in their customary black and white stripes and wearing the semi-mask made from twigs. They went once counter-clockwise around the fire, and then around the center pole and the patient four times. Each guya in turn shook the patient from side to side. After this the guya ran out. They made their usual noise by blowing with their lips, br-r-r-r. The head yomta was paid for this cure, the patient paying as much as he could afford.

In another method of curing ghost scare only one man dressed up as a guya. One of the yomta called four times for the guya:

He e e
e
e e!

The guya answered four times from the brush:

Hu u
u
u u!

Then the guya came running in and encircled the sick man four times counter-clockwise. After this he stopped at the feet of the sick man and straddled him four times. Then he took hold of the head of the patient and shook him four times, making a hissing noise while doing so. He shook the head, arms, waist, and legs. Finally he blew away the disease four times from the patient, beginning with the head and working downwards. When the guya had finished this cure he ran back to the bush, everybody throwing sticks and stones at him in order to cast the sickness away. As the guya ran off the people cried out he-e-e-e! The ghost washed his stripes off in the bush. He was paid on the same day or the day after. The bull roarer (padok) was considered a powerful curing agent since it contained natural kaocal. The bull roarer was always used when a man or woman was scared

by thunder, but it could be used for any bad sickness such as consumption. The noise made by the bull roarer was supposed to represent the thunder. In effecting cures either the head yomta might give the treatment alone or he might call in two other yomta as assistants.

When the head yomta doctored alone, he himself swung the bull roarer. After this he prayed to the father in heaven[127] and to the four directions. First he pointed the bull roarer to the five directions four times, and then he prayed as follows:

yomta initiate	tcaca that-person	yihen doing-it	
co east	yomta initiate	cawel stay-there	yihen doing-it
cula north	yomta	cawel	yihen
bau west	yomta	cawel	yihen
yau south.	yomta	cawel	yihen.

Another method of curing by the use of the bull roarer was to take the sick man into the ghost house and hold some kind of ordinary dance. Then two yomta each took hold of a bull roarer and made charges in the four cardinal directions; south, west, north, and east. Every time that they made a charge they encircled the fire. After this one yomta sat at the head of the sick man and one at his feet, taking care that they should not hit him while whirling the bull roarers. Each yomta pointed his bull roarer at the sick man four times and made a hissing noise with his mouth. The head yomta gave the order for his assistants to go ahead and whirl the bull roarers. The men whirled them four times. The head yomta gave the signal to stop by making the hissing noise of sucking in his breath. This was done four times. Then the two assistants went around the fire four times counter-clockwise and around the sick man four times. After that the man on the south side raised the sick man up and shook him four times while making a hissing sound. Laying the invalid down he made four hissing sounds again pointing his mouth to the sky. He prayed:

	yoma south	tcauya stay	emacken cured	gauke will	
padok bull-roarer	yomta initiate	yawe him	iema will-you	cken cured	gauke. will.

[127] As stated before, I have reason to believe that the "father in heaven" was included in Coast Pomo ritual as a concession to Christianity. The Coast people never prayed to earth because the dreaded guya lived there.

The man on the north side then went through the same ceremony calling on the spirit of the north. Both men finally encircled the fire and then put their bull roarers away. To conclude the cure the head yomta made a sign and all the people in the house, men and women included, made a hissing sound.

The owl was a sacred bird among the Pomo and on the coast its feathers were used for medicine. The feathers were woven in a bunch and placed in a ring. This was called bakuku kase. Kaocal (mana) was induced by song and ceremony, and by the patient's being stroked up and down on his body by the object.

The living bull snake (kamkaiyo) was used for consumption and rheumatism. It was pulled while alive across the patient's stomach.

Many cures, especially those involving the giving of internal medicine, could be enacted by non-members of the secret society. The yomta, in fact, were not well versed in primitive pharmacy. For diarrhoea, shaved off splinters of the whale bone were consumed in water. The head yomta performed this cure while singing over the patient. But for constipation the layman was permitted to practice. Herbs were given, or the stomach of the patient was massaged during singing. Anybody who knew the songs could work the cure. Bleeding was always done by the layman, usually by women. Bleeding was used as a cure for headaches or fever. Broken legs and arms were bound up and sung over by anybody who knew the songs.

In paying for medical attention the people in former days gave as much as they could afford and there was no haggling over prices. The more one gave, the better was the chance of a cure. If the patient died, some doctors gave all the beads back. There was no killing of shamans among any of the Pomo.

Whooping cough was one of the many new diseases brought by the whites to the Coast Pomo. A new mode of treatment was evolved, the patient was made to drink deer urine. My informant Steve Parish was a well educated man, having spent five years at Carlisle, but he firmly believed in the efficacy of this cure. His two boys had whooping cough and he gave them a dose, half of deer urine and half of castor oil. The oil was given to make the dose palatable. The boys did not know what they were taking, but they were cured after two doses.

Sexual diseases were unknown before the coming of the whites.

Of late years all doctoring has been in the hands of the priests of the maru, or modern ghost dance, cult. Kabekel (74) was the last of

the old time yomta at Point Arena. He had been chief, priest, and shaman of his people.

Among the Northern and Eastern Pomo the outfit doctors and the sucking doctors were clearly distinguished from one another and they did not conduct their profession in a ceremonial manner. The outfit doctors were usually non-secret society members and there is no reason why the sucking doctors should have been members of the secret society. The secret society still carried on cures but not to any extensive degree. The yomta, or head of the secret society, was, however, supposed to be well versed in medicine.

The outfit, or singing doctor, was called k'o'o badōnтakale, N, k'o'obakiyalxale, E (performer for somebody poisoned). The sucking doctor was called maтu. The word used for a member of the secret society by both Northern and Eastern Pomo, matutsi, was said by my informant to have come from the root maтu. The word used for the head of the secret society, yomta, evidently came from the root yom, signifying a shaman among the Maidu and Wintun.

Among the Pomo, contrary to the Hupa custom, the sucking doctor was called in first and the patient diagnosed, while the outfit doctor came later and effected the cure. In certain cases of quick cures the sucking doctors sucked out the "pains," dutal q'ok bigi, E (ache standing up) and furnished immediate relief. The pain was sucked out in the form of a blood clot or a little juice.

Women were never outfit doctors although they were allowed to learn the doctoring songs from their parents. Sucking doctors, on the other hand, were frequently women. On the coast the women yomta never practiced curing.

An outfit doctor was initiated by the relative whose place he was to take and whose outfit he inherited. Besides the customary ceremonial sweating the neophyte had to "take oath" to always handle the outfit with clean hands and to take some of the medicine administered before giving it to a patient.

The manner in which an Eastern Pomo became a sucking doctor has been described by Miss Freeland. Among the Northern Pomo the affair was conducted in a somewhat different manner, for a doctor's dance was held upon the occasion. When a man became frightened by seeing an apparition he went home and told his parents what he saw. The apparition was of course never sought. A maтu (sucking doctor) was called in and the case diagnosed. At the time of the diagnosis the invalid and the maтu danced together. The dance was

called maru kalil medjudjin djiadjia (doctor going-to-stand-up get-up dance). The doctor and his patient danced half the night. Then the sucking doctor sucked the man. If the doctor extracted a feather from the brain or head of the patient it was a sign that the patient was also to become a maru. This, however, did not always happen. The supernatural power which the patient perhaps acquired by a vision was called dule maco (all know).

Among the Eastern and Northern Pomo the sucking doctors and the outfit doctors were given no special amount of beads as fee. But the patient believed that the more he gave the better he would be taken care of and so he gave as much as possible. He might give anywhere from sixty to a hundred dollars. If the patient died, the doctor returned the fee. The mourning party then made the doctor a present of about two-thirds of the fee and kept the other third.

It was a common custom for the outfit doctor to make vows which the patient had to fulfill upon recovery. A vow of this nature might pledge the performance of some feat such as described by Miss Freeland, but the usual custom was to promise a feast in honor of the divinity whose curing power was invoked, usually Marumda among the Eastern Pomo. This feast was in the nature of a sacrifice. When the patient had sufficiently recovered, the feast was given and set out in front of the house. The doctor then made a speech, saying that this feast was for Marumda. The village chief also made a speech. The custom of giving this kind of feast is still kept up by the Pomo.

When the Eastern Pomo outfit doctors were doctoring they went out every morning and prayed to the spirits of the six directions, as described by Miss Freeland. They prayed also to the sun. The doctor faced the morning sun as it peeped over the hills, and threw out beads, Ghakol caiyan (outward sacrifice). Sixteen beads were thrown out, four at a time. The doctor prayed the sun not to interfere with the cure or kill the patient. The sun was always believed to be malevolent.

The "salamander test" mentioned by Miss Freeland was practiced as follows by the Eastern Pomo. This cure was used for bad fevers only. Fifteen or twenty live salamanders were used for the purpose. A fire was built out of manzanita and chamise wood as a sweat bath; as soon as the fire had burnt down the coals were spread out and the live salamanders poured in. These amphibia, not able to endure the heat from the burning coals, soon expired. The doctor then put wet grass over the coals and the bodies and gave the patient a salamander sweat (masan kalitc Xotam).

The Northern Pomo also gave a sweat bath with salamanders. It was used for inflammations. The name of the bath was putsin.

Bowen, the North Pomo outfit doctor, instructed me in the following cures: Diarrhoea is called balai djakol (blood excrement). The doctor kills a lizard and removes its skin, being careful to save the blood. The patient drinks the blood, and after cooking the lizard over coals, the meat is also consumed.

Fishworms (bilá) are used for consumption and heart trouble. They are dried and kept on hand as a medicine. When prepared for use they are boiled in hot water. The worm water is drunk and the worms are eaten.

Rattlesnake grease (múte pui) is also used for consumption. The grease is cooked over coals and then eaten. After partaking of rattlesnake grease the patient must abstain from meat and fish for twenty or twenty-five years. If he touched grease of any kind before his period had expired he would be sure to die.

A cold is called masit. A hot rock is placed in a basket of water and the patient inhales the steam. After he is treated he has to remain indoors.

Near sightedness is called ho saha (fire smoke). This ailment was thought due, in former times, to irritation from the smoke of the sweat house. The sucking doctor sucked the smoke from the patient's eye.

Deafness is called cima bako (ear stop). This is very difficult to cure.[128] The urine of a baby is used for this ailment.

Headache is called cina dutal. The sucking doctor cures this by sucking out the bad blood.

Toothache is called o dutal. The outfit doctor sings and gives herbs.

A broken arm is cured by the outfit doctor. He pushes the bones into position and ties them up with a splint. He also puts medicine on the arm and the patient is sweated. The doctor gathers wormwood leaves, pepperwood leaves, and manzanita wood. He burns these in a small oven. When the coals are hot a layer of wormwood and pepperwood leaves is laid on top and the patient sweated for two or three hours. This is for the purpose of driving bad blood from the arm.

The doctoring done by the members of the secret society was of a restricted nature among the Northern and Eastern Pomo and was mainly performed at the time of ceremonies.

[128] An uncle of the informant was deaf. He made a living by singing night songs in the sudatory.

Kuksu himself was, however, considered a powerful shaman. His appearance at the time of the pole ceremony was for the sake of driving away the ills of individuals and of the community in general.

Poisoning (k'o'o pacil, E)

The art of poisoning was, and still is, practiced by all branches of the Pomo in much the same manner. More is known concerning the Eastern practices than those of other branches due to the detailed information furnished by William Benson. It is not easy to get informants to discuss this matter, for the subject is still too much of a live issue in Pomo politics. All doctors know about the methods of poisoning. This knowledge is essential for therapeutic reasons. Doctors were not commonly regarded as poisoners, although it is stated that some may have practiced the black art.

I will describe the art of poisoning, or rather such details of the practices as have escaped the notice of Miss Freeland, in the manner related by my informants. Personally I have reasons for believing that poisoning was practically non-existent among the Pomo, as was witchcraft among European peoples. True, there may have been some Indians who dabbled in the black arts through desire for gain, for sheer notoriety, or else in the spirit of acting out the chimerical phantasies of the people. I doubt, however, whether anyone devoted his entire time to, or gained his livelihood from the use of the black arts; and it needs no great knowledge of mob psychology to infer the extent to which such beliefs, heightened as they were by the mingled fear and detestation of the people, may have extended. In other words, the beliefs in witchcraft furnished a great part of the imaginary environment in which the Pomo lived; whether these beliefs were true or false, they nevertheless acted in molding Pomo characteristics and Pomo culture.

Among the Eastern Pomo if a person got sick and died in a month or two, the death was classified as being "sudden." The doctor who was in attendance on the patient then diagnosed the disease as a case of poisoning. Before the sick man drew his last breath he was subjected to an examination by his family. He was asked as to the identity of his personal enemies, the names of all people who had come in contact with him during feasts, etc. The doctor then made his decision and named the poisoner. Once the decision had been made, the affair became one of family retaliation. Either the poisoner or

some one in his immediate family had to be killed; it made no difference which. The killing could be done either by force or by the more subtle art of poisoning. In case the latter method was decided upon, a poisoner was summoned. The poisoner was given a retaining fee of from eight hundred to sixteen hundred beads, and a final fee was agreed upon. After the victim died the fee was paid in full. This was called k'o'o ghal ka (poison beads give). If it were a pleasing death, the poisoner was given a little extra.

One poisoning led to another, and a feud of this nature could be kept up indefinitely. Sometimes a chief arranged for peace by the exchange of wampum. Hard feelings, however, still persisted. Often no peace was made, and entire villages were wiped out by means of the black art.

When a poisoner begins his work he goes up to the hills with four other men and collects poisons, such as the poison from spiders, the venom from snakes, and bee stings.

After this an image is made. This is called padok, or doll. The image is made out of a forked stick, with a little oak ball inserted for the head. Beads are placed on for the eyes and little creases for the mouth, nose, and ears. Pitch is laid over the top of the head with a little of the real hair of the person attached. The urine or faeces of the victim are finally rubbed over the stick. Now the victim is ready to be poisoned. The poisoner takes some of the noxious lotion which has been prepared and goes through the act of poisoning the image. While doing this he calls the image by the real *name* of the victim, thus informing the victim that he is being poisoned.[129] This kind of poisoning is called k'o'o pacil ine (poison in-act-of done-but-not-seen). Presently the poisoner says that the image is getting sick. Soon afterwards he observes that it is dying. In the meanwhile a little bed is made out of grass, and the image laid down in it. The group of men gather around the bed as though they were gathering around the bedside of a dying man. They cry, and in doing so they shed real tears.

As soon as the image is dead someone is sent for wood, and a burning is held. While the image is being burnt the party go around it, first four times counter-clockwise and then four times clockwise. The next morning one of the men prepares a little basket, gathers the bones, and buries them. After the burning the head poisoner distributes the

[129] Miss Freeland denies that the Pomo used the personal name as a source of power over a man. She must have based her assertion on a generalization made by the informant rather than by the investigation of detail (Freeland, Pomo doctors and poisoners, p. 70).

poison, and the party goes down to the village by different routes to hunt up the victim.

While the head poisoner was brewing the poison on the hills, he called upon a large number of malevolent spirits. This was done as a curse. Among these spirits may have been the thunder god (xalimatoto), the dragon (gilak), the sun (la), the whirlwind (su'u padok), and huk, a bird that lived both in and out of the water and was considered very poisonous. The form of the curse was: gilak midi gibai (you take-up) la midi gibai. All of these spirits were able to take you off the face of the earth and out of the land of the living.

On the coast the ocean was also used as a curse:

boxa	elya	midok	stuk	djuke	C
west-water	it	you	pull-under	will-happen.	

The head of the secret society (yomta) could be hired to do the poisoning if the man or woman to be poisoned was a personal enemy of his. The yomta took the hair and exuviae of the victim and went through the ceremony with the image. He did not use any poison because his secret language alone was considered sufficiently efficacious. When the yomta poisoned, the act was called kupuk gi (curse did). It was also called ghaghol bak'o (out name).

Various methods of poisoning were used in addition to the burning in effigy. One method was to take the excrement of an enemy and place it on a grave. A prayer was then made wishing that the enemy would go to his grave in the same manner that the excrement went to the grave. The excrement was allowed to remain for four days and then removed and cast in a sulphur spring where Bagil lived. Bagil lived on this kind of food. As the offering was thrown into the water a wish was made, "Here is what you wanted, take and consume this and also the person from whom it comes."[130]

Another method of poisoning was to load a stick of poison oak with poison and the exuviae of the person and place it under the victim's house. The stick might be an arrow shot at the man's house.

Sometimes a mountain lizard was loaded up internally with the poison and the exuviae of the victim. Both ends of the lizard were sewn up so that it could neither perform its nutritive or eliminatory functions. A string was then made from the sinew of a coyote and

[130] This method, and the following methods of poisoning are all taken on the word of Benson. "Charley Bowen will not talk about this," said Benson. "He would be afraid of making Bagil angry at being exposed." Neither Charley Bowen nor any other informant would talk about certain details of poisoning.

the lizard tied under the victim's house and covered over with dirt. It was best to place the lizard either under the man's doorway or under his bed. As the lizard began to be miserable, sick, and to squirm around in anguish, so likewise did the man sicken and squirm.

There was a magical way of blinding a person. The eyes of the rattlesnake were removed at the time of the year when the snake was blind. An abalone shell was polished and coated with the substance of the snake's eyes. Then the poisoner flashed the abalone shell on the victim. When the poisoner prepared the shell he prayed, "Just as the snake is blind, so may so-and-so (the victim) be blind."

Information concerning methods of poisoning was given to every boy by the particular man who was training the youth. This was for the sake of teaching preventative measures. The information was not given inside of the house, but the man took the boy out walking, or on a pretended hunt. A mother instructed her daughter concerning these matters inside of the house.

A person did not usually know when he was being worked on by a poisoner. But when he began to grow sick his friends at once looked around to see if they could find anything that was buried. If one of the searching party found some buried exuviae he gathered it up Then he took a piece of fresh meat and cut it up into little strips, tying the exuviae and the meat to a lizard. He fixed a place as if for burying the ashes of a dead person. Then he prayed:

nin	ibai	me	duyighal	gauk	he	mibal.
this-way	happen	this	made	person	who	him.

"This shall happen to the man who made this." The lizard was burned and cried over by a mourning party.

An Indian may be poisoned whether he believes in the old traditions or not. A white man may be poisoned, but it will only make him sick, it will not kill him.

Among the Northern Pomo the poisoning man (ko'odja) worked in a manner similar to the poisoning man of the Eastern Pomo. He went secretly with perhaps fifteen or twenty relatives to the hills early in the morning. While traveling they sang this song:

le la di ka'a pinana'an
yo ma midim tuki.
I am going searching before daylight sneaking along,
I am going to gather everything from the ground.

The poisoner was said to work like a bee while gathering his poisons. He kept up a constant chanting in the matutsi (secret) language. He gathered yellow jacket stings, stings from the red ants,

and spider stings. He cut off a slab from a poison rock. He gathered blossoms from the manzanita tree and the buckeye tree. All these were ground in a stone mortar with a stone pestle. Each ingredient was put in separately and addressed by the name of its spirit. The poisoner sang each time:

I am like a young man,
I am like a stick or rock,
I eat no meat, I drink no water,
I do this for four days.

Finally the skins were removed from four rattlesnakes, hung up on a wall, and their blood allowed to drip down on the mortar. When all the ceremonies were concluded each of the poisoners went down to the village with a portion of the poison concealed under his fingernail. One should always watch out for a poisoning man and see whether he has long fingernails or abstains from meat and water. It is best to feed grease to this kind of man right away. The man might refuse, however, saying that he is fixed for gambling. A poisoning man might poison by means of his shadow or else he might put the poison in the victim's food. Sometimes a dance is arranged for in order to poison an enemy. All of the chiefs have to agree upon this beforehand. Sometimes a man is poisoned during the grass game. A woman can be hired to carry the poison; she pretends to make love to her victim. Only the sucking doctor knows when a man has been poisoned. He goes into a trance and takes the poison out of the invalid.

The head of the secret society (yomta) sometimes poisoned a hostile village. He did this with one hundred and sixty willow sticks painted red, placing them around the village. He prayed in the secret language while poisoning.

Little is known concerning the methods of poisoning employed by the Coast Central Pomo. While I was stopping among these people I was denied all information on this matter. I soon, however, became aware of the tension under which the rancheria was living due to their ever present fear of poisoners. The sister of my informant Parish was sick at the time, and he with other relatives passed the entire nights on the lookout for poisoners from other villages. I was told that enemies would come in order to hasten the death of the sick woman. It appears that the watchers knew that poisoners were about by the hooting of owls. The cries did not come from real owls, however, but from human beings. This was known by the repeated cries of the would-be birds.

All of the Pomo formed certain rules of sanitation and certain modes of etiquette in response to their dread of poisoning. The rules of hospitality have already been mentioned.[131]

Young men and women were very careful when they voided excrement. They went to the bush privately and buried the excrement. Mothers always went with children and instructed them. There was great fear lest some enemy work magic on the exuviae.

Among the Eastern Pomo the poisoners employed special men to go around and collect faeces with a cane. The stick was split at the bottom and when pressed down it opened and gathered up the faeces.

When a person spit he was always careful to cover up the spit with dirt or ashes.

