

Reports of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

No. 72

**UKIAH VALLEY POMO RELIGIOUS LIFE,
SUPERNATURAL DOCTORING, AND BELIEFS
OBSERVATIONS OF 1939–1941**

Birbeck Wilson

Edited by Caroline L. Hills

University of California Archaeological Research Facility
Department of Anthropology
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PREFACE

Following the death of Dr. Birbeck Wilson in 1946, his sister, Mrs. Ellenere Doudiet, offered, in January 1963, to deposit in the archives of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley the ethnographic field notes on the Pomo Indians collected by Dr. Wilson. Several years later a student in the department, Miss Caroline L. Hills, accepted the commission to organize the field notes, and support for her work during the academic year 1966-67, as well as a subvention for the present publication, was made available in the form of a gift to the Regents of the University of California by Mr. Sturgis S. Wilson, Mrs. Ellenere W. Doudiet, and the Castine Scientific Society.

We have provided guidance for the work and believe that publication of this portion of the field data, accompanied by Miss Hills' annotations, represents a solid contribution to the ethnography of the Pomo.

Dr. Wilson's ethnographic notes are not published here in their entirety. The complete collection is on deposit in the Department of Anthropology and is available for study by qualified students.

Elizabeth R. Colson
Robert F. Heizer

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INTRODUCTION

Caroline L. Hills

The research for this report was carried out by Birbeck Wilson during the summers of 1939, 1940, and 1941, while he was working in the field school conducted by New York University in the Ukiah Valley of northern California. Dr. Bernard W. Aginsky was the director of the Social Science Field Laboratory, and Dr. Ethel G. Aginsky was the associate director. Dr. Wilson died in 1946, before he had time to write up all the material he had organized and started to analyze, and his data have been supplemented by those of other members of the field school who have most kindly given permission for their publication.

Several problems have been encountered in dealing with Dr. Wilson's material. First, no list of informants, giving age, birth-place, and family relationships was included, and it has not been possible to extract a full list from the available notes. Second, the statements by the many informants differ greatly in style. No precise record is available to account for these differences; that is, whether an interpreter was used, or the report was verbatim or paraphrased. Third, regarding orthography, I have transcribed the words exactly as Wilson wrote them, since my knowledge is too limited to justify making changes.

An effort has been made to present Wilson's material in the sequence in which he would probably have reported it, and with as little alteration as possible, so that it can be used by persons interested in working with original data gathered from the American Indians, more particularly the Pomo. Among Wilson's notes there are descriptions of the 1939 four day dance at Ukiah and Upper Lake, and the 1940 Sulphur Bank dance which occurred just before hop-picking. The record of the 1939 Upper Lake dance is reproduced here in Appendix II as an example of this kind of record data.

To protect the Pomo informants, and also in those cases cited in the notes, all names have been suppressed. A simple letter code has been substituted in place of names. To differentiate men from women, an "F" is used as the final element in the case of a female informant, an "M" as the final element in the case of a male.

On Birbeck Wilson's behalf, I wish to acknowledge the contributions of the Pomo informants, and express appreciation to the directors and members¹ of the field school for the notes they contributed. My thanks are also due to Dr. Elizabeth R. Colson who was a member of the field laboratory, and to Dr. Robert F. Heizer, who together supervised and guided me in this effort.

¹ See p. 86 for End Notes.

POMO MEMORIES OF PRE-EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS CULTS

Only the older Pomo remembered the Old Ghost Ceremony and the Kuksu Cult for they had not been performed for many years. When compared with earlier descriptions, their memories provided material for a study of acculturation.

Old Ghost Ceremony

The most ancient religious rite recalled by the Pomo in 1940 was the Old Ghost Ceremony. Barrett (1917a:403-423) states that its origin goes back to mythical times when birds and mammals had human characteristics. Held in a subterranean house, the ritual was conducted by a secret society and took place in the spring. Loeb (1926:338) lists the distinguishing elements as "(1) the return of the dead; (2) the initiation of novices; (3) the use of the bull roarer," and points out that the ceremony was more complex among the Northern and Eastern Pomo than among the Coast Central. Women and children were barred from the performance during the four days it lasted, although the women brought food to the men. Thus the men were set apart from the rest of the community by their knowledge and participation in spiritual matters, and as the young boys grew up they too were initiated into this world of men.

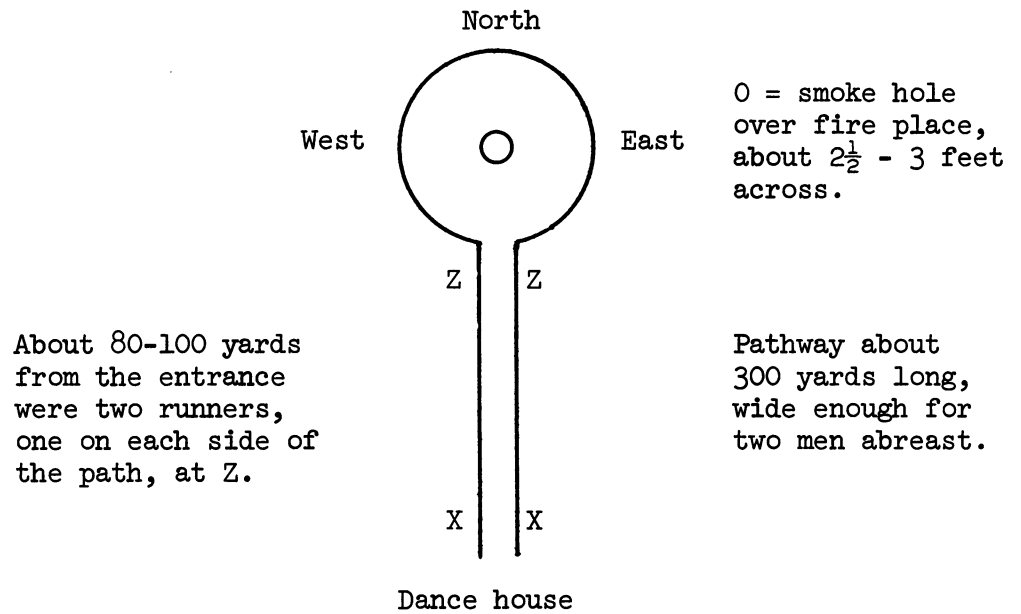
Four informants had seen the ceremony at Pinoleville and Yokaya; others had heard about it being performed in Lake County and at Yokaya rancheria. Their accounts agree with the material gathered by Loeb and Barrett, but at the time the informants saw the dance, initiation was no longer always in the traditional sequence and healing sometimes took place, although the latter was always subordinate to the dance of the ghosts which remained the focus of the ceremony. Many details had been forgotten.

As the following account by TLM shows, the bull-roarer is no longer remembered as a vital part of the ceremony, and the initiation of young boys is only briefly recounted as compared to the description of the ghost dance itself.

[The performers] were supposed to be the ghosts of men who had died. The leading men of the village knew these men were not ghosts. The main idea was to deceive the women and the common people.

These men would quietly sneak into the brush unseen. Out there in the brush these men would paint their bodies. They made themselves up horribly. The make-up was not intended to be beautiful. It was their idea of a ghost. They'd tie brush or something around their heads to partly conceal their faces.

There was a man who would stand over the entrance to the dance house and call the ghosts. He would do this four times and some ghost would give an answering yell out in the brush, down by the river, within hearing anyway. These ghosts usually came out in pairs, seldom singly, but not more than two together.



The first two ghosts would stop and line up beside each other at X. They came in one behind the other. The caller would stand over the entrance and again call four times. On the fourth call there would be answering yells and two more ghosts would appear and line up on each side of the path at X. This was repeated until the eight or ten had come, usually in pairs. Once in a while just one ghost. There was no stated number. The man giving the calls knew how many there were, and who they were, and all about it. When all were arranged in line this caller would call again. And the pair who was first at X would start off at a slow trot, one behind the other.

These ghosts were selected with a view to making the people who had lost someone in the last eight or ten years think they were the dead [returned]. The man calling would announce the names of the people who had died in the last ten years, maybe saying whose ghost was coming in now. Men were picked who resembled the dead as nearly as could be remembered. And the painting was to make the women and the people believe it was actually the ghost of this dead person.²

As the ghosts approached the dance house everyone was outside watching them come. There were two runners stationed at Z, one on each side of the path. When the first two ghosts reached them, the runners chased them in [to the dance house]. They did this to the other ghosts when they reached their station at Z. They were two of the best runners. When these ghosts came running in, their relatives--mothers, sisters and others--would fall on the ground, cry, and pull their hair, and carry on something awful.

Some of these ghosts fixed it so smoke was oozing out from the top of their heads. It used to be said that they had pitch fixed to the top of their heads, and they would light this just before they started their run, so it would be smoking. Sometimes one of the ghosts, and one only, carried a live coal in his mouth. Sometimes another carried a firebrand in his hand. And one would probably carry just a plain stick about four feet long. And always one of the ghosts was supposed to run up the side of the house, and dive headlong into the smoke hole. And while this was going on all the ghosts who had already arrived were making all kinds of noises you would expect ghosts to make, yelling, screaming, and making a good deal of noise.

After the last ghost entered they allowed the people to enter the dance house. Then there was some more crying. The relatives of the dead cried, but they were not allowed to touch the ghosts. Then the ghosts stood around and talked ghost language,³ and told the crowd where they'd been, where they had to go, how tired they were, and similar things. They acted foolishly. They made foolish remarks. Some ghosts ate fire and told the crowd how good it was.

After they got through telling stories, eating fire and acting foolish in general, they started to dance the ghost dance. This was always in the daytime. They lined up in one line on the east side of the fire; then they circled over and danced on the other side. They always faced the fire. In circling counterclockwise they passed in front of the center pole. The singers were on both sides of the center pole, just back of it. After they got through dancing they went out as they had come and disappeared. Meanwhile the crying had stopped. That is the ghost dance proper.

After the ghosts had departed, some of the leading men⁴ would get up out of the crowd, and these initiates would circle around counterclockwise at the edge of the

crowd, no particular number of times. They'd grab a boy or young man--no girls--and toss him in the air, catching him on their outstretched hands. Then someone would pretend he saw another one. They pretended to be looking with hands shading their eyes and peering forward. Then they'd grab another and do with him as with the first. No designated number of boys were seized.

The Old Ghost Dance, known also as 'ja-di-wil-ke' ("devil dance"), was a four-day ceremony held continuously through day and night. The men who represented the ghosts were called 'guya,' and to make their performance more realistic they took care to dress⁵ and paint themselves--decorating their heads with flowers and painting their bodies with different colors: black, white, and red--at some distance from the village. The ghosts were then called four times by a man on top of the round house. They answered and came in, singly or in pairs, some through the smoke hole and others through the door. Each had his rules for entering. The 'guya' might have smoke coming out of their heads, live coals in their mouths, or a firebrand in hand. Onlookers who were related to someone recently dead cried and tore at their hair when the dancers arrived, but a contrasting mood was sought after a short dance. The performers tried to make people laugh. Those who did so were punished by taking away their hat, shirt, or handkerchief.⁶ They also threw ashes and dirt on anyone who dared to laugh, and even dragged the transgressor out onto the dance floor, and "that would be quite a jolt to an Indian," remarked one man. Payments in beads could be exacted, or else the dancer would get angry and scatter the fire around the house, putting hot coals in the hands of those who made fun of the antics of the ghosts. Music was provided by singers who stood near the center pole of the house, and also by a drum made of wooden boards over a hole in the ground.⁷ A Fire Dance was included in the four-day sequence in which dancers "ate" fire.⁸

Healing was sometimes included in the dance. [Wilson's notes indicate this report is part of the Old Ghost Ceremony, but it closely parallels Barrett's (1917a:430-431) description of the Kuksu healing ceremony.] In 1940, CHM, a man in his sixties, gave this account:

In the Devil Dance they pick six to eight very active men in uniform down toward the creek. They have a stick about five feet long, about as big around as the wrist: a black, burnt stick. When they come in with the stick, in uniform, if anyone has trouble with his head, back or other part, he lies down on his belly with his face on his arms on a blanket which they had put down.

A man comes along with a stick, and with a whistle in his mouth. He turns four times, points the stick four times. Then he runs and jumps on them. Some holler. When you get up you feel light. It does away with all

the pains you have. This part is very strict. It used to be the main dance of the whole thing.

I remember when I was a boy of twelve. They did it on me. I know how rough they are. I had trouble with my back. They were rough. Sure it made me better, fine.

This report of doctoring during the performance is not found in published accounts, but a ceremony celebrating the recovery of a patient in fulfillment of a vow was part of the Ghost Dance among the Eastern Pomo according to Loeb (1926:350-351). It consisted of the ritual stabbing of the patient with a spear or shooting him with arrows. A further purpose of this act was to ward off disease from the community.

The close of the ceremony was not mentioned by informants. Loeb (1926:339) remarks that at the end of each day's performance the ghosts would take off their ceremonial clothes in the dance house and then go out to the river to wash; on the final night the dancers disrobed, danced briefly, and left their sacred things in the house. According to Barrett (1917:421-422) a feast followed during the day to finish the four-day ghost dance cycle.

The Kuksu Cult

The Kuksu Cult⁹ included some elements and functions of the Old Ghost Ceremony, but there were also innovations which distinguished it from the earlier ritual. Those who took part in both ceremonies were members of a secret society. All those in the Kuksu Cult were called 'yomta,' whereas only the leading member of the ghost religion was given the name. Both men and women were admitted to the society for the Kuksu. Loeb reports (1926:355-364) that among the Coast Central Pomo healing and initiations were the principal parts of the ceremony, which was held over a four-day period in the spring. The gods Kuksu and Calnis were impersonated during the initiations of the young boys and girls. The initiations consisted of cutting them on their backs¹⁰ followed by their rebirth.¹¹ Furthermore, Loeb (1926:364-384) states that the Kuksu cycle was more elaborate among the Eastern Pomo than among the Coast Central Pomo. Initiations were less important and impersonations more complex. The purpose of the cult was for health and good fortune. During the four days devoted to the proceedings a series of ceremonies were performed, involving among other things the climbing of a pole outside the Round House and the imitation of thunder by using bull-roarers and drums, as in the Coast Central ghost dance.

Little was remembered in 1940 about the leading 'yomta' and his activities, less still about the Kuksu Cult. The 'yomta' was known to have been a man of power who played tricks that appeared to be supernatural when they were not, but his connection with religion and the Kuksu Cult was virtually forgotten. TIM commented, "There was a 'yomta' society. Some women were supposed to belong but I don't know what they did. This was a strict secret

society. I think the 'yomta' understood the Kuksu. The 'idam'¹² was the 'yomta's' kind of dance. This was not danced more than once in forty years. If the 'yomta' had not had the 'idam' here, I would not have known anything about it."

