

PART II

Letters of Stephen Powers to John Wesley Powell

Concerning Tribes of California

Edited by R. F. Heizer.

153 East 26th St. N. Y.
Jan. 1, 1875

Prof. J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Thanks for your invitation, and if I should come to Washington I will accept it.

I shall follow your articles in Scribner's with close attention.

As to the matter of the animal stories or fables in vogue among the Cal. Ind., I will state, in a word, that they have almost no other literature, not even songs of any meaning. Of the half a hundred or so that I collected, not half a dozen have any human element; though the fact that they are forbidden by their superstitions to mention the dead may partly account for this. In the whole body of their legendary literature the coyote is the central figure. All that the aboriginal imagination -- which seems to linger with delight on the subject -- can conceive of cunning, practical jokes and comical deviltry, is bestowed upon this astute beast. There is occasionally a tribe or an individual Indian who is willing to attribute a small part of the work of creation to some other animal, as the eagle, the crow, the turtle, and others: but generally the coyote does all the work himself from the beginning.

The Cal. Ind. as a matter of fact, practically anticipated Darwin by some centuries. They hold that the whole animal world once existed on the same plane of being, that they were all, including man, brothers and sisters together. All kinds of animals mated together promiscuously, and even if two of the same kind united, there was no certainty that their progeny would be. The idea of connecessity [?] of origin runs through the whole of their body of fables. A bear might give birth to a deer, a deer might find a bird among her children. But out of all this haphazard work it never came to pass that a man issued forth; the creation of him had to be specially undertaken by the coyote.

In some mysterious manner, which no Indian pretends to explain, the coyote preceeded all other living beings, and from him they spring. Whether he created them, or served merely as a sort of protoplasm out of which they developed, the Indians are not clear. In all the fables which I have heard he is not here represented as actually creating any of the inferior animals. They seem to proceed from him. Some old Indians say that all living beings including man, once existed in the form of coyotes. They are all agreed upon the fact that man was the last form of development which took place.

One very pretty fable, worthy of La Fontaine, represents all the animals assembled in council to deliberate on the form and attributes which they should give to man. All the other animals wanted to make man like themselves, but the coyote had wit enough to perceive that an improvement was possible, by combining the various excellences

of the beasts. The council finally broke up in a row, and each animal started to make a model like himself. But night intervened and suspended operations, and by a cunning trick the coyote got his model done first, and thereby established the pattern of the human race.

Another fable begins with the first appearance of man upon the scene. He marshals all the animals to give them their respective ranks by assigning to each a bow and arrows of a certain length.

From these facts you will readily conjecture that they have no conception of a Supreme Being. I am profoundly satisfied they had none whatever, with the exception of a few tribes near the Oregon border, and perhaps an occasional Indian of superior intelligence. True, they all nowadays talk of a "Big Man," the "Old Man Above," and they even have pure Indian names of this being) for they are quick to invent names for new objects); but the idea is manifestly an American graft, which remains unassimilated. Break through the very thin crust of modern origin and get down to the bedrock of the real, genuine, aboriginal legends and there is not the slightest trace of a Supreme Being to be found. The coyote did everything, made everything. They believe in a future state in the Happy Western Land, but this belief involves no conception of a God.

There are countless spirits, principally bad ones, who hover about the hills, and generally refuse to tell their names to mortals to whom they work much injury. Some of these spirits take up their abode in certain animals, as the grizzly bear, the black eagle, the rattlesnake, the coyote, the owl, etc.; some tribes even believe that the acorns and dry leaves whistling in the wind over their roofs in the night are instinct [?] with evil. When bad Indians die they are often punished by being over into grizzlies, rattlesnakes, etc. If a dead man is so unfortunate as to be buried instead of burned, some believe he will turn into a grizzly.

As all men spring from the coyote, and one at death returns to the form of that animal, he is considered to have suffered punishment, but a slight one, since the coyote is constantly regarded as the friend of the human race. Old pioneers tell me that in early days the coyote were allowed to come into their village and to frolic with the dogs.

One aboriginal philosopher informed me that there are numerous states of existence, through which all pass. In one stage we may all fly, in another we may all walk erect, in another crawl, or swim, or walk on all fours, etc. In another stage, good Indians may fly; bad ones may return to the shapes of animals. So we go -- some ascending, some descending. The greatest evil which can overtake one is, to be changed into a tree, rock, bush, or some other inanimate objects. This is in store for the desperately wicked, and constitutes the only conception they are able to form of annihilation, after which, as they say, "He will never live any more."

Such are some of the points which occur to me at present. I could give many stories, but I hope some day to be able to put them in a book though I fear I shall not succeed in finding a publisher who will be willing to undertake it at his risk. I have the MS for a book rather larger than Foster's "Prehistoric Races of the U. S." with 30 or 40 original photographs and sketches to illustrate it.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

PS. If you have any illustrations of Cal. Ind. I should like to exchange with you.

S. P.

153 East 26th St.
New York Jan. 28. [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

You ask about my manuscript, vocabularies, collections, etc. and what arrangements I have made for publishing them.

I have about 650 pages of MS., 30 or 40 original photographs and sketches and a number of vocabularies (which, however, Mr. Bancroft will publish). I had hoped to secure a publisher here but I find it will be difficult if not impossible without incurring an expense which I am ill able to bear.

Prof. Baird has kindly suggested that the book could probably be published by the Government through the Department of U. S. Territorial Surveys.