No stranger was ever permitted to step over or touch a Pomo. This was prohibited for fear of poisoning. A woman was never allowed to step over a man, but in this case the taboo was due to the natural uncleanliness of women and the ensuing fear of bad luck. When a stranger entered a Pomo house he was always invited to eat meat or grease. If he refused he was an object of great suspicion.

All of the Pomo claimed that there was great reluctance among adult people concerning the exhibition of complete nudity to the opposite sex. There did not appear to be any fear of magic being worked on the sexual organs, but solely the fear of ridicule. Even husband and wife were said to have been modest in this manner in former times. Brother and sister were extremely modest in their attitude toward one another and even today are especially careful in their acts and conversation. This might be regarded as a weak form of the brother and sister taboo.

Summary.—In spite of the non-reality connected with the Pomo beliefs concerning poisoning, the beliefs themselves have acted powerfully in shaping Pomo culture. The probable effects on Pomo custom may be listed as follows:

The dread of poisoners has, (1) hindered the amalgamation of villages and tended to induce community isolation; (2) produced strict rules of hospitality and etiquette; (3) bettered the lot of the old, who were supposed to be well versed in the arts of poisoning; (4) induced stringent systems of sanitation; (5) played its part in the taboo on the usage of personal names.

[131] Page 192.

Pomo Bear Doctors (gauk buraghal, E)

The English translation of the Pomo words gauk buraghal should really be "man bear" and not "bear doctor." Unlike the Yuki bear doctor the Pomo gauk buraghal is not supposed to be a shaman. Since Barrett has called the Pomo gauk buraghal a "bear doctor" I shall follow his lead, pointing out, however, that "man bear" or werebear would correspond more closely to the actual beliefs and title.[132]

As I have stated in the last chapter the gauk buraghal was probably an entirely mythological character in much the same manner as our own werewolf. All of the Pomo, had, however, an actual bear initiate or buraghal matutsi. This character entered into the pole ceremony of the Eastern and Northern Pomo and into the initiation ceremonies of the Coast people.

It is of interest to compare the accounts which certain informants have given of the gauk buraghal. This character is believed in by almost all the Pomo people; the more vehemently believed in because the matter is one of religious conviction.

The Eastern Pomo informant Benson made the following statement to Miss Freeland:

> The bear initiates were unlike other performers in that their activities were by no means confined to ceremonial appearances. The bear costumes were not only disguises of a sacred kind, but had a practical purpose as well. Moreover, they were really armor. Instead of being put away in a deerskin bag between ceremonies, they were kept by the matutsi in a hiding place in the woods or rocks, with a bag of magic herbs, pine seeds, and charms hidden in the head, and put on with prayers to the spirits and with certain formulae, whenever the owner wished to pass through country infested with bears, much as the deer-heads used in stalking deer were kept in hiding near the deer runs, with charms in the head. Herbs were chewed and blown over the skin to hide the human odor from the bears. Then the skin was swung four times around the head and put on. There were no offerings to the spirits.
>
> It was usual among the Eastern Pomo for ordinary individuals who wished to pass through a meadow where bears were to be seen to throw a bearskin over the shoulders and so pass in safety, but the bearskin armor in question was of a special character. The origin of the custom is attributed to mythical times, the skin is made according to the most rigorous rules of magical efficacy, and the knowledge required and the privilege of owning one is a strictly hereditary right, and one for which membership in the secret society is a requisite.
>
> The bears had the other important social function before mentioned, besides the ceremonial appearance they were also supposed to punish offenders in the community, especially poachers.

[132] Barrett, Pomo bear doctors.

The maternal grandmother (33) of the informant was a bear. She received her outfit from her mother's brother, learning its use from him and in time passed it on to her daughter (25). The younger woman never used it, for by that time the land was too thickly settled and in the woods there was danger of hunters with guns. The outfit finally was disposed of in the bottomless pool (Shirley's Pond near Kelseyville) to which all ceremonial objects should finally go. The grandmother, however, although she never appeared in a ceremony, made considerable private use of her disguise in going after the especially sweet manzanita berries which were to be gathered on Crow mountain, a trip through dangerous country. Once a hunter shot at her, but the armor was proof against the arrow and she passed unharmed.

Benson told me that his grandfather was a skeptic on the subject of bear doctors. His wife tried and tried to convince him of the actuality of the being, in order that he should show her proper respect, but the husband still retained a scoffing attitude. Finally the wife clad herself in the bearskin, and following her husband, knocked him down with the nose of her disguise. Then she revealed herself to the terrified man, crying, "Now do you believe in bear doctors?" The husband afterwards told his friends that he was so furious at the time that if he had had his bow and arrow with him he would have shot the impudent woman on the spot.

Benson claimed that most of the bear doctors were women. The location of the place in which the bear doctors hid their disguise was kept a secret even from the yomta. A great deal of mystery surrounded all of the private activities of the bear in the popular mind. The informant remembered to have heard *men* discussing as to whether the bear doctors ever killed men in the woods, or even possessed the power to do so. Benson's description of the bear doctor differs from that of all other informants. It seems likely that he has confused the issue when he states that the bear ceremonial impersonator and the bear doctor are one and the same person. Here he has evidently rationalized the belief and given his own interpretation. No other informants had this idea. Also, the bear impersonator at the dance was always a man, while Benson stated that the bear doctor was usually a woman.

It will be remembered that the men had a special method of terrifying women and keeping them in control by dressing up as ghosts and startling them. Why should not the Pomo, or perhaps only the Eastern Pomo, women have retaliated in kind? The belief about bear doctors was widespread throughout Pomo and neighboring territory. What was to prevent certain Pomo women from laying claim to supernatural bear powers and thus protect their landed property from poachers and themselves from male abuse? While I believe that most

of the ceremonial accessories of the bear doctor were pure myth, there was nothing to prevent a woman from acting out, in part, the legend, providing she had sufficient audacity.

The account which Dr. Barrett obtained on Pomo bear doctors differs somewhat in detail from the material furnished by Benson. Emphasis is laid on the nefarious character of the bear doctor, of his custom of waylaying and killing hunters. While Barrett's material is valuable in giving in detail the beliefs of a community on this matter, it strikes me that the informant sought to perpetrate a fraud. In return for good payment he laid claim to having been a bear doctor himself and to be giving first-hand information on the subject. It is significant to note that Barrett's informant urged the withholding of his name from publication.

The information which I obtained from several informants on the coast, while scanty, was in line with Barrett's information. The bear doctor was called kui and was a quite different individual from the ceremonial bear performer. People in the olden days would have killed the bear doctor on sight. Emphasis was laid on the ability of the bear doctor to perform miraculous journeys. He was able to travel from the coast to Yokaia and back again in an hour. He was liable to kill anybody on sight. He imitated certain birds, such as the owl, the night hawk, the blue jay, and the crow. He carried water baskets under his arms in order to imitate the sound of the bear walking. The bear doctor only showed his costume to his relatives. No one aided him in getting dressed. If a person saw a bear doctor putting on his costume he was bribed not to tell. Besides killing people against whom he had a grudge he also scared and cut people. No mention was made of bear doctors punishing poachers.

In looking at the region of North Central California as a whole, it appears possible that the bear doctor conception was originally a guardian spirit concept as among the Yuki. Among these people the bear doctor was really a shaman who had the bear as guardian spirit. He was not always considered an evildoer, but was in some measure an accepted benefactor, particularly in curing bear bites and in avenging wrongs to the community. As the idea spread it also developed bizarre beliefs: that the shaman actually prowled the country attired as a bear, or even, as among certain of the Miwok and Yokuts, that the shaman could turn into a bear. Among the Pomo the figure of the bear doctor was entirely imaginary; he was not even a shaman, for the Pomo had no guardian spirit beliefs.

It appears probable that the bear impersonations occurring in the ceremonies of the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Pomo had their original source in the were-bear concept. This appears the more likely from the close similarity existing between Dixon's account of the Bear dance and the beliefs existing about the bear doctor outfit.[133]

4. THE GHOST CEREMONY RELIGION

The Pomo religious ceremonies may be separated into two main sections, (1) the old ghost ceremony, (2) the Kuksu cult. The ghost ceremony was unquestionably of very great antiquity while the Kuksu cult was of comparatively recent development. The ceremonial subterranean house and the foot drum were associated, among the Pomo, with the ghost ceremony and not with the Kuksu cult. While both ceremonies were conducted by the Pomo in the springtime in alternative years, the ghost ceremony alone was held indoors. Women were excluded from ghost ceremony activities, but not from the Kuksu cult.

The ghost ceremony was held in its most original form by the Coast Central Pomo, and therefore I will first briefly describe the ceremony of this region.

The main features connected with the Coast ghost ceremony were (1) the return of the dead, (2) the initiation of novices, (3) the use of the bull roarer.

The performers in the ghost ceremony were called guya or ghosts. The guya performed clownish tricks in the course of the ceremony, but there were no separate clowns. The name of the ceremony itself was guya ke, or ghost dance. The name of the subterranean house in which the ceremony was conducted was aké, meaning "to come." All the male members of the village who were of adult age either took part in the guya ceremony or else witnessed it. Women and children were excluded. If the parents of a boy did not wish him to be initiated into the ghost house they had to pay the head shaman a fine. Several villages participated in the performance of the ghost ceremony. Each village sent its performers, who in turn made their entrance into the ghost house.

The guya from the various villages might enter at any time of the day or night. The laimoc, or fire-tender, gave notice of the approach of each visiting village. The guya dressed in the bush. They painted their bodies with black, white, and red paint. They wore half masks of pepperwood twigs. Some of them carried torches and some had

[133] Dixon, The Northern Maidu, p. 295.

the fire blazing from their heads. The leader of the guya was called wada djawin kale (lead going-round to-do). As the guya came in from outside the leader called each one by the name of a dead person. Some of the guya came in through the doorway and others dropped in through the smoke hole. Each guya after entering circled the fire four times counter-clockwise and attempted to pull the drum from its position, then he went to the center pole and attempted to displace this object.

In entering the guya imitated the sounds of birds, having sticks in their mouths for this purpose.[134] After they had encircled the fire they took up positions in the house and remained there in one spot while dancing. The dance was simply a movement of the arms and legs. While dancing they sang: ye hi, ye hi, ye ā (four times), ha tsai hi ya, a hi hi! Some of the guya presently made themselves into clowns by inserting grass into their mouths and noses. They then tried in every way possible to make the spectators laugh. They talked in a reversed language, made jokes at one another, and acted in a rough manner both toward each other and toward the spectators. If any of the spectators laughed one of the guya ran and told the head guya. Then all of the guya pretended to be angry because they were being made fun of and started to throw the fire around. The person who was guilty of laughing was fined. The guya did not actually pretend to eat fire, they merely grabbed each other by the feet and neck and attempted to put fire in one another's mouth. They did, however, handle the live coals. The final act of the performance was for the guya to strip themselves in the ghost house and then run down to the river and wash.

During the time of the guya performance the women were supposed to be in their houses mourning for the dead. No one was allowed to stand around outside of the ghost house. At the end of the performance, however, the village chief or his crier made a speech to the women from the housetop. He instructed them to stop mourning, for the dead had returned. He also told them that they might bring food and beads into the ghost house. The women brought the food and beads into the ghost house and then returned to their homes.[135] The speech of the chief ran as follows:

[134] The imitation of birds played no part in the ghost dance of the Northern and Eastern Pomo. Among these peoples it was taken into the Kuksu cult.

[135] Among the Coast Miwok not every woman was privileged to bring food into the ghost house. Two women who were members of the secret society were selected by the chief. These women enjoyed the permanent position of food carriers.

guya leya, guya leya, guya leya,
ghost abused-us,

ba'a e ma belauke, kitsyu tin maiya
food you take-in, scared not they

tsitauke ba'a tcoja talea e madea lauke
(?) food or beads take in

mie maiya muatc ketin
cry they cry stop

dja hatol ɬahiti.
person for sorrow.

The food brought into the ghost house consisted of pinole, acorn meal, abalone, and mussel. No meat was eaten during the time of the ghost ceremony. The fireman distributed the food around and he was paid in beads for the upkeep of the house.

The ghost ceremony lasted for four days. During this period of time the ghosts ran down from the hills twice daily, and twice daily there was feasting and dancing following the disrobement of the visitors.

The organization of the guya was very simple. The leader, called wada djawin kale, was necessarily a yomta, or member of the secret society, but the lesser guya were not necessarily yomta. The women and uninitiated were kept in the dark concerning the fact that men from their village were playing the part of ghosts. They believed, or were supposed to believe, that the ghosts were the dead returning for the occasion. In order to better carry out the illusion all of the men of the home village went to the sweat house before entering the ghost house. The village chiefs did not act the part of guya, but were present during the performance. They bore the brunt of many of the joking remarks made by the guya.

Initiation.—Boys were brought into the ghost house only when they had arrived at adult age and were ready for initiation. They were taken in by the paternal or maternal relative under whom they were undergoing instruction. The initiation consisted, as far as is known, in a simple death and resurrection ceremony. The young men who had entered the house for the first time were picked up by the guya and laid down in a line. Then they were covered with straw and remained as though dead during the entire performance enacted by their home village. After the feasting was over the laimoc (fireman) roused the neophytes to life and bathed them. The leader of the guya then made a brief prayer. It does not appear that the neophytes were in any way roughly handled or frightened by the guya. Rough treatment

was reserved for the other spectators. If any of these laughed or misbehaved he was dragged out and tossed over the fire.

The bull roarer. An important part of the guya ceremony was the wielding of the bull roarers (padok). These instruments, when not in use, were always kept carefully concealed in moss. The nature of the padok was unknown to women and children. When the padok were heard at the time of the ghost dance the outsiders were told that it was the voice of the dead.

After the guya had washed off their paint and before the speech of the chief, the fire was allowed to die down leaving the room in semi-darkness. Everybody knelt silently to the ground. Two men, necessarily stout and healthy members of the secret society, had the bull roarers in their charge. Without uttering a word either beforehand or afterwards these two started in whirling the instruments. After four whirlings the slabs of wood were again placed back among the rafters and the fire allowed once more to lighten the room. It is said that the men in the house knelt lest a slab of wood fly from one of the bull roarers and injure a spectator. The informant Boston (63) was made a guya by his maternal grandfather (68). Before the time of the initiation the grandfather instructed Boston in singing and dancing, teaching him about eighteeen guya songs. The grandfather then took the youth secretly out to the hills. Other yomta were behind the pair, but out of hearing. Then the old man told him the guya secrets and taught him more songs. About twenty other male yomta came in and made stripes on the informant's body while the grandfather sang. (The nature of the songs was not given me.) Boston had to abstain from meat and grease for four days before the initiation. He never had sexual intercourse before being made a guya, for it had been forbidden him. He was given the guya outfit at the time of the initiation. This consisted of the curved stick and the head net with eagle feathers. The grandfather rubbed the arms and legs of the boy four times with angelica. This was called tja dakole. There was no sweating. The grandfather administered the "oath." The novice was instructed to keep away from women and meat at the time of a ceremony, never to relate the secrets of the guya to an outsider, and for the remainder of his life to abstain from squirrel, rabbit, and quail.

Among the Northern and Eastern Pomo the ghost ceremony became very much more elaborate than the simple ceremony of the Coast people. The functions of the clowns were taken over entirely by members of the secret society and made into a separate performance. The

return of the dead was also separated from the bulk of the four-day ceremony and enacted by special impersonators during the fourth day. The swinging of the bull roarers was taken out of the ghost ceremony and inserted into the Kuksu cult, where it played the main part in the Thunder ceremony. The bird imitations were also removed from the ghost ceremony and taken over by the members of the secret society in the Kuksu cult. It will thus be seen that there was a considerable interchange of function between the Kuksu cult and the ghost ceremony among the Eastern and Northern Pomo.

The elaboration and development of the ghost ceremony probably took place among the Eastern Pomo and was then diffused to their Northern neighbors. Many of the songs used by the Northern Pomo are in the Eastern language. The cult will therefore be described first for the Eastern Pomo.

The four-day ceremony (xai) of the ghost cult was enacted under the direction of the head of the secret society (yomta). The clowns, or ash ghosts, as they were called by the Eastern Pomo (no-xahlúigak), were all members of the sacret society (matutsi). The ghosts who ran in from the hills (xahlúigak) were not necessarily members of the secret society. The members as a whole assisted throughout the ceremony in various ways, coaching the other men and helping them to dress. The ghosts (xahlúigak) performed special feats which they came by from inheritance. Jumping in the smoke hole and wearing fire on the head may be mentioned as inherited feats.

Like the Coast people, the participants in the Eastern ghost ceremony were put under ceremonial food taboos. The use of meat, fish, and grease was forbidden for a month before, and for the duration of, the ceremony. Water and food of any kind were not partaken of by any person in the ghost house during the daytime.

The ghost ceremony was usually given early in the ceremonial season, probably some time in June, and served as an alternate for the Kuksu ceremony. Each village in turn built a ghost house for the occasion, thus bringing the performance to a particular village about once every seven years. The ghost ceremony was supposed to follow not too long—several months, perhaps—after the death of some important individual who might be man or woman, secret society member or not.

Invitations to attend the ghost ceremony were sent out by means of messengers carrying invitation sticks, as described by Barrett.[136] Both

[136] Barrett, Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians, p. 402.

men and women came from the neighboring villages, but only the men were allowed inside of the ghost house.

The participants in the ghost ceremony were all xahlúigak or ghosts. All performances in the house were strictly secret from the uninitiated, who were forbidden even to approach the structure. To add to the mystery engendered by these regulations, the xahlúigak made repeated entrances from the woods to the dance house in terrifying disguises and with great show of burning pitch. An appearance of supernatural power was thus made to outsiders. It cannot be doubted that even the participants in the ghost ceremony were awed by the tricks played by certain of their members. Thus one or two of the ash ghosts had the mysterious power of fire eating.[137] They were called Xo ghawal matutsi (fire eater initiate) and were the leaders of the other ash ghosts. Others of the ash ghosts acted as clowns and entertainers and performed various sleight-of-hand tricks with fire and live coals.[138] There was a special way of speaking used in this ceremony; it was not so much a secret language such as we find in the Kuksu prayers and songs, as a mere inversion of meaning or of words in relation to action, intended as a sign that these were not human beings but spirits who might be expected to act as unlike men as possible.

Unlike the Coast Pomo, very young boys were taken into the ghost house among the Eastern Pomo. A boy was said to be eligible as soon as he was old enough to keep a secret and was taken in sometimes two or three years before the puberty ceremonies.

There were two performances pertaining to the ghost ceremony, one occurring in the daytime, and the other during the evening. The ceremony commenced with the latter, an event of comic rather than religious nature, and involving, except as a recent innovation, no dancing and little ceremonial singing or prayers. Certain features, however were calculated to impress and terrify the new initiates who might be present. The chief part belonged to the ash ghosts, who must be clever actors as well as conjurors, for the function of the clown here was not merely, as in the Maidu Kuksu ceremonies, to mimic more important and serious characters, but to carry on independent comedy of his own. The ash ghost dressed in the dance house as the men

[137] Fire-eating is still kept up as a trick among the Eastern Pomo. I met some of the Indians who held this secret, but they refused to divulge their method. I have heard it said that the mouth was coated with clay during the performance, but this was vigorously denied by the professionals.

[138] A sucking doctor and ash-ghost named Ducam (11) was also a ventriloquist. It is likely that ventriloquism played a part in the ghost ceremony.

assembled. He wore simply the head net and a feather hat and a grotesque make-up of clay upon his face. He carried his assistant, a stick a couple of feet long, with a head bent over and carved to resemble a crane fitted with abalone eyes, a feather hat, and an ornament upon the neck.

All of the men—some sixty of them, perhaps—were gathered in the unlighted ceremonial house, lying upon the floor. Someone of them began a moan as though it were coming from beneath the ground. One after another joined in until a dozen or so were moaning at once. Then someone with a powerful voice yelled, "Wa u wao!" The yomta or a matutsi called for light, and the firetender started the fire, revealing all the assembled ghosts, the yomta standing as master of ceremonies beside the drum, and the ash ghosts with their crane-headed staffs near him.[139]

Throughout the evening the effort of the ash ghost in everything he did was to draw a laugh from the spectators. A humorous dialogue of more or less stereotyped character was carried on with the yomta. For example, an ash ghost said: "The yomta is an ugly man, someone told it to me." The yomta then replied, "You are only a joker, you meant my dead grandfather." Remarks were also addressed to persons on the floor, all in the special jargon of the ghosts, which consisted in "saying things backwards," namely, expressing the contrary of what was meant, and using certain conventionally substituted terms for the objects which were mentioned. The coals that the ash ghosts ate, for instance, were referred to as "bu" (potatoes), and the boys to be initiated were "mul" (little squirrels). If any spectator failed to control his laughter, the ash ghost made an exaggerated complaint to the yomta, demanding a forfeit of wampum strings "eight times that long," stretching his arms to their full extent. And the offender was obliged to pay, usually with specially made up strings of great length but with only two or three beads at wide intervals upon it. No real tax was ever levied except in case someone were guilty of such unlikely rudeness as to wish to leave during the show. If anyone came in while the ash ghosts were performing, the clothing of the culprit was declared forfeited and had to be repurchased at an extravagant figure.