Certain aspects of the Kuksu ceremony were remembered by informants but their connection with the religion had been forgotten. Memories were vague, like this, "The Kuksu was long ago. My great-grandfather used to say it was before he was born. He said they had a long spear; they used to stick people.¹³ They used to beat the women and children. They used to have a big time--the Kuksu. It seems like the kind they used to have in the brush house in the summertime."

The Pole Ceremony outside the Round House, which began the four-day sequence of dances and rituals among the Eastern Pomo, was remembered by a few people. Women and children were permitted to attend. Members of the society who climbed the pole (called 'ma-á-hai', food pole) were allowed neither meat nor water during the four days of the performance. The purpose of the ceremony was said to have nothing to do with curing, but "it did good and was considered medicine. It was so they could have a good time forever."¹⁴

TLM remembered initiation into the society in these terms, "My old grandfather said the last time they did the Kuksu was when he was a boy. He said he was one they stuck. They didn't do that to everyone, only to the captains and great men." This statement is contrary to the recorded fact that both boys and girls were initiated in the Kuksu, and may refer to initiation into the secret society which ran the Old Ghost religion. Impersonations of the gods, to put fear into the novices at this point in the ceremony, were totally forgotten.

Loeb (1926:375-6) reports that a rattlesnake dance by members of the 'yomta' society of the Eastern Pomo was performed on the second of the four days. The purpose of pretending to swallow the rattler was to deceive the initiates and gain power over them. Informants had seen a rattlesnake ceremony, but its connection with initiation had been lost and instead the purpose was to heal the sick. It was held in springtime during a four-day dance (perhaps the Kuksu, but this was not specified in the notes). A group of men and women went up into the hills, "they sang and sang and the rattlesnake crawled out of his hole. The old lady [NDF, perhaps 80 years old in 1940] just put out her hand palm up and the rattlesnake crawled on it and coiled up." On their way to the Round House where the rest of the community was waiting for them, the group sang and danced four times round the snake (cf. Loeb 1926:375; the same is reported for the Kuksu snake ceremony). Inside the house the snake crawled over a sick man lying on a blanket. Beads were thrown to the snake, who ate them while the performers danced. Since the snake was considered sacred, it was returned to its hole unmolested. A tabu on meat had to be observed for this ceremony. NDF broke this restriction once and had difficulty breathing until a doctor cured her; since then "she makes a noise in her throat like a hoot owl when she is sick" because she ate meat before the four days ended.

A ceremony in which bull-roarers were whirled around the dance floor was also vaguely remembered. People wore ordinary clothes but in more ancient times were practically naked during the performance. A drum was played for accompaniment. The noise represented thunder. Probably this was what Loeb (1926:378) calls the Thunder Ceremony, which was part of the Kuksu cycle.

Old dances, which were often performed during the four days of Kuksu ceremonies but were also danced at other times, were still remembered by the older informants who had actually danced them. The names given were 'Gilak,' 'Lole-ke,' 'pa-kó-ma-ke,' and 'ma-ta-ke.'¹⁵ The Gilak¹⁶ was danced by both men and women, generally in the sweathouse. It was sacred and could not be given without a feast afterwards. The dancers were not to eat meat. Beads, which the fire-tender picked up and kept, were thrown on the dancers as payment. "The gilak was a very evil monster in the legends. This is his dance. In the gilak dance they put on a severe look to personify and act as the gilak would." In the spring the 'lole-ke' was danced and was said to be wild, and crazy. Generally just women danced it but sometimes men joined in; they put flowers in their hair and shook their heads. Women put flowers in their hair for the 'ma-ta-ke' too, but only they danced while the men sang. Another dance, the 'pa-kó-ma-ke,' was performed by a single woman accompanied by men who sang standing by.

The lack of clarity about the Kuksu was due to the informants never having seen a complete four-day ceremony, and their reliance on their memories of what they had been told.

The Idam

A dance led by the 'yomta' and not part of the Kuksu religion was mentioned by several informants, and called the 'idam-ke.'¹⁷ 'Idam' was translated as "white feather" and "duck with white wings," (cf. Loeb, 1926: 388-389, "damaxai took its name from the dam or down headress, and the sitai, a large basketry framework filled with buzzards' down"). The ceremony was held in the spring, in a sweathouse especially built for the occasion, and people from as far away as the Coast were invited. Since the house was sacred, the first pole to be put in the ground was accompanied by chanting and dancing by the head 'yomta.' He blessed the place where the fireplace would be, chanting 'hai-f la-ho-ho.' The ceremony was described by TLM as follows,

In the 'idam-ke' the part with the poles is the most sacred. I saw it. The centerpole was made of pine, pretty slick and smooth. It was about ten inches in diameter at the base, eight at the top. It went to the roof. It was part of the support. There were eight poles in addition to the center pole. These radiated from the center pole horizontally. They came only to within about one-and-one-half feet of the centerpole, the big ends did.

They were suspended from the dance house roof by wild grape vines, one on each end of each pole. That's the construction.

They selected eight athletic lively young men something like this. The leading men and the chiefs got together and decided on who was going to do the dancing. They always selected very prominent men. And they said, "You will be one of the dancers, and you will take the first pole." And to another, "You will take the second pole." And so on. "You will be the one to climb up and down on the pole." "You will be the one to collect the feathers" ('K'ai chil'). This means a bunch of woven feathers.

It is understood that these men will not dance themselves, but they hire young men to dance in their stead. Those chosen are all oldish, prominent men. It is considered a great honor to be appointed. They pay many beads to the young men to dance.

The dancers wore small beads in two or three circles snug around their necks. The only costume was the headgear; the headgear of the ordinary dance put on differently. The band that goes around the head in the ordinary dance, they put over the head from the bridge of the nose back to the neck, with the back end loose and flapping. They put four horns ('kà tás') on each side, two being pointed forward, and two sloping slightly backward. These were the slender rods seen on the men's headdresses at the powwow dances. They wore no other costume except a G-string, a little cloth. Their bodies were all painted. That's where they use the white and black alternately. Each followed his own notion. Some had it in bands, some up and down. The whole body was striped up.

Two women singers came out from in back of the center pole and several men did also. They stood there in a circle and one of the women started to sing. After she started to sing, the eight men came out from the back part of the dance house. They came out on the west side of the center pole and on to the dance floor. They came out squatting one behind another, their hands within an inch or so of the floor. They went back and forth that way four times, always facing forward. They came out as far as the fire, and back to the rear as far as they could. Of course, the leading man could not go all the way back.

On the fourth time the leading man turned and went in the same manner toward the center pole, turning squarely

to the left and starting for the pole. They didn't go so far front this time. When he reached the pole he started to climb it. The other men stayed where they were but put their fingers on their shoulders near the neck by bending the elbow up and the arms toward the head. As the women sang they swung their shoulders and arms back and forth from side to side.

The man climbed the pole by reaching his hands around it, with the palms on the opposite side of the pole flat against the pole. Then he put one hand over the other and climbed, using his toes to grip. When he got to the horizontal poles, he grabbed the first pole on the west and climbed out on it. As he did this the 'yomta' stood there with his right arm pointed up at him, and chanted in his magic language. The 'yomta' was in front facing north at the center pole. His magic language at this time was supposed to be so potent that this man climbing could not have any mishaps. When the man got on the pole he hung by his hands and legs with his back toward the ground, and his head toward the center pole.

The other seven men followed in the same way, one at a time, from where they had stopped, and took the other seven poles in clockwise order from the first. This is not the usual direction. This dance is different from everything else.

After the last man was up the pole, a ninth person came out from the back in the same way, but he moved direct to the center pole from the rear. He only came out once, and climbed the pole in the same way. Only, when he got to the line of horizontal poles he gripped the center pole with his legs, head down.

Then the other eight men let go their hands and all eight put their fingers on their shoulders and twisted about (as they did with shoulders and hands when they were on the ground) in time while the women were singing; and the men around them, "the Rocks"¹⁸ were saying "huh, huh; huh, huh;" in time. Those swinging also said, "huh, huh" in time. They did this four times while the man on the center pole, who also had his hands and fingers as the others did and who twisted in the same way but with his body bowed out a little from the pole, slid down the pole in four stages or stops, just gripping with his legs. The fourth stop brought him within a couple of feet of a band of cloth twisted like a rope tight around the pole, about three feet from the ground. Then he climbed up again and this was repeated three times more, four times in all. That made sixteen dances. The others hung by their feet all this time.

When all nine men were climbing the pole the 'yomta' sang in the same way. He quit after all got up, then he walked in a circle about the dance hall, rolling a stick between his palms and talking his magic talk. He walked four times clockwise, then four times counterclockwise. This is the opposite of the usual sequence.

When the man on the center pole came down the fourth time he worked back to the rear of the hall, squatting in the same way as when coming out. He faced away from the center pole. All the other eight men climbed down just as they had gone up. The first up was the first down; the others just hung until it was their turn. Each of these eight men had a little bunch of feathers at the nape of his neck. They took these off before coming down. They each had a little sharp stick to pin this on their back. They pinned the feathers with this to the knot in the grapevine and left them up there, at the big end of the poles, the end toward the center pole.

Then they worked their way to the rear, and went back as they came out, but they faced away from the center pole. They just went back straight, squatting as they came out. There was no going back and forth.

When they got to the rear, a single man came out, decked out as the other were. This man hadn't appeared before. He didn't stop. He came out, squatting as the others did, but he moved directly to the center pole and climbed it. His business was to collect the feathers left up there. He didn't stop. He didn't dance in any way. He climbed out on the first pole, took the bunch of feathers, and attached it to his belt--he wore a loin cloth--in some way with the pin. Then he climbed onto the center pole. Then he climbed onto the second pole and so for all the eight in a clockwise sequence. After he had collected the last he went down as he went up, with his head upward. When he got to the ground, he moved away as the others did, squatting, with his back to the center pole. He disappeared in the rear. When he reached the first pole, the 'yomta' stood with his right hand raised, and chanted as before. He kept this up until the man came down. The 'yomta' faced as he did before when the other men climbed down. Then the 'yomta' turned left and walked toward the fire. He walked back and forth between the fire and the center pole chanting this: "hi hí la ho ó." He walked back and forth four times, turning to the left each time. That ended the dance. At this time he rubbed his stick between his two palms. Then the singers stopped and it was over.

There was no noise, no laughing, no applause during this dance. This dance was extremely sacred. I saw it. It is supposed to be a very ancient dance. In their legends they tell of dances of that kind."

The dancers had to observe a tabu on meat and water, as did the 'yomta' who led the performance.

THE MARU CULT AND THE TRANSITION TO CHRISTIANITY

The Maru Cult

In the years 1939-1941 the Ukiah Valley Pomo remembered the Maru cult, an offshoot of the 1870 Ghost Dance, although they had not held Maru ceremonies for about sixty years.¹⁹ Many Pomo had taken part in the cult before 1894 or had been told about it by participants. They also knew of current Maru activities on the coast at Stewart's Point, as well as of Maru dances in Lake County, where they visited other Pomo communities. Both Coast and Lake County Pomo took part in Pomo activities in the Ukiah Valley. In spite of the fact that the Maru beliefs had fallen into disrepute in the Ukiah area long before 1940, the accounts the informants gave are particularly interesting since they refer to a time when Indian society was disintegrating under the stress of Whites encroaching on their land. They had to find new ideas to deal with a fundamentally different experience. It was an era of transition from independence to subservience. The ways of settlers and missionaries clashed with those of the Pomo Indians.

According to Du Bois (1939:1), the Ghost Dance originated among the Paviotso of Walker Lake in Nevada and spread contemporaneously in two directions, the second of which followed a course via "the easternmost Achomavi, across Achomavi territory to the Northern Yana, the Wintun, and Hill Patwin." The dance began in 1869, but diffusion did not begin until 1871. Du Bois points out that it was among the Wintun and Hill Patwin that the emphasis of the dance changed from the return of the dead to a stress on the end of the world, and she calls the new movement the "Earth Lodge cult" since believers built subterranean houses which were to protect them from the disaster. It was this branch of the 1870 Ghost Dance which diffused to the Pomo, who built seven earth lodges.

But the end of the world did not come. Like the Patwin, the Pomo developed another cult: the Maru, and gave to the new religion the concepts of a life after death and the existence of a single God. The time sequence given by Du Bois is as follows: "By the end of 1871 or early in 1872,²⁰ the Earth Lodge cult was already in existence. In the spring of 1872 the Earth Lodge cult reached its climax among the Pomo. By the end of that same year it had diffused over most of northeastern California and the first forms of the Bole-Marú had already been created." The Maru is known as the Bole among the Patwin, whose prophet, Lame Bill, started the new cult. The 1890 Ghost Dance never reached the Pomo (Du Bois, 1939:1-51).

Let us now turn to the memories of the Ukiah Valley Pomo in 1939-41. There was general recognition that the Maru did not originate in their own valley, but entered from Lake County in the east. Sulphur Bank is mentioned specifically by informants as the closest point of origin. KLM stated:

The first time was at Sulphur Bank, and the leader's name was Salvadore.²¹ He seems to have been the head of the whole Maru--of the others. Must have been Salvadore about sixty years ago. Salvadore was first. Those here took it from him, it seems.

Another man, TLM reported from hearsay:

The Maru came here from Lake County. It came into Lake County from Cache Creek; probably entered there from farther east. Bunkash was the Cache Creek Maru.²² A man named Pengrave told me about him. He knew Bunkash. Then many sprang up almost simultaneously here [at Ukiah] and at Hopland. It traveled like wildfire when it got in here.

The Cache Creek Indians were a branch of the Wintun tribe of Indians who occupied both sides of the Sacramento River up into Shasta County and beyond. Bunkash was a member of the Cache Creek tribe who lived near the Lake County and Colusa County line. They lived right this way from the border. They were mountain people.

The new cult was called Maru among the Pomo of Lake County, and Maru and Matu by the people of Ukiah Valley. Loeb (1926:395) mentions that the Coast Central Pomo used the form 'batu' and says, "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 'matu,' doctor." An informant (TLM) gave a similar meaning when he said:

The old legends like the coyote story are called matu matu. It is just as when the preacher tells you about God. You'd say he matus that; that he is telling an old, ancient thing: 'matu.' When the priest came they said he is 'matu'; he is telling an old, ancient thing: 'matu'. So when these dreamers began, they said he's 'matu', not a doctor or a hunter.