Do you think you could bring out such a work in the Division which you have charge of? I should like it illustrated with about 30 cuts perhaps.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

[P.S.] In case you could undertake this for me, do you think it could be done within a year, and that I could be allowed to read the proof sheets?

S. P.

153 East 26th St. N. Y.
Feb. 4, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Just before receiving your letter of Jan. 29 this morning, I had made all my arrangements to go out of town for a time.

I send you, per Adams Express, my Indian MSS. for your inspection. I have nothing more to add to it. [Illegible word] my material for the illustrations is yet only partly in shape and can be prepared and sent in case of a favorable decision from you.

The illustrations will consist of about twenty photographs, chiefly of Indians in native costume; camp scenes, etc. and ten or fifteen sketches of various kinds of wigwams, dances and the like. All will be original, none having been published before in any relation except perhaps two or three photographs of the [illegible word].

Perhaps the most valuable part of the matter as also that which has not appeared in the Overland, is the last four chapters and the second chapter on the Nishenous.

I will mention to you my views and these with the MSS will perhaps enable you to decide without an interview. The whole extent of my pride and ambition is to have the book published in good shape, and to have copies get into the hands of men who are interested in the subject -- for I have never hoped or expected to make money from it. My friend Mr. S. Wright Dunning of the "Railroad Gazette" thinks that if my book is published by the Government it will be apt to be [illegible word] amid the mass of... [apparently on half a folded page is missing]... as the proof is sent on to me, so that it might be ready when the body of the book is in type.

Please inform me of your decision as soon as you can conveniently, for I shall probably wish to go home before many weeks.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

P.S. Prof. Baird wishes me to contribute models or sketches, or both, of the different varieties of wigwams of California for the Centennial. I suppose if you should be willing to bring out the book for me, that duplicate sketches could be made at the Government office for the Centennial. S. P.

120 South 17th St.
Philadelphia. Feb. 27. [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

An errand of business has brought me thus far toward Washington and I may find time to come down before going home, though it is doubtful.

Your letter of Feb. 5 was forwarded to me today.

You ask about the vocabularies. Mr. Bancroft has sent me proofs of portions of them -- all that he will print in his work -- but whether I could get from him the MSS containing the full lists is, I suppose doubtful. If you would like to have them embodied in the book I will make the attempt.

I think I could indicate on a map the more important tribes of California, at least in such a manner that an artist could color it properly; and I should like very much to have such a map accompany the book because I am not satisfied with Mr. Bancroft's map.

If you deem it absolutely necessary that I should come down, perhaps I can find the time, but my plans and engagements are such that I do not see very well how I can. I should like to learn your final decision as to the availability of my MSS soon so that I may get the assistance of an artist here to put some finishing touches on the illustrations before I go home where such services will not be within convenient reach.

Address: As above, care of Mrs. Wood.

Respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers

120 South 17th St. Phil.
March 11 [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I send you today, by Adams Express, all the photographs and sketches I have ready. Have been delayed by lack of good weather for copying.

I should like to get up a few more drawings, done by Mr. Moran, which will cost about \$100. I wish to ask if you could allow me that amount for that purpose. I could pay it out of my own purse, but not without cutting in upon a little sum which I had consecrated to the god Hymen. I could not think of asking this if the book were to be a source of profit to me, or if I had not already expended a good deal on it. If the request is not unreasonable or impracticable I hope you will [illegible word] it.

Very truly yours,

Stephen Powers

P.S. Perhaps I send herewith as many as you will wish.

Waterford, Wash. Co.
Ohio. April 13 [1875]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Just before leaving Philadelphia I was married; and I am now at home on my father's farm. This will be my permanent address henceforth, to which please send anything intended for me.

Before leaving Philadelphia, I sent you a quantity of photographs and sketches for the book; but I have some imperfect sketches of wigwams, which might be used if desired. I did not send them, as I thought perhaps I sent enough at that time.

Please inform me as to the prospects of the book, and about when you can commence on it.

Address: Waterford, Washington County, Ohio.

Yours respectfully,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio

May 30, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Some weeks ago I sent you a quantity of MS vocabularies for my Indian book, accompanied by a letter. I should be very glad to learn what progress is being made in the matter, and how soon you will commence sending me proof.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
July 3. [1876]

My dear Pilling:

I return you by tomorrow's mail pages 112 to 142 inclusive, first revise, and the cut of the sweat-house and bath.

The paragraph concerning the Reservation authorities might be considered in bad taste by the clerks referred to; but I do not intend any disrespect to the Indian Bureau. They express my sentiments, and I want them to stand, unless the Major strongly disapproves of them. It should not be considered disrespectful to the Bureau to censure the administration of a Reservation 3000 miles away.

"Cockagne" means a fabulous land of idleness and plenty.

On pages 62 & 63, second revise, correct "Wappeckquenow" to "Wappeckquemow," if not too late.

I hope you will succeed in your endeavors in regard to illustrations, where the artist draws large figures I like them, but his small ones are less praiseworthy.

Truly,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
July 11 [1876]

My dear Pilling:

I return you today proofsheets from page 161 to 181 inclusive, with corrections.

The pictures of the "tule lodges" and "earth lodges" are unequal in merit. The first please me very well, but I am dissatisfied with the latter. The people are too large for the houses, and the latter are too steep for heaps of dry earth long exposed to wind and weather.

Couldn't you send me the artist's work before it is engraved, if there is any left yet?

I enclose a rude sketch of a wooden lodge, used in the high Sierra where the snow falls so deep. If you think there is any probability that they can be used. I will send you one of the Clear Lake lodge.