The ash ghost began his act with a "squirrel" hunt. He held up his crane-headed staff as though it were a bow and he were hunting squirrels. In reality he was looking for small boys to be initiated. After trampling upon the drum he walked out among the spectators,

[139] A chief might take the place of the yomta as master of ceremonies.

performing all sort of tricks to raise a laugh as he went. On the first night no new initiates were present, and the ash ghost returned, leaped upon the drum again, calling "Malúl," the ghost word for chief. Either the chief or the yomta answered and there ensued a farcical dialogue, joined in by the more quick-witted spectators, in which the ash ghost complained of his long hunt and lack of success.

The second hunt was for a singer, tcuwidin (humming bird). The same procedure followed. Before going out a third time, the ash ghost laid down the crane-headed staff, and seizing a cocoon rattle leaped out and circled the house four times, jumping upon the drum each time. As he passed around the fire the fourth time he made the gesture of throwing the rattle, aiming at four different places in his audience. In his fifth advance the ash ghost went to the singer he selected and throwing the rattle upon him ran back, leaped upon the drum, shouting, "tcuwidinigo!" a call for the singer which all the spectators took up. The singer then sat up, elaborated his costume somewhat with another feather hat or two, and without leaving his place gave four short songs, accompanying himself with the rattle of cocoons and quills. Then he stood and still singing backed out of the crowd toward the center post, where he stopped, faced the fire, and then returned to his place. The ash ghost then recovered his cocoon rattle and found other singers. Some old man who sang well was appointed on the spot by the yomta to sing for the dances on the next day.

Fire-eating was an important feature of the evening performance. The head ash ghost said to the yomta, "Now I am going to eat potatoes," and so saying would venture out and circle about the fire, holding the crane-head out as though it were searching. He sat down beside the fire and lifted out the live coals with his hand. Then he either ran to the center post and tapped it with that hand, calling "tsipquia!" (it's gone!), or he tossed the coal in the air, caught it in his mouth, and while running about the dance house, blew upon it until it flared up and the sparks flew out. For every coal he "swallowed" the ash ghost leaped upon the drum.

In case one of the ash ghosts became irritated he jumped into the fire and started casting live coals among the spectators. The chief and firetenders hastened to guard the fire with their official sticks. Occasionally the ash ghosts became so unruly that they threw one another into the flames; in this case one of the number was liable to receive severe burns.

On any night but the first, children to be initiated,[140] boys of ten or twelve, might be brought by their relatives. The ash ghost was informed beforehand, and when during his squirrel hunt he spied a "muli" he ran about the fire and then back to leap upon the drum, announcing his success. Then he made a dash for the boy, but another ash ghost actually grabbed the quarry, the first hunter pointing his "bow" at another victim. The hunters tossed the boy from one to another without allowing him to touch the ground. The boy in this manner was hurled around the fire and back to the center post, where he was released and brought back to his place by his accompanying relative. The ash ghost called this treatment "eating a squirrel." While the boy was being tossed around, the firetender pretended to burn him with his stick. If the boy was considered "mean" the firetender might take a burning coal and place it in the boy's hand, closing the hand over the coal. This was done for "good luck" and to make the boy healthy.[141] A boy who yelled too freely and proved himself too much a baby was put out and might not be initiated for some time. Sometimes naughty children who were decidedly too young for initiation were brought in just long enough to be well frightened by the ash ghosts and were then removed. All the male children of the village had to undergo initiation when they became of proper age.

The men remained in the dance house all night. No one slept, because of the constant commotion. In between the performances of the ash ghosts the spectators placed their fingers in their mouths and made their throats vibrate "hu hu hu." The children imitated their parents in this manner of noise making. Finally the ash ghosts called upon the firetender to bring in the ghosts. Shortly before dawn those who were to take part in the ghost dance of the day left to dress in the hills.[142]

The costumes worn by the ghost performers in the daytime were not only intended to conceal the identity of the wearers but also to give the most supernatural and terrifying effect possible. First, all of the body left visible by the short skirt of brush or twigs was painted in white clay, black and red paint, in any grotesque design of stripes or

[140] The "squirrel hunt" here described appears more as a substitution for an actual initiation than anything else. It was introduced at a late date among the Coast Pomo.

[141] At the time of the tossing of the boys, announcement was made that such and such a boy would take the part of his uncle or father four or five years in the future. Blessings were said over the boy at the center pole by the master of ceremonies, either the yomta or the chief.

[142] Each day and night a different village supplied its own ash ghosts, ghosts, and boys to be initiated.

bands that was desired. The headdresses were adjusted, varying in design, but all concealing the face with a fringe of twigs. Then various devices were used for carrying pitch that could be lighted before the entrance into the village, so that fire would stream from the dancers as they ran. A man might carry before him a basket faced for safety with wet clay, and filled with burning pitch and twigs, or such a basket might be built into a frame headdress. Long sticks with pitch upon the ends might be carried in the hands in such a way that the flames would stream out on either side, or shorter split sticks with pitch inserted in the cracks might be carried in the mouth. As the ghosts entered the dance house, these would be thrown in the fire.

The ghost dancers came in from various directions at a signal, all meeting at a spot some hundred and fifty yards in front of the dance house, where they went through various antics. When all were assembled, the one who was first to arrive took the lead, running away from the dance house and then advancing toward it four times. The men all came out to meet him, forming in two lines to mark his path, clapping and calling "Ho–o!" as he went by them. The ghost dancer passed between these lines and walking backward, entered the dance house. He called to the yomta, asking him the way, as he felt about with one foot. The yomta answered, "The left side, that's the way," while the ghost dancer passed to the right. The others followed in the same way and they gathered at the center pole. All the men followed them in, the singers grouping themselves behind the center post, the others to the sides, leaving the mal or dancing floor clear. The leading ghost then made a speech in a somewhat archaic though not secret language, assuring everyone that he had come to bring health to the people. There followed a bit of humorous talk as in the evening, with the intent to force laughter from the watchers. Then the leader called "Hutsaiya-a-a- hohi-yi!" and, standing with his back to the fire, swung down the bunch of twigs which he carried and marked time upon the ground. Then turning he danced with high steps accompanied by the drum, during the singing of four songs. Ordinarily one or two danced at a time. At the close of the dancing the leader leaped upon the drum once more, calling to the yomta, "Malúl!" (chief). Again they conversed. Then the dancer, stamping on the drum, swung his twigs four times about his head, and removing his headdress with his left hand he swung that also about his head. Thereupon all the ghost dancers went back and disrobed by the drum, performing each act with the same elaboration; those who had

dressed and entered together carried out the ceremony of undressing together.[143]

On the last night of the ghost ceremony a special drama was enacted; the return of the dead. This custom was described by my North Pomo informant. The Eastern Pomo, however, had the ceremony in similar form.

As already stated, a ghost ceremony was given some time after the death of one or several prominent members of the community. These members were now impersonated by several of the "ghosts." Necessarily the impersonators were men, but if a woman were being impersonated the ghost was dressed as a woman. He wore then the buckskin dress of the squaw, the rabbit skin robe, and imitation breasts. Whether the impersonator was representing a man or a woman he was bundled in rabbit skins, his face disguised with charcoal and the twig mask. He was carefully selected so as to be of about the same height and build as the deceased. Beads were worn around his waist, arms, and neck. These beads were given before the ceremony in payment for the impersonation. The father's side of the deceased's family furnished small beads for the waist and neck and the mother's side gave the big beads and the belt. The impersonator was never kin of the deceased. The impersonator was called djakalal eldjin (dead-body come-back).

The fire was allowed to burn low in the ghost house and the impersonators came in one at a time. The ghost entered silently and stood near the center pole. Then he lay down flat on the ground. The utmost silence and seriousness of demeanor was observed by all within the house. The women relatives of the deceased entered the ghost house in single file, crying, dancing their mournful rites, and tearing their faces and breasts. The mourners approached the body, being careful to keep three or four feet away. They stayed some time around the living corpse singing and dancing in unison. Then they retreated as they had come, the rafters resounding with their doleful ululations. When the corpse was once more alone, it sat up. The grandfather approached and stripped it of the beads and robes.[144] The firetender and chief went to the roof top where they addressed

[143] Barrett has given a much more detailed account of this daytime procedure in "Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians." Miss Freeland obtained the above account from the Eastern informant Benson. Benson's account agrees with Barrett's except for the circling of the center post. This was performed only in the latter day Maru cult.

[144] This impersonation was evidently a main feature of the inland ghost ceremony. It is of interest to compare the "living corpse" with the effigy burning of the Maidu and neighboring peoples.

the people. The firetender instructed the relatives to cease mourning: mitai mina baiyan (stop cry stop). The chief made a lengthy (and unrecorded) speech, the substance of which was:

kápita	yátil	yána	alyeya	duka	makoma.
poor	does	me	get we	all	(?)

We poor people, this is all we get.

Among the Eastern Pomo the women were not allowed inside of the ghost house at this or any other time. The impersonator lay down outside of the ghost house, and the relatives of the deceased there paid him by casting beads over his coverings. The impersonator was clad in leaves and moss, he wore the customary mask and his face was whitened with clay and reddened with the crushed cinnabar. He had burning sticks attached to his body in order to keep the relatives of the deceased at the proper distance. After the impersonator had entered the ghost house he sent word to the people via the chief that he was all right and that they should stop mourning.

Every morning during the ghost ceremony the men were accustomed to have a fire dance (hoke manin, N) in the ghost house. A big fire was built and the men danced around it. The dancers first circled the fire counter-clockwise, chanting "hi-hi-hi." Music was furnished by the split stick rattle of the singer, and the foot drum. After circling the fire four times the dancers passed across the dancing floor between the fire and the center post, stopping four times, then passed to their posts on opposing sides of the house. Then one man from the west side started running around the fire, going counter-clockwise and approaching as near the flames as possible. A sturdy man could encircle the flames six or seven times in this fashion. Then a man from the west side ran around the fire, followed by a man from the east side, and so alternating. Twenty men from each side thus took their turns, the competition between the two sides being in regard to the number of times that the fire could be encircled. When the flames had subsided all the men rushed down to plunge in the lake, the ghosts carrying the young boys on their heads as if they were babies. This sweating was done twice daily. Dancing and dialogues continued until well into the fourth and final night of the ceremony. When it grew late, perhaps one or two o'clock and the fire had died down, and all had stopped dancing and were lying down, some leading man gave a call, and the remainder took it up. They began loud and their voices gradually became lower and finally died away as though they were leaving, reversing the effect of the opening

night. The yomta then uttered the closing prayer. Selecting some object from each dancing outfit, he held it as he passed about the dance house, making gestures with the ceremonial articles toward the south, east, north, west, the sky, and the earth as he recited the suitable formulae. He asked for health and good fortune for all of the people. The articles were all piled by the drum where later each matútsi could claim what belonged to him and pack it in his xalácuna (deerskin bag) to take home. The other men, too, kept all their paraphernalia between ceremonies.

After this all of the men went out to swim, but returned to the ghost house and stayed there until daytime. No one was allowed to sleep, even on this last night, and if any man appeared drowsy, a neighbor would give a sudden yell to wake him up. The ash ghosts also kept up a fairly constant stream of amusement.

Next morning occurred the closing feast before the house which women and children might now approach but not enter. The families of the initiated boys were especially honored guests. The chief divided the food into various piles, one for guests, one for matútsi, one for initiated boys, etc., and all ate in separate groups. The day was given up to games.

It was customary for Pomo doctors during certain prayers to make in their patient's name pledges which the latter must fulfill, usually at the next ghost ceremony, whenever this might be given. One of the feats performed for this reason, called xodarx, consisted in climbing dánbatin (Uncle Sam mountain) early in the morning, building a fire on top and three more on the way down, and reaching the ghost house in time for the ceremony. A man's relatives would go out to meet him as he came down and bathe him so that he might be rested and refreshed. Or it might have been promised that a man would make his entrance as a ghost four times in a day, or that he would go in by the smoke-hole of the ceremonial house four times. Benson remembered to have seen a pledge of this type kept by an uncle of his, a powerful man, Gaxá, who was one of the runners in the Kuksu ceremony. Gaxá ran at the smoke-hole and dove head first four times, keeping himself from falling by means of a stick held in both hands that caught horizontally across the entrance, and from which he hung inside the house before leaping to the ground.

The Eastern, and presumably the Northern Pomo, had a death and resurrection ceremony of a specialized variety. This was not an initiation ceremony but an act done in response to a vow made by

a doctor for the recovery of a patient. The patient, upon recovery, had to be either stabbed with a spear or shot with arrows by the yomta. The victim was necessarily a member of the secret society (matutsi). Powers has described this performance as enacted by the Gallinomero (Southern Pomo).[145] The spear-piercing ceremony was called pakok xai, and the arrow shooting ceremony gaXo hai. The person stabbed was called gauk Xalal, person sick. The ceremony could be done either in the ghost house on the third day of the ghost ceremony, or else at the time of the Kuksu ceremony. It was never repeated more than once in a given four-day ceremony. The information given below concerning the act was furnished by the Eastern Pomo informant, Benson. The informant never saw the act, and his account is based solely on hearsay.

The yomta took his usual place by the center post and there prayed. Throughout the action he sang. The man or woman[146] who was to be stabbed crouched on the ground. During the yomta's first song he made passes with his spear in the four directions: south four times, east four times, north four times, west four times; then in each direction three times, then twice, then once. Finally he stabbed towards the person on the ground, four times, three times, twice, once. At the last feint the yomta changed the song, and the actual stab was made. Blood gushed from the wound, and the victim fell over dead. The corpse was carried outside and there brought back to life again by the yomta by means of his incantations in the secret language. The yomta could delegate the actual stabbing to an inferior member of the secret society, but he always did the curing himself. Needless to say, the blood was not real but consisted of either blackberry juice or elderberry juice spurting from a punctured deer bladder. This ceremony was performed to guard against disease in general, and the prayers were a request to Marumda for health for the people. Once, they say, the people were all dying. Disease was in the air. They took a healthy person and bled him. In the four directions they threw the blood and threw some on the fire with herbs so that the disease was smothered and the people no longer suffered from it.

As further illustration of the initiations for the ghost ceremony, I am furnishing two short biographical sketches. The first was related by Jim Pumpkin, Xehulum (43) an Eastern Pomo. The second by Charly Bowen, Keetana (1) a Northern Pomo.

[145] Powers, Tribes of California, p. 180.

[146] If the victim of the stabbing was a woman I do not believe that the ceremony was conducted in the ghost house.

(1) My father took me into the ghost house when I was about five or six years old. While I was in the house I lay beside my father. My father was a ghost and also an ash ghost. I remained in the ghost house for four days and four nights. I ate no meat nor grease during the entire time and drank water only at night. Ten other boys were brought in with me. I was very much afraid. As soon as I came in the door the ash ghosts caught hold of me. They shouted "muli, muli, muli!" I shut my eyes. I do not know how many caught hold of me. Then the ash ghosts tossed me around singing: muli muli wipi lapi lai (me look at). One of the ash ghosts said, muli wi bihia duTam (Muli, touch my hand). The ash ghost had a burning coal in his hand. I held out my hand, burnt it, and started in to cry. Then the ash ghost cried out, jip kin ke (Don't hurt me!). He jumped all around the house, shaking his hand crying, "Oe, Oe, Oe." He pretended that he was badly hurt.

I lay down all day and did not look around again. I was afraid of being burnt once more. I saw the ash ghosts dancing and taking out coals from the fire and swallowing them. Every morning a new group of ghosts ran down from the hills. I stayed in the ghost house four days and never went out. I prayed, covered up my head, and never looked around.

I was a grown man of about twenty when I commenced dancing. Up until this time I had never had sexual intercourse. My father showed me how to dance the ash ghost dance. He introduced me into the ghost house. My father took me up in the hills.[147] There were other members of the secret society there, ash ghost matútsi and bull roarer matútsi. Ma'ac, the yomta, was not there. My father prayed: Kudi ma ibae nis ikui (good you will-be bad not). My father showed me how to paint my body, and he gave me the crane-headed stick. Four padok matútsi (bull roarer initiates) were there. They whirled the bull roarers. I looked at the bull roarer but did not touch it. I was told that it was the voice of Thunder God (Kalimatoto). My father taught me how to eat fire, how to sing songs, and how to dance. He warned me against eating meat. He told me that I would die if I told about what I saw and heard to any of the non-initiated.

(2) I was brought into the djaduwel cane (ghost house) when I was about twelve years of age. My great uncle Keetana (9) took me in. He told me not to be scared. The house was full of men making a lot of noise. There were eight ash ghosts (djaduwel belagin, ghosts come out) in the room. They had straw in their mouths in order to keep their mouths open, and straw in their noses in order to distend their nostrils. Each carried a doctoring stick made from mahogany or manzanita and curved at one end like a crane neck. Some had the neck of the crane on the stick. The stick was called Toobit'a, soup eater. The ghosts talked backwards naming other things than they intended.

The ghosts threw me up in the air. First to the south, then east, north, and west. They did this four times. Then they wrapped grass around my head and stomach, and laid me close to the fire. My great uncle stayed there and watched me. The ghosts sang over me as I lay. They did this again and again. They sang: bicebia ma'abia kalbia djamasan (deer-hunter food-getter money great-man). Finally one of the ash ghosts said "We will bring in the ghosts (djaduwel djaudetin, ghosts run-in) in the morning." When the ghosts came in I was laid on the side of the house next to my great uncle, so as to

[147] The informant had been previously initiated by the yomta into the secret society, as will be related farther on in this chapter. In both initiations the informant denied the use of the sweat bath, customary to all Inland Pomo initiations.

be out of the way of the dancers. Then they built a big fire and danced around it. I also was made to dance. Then we went down to the river and plunged in.

After the ghost ceremony I was kept in the ghost house for a month, but I could go outside, run around, and eat what I wanted. I was never made a dancer.

(3) Benson was not himself initiated as ash ghost, but gives the following East Pomo account from hearsay.

Initiation took place on the first day of the ceremony in which the member was to be entered. The matútsi whose place the candidate was to fill, together with several other matútsi, took the young man out to the hills and built a small hole. A small fire was kindled in this hole and four sacred plants, angelica roots, pine seeds, yana, and wormwood were burnt. After the fire had burnt itself down the coals were spread out. Grass was spread over the coals. Then a rabbit skin robe was spread over the neophyte and he was questioned in preparation for the sweating initiation. The questions asked were as follows: Whether the candidate were married or single, and in either case the extent of time since the last indulgence in sexual intercourse; the extent of time elapsed since the candidate had last eaten meat or fish; whether or not the candidate would obey the rules, and preserve the secrets of the cult from women and children. If it were found out that the novice had broken any of the rules, or had been reckless, his period of probation was extended. Certain mishaps were pointed out as bound to occur if further infringements were indulged in. One of his relatives might die, have bad luck, or get sick. No threats of punishment were made, however, by the matútsi themselves.

As soon as the candidate had passed his oral examination he was laid on the fire and sweated, the remainder of the company meanwhile proceeding with their dressing. Then the youth was rubbed with angelica while the sponsoring relative said certain prayers over him, as for example:

yox!	putsál	ibae,	ciba	q'adi	ibae,
	healthy	shall-be	body	clean	shall-be
kalbia	ibae,	gauk	masan	ibae,	
wealth	shall-be	person	great	shall-be	
q'odi	giwal	bae	mibal.	du'q'aki	mibibax
good	will	continue	him.	firm	his
ga	gau	bae.	du'q'aki	mibibax	
house	stand	shall.	firm	his	
xobalrum	bae.				
fire	shall-be.				

When the ceremonies were completed the novice was stripped and dressed as the others.

Benson stated that there was no particular age for initiation to the position of ash ghost; the succession to position depended on vacancy.

5. THE KUKSU RELIGION

There was a much greater difference between the Coast and the Inland Pomo in the Kuksu religion than there was in the Ghost religion. In both religions the cult became more elaborate among the Inland Pomo. In the Kuksu religion, however, there was added a further distinction. Among the Coast people, as among the Yuki, the entire cult revolved around the initiations and the healing powers of the members; among the Inland Pomo, as among the Northern Maidu, the initiations and shamanist display of the secret society members were subsidiary to the ceremonial impersonations. Among the Sierra Miwok this evolution was carried to such an extreme that no initiations have been recorded, although the Kuksu impersonators still maintained their shamanistic powers. In this case one can not properly speak of a secret society. Necessarily the number of impersonations increased following the route inland, as did the total number of four day ceremonies; as a corollary to this increase the Kuksu cult was performed in the earth-covered lodges among tribes further inland than the Pomo, and in the winter time. This change from springtime to winter and from bush enclosure to earth-covered lodge gave scope for the elaboration of the Kuksu cult.

In the treatment which Dixon has given of the Northern Maidu, and in all subsequent material written on the Kuksu cult, little attempt has been made to separate the Ghost religion from the Kuksu religion. This lack of distinction made by Dixon and later anthropologists has not been due to negligence, but to the fact that the Northern Maidu, Sierra Miwok, Patwin, and other inland peoples were first reported upon, and these tribes themselves have run the two religions into one, performing both in the earth lodge properly belonging solely to the Ghost religion.[148] Among the Pomo, however, there can be no excuse for any such confusion.[149]

I will present the material on the Pomo Kuksu cult beginning in the natural order of its evolution with the Coast Pomo and then

[148] The Coast Miwok and the Wappo had the Kuksu rites in the bush house, and not in the ghost house, thus resembling the Pomo.