The year when the Maru was introduced was not remembered exactly, but the Pomo usually set it back about sixty, sixty-five or seventy years. Most of them remembered that the cult was introduced after they abandoned the Noyo reservation, where they were at one point forced to remain. The year the Indians moved away from the reservation was 1867. The physical hardships of the Pomo are illustrated by the account of BCF:

The Maru came in later than Noyo. Noyo was when the whites came in and took the land and made treaty. Then

they take them to Noyo and starve them out, so they left one at a time. They promised all kinds of eats--they came by ocean.²³ All were put in a big house. They only gave the Indians a little, so they starved out. Then they ran away. Noyo was a reservation. The Maru started while they were leaving there.

Before the settlers came into Ukiah Valley the Pomo tribes had separate identities and the boundaries of each group's land were clearly defined. With enforced removal, people from different areas were brought into contact. They resettled in the valley how and where they could, losing their separateness as the following report by TLM shows:

After a few years the reservation at Noyo was abandoned by an executive order. At about this time, the Maru cult was just getting to California from somewhere to the east. When the Indians returned from the Noyo reservation they found that the whites had come in and settled all over the valley, and all their land and rancherias were gone. It was then that the original village groups broke up; there being no land for them to settle they separated and squatted on the land of the whites. The whites were glad to have them because they could get the Indians to work for them. A man named Robinson allowed five families to live on his ranch which was located in a valley to the west of the old central rancheria on the Russian River. In time other Indians moved there and soon a regular Indian village grew up--the Bok'ca Rancheria. This was between 1860 and 1863.²⁴

Eventually all the Indians moved down from the Bok'ca Rancheria to the new rancheria on the land owned by Burke.²⁵ This ranch was south of the Bok'ca Rancheria, and was on land owned by Burke, who had an Indian wife. When he married her, her relatives would visit them, and gradually all the Indians moved there. It became the central rancheria of the valley and was located about five miles south of Ukiah on the main highway. In 1881 the Yokayo people moved from the Burke ranch to their present location, about seven miles south of Ukiah on the east side of the Russian River.²⁶

During the process of moving around the Yokayo Indians lost their identity as separate groups and are now all together in one group and call themselves Yokayo Indians. The Maru movement served the purpose of uniting the Indians after their unity had been disrupted by living on the reservation. They all began to congregate for the purpose of dying together.

The earliest Maru ceremonies centered around the belief that the end of the world was imminent. The entrance of the cult and its concepts were clearly stated by KKM, a Hopland Pomo, in his eighties in 1940:

It was about this time that we heard of the dream-power called ma-tue. It originated in a tribe somewhere in Sacramento Valley. We first heard of it through a tribe of Indians at Sulphur Banks. The man that first talked of it was from there. He was Ba-Hay-yoe. He was very serious in his teaching, working day and night, and traveling all over. He was known to help and direct the building of many sweathouses.

When our people heard of it they became frightened and thought the world was coming to an end. They built their sweathouses under the ground like a cellar. Then they gathered there to await the end. While they waited they danced day and night. Whenever they stopped dancing someone would preach for a while; the principal subject being ma-tue. Later, as the end did not come, they returned to their homes but held these meetings very frequently.

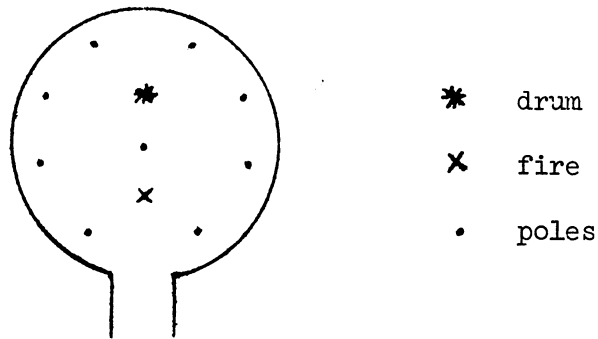
In contrast, the later Maru ceremonies were more elaborate and followed a more or less consistent pattern. The use of cloth costumes, the flagpole, and the two major dances--the Ball Dance and Big Head Dance--were all central elements of the Maru, but minor alterations were made by the individual dreamers under whose authority the ceremonies were arranged. TLM gave a full account of the later Maru dance which he saw when quite young:

People from Point Arena came in one after another, single file, with four marus in the lead. They had these beautiful vests on, and the women had their dresses on. It was quite a show. They came in that way when another tribe was invited, with the chief in the lead. Here the Maru took over the old patterns.

We kids thought that was fine; we didn't forget it at all.

The leading Maru had some flag sticks about four feet long, with a little flag on each stick. After he got into the dance hall he put one by each brace and one by the center pole, making nine. He must have had more but he used that many.

The informant continued with a description of the dance house which was more or less circular:



Dance House

They danced between the fire and the center pole. There is usually a ridge of earth, just a slight one, between the supports, except in front of the entrance. The space back of the ridges is bedded down with wild grass, six or seven feet wide, and that's where the audience sits. The outsiders camp and sleep right there.

That's the old style dance house and the Maru people followed the same pattern. That's the Pomo system.

The whole building is excavated two feet or more. The entrance is made circular where one enters--had to stoop--and it then slopes upward and inward until it joins the top of the house where all the timbers of the house meet at the top on the center pole. On each of the eight poles (four on a side) there are cross beams (the poles are forked to hold these) to support the roof between the ground and the center pole.

This house was built just north of [UNM's]²⁷ house, almost forty yards west of the little cabin there. This was one of the old style houses, the last ever built in California that I know of, and this is the house the train of Maru came to, mentioned just before. Each one had a clap stick [a split stick rattle] to keep time for the dance. One old fellow, a little short man, had one split at both ends. He grasped it in the center. It was four or five feet long.

Every now and then they would turn counterclockwise and rattle the sticks in the air. He, the short man, made it rattle at both ends by jerking it forward and back. It looked funny and we kids laughed. The other three men had the usual sticks. No others rattled sticks there.

When they got in front of the dance house they didn't enter at once but danced four times; counterclockwise once to form a circle for the dance--only this once. Then they danced and they entered. When they entered there were only women dancing. The women took two sides of the dance, eight or nine on a side, with beautiful dresses, beautiful headgear. They held things in their hands. Their hands were in front and the things were hanging down, probably of cloth and feathers. They moved their hands sideways. Then the singers formed back of the center pole and started to sing, and the women started to dance. It was a very beautiful dance, no men, just all women. One man who sang there is still living, GCM from Point Arena.

That is the only band that pulled off this maru stuff at that dance. The others danced ordinary dances. The Maru was fading out then. That was about fifty years ago.²⁸ I must have been ten years old or so.

The real Maru house, before my time, was always underground. That started in Maru times. In the real old times they only excavated dance and sweathouses a little, two or three feet. But the Maru was away down in the ground. The top was supposed to be flush with the ground so the wind would go over and do no damage.²⁹ This was the wind that was to destroy the world. All were expecting it. The Maru told the people that when the wind started to blow, wherever they were, to head for this shelter.

The dance house mentioned here was not Maru. It was just an old fashioned dance house. The preceding accounts will serve as a basis for the discussion of specific features of the Maru religion: the Maru leaders and their authority; the dances, clothes, tabus, and rules; and finally, a discussion of healing and doctoring by the Maru themselves.

The Maru religion was fundamentally different from the Old Ghost Dance and Kuksu Cult in two ways. First, the entrenched authority of the secret society--the 'yomta,' and its leaders--was undercut by new dreamers who claimed authority for their religion from dreams in which they received messages from God or Marumda, brought by the spirits of people recently dead. The older ceremonies were thought to have been established at the beginning of the world, whereas the new cult was created spontaneously to fulfill the changing needs of the people who were profoundly shaken by their new experiences. The cult became less exclusive and more secular. The population had been decimated during the period of contact with Europeans, and, consequently, the system of training successors to carry on religious activities was broken. Loeb (1926:394) states: "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." Second, women took a larger part in the ceremonies, and there were even woman dreamers.

The names of some of the Maru leaders were still remembered in 1940. As mentioned before, there was Bunkash, the Cache Creek man who introduced the cult around the Lakes, and Salvadore from Lake County who was influential in bringing the movement into the Ukiah Valley. Most of the Maru were men, but there were also women Maru. The information does not allow us to cross check exactly how many Maru were active in the area and whether different names refer to the same person or to two people. This problem is further aggravated by the Pomo custom of avoiding the names of both the living and the dead. One informant mentioned the names of two women who were dreamers in the Ukiah Valley: 'wi-low-wi' and 'i-go-má-da,' and CWF gave two similar names for Maru women, 'wi-la-we' (also called Marianne) and 'i-ki-ma-da,' who were respectively the sister and niece of KRM. Another informant referred to Kal-da-la, also called Pete Lamar, who was a Maru.

DNF remembered TLM's grandfather, a Maru who was active in her childhood, in the following terms:

TLM's grandfather had a long stick with a blue flag and a yellow moon-shaped cloth sewed on. We children used to like to play there, the stick was so slick and the ground, too. He chased us away. He used to go around that pole all the time. [It was] the way he dreamed, I guess.

Another account was given by GNM:

Here there was one old fellow who, they said, had a powerful voice. He was before my time. Then a fellow called 'mū-sūt-(cná-ta-dul).' He pulled off some of these big dances. EKM's mother's father. He lived with us some time but he was not practicing then. Then came Monk Robinson.

These Maru held ceremonies at Yokaya rancheria.

The two best remembered Maru of the Ukiah Valley were Kalkom (Xalkom) and Monk Robinson. Kalkom was a leader of the new movement before the time of Monk Robinson, when the Maru was at its peak.

Monk Robinson was a dreamer when the influence of the religion was waning, and consequently had few followers. TQM said of him:

Monk Robinson was of the Ukiah tribe. He acted as a Maru but I don't know whether he ever did anything. I guess he started but couldn't make it. The people kind of quit under him, I guess.

This is confirmed by another informant, TLM:

This Monk Robinson was a small Maru when things were beginning to fizzle. He was the last Maru on this rancheria. It died with him.

Following the usual pattern, Monk dreamed his dances, songs, and costumes, saying that "the fellow up above" told him how. He used common clothes rather than the elaborate costumes which were worn on the coast. One man remembered him as follows:

Monk Robinson danced just as they did at the powwow, but he had old songs and different dances. Men and women both danced lined up as at the powwow. They had singers around the pole. That's the style they had everywhere. He had his meetings right here in the hop field. This ranch used to be a rancheria [ca. 1900].³⁰

Robinson's motives for being a Maru were caustically commented upon by one informant (SLF):

The Maru started at Sulphur Bank and came here sometime before Monk. I guess he thought that a good way to make money, Indian beads. I heard him talking about that at hop-picking time. I was about twelve. [Ca. 1900] Monk told at the camp when I heard him. Before I came he used to make up dances. That part I didn't see. He'd tell the people to have dances, dinner. He'd call for beads, 1,000 etcetera because they didn't obey. The lowest would be 400 or 800 or 1200 or 1600--always in fours. When I heard him he was just telling about that.

Although many people did not take Robinson's activities seriously, he was respected as a healer and also known to be a "foot racer." His life history was given briefly by KLM:

Monk Robinson married a girl from Sulphur Bank and lived there a long time. He followed his Maru business there

on a small scale before he died. The little band that lived there believed in that stuff. Finally he died in Lake County.

His death occurred about 1921-22.

The Ukiah Valley Pomo were in contact with those living on the coast and knew about the Maru leaders and ceremonies there. The best known dreamer was John Boston (also called Boseton) from Point Arena who died in the early 1930's and was buried at Santa Rosa. The Maru who preceded him were also remembered; their names were 'ka-ba-kel,' 'tom-tel,' and 'kæfcui.' The persistence of the cult was remarked upon by one informant who said that at Stewart's Point the Indians still dance the dream dance, Matu-ke, and that two women still carry on the Maru there. At Point Arena there were believers but no leader during 1940, but the following year brought changes which TLM commented upon:

They are going to have such a [Maru] dance at Manchester [about 4 miles from Point Arena]. A young girl, a high-school graduate, is becoming a dreamer. She's having the women make differently designed dresses for that, and the men are making shirts. When all is completed they are going to have a four night dance. I don't know what kind of songs she is going to dream.

The Maru became leaders through divine revelation in dreams. They were bothered by dreams in which someone or something appeared to them and forced them to be a Maru, whether they wanted to be or not. The dreamer and his family would be in danger if the instructions were not carried out, and usually refusal to obey meant death. According to many of the informants, one must become a Maru because of disbelief, or breaking rules, or doing something bad. In the past it was probably not considered a punishment but a privilege to be chosen to dream. Generally, the dreams consisted of how to celebrate a ceremony; that is, the songs to be sung, the different dances, the costumes and decoration to be worn for the occasion, and what to tell the people who came. Just as the dreams recur in those destined to lead the cult, so do they continue to dream while the Maru power is upon them. If a person did not wish to obey the dreams, an Indian doctor would be called in to cure him. Doctoring was not always successful, and some said that dreaming was too powerful to be stopped. In 1940 the Pomo still had what they regarded as Maru dreams, but thought the dreamer should be cured rather than start new Maru ceremonies.

BCF recounted a friend's personal dream experience as follows:

She dreamed she was a Maru and she refused it and that's all. Her husband was sick at the Lane Hospital where he was having radium treatment.

For two years she had had very little sleep. She used to keep a light on in her room because she had to care for her husband.

One night it was raining very hard and the wind was blowing. Finally it turned into a beautiful song. She said she did not know whether she was asleep or awake, or dreaming; whether it was from exhaustion or whether she was crazy. She saw three women, each in a corner of the room, old women, and they were talking among themselves. The gist of the talk was that if she did not have the holy water on the table next to the bed, and if she did not have a rosary and crucifix above the bed, they would come to her and "give her the Matu." But they just couldn't do it. And the song of the wind and the rain was her doctoring song so that she could cure people. And it was beautiful. But she refused. She woke up and there was nothing there.

Even though she saw it with her own eyes she can't believe it.

The impact of Christianity had clearly influenced the dreamer, who felt the spiritual forces vying against each other to claim her allegiance. The year in which this occurred was not given, but is clearly long past 1900.

The identity of the dream visitor who instructs a Maru is not always clear. It was frequently stated, "someone comes in dreams" or, "someone keeps coming and telling them things"; otherwise informants insisted that each Maru had a god who always appeared to him though they were not certain whether all dreamers saw the same god or not.

After a Maru had received his dream instructions he set up dances with his followers. Before the dance, during the intermission, and after the dance was over, the Maru would address the people about his dream message. In the early phase of the movement the new dreamers taught that the world would come to an end; later they began to stress the existence of life after death for those who took part in the religion. The Maru referred to the god in their dreams as "Our Father," "God" and "the Lord." This Christian terminology and the idea of heaven were borrowed by the Pomo from the people around them, but they welded them into their own framework of thought. One man thought that heaven was "just like a rainbow shining," and TLM discussed it like this:

I don't think the Indians had any conception of a heaven as the white man had. "The home of the Thunder," I think, is similar to Hell. I think the Indian thought that when dead you are gone. So the Marus tried to create out of Christian ideas something to fit the Indian's way of thinking. So the thing is confused.