Very truly,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
July 18, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

Your letter from Chicago is received, and I reply at once.

I hope you did not construe as a discourtesy my failure to go with you to Marietta. We were behind with our haying and help was difficult to get; hence I could ill be spared.

As you suggest I shall write at once to Mr. Smith at Washington. You speak of being in Green River on the first of September and suggest that it would be better for me to meet you there at that time in order to commence work. I shall be very glad to have the benefit of your advice and presence until I can get idea of your methods -- and become indoctrinated with your spirit; but would it not be practicable for you to set me at work a little earlier? If I do not get into the field before the 1st of September, that will throw me into the rainy season in the latter part of my work in California. I see nothing now to prevent me from being in Green River by the 10th of August, or, if there should be no delay in the financial arrangements at Washington even by the 1st of August. We are now nearly through with the "busy season" and I can get off within two weeks, so far as the farm is concerned.

Your telegram of June 1st reached me, via Ironton, only a few days ago -- nearly six weeks old! If you should wish to telegraph me again you had beeter send the dispatch to Waterford (via Marietta).

All your suggestions as to maps etc. will be duly attended to.

My wife sends her regards. She regretted very much that you were so uncer-
moniously snatched away from the breakfast table.

Sincerely yours,

St. Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
Aug. 11, 1875

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

In your second letter you express the hope that I have already made arrangements with Commissioner Smith for my trip. I have written him twice, but have not yet heard anything from him.

To-day I shall write to Prof. Baird to see if he can do anything for me.

Very respectfully yours,

Stephen Powers.

Wadsworth, Nev. Oct. 15 [5?] [1875]

My dear Major Powell:

We spent four days at Pyramid Lake and had a very refreshing time. We were a little raw in the business, of course, but I think we did tolerably well for a beginning.

I shall ship the first package today. 85 pieces. They tell me the express charges would be about \$20, so I send it as freight, and, according to the awkward arrangements of this country, it has first to go down to San Francisco.

I send in today my first account. Will you be so kind as to look a little to it, and get them to arrange it promptly, as I had only \$1,000 when I started from home.

The various tribes of the Piute nation are distributed as follows: -- Pyramid Lake and Truckee, Cooyuwee-weit (trout), Walker River, Ahgi-weit (sucker), Quinn's River, Chũ-pattecutteh (squirrel eaters); Mono Lake to Smoky Valley, Cozábyterütteh (worm eaters); Toyuweit (tule) at Sink o'Carson; Humboldt River, Sai' takabuweit; in Esmeralda county, Petenegoweit. What the syllable weit means I have not yet learned.

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers

San Francisco
Nov. 11th [1875]

Maj. Powell

Dear Sir:

I go today north to the Round Valley and Hoopa Reservations. Have got about 175 specimens and hope to get about as many more. Have taken down six or seven vocabularies. If you will get this last set of accounts [attached] (which are in duplicate) put through, I think I shall need no more. I hope to get back to Waterford about New Year's and will come down to Washington soon thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

San Francisco
Jan. 19, 1876

Major J.W. Powell

My dear Sir:

This morning I shipped to Prof. Baird four boxes and an Indian trunk which will be substantially the last of my collections, though I shall bring with me a number of articles, especially models. If I could have drawn money a little faster I should have done better and been better satisfied with the outcome of the mission. I was partly to blame at first, for the slow transmission of money in not having a headquarters and an agent, but my last account was in two months before it was paid, through no fault of mine that I know of; and this delay has compelled me to give up one or two little expeditions that I hoped to make.

For all that you have done for me in hurrying up the payments I am greatly obliged.

While the dry season lasted, in Nevada things went swimmingly (excuse the paradox) with me; but in California I have had some rough experience. For instance going down and up the Trinity (which has to be done on mules), through the failure of a man I depended on. I had to serve four days as a common packer, riding one mule and driving before me another laden with my collections. I was belated one night, and rode a couple of hours where it was so dark part of the time that I couldn't see the mule's ears, and where a misstep of the animal would have thrown both it and myself hundreds of feet down a steep cliff into the river. That I escaped without such a calamity was due to the mule's good eyes, for I knew nothing where I was going.

Have taken down about 20 vocabularies and dialects. Collected most of their articles of food and medicine and a tolerably good showing of dress and implements. If I had time and money, I could have got Indians to make for me many curious and interesting articles which they had not on hand.

I want to start home in the morning, but must stop at home ten days or so.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
Feb. 2, 1876

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I arrived home day before yesterday, though the wet weather, breakdowns and delays of this trip attended me to the last, and I could not find a single public conveyance from Marietta up here.

Found the family all well, and very glad to welcome me home.

It is not necessary for me to come down to Washington until the last packages I shipped get along, which will not be for a week yet, I think. If I could get along without it, I should greatly like to be excused from coming down at all; I am so contented and happy at home after all my years of vagabondage. But if the Centennial interests require it, I will try to come down a few days.

Please write and tell me about how soon you wish me to come to Washington, and how long it will be necessary for me to stay. What is it that I will be required to do, except to assort and photograph such things as are needed for illustrations in the book, and bring home my MS?

Very sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
March 27 [1876]

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I send herewith my accounts up to March 20. Will you do me the favor to forward them, and, if you have not already done so, see the Commissioner about the extension of my commission.

I have nearly finished my chapters on the Nevada Indians. Shall set to work tomorrow on the model, and finish and forward it in two or three days thereafter.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
June 12 [1876].