[149] Barrett has made no distinction in his paper on "The Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians" between the Kuksu religion and the Ghost religion.

dealing with the Inland Pomo. This method will involve a necessary procedure from the complex to the simple in the matter of initiations, but from the simple to the complex in organization and ceremonials.

ORGANIZATION AND INITIATIONS OF THE COAST KUKSU SOCIETY

(A) *Organization*

All the members of the secret society among the Coast Central Pomo were called yomta.[150] All the yomta were shamans and there were no shamans outside of the society. There was always a head yomta who directed initiations and cures; he was called yomta wada cadómkle. At an initiation it was sometimes necessary that four of the yomta act the part of Kuksu[151] and one the part of Canis, the bear impersonator. Two or more wielded the bull roarers.

Women were admitted to the initiations probably in equal numbers with the men. Women initiates were called basan miate (powerful mother). These women never took part in curing or in initiation ceremonies, but acted the part of women chiefs. In this capacity they were called mata kaletc. All chiefs underwent yomta initiation. Not all yomta were necessarily chiefs, however, nor did chiefs always practice medicine. Some of the yomta had sacks, made from woven tule. These sacks were called batco sit. A sack contained the sacred paraphernalia of two or more yomta.

There was no word to express a ceremony. A descriptive method was used, duhoi batci yehětayau (four day doing).

All yomta were under special taboos at the time of a ceremony, and during their entire life following initiation were forbidden the flesh of squirrel, rabbit, quail, woodpecker, and bluejay. These permanent taboos are still observed by the initiated.

(B) *Initiations*

1. Kehenim or tokanim (grizzly bear stab). All the people in the village first joined in witnessing the yo ke, or common dance, performed in the bush dance house. While the yo ke was in progress the head yomta made an announcement to the people through the

[150] The word "yomta" or "matútsi" can be used as an adjective as well as a noun. Thus among the Coast people the noun "yomta" means initiate, and the adjective "yomta" means extraordinary, as a "yomta" fire.

[151] The ethnographer has composed the name, Kuksu religion, for the secret ceremonies of tribes of North Central California because of the prominence which the impersonation of Kuksu, the legendary "first man" takes in the ritual.

village crier (dja nuca). This official was a common man chosen by the chief. It was necessary that he make no mistakes in his announcements. The crier made his exit from the dance hall eight times, each time calling the name of a boy or girl who was to take part in the kehenim (initiation.)[152] Four of the neophytes named were boys and four were girls. The informant, Kalcue, was notified of his election as follows:

bautca	Kalcue	sto	toka	nim	ke	cwe
invited		him	grizzly-bear	stab	dance	new
yomta	cweya.					
initiate	new.					

That night all of the people from the village departed to their homes, the four girls and boys alone remaining in the bush house. The next morning the head yomta, with two or three other yomta acting as assistants, took the boys and girls out into the bush about two or three hundred yards from the village. The remaining male yomta of the village were stationed at this locality. These members, dressed at the time in European clothing, surrounded the boys and girls in a circle. Two of the members disappeared into the bush, the one to dress up as Kuksu, the other as Canis, the grizzly bear impersonator. The head yomta then called for Kuksu four times: He e e e e yau! Kuksu responded four times by making a cowboy yell, shaking his hand over his lips in order to make them quiver: Hu u u u u ! Kuksu then came running in blowing his whistle. He carried his customary four articles, the whistle, stick, shredded tule belt, and "big head." When Kuksu approached the neophytes he encircled them four times counter-clockwise. Two minutes afterwards Canis, the bear impersonator, trotted on the scene. While this entrance was being enacted the entire village was stationed below awaiting events. They could hear the shrill blasts of the Kuksu whistle, and could see the impersonators approaching the neophytes.

The boys and girls now stood in a row facing the east. Kuksu stood alongside of them also facing the east, his hands on his hips, and still blowing his whistle. Four yomta came up with flint pointed spears, yomta hai or tokanim hai, and shoved the four spears under the arms of Kuksu. Two spears were placed under each arm. Two of the yomta held the spears from behind, and Kuksu made four charges toward each of the boys and girls. As he made the final charge

[152] The informant Boston (Kalcue) is describing his own initiation. All numbers given, therefore, apply only to the one ceremony he witnessed.

the victim pretended to be stabbed and fell down as dead. After all the neophytes were mown down the two yomta pulled the spears from beneath the arms of Kuksu, who then ran around once counter-clockwise and finally retreated to the disrobing place in the bush.

While Kuksu was enacting his part in the drama Canis was also occupied. He came up a little way behind the row of neophytes, and kicking with his front and hind legs, he attempted bear fashion to dig a hole in the ground, emitting terrifying grunts the while. When the hole, or grave, was completed, Canis retreated into the bush with Kuksu.

After the impersonators had departed, two or three yomta each picked up a boy or girl, and carried the victim back to the bush dance house. The performance in the bush dance house now took place under the direction of the head yomta and in privacy from non-members of the society.

The "dead" boys and girls were laid down in the rear of the dance house. A place for the girls was partitioned off from the place for the boys. The mothers of the neophytes raised up their offspring, removed all of their clothing and washed them. There was no ceremony connected with the washing. The old clothing was left on the floor; anybody could have it. Entire new clothing was furnished the neophytes. This clothing was European.

While the ceremony of what I might call resurrection or rebirth was being enacted in the dance house the head yomta and four other members of the society remained in the bush. There they enacted a simple ceremony preparatory to entering the dance hall. The four spears were thrust head down into the ground. The five men retreated some distance and made four charges toward the spears, pulling them up on the fifth charge. Then they made four charges toward the cardinal directions; the head yomta pointed south, and they charged south, then west, north, and east. Finally each man turned around counter-clockwise four times. Next the head yomta instructed his assistants to be careful in their approach to the village; they should not advance close together nor drop any of the spears. Then they marched down from the hills singing: hai a ō ai ye.

Two forked sticks were already placed in the ground of the dance house in preparation for the entrance of the head yomta. The entering yomta made four charges toward the forked sticks, four charges in retreat, and then laid down their spears on the sticks.

Three yomta stood dressed in dancing costume at the rear of the dancing house. All were painted black. Two wore feather coats and feather helmets. The third wore simply the breech clout and the feather helmet and had a quiver of arrows. The two yomta in feather coats entered and picked up the four spears after making the required charges. The third yomta with the quiver of arrows ran alongside. After the yomta had picked up the spears they stood facing one another, each holding a spear in either hand. Then the two ran toward the man with the quiver pretending that they were going to spear him. The quiver man dodged. Sixteen charges were made, four for each spear. The head yomta sang in the secret language during these charges: he u ukwa te hi ne pe ukwa te. The people in the bush house responded: yu, yu, yu, ha! Next a bunch of tule was obtained and placed in an acorn basket (dasukon) in the middle of the dancing floor. A yomta performed a dance with this basket. He had on a beaded hairnet and wore beads around his neck. While dancing he sang: hoho hai ye yu yu ha. (Chorus.) The dancer made four motions towards the tule in the basket and then picked it up. After picking the tule from the basket he made sixteen charges, four to each of the directions, south, north, west, and east, turning each time. As usual in complicated evolutions of this kind another yomta helped keep track of the evolutions by counting sticks. The dancer kept on singing and each time he paused the chorus went : yu, yu ha! This was the last sacred dance. When it was completed the neophytes were removed from the dance hall and made to camp on the hills once more. They remained there for four days and nights receiving instruction. While the yomta and the novices were absent from the dance hall the people once more returned and performed their common dances.

While the boys and girls were in the hills the yomta made them perform with the whistles (libu), the bull roarers (padok) and the dabatusu (a stick with deer sinew attached). This was done so that the boys and girls would know what these things were. The neophytes were also taught the uses of angelica and guaca (sugar pine gum and bumble bee comb). They were also taught the sacred dancing songs. Canis prowled around while the boys and girls were in the bush. He made a roaring noise behind the boys while they were whirling the padok. His identity was thus revealed to the initiates. Every once in a while the bear came down to the dance hall where the people were holding the common dances and tried to put an end

to the festivities by sitting in the fire. The method that Canis employed was to jump in the fire, scatter the coals, and thus attempt to extinguish the flames. After the fire was out, Canis ran back to the hills. When the bear entered the hall he came in with a roar. The women thought that the bear was a real bear, and covering their faces with their hands, cried out in terror.

When the four days of instruction in the hills were over the neophytes returned to their homes. The relatives washed them upon their arrival, gave them necklaces and belts of beads, and put them under temporary restrictions. They were not allowed to scratch their heads, but must use the scratching stick; were not allowed to wash themselves, eat meat, or have sexual intercourse.

Upon the return of the secret society from the hills the chief made a speech telling the people of the village to prepare to hold a feast in two or three days' time. At the time of the feast the boys and girls were permitted to eat abalone and mussel, but no meat or fish. After the feast they could scratch their heads and wash themselves once more.[153]

The informant was made a chief some time after being made a yomta. There were no religious rites mentioned connected with this succession. The uncle (66) who was giving his office over to the informant (63) led him before the people in the dance hall. The uncle instructed his nephew to be a good man, not to hurt anyone, and to lead the people right. Then all the women and children came and touched the hand of the new chief. The uncle gave him beads and the people brought him six deer, fifteen baskets of acorn mush, and eight baskets of pinole. He gave nothing back in return.

2. Djaka djaka (cut cut). Another form of initiation for yomta was the djaka djaka, or cutting ceremony. This initiation was described by Drew. In spite of the name of the ceremony no cutting was performed on the neophytes, as it was among the Inland Pomo, but the boys and girls were made to lie down in a pit as among the Yuki. The pit probably symbolized a grave, from which the neophytes were resurrected by medicine.

In springtime (tci domit, flower time) the head yomta called out to the assembled people in the bush house the names of the boys and girls who were to become yomta. These boys and girls went out to the hills, where the laimoc (firetender) built a fire. The yomta

[153] These taboos, like the Huchnom initiation taboos, were evidently taken from the girl's puberty rites. It will be noticed that Boston had three initiations, first into the ghost house, secondly as a guya, and thirdly as a yomta.

removed the clothing from the boys and girls and gave them an entire new outfit.

The relative who was giving up his place rubbed his successor with batcówa (angelica) and q'uaca (pine nut and angelica). He uttered a charm at the time: bel em to picitam alĕtin (this no harm you daze might).

After this each neophyte was stood up separately and questioned by a head chief (djaédul mate) or the head yomta. The novice was asked how he felt in his heart, head, and body: sin wan to komta ʇau? (how feel you heart feel). The same question was asked for the head (cnada) and the body (cpada). The youth answered nothing because he did not understand what all these questions were about. Then the chief said: tjaj e ma da yoitjuke (the people for you will gather). After this the chief instructed the novices that they were free for the present, but that soon they would have a djaka djaka. Messengers were sent out at once with the invitation sticks. Each messenger carried five sticks; one for the day of travel and four for the ceremony. All the villages from Stewart's Point and Mendocino were invited to the ceremony.

The djaka djaka was performed outside in the open field. A hole had already been dug the night before; anyone could dig this hole.

The yomta started the boys and girls running at some distance from the hole. The novices had on cheap European clothing at the time (about fifty years ago). The yomta who started the boys and girls on the run were attired as Kuksu. There were four of them. They blew with their whistles and shoved the boys and girls with their Kuksu sticks. The hole into which the novices were herded was about two feet deep. Eight or nine youths were accommodated in the depression. While lying there as if dead they were jumped over by the four Kuksu. The other yomta then took the medicine, q'uoca, in their mouths and sprayed the boys and girls. Then the Kuksu went out to their dressing places. After the novices had been sprayed with medicine their male sponsors removed them from the grave and washed them. The head yomta meanwhile sang medicine songs in the secret language.

The youths were then fed with pinole balls. They had also to promise to abstain from sexual intercourse and meat for four days. The yomta permanent food taboos were also imposed at this time.

Finally the new yomta were attired in preparation for their entrance into the dance hall. They were given buzzard feather coats

and yellowhammer quill head bands. Beads were also placed around their heads and necks.

In the meantime a common dance, the yo ke, was being given in the sĕe tca (bush house). The relatives of the newly initiated were all seated around awaiting their arrival. As the novices came in they circled around the yo ke dancers.

After this, Canis, the bear, entered with his usual roar. He tried to sit on the fire and put it out. The new yomta had the duty of catching Canis and running him out of the hall before he did any damage.

Finally four Kuksu entered and ran four times counter-clockwise around the dance hall. The people stopped dancing and the yomta and Kuksu danced. Then the newly initiated were taken back to the hole in the hills.

This same performance was repeated each night of the four-day ceremony. The djaka djaka was only done once in the informant's memory.

3. Djaukau djaukau (cut cut). The informant Drew witnessed the cutting ceremony as performed in Kukahmoi, the Southwestern Pomo home of his father. A description of this ceremony is of value, since it introduces the use of a pole in the ritual.

The pole (djakau hai) was obtained by the firetenders. It was painted black and white and feathers were attached.

About twenty or thirty initiates, both men and women, were placed along the pole. Four yomta were also located along the pole, two on each side. As soon as the novices had taken their positions they were made to walk first west and then east. This was done four times. The head yomta meanwhile sang: a he yo he hĕla hemo lo ke me hĕla yu hu, yu, hu, ha! (four times). These words were in the secret language. Every time that the novices arrived at the end of their destination in one direction the head yomta, who was not on the pole, sang the final "yu hu," and stopped the progress in that direction. After this ceremony the pole was discarded and the boys and girls brought to a camp in the hills, where they remained four days and nights. They were not allowed to eat or drink the first day. The following day they could eat pinole and acorn mush. The food had to be clean and free from all hairs or dirt. While the neophytes were on the hills, five or six Kuksu appeared once a day. They did not approach the novices. The head yomta gave the boys and girls instruction and bade them refrain from eating quail, squirrel, rabbit,

woodpecker, and bluejay as long as they lived. Moral instruction was also given; the boys and girls should avoid quarrels, they should not make enemies.[154]. The head yomta also rubbed the arms of the novices, reciting in the common language:

atalco	emuldel	tsuke	
not-sick	they	be	
cba	tali	emultea	dapoke.
body	clean	of them	stay.

This rubbing was done with angelica and tecemdu (the comb of the bumble bee). It was done for the purpose of giving kaocal (mana) to the boys and girls. Some of the boys and girls remembered the yomta songs, but most of them forgot them.

While the novices were on the hill they were given the dabatutu. This was the wet sinew of a deer stretched over a stick. When blown it made a wheezing sound. The youths ran around the hills blowing on this instrument.

The second morning the men started foot races. In former times they ran naked. The course as described was about eight miles in length.

After the initiation in the hills the novices were brought down to the bush dancing house where common dancing was in progress. This dancing was kept up for four days and nights. The novices joined in, but were forbidden the use of meat or sexual intercourse for one month. The chief announced that there would be a feast on the fifth day. At the time of the feast two or three of the novices were selected as future chiefs. These stood out before the people, and the presiding chief made a speech. The newly elected came into office several months afterwards.

4. Djok djok. The Southwestern Pomo, unlike other known members of the Pomo family, had a special death and resurrection ceremony for the making of chiefs. The four-day ceremony as described was witnessed by Drew at Kubahmoi.

The djok djok ceremony was held in the spring of the year in the large dancing sweat house (djabate). The first part of the performance was done in the evening. Four neophyte chiefs, of both sexes, were dressed for the occasion in jack rabbit skins, called stit.

[154] There was a Yuki custom, followed also by the Northern Maidu, of instructing neophytes in the sacred mythology of the people at the time of initiation. The Pomo youths who were destined members of the secret society were instructed individually by their sponsoring relative at home during the night. These instructions were started in early youth.

On top of these were two hand tied deer skins. The relatives on both sides supplied the beads which were worn in the ceremony.

All the people of the village assembled in the sweat house. The four neophytes were placed in front of the center pole, two on each side. Suddenly the fire was extinguished and four Kuksu came running into the house blowing their whistles. The Kuksu carried their sticks and special bows and arrows. They encircled the fire four times counter-clockwise, then each assumed a standing position opposite a neophyte. The latter sat down on the ground. The northernmost Kuksu raised his bow and arrow, took full aim, and let the missile fly. The audience, who were in the dark, heard the arrow smite the buckskin deer hide. There was no outcry. Each neophyte was shot in turn. Then the Kuksu recircled the fire four times and left the sweat house.

The fire was rekindled, revealing the four "corpses" lying on the ground. Two laimoc (firetenders) stripped the bodies, bathed them, and, upon signs of animation, covered them with blankets. The neophytes were led four times around the fire by the laimoc, and then out of the house and up to the hills. The four older chiefs whose places the novices were to take accompanied the party to the hills. Once in the hills the older chiefs gave instructions in the art of making speeches. They also rubbed the arms of the younger generation with the sacred herbs. Extra beads and necklaces were supplied. The young chiefs were instructed to abstain from women (kal mata) and for four days to eat only acorn meal and pinole.

When the young chiefs returned from the hills they sat in front of the fire proudly exhibiting their new ornaments. For four days the people danced the common dances: the yo ke, the gilak ke, the mata ke, the djani ke (a woman's dance), and the taukin ke, a dance resembling the yo ke. While the dancing was in progress the young chiefs sat by the fire, but in between times they sat with the yomta, who made sure that the food taboos were being preserved.

Summary.—The Coast Pomo Kuksu ceremonies here described all involved initiation into the secret society. All of the ceremonies took place in the springtime, in, or near, the bush dancing house. Neither the ghosts, the ghost house, nor the foot drum entered into the Coast Kuksu cult. Impersonations were limited to Kuksu and Canis, the bear. In all of the ceremonies the central idea was death and resurrection of the neophytes. The sweat bath was not used at all for the purpose of initiation.

The names of two of the ceremonies indicate that the cutting of the novice may have taken place in former times. The use of the pole in one of the ceremonies is significant, for among the Inland Pomo it was used for an entire four-day ceremony.

THE ORGANIZATION AND INITIATIONS OF THE INLAND POMO KUKSU CULT

Among the Coast Pomo we were able to divide the section dealing with the Kuksu cult into two portions: organization and initiations. In the present section we will be forced to subdivide into three sections: organization, initiation, and ceremonies. The organization becomes more elaborate, involving the creation of new impersonations partly by the process of splitting up the Coast impersonations into two parts and partly by the diffusion of impersonations from the east. Initiations become separated from the main ceremonies, are made more of an individual matter, and lose in importance with the growth of other ceremonies. Ceremonies are created partly from sections of the Coast initiation ceremonies, partly from sections of the Coast Ghost cult, and partly by diffusion from the east. Thus we may formulate the general law regarding the growth of the Pomo Kuksu religion:

The evolution of the cult, involving the change from the simple and original form to the complex and derived form, moved in an easterly direction. The diffusion of the cult, involving the transmission of complex ceremonies, moved in a westerly direction.

The concrete data for this general formula will be furnished in the remainder of this section and summed up at the end. By "west" we mean the Coast Miwok, Coast Pomo, and Yuki; "east," the Patwin.

(a) Organization

The organization of the Eastern Pomo Kuksu society only has been completely worked out, but there is no reason to doubt that the Northern Pomo had almost the identical system, including the same names for spirits impersonated and for the officials of the society. The information here recorded has all been obtained from the Eastern Pomo, unless otherwise specified.

All the members of the secret society were called matutsi. Membership included both men and women. The word "matutsi" did

not also stand for "spirit" unless used as an adjective and not as a noun. In this sense it indicated power and was equivalent to "masan."

The East Pomo village of Cigom contained two hundred and thirty-five individuals. Twenty-seven of the inhabitants were known members of the secret society, six of the members being women.[155] All of the members of the secret society at the time they were initiated were given sacks in which to keep the dancing costumes and charms. These sacks were called Xala cuna, "clam boat." The outfit as a whole might consist of headdresses, belts, necklaces, whistles, paints, feather hats, horns, wooden or bone pins, and red feathers. The sacks themselves were made from deer skin or panther skin. Two members closely related in the same family would have only one sack between them. The sacks were always kept on the sunny side of the dwelling place and hung up as high as possible. This was in order to prevent the shadow of a menstruating woman from falling on the sacred paraphernalia.

The name for the society as a whole, as given by Benson, was matútsi kuhma. A person who was neither a chief nor a member of the secret society was called kakel gauk, or bu kuhma.

The head of the secret society was called yomta. On the coast, it will be remembered, this term included all the members of the secret society. The chief woman member of the society was called masan hamite, "mother of the powerful one." This person was either a sister or mother's sister of the yomta. She was instructed by the yomta, and knew as much as he did. She underwent the two initiations; the first as ash ghost and the second as Kuksu society member. She never went into the ghost house, however, unless someone were taken sick in the house and she entered to nurse him. She took no place in the Kuksu ceremonies unless there was a shortage. Her duty was to teach the successor of the yomta in the event of the sudden death of the latter. In case no successor could be found among those eligible, the masan hamite might become yomta herself. This succession seemingly ran counter to the feelings of the people, perhaps due to the natural uncleanliness of woman in general. One woman yomta, however, has been reported. It will be noticed that the masan hamite of the East Pomo corresponds to the women secret society members of the coast, basan miate.