They implied the afterworld was a nice place, probably a flowery place.³¹ Kalkom used to call himself the flower man. He was sort of a lady's man, he was woman crazy.

Monk said the real god lived above four skies.

DNF spoke of what would happen to you if you did not belong to the movement:

I heard that something thick like a cloud came down and tried to grab their relations--one Matu used to say this. I think that's true. I don't know which one was telling that. There is a place they go, a place they burn, a bad place. That's why everyone prepares for the dance.

The idea that god was in heaven was believed by some; others thought along more traditional terms of him being in everything, as the next two statements show. First, the Christian-influenced version by SLF:

When they die if they do certain things they go to heaven, if not they stay around. In the old days there used to be lots of ghosts. Even today they give a dinner and dance [for them]. They claim the ghosts are still around waiting for that. Then they go to heaven. They never go to the other place, they always go to heaven.

Their heaven has only one man there and a great big house. That was their heaven where they went if they did what they should.

Next the traditional view, from the same informant:

They talked to trees and rocks, the stars, the moon and the sun. That was their god when they talked to the people. They said the stars, the rocks, the trees had eyes, so people should do good; not do anything wrong.

The only chant remembered was one sung by a Maru from Point Arena and given by TLM:

T[?]om-tat sang a song, just a chant--a prayer, I guess:
 "In the house of the 'yomta,' in the house of the ghost."
 It was not a dance song, it was just a holy song with him.

In contrast, the following prayer and comments by TQM, also from Point Arena, come from a later period and indicate how the Pomo borrowed from Catholicism in creating their religion:

My uncle said one was dreaming for Christ and one for the devil. That devil got everything backwards. It is best to pray. He prayed a cross. He said to pray to Christ for help. One must be careful about eating, not to upset one's cup, not to get mad. One should not swear when eating, or help the devil. One should make a cross of a knife and fork before eating, for the devil is afraid of that.

In cutting wood one makes a cross atop to keep the devil away for the day. And one prays to keep the devil away. Tell it to him [Christ]; he is there like a wind. He is father and mother; pray to him. I'd pray, "Help me through the day, through the night, whatever I do, help me. Don't let me speak bad language; don't let me shame." I did it. I had no trouble.

I prayed "padre leho spirito santo, amen." Four times. God taught us; I don't know what it means. I say this as long as I want to say something. It is like a prayer in English. I say, "Father help us through the day, through the night, be with us, don't let us speak bad words, bad language. O Father be with me, and my people. They don't know, be with them all through the day, the night." Each person has a different wording. Like a prayer meeting, each has a different prayer.

It is clear from this account that some Maru leaders sought to teach their people the values of the dominant white society around them. They preached conformity rather than rebellion.

According to two informants, tattooing was connected with the Maru cult. In the early years of the movement they believed that half-breeds had to be tattooed in order to go to heaven, and that later this applied to full bloods. However, most informants denied the connection with remarks that tattooing was done because "they liked it" or "the whites stole girls [and it was done] so they wouldn't take them," or "so that when a woman sleeps with a man she will look different lying down." In the Ukiah Valley, tattooing was practiced by women only, though in more recent years a few men have also done it. The procedure was described by BCF:

They get poison oak stick four or five inches long and burn it, and get coal. When they get coal they put the fire out, mash it between the hands, put it in a cup with

water. Then they put it on the face or other parts, and wipe it off with green grass. If it doesn't look as if it is going to get sore they work it over again. One can only eat solid foods at this time. When it comes off it [the skin] looks blue.

Another method of tattooing involved the use of coal or pitch from pine trees, worked into designs on the skin with a needle or sharp object. Designs varied, but were usually created on the face. Marks were made on the chin, up and down, or horizontally outwards from the corners of the mouth. Other parts of the body were sometimes tattooed, such as the lower arm or breasts.

Although certain ideas and values of white society were eventually absorbed through the Maru, during the initial years of the religion there had been a time of categorical rejection of white people. The dreamers taught that the intruding whites would die off and the Indians would regain their land (cf., Du Bois 1939:1), and attempted to break up marriages contracted between Indian women and white men. KLM said: "There were some Indian women married to old white settlers. The Maru made them leave them. It is a sin, they said." The young people were instructed not to go with or have babies by white people, and were taught that those who married whites would not go to heaven and that mixed blood children "would not come out well." The position of half-breeds regarding their salvation was precarious within the Indian concept of heaven. Some Maru preached that if these people were light-complexioned they could not go to heaven and "made them take off all their clothes and get in the hot sun." Others claimed that their dancing in the Maru ceremonies would grant them salvation.

The Maru meetings were originally held in underground houses which were constructed to save believers from the destruction of the world. Later ceremonies were held in timber dance houses, when the Maru teachings stressed life after death and the house-type was no longer an integral part of the religious doctrine.

Underground houses were built in the spring of 1872 at 6 different centers in Pomo territory (Du Bois 1939:79): Sulphur Bank, Clark Ranch on Kelsey Creek, Upper Lake, Potter Valley, Robertson Creek in southern Ukiah Valley, and Hopland. Powers (1877:164-165) visited the one near Ukiah at Robertson Creek and described it as follows:

I paid a visit to their camp four miles below Ukiah, and finding there a unique kind of assembly-house desired to enter and examine it, but was not allowed to do so until I had gained the confidence of the old sexton by a few friendly words and the tender of a silver half dollar. The pit of it was about fifty feet in diameter and four

or five feet deep, and it was so heavily roofed with earth that the interior was damp and somber as a tomb. It looked like a low tumulus, and was provided with a tunnel-like entrance about ten feet long and four feet high, leading down to a level with the floor of the pit. The mouth of the tunnel was closed with brush, and the venerable sexton would not remove it until he had slowly and devoutly paced several times to and fro before the entrance. Passing in, I found the massive roof supported by a number of peeled poles painted white and ringed with black, and ornamented with rude devices.

Informants in 1939-41 remembered the underground houses and the specific purpose for which they were built.³² They were described as bigger than the ordinary sweathouses used for other meetings than those of the Maru. The building was circular, the floor excavated, and the top roofed with poles, brush, and earth. One man had seen the ruins of two of these early Maru houses in the 1890's and gave the dimensions as fifty feet in diameter, with the floor dug out to a depth of twelve feet, in spite of the winter rains which had washed material into the depression. The entrance was on the south side and sloped down four or five feet. There were no steps. Radiating from the center pole were other poles to support the roof, and on the south side of the center pole was the fire. One informant remarked: "In these underground places they built platforms around the wall in circles, and then two decks, one on top of the other."³³ The method of decorating the house was forgotten; some informants said they thought there had been no decorations at all. This is in direct contradiction to the information given by Loeb (1926:396), "All the interior walls and poles were decorated by a painted triangle design of red, black and white, in the same style as the dance costumes."

The dance house on the Ukiah rancheria which was still standing in 1941 had been built about forty years previously, when Monk Robinson was leading the Maru cult. It took the place of the underground house and was called a "Round House" by the Pomo. At old Pinoleville a similar building had been used when the Maru cult was practiced. The Ukiah round house stood above ground and was constructed of timber. Shaped octagonally, the internal structure maintained the center pole and supporting poles of the older Maru houses. The roof sloped upward from the outside edges to the center. The positions of the entrance, on the south, and the fireplace, between center pole and door, followed the traditional pattern.

In contrast to the rest of the structure of the dance house, the center pole was decorated, and was considered important in the Maru cult by some of the Pomo. It was stated that dreamers talked to the center pole. KLM said:

Kalkom is the one who used to talk to the center pole, ask it whom he was going to marry.

CHM gave a general statement on the subject:

The Maru sits there. He gets more as if in a trance, and he speaks to the center pole with his head down, more as if talking to a ghost.

Yet another informant, TLM, gave a skeptical interpretation of the Maru leaders' action:

There was one of these Maru people got so bold that he pretended to be talking to the center pole in the dance house. You see, every Indian dance house has a center pole. It is the main support of the whole structure.

This particular Maru used to walk up to the center pole, and slap the pole with his right hand, addressing it as 'Mu-lú-le.' Then he pretended to be holding conversation with this pole. On one occasion he pretended 'Mu-lú-le' advised him to marry two of the prettiest women of the tribe.

Informants gave no indication of when this innovation occurred. However, it may well have been during the decline of the cult, since the Maru appears to have been using a device for individual gain, unlike the teachings of collective safety and spiritual well-being of the early years.

TQM, from Point Arena, gave information on the same phenomenon. It is ambiguous, and brings in the new element of God speaking beside the center pole. He said:

They [informant's uncle and another man] said lots of people were listening to me in heaven. They were sitting down. Smoke [i.e., God] appeared in the east and moved and stood by the center pole. He stands there and tells you. You can't see his face. He goes out the other side and you can't see him.³⁴

The form of decoration on the center pole was not always the same because the Maru dreamed up different colors and designs. XXM remembered that:

They stripe the center pole. They call that a captain. 'Tja-ka'-le,' they call it.

Yellow clay and coal were used to stripe the center pole in the 'ca-né.' That's 'matú-wéye'; it's got nothing to do with the old time ways. I believe there were four stripes of yellow clay and four of coal, four each.

I used to see some in other places. They stripe the door. Some Matu do that, they dream differently--black and yellow.

Another description, by SLF, states:

There are decorations in four places on the center pole, black and white, and sometimes on the side poles. In late years they used paint, I guess, or something. In early years I don't know, coal, I think, charcoal and gum.

Outside the dance house stood a flagpole, from which hung a flag during Maru ceremonies. A variety of designs were remembered by informants for decorating the flagpole; red and white stripes,³⁵ four black stripes. The flags could be blue with red designs, "of yellow cloth with tiny cross designs usually of white cloth sewed on," white and red or blue and white. Other descriptions were of more complicated designs--a flag from the coast was "two and a half by three feet with a big star in the center and little ones about, black stars on a white field." Yet another one was said to have stars and moons for the Big Head dance.

Both flag and flagpole were considered sacred. The Maru warned the people not to harm them because they might die if they did. BCF reported that, according to DXM, Captain Tack died in a year after the abandonment of the center pole on the Foster Ranch in Hopland, because he did not put up a round house and give a dance as he had promised.

More specific information was given by TLM:

Monk Robinson had a pole that stood about thirty feet high, painted in alternate stripes of white and black, right here at the round house on the Yokia Rancheria. On top was a wooden cross striped black and white.

The reason for the black and white was that they used to use those colors in the old days in dances. They used charcoal from the fire and white clay. Later they used paints.

There were no flags in the old days. That was just somebody's invention. They got the idea from the white people, and the flags too.

There is a woman at the head of the Maru cult at Stewart's Point. In front of the dance house there is a colored painted pole about fifteen feet high, with a colored flag attached. This is generally true of all the Maru.

Other informants besides TIM remarked that the flags came from white people. The colors and cloth used substantiate their views. Yet another influence of the settler community was the cross, symbol of the Christian Churches, which Monk Robinson put on top of the flagpole. In the Ukiah Valley an "Old time Maru" used a looking glass and a bell, at a time when the Indians were not acquainted with these things, claiming that Jesus gave them to him. Also borrowed from the whites was the tablecloth used at Point Arena for the feast when the Maru dance was over. TQM described this as eighteen feet long, of black cloth, with points "like those of a saw blade" sticking out around the edge. Before putting it on the table eight girls danced with it counterclockwise four times, and then four times clockwise.

The meetings held in the dance houses included dancing as well as preaching by the Maru. Dances belonging to the Old Ghost Dance and the Kuksu Cult, and also the common dances, were perpetuated for a while by being incorporated into the new religion. The common dances, in which both men and women took part, survived the Maru, and two totally new dances were created, --the Big Head and Ball dances--as part of the ceremonies.

Informants recognized the similarity of the dance patterns in contemporary [1939-41] years to those followed at the turn of the century in the Maru cult. In theory, these dances were dreamed, and perhaps individual leaders made slight changes, but these were not remembered by the Pomo. Both men and women danced. Sometimes the women danced alone, often in two rows facing each other; sometimes the men danced alone; or they danced together. Women did more of the Maru dancing than men. Patterns of four were basic to the dances. CHM said:

They dance counterclockwise. Some dance on the left, some on the right. Then they give a signal and change sides. There are so many sets. On each side they repeat four times, and they dance four times on each side.

Mostly women take part. This is more a woman's dance than anything else. The men do the singing. There are five or six of them by the center pole. It is just an ordinary dance with rules.

The songs were dreamed by the Maru,³⁶ who was the leader since he knew the songs better than anyone else. Accompaniment was provided by a drum,

clapsticks, whistles and rattles. Dancing was led by the Rock man, who traditionally organized the common dances.

The Big Head dance was remembered as part of the Maru ceremony, and as a separate entity which survived the cult. Informants had seen it danced at Old Pinoleville as part of the Maru, and again at the new site of Pinoleville when a group of Pomo from Sulphur Bank put on the dance by itself. Only one man maintains that the Big Head was put on by the Yokaya Pomo, others disagree with him.³⁷ People's familiarity with the Big Head dance was due in part to its being performed at Sulphur Bank contemporarily.

The name of the dance came from the large headdresses worn by the dancers. Some people called it "old Hesi" because the dance originated from the Patwin who gave the name "Hesi" to it, but everyone considered it had been created from dreams.

Two eyewitness accounts of the dance at Old Pinoleville follow. First, that of GNM,

Two fellows dance in that. It is a strict dance. I know this fellow (pointed north) here who made headdress, feast. He made headgear with long feathers. He had two split stick rattles. He marked himself with stripes. But at Sulphur Bank they have it quite different from these fellows. Most that dance over there come from Grindstone, away up there. At Sulphur Bank they go out and fix themselves up and come in. They have a rather short way of dancing. We have a longer way of dancing than they have. They danced in the Round house. Just two danced the Big Head. That's all that danced it around here.

Next, the report of XXM:

I saw the Big Head dance. The first time I was about eight years old at Pinoleville. They had a very long something with feathers at the ends, about 16-17 inches long. It looked good. They danced hard. That's a lively dance. They hop around quick and then they start dancing cna-ma-tot, Big Head dance. They have to have lots of room, circling about, so only three or two dance. They didn't allow women to take part; to one side but not among the men. That's the only Indian dance I like. They don't wear the big feathers hanging behind, that would be in the way. There is a band across the forehead and the Big Head. There is nothing behind here [no skirt in back] as in the common dances. The forehead band is of yellowhammer feathers.