My dear Pilling:

I am very glad to hear that the work is at least begun. Never, since the manuscript was put in Major Powell's hands have I doubted that it would finally see the light; but I confess I did not expect to be quite so long delayed. Nothing but an abundance of work has kept me from worrying a little once in a while.

It is a little unfortunate for me that the proofs will come to me right in haying harvest and corn-plowing; but I shall read it thoroughly if we have to hire all the surplus Dutchmen on Federal Bottom.

I have not seen the proofs of the "tattooing," and of all the styles of wigwams, or of the music -- of the others I have and I supposed the Major would have some engravings made of the principal traps I bought on my last trip; is that the case? I made a schedule of groups of objects -- for instance, musical instruments, fishing implements, etc. -- with the Smithsonian numbers attached, so that the artist could find them, and left it with you. Did the Major decide not to engrave any implements at all?

One thing more. Do you want an index of topics for the end of the volume, or not? Of course, that would have to be made out from the proofs, so that reference could be made to the printed pages. I can find time to make one if you desire it, but should be glad if you could do it for me.

I suggested to the Major a full-page engraving for the Modoc chapter, consisting simply of Modoc chiefs and warriors in a circle, with Captain Jack in the center. I presume he has engraved as much as his appropriation would allow; I only make the above suggestions, to be submitted to his discretion -- and Congress' money.

Give my regards to your wife --

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
June 19 [1876]

My dear Pilling.

The package came today, and I shall return it by tomorrow's mail.

I wrote you about the illustrations, stating what ones I have seen, and what not.

I have plenty of stamps.

Where is the last chapter, XL? There is nothing of it in the table of contents. Does the Major intend to omit it? If so, I think he ought to have told me of it, and given reasons for it. Of course, I submit to his better judgement; but I should like to know why he drops it out.

I don't quite like the word you suggest -- charmin -- because it is probably a Paiute word and unknown in California.

The style of the book pleases me well; I am especially glad to hear of your liberal intentions respecting the illustrations and only wish you had a few, at least, of the implements to fit in. Can you not do it yet?

Sincerely yours,

S. Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
June 22 [1876]

My dear Pilling:

The proof was received all right, and returned the next day.

I return herewith the illustration of the "Acorn Caches," with the suggestion that the artist had better let the poles show plainer in all except the cache which stands on the ground. That may be supposed to be made of tule, and will answer pretty well as it is.

As to wigwams, I meant to have written you some time ago, that there are two or three varieties which I believe are not yet provided for. One is that of Clear Lake, made of willow poles set perpendicular in the ground with others lashed on horizontal, making small square interstices, which are used for drying fish and this house is square and has a flattish roof of thatch. I made a small model of it, and Prof. Baird said he would have his carpenter enlarge. Another is the common conical lodge, seen in one of the photographs I sent you. A third is conical, but has a long covered way leading into it, intended for use in the high Sierra where the snows are so deep. There is a model of it in the Smithsonian -- or was.

I will make an index as the proofs come to me.

Very truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
June 25 [1876]

My dear Pilling:

The other package of proof I directed as usual -- to yourself, "Rocky Mountain Surveys." The printed certificate on it probably carried it to the printer. I addressed the second package as you requested.

I am satisfied as to "shamin," will use it hereafter.

The passage "besotted egotism" etc. is not in good taste, though it hardly sounds like a missionary, for I wrote it in special deprecation of that religious humbugger which seeks always to find lurking in the savage's mind some reference to the Bible and the Christian scheme.

Did you get the Wa'-sho vocabulary?

I am making an index.

Anything you can add in the shape of illustrations will be thankfully received. I fear you will not be able to insert the additional wigwams I mentioned in very last, in addition to the pages of implements.

Is the Major in Washington? If so, present him my respects, also to your wife.

Truly,

S. Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
June 28 [1876]

Mr. dear Pilling:

The tattoo pieces are in the package of proof, returned today to you.

I like the tattooing, it is done excellently well. The lodge is also good, but the woman accompanying is simply execrable; her face is skinny and hungry to a degree.

Tell the Major I may be able to write him a little account of the Mission Indians within a couple of weeks, though I don't know very much about them.

If you could put me in a new wigwam, I would willingly forego a couple of the scenes in Yosemite. Please tell me about what an engraving costs.

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
Oct. 7, 1876

Major J. W. Powell

Dear Sir:

I expect to be in Washington, on my way to the Centennial, in a very few days and will bring my manuscript and illustrations with me.

I have received a notification of my election as a member of the A. A. A. S. For this I presume I am indebted to you, and I am grateful for the same.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio
Nov. 1, 1876

James C. Pilling, Esq.

My dear Sir:

We all reached home last Sunday, October 29, in tolerably good condition; but the baby caught a severe cold the first day we were at home, and is pretty sick with it now.

I made up a package of your clothing in Philadelphia and also wrote you a letter, but I didn't get rid of either until I got to Niagara. Hope they reached you safely.

Have had no symptoms of a return of chills and fever as yet; but I discover when I get around on the farm and go to climb a fence or mount a horse, that the spring has gone out of my muscle in a deplorable manner.

Enclosed herewith are some designs of California tattooing which I should like to have in the book, and which I forgot to leave with you.

There was one point on the map about which I was in doubt; that was whether there was any relation between the Yu'-ki and the Chim-a-re-ko or Chim-al-a-kwe, I am sorry to be obliged to inform you, after examining my vocabularies, that there is not the slightest, and that you will have to color them totally different.