[155] Gifford, Clear Lake Pomo society.

Among the Eastern Pomo, Kuksu (or Guksu, E) remained the most important spirit impersonation in all the ceremonies of the cult. In the town of Cigom fifteen male matútsi impersonated this spirit at one time or another. There was no ceremony or ceremonial act which bore the name of this spirit, but his impersonators put in an appearance each day during a ceremony and took part in the xaidaxal, or closing rite. Unlike the Coast initiations, only two Kuksu appeared at a four-day ceremony among the Eastern Pomo, and only the chief one took part in the xaidaxal.

The costume of Kuksu as described for this region consisted of the following articles: guksu kaiya, the headdress, a stiff basketry cap set with buzzard feathers which extended in every direction, up and roundabout; gi, the crest, a flexible stick two feet long extending forward from the top of the head, which was covered with black down and tufted at the end with white crane or seagull feathers; dugudugu, a braided bunch of tule tied to the back of the breech clout; padok, a pole, six feet long, painted black. Kuksu had also the elderwood whistle and a bit of clam or abalone shell wrapped in ash leaves in his mouth. With these he imitated the sacred birds. The body and face of Kuksu were painted black.

Kuksu maintained the position of healer which he enjoyed among the Coast Pomo. His act was always a doctoring ceremony among the Eastern Pomo, never a dance. Although the usual time for the appearance of Kuksu was during a ceremony, he could appear as doctor on other occasions. The yomta might also cure, and sometimes drove disease from the village when there was no Kuksu present.

The Eastern Pomo also impersonated Calnis, a god who was believed to live with Kuksu in the south. Calnis was a more comic figure. His face and the upper portion of the body were concealed from view by a feather cloak fashioned from black buzzard feathers. A short horn, gi, hung down in front of his face. His arms were allowed to protrude through the coat, which was called yiicitc (feather blanket). Calnis carried a whistle and stick similar to those of Kuksu, and he was also painted black. Two of the male matútsi of Cigom were in the custom of impersonating Calnis at different times. The spirit of Calnis does not appear in the Eastern Pomo creation story and was evidently a recent mythological addition. The name Calnis suggests the origin of the impersonation. It will be remembered that the bear impersonator of the Coast was named Canis. Evidently the

bear impersonation of the Coast gave rise to two impersonations in the interior: the bear impersonation and Calnis.[156]

A fourth spirit impersonated was Masan Batin (great, very great). Masan Batin was covered from head to foot with the black buzzard feathers; no one ever saw his face. The head dress was above the head of the concealed matútsi, and was raised and lowered by a stick during the course of the ceremony. This impersonation evidently was borrowed from the east, possibly representing the Patwin Moki. One Cigom matútsi sometimes impersonated this character.

Besides the impersonations there were various duties connected with the Kuksu cycle which had to be performed by the members of the secret society. Sixteen of the men of Cigom had at one time or another wielded the bull roarer in connection with the Thunder ceremony, and seven of the men had taken part in the sit'ai or closing dance of the Thunder ceremony.

The opening, and most important, ceremony of the Kuksu cycle was the Pole ceremony. Sixteen men of Cigom had climbed the pole. Seventeen men and six women had carried the pole. Six men and one woman had carried banners (kokokel) at the time of carrying the pole. Not all of these officials acted their functions at the same ceremony. It does not appear that the laimo'oc, or firetender, was a member of the society. The drummers, tsile matutsi, were not members, and the foot drum was not used extensively in connection with the Inland Pomo Kuksu cycle.[157]

(*b*) *Initiations*

If a boy or girl was destined to become a member of the secret society, he or she was carefully trained from earliest childhood. There were, however, no special prohibitions enforced until time of initiation. The child was instructed in the sacred mythology of the people by his sponsor, and admonished to obey his elders.

Boys and girls were initiated only at the time of the ceremony to which they were to be admitted. Four days before the ceremony the neophyte had to abstain from meat, grease, and sexual intercourse.

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156 Compare the origin of Marumda. Coyote N. = Marumda E. + Coyote E.

157 It will be remembered that the word matútsi was used by the Pomo as adjective as well as a noun. The drummers took a prominent part in common dances. Benson claimed that they were called matútsi in a joking manner. The same was true of the boys and girls cut at the pole ceremony. They were called matútsi afterwards in a joking manner.

He was allowed to eat only at night. Early in the morning on the day in which the pole was to be erected the yomta prepared a sweating place in the hills. Upon the arrival of the boy and his sponsoring relative the yomta recited prayers in the secret language and then sweated the boy.

After this the yomta administered the "oath." The yomta made a pill by rolling a lump of sugar pitch from the sugar pine. Into this were mixed the seed of yellow pine, angelica root, and the root of a plant called yana. The person taking the "oath" ate this pill while the yomta said prayers over him. The "oath" consisted in a promise of secrecy and in fulfilling the taboos concerning the sacred animals, grease, and sexual intercourse. Next the yomta took the four herbs and rubbed them over the neophyte's body. Finally either the sponsoring relative whose place the boy was about to take, or the yomta, scratched the arm of the neophyte and blood was transferred between the neophyte and the relative.[158] At the time of the initiation, or before, beads were given to the neophyte. No payment was exacted for entrance into the secret society.

In case the boy was destined to impersonate a spirit, say Kuksu, the sponsoring relative took him into the woods after initiation and showed him how to put on the costume and how to perform the part. This had to be done four times. The older man then watched his protégé at the performance to observe how well he was acting the part. The young man, before this time, had no duties connected with taking care of the regalia or in helping the older relative to dress.

Nothing very much is known concerning the initiation of a new yomta. The number of yomta were few, there being at the most one to a village community. In case of the lack of a yomta in a village, the yomta from a neighboring village or tribe officiated at ceremonies. There was no yomta at Cigom in recent years, and a man named Maacic was engaged for the position from the Northern Pomo village of Kayau.

Benson stated that it took a yomta about a year to learn his profession. The neophyte yomta was taken finally up in the hills by the old yomta, usually the maternal uncle, for the "oath" and initiation.

The Eastern Pomo informant, Jim Pumpkin, was initiated for the pole ceremony. This initiation was prior to his initiation for ash ghost performer. It is not likely that his account, which follows, is complete.

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158 *Fide* William Benson.

While I was a young boy my father rubbed my legs and arms, saying: kudi ibae putsal ibae (good will-be well will-be). I was married at the age (?) of twenty. I danced in the búdubaxar [pole dance] before this time.

Maacic [the yomta] instructed everyone separately how to participate in this ceremony. Maacic took me up in the hills alone. My father was not along. When we were up in the hills Maacic rubbed my arms and legs with angelica. He also chewed angelica and sprinkled me with the juice. He made me eat mountain pine sugar and angelica. He did not sweat me.

Maacic talked to me, and told me about the secret language. He told me about the matútsi business.

ba	ma	co	ba	wak	kanu
you	me	hear	you	my	talk

kudi	ba	kanu	midi
good	you	talk	that-is-the-way.

ba	matútsi	kanu	kudi.
you		talk	good.

Maacic told me to look at him, and see what he did. That is the way he showed me how to dance.

There was then among all the Pomo no payment for entering the society, no taking of a new name, no advancement in position. The cult did not center in an indoor dancing house, so there could not very well be fixed places taken by members, as among the Patwin. When matútsi entered the sweat house they took their respective sides, east and west. They sat far back near the drum.

Ceremonies of the Inland Pomo Kuksu Cult

The Eastern Pomo name for a dance is xe, N, ke. The name for a four-day ceremony is xai kil (wood-stick hanging). This is also the name of the wooden invitation sticks which were hung up in the bush house at the time of the ceremony. The abbreviation xai could be used as a designation for the four-day ceremony, or for an act or impersonations limited to matútsi.

The Kuksu cycle was held in the spring time and always commenced with the budúbaxar, or pole ceremony. It always closed with the xaidaxal. The ceremonials between these two acts were, to a certain extent, optional with the yomta who was conducting the xai kil. There is a close connection between the Eastern Pomo creation and the Kuksu ritual. Kuksu, though not the creator, first suggested creation to the creator, Marumda, and supplied half the materials. Part of the creation myth is concerned with the establishment of the Kuksu rites and the budúbaxar ceremony.

The Kuksu ceremonial is supposed to have originated as follows: After he had made the world, Marumda ordered a big ceremony at Nonapoti. He appointed the first yomta and taught him how to prepare it. He said, "You will be able to teach others. Build a big dance house. Then go and get a long pole. No one will come to teach you how to do these things, but as the yomta you will know through me and my brother Kuksu. It will come into your mind. The dance will come into your mind as well. I want you to see my brother. For this ceremony you are to make a head like my brother's. You will choose a good runner from the village. Choose two, two brothers. Then have some boys get feathers to make the heads for them. You'll find it easy." Suddenly Kuksu appeared from nowhere. "You see, make them like that," Marumda said to him. "Make heads like that, let the two brothers wear them and let them come in the first day after the pole is put up. Pick out your best men, eight or nine and a fire-tender, and these shall carry the pole. After that the Kuksu will come in four times, then they can come in once a day for four days. Have a four-day ceremony. Remember this now. You will never see me again. Turn your back." The man turned around and bowed his head. Marumda disappeared. When the man turned he saw nobody there.

One Kuksu, or two Kuksu impersonators appeared in the daytime every day of the Kuksu cycle. Calnis appeared with the two Kuksu. The impersonators dressed at a creek in the bush, aided by the fire-tenders. The performers were called out of the bush by the yomta, who made four cries from within the bush house. On the first three days there was no entering of the bush house although the yomta within sang certain songs in the secret language, but the two Kuksu and Calnis simply entered from the woods running, the Kuksu whistling in imitation of the sacred beasts. At the fourth song-change of the yomta, they approached the bush house where the children were grouped about watching for the performers. The Kuksu and Calnis ran up to the children and scattered them, trying to trip them up with their long poles. Finally they herded them like sheep, the children screaming in fun and trying to escape, and drove them into the bush house. This was done in order to make the children healthy. Then, after circling about, the impersonators ran back into the woods.

On the fourth day a single Kuksu matútsi came along whistling. He ran about outside the bush house as though looking for someone to herd in, but everyone kept out of his way. Finally he ran into the

house, whistling constantly. Passing to the east of the fire but not circling it, he ran to the west side, crouched down, rose, faced east, and turned his head to the left; then trotted to the east of the house, crouched, rose, and facing west turned his head to the left. This was repeated four times at each side, then once at the center pole, and four times as he proceeded to the door. After this Kuksu cured any sick person that happened to be in the house at the time. The invalid was laid down facing the north. Kuksu pressed the invalid four times, starting with the head. Then Kuksu left the house, passing to the west of the fire, and ran off to the woods. The people watched Kuksu as he departed, pronouncing a long drawn "sss-s-s," and raising their arms they made a gesture of waving toward him, calling upon the spirit to take away sickness, bad feelings, and disease. This was the last public appearance of Kuksu at the ceremony, for at the final evening visit, the xaidaxal, only the society members and a few outside men saw him, others merely hearing him from within their houses.

This secret appearance of Kuksu, which will presently be described in connection with the "cutting ceremony" of which it formed the second part, closed in the same manner as just recounted, the spectators calling after the departing spirit and waving in his direction.[159] They were said to be wafting toward him all the disease and misfortune of the community, which he carried away. In a manner then, there remained a close connection between the ceremonial activities of the Inland Pomo society and the public curing performed by the society at the coast. Health and good fortune were the general purpose of all the ceremonial activities of the Inland Pomo society, but these final rites of the Kuksu spirit and his connection with the health-giving "cutting ceremony" served to preserve his identity above the remaining members of the society as the special guardian for the well-being of the people and more especially of the children. Among the Northern Maidu, the character of Kuksu was almost entirely replaced by the Hesi ceremony, and hence the purpose of both the society and the ceremonies, divorced from their coastal origins, have remained obscure.

[159] It will be remembered that ill luck and disease were cast on the departing Kuksu by the Coast Pomo by throwing sticks and stones at him.

(a) Pole Ceremony

The native word for the pole ceremony among the Eastern Pomo is búdubaxar (acorn pole). This term is also applied to the thirty-foot long hook with which the Indians tore down from trees dry wood in which birds had hidden away acorns. It was denied, however, that the pole which is introduced in the ceremony represented the acorn hook. Among the Northern Pomo the name of the ceremony bears no direct reference to the acorn, being called ma'a hai ke (food pole dance).[160]

It appears likely that the ceremonial use of a pole among the Pomo Indians is of considerable antiquity, for besides the "pole initiation" of the South Coast Pomo we find tribes making ceremonial usage of a pole from the Pomo south to the pueblo of Taos. The pota ceremony of the Central Sierra Miwok included the ceremonial use of a pole, while in the notush ceremony of the northern Luiseño a tall painted pole was actually climbed.[161] The notush was a mourning ceremony, but the climbing of the pole resembles the ritual of the Pomo or of Taos.

The Patwin have recently adopted the use of a pole set in front of the earth dance house as an adjunct of the modern hesi; that is, the hesi influenced by the modern ghost dance movement. This pole is wound with cloth of various colors and bears a banner of pieces of colored cloth.[162] Now while both the Patwin pole and the use of banners are unquestionably modern, yet the innovations are perhaps borrowed from an old Pomo cult. All the Inland Pomo informants are positive that the use of banners (koko, N; q'oq'o, E) is not a modern ghost dance innovation among their people. Among the Eastern Pomo these banners were carried by four matutsi, either men or women, called q'oq'okel. The banners were made of heron feathers and were from fifteen to twenty feet long. White seagull feathers were braided in with green beads. The q'oq'okel were always trained runners, for they had to follow the pole with their banners while the pole was being rapidly turned. The banner bearers did not climb the pole.[163]

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160 My Northern Pomo informant never made the distinction between a dance, ke, and a ceremony, hai.

161 Gifford, Central Sierra Miwok. Kroeber, Handbook, p. 676.

162 Barrett, The Wintun Hesi ceremony, p. 441.

163 In a similar manner to the Patwin's borrowing an old Pomo trait and inserting it in the new cult, we find the Pomo borrowing an old Patwin trait and inserting it in their new ghost dance (Maru) cult. I refer to the "Big Head" dance of the Patwin hesi ceremony.

The pole ceremony occupied only the first of the four days. After the first day either other secret society ceremonies could follow, or else the time could be taken up by common dances. In either case the spirit impersonations were acted each of the four days, closing with the xaidaxal. Like the ghost ceremony, the pole ceremony took place in alternative years in different villages.

The pole coremony commenced with the chiefs arranging for the ceremony and issuing invitations to the neighboring villages. After the people had assembled a common dance, such as the hohoke, was held in the bush house.

The evening before the ceremony the firetender took some assistants and went far up in the mountains to look for a suitable pole. The pole had to be made from good pitch pine wood, measuring twenty to thirty feet long and six inches in diameter. On the morning of the appointed day the matútsi kuhmá went out in a body to where the pole was lying. Soap root was rubbed on the pole in order to make it slick. The yomta then made a speech to the other matútsi telling them what they should and should not do. They were not to criticize or make fun of anyone. They were to repeat in precise form the secret prayers. Next (according to my North Pomo informant) the yomta talked to the sacred birds who punished evil doers. These birds were the night owl (tsikini), the chicken hawk (katc), the falcon (тата), the eagle (cai), and the condor (sul). The yomta prayed that these birds should not look at the people. After this the yomta blessed (wehú) the pole. This was done by attaching a long rabbit skin, cakodótsimé (rabbit hair) to the end of the pole. The skin was allowed to remain for the rest of the ceremony.

In picking up the pole (according to my Eastern informant) equal numbers of the initiates got on either side, the firetender taking the lead at the butt end. The yomta never touched the pole. All the pole bearers first made four moves in unison as though to pick up the pole, then four lunges in the direction they were to go. The pole was then raised and the matútsi set off toward the bush house. Four times on the way they stopped, dropped the pole and went through the ceremony of picking it up again. Each time the pole was revolved once counter-clockwise, the butt pointing toward the bush house. During the revolution four banner bearers followed behind running.

The last stop made was at the hole dug in preparation in front of the bush house. Here the pole was laid down, butt pointing to the hole. Now all the pole-bearers went to the same side, those who changed passing around the point, not the butt, and taking their

places as nearly as possible as before. The four banner-bearers attached their banners to the outer end of the pole, three or four other good runners following behind during the revolutions. The pole was revolved four times counter-clockwise, dropped, picked up, revolved counter-clockwise, and then clockwise. Then it was tossed four times in the air, slid into the hole and tamped into place. As the pole dropped into place a man with a good pair of lungs shouted a long drawn out "wa-a-a-a!" In response, all gathered in a circle around the pole and said "u-ah" four times. This finished the more serious part of the ceremony, during which prayers were recited by the yomta, and, as often in these ceremonies, a more or less comical episode followed.

Four or five of the male pole bearers came forward to attempt the difficult feat of climbing the soapéd pole. The first man to attempt the feat was always the man nearest the firetender. During the climb the relations stood on one side of the pole and the onlookers on the other. The yomta stood to one side and sang, the matútsi replying in response.[164] The yomta sang: ū ū hulai leli ha ha. Each man as he climbed shouted: hi hi hi. The crowd accompanied: hi hi hi. The matútsi sang: hu hu hu. Then: hi hi hi.

The men climbed bear fashion, using their hands and feet. The best climber succeeded in reaching the top and hung there; other climbers hung below until the pole was completely occupied. While the climbing was in progress the relatives threw balls of pinole and strings of beads at the climbers. The firetender gathered the beads as payment for the ceremony. Men, women, and children gathered beneath the pole, caught the pinole, and ate it on the spot. The climbers maintained their position on the pole for five or ten minutes, the end man being supported from below, and were then ordered down by the yomta. They then went to the bush house where their relatives had water already heated and sponges of shredded tule in readiness. The relatives took the warm water filled with healing herbs, and sponged off the climbers and all others who had taken part in the ceremony. Any common dance might follow in the bush house.

The pole remained in place throughout the four days of the ceremony. On the fifth day it was removed before daylight by the same people who raised it, and disposed of in ceremonial fashion by sinking in a marsh or pool. The q'oq'o, or banners, were taken off and kept by the carriers.

[164] The songs of the pole climb were supplied by Bowen, a Northern Pomo informant.

(b) The Rattlesnake Ceremony

On the second day of the pole ceremony a member of the secret society who was proficient in the art pretended to swallow a rattlesnake. My information on this feat was derived from my North Pomo informant, Bowen. Benson stated that the act was also performed by the Eastern Pomo. The ceremony was usually, if not always, enacted at the time of the pole ceremony. It was never performed upon other occasions. Its purpose, as stated, was the deception of the uninitiated for the object of control of outsiders by members of the secret society.

Early in the morning of the second day the yomta and the snake swallower departed for the hills in search of a suitable reptile. They were accompanied by members of the secret society. The snake swallower was called k'o'o baan. There is a play of words in this title for k'o'o stands for both the snake and poison, baan meaning to give birth or produce. The yomta while looking for the snake kept on shaking his cocoon rattle. The snake was deceived by the rattle, and believing the noise to issue from the tail of another reptile, slid from his hole. The yomta meanwhile had a rabbit skin blanket and offerings in the nature of minute beads and fine feathers in preparation. The snake was allowed to crawl upon the blanket and feast upon the bead and feather offerings. The yomta also held wormwood in his hand. After the snake had eaten his fill of the offerings he glided up the hand of the yomta and coiled upon the wormwood. In this manner the snake was transported to the people waiting at the bush house.[165]

While carrying home the snake, the matútsi stopped four times in order to dance and sing. The song was in the secret language, hoho ahakei hoho hohoi, he ta hai mahe we (chorus) ho ho.

When the matútsi neared the bush house the people stopped the common dance which was in progress. One of the singers started a special song in honor of the snake. The words of this song are not known. In the song the spirit which controlled the snake was invoked. Finally the rattler was laid down on the dancing floor and once more propitiated by beads and feather offerings. All of the common people

[165] I have presented this account exactly as related by Bowen. Benson and Bowen claim that the yomta put down a forked stick, and catching the reptile below the head, sewed up the mouth. This method of rendering the rattler innocuous differs from the Hopi, among whom the poison glands of the rattlers are said to be extracted in preparation for the Snake Dance (R. F. Benedict, *in* American Anthropologist, n. s., XXVII, 460).

who had recently eaten meat or cohabited with the other sex kept severely away. Then the k'o'o baan stepped forward and, picking up the snake, he turned his back to the people. He pretended to swallow the reptile. Then he again faced the people and spat the snake from his mouth. The snake swallower had the tail of the snake tied to a string, but the people did not know this.

The snake used in the ceremony was strictly taboo, and after the performance was allowed to escape uninjured. My informant knew of a man who killed a ceremonial rattlesnake and died in consequence of his act.[166]

(c) Bear Impersonation

The bear impersonator and masan batin always appeared at least once, and usually twice, during the course of the pole ceremony. They made their entrance separately upon summons by the yomta.