A more detailed description of the headdress was given by TLM:

Sometimes in the Maru the men wore the same headdresses as the old ones of the old dances. This is not true of the Big Head of the Maru, where they wore twig baskets fitting the heads, with twigs sticking out in all directions and upward. There might be fifty of these twigs. On these were tufts of feathers, and on the ends a bunch, usually of white feathers, a kind of tassel. Today they use little stiff wires. I saw one about eight years ago in Lake County where they used paper instead of feathers.

The way the headdress has changed, using any available materials, was reported by KLM:

The Big Head which is still danced was danced in the Maru. They danced a different style in that dance. They danced running around the fire. They wore a basket hat-like headdress with feathers in it. They used turkey feathers, anything. It didn't matter what. At that time they probably used wild buzzard. Now they get turkey feathers at Christmas. Those at the powwow³⁸ were of turkey feathers sewed on sacking. They are not going to take the time to get buzzard or other kinds of feathers.

More information was given by NLF, from Yokaya, without any indication of when the dreaming took place:

One girl in Mission rancheria was being Maru. I guess she dreamed that. She got a plain green dress. When they have the Big Head they have a flag with stars and moons, etc. The flag is put on the Round house. Have a tule skirt and a fine tule band over the head and face, and sticks with crepe paper all over the head stuck into a tule band. Some are over the face so you can't see the face. Two dance that, and a leader.

From Sulphur Bank came another description at a time when it was separate from the Maru, this by CGM:

I don't know how many heads they have here, probably four, and one flathead. My daughter has four and one flathead.

Those are given by God. They dance four days and four nights. They dress east of the sweat house. They have a hole where they fix up and come to the sweat house, one at a shot, four of them.³⁹

They dance four sets for each head. Then they go out and a new dancer comes in. The one inside dances four sets. Then another comes in till the last one. As soon as one comes out of the sweat house he takes off his rigging and gives it to some other dancer.

If an outsider comes they fix up six or seven heads. Then they go in file and people follow.

That woman has five heads. She got them through dreams. She is also said to have 13-14 balls. She dreamed the Ball Game.

The Ball Dance mentioned above was also part of the Maru cycle and was dreamed by its initiators. The origin was not known by the Pomo of Ukiah Valley, although they remembered that a Maru named Charlie Wathan led the dance at Pinoleville. The last time it was performed was about 1920, when it was done outside the Maru which was no longer being practiced. One woman had learned the dance by watching it in Pinoletown, she said,

In this dance they had headdresses, both men and women. The men danced on one side, the women on the other, and they threw balls back and forth. They danced and sang. The Ball Dance is called Ball 'ké-ma-ne.'

Another informant (XXM) remarked:

The Ball Dance is a dream dance. There are about four on each side throwing balls across to each other. They danced sometimes hopping around, sometimes standing still. They laughed when they missed the ball.

I saw it up here at Pinoletown. Charlie Wathan used to do the Ball Dance. He was killed on the highway. Since then there has been no Ball Dance.⁴⁰ He did it at Pinoletown and I think at the hop camp. They never had it at the Ukiah rancheria.

A resident of Yokaya, DNF, saw the Ball Dance at El Robles where she was visiting a man who was sick. Charlie Wathan led the dance and chose four men and four women, two men and two women to each side. She described it:

I don't know what kind of a song he was singing. He said to watch out so the ball wouldn't hit you, when you would get sick. They say he had all kinds of things in that ball, blood, etc. He had eight balls, two balls to two persons, I think. He had a whole lot in a sack. He picked out some. 'P-kó-ke,' Ball Dance, that's from way up north, Oregon, I guess. He's from up there.

The costumes worn for Maru meetings and dances differed from place to place, since the leader dreamed them for the occasion. These clothes belonged to individuals, but they were made according to the dreamer's directions.

Monk Robinson, in the Ukiah Valley, was not very concerned about costumes. One informant remarked: "Monk Robinson, my mother said, used to have the single women dance without a dress on, just a short skirt. Whoever dances like that is not going to die." Women generally wore clothes similar to those of the white community, but added headbands and feathers.

On the coast the women's costumes were more elaborate. Abalone pendants were worn by both men and women, and the cross was a favorite among the designs used. The women's costumes had white trimming on a black dress, or vice versa.

When John Boston was a Maru, according to one woman (SLF),

They also had sacred dresses. There were certain women who owned those. They wore them when they danced that. The first time I saw those dresses eight women had them. They were of red flannel with white trimming like stars, and they had beads with narrow abalone pendants on the ends. The strings were about eight inches long.

One woman was buried in this dress. I guess all the rest were also. There is only one woman left out of all that. These eight are the only ones I saw dance in these dresses.

Little was said of the men's costumes. Feather skirts, headdresses of yellowhammer feathers, and abalone shell were mentioned. Monk Robinson dreamed up decorated vests for the men. Otherwise the clothes of the period copied and bought from the white community were worn.

When the dances were over the objects used--the musical instruments and headdresses--were carefully put away. TIM gave a description as follows:

Each Maru had his own way of putting up outfits. He would sing, chant, go around in circles. Each person took his things home. The clap sticks and the cocoon rattles which were found mostly on manzanita and tied in a cluster on a bunch of quills and used to rattle with; these were kept in a special place. They also kept the Big Head costumes in this place at the back of the dance house.

They were blessed before being used for each meeting, and when a Maru died his personal outfit used for the cult could be destroyed by being sunk in deep water, never burnt. It used to be considered dangerous to disobey this rule, any transgression would court ill fortune or result in death.

After the Maru cult lost power over the people, the costumes were no longer cared for. As one man, TLM, said:

My brother [KLM] and I lived on the coast a few months at one time. I found an old dress of my mother-in-law's to clean my rifle with. It was one of the old ceremonial dresses. She had discarded it. She no longer believed in the Maru. I should have died according to the old beliefs.

Another account was given by the same man:

They had all their Maru stuff packed in a little granary when they stopped the cult here [Ukiah]. We kids used to look in through the cracks. The old firetender who lived near by used to chase us away. They probably rotted. That's when the Indians became strong on the white man's church.

The teachings of the Maru dreamers changed through time. Originally they were prophets who announced that the end of the world was near and that only those who joined their religion and sought protection in underground houses with them at the time of destruction would be saved. TLM said:

These Marus, they preached that a great wind was going to blow over the earth, sweeping away all living things. And when the wind started to blow, the Indians were to assemble in these underground chambers. That was for protection against the great wind. But while waiting for the great wind to come along, the Indians gathered in these chambers and danced and had a good time. And these

dances were not the old, ancient Indian dances, but were new dances that the Maru had been taught in his dreams.

The exact manner in which the world would end was predicted by the Marus, but their prophecies differed. Kalkom taught that a great wind would destroy the earth. A general statement about the Maru teachings was given by SLF:

Some of them said there was going to be a big wind, thunder, and the end of the world. On the Burke Ranch they built this underground house. They told them when the wind or thunder came, they were to dance where they were; then to come home to the sweat house. They were to dance four times right there and then go toward the main place. All the Matu said the end would be by wind or thunder. They never said it would be by fire that I know of. It was supposed to be soon.

This picture is the most common one. However, other informants mention earthquakes as the cause of destruction, and one woman spoke about her uncle, a Maru, who preached that the end would come through wind, snow, rain and water. Fire was also predicted. BCF said:

They said the world is going to be destroyed by seven suns--those Lake County people. I never heard of any other way. But it never came. That's why we don't believe now. But the old time people believed.

The Pomo in 1940 remembered nothing about the return of the dead being a feature of the Maru religion. Most state that nothing was said about it, although one informant made the following ambiguous remark:

The Maru didn't say anything about the dead. They said the best thing people could do was join the Maru. They said the dead would come back here. They never mentioned heaven or where they would go if they were good.

In contrast to this information Loeb (1926:394) states that the return of the dead, which was part of the Old Ghost Religion, "became an essential, although still esoteric, portion of the new cult [Maru]." The discrepancy between the lack of data on this concept in the movement and Loeb's assertion is accounted for by Du Bois (1939:84) as follows:

It is very possible that the Patwin and Pomo rejected as sacrilegious the Ghost Dance concept of a mass return of the dead, since the summoning of a few ghosts had always been for them a fearsome and esoteric ceremony. Therefore they chose to stress, as more suitable, the concept of a catastrophic destruction of the world--a concept which their cosmological myths prepared them to accept.

An account of an early Maru meeting at Sebastopol which clearly shows the initial excitement and ensuing disbelief was given by BCF:

They said the world was going to end. They never said when. But all the people went over to Lakeport. There is a big field before you get there--Big Valley. There they all ganged up with people from Yorkville, Cloverdale --not from Ukiah, Pinoleville. They had another part in Hopland, I think. They took just as much as they could pack and went to Lake County.

They have all kinds of law to go to heaven. If you don't follow that law you go to hell. That's what they claim. And pretty nearly all the men had a horse apiece --saddled but no wagon. They can't take horses over there or they won't go to heaven. So they sold all the horses to Jim Burra [a Spaniard] for a dollar or two apiece; good saddle horses. It was like giving them away. So they walked over.

They waited maybe a year for the world to end. They got hungry so they walked out; one family, two, three--all going out. They no longer believed.

And at that time that Madru [a variant of name Maru] said that even a little baby born that day must be married. If they don't do that they say they won't go to heaven. Everyone had to be married. But some don't like it. That's where they had trouble and broke up. They just were doing dancing. That's all. Everyone was doing a dance, Indian dance. They danced night and day along for maybe a year. Then some found it was not true and left. They left everything they had put away: acorns for a year and seeds to make pinole--wild barley, oats, used for pinole after the Spanish. They used buttercup seeds for pinole and wild sunflower seeds.

After that generation we don't believe that kind [of man, i.e., the maru]. It doesn't come true.

Although lack of understanding about the new cult between the Ukiah Pomo and the white population did not result in disaster, the Indians were aware of what had happened to Maru believers. At a meeting in Sonoma County and Humboldt County, TLM gave the following report:

There was another thing that crept into this Maru business. These great gatherings of the Indians for the Maru dances often caused the whites to think the Indians were gathering for the purpose of going on the war path.

At Cloverdale in Sonoma County the Indians had gathered for one of these big dances, and the word got out among the whites that the Indians were preparing to make an attack upon the whites. The white people gathered together, armed themselves and surrounded the rancheria. They were getting ready to massacre the Indians when someone convinced the whites that the Indians meant no harm. The whites withdrew and allowed the Indians to continue their dance.

On an island up in the Humboldt Bay, Humboldt County, the Indians were holding one of these big dances when under cover of darkness many of the white people slipped over from the town of Eureka, and while the Indians were in their dance house, dancing and having a good time, these whites attacked the Indians and slaughtered them almost to a man. A Wiyot Indian from Humboldt County has a book that describes this massacre, and he himself is the son of a man who was a baby when the massacre took place. Albert James' father, he was an infant, and after the massacre they found him lying by the side of his dead mother who was killed by the whites--sucking on her breast, trying to get milk out of his dead mother's breast. The excuse was they thought these Indians were making preparations to attack the whites. So the Maru business did not work out so well for the Indians after all.⁴¹

When the Maru was at its height there were large meetings in which a number of neighboring groups were called together. The Pomo from Hopland, Lake County, and Point Arena came to the Yokaya dances, and the people from Yokaya visited other groups in turn when dances were being given. The announcement of the meeting seems to have come from the chief of the group rather than from the dreamer himself.

There were also smaller meetings when only the local people were present. As the cult waned in popularity it was this pattern which prevailed, since large gatherings were no longer possible. It was usual for the meetings to take place at night, but there was dancing during the day as well and certain dances could only be done in the daytime. The

proceedings lasted for four nights.⁴² The formal pattern of dances in 1939-40 among the Ukiah Pomo was still the same, with a longer dance on the fourth night.⁴³

The Maru leaders decided when the dances should be held.⁴⁴ Favorite times were in the spring when the flowers were in blossom, around Christmas, and in the fall. When the dancing was over a feast of Indian food was served. DNF said,

They always put up a dinner. Sometimes they invited other rancherias but not always. Monk Robinson did that. They did that lots for him. They had the old-fashioned kind of food, our kind. Four women would go out and get clover, etcetera. The Matu called for that. Maybe two baskets of acorn mush, two baskets of acorn bread. The men would get fish in four baskets; get deer meat and put in basket. That's the way they used to put up dinner. They divide up the baskets in four places and they all sit around and eat. They used flat plates made of tule in Lake County. Fish with bones removed and mush; that's good. I haven't had it for a long time.

Since the feast was part of the ceremony, the food was blessed to emphasize its distinctiveness from everyday meals. The insistence on making traditional dishes stresses the Pomo desire to keep their religion separate from the white world. The food was blessed in a variety of ways, as this account by SLF indicates:

They had to bless the food. Some of them take food, Indian food, pinole, deer meat, acorn bread, acorn mush. Sometimes they burn it. Sometimes they throw it in the four directions. They only took four kinds of food, Indian food.

The way ODF⁴⁵ does is to take a teaspoonful of everything, and then to burn it. My grandfather, John Boston used to throw it away, or if the river was full he used to throw it in the river and let it float away. If the river was not full he used to put it in the fire. When one threw it away in the four directions one would just stand there and throw it the four ways.

The sequence in which a Maru would throw the food was given by another informant, XXM

If there are ten kinds of food they get a pan and take some of each kind of food and throw them in the four

directions; first to the south, then to the east, then north, then west. They do it now.⁴⁶ The Matu had a dinner. He was a real fellow. He had a dance and put up a dinner.

A recollection from fifty years prior to making a statement was given by GNM in the following terms:

When they eat he blesses the food. He picks up certain food from the table and throws it away. And he talks there but no one knows what he said. He goes around four times, I think. That is around here, Maru all do that. The last one was the one I saw down there [i.e., Old Pinoleville]. We moved from there in 1893. I don't know how long before that I saw this Maru, but not too far off.

Yet another variation was given by the same informant:

The Matu has to doctor the food, going around four times. He puts a little bit of all kinds of food on this flat tule plate and goes off alone to the north and offers it to someone. No one hears him. He goes off alone. He goes around four times counterclockwise and stops each time by the food. Then he takes the food and goes off and says his prayer there. They say, everything goes good there when they do that; my old man says nothing happens.

Transition to Christianity

The Maru religion gave a temporary unity to the Pomo, and enabled them to retain a unique Indian identity before Christianity was established in their communities. However, the people were disillusioned when the predicted end of the world did not arrive and gradually fewer came to the ceremonies. In 1940 the Valley Pomo no longer believed in the Maru, although the Pomo on the coast still held Maru meetings.

The Maru had already passed the height of its power before a concerted effort by both Catholic priests and nuns was made to convert the Pomo to Catholicism. By 1940 most of the Ukiah Valley Pomo were baptised and considered themselves Catholics but their allegiance to the Church was nominal. Attendance at church services was meager and the only ceremonies to which most people went were funerals.