As to making out the "synonymy" of the tribes, you do not need my vocabularies at all. At the outset of every chapter on a new tribe I have given accurately their geographical boundaries, and all you have to do in the premises is to compare this statement with those of other authors, that is, provided they make any geographical statements at all.

You may send me the vocabularies collected by others in California as soon as you please, and as many as you please, if the Major will pay the expense. Address them care of H. F. Devol, Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.

Please don't allow my Indian work to be overlooked. I want very much to see it printed.

The major finally decided to follow the schedule of groups of objects which I left with you, and, for descriptive text to take the catalogue of Indian relics which I made out for the Smithsonian and left in the hands of Dr. Foreman.

Sincerely yours,
Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
Nov. 14, 1876

Major J. W. Powell

My Dear Sir:

The three letters of the 11th, from yourself and Mr. Pilling, are received.

I send the vocabularies at the same time with this letter.

When I parted from Mr. Pilling he said all the Ca. vocabularies would be sent to me to digest and consolidate with my own (which I should have preferred), hence I have been in no hurry about sending on mine. A few of mine, which I got when I was out there first, are quite short, and I had hoped to be able to fill them out to the Smithsonian standard by having before me the vocabularies taken by the others. Unless you can do so yourself, you may consider these few I speak of, too short, for insertion in the book.

Tell Mr. Pilling that the Chil-lu'-la belong in language to the Yu'rok.

He also asks for a list of illustrations, and refers to those of which you sent me the proofs as if there would be no others in the book and is this the case? I hope you will at least insert in an improved form, the rough sketches of the seven or eight different styles of California wigwams which I once handed to you.

Very sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co., Ohio
Nov. 14, 1876

My dear Mr. Pilling:

I send the vocabularies by the same mail as this letter.

The order of the contents preface and introduction is a matter of indifference to me, so you preserve the substance of them as written. Nor do I care for the substance even, of the contents; if the custom of Govt. Reports requires brevity, put it in such shape as you like.

Do not slide the numbers of the chapters ahead, beginning at XX, as you suggest. I will correct all that when I have the proofs. There is a XX, if you will examine closely; that is to say, the whole number of chapters is correctly indicated by the numbering of the last one.

The Chil-lu'-la belong, in language to the Yu'-rok.

I think I wrote you, in regard of the Chim-a-ri'-ko, that they are absolutely independent of all others in language.

I enclose a letter of transmittal, but lest it should not be in the right form, I will at the same time write to Hollinshead for the letter you sent me there.

One of the vocabularies I forward (the Pai-u'-te) does not belong in my book unless for a comparison with the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap', showing the invasion of California by the Shoshone tribes and I intend to accompany the chapter on the Pai-u'-te which I prepared for the Major to be used at his pleasure.

The apparent lack of a XX chapter arose as follows: I had the chapters, I think, in this order:

That on the Yu'-ki	XIV
" " Pomo	XV
" " continued	XVI
" " Ta'-tu	XVII
" " Yo-Kai'-a	XVIII
" " Gal-li-no-me'-ro	XIX
" " Gua-la'-la	XX

I want to change them so as to throw the Ta'-tu next after the Yu'-ki. I had made some changes in the "contents" when the chills and fever interrupted me and I didn't finish. If you will take the Ta'-tu out of its present place, move it back next to the Yu'ki, then re-page it ant the two following chapters, I think you will have everything right, and you will not need to change the numbering beyond the XXI chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co., Ohio
Dec. 15, 1876

My dear Pilling:

In regard of the enclosed sketch, I have to say that the general effect is good, and I am well pleased with it. I will suggest two or three points where improvement is possible.

First, the artist had done the tattooing rather too well. It is more artistic, the angles are truer, the lines more nearly straight and parallel, and the symmetry between the two sides of the face is more perfect than in the original. Most Indian tattooing is quite rude, and I endeavored to copy it exactly in my sketches I sent you. Tell the artist to reproduce the apparent crudities of my sketches.

The lower lip of the face is a trifle too full, being suggestive of a negro.

The whole face seems too long for the breadth, as the typical Cal. Ind. face, especially in a woman as young as this is quite round. Perhaps the effect is partly due, however, to the hair falling straight down the face. I should recommend the artist to adopt the true aboriginal mode of parting the hair. The Cal. Ind. woman, in dressing her hair a la mode, does not part it along the middle of the head (as in this case), but starting at the crown of the head, draws straight forward a triangular patch of hair, the other two corners of which are at the temples or corners of the forehead; this patch she brings down over the forehead, and cuts it off straight across about 1 1/2 inches above the eyebrows. The rest of the hair (of which there is a large mass in front of each ear) falls straight down nearly to the neck. The effect of this fashion is to give the face a square appearance.

I believe I have nothing else to impart at this present.

Very truly yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Washington Co. Ohio
Jan. 15, 1877.

My dear Pilling:

The letter containing the tattoo sketch, with my comments thereon, I directed to P.O. Box 806 -- which appears to be the figure printed on your letterheads. Suppose you received it all right.

I am not impatient about the book, but I can not help wishing to hear occasionally what progress you are making. Can you spare time to tell me, in a word, what the present situation is?

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

What is the Major doing with the Vocabularies?

Waterford, Wash. Co. O.
Feb. 24, 1877.

My dear Pilling:

Today is a rainy one, and I have got out my duplicate vocabularies, and looked, as you requested, over those of the Pomo and the Yuki, carefully.

Resemblances between the names for the parts of the body are probably the best test of linguistic affinity, and I find in these two tables three words -- which resemble each other enough to be classed as related.