The buraghalaxai, E (butáke, N) or bear act occurred in the daytime, usually on the second day of the Eastern Pomo polo ceremony. The yomta notified the bear-initiate of the time of his appearance, and the people knew and watched for him. The performer wore a costume of a complete bearskin, the head on a basketry frame with a mouth that could be opened and shut. Bladders half full of water set in the axillae or sometimes in the head were said to give a sound like that of a bear walking. Two stuffed racoons with the tails removed were tied on either side under the forelegs to represent cubs.

The bear advanced from the woods grunting and performed certain manoeuvers in front of the dance house while a common dance was being performed. He turned to the right, proceeded some twenty feet, rose on his hind paws, dropped backwards, turned, went the same distance to the left, and there did the same. After doing this four times he stopped in the center, whirled about to his left, stood with his back to the house, fell back toward it, leapt to his feet, and approached the door. He made four stops, each time facing about, doing the backward fall and leaping to his feet again. Then he went in, circled the bush house four times in a counter-clockwise direction, and stopped before the center pole. There was no music, but the yomta prayed throughout. Buraghal sat up facing the pole, climbed

[166] While rattlesnake shamanism is not uncommon in California for the purpose of curing snake bites, the public exhibition of snake juggling is somewhat rare. The Yokuts "stepping on" ceremony is of interest in this connection, being intermediate in location between the Hopi and the Pomo (Kroeber, Handbook, p. 504).

it, turned and came down head first, turning head over heels four times on the way. Then he circled the pole four times and made his exit from the bush house.

Origin of bear initiates.—This happened in the days when birds could speak. Wren's father had been killed by a bear. He made a good bow and arrows and took a spear. He said to his brother, "I'm going out to get revenge. If the bear is there we must have a duel." He went to the place. A grizzly jumped out and tried to kill him but Wren was small and active and kept out of the way. He dodged through the bear's legs and when the bear leaped he hid behind a rock. When the bear dashed at the rock, Wren laughed at him. He tired him out, leading him toward the village. He didn't try to kill him. He brought him in where all the people could see, and then he shot. He told the people they might have the bear meat; he would keep the skin. He had thought of making a bear disguise. One great hunter before this time had used armor of soap fiber with the ends sticking out to look like hair, and with it had gone safely through the bear country. Wren asked the yomta if he thought it could be done again. The yomta said, "Yes, you can make a disguise but be careful. If the bears find out they will take revenge. Three or four may come for you at once, so that you can't defend yourself." Wren asked how it should be made. "Fast four days from meat and grease, sleep out where you are going to have your hiding place. When you begin to make it, let me know. I'll say some prayers for you." He told Wren of all the herbs he should use. The yomta went out and watched Wren make it. It was not complete as they are now. It had only basketry for the head. Later they were improved. The yomta stood off then and watched Wren perform. He told him to run and jump, how to act like a bear, and to defend himself. "Practice four days," he said, "and then you can make your journey. Always carry a little wampum with you. Some one may see you. You may have to stop and take the head off to drink. Then you will have to make presents of beads so that no one will tell. But never kill anyone as the real bears do. There is more than one way to kill people. If you kill you may be killed not as bears do but some other way, by poison or by shooting."

Evidently the impression is created by this story that the bear initiate conception is derived from the beliefs concerning the were-bear.

The Eastern Pomo name masan batin as translated means "powerful big." The Northern Pomo name for this character is dasan. My

informant translated this term as "pushing along," but the word appears the same as among the Eastern Pomo.

Masan batin entered the bush house once or twice in the course of the four-day ceremony. He came in while a common dance was being held in the daytime. As he stepped out on the floor of the enclosure he raised his skirt, commenced dancing, and shoutel: hō ō ō ō! The singers for the dance called back: hā ū, hā ū! Masan batin went around the fire once and then back to the rear of the enclosure, making his exit.

(d) The Bird Imitations

On the second or third day of the pole ceremony the members of the secret society imitated the sounds of birds. This act has been described for me by Northern, Central, and Eastern Pomo informants. The yomta had a moleskin filled with soap root fibers for the purpose. In this he placed a whistle. The soap root fiber kept the moleskin distended. When the skin was pressed in, it forced air through the whistle, thus imitating the sound of a bird. The other matútsi had clam shells or abalone shells in their mouths, and with these they also imitated bird sounds. Every member of the society was supposed to imitate the sound of a different bird.

Prayers were said by the yomta after the bird imitations. Finally the yomta took a long hollow pole with feathers attached to its end. He pointed this at the doorway of the bush house, and cried through it: whu u u u! hoho ho! Then he prayed. The mole was never eaten by the Eastern Pomo because of its ceremonial usage. The taboo on birds by the members of the secret society is said to have been inspired for the same reason.

(e) The Thunder Ceremony

The xalimatoto or Thunder ceremony (Xalimatotoxai, E; kalima taude ke, N) of the Inland Pomo appears as an elaboration of a portion of the Coast Ghost ceremony. Among the Inland people, however, the ceremony never occurred as part of the Ghost ceremony. It usually took place in the spring as part of the pole ceremony, but could be given as a separate four-day ceremony in the fall. It was always given in the bush house. In the event of its being given separately in the fall other ceremonies and dances were introduced in order to fill out the four-day schedule.

The Inland Thunder ceremony evidently gained its elaboration by adding certain features from the east. Thus the use of the foot drum, the addition of non-matútsi singers, helema, and the general features of the following sit'ai were not typical of the ordinary Kuksu ritual.

The nucleus of the Thunder ceremony among the Inland Pomo as on the coast was the whirling of the sacred bull roarers, padok, E; madim, N in imitation of the thunder. The bull roarer was made by stringing two slabs of cottonwood on a loop of rope a yard or so in length, the larger slab eighteen inches long, three or four inches in width, half an inch thick at the center and tapering to a thin blade at the edge. The smaller slab was similar but only half as long. Four male matútsi wielded the bull roarers.

The use of the bull roarer in tribal initiations has attracted considerable attention due to the remarkable closeness in resemblance of attendant religious usage. Thus among tribes of Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, East Africa, and South America the bull roarer was used in tribal initiation. In all cases it was represented as the voice of a spirit, and women were forbidden the sight of the dreaded object.[167] We have seen that the bull roarer was involved in a somewhat similar religious complex among the Coast Pomo. Among the Inland Pomo, however, the bull roarer became less esoteric, being used chiefly in rites of a secret society open to both sexes. Among the Northern Maidu the bull roarer lost all esoteric standing and became a child's toy.[168]

The Thunder ceremony of the Eastern Pomo commenced in the evening. The audience, consisting of the men, women, and children of the neighborhood, gathered in the dark dance house. The yomta, wearing nothing but a feather hat, took his usual place by the drum. Two of the padok matútsi took their stand to the east of the center post, and two to the west, sufficiently separated to allow a good swing. These matútsi wore nothing but the hair net. All of the people in the house first lay down, so as to avoid injury. Then the yomta commenced prayer, and the drummer started in striking the foot drum

[167] Lowie, Primitive society, p. 313.

[168] Hutton Webster claims that the use of a bull roarer by a tribe is a certain indication of former secret rites. I would not go quite as far as this, for the bull roarer may be diffused beyond its natural setting. In southern California the bull roarer was used by the Yokuts as a toy; by the Luiseño and Diegueño, as summons to religious assembly; and, according to Wm. D. Strong, by the Cahuilla, Serrano, and Cupeño in the Mourning ceremony and in connection with tribal initiation in the relatively recent "Toloache Cult." Among the Pueblo peoples both the use of the bull roarer and the tribal initiation exist. (Webster, Primitive secret societies, p. 205.)

with his feet, first gently, then with increasing violence in imitation of the approach of thunder. As the drumming grew louder one of the padok matútsi began twirling his bull roarer, using both hands, and allowing it first to wind up and twist the string in one direction, then reversing, and allowing the string to unwind. Each of the four padok matútsi took his turn at the play on the bull roarers. Then the drummer once more played on the foot drum, this time in *diminuendo,* imitating the dying off of the thunder.

According to my Northern Pomo informant, the wielders of the bull roarers were always rich, healthy, young men. While they were performing everybody in the bush house held out his arms and prayed for good luck:

kudi	dakamdo	édai	kudi	a	nákena	q'o	dakamdo
good	give-me	father	good	I	will-be	something	give-me.

The moment that the house was once more in silence, the firetender threw dry grass upon the fire to make a quick blaze.

(f) The Basket Dance

The sit'ai, or basket dance, followed the Thunder act among both the Eastern and Northern Pomo. It was called by the same name in both regions, indicating a probable recent diffusion from the east. Eight men, the four padok matútsi and four other matútsi, put the baskets on their heads. These baskets were called sit'ai butci, small-stick baskets. The basket was suspended from the hair of the dancer by a small flexible stick. The baskets were twined, their shape approaching the conical, but with curved sides. They were filled with the down feathers of the buzzard (dam). The firetender took charge of these baskets when not in use, and they were always blessed by the yomta before the ceremony.

The performers were naked except for the breech clout. They were striped in black, white, and red. Each man held in his hands bunches of shredded wire grass ten inches long. These were kept quivering along with the headdress during the performance. Beads in the form of belts and necklaces were worn by the eight matútsi. The family of the wife gave the belt and the father's family of the man gave the loose beads to be worn around the neck. In case the man were single he sometimes wore no belt. If either of the two families were very wealthy the performer was given a feather belt (cibú, N). After the dance the father's family stripped the performer. They

kept all of the decorations, but gave the wife's family an exchange in robes equivalent to the value of the belt.

The singer, helema, started the dance with a song: bo ho mo lau we ya ka na i. The eight performers, who had meanwhile gathered at the drum, now came forward led by the yomta. The men advanced in single file, crouching over, each holding his left hand forward and his right hand extended in back. They joined hands and in this manner were linked together. They danced four times around the center pole counter-clockwise, then four times clockwise. After this they crouched by the fire in a great semi-circle.

During the second song of the helema the performers went through a series of motions suggestive of those which will presently be described in the damaxai. The men raised their hands, lowered their heads, and shook their headdresses from side to side four times. This was called ai cadomen, or handing it out. The down feathers were presumably scattered over the dancing floor during the shaking of the heads. At a signal from the yomta the performers rose to their knees, placed their hands on each other's shoulders, and swung from side to side to the call of "yi ho!" This was done four times, then the performers returned to the drum in the same order, again circling to the drum counter-clockwise, but passing east of the center pole. The entire figure was repeated to the fourth time, the yomta reciting prayers to five of the deities, beginning with Thunder, including the four usual spirits. The matútsi then undressed, and preparation was made for the common dance which followed.[169]

(g) The Deer Claw Ceremony

This ceremonial act was only mentioned for the Eastern Pomo. It was possibly one of the more recent borrowings from the east and was performed in the bush house, usually as one of the pole ceremonial features.

For the performance of the lisolisoaxai five staves were needed, about eight feet long. From one of these, deerhoofs dangled, attached at short intervals throughout the entire length. To another were attached the side bones of a deer's foot; to a third the round center bones, while two of them were hung with the hocks of deer. There was no elaboration of costume beyond a simple feather dance hat. Sixteen matútsi took part, four of them each holding a stick horizontally before

[169] See description of xalimatoto, under "Common Dances."

his face. There was no dancing in this, and no singers other than the performers themselves led by the yomta, who sang and prayed throughout, but the drummer kept time lightly.

The matútsi advanced, one group of four at a time, from the region of the drum, passing to the west of the center post. The first group passed across the floor and took up a position to the east of the fire; the second crossed and stopped a little to the rear of the first; the third stopped on the west side in a position corresponding to the second group. The last group stopped opposite the first. All faced the door (south) and sang four songs. Between each they wheeled completely around to the left, or, if there were so many people watching that they were crowded, they simply turned the head to the left. At the close of the singing they wheeled again, circled the fire contra-clockwise, and returned to the drum on the east side of the center post. No mythical account of the origin of this ceremony was remembered.

(h) The Cutting Ceremony

The cutting of the children occurred on the fourth night of the pole ceremony among the Northern and Eastern Pomo. The Northern Pomo name for the ceremony corresponds with the name for one of the Coast Central Pomo initiations, djaka djaka (literally "cut cut"). The Eastern Pomo name is gaxáxai (scratching ceremony). The name of the group of boys and girls cut is q'alalgumá, or "a group of sick people." The purpose of the rite is said to be to bring health and good fortune to the children. All of the tribal members underwent this rite shortly after puberty, the exact time depending upon the occurrence of the Kuksu cycle.[170]

There is strong reason for the belief that the cutting ceremony was originally a part of the Ghost religion and performed only upon the boys of the tribe. Later it became transferred to the Kuksu initiation rites of the Coast Pomo, and to the Kuksu ceremonial cycle of the Inland Pomo. At a still later period the actual performance of the cutting was omitted among the Coast Pomo, although most of the initiations still bore the name of the cutting ceremony. The actual cutting is a blood sacrificial custom, and, as such, must be extremely ancient among the Pomo; fully as ancient as the tribal initiation called the Ghost religion.[171] It is common to find some form of mutilation

[170] One Eastern Pomo informant claimed to have been cut at two separate pole ceremonies.

[171] I am judging antiquity by extent of distribution. The world-wide expansion of forms of the "Blood sacrifice" may be found illustrated in my paper on the subject.

associated with the admission of boys to tribal standing; for example, the whipping of youths among the Pueblo people. In Australia and Africa circumcision often furnished the necessary mutilation and blood sacrifice. In all cases of this kind the usual motive given for the action is one of "good health." Since the Kuksu ritual of the Pomo became, among the Pomo, the guarantee of the health of the people, it does not appear strange that the cutting ceremony was transferred from the early cult to the later.

The *modus operandi* of this "health giving" rite among the Inland Pomo was as follows: On the fourth night of the pole ceremony the children were taken by their male relatives and made to lie around the pole.[172] The boys and girls lay on the ground naked, each being covered by a rabbit skin blanket. The relatives of the youths witnessed the rite, as did the matútsi kuhma.

The yomta entered wearing an eagle feather hat or an owl feather hat. He was ornamented with black stripes around his arms and on his face, and the customary belt and necklaces of beads. During the entire ceremony he kept up a continuous praying in the secret language. Beginning at the east and circling counter-clockwise, the yomta drew the blanket off each child and gave a scratch in the small of the back with a broken piece of wampum, the gaxáxal (literally "for scratching"), covering each child again before passing on. The cut was usually deep enough to draw blood, although the informant claimed that this was not necessary. The children were not supposed to cry out under the ordeal. It was not unusual, however, for a boy to cry out or for a girl to faint.

(i) The Closing Ceremony

The xaidaxal, or closing ceremony followed immediately after the cutting. This furnished the occasion for the last appearance of Kuksu.

A male-relative of each child stood by as guard; the matútsi stood within the circle of children, each with a bunch of tule, and the yomta sat in the center. As Kuksu went to each child he laid his staff upon him as a healing rite, and pressed gently from head to knees. Each time the matútsi in the center beat their tule on the ground, while the yomta sang a prayer song for each child and scattered beads given by the parents in the four directions. The firetender, meanwhile,

[172] Only male relatives witnessed the rite, unless the female relatives were matútsi. Women, on the whole, were too unclean for a sacred ceremony of this kind. (Informant, Benson.) The ceremony was held indoors in the bush house in case of rain.

ran about the village and each time the Kuksu completed his act, called out the hereditary name and the word "tsómkagia," meaning completed.

When the last child had been pressed, Kuksu ran about the group four times in each direction, then four times wheeled about, retreating two steps each time. All the matútsi gave a long sss s-s-s! slowly raised their hands and waved them toward Kuksu (with the idea of fanning all evils in his direction), and all repeated with the yomta a prayer asking Kuksu to carry away with him sickness and misfortune. Kuksu then ran away into the woods, whistling as he went.

The children were taken home by their male relatives. An informant who was cut in his youth states that his wound was washed by his mother upon his arrival home. He was then kept indoors for two days, and forbidden the use of meat or grease.

4. CEREMONIES OF THE INLAND POMO OUTSIDE OF THE KUKSU CYCLE

All of the ceremonies and sacred dances performed by the Inland Pomo, other than those included in the pole ceremony, were clearly borrowed from the east at a period later than the initial development of the Kuksu cycle.

(a) Condor Dance

Sulax, condor dance (sul, condor).—This impersonation was done by a single member of the society who inherited the privilege. It was usually performed in the fall after the summer harvests of acorns were in. It was enacted in the bush house, and other common dances followed in order to keep up the four-day cycle. The impersonation was sometimes also inserted in the pole ceremony, coming on the third day, at the discretion of the yomta.

According to Dr. Kroeber the River Patwin had a condor impersonation called Molok, while the Hill Patwin had an eagle impersonation called Sul. The Northern Maidu had the condor impersonation, Moloko. The Central Miwok also had the condor impersonation.

The ceremonial, catching, keeping, and killing of eagles was common to many of the Shoshonean tribes of southern California, thus furnishing another possible link between North Central California and the Pueblos of the Southwest.

Among the Pomo the condor impersonation was given under the same name as among the Eastern and Northern peoples, and the Coast Central Pomo informed me that a matútsi visited them from the Russian river in order to perform the sul ke. The visit was made upon the occasion of the Coast people's holding a festival in the bush house. The matútsi appeared dressed in the entire skin and feathers of the black condor. He had sticks extended along his arms in order to keep up the wings of the bird. The face of the impersonator was entirely covered with feathers. He kept blowing a whistle and balancing himself with a four-foot stick. He stopped four times outside of the bush house before entering and upon entering circled the house four times counter-clockwise, then danced where he stopped, swaying and blowing his whistle. After this he once more circled the fire and made his exit.

Among the Eastern Pomo it was necessary to trap a condor before the impersonation could be given. The people would never have done this had not the condor, according to the origin story, given permission. In the trapping, rabbit meat was placed on a bone sharpened on both ends and with a string tied to its center. When the condor swallowed the bait he became trapped, and somebody hit him over the head. The usual method then was to obtain the whole skin of the bird and for the performer to dress in it as described.

Sometimes, probably in recent years, the entire skin was not obtained and the impersonator merely imitated the appearance of the bird. In this case the costume consisted of a headdress of fiber and buckskin pulled over the head and protruding in front to represent the condor's bill. Condor feathers in the form of wings were attached to the arms, and in the form of a tail to the rear of the breech clout. The performance took place in the daytime, and the dancer dressed in the woods as the Kuksu impersonators did, coming in toward the bush house silently with a flying motion. He entered the house, went through a pantomime in imitation of the bird, and danced, accompanied by a single singer.

According to the origin story, Sul was formerly human and a great dancer. After he became a bird he left word that the people should continue to hold dances, using his feathers. Before turning into a bird he instructed the people in the art of dancing and showed them how to use his feathers.

(b) Deer Dance

Benson, my Eastern Pomo informant, alone reported this dance. He stated that the dance was localized among his people and was introduced from the Patwin.

A member of the secret society enacted this impersonation, but it was not performed at the time of a four-day ceremony. The dancer used the hunting decoy deer head and sewed deer hide along his arms in order to represent deer legs. He had a stick in either hand; when he danced he imitated the walking of a deer.

According to the origin story, a man was once out hunting in spite of the fact that his wife was menstruating. He heard a voice from the woods telling him to come around and kill a deer. Instead of a deer he found a panther. He followed the panther into a cave. There he went to sleep. The man dreamed and in his dream he was instructed to put on his deer head and do the deer dance. Then after his wife recovered from her menstruation he was instructed to purify his bows and arrows and repeat the dance he had learnt in his dreams. If he did this his good luck would continue; otherwise he would die.

After this the hunters got together and introduced the dance, so that subsequent hunters would see it and be careful.

(c) Fox Dance

This was an impersonation given by a member of the secret society among both the Eastern and Northern Pomo. Not very much is known about the dance, accounts differing between my Northern and Eastern informants. The Eastern name for the dance is unknown, the Northern name is q'auke. I have been unable to find an impersonation of this variety among the tribes to the east.

The Eastern Pomo informant, Benson, remembered having seen the fox impersonation given at a Thunder ceremony when he was a small boy. He knew the performer to be a matútsi. The impersonation was more of a pantomime than a dance and was remembered as being more or less humorous in character. The fox matútsi's headdress was made of down with the addition of a false nose of buckskin on a frame. He wore deerskin about his waist, with a fox brush attached behind. He dressed inside the bush house and began his performance by lying on the ground near the center post among the singers. In his pantomime he traversed the common course, advancing

from the west of the center post, circling the fire counter-clockwise. Then he returned to the original position, but passing again west, instead of the more usual path to the east.

Among the Northern Pomo one of the matútsi foot racers put a fox skin around his waist and ran around to the different houses of the village. He also wore a fox tail. The running was done at night, during a ceremony. Whenever the runner stood still people came and put beads on him. Sometimes two matútsi enacted this impersonation.

(d) Down Ceremony

The down ceremony was a four-day ceremony given in an earth lodge dancing house. The last time that this ceremony was given was in 1882 at Yokaiya in Russian River valley. This performance was enacted in Central Pomo territory. The first down ceremony on record took place about one hundred and twenty years ago.[173] in Lake county, among the Eastern Pomo of Lower Slocum ranch on the banks of Kelsey creek. The excavations dug at the time for this ceremony are said to be still visible. A woman yomta was in charge of the ceremony. The father of the yomta came from Yokaiya and the mother from Lake county. The yomta is said to have been instructed by her father. The second known time of the performance of the down ceremony was about sixty years ago. This time it was given at Robertson creek in Central Pomo territory. A male yomta was in charge who had received his instructions from the former woman yomta. The two were not related to each other. The male yomta was a Central Pomo man.