The Ukiah Pomo remembered that the Catholic church was established at Hopland, south of their community, by the Spanish and that a mission was

built there. The Maru leader Salvador brought the first priest among them. The initial impact was spoken of by TLM:

The Maru started here and in Lake County before the Catholics. The Catholics were first here probably about sixty years ago⁴⁷ [1880]. I was baptised in Hopland. Catholicism was in Hopland before it entered here. There were many Spaniards in Hopland. The Spaniards never penetrated here. There was a Spanish settlement in Hopland that goes back quite a long way but there was none here.

In time the Indians here dropped the Maru and took over Catholicism. The Maru fizzled out, became abhorrent, it predicted things that never came true. At first not all of the Indians fell for the white man's religion. The chief here early became a Catholic, and he influenced the others to join.⁴⁸

Early contact with Christianity was through individual priests and ministers who came to preach among the Pomo and teach them Western faiths. In the 1890's a Methodist minister named Burchard lived with the Indians at Pinoleville for a few years but his work was not followed up. The first Catholic priest was called Williams according to SLF. Another informant, JLF stated:

In the old days there was no church house, so they would sit around outside, and teach them. The early priests would teach the Indians to pray in the Spanish way.

The teaching function of the Catholic Church was carried on in an increasingly organized fashion in later years, both in religious and secular subjects. The first school on Yokaya rancheria was a Catholic one, run in conjunction with St. Patrick's Catholic Church by a group of nuns.⁴⁹ It was set up in 1903 and subsidized by the Federal government for a while. When subsidization was discontinued TLM talked with the priests about getting another school, "because the Indian children had no school to go to." The Indian Bureau in Washington was contacted and arrangements made for a new school to be erected on the rancheria. Construction began in 1917.

In 1940 the nuns still visited the rancheria churches to teach catechism and prayers to the children, and they ran a convent school to which a few girls went. Little was said about the conflict between traditional Pomo religious thinking and that of the Catholic Church; perhaps this was because adherence to the new religion was not profound enough. WBF said:

They are told not to believe the old Indian ways. Some still believe in the old ways.

Informants were aware that missions had been set up elsewhere, such as that in Lake County, and that churches were built in the town of Ukiah before they were constructed on the rancherias. TLM made the following remarks:

You see, Mexican people built no missions up here, so the Indians were allowed to live pretty much as they had been before the Mexicans came, and the Indians were given certain areas of land to use to grow things for themselves.

The Sisters came in about 1897--around then somewhere. The Sisters were teaching the school. There were churches on the rancherias quite a while before that.

One man's view of the failure of the Maru was clearly influenced by Christian thinking regarding indigenous religions. DCM put it like this:

The Indians are dying out. And it's because they are being punished for belief in the Maru doctors. At the time of the 1906 earthquake, people believed that stuff, and they danced day and night in the sweathouse. "World coming to an end," they said. Now God punishes them, because they danced all the time, didn't sleep, and said the world was going to end. That was a lie. The Indians are being punished for lying.

Different reasons were given by SLF for the change of religion:

It [the Maru] didn't last, they said, because the priest came along and the priest took them over. Some were working for the whites and already had got away from the Maru. The priest used to preach in the round house and they all became Catholics and were baptised.

The round house, center of previous religious ceremonies, was probably the largest and most convenient place for the priest to use. His preaching there symbolized the Church's desire to replace previous cults. TLM judged the penetration of this alien faith in the following terms:

The Indians seemed to mix the dream stuff with the Catholic religion. The Indians embraced the Catholic religion rather readily. Some of the early settlers felt that it was no good to bring these missionaries in. I think it's bad to try to change the Indians too fast--it breaks down their

culture, the foundations of their culture. They're neither white nor Indian. My father [a white man] said that the Indians would have been better off if the missionaries had not come.

KLM gave another account, summing up the coming of Catholicism and its effect on the Maru:

Today they are Catholic here. There used to be first Catholics at Hopland, then here. On the coast they don't believe in any church. They're Matu there. They believe that pretty strong. Captain John (a Matu) died five or six years ago. They buried him down at Santa Rosa. His name is 's-láw.' There were Spaniards at Hopland. They all spoke Spanish there. The Spanish raised the old timers. Then it spread here. Captain Lewis was raised to speak Spanish. He was the only one around here who could speak Spanish. Catholicism has been here about thirty-five years.⁵⁰ It was earlier in Hopland; they used to pray in Spanish there. The Catholics must have been in Hopland sixty or seventy years ago. I know they said they were there before I was born. The priests used to go bare-footed. They came from the coast, they say. The Maru--like Kalkom, must have been here seventy years or so; it was before I was born. It was as far back as they could recollect, said my old people.

Let us now look at the position of the Christian churches and the place of Christian beliefs and practices within the Pomo community in 1940. Of the many sects in Ukiah, only three had members among the Indians of the rancherias: the Methodist, Pentacostal and Catholic. One family from Pinoleville belonged to the Methodist church, and less than ten Pomo attended Pentacostal services. The Pomo Catholics very seldom went into the town to church, both because they felt unwelcome there and because there were churches on the rancherias. The multiplicity of sects led some Indians to disbelieve in Christianity for they could not see why there were "groups like Baptists and Catholics when they all had the same gods." The presence of both Japanese and Chinese residents in Ukiah who did not profess any western faith further confused the religious complexity in the town. KBM remarked, "[You] can't tell me this fellow have one Christ and that another!"

In 1940 there were three Catholic churches on the rancherias which held services in rotation once a month. At Pinoleville only Indians attended mass at St. Dominic's on the first Sunday of the month; mass was celebrated on the second Sunday at St. Joseph's, Guidiville, where a few Italians attended as well as the Indians. Both Italians and Filipinos joined the Pomo Catholics for mass on the fourth Sunday of the month at St. Patrick's,

Yokiah. Informants made a distinction between whites and Italians by saying that no whites ever came from the town to their services but that Italians did. For three months in the summer St. Patrick's was closed,⁵¹ but the Indian congregation preferred not to attend church services in town.

Attendance at church services was poor and limited mostly to children and a few middle-aged people. Both the very old and the young avoided the church. The lack of faith in Catholicism was recognized by most informants. KLM remarked: "They all supposed to be Catholic, but they don't believe it."

BCF said:

Not many go to the church here [i.e., Pinoleville]. Lots go at Christmas time. The Indians claim they are Catholics but don't go. Even down at Hopland they don't go.

Young people don't go to church so much as the old people. When they are small they go all right, but when they grow up they don't seem to go so much.

Her statement was confirmed by TLM, who was brought up a Catholic:

Not many Indians go to church when it is held. Mostly children go and not many anyway. Most people probably have the idea they should start the children off right. They don't care much for themselves. The Indians care more for dances, movies. They don't care so much for this Christian stuff anymore. I don't know whether its their fault or the fault of the times.

Christmas, Lent and Easter were observed by the practicing Catholics. The customs of decorating the house with a tree and holly, and having a special meal of turkey on Christmas day were mentioned by members of three families. The observance of food tabus--no meat on Fridays and fasting during Lent--were acknowledged as being inoperative among the Pomo, since it was hard for the people to get meat and they considered they should eat it if and when they had it, regardless of church rulings.

The Pomo accepted the role of the church in both the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. Neither ceremony conflicted with past customs and were not resisted, although some informants were skeptical about the good they did. In contrast, marriages and funerals were marked by the retention of old ways of thinking and behaving in spite of the teaching of the church to the contrary.

Informants differentiated between modern marriage, which could be both consecrated in a church by a priest and legalized by the State with

a license, and traditional marriage, sanctioned by an exchange of gifts between the parents of the couple. They recognized the authority of both church and state over marriage contracts, and often preferred to live together without the formal sanction of either institution, so that if the arrangements did not work out, they could separate without outside interference. Other marriages developed through two stages, first living together for a few or many years, and then being married by a priest. The Catholic church does not permit divorce. The effect of this rule was revealed by BCF when she said:

Well, you don't want to be in a hurry to get a man. Got to know him pretty much first before you marry him. They act different maybe when you first know them than when you're married to them. That's what I tell my grandchildren, but they won't listen. That second man of mine, I lived with him ten years before I married him by Catholic way. I lived with him, got to know him pretty well, got acquainted with him. Then we got married by the church. You see I didn't want to lose my religion. If I'd married him and then left him and found another man I couldn't have stayed with my religion. So I thought this way was better. I had to find out for myself about men like that. Nobody ever told me about it. But that way I stayed with him and kept my religion.

DNF said she was married by Burchard, a Methodist minister first, and then added: "A year after that we got married by the Catholics. After my baby was born and baptised. We were married by the priest that time.

The dual heritage of Christian and Indian beliefs was apparent at funerals. Since the intrusion of Western people, not only has the Pomo population been severely reduced by diseases brought by the foreigners, but burial practices and regulations regarding deaths have been imposed on the community by the dominant white society. The traditional custom of disposing of the dead was by cremation at a burning ground near the village, and during the ceremony the chief made a speech.⁵² In 1940 the priest officiated at funerals, and the dead were buried in graveyards attached to the church. Where once the responsibility for expenses lay solely with the relatives of the dead, either the county or state helped pay for the funerals of the very poor in the community. Only one informant specifically linked the discontinuance of the custom of cremation with the entrance of the Catholic church. She was probably correct, since the Church teaches that the dead should be buried.

The oldest people in the community could still remember seeing the dead being cremated. It used to be the custom to keep the corpse in the house until it was burned three or four days after death. After cremation the dust and remains were put in a basket with blankets and beads and buried

carefully by relatives because other people were afraid to touch skeletons, which they considered poisonous. When CWF was a little girl she saw the ceremony:

I saw my grandfather [i.e., mother's father] burned. Put on great big fire. Wrapped up with blankets, baskets, beads, throw it on fire. I just hollered loud.

In contrast, WQM described a contemporary burial:

I went to ?DF's funeral [QDF's baby]. They buried lots of things, baskets, beads, blankets. My mother brought a blanket. She was buried in the Catholic cemetery--the priest was there. He just makes part of the ceremony, then he goes home. The others stay to finish burying the baby. They didn't cry much. Not many people came. They start crying, then they stop, then they cry again. Some groups would stop crying together and start together later --but others might still be crying. The burial started at two in the afternoon and wasn't over till five o'clock.

The traditional custom of burying wealth with the dead had persisted. With the disappearance of such items as beads, blankets and baskets, substitutes were found in the form of money, watches and flowers. SLF said that the first instance of flowers at a funeral was about 1915, at her sister's funeral. The reason given for these offerings was generally that they showed respect for the dead person and his family. CLM added:

About the only thing they do now with beads is bury them with someone who dies. They think that is an honor, for both the person who puts them in and for the dead person.

An individual might prepare for death by making sure there would be beads for his grave; TLM mentioned this practice:

If a person who had many beads died they would put on him the beads he reserved for himself. He would have designated some for other members of the family. The old widow Lucy has a lot of beads. She is saving those to be placed on her body when she dies. An Indian doesn't like to think that when he dies he will have nothing on his body. It is a disgrace to die and have nothing of value on your body.

It used to be the custom to burn the house and belongings of the dead man. KCM, from Upper Lake, made the following comments on this subject:

In the old days, when a man died, all of his possessions were destroyed. They broke up his wagon, killed his horses, broke his gun and things like that. They buried some of the things with him. All of his things except his house were destroyed, and in the old days, when they had grass houses, they used to burn them also.

The influence and laws of the white community regarding property have penetrated among the Pomo. The only instances of houses being burned which KLM could remember were one in 1940 in Pinoleville, because the woman owner had died of T.B., and another on Yokaya rancheria about 1920.

The traditional custom of exchanging gifts at funerals persisted in 1940, even when the Catholic priest officiated at the burial. It was done to show respect to the dead and to the family of the dead. For a relative of any of the parties closely related to the dead person to refuse to come to the funeral or to exchange gifts was a great insult. It meant that the offender did not like the dead man, or perhaps the dead man's family, and wanted everyone to know it. The action indicated hatred; retaliation would be in kind. Thus a family feud would be born. Ordinarily, friends and relatives gave beads, baskets, blankets, or money to the family of the deceased, which then attempted to make a return gift equal to that received. FGF remarked:

If you take a blanket to the funeral, you get back beads or baskets. If you take a basket, you get back beads or a blanket.

Different views were expressed regarding the specific nature of the gift depending upon who had died and the relationship of the donor to the dead individual. SLF stated:

In case of death, if the deceased is connected with another family through a male, the members of this family give blankets to the relatives of the deceased; if through a female, the family would give baskets.

Another practice was described by TLM:

When someone dies, friends and relatives give gifts and receive gifts in return. It used to be baskets given when a

man died and beads when a woman. This was because women were basket-makers and men bead-makers. They still give gifts, but they don't adhere to the old way strictly.

There were no rules about the return gift. The value depended on the gift received and how the people felt. NWM said:

To give something in return means friendship. Doesn't look right not to give something in return.

The time of the return gift depended on when the family of the dead man had enough to give. The exchange could be done on the day of the funeral, or a week or month later. IDM stated:

They count everything carefully, never forget how much or whom they owe. Then they pay back.

Changes were remarked upon by informants. For instance, that more money was being used and that young people brought flowers since traditional Indian wealth was becoming more scarce.

KCM noticed another trend:

Indians are starting to bring gifts which are useful to the family of the deceased. Probably due to white influence.

The period of mourning varied with individual feeling for the dead person. Traditional expressions of grief were remembered, but no longer followed. Relatives used to cut their hair short, scratch themselves to draw blood, and put clay on their head which remained until it fell off. The custom of wearing black was borrowed from the white community.

In the past those who handled the corpse were required to cleanse themselves with soaproot, angelica root or pepperwood leaves. The custom of washing survived, as TLM pointed out:

Those that handle the body, not the mourners, wash themselves with ordinary soap upon returning from the funeral.

In 1940 many Pomo were reluctant to hear or to use the name of a dead person, nor did they like to keep a photograph of someone who had died.

Healing in the Maru

The Maru leaders practiced as doctors among the Pomo; their power came through dreams, as it did for the rest of the cult ceremonies. In KKM's words, the cult "started a great chain of doctors among our people." Informants made specific mention of John Boston, Monk Robinson and Ba-Hay-yoe as doctors, and said that there were many others, many of whom were women.