Now it is my belief that all the non-Athabascan tribes of California are ultimately descended from the same stock, but they have always been such a liquescent, centrifugal and separatist race that they have diverged into a great number of tribes, whose languages are so utterly different that they have nothing in common except the two personal pronouns. When two tribes are so entirely unlike as to have only the two pronouns in common, I don't feel justified in giving them the same color on the map, or even two shades of the same. As I said above, for a map of continental proportions, I should have little hesitation in coloring a large part of California solid; but for the purposes of a special map, I think mine should have many colors. If I had two or three thousand words of each tribe in the State and were a color-artist, it would be a pleasing occupation for about a year's time to take some one color -- red, for instance -- and, by the use of several score of shades of that color, indicate the degrees of divergence in the various tribes of the State.

To recur then, I think that a special map should not color the Pomo and the Yuki alike or with any shades of the same color. But you can present this letter to the Major, and take his opinion, if you like.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

I hope the Major will publish full vocabularies where I was not able to get them, viz: Tolowa, Karok, Shasta, Wintoon, Viard, Mattole, Patween, Miwoc, Nozi.

Waterford, Wash. Co. Ohio.
May 8, 1877

My dear Pilling:

In reply to Mr. Gatschet's remarks I will say that I do not think he has discovered any serious error, except perhaps in one case. I will take them in order.

1. "Siwash" is a Jargon word, meaning simply "Indian;" and in Northern California it is loosely used by whites and Indians to denote any Indians of the North, or, more specifically (as their knowledge does not extend very far) of Oregon.

2. As to the Mission Indians of Southern California, I do not pretend to be informed in regard to them, for there is now nothing aboriginal about them except their language. I made no study of them.

3. Mr. Bancroft kindly allowed me to peruse his letter-book, and in it was a letter from Judge Rosborough in which, according to my recollection, the Judge signed his name "as oleave(?)." Mr. Bancroft's work contains many inaccuracies in orthography.

4. I do not remember exactly what I stated about sweat-houses among the Modocs and Shastas. They have no sweat-house proper, but only a small sweat-oven or sweat-bath. I was not aware of its use for mourning purposes, as stated by Mr. Gatschet.

5. I am indebted to Mr. Gatschet for the additional information as to the meaning of "Muckaluck," and shall incorporate it in the text.

6. There certainly is, as Mr. Gatschet suggests, much variability in the numerals within the same tribe in California, and they will sometimes vary when other words remain unchanged in different locations; still I think, all things taken together, they constitute about as good a test as any of the community of language. The California tribes are "low-graded," but they are not "isolated," except in a few remote mountain valleys; and they are, or were before the American conquest, as "sedentary" as any on the continent. The remark on page 423 was written before I had taken the fuller vocabularies; and since the latter is to accompany the work, the remark need not lead any one astray, at least.

7. The epithets here mentioned would perhaps apply better to the Iroquois or the Dakotas.

8. Nearly all California words, not ending with a consonant, terminate with an explosive or aspirate sound, which I know not how to represent better than by the letter h and in some words I am in doubt whether it is an aspiration, or simply the rising inflection, such as Englishmen are said to use in ending a sentence. Instead of obliterating the h terminal in my vocabularies, it might better be doubled, hh. And it is quite

possible that I have not appended the h to all words where it is needed.

Truly yours,

Stephen Powers.

Allow me to congratulate you on your fortune.

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Jan. 5th, 1880

To: Stephen Powers

My dear Powers:

Your note of the 2nd inst. is just received. The Secretary of the Interior, by whom our publications are distributed has been requested to send a copy of Vol. III to Mr. Bowen; and though the edition is almost exhausted, I trust he will receive it promptly.

I do not know whether it will be possible to obtain a copy of Hall's "Second Arctic Expedition" for you, but if you will write a separate request for it addressed to Major Powell, I will have him endorse it and forward it to the Superintendent of the Naval Observatory. Perhaps you may be able to obtain a copy in that way.

Please convey my regards to your family, and believe me

Truly yours,

James C. Pilling

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Jan. 26th, 1880

To: Stephen Powers

My dear Powers:

Yours of the 21st to Major Powell is just rec'd. Since writing you a few days ago, I have endeavored to get Hall's book with what success the enclosed circular will show you. There seems to be but one way to get it -- send \$2 to A. F. Childs Government Printing Office.

Regretting our non-success

I am

Truly yours,

James C. Pilling

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
March 23rd, 1880

My dear Powers,

We have just received from one of the officers of the Central Park Museum a letter stating that that institution desires to make a collection of ethnologic specimens on the Columbia River and northward into Alaska, and asking who would be the best man for their purpose. Would you be willing to take the field again? The collector would also be expected to make a study of the habits, customs, mythology, etc., etc., of the Indians and to prepare such material for publication, probably by this office -- such a volume, for instance, as your Vol. III. What do you say? If you think kindly of the proposition I will be glad to confer fully with you on the subject.

Cordially Yours,

J. W. Powell

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
May 28th, 1880

Stephen Powers, Esq.
Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio.

My dear Sir:

In compliance with the request contained in yours of the 19th inst. we wrote to Prof. Baird, asking him to send you Dr. Leidy's Memoir. We have just received a letter from him, however, stating the work desired is out of print.

Regretting that such is the case,

James C. Pilling

Awful sorry but Rand says it is really impossible to print it. J.W.P.

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Aug. 9, 1881

My dear Powers:

Your letter of July 23 to Major Powell was duly received.