The last performance of the down dance took place forty-three years ago, in 1882. A male yomta whose English name was Hoselia was in charge. He was either a maternal nephew or son of the preceding yomta.

My informant Benson stated that this ceremony was given at intervals of twenty, thirty, or even fifty years, though the people would always try to have it if the yomta who knew it was becoming old and feeble, and the young man, his successor, did not know the ceremony.

There can be no doubt as to the diffusion of this ceremony from the east; the use of a specially built earth-covered dancing house, the

[173] This performance was enacted at the time when Ghepigul (33), the grandmother of Benson, was about twelve years of age. The original information on the down dance was obtained by Miss Freeland from Benson. I reworked her notes with the informant, making a few minor corrections.

acrobatic performances, the use of feathers in the way of down, and the music supplied by non-matútsi female singers, are all elements foreign to the Kuksu cult. Neither Kuksu nor any other Pomo spirits were impersonated. There was, however, a possible trace of impersonation in the highly conventionalized representation of Thunderer's acts in making the first storm.

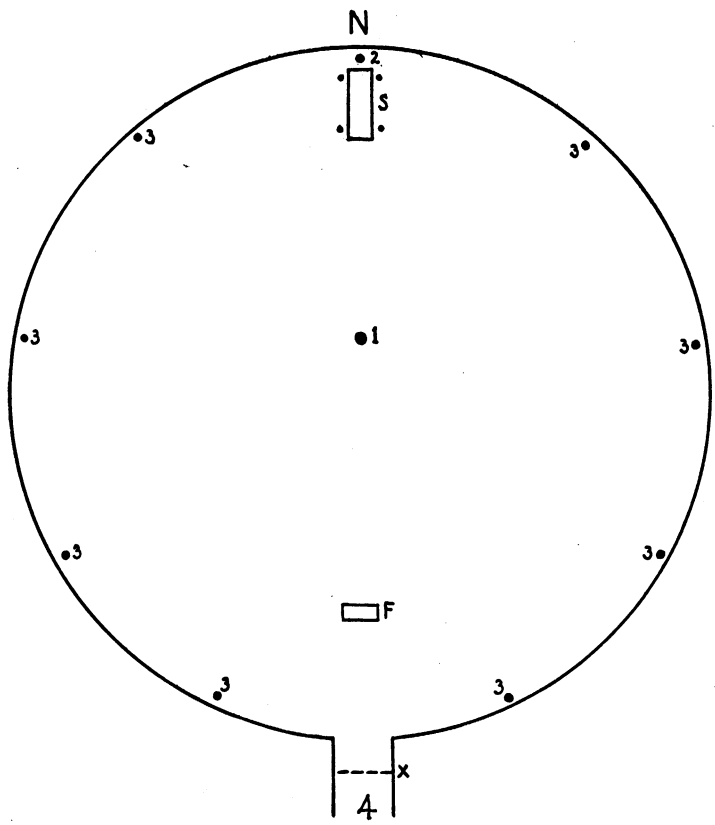

Fig. 2. Ground plan of Down ceremony earth-covered dance hall (damaxai marak). 1, center post, cabe; 2, forked post at rear, banaimerum (coyote womb); 3, eight side posts, yobane; 4, entrance, hwa; F, fire, xogai; N, north; S, foot-drum, tsilo, with four supporting stakes; X, down grade in tunnel entrance.

The acrobatic performances in the Pomo damaxai, especially as regards the main performer on the center post, reappear in the Northern Maidu and Central Miwok "Creeper Dance."[174] It appears that the Pomo have elaborated this dance into a four-day ceremony, repeating the main performance each of the four nights.

The damaxai took its name from the "dam" or down headdress, and the sitai, a large basketry framework filled with buzzards' down,

[174] Kroeber, Handbook, p. 378.

similar to that used in the Thunder dance and supposed to represent the cloud taken by Thunder in the origin myth. A special dance house was built for the damaxai, eight men wide, eighteen men deep, and containing the necessary adjuncts, namely poles about six feet long swung below the main rafters far enough away for a man's body to pass between (fig. 2).

The performers were all men, eight matútsi and the yomta, but the music was supplied by two women chosen for their good voices, who stood behind the center post. One or both held a wayoi, a stick some seven feet long with several cocoons on the end which was struck upon the floor to beat time. They had a different song for each change in the action.

On the night of the ceremony the performers gathered informally about the center post, after adjusting the headdresses outside. Their relatives were on the roof, watching through the smoke hole. The yomta gave the signal to begin by hitting the center post with his two sticks; the first songs began, and the first performer ran about the fire in a counter-clockwise direction and to the center pole which he climbed, taking his place on his trapeze. The other five matútsi then climbed to their positions, number six being on the opposite side of the house. The song then changed and number seven, the center post performer, walked about the fire, returned, and squatted at the foot of the post. The yomta called three times "Hohó!" The man stood, grasped the post in both hands, then with a jump swung his legs up and grasped it with his knees. Letting go with his arms, he raised his body to a position extending at a right angle from the center post, placed his hands on his shoulders and with head raised swayed back and forth four times in accompaniment to the singing of "yi ho!" The others swayed in similar fashion, hanging head-down from the swings by their knees. Then they climbed back, while the center man leaped to the ground without again touching the pole. This swinging was repeated the usual four times with singing in between. The six matútsi who performed on the trapezes were called sit'ai puben (sit'ai hanging) and the center pole performer was called cabe nayehel (center pole performer).

After this the trapeze matútsi left one by one in the following fashion: The headdress was removed and thrust by its long stick into some part of the brush wall or roof of the dance house that was just within reach. Then the performer climbed back to the center post (swinging from the rafter by hands and feet) and crawled out of the smoke hole. Performer number five, however, waited and did not

make his exit by the smoke hole. Instead, he slipped down his own pole, head downward, turning head over heels during the slide. Finally, matútsi number eight, who had been waiting back near the drum, came forward, ran about the fire, climbed the pole, and crawled out on each trapeze in turn, recovering the hats and thrusting them into his own head-net. Then he also crawled out of the smoke hole.

The common dance, daxai, normally followed at once as a sign of joy and relief that the ceremony was completed without mishap, it is said. It was extremely comic. The headdress of three sticks fringed with down upon a pin, appeared to parody the elaborate headdress of the ceremony. The same two women continued singing. The dancers formed a line, each one joining his hands together and shaking his head to make the headdress quiver. They finished with a call of "Hyú hahahaha hé!"

The first damaxai and xalimatotoxai.—In the early days there was no winter and summer. Day came for the people to get what they needed; night came for rest. People got cruel. Then a being, a man that lived in the north, Xalimatoto (Thunder man), heard a voice calling. He answered it. "Come, get some of my cloud," it said, "take it around all over this world. Make it rain. Put it in your sack as you go around the world. Swing it about your head like this. Make it rain. Those people down there are getting bad. They've forgotten all the things they were taught in the beginning." It was Marumda. He gave Xalimatoto a sack, and Xalimatoto packed the cloud into it and started out, swinging it about his head. The sack made a buzzing sound as he whirled it, it made a rumbling sound, then a crack! he batted his eyes and they flashed like fire. In this manner he went all about the world and made it rain. Everyone got in the ceremonial house, piled on top of one another. At last they realized they had been doing wrong and that Marumda was punishing them. Xalimatoto came every month for four months. It took him one month to go around the world.

Then the yomta said, "You children go out and get what is needed and we'll have a feast and a dance. That's what he wants. Then he'll leave us." He told the people what to make for this dance; to kill buzzards; he told the young men to take down feathers. "Then in four days we'll have taught them how," he said. "Now we'll perform on the ground and in the air. Those above will be Xalimatoto, and those down on the ground, those will be people. They'll get up in the dark; eight will climb up and eight will stay on the ground. Now I want four women to sing in this. Now I want four men to wield

bull roarers.'' All took their places. To give the signal to begin the roaring, the yomta hit the center post with his two sticks (as he does still). Four times the women began to sing, then the fire was lit and everyone saw the performers in the air and on the ground. The whistles were blowing. Then they performed the damaxai. And after that they danced. They danced, the damaxe. Those who had been on the ground danced it for those who had been in the air. Those who had been in the air danced the xalimatotoxe for those who had been on the ground. These crazy dances they danced because they were glad the ceremony was completed without accident. Then the yomta recited the blessing, winaguderx, and that was the end.

Now let it be presumed that a foreigner from the east was introducing the damaxai among the Pomo. What would be more natural than that he should claim that it was at one time connected with a very ancient Pomo ceremony, the Thunder ceremony, and that the creator Marumda gave sanction to the two ceremonies together at the creation of the world? The origin story given above is evidently a spurious interpolation into the ancient Eastern Pomo creation story, for the story of the flood differs vitally in the two accounts. In the original account the world was still in the bird age, and certain of the bird people saved themselves by means of a raft. The difference in the two accounts cannot be one of individual variation, for the same informant, Benson, supplied both accounts.

The conclusion I arrive at, therefore, is that the damaxai is a comparatively recent introduction among the Inland Pomo. The statements made in the origin story that the ceremony was originally associated with the Thunder ceremony, and that the damaxai had been ordained at the beginning of the world, were presumably made for the purpose of giving the sanctity of antiquity to a new project.

The damaxai was never performed among the Coast Pomo. After the Yokaia ceremony of 1882, however, the Coast Point Arena people tried to give an imitation performance in their sweat house. They did not have the proper apparatus, and gave the affair up after some of the men had falls.

Common Dances of the Pomo

Common dances were those given by the Pomo in which the performers were not necessarily members of the secret society. Common dances were in the main open to both men and women; some, however, were performed by women alone, and some by men alone. The dances

were usually held in a large sweat house (ke cane, C) in the winter time; they were also used as fillers at the time of a sacred ceremony. Impersonations were rare at common dances, two known exceptions being the impersonation of the dragon Gilak and the animal Coyote.

Barrett has given the organization of the common dance, which my informant states to be correct. This included a head singer, kéuya, the chorus, skam, two drummers who alternated playing, tsiló matútsi (non-members of the society), two firetenders, laimo'oc, and the master of ceremonies, xabé gauk (rock man), who took the position of directing which the yomta supplied at the sacred ceremonies.[175]

The common dances listed for the Coast Central Pomo included the yoke, Gilak ke, cuke, matake, wi ke, djanike, loleke, gakumake, and two varieties of the duwake. The hoho ke was the dance most commonly given.

The hoho ke under the same name was danced by all the Pomo as described by Barrett. The yoke (below dance) was danced by all of the Pomo under the same name. The cuke was a dance performed by men and women, details unknown. The dance was not given by the Inland Pomo, it was said to have come from the south. The matake was a woman's dance performed by all of the Pomo under the same name. A Coast song for the dance was he he la le ha hi hi hi, ya ya, ya, hu wa! The djaneke was danced by all the Pomo under the same name. A song on the Coast was: yo yo hale e he na gagoyá ō he he! The loleke, or crazy dance was performed by all of the Pomo under the same name. This dance was given by men and women, who undid their hair and stood in one spot shaking their heads. A Coast song went: yo o hi e djene, nekma, halwa yuta djene, nekma. The gakumake was performed by all of the Pomo. This was apparently more of a song than a dance. One woman sang, and another woman supplied the chorus.

There were two kinds of the duwake, a dance seemingly peculiar to the coast. The first was a song and not a dance. One man sat down and sang while others hummed the chorus. In the second variety men danced. They ran around the fire, danced, then acted as if scared, ran, and danced again. A song for the dance was: Ho yu ko, he he, a ha a a. hi ye ko, lai ye ko, He tsi ho ye.

The Coyote dance, wike, C; duwike, N, was danced by all the Pomo. The common animal coyote was impersonated in this dance, and not

[175] I am omitting all details of these dances supplied by Barrett, since my informants agreed with Barrett in regard to the common dances (Barrett, Ceremonies of the Pomo Indians, present series, XII, 397–441; also, Pomo buildings, Holmes Anniversary Volume, pp. 1–17).

the creator. It was danced by men only. The same costume was employed as in the yoke. The manner of dancing and singing were in imitation of the coyote. The men first stood on one leg and then on the other, pawing the ground with their loose foot. They went around the fire four times, the man who headed the line bending his body from side to side. The dancers imitated the sounds of the coyote: muc muc muc, ui! The singers sang the coyote song: Ho li mai yo ha, wus wus wus, yui!

The Gilak, or dragon dance was common to all the Pomo. According to the Eastern Pomo informant Benson, the dance was borrowed from the Wappo, where it was strictly ceremonial in nature and where the songs were never sung except in ceremony. The Miwok have a dance, kilaki, the Patwin, a gilak. The first term refers to a small bird, but the meaning of the Patwin term is unknown. The dancers dressed and acted in imitation of Gilak. The step differed from that of other dances in being more acrobatic. The participants, including both men and women, alternated in kneeling down and jumping up again in the first and last portions of the dance. The flicker feather headband was worn passing from the forehead over the top of the head and falling down the back.

The xalimatotoxe was danced only by the Inland Pomo. It was the common dance which succeeded the sit'ai ceremony in the Thunder ceremony. Both men and women joined in this common dance, as many as wished, whether or not they were members of the society. The men wore the usual feather hats and carried sticks or canes in either hand. The women wore feather hats, wampum, the flicker-feather band, and belts in addition to their customary dress, and carried shredded tule. The singer, kewia, E (song throat) had a long stick with cocoon rattles on the end. All of the dancers had whistles. The song of the kewia was: yo ho yo ho yaho, he yo ho waha. In four groups, the men preceding, the dancers advanced from behind the center post. The singing stopped to allow them time to form two lines down the east and west sides of the dance house, leaving a clear field between the center post and the fire. The dancers themselves sang "yi he yaha" during the dancing, which consisted in rhythmic turning and bending on the part of the men, and a simple swaying by the women. Meanwhile, two men, each with a feather hat in either hand, carried on a separate action, adjusted in time to the progress of the dancers. They advanced from the center pole to the fire, faced each other, bent the body toward the south, ran back, faced each other again, and bent to the north. This occurred four times. The whole was

repeated to four different songs. Then the two men turned, waved their feather hats at the line of dancers, which divided and retreated to opposite sides of the center post. The singer stopped, the two men retired, and the dance finished with a call of "Hyú! Hahahahaheĕ!"

6. THE MODERN GHOST DANCE RELIGION

The modern ghost dance religion came to the Pomo from the Patwin in the year 1872. It may be regarded as the final culmination and at the same time the extinction of the two former cults, the Ghost religion and the Kuksu religion. Both of the former religions supplied material for the new cult. An underlying strain of Pomo culture, the desire for the return of the dead, a feature which had been interwoven with the old ghost religion, now became an essential, although still esoteric, portion of the new cult. The transfer of this feature from the old cult to the new seemingly removed the last props from the old tribal initiations, and the old Ghost religion ceased functioning. In like manner the new religion supplied a "Bighead" dance and a pole ceremony. It seems probable that these features were introduced from the Patwin, the former from the Patwin "Hesi." These elements supplied the material, if not the psychological equivalent, of the former Kuksu ritual, and this religion in turn ceased functioning. The new religion also did away with the old secret society. This fact was doubtless partly due to the moribund condition of the organization owing to the dying off of matútsi lines of descent. With the coming in of the new religion control passed to new priests and dreamers, and ceremonial officiating passed to the former controller of common dances, the Rock man. In fact the entire ceremonial organization of the former common dances now became absorbed by the new cult.

The course which the New Ghost Dance religion took in California is of interest. The movement started, as is well known, among the Northern Paiute of Nevada. This religious ferment of 1870 traveled west and not east, for the Indians of the Plains still were well off respecting their buffalo. According to Dr. Kroeber the religion entered California from the north, traveled south among the Wintun, crystallized among the Patwin (a region of highly developed cult ritual), and then spread north and west. The movement among the Pomo followed the course of previously traced ceremonies; Eastern Pomo, Northern Pomo, Coast Central Pomo. The Indians on the coast told me that they obtained their new dances "From God and from Ukiah."

Among the Eastern Pomo the new religion was named "maru."[176] Among the Coast Central Pomo "baṭu." These latter people differentiate between the former ghosts, guya, and the modern baṭu spirits, weya.

Among the Eastern Pomo of Lower Lake the new religion existed side by side with the old religion for a time. The maru cult finally became so popular that in a given neighborhood as many as three big ceremonies and several smaller ones might be given in a year. It finally supplanted the secret society ceremonial and all of the dances now given are of the modern type. Benson stated that the maru dance house on Kelsey creek was used on certain occasions for the performance of the old type of ceremony.

I have not myself investigated the new cult, but present certain material on the Eastern Pomo as given by Benson to Miss Freeland.

The maru ceremonies are completely divorced from the authority of the yomta and the matútsi. They are organized by the maru, priests of the new cult who, however, with the dying out of the secret society and its officials, have fallen heir to many of the functions of the yomta. There is nothing in the way of an initiation ceremony in the new religion, and no esoteric society is connected with it. The ceremonies last two or three nights instead of four as in the old days and finish with a feast and gambling in the dance house. Ceremonies are not confined to the former summer season, but may be given at any time of the year.

The maru.—A man or woman does not become a maru by right of inheritance or by instruction from childhood but through dreams experienced as a mature individual. Some unknown person or possibly someone, who has recently died appears in the dream as a messenger from Marumda and teaches the dreamer.[177] The number of these priests are not limited in any way. There may be two or three in the same town. All the maru ceremonial is supposed to have been conveyed to the Indians in this manner instead of having been installed in the beginning of the world like the Kuksu and old ghost ceremonies. A maru will dream a ceremony with its songs and dances, and the

[176] The name "maru" appears to be an old East Pomo word. It is given as the word for "myth"; and "Marumda," the name for the creator in the Eastern Pomo origin myth, appears to be derived from it. Compare the word maṭu, doctor.

[177] On the Coast, Coyote was supposed to have been the beneficent creator in former days. The modern maru dreams, however, do not come from Coyote, but from the "Father in Heaven." "The person who tells about the dreams says that he saw God in the form of a mist, and that he talked by means of the wind."

next day will call a gathering of the people and tell them what Marumda has commanded. A day will be appointed for its performance by the chief or by the maru who will send out a messenger with invitation sticks, as did the yomta in the case of other ceremonies. The maru will then teach the people the new features which he has dreamed. It is thought that he would die if the instructions were not followed. The task performed by the yomta in the old ceremonies of giving signals in the dances falls to the lot of the former common dance official called xabé dima, or Rock man.

The maru are not only dreamers and leaders of ceremonies, but they engage in the healing of the sick to a much greater degree than the yomta ever did. The cures are performed by singing certain prayer songs taught in a dream for this purpose.[178] The maru doctors, unlike the doctors of former days, do not fast while attending the sick. They are not held in good repute by Indians of the old school.

The maru dance house.—These are of the underground earth-covered type which was the normal type of dance house with the tribes to the east. They take about a week to construct and measure in diameter six or eight times the height of the tallest man with arms extended. At first they were built without a door, the entrance being through the smoke-hole. Later, however, doors were tunneled through. A new feature of these houses is a gallery about six feet above the ground which circles the entire house. It is built of a close flooring of cross-sticks an inch and a half in diameter supported by posts and interrupted by a small stairway on the west side. All the interior walls and poles are decorated by a painted triangle design of red, black, and white, in the same style as the dance costumes. One of these houses was put up by the maru at Clark's ranch near Kelsey creek, but it was burned when the Indians moved away from there to Upper Lake.

Costumes of the maru ceremonies.—The men are described as wearing white trunks in these modern dances instead of merely the breech clout. The flicker feather headbands still appear but, it seems, no elaboration of feather hats as in the old style dance. Only one type of headdress was described, a three-pronged feather pin.

The women's costume is most elaborate—a long fitted dress with long sleeves, in red, green, and white. Practically the whole surface of the garment is covered with transverse stripes of cloth of these con-

[178] Songs, while theoretically taught in dreams, are actually taught by an older member of the family, especially the maternal uncle. While I was on the Coast, Drew (70) was instructing Parish (76) in batu, doctoring songs.

trasting colors, cut into triangles. The headband is trimmed with cloth in the same fashion. It contains some half dozen insets of abalone shell and eight or ten short wire prongs, wrapped with cloth, protrude from it with abalone pendants at the end. The maru themselves are said to wear a costume somewhat on the same order.

Maru dances.—The maru ceremonial includes apparently nothing in the nature of the older ceremonial. It is all xe, or common dance. These dances, however, are not the same as the old ones; they bear different names and are faster in rhythm than the other type. All the dances are the same in step and with one exception in costume, and in the fact that both men and women take part in numbers anywhere from four to twenty. The distinction lies only in the songs and the numbers of singers.

dutúke lehúye	all sing
naihai mómimomi	one man only sings

The qaiyabatin, or Big Head, is the most important of the maru dances. The singing is done by one man in ordinary garb, standing behind the center post; the dancing by two men, one or both of whom carry split stick rattles and wear the Big Head headdress. In step this is said not to differ from the other maru dances. The headdress is made by the maru and may be kept over from one occasion to another It consists of wire some six inches long and tipped with feathers set close together into a headband so as to stand erect, spreading slightly from the head.[179]

In the selection of dancers, the principal of dream authority held good, and the theory of hereditary privilege was a thing of the past.