Freeland (1923:57-58) distinguishes between two types of doctor in Pomo society, the outfit or singing doctor and the sucking or dream doctor. She goes on to say that, apart from these men, the Maru also healed, but "they do not practice bleeding or sucking, but perform with elaborate motions, accompanying with cocoon rattles and split sticks the song which they sing." According to Freeland's informant William Benson, a half-breed Eastern Pomo of Lakeport and Yokaya rancheria, the Pomo name for the sucking doctor is 'madu.' Both the name and the mode of gaining authority are similar to the Maru doctor, and, added to the evidence given by informants, suggest that the sucking doctors became established and may even have originated with the cult itself. TLM made the following remarks on the subject:

And then there were the lesser men who had dreams like that, and they didn't order a big dance like that but they started to doctor, tell what was wrong. The big Matu didn't do that. And they were both Matu. These little dreamers became the sucking doctors. There were no sucking doctors in the old days.

Some informants made a distinction between the Maru and the sucking doctors, others did not. FGF stated:

Sucking doctor is different from the Maru dreamer. My uncle, he wasn't sucking doctor, he was just Ma-tu. Sucking doctor is Ma-tu. Sucking doctor, he dreams too, something bother him too, that way.

Informants recounted a number of cases in which they were cured by Maru doctors. TLM began with general statements before relating his own cure:

They pressed the body up and down, up and down with the palms of the hands and chanted. This did not last four days, but parts of two days. Sometimes they only did it once. They used the big single whistle and blew from the head down to the feet (not very loud--who). Four times they did this the length of the body. They used a clap

stick and held the stick in the right hand and took both hands of the patient, one in each of theirs, and shook them and the stick at the same time. Then the doctor would sing some of the medicine songs⁵³ and he would take a chip or flake off a bottle, etc., and cut the patient's skin and suck the blood. He made the cuts wherever the pain was. He might make a dozen little cuts and suck--the suction would draw more blood. Then the patient was supposed to get better. When the doctor pressed down with his hands and handled your hands he was supposed to have the power of healing in his hands.

I had a pain in my side when I was a young fellow. It must have been an appendix. My grandfather made slits and sucked. I've never had the pain since. I don't say he did it. I've never believed in that. These doctors got their instructions and power from some power. They just doctored on the quiet. They didn't preach or predict.

SIF underwent a four-day cure given by her mother's uncle, John Boston, and was healed. She said:

I was sick. He [John Boston] came in with four pepperwood sticks. He stuck them over the south door of the camp. Then in the evening he brought four more. He said, "I can't sing over you because you don't believe. I don't blame you because your mother don't believe." I told [TLM] who said to ask him to sing. So he came four times and sang. He said, "You don't believe, but you Indian anyway." He came with four pepperwood leaves about two feet long. He touched me with that. He said I did not obey the rules so I got that way. He said, "You won't have any more trouble."

On another occasion this same informant further clarified her sickness as having been a "terrible feeling" in her head.

At a time when many people had whooping cough 'dǐ-w'kǚlǐ' the Maru doctors cured the sick. FGF, her daughter and granddaughter were all ill and her uncle came to doctor them. She said,

My uncle doctor me. He was a Maru. He was living that time yet. That how I got cured. He sing. They call that 'dzǎ-di-wil widon' (devil make),--that mean doctor. And he cure me.

Another cure was recounted by TQM,

My uncle doctored me when I had the tonsils. He would not come until he was called--that was the custom. He said don't talk, just say come and doctor me. I was lying there; I couldn't spit. He came there singing. About the third song that thing broke, and the stuff came out, and I never had any more trouble.

According to SLF, a practice was observed which was similar to blessing the food eaten when Maru ceremonies were completed. She said,

Sometimes the Matu will be doctoring someone when the table is out, and will take some food and throw it away. My grandfather [John Boston] used to throw away food in the four directions. An offering to god.

In contrast, GNM spoke of healing which was done solely during the Maru ceremonies,

When anyone takes a fit when the Maru is dancing, the Maru doctors them his way. He just sings and uses his stick going around them always four times when he doctors. They never doctor any other times but only when dancing and something happen like that.

The Pomo ways of doctoring continue both in the Ukiah Valley and on the the coast, and are discussed below. It should be noted that the Maru doctors healed the sick both by singing over their patients and by sucking the illness from the person's body. Thus, the practical division between the two types of doctors drawn by Freeland blurs when considered against these informants' statements. The main dividing factor is one of inheritance rather than method.

POISONING AND DOCTORING

In 1940 the Pomo went to white doctors to be treated for most sickness; however, they had their own doctors to whom they went as well. They distinguished between traditional singing doctors and the more recent and less respected sucking doctors, some of whom also cured with their hands or with smoke.

Sickness could be caused by poisoning. Only Indian doctors understood and could cure some cases of poisoning, since they had the power to heal and knew how to and sometimes used poison.⁵⁴ TLM said:

The doctor could be a poisoner if he wanted to be. But a poisoner was often not a doctor. He didn't necessarily know the cures. I know old Indians who people said would poison, who were not doctors. You had to have faith in the doctors. Some people would say so-and-so was a good doctor, but they were afraid he would poison the sick person instead of curing him. Some people didn't trust the singing doctor because he could also poison. They didn't want to offend the singing doctor. He was a man to be feared and respected.

Many informants remembered the time when everyone believed in poisoning, and in 1940 the older and middle-aged Indians, especially women, still believed, although some were not sure. Those who believed feared strangers and insisted one should only visit among relatives. They said one should be wary of accepting food or drink from anyone who did not first take some himself. However, this has changed among the young, as SLF remarked:

In the old days we would never go around visiting all the time like these younger people do. When I was young the people who did that would be able to be poisoned. That's why they would never do that. All the families were together so you could see your relatives without going all over.⁵⁵

A poisoner could be either a man or a woman.⁵⁶ According to CWF, poisoners sang when they were going to make poison and had

. . . a stone with four circles for pounding poison: . . .
They don't touch their face for eight days when they make
poison. Never come home. Just stay away from home.

Over the poison they stretch out their hands three times, turn the head to the left once, stretch out their hands twice, turn the head left once, stretch out the hands one time, turn the head left once more. Then pick up the poison in the left hand.

The poisons⁵⁷ mentioned by informants were plants, herbs, mushrooms, "rattlesnake juice in water," "pinole poison from lizards and snakes," "place blood of waterdog on hand and rub against victim," "touch with coyote paw," "poison from rattlesnake grease put in mouth while sleeping," "gather oak blossoms when in bloom and mix with human bones and all kinds of snake blood," "could kill a woman through a bull snake." These poisons could affect someone by being put on their clothing,⁵⁸ hair, nail, or spit, on money or beads, on a person's shadow, on the basket material a woman was working with, or in food or drink.

The cures for cases of poisoning varied and were known only to Indian doctors; no white doctor could help. BCF said the doctor had to "use poison to doctor with, try all kinds, the one affecting you is the one used to cure with, some Indian poisons don't affect you right away. Takes years." Another woman (CWF) was more specific: "Waterdog is used to cure cases of poison--the guts are placed on a big fire, the patient laid on for fifteen minutes."

Informants spoke of their personal experiences of being poisoned and those of their relatives. NTF mentioned a time when she was poisoned: her face swelled and her head hurt until a singing doctor came and cured her; KDM said he was cured by a doctor named Conway from Chico; JLF remembered that her mother had been poisoned once when she was sleeping, and went on to say:

Nowadays they poison babies by poisoning the baby's basket. They break a stick off it. The mother never knows what makes her babies die, but Indian doctors, they know."

In 1940 the issue was still alive, for SLF spoke of a current case:

KNM has recently been sick on Yokaya rancheria. He was doctored by ODF, the woman doctor of Kelseyville. ODF said he was poisoned but that she did not know why or by whom. He had lots of enemies, and people said that he was poisoned because he had ditched a girl once, and that she and her mother had put dope in his wine. Then he suffered from stomach all the time. Before that he had been a big husky boy, but now he looks like bones covered with skin.

Although the Pomo of all ages went to the white doctors in 1940, the older people still believed in the power of their own doctors whereas the young did not. A distinction was made between Indian and white sickness; BCF pointed out,

Now the Indians get sick with white sickness--only a white doctor can cure this. Now at sixty they are ready to go underground. Long ago we had buckeye mush, manzanita berry for pinole. Taste better than cake. And pepernut.

This opposition of types of sickness accords well with the classification of the causes⁵⁹ of sickness and the appropriate doctor resorted to. Barrett (1952:359-360) states that according to Pomo belief illness was caused by violating a restriction or tabu, by poisoning, or could be due to an ordinary cause. White doctors would only be effective in the latter classification.

Cases were recounted of the failure of white doctors to cure Indians, and one woman blamed the death of her niece in 1940 upon the Government doctor. However, another point of view was voiced by NMF, who said:

The Indians blame the white doctor in practically all cases. They don't call him until the case is pretty serious. It's near the end and an Indian doctor usually hangs around. If he dies they blame the white doctor. If he lives they credit the Indian doctor.

XXM remembered the cure of FGF:

She was given up for dead by the doctor at the state hospital and another doctor from town too. Her husband said they ought to hire Bill Rice, an Indian [singing] doctor. He said the white people don't know anything about Indians. They did get Bill Rice, and she is living. Rice gave her some remedy and sang old words. He did a lot of singing. He sang four nights.

Although another informant remembered the cure in much the same sequence, FGF herself stated that she was operated upon for a tumor in San Francisco by white doctors after the Indian doctor had failed to help her.⁶⁰

In spite of his skepticism over doctoring, in 1929 TLM upheld his people's right to treat the sick in their own way. As President of the Ukiah Council of the Indian Brotherhood of California, he countered the

charges made by Lucy Keenan, a Government Indian nurse, that two "medicine men" had hastened the death of a young girl by their practices.⁶¹

Let us examine the practices of the singing doctors,⁶² all of whom were men. TLM gave a clear and extensive account of the way in which these doctors worked in relation to a specific instance of a chief being cured by a man named Lōhō. He said:

The singing doctor was the real doctor; the one they relied on. They came from away back yonder. They were supposed to have started with creation. This power passed down through the family. This was learned, it did not come from dreams. It was a real profession.

In Lake County there was an old man, Augustine, an old chief. He got sick and he was sick for a long time. His relatives hired all the big doctors around the Lake and in Ukiah Valley but nobody cured him. There was an old man, Lōhō, who was a big doctor, an Indian doctor, one of the best. The Indians wondered why they didn't hire Lōhō to doctor Augustine, although some of them did not trust him and were afraid he would kill him instead of curing him. But as a matter of last resort they did hire Lōhō. So Lōhō went over to Lake County and doctored this fellow, four days and nights. Four or five other old men went along with him as helpers. The fall of the year following this doctoring, Augustine was over here picking hops. He was quite an old man. Lōhō's fame spread far and wide because of this cure. In that case he cured rather than killed. It used to be said that some of these doctors poisoned people to have the job of curing them afterwards.

These doctors were paid well for their work. They did not ask for any special amount. The people used to fasten one end of a string of beads on something on the wall about seven feet above the floor and coil the other end on the floor. There were about 7,000 - 8,000 beads.⁶³

The reason for helpers was that all his songs were sung in a series of four songs. They had a great bunch of little sticks tied up in a bunch. They were a little larger than big size matches. A little place was cleared off for the sticks. When the doctor finished one song, the helper would put down one stick and say this is one. The doctor sang the same song four times and the helper put down a stick each time, and announced it. When he laid the fourth down he said, "That completes it." Then a new song was sung four times with the sticks laid down. Each song was sung four times until the pile of sticks

was all gone. Then he had completed the songs he was supposed to sing. The reason for the sticks is to prevent mistakes. It is very strict. Any mistake is bad for the doctor. It would make him sick, and probably kill him.

This is repeated on the second day. They always started the singing with one special song, sung four times while they were sitting. All the songs were sung sitting down. The doctor always has the cocoon rattle in his hand to keep time with. After a few songs he sang this sack-opening song (the same all over the Pomo nation), and with it named every object in his sack.⁶⁴ He had small feather bunches⁶⁵--probably a dozen different ones. Woodpecker feathers were used, not crow nor yellowhammer feathers. They used a certain kind of hawk feathers, and raven feathers. And he had various shaped rocks, some flint knives, a dried coyote's paw, and various roots in there, and he had a short little pestle, maybe six inches long, and he had a little hollowed out rock--a mortar about six inches in diameter. These were used to pound his medicine. These doctors used medicine also. They used tools. I have seen them put them in a cup and give the patient a drink. The doctor would take them all out and spread them out on the bare ground by the fire. He also had four or five of the yellowhammer quill bands used on the forehead in the dance. These were larger than the dance kind, and they were rolled up and tied. He had two or three hairnets and three or four stickpins in the sack. They were not all used in one doctoring, but the doctor always took them all out. He left the things out all the time of the doctoring--for the four days.

About the third day, if a person was apt to die, the doctor tried all his arts, and would dance--not a real dance, but just a shuffle back and forth. While he danced the helper sang and shook the rattle. The doctor never sang while he was up dancing. The helpers always sat. They never took part in the actual doctoring, just in the singing part. The doctor only danced if the person was very sick, otherwise he only sang during the four days.

They didn't always have a dance [to celebrate a cure]. Sometimes the doctor told them to give a small dinner. The doctor never asked for a dance. I saw Lōhō many times. I don't think he ever asked for a dance.

Another account of the singing doctor, given by CWF, agrees with the preceding one. However, she called the doctor "rattle doctor" and named a variety of different objects contained in the outfit sack. She said:

The rattle doctor comes in and sits down and spreads out his things on the floor. Before spreading out his things he holds both hands out four times to the East, four times to the South, four times to the West, four times to the North, four times to the sky. Then four times he aims to pick up things. No one walks on the rattle doctor's things for the people are afraid. He sprinkles his things with dope, with waterdog and snake blood. Men and women and children, all get sick if they touch his things. That is why, when he is through doctoring he hangs his bundle where no one can touch it, in a little special house. And if someone wishes to kill him he can burn that house and the doctor will die. Sometimes, they say, the doctor will hide his things in the mountains when no one can see him do it.

The doctor has in his bundle a rattlesnake head, a bull snake head, angelica, flint, and a rock about eight inches long with a hole in it like a pipe. There is a long white flint, and a short flint, and a mole skin in which is put something which sounds like water when it is struck against the hand. There are all kinds of bones --a human bone.

The rattle doctor comes in and sits down and takes a rattle from the bundle and shakes it lightly and utters a long drawn sound and starts praying to Coyote, to the stars, to help so the sick man will get well, and to the sun, to the North Pole.⁶⁶ He doesn't mention the South Pole: that is not right, if he mentions the South Pole he is going to kill the sick person. He will kill the sick person if he sings wrong. Then the doctor starts singing. He sings one song for about an hour. He sings about a dozen songs. He sings until dinner time, then eats with the family, then sings till supper, eats, and then sings half the night. He doctors for four days.

The power and the right to practice as a singing doctor was handed down in hereditary lines from generation to generation. A great deal of time had to be devoted to the learning of the profession; one informant said that it took four years. The danger of making mistakes and the decimation of the Indian population through contact with Europeans were both factors in extinguishing the singing doctor tradition.