The Major is about to start West and is extremely busy with his Annual Report, etc., and has turned your letter over to me for reply. Another reason, I suspect, was because he did not know just how to answer. He is out of "Injuns" now and don't know just where to pick up two that would suit you.

Seriously, my dear Powers, I think if we could get them they would prove an elephant, yes two elephants, on your hands. But the question is: Where to get them? We might induce Captain Pratt to let you have a boy and a girl from the School at Carlisle; but I presume you want a man and a woman and there are none in Washington at present.

There is an Indian named "Numina," a Washo -- one whom you probably know -- who is extremely anxious to come to Washington and you could get him and his wife, if he has one, I presume by paying their actual expenses. If you think this practicable write to J. H. McMasters, Pyramid Lake Agency, Wadsworth, Nevada.

James C. Pilling

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio

Dec. 18, 1881

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

I received yesterday your Vol. IX by Mr. Morgan, on "Houses and House-life &c.", and return sincere thanks for the same, I have been deeply interested by what I have read & I feel so sorry for poor good Mr. Bancroft that the Icarian fall which he is made to suffer touches me almost as a personal calamity. After reading Morgan's cool science, one can hardly express a shudder as he turns the gorgeous pages of "The Native Races."

Mr. Morgan's conjectural restoration of a Mound-Builder Pueblo is extremely ingenious and plausible, if we could put out of the way certain facts. For instance, here in this Muskingum Valley, 70 miles long from Marietta to Louisville, with no trace of village -- ruins in it except those at Marietta, yet having isolated mounds throughout its entire extent. He reasons well that these mounds are the burial places of persons of eminence and that the clay basin is a place for the performance of cremation. But, with no village except at the mouth of the river, why should they go 20, 30, 40 miles up the river to bury a chief, especially if the country was in a disturbed state? Nevertheless, his conjectures are fully as plausible as any I am acquainted with.

For some years after settling down on the farm I tried to repress and starve out the pen-and-paper instinct; but I could not do it successfully. At the suggestion of Mr. Howell, I have undertaken to write a novel on emigrant life, and I have it now two-thirds or more completed & I should like to ask you a few questions respecting some Western matters.

Is it true that the Colorado, in its lower navigable reaches, say from the mouth of the Rio Virgin, is subject to whirlpools so strong that a skiff twenty feet long would be drawn down out of sight, rearing up on end as it went down? I read such a statement in the Overland Monthly.

In translating Ute talk -- of one man to an equal, an Apache -- would you use the form "thou sayest" or "you say?"

Have you read many accounts of the Mountain Meadow Massacre, and if so, which do you consider the most trustworthy?

Please give my respects to Mrs. Powell and to Mr. Pilling.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio

Jan. 19, 1882

My dear Pilling:

Can you do me the favor to ask the Major a question or two for me, or perhaps you can answer them yourself? I wrote him, but he is probably so busy he forgot it.

Is there a wagon-road through from Santa Fe to the Seawaters [?] of the Rio Virgin in Southern Utah?

I read once in the Overland Monthly an account of the Rio Colorado, in which it was stated that, below the head of navigation, that river has whirlpools or "sucks" so strong that a skiff will be drawn down in them, turning up on end before it disappears. Do you know if that is true?

Are there high falls on the lower reaches of the Rio Virgin?

If you can answer any or all of these, I shall be greatly obliged.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen Powers

Powell, J. W.
 Bureau
 Jan. 20, 1882

My dear Powers:

Your letter of the 18th of December found me quite incapable of attending to business. Since early October I have been troubled with an attack of iritis which kept me confined to the house for some time. I am rapidly recovering, however, and am doing more or less work each day.

You might have known you could not keep from writing. Once attacked with the disease one never recovers and in your case it is well you should not. I have no doubt that your novel will contain quite as much truth as fiction.

To answer your question --

First. It is not true that the "Colorado River in its lower navigable reaches is subject to whirlpools so strong that a skiff 20 feet long would be drawn down out of sight rearing up on end as it went down;" nor is it true of any other river in the world. My party on the first trip continued with safety from the Rio Virgin where I left them to Fort Yuma.

Second. In translating Ute talk to an Apache I should use "You say."

Third. If you propose to write an account of the Mountain Meadow Massacre I should be pleased to have you come and talk with me. I have spoken with many of the actors in that scene and have heard some interesting facts concerning it. I have spent many days with John. D. Lee, one of the principal actors, at his home in the Canon of the Paria and I think he was the most bigotted and most religious man I ever knew.

It was his custom to devote many hours of the night to prayer and every act of his life was by his religion and his superstition. He observed the flight of birds, was something of an Astrologist, and studied his dreams and the dreams of his friends. In many respects he was a kind father, a generous man and a good neighbor, but when impelled by his superstitions and religious beliefs he was bloodthirsty and cruel -- cruel to everybody -- even his best friends and the members of his own family.

Lee was really the principal character in this matter, though not the highest in authority and the last years of his life were exceedingly romantic.

There is another matter of interest relating to the Mountain Meadow Massacre. The history of the circumstances which resulted in this terrible deed began back many years among the Creek Indians and some of these Indians who understand the very trouble are now in Washington.

J. W. Powell

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
Jan. 25, 1882

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

In reply to your kind invitation to come down to Washington, I must say that if I felt certain of the acceptance of my novel, I should come down, but I do not quite like to be at the expense of the trip on uncertainties; although I have had expressions from Mr. Howell's which gave me great encouragement and he read the three opening chapters several months ago.

Really, I think the U. S. Government owes me the amount that it would cost to procure the information from the Creek Indians which you speak of, and when I came home from California the second time I did two months' work at home on my Report which the Department refused to recognize or pay for.