[179] As stated, this feature was borrowed from the old time Patwin Hesi, a development of Kuksu ceremonial, and was then introduced to the Pomo as a feature of the new cult. The headdresses of the T'uya, or Big Head performers of the Patwin Hesi, are described as having a tall crown of magpie feathers, while the Pomo use feather-tipped wires. Among both peoples the dancers carry split-stick rattles. With the Patwin several of these "Big Heads" perform one at a time, and with the Pomo two dance, or one with an "assistant." Since among the Patwin the old type of ceremony and the new have become somewhat confused, it is probable that the "Big Head" was borrowed by the Pomo recently and regarded as a maru dance.

CONCLUSION

The Pomo whose culture has been described have been typical of the Indians of central California, in respect to material culture. The same words may be used for the Pomo as for the Northern Maidu: "a sedentary people, living in numerous small villages . . . . they were a people among whom the arts, except that of basketry, were but slightly developed, and who depended on the chase, and the native nuts, fruits, seeds, and roots, for food."[180] Such differences as occurred in the economic lives between the Coast and the Inland Pomo were due to a great extent to the influence of environment. The Coast people depended more than the Inland people on fish food; they made their homes of the abundant redwood logs and not of tule found in the Lake region.

The Pomo, and probably the Wappo, were a unit regarding social organization, and in this respect the entire group was differentiated from all other tribes of California. The Pomo were strongly inclined towards matrilineal reckoning. This included a tendency to succession to office, inheritance of possessions, and the assumption of names to pass from the mother's side of the family to the offspring. Post-nuptial residence was mainly matrilocal. The joint homes were usually owned by the oldest woman in the house. Marriages were exogamous in respect to families, and families were reckoned by the passing down of certain names. Since these names descended mainly in a matrilineal line, exogamous clans were in the process of formation. Some hint of a moiety system was also contained in the custom of dividing all the men of the village into opposing sides for the purpose of sweating and games. Women were excluded from this moiety grouping and therefore it had no control over the rules of exogamy. The Pomo were non-totemic. Because the Pomo were inclined towards matrilineal reckoning, they must be placed as marginal to southwest culture in respect to social organization. The Californian tribes intermediate between the Pomo and the southwest which had sib groupings were strongly inclined towards patrilineal reckoning.[181] The suggestion is therefore conveyed that once the tendency toward sib groupings is formed due to the historical settings of a people, the tendency

[180] Dixon, Northern Maidu, p. 343.

[181] Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 69.

may express itself in either the formation of patrilineal or matrilineal reckoning, in either patrilineal or matrilineal clans.[182]

The marginal position of the Pomo to the culture of the Pueblos is again asserted by the transmission of religious customs. The more obvious Pueblo traits to be found among the Pomo are: the sacrifices of meal, the use of the "pole-climb," and the rattlesnake ceremony. Spirit impersonation extends north beyond the Pomo, as does the formation of shamanistic societies.

From the viewpoint, then, of both social organization and religious usage the ties which bind the Pomo to the southwestern culture area are more obvious than those which bind it to the Great Basin area. Distinctive features such as the Kuksu religion and the Creator concept are peculiar to North Central California culture, but they exist as overlays on an original culture common to both the southwest and to central California.

It has been shown that in religion the differences between the Coast Pomo and the Inland Pomo divide the stock into two minor cultural provinces, the first province being allied to the Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Miwok, and the second to the Wappo and Lake Miwok. This difference is mainly due to the type of Kuksu cult found; for on the coast the cult exists merely for ceremonial curing and for initiations, while in the interior the ceremonies tend to develop independently of curing and initiations. A third minor religious culture area is to be found among the Patwin and Northern Maidu. Among these people the Kuksu ceremony turns into sacred dances, with the Hesi developing from the Kuksu concept and the earth lodge dancing house taking the place of the Pomo bush house. The original form of the Ghost ceremony is no longer to be found in this third cultural province.

For the purpose of admitting a ready comparison between the three branches of Pomo studied, I am presenting the ceremonies of the East, North, and Coast Central in diagrammatic form. Brackets indicate recent diffusion from the east.

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[182] This conforms with the views expressed by Kroeber and Lowie.
Kroeber, Anthropology, pp. 232 ff.
Lowie, Primitive society, p. 176.

I. The Ghost Ceremony

Location	Ceremonies	Impersonations	Initiations
C.	Guya (return of dead)	Guya {Ghosts / Clowns	Puberty rite (death and resurrection)
	Bird imitations		
	Bull roarers		Individual for Guya
E.	Xahlúigak (day)	Ghosts	Muli initiation
	No-xahlúigak (night)	Clowns	Individual for performers
	Return of dead		
	Stabbing		
N.	Djaduwel djaudetin	Ghosts	*Ibid.*
	Djaduwel belagin	Clowns	

II. The Kuksu Ceremony

Location	Ceremonies	Impersonations	Initiations
C.		Kuksu	Kehenim (grizzly bear stab)
		Canis (bear)	Djaka Djaka (cut cut)
S. C.			Djaukau djaukau (cut cut) (includes pole)
			Djok djok (shooting) (for chiefs)
E.	Búdubaxar (pole)	Guksu	Individual by yomta
	Rattlesnake	Calnis	
	Buraghalaxai (bear)	Buraghal	Gaxáxai (cutting)
	Matútsi ganuk (bird)	Masan Batin	
	Lisolisoxai (deer claw)		
	Xaidaxal (closing)		
	Xalimatotoxai (thunder)		
	[Sit'ai] (down basket headdress)		
N.	Ma'ahaike (pole)	Kuksu	Individual by yomta
	K'o'o baan (rattlesnake)	Calnis	
	Butáke (bear)	Buta	Djaka djaka (cutting)
	Bird Imitation	Dasan	
	Closing		
	Kalimataudeke (thunder)		
	[Sit'ai]		

III. Ceremonies and Sacred Dances Outside the Cults

Location	Ceremonies	Impersonations
N. E. [C]	Sulax	Sul (condor)
E.	[Bicexe]	[Bice] (deer)
N. E.	Q'auke	Fox
E.	[Damaxai] (down ceremony)	

IV. Impersonations Occurring in Common Dances

C.	Wike (coyote)
N.	Duwike
E.	Gunulaxe
N. C.	Gilak (dragon)
E.	Kilak

The assumption has been made in this paper that the Ghost ceremony, or the men's tribal society, is of far greater antiquity than the Kuksu ceremony. This conclusion is inevitable, being based on the local nature of the Kuksu cult and the world-wide distribution of certain prominent features included in the Ghost ceremony. The present author agrees with Lowie that certain traits connected with the bull roarer initiation in all parts of the world can not have been invented or evolved independently. I do not mean by this that there has been, for example, a Melanesian migration to South America, but rather that the complex is of very great antiquity and has been carried perhaps with the original migrations of races. In America, for example, the typical bull roarer initiation has persisted in certain regions which have been the least touched by overlaid culture, such as the Pomo and the Yagan of Tierra del Fuego,[183] while only indications of the typical initiations are preserved by such features as the Kokko men's tribal fraternity of Zuñi, or the "Death and Resurrection" ceremonies connected with initiation into the secret societies of the northwest coast.

On the basis of comparative anthropology I would classify certain elements in the Pomo Ghost ceremony as being original. These would include: (1) the use of the bull roarer, (2) the impersonation of ghosts, (3) the "Death and Resurrection" initiation, and (4) the mutilation by cutting.

[183] The bull roarer does not seem to have been known to the Yagan and neighboring tribes having the "Kina" or men's tribal initiation. The impersonation of ghosts, the "Death and Resurrection" ceremony, and the exclusion of women, are typical of the bull roarer initiation complex (Koppers, Unter Feuerland-Indianern, pp. 106 ff.

The performance of clowns, the imitation of birds, and the use of semi-masks are features of a narrower distribution.

The formation of exclusive secret societies, including, however, members drawn from both the sexes, usually takes place in regions acquainted with the men's tribal cult. The secret society of the Kuksu cult is of this variety. It has been shown that the Pomo Kuksu cult evolved from an association of shamans, and then produced ceremonies of its own. These ceremonies were borrowed in part from the Ghost cult, in part from the southwest, and in part from the Patwin of the east.

A final word may be said concerning the strict religious sex dichotomy to be found among the Pomo. Lowie has associated sex dichotomy with the bull roarer complex, stating, "Sex dichotomy is not a universal phenomenon springing spontaneously from the demands of human nature but an ethnographical feature originating in a single center and thence transmitted to other regions."[184] In a more recent volume Lowie writes, "Where pronounced religious disabilities occur, I am inclined to impute them predominantly to the savage man's horror of menstruation."[185] Now it is evident that among the Pomo both factors, the fact of men's tribal initiations and the fear of menstruation, have created pronounced sex dichotomy. It is possible that the exclusion of women from tribal initiations is an older trait than the fear of menstruation, and that the latter has developed in different portions of the world in explanation of the former. Once the dangers of womanhood were believed in, a new set of ritual was created, and this in turn spread as far or farther than the boy's puberty rites. It is perhaps for this reason that the girl's puberty ritual and the menstruation hut have been diffused throughout the two Americas. The Pomo have both the boy's puberty rites and the girl's puberty rites; the historical connection between these rituals must remain one of conjecture.

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184 Lowie, Primitive society, p. 313.

185 Lowie, Primitive religion, p. 211.

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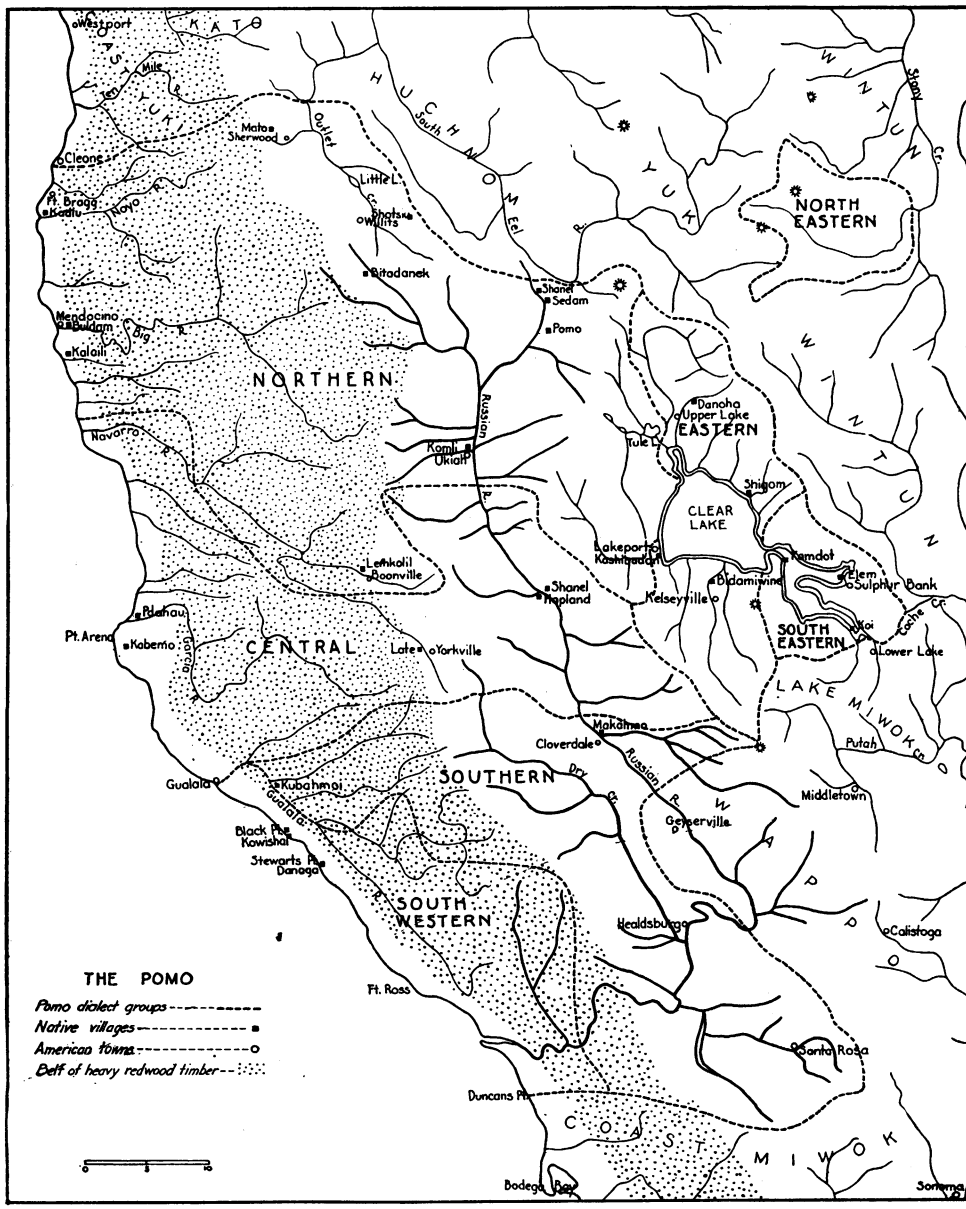
EXPLANATIONS OF PLATES AND SPECIMEN NUMBERS OF OBJECTS ILLUSTRATED

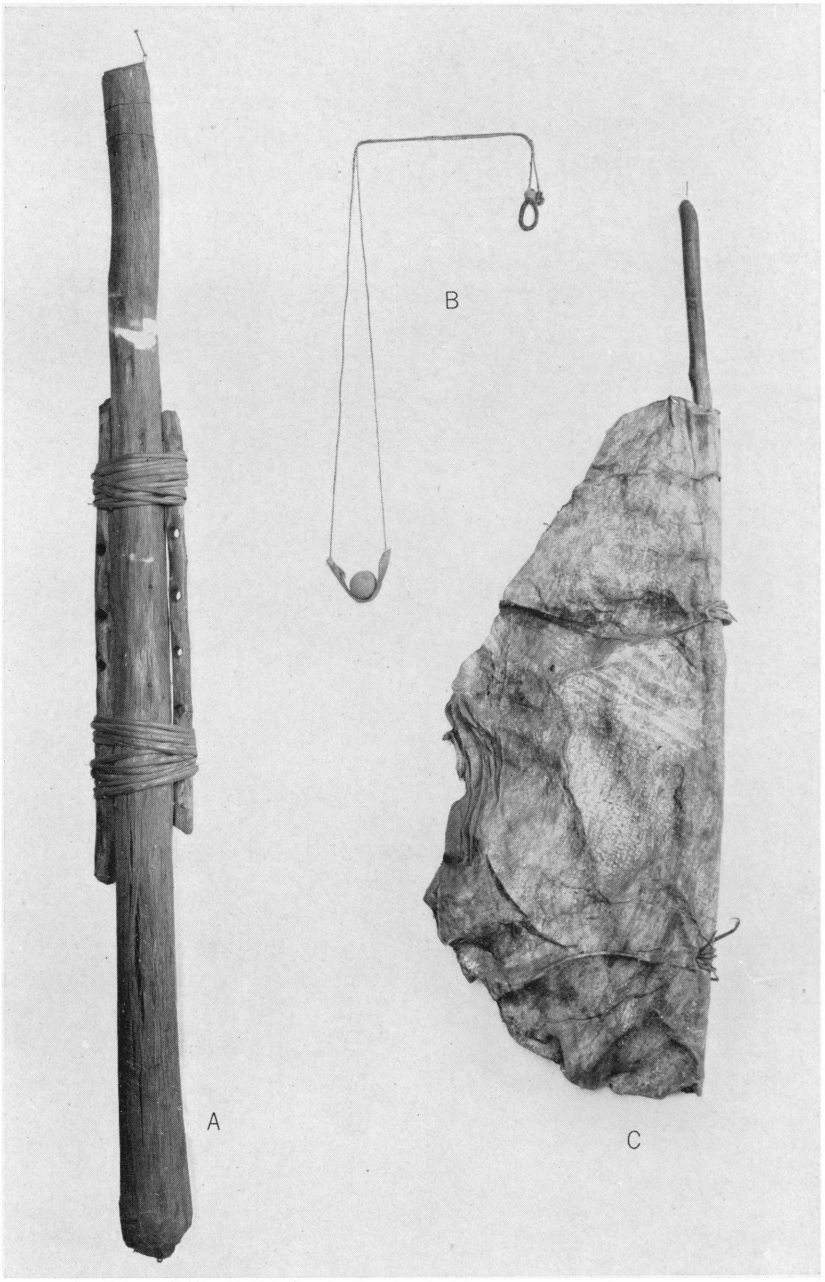
Plate 1. Map of Pomo territory, speech divisions, and important villages.

Plate 2. *a*, arrow straightener, no. 1–1410; *b*, sling, bicik', of milkweed string and green tule, 1–2370; *c*, fire fan of deer hide for sweating, 1–2769.

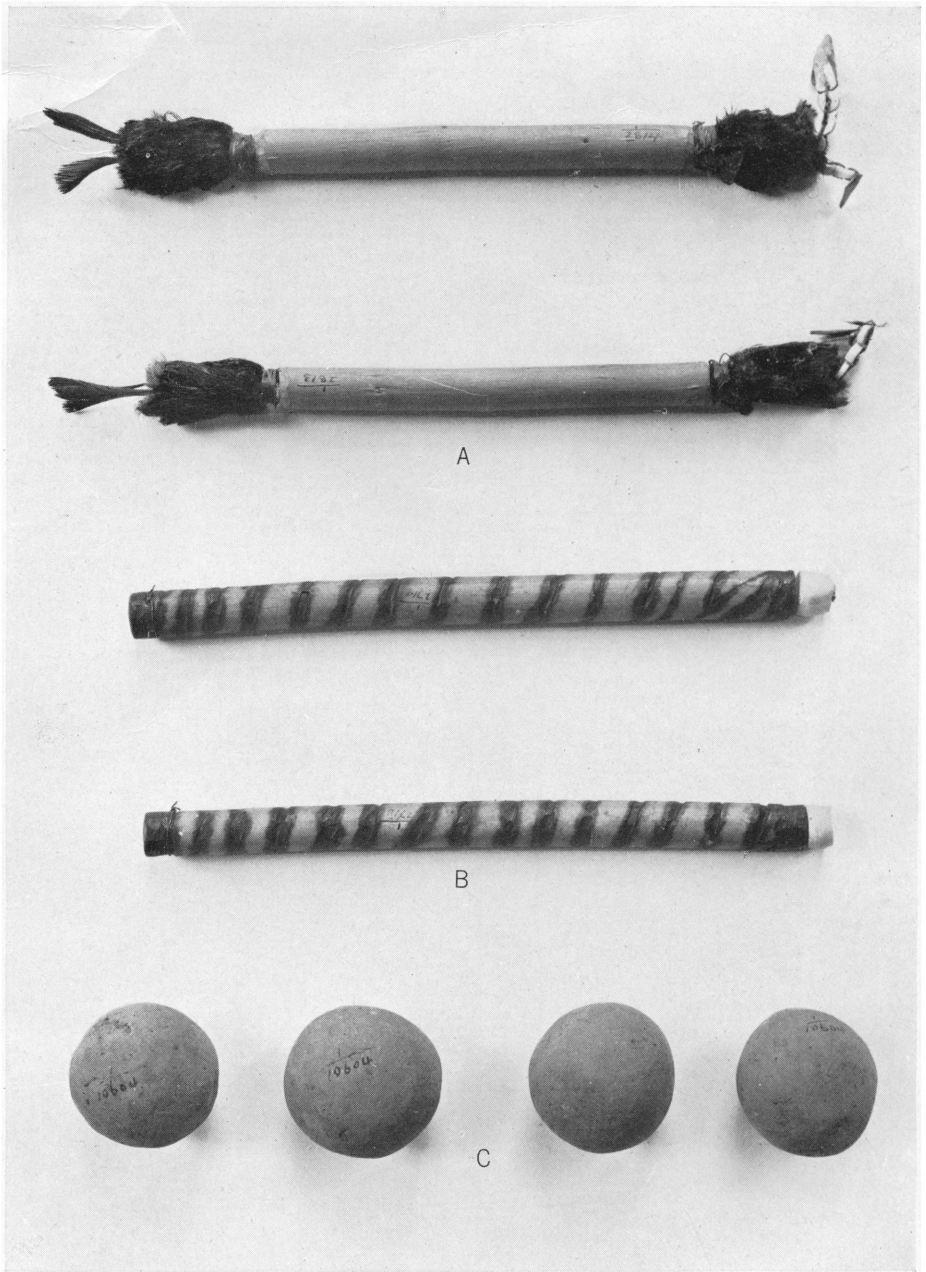
Plate 3. *a*, woman's ear or hand ornaments of wood, feathered, 1–2813, 2814; *b*, man's ear ornaments of wood, with burned pattern, 1–2718, 2719; *c*, sling shots of partly baked clay, Southeastern Pomo, 1–10604.



POMO TERRITORY, SPEECH DIVISIONS, AND IMPORTANT VILLAGES



POMO ARROW STRAIGHTENER, SLING, AND FIRE FAN



POMO EAR ORNAMENTS AND SLINGSHOTS