I have never complained, nor do I now; and if you can detail a clerk long enough to "interview" yourself and the Creeks, and write out a brief statement for me, I shall be well satisfied.

One thing more, will you give me permission to use some words of your letter to me, also a few paragraphs from "Exploration of the Colorado"?

The plot of my story requires two of my characters -- a young man and woman, with an Indian guide -- to escape from Mountain Meadow and reach California. I have thought it would be most in accordance with the probabilities to conduct them across the Rio Virgin to the east side, then down across the plateaus -- going around the Mormon settlements on that stream below Beaver Dam Mountains -- to stride [strike?] it below those settlements, embark on it on a raft, and follow it down to the Colorado, and this down to Fort Yuma. I think a tolerably resolute and hardy young woman of the frontier, bred on the Texas prairies, might be credited with this feat.

I have never been across the plateau country of the Colorado, and I want to use some of your published descriptions.

Stephen Powers

Pilling, James C.
Bureau
Jan. 30, 1882

My dear Powers:

Your letter of Jany 19 duly received. I wrote you a few days ago, over Major's signature I think, answering several of your questions.

Referring to the later ones -- there is a wagon road from Santa Fe to the headwaters of the Rio Virgen. There are no high falls in the Rio Virgen in its lower reaches. It is a broad, shallow stream and in the dry season has at times no water in the channel. In this portion of it, it is about as placid a river as you can well imagine -- the only danger being the quicksands.

James C. Pilling

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
Feb. 17, 1882

My dear Mr. Pilling:

You have very kindly answered two of my letters for which I am sincerely obliged, and nonetheless so that this acknowledgement is this tardily made.

In the first one you piqued my curiosity by the statement as to the causes for the M. M. Massacre reaching back years and among the Creek Indians. I have read up a considerable amount on the event, and I own I am, with all due respect to the Major, a little skeptical on that subject. In the first place, the communications and dealings of the Indians are not sufficiently national and far reaching to lead the Pah-Vants or Pi-Edes to do any act for or against the Creeks. In the second place, the murder of the "Apostle," P. P. Pratt by a white man somewhere west of Fort Smith, Ark., and probably within the Creek domain in Ind. Ter., was the principal crime laid by the Mormons against that ill-fated company; and, to my mind, it seems likely that this is the circumstance that the Major had in view.

But if there really were troubles among the Creek Indians which in any way led to the massacre, I should be very glad to learn it. And I should be delighted to listen to the Major's recollections of John D. Lee and other actors in that tragedy with whom he was acquainted.

I really cannot afford to come down unless in a case of necessity. The revenue of a farmer is small, and the demands of a growing family cut into the fat seriously. But if you or some other short-hand reporter would talk with him two or three hours, or even an hour, and write out the conversation -- editorialized, you know -- I would gladly pay for the service.

I hope the Major has fully recovered his health. Please express to him my thanks for the facts he has already communicated.

If I could get what the Major has to tell respecting Lee and the massacre, I should not apply the boring apparatus to you any more.

Stephen Powers.

Pilling, James C.
Feb 23, 1882

Stephen Powers, Esq.
Waterford, Ohio

My dear Sir:

Your letters of January 30 and February 20 duly received. The Major has been extremely busy the last fortnight preparing for a meeting of the American Institute of Mining Engineers and this has resulted in another attack of iritis. He therefore finds it impossible to do as you request, i. e., dictate a chapter on the Mountain Meadow Massacre. He bids me say however that he did not mean in imply that the Paiutes and Pavants had taken up the Creek quarrel and as I understand his views are about these:

Pratt, the Mormon missionary, ran off with the wife of an Arkansas man and sought refuge among the Creek Indians. The man followed and killed Pratt. This brought up a number of side issues in which the Indians were involved. Afterwards that Arkansas man was going through Utah with a party all of whom were murdered at the Mountain Meadow Massacre. Although a number of Indians took part in this massacre a number of white men disguised as Indians also took part. This I think is about his idea of the matter.

James C. Pilling

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
March 28, 1882

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

You once offered me \$2,000 a year and a pass on subsidized railroads, to go to California on Indian work. I understood you to make it a standing offer.

The affairs of the farm are getting into such comfortable shape that I may be able to accept the offer, if it still stands.

Please tell me where you would want me to work, how often you would wish me to come East, whether I would require a considerable amount of capital to start on, what guarantees you have of permanence in the work in case of a change in the administration, etc.

I hope you have fully recovered the use of your eyes.

Stephen Powers

Powell, J. W.
Bureau
March 31, 1882

My dear Powers:

Your letter of the 28th duly received and I am sorry I cannot answer it definitely at present.

If Congress does no better for the Bureau of Ethnology the coming fiscal year than it has for the past I am afraid I cannot increase my force. I have estimated for an increase and if it is made will accept your offer.

J. W. Powell

Stephen Powers, Esq.

Waterford, Wash. Co., Ohio
May 3, 1882

Major J. W. Powell

My dear Sir:

Our Representative, General Dawes, writes me that in the event of the Alaska bill passing, you would probably appoint me as one of the surveying party and to prevent any loss of time on your part, I will write you beforehand.

I would prefer to work in California on account of the climate, but would be willing to work one or two seasons in Alaska, though I think I should not wish to spend more than one winter there, and should prefer to escape even that if it would not interfere with the work.

As a family man, I could not go for a less compensation than on the California trip.

Stephen Powers

Answ'd May 10