TLM elaborated on the destruction of the doctor's outfit and its inheritance:

When a singing doctor died they didn't burn his things. That's against the rules. They always threw them in the

river in some deep place, provided someone in the family didn't inherit the position. In that case they went to him. In inheritance of the position a nephew was preferred --usually a sister's son. Next in line to the sister's son would be a grandson. A brother's son did not mean so much to him. If the person didn't show good sense, it would go to some other relative.

The end of a specific line of doctors was remembered by CWF.

When Fred de Sheel died they threw his rattle in the water because they didn't know how to handle it, the songs, or the rules. That was six or seven years ago in Lakewood.

In 1940 the Pomo still talked about the cures effected by singing doctors, and how much more powerful they were than the dream doctors. Both KLM and JLF claimed they were cured by Captain Bill, whose Indian name was 'mt-sí,' and NFF said she was cured by Billy Rice in Guidyville. Rice was in his eighties in 1940 and was acknowledged as the last of the traditional doctors of this type.

According to TLM sweat baths were sometimes used when curing the sick:

Some regular singing doctors did it. Sometimes it was done by men who were not doctors. They used to make a little excavation in the ground and build a big fire, and put rocks in. Then when it was hot they bedded it down with leaves, then wild grass. They'd let you lie down in that. You'd get steamed up good. You would be covered with something to keep the heat in and you'd sweat.⁶⁷

In contrast to the singing doctors, the dream or sucking doctors received their power and rules of practice in dreams. These doctors stemmed from the Maru cult, the leaders of which claimed their authority through dreams and sometimes doctored too. Both men and women became doctors. If they disobeyed their dreams they became sick or died. As SFM put it:

I know for a fact that some who went against it [i.e., dreamed about doctoring and then refused to doctor] and didn't do as they were told, died. One of these was CEF from Hopland.

DNF, who said she cured FGF by rubbing her, spoke of how she began having 'matu dreams' and received the power to doctor people:

It was even before I had all that trouble that time. Then I got sick and had a big sickness so that I almost died. One night I came for a walk up here [guidiville rancheria]. I looked back and it seemed as though I could look into the house and there were two coffins there. It meant some awful trouble, I knew, but I wouldn't believe in it. Then after that I was up here again and I could see a light streaming down from the sky. It seemed to touch the ground over there near the hospital. I stood up here looking at it. I knew that it was a sign that I would get well. I told that old woman about it, and about the two coffins too. She's the only one I told about it--I didn't even tell this man here [her husband]. Sure enough, my daughters died within a year of each other. But I got well. After that I had dreams all the time, almost every night.

The sucking doctors sang, and used herbs to cure their patients, and their method might also include cutting the patient with a sharp flint or piece of glass to let the blood bring the sickness out of the body, sucking the pain out without cutting, or rubbing the afflicted area.

CWF remembered a time when she was cured by a sucking doctor:

I felt a pain in my shoulder. My mother said, "Maybe you ate some meat or rabbit when you were sick." I laughed. My mother brought an Indian doctor. She said, "You've been eating rabbit. You've got a worm on your shoulder-blade." She sucked four times on the shoulderblade. She sang and sang. She tried to spit it out, and she choked and choked. She tried to vomit but couldn't so my mother put a poker on her back, and she spit it out. She took it [the worm] in the palm of her hand and showed it and put a hot coal on it. "This is the kind of worm in a deer's head. You ate deer, got worm. You young people don't believe; Coyote make you sick that way."

In the above case sickness was caused by breaking the tabu against eating meat while menstruating. Another specific case of breaking an extension of the same tabu was mentioned by FGF. She remembered her uncle telling her how he became sick from fishing while his wife was menstruating, and he saw a big water snake in Blue Lake. A singing doctor cured him and afterwards he became a Maru.

Sucking doctors were also reputed to be able to cure sickness caused by poisoning. FGF related the following case:

My big grandson was taken to Lake County when he was about nine months old. When we came back we were going to bathe him. His mouth and eyes were all twisted. The old man doctored him and said, "I think a screech owl caught a snake and flew over the child." This did good, but the boy got it again when about one year old. So we got a sucking doctor. She said, "I think he touch poison somewhere. Better get old Fred de Sheel from Redwood Valley." He came. He called four times, and dumped things.⁶⁸ He said, "I know what is wrong. I think I'll try with the poison. The boy went where some poison is." He sang. The boy got stiff and didn't know anything. He sang, doctoring him four times. He sang to make him wake up. He sang four songs and the boy woke up. He doctored him and sang, and sang, and sang. That old man cured him good and he never got sick again.

The relationship between the sucking and singing doctors is apparent from the above. Although the informant's family believed that either could cure a case of poisoning, the singing doctor was considered more effective.

A skeptical view of the doctors' powers was given by another informant, KLM:

Captain Bill was an old doctor. He died because he had a broken fish hook lodged in his throat. He ate a fish head which contained a broken fish hook and it got caught in Bill's throat. I went to see him with Whispering Charlie. I saw Whispering Charlie put a thorn in his mouth which looked like a fish hook. Then he sucked the fish hook out of Bill's throat. Whispering Charlie was a fake doctor.

Although KLM said he did not believe in Pomo doctors because his grandfather had told him all their tricks, both he and his wife claimed to have been cured by Captain Bill on another occasion.

Sucking doctors specifically named by informants were QNM from Cloverdale, and DNF,⁶⁹ FQF, and ODF, all from Guidiville.

In the late 1920's a Wintun Indian doctor, about fifty years old, came to work in the Ukiah Valley and provided a new influence on the already established traditions of doctoring. A description of the way in which this man practiced came from TLM:

Albert Thomas, this Indian doctor who came twelve or thirteen years ago from Shasta County, sucked without cutting and he sang. He used no rattle and had no dance. He smoked. That is the new dream style in Shasta County, and he almost introduced that here. He'd take a pipe and smoke. About a year ago I was in Lake County: I heard he was going to doctor, so I stayed to watch him. He started in by smoking. He had a young fellow there to help him, and the young fellow lit the pipe. Both were sitting on boxes. The patient was lying on the ground. Then the doctor smoked for a considerable time with his eyes shut. Finally he started to talk, in his own language I imagine. And the young fellow interpreted to us in English, "He say one time long ago this woman walk around old spring side in the mountains some place round here. That old spring always bad for woman. When woman got monthlies it's pretty bad. Make 'em sick. Something live in that spring make this woman sick." The doctor was now supposed to be in a trance, and he was seeing all these things. This doctor was quite an actor. He played the part well. After he got through talking, he started to sing, still with his eyes shut. He stopped singing for a while, got down on his knees and started to suck on this lady right on the chest. Then he rolled her head over and sucked on one temple, then on the other. He was only four or five minutes doing that. He sat upright and started to strangle and cough, and acted as if he was going to choke to death. Then he held out his left hand cupped, with his eyes still shut, and he spit a lot of saliva into his cupped left hand. In this sputum there was a small dark object. The interpreter said, "He say him suck it out. Woman going to be all right now." Then he got back on his box, and he started to sing again. After he sang a few songs he opened his eyes. He wanted it to appear that he came out of his trance then. Without any further ceremony he quit.

People watched him, and some tried to imitate him when he went away. ODF was influenced, but she didn't follow him. Some sang Dr. Thomas' songs for a while. They imitated him enough to tell just what ails a person. That was his system. He had power. I think his power must have come from dreams.

None of the doctors smoke here now. But in Modoc and Shasta and Trinity Counties the Wintun doctors smoked. Their method was to smoke when they doctored. This took well in spots in the Pomo territory, but it didn't last. Here there was only an influence on some individuals. No one copied Dr. Thomas completely, but some imitated him in part.

Payment for doctoring services was traditionally in beads, and sometimes the doctor asked for a feast or a dance to celebrate the cure of a sick person. In 1940 dollars were used, instead of beads, since the latter were becoming increasingly scarce. The amount paid to the doctor varied according to the family's ability to pay; informants estimated that about 1,000 or 1,200 beads might be given, others said between \$20 and \$40 worth of beads was an average payment. If the patient did not get better the doctor returned half the payment to the family. Baskets, blankets or food were also given. SLF spoke about the payment of doctors as follows:

In the old days a doctor was given both good and rough beads. If they wanted the best doctoring for their own person, they gave the best. When the doctor sees the best, he does his best. Otherwise he doesn't care if the patient dies.

On another occasion the same informant elaborated on the subject:

A "real" doctor works four days; then two days later he comes and gets the beads which are hung up near the sick --about 3,000 or 4,000 beads. "One day doctor" is paid after he is through, about 1,000 beads. The reason the four-day doctor gets more is because he goes without meat so long. The doctor will return all the beads to them if the patient dies later. Then the people will give him about half back again.

Dances were given both to celebrate the recovery and to help cure a person. They would be arranged by the relatives of someone who had been ill. As TIM put it: If a person promises a dance he must go through with it or he will die. This is true of any dance, whether ordered by a doctor or not." The dance, held in the round house, lasted four days and was run by the man who led the singing. NWM said of the dances:

There are three or four different kinds of dances with different songs. You may dance one kind, then a different set. All in one night if you wish. Not all people know how to dance--there are four or five here yet who can do this. There is still one old man who is a good dancer in Hopland, KKM.

His wife, CWF, added: "A special man sings at the dances, and sometimes dances. There are no singers here now but there are two in Lake County." During the dancing beads were thrown onto the floor, and later collected as payment by the man who kept the floor clean and tended the fire. At the end of the four-day period a feast or picnic was given for those who had participated.

The use of herbs and other remedies to cure sickness were common knowledge. Doctors could incorporate this in their practice; other people claimed special power in these methods of curing from teaching in their family and dreaming. Barrett (1952:360) states that anyone could learn how to use the common medicines. The following list of treatments was given by informants, none of which are mentioned in Barrett (1952:365-371):

<u>Sickness</u>	<u>Treatment</u>	<u>Informant</u>
Arthritis	wormwood poultice	Mrs. GNF
Eye sickness	willow bushes boiled in milk, put on eyes	KLM ⁷⁰
	acorns, or white rock	QTM
Headache	elder blossom leaf tea	NWM
Hemorrhage	scraped deer horn ⁷¹	NWM
Itch	sheep faeces, boiled and drunk	DQM
Poison oak	boiled manzanita leaves applied to skin	EFF
Rheumatism	bath in Keyser's Hot Springs, near Cloverdale	BCF
'Sick in stomach'	suck stick of salt crystals	BCF
Snake bite	sugar pine nuts, rubbed on bite	CWF
Syphilis	three varieties of plants boiled to make infusion ⁷²	ETF
Whooping cough, Measles	sheep faeces, boiled and drunk	FGF

Let us now take the case of an individual doctor, a woman called ODF, who was practicing her profession during the 1930's. Both her mother's brother and her grandfather had been doctors before her. Ever since she could remember she had had dreams, though she never talked about who gave her her power, and for eight years before she began to practice she kept the

fact that she was becoming a doctor secret. To become an acknowledged doctor she had to go through a special ceremony, at which there was dancing. An element of this ceremony was remembered by CWF:

There are four sticks with white stripes on them. These are held in the hand and then the dancers dance around the person [the one becoming a doctor] while holding these sticks.

ODF claimed clairvoyance about who was sick, what rules they had broken, and who would come to visit her. When doctoring she went into a trance, and, as ETF put it:

When ODF is working on a patient she converses with a spirit that directs her what to do, and if she were not in a trance she would be unable to understand the language with which she communicates with the spirit.

Informants called her "dream doctor," "sucking doctor," "maru doctor," "hand doctor," and said she combined "a little of all." Their reactions to her ranged from considering her a good doctor to thinking she might hypnotize people and was crazy and should be locked up. Others feared she might poison them. SLF, who was afraid of ODF's power, had this to say:

ODF, the woman doctor of Kelseyville, is not a sucking doctor. She just feels the patient for the pain, sings four songs, and smokes a pipe. She can poison too, and when she doctors she always claims that the patient has been poisoned, but she never names the poisoner. She claims that she learned a lot about doctoring from an old relative who had been an old time doctor.

ODF started doctoring in about 1935. Her method of curing included singing and pressing her patients with her hands. While doctoring she smoked a pipe, or someone smoked constantly to keep the room full of smoke. Any brand of tobacco or cigarettes could be used. She treated a patient for four consecutive days in the daytime, and observed tabus on meat, grease and water during this period. She claimed to be able to cure cases of poisoning, measles, influenza and double pneumonia. The latter she called a "spiritual pain" and one she could deal with in a couple of days if she got the case when the disease was in its early stages. The cure was generally effected by removing an object from the patient's body, such as a burr or a snake. However, she conceded that for operations and setting bones white doctors were better than Indian doctors.

ETF once spoke of a cure she had witnessed:

Several years ago a man was taking water snakes out of a well. He was unaware of the fact that his wife was giving birth to a new baby, and therefore unwittingly broke the tabu which prohibits a man to be around water while his wife is giving birth. Ever since then, the man had been sick and he finally went to the hospital to try to get relief. The white doctors examined him, but could do nothing for him. Finally the man resorted to ODF for a cure. She took me along with her to smoke while she effected the cure.

ETF said that ODF pressed the man, and took a small live snake out of his arm. She actually saw the snake come out. She also saw what appeared to be a larger snake crawling around inside the man's thigh, but ODF didn't take that one out. Ever since the treatment described the man had been well.

Another informant (MMF), an old lady in her eighties, talked about her current doctoring by ODF:

I am going to an Indian doctor, a woman doctor. She is a new doctor with a new style. I can get up a little now. She is a good doctor, an Indian doctor. [Informant then showed how the doctor motioned with her hands and touched the patient.] She uses singing. This is for four days in the daytime. She eats no meat, no grease and she does not drink water, nor does the patient. She doctors the patient while the patient is in bed. A long time ago I was swimming and saw something in the water-- when a woman is sick she does not go near the water. I used to wash for a white woman down there. I didn't want to wash [because she was menstruating and would break the tabu], but the white woman told me to. I got my skirt in the water, that made me sick. The water came up this way, like a wave, and there was the sound of the ocean also. I felt sick. I fell over. The white woman asked me what was the matter. I say, "Nothing." I felt sick. The white woman did not see anything. I saw a big horse which went back into the water. That made me sick. I almost died then. I was a young girl then. I have been sick all the time since. I am old now. This doctor woman here sings. We never go out when she doctors. She sang. My whole body worked. "What's the matter with me?" I say. The doctor woman laughed. She said, "You've got something wrong in your body; you were sick a long time ago." She found that out. I didn't tell her till afterwards. She

is not a sucking doctor. She treated me, something came out. It looked like a snake. She said, "Water snake got in you and made you sick." It came out the big toes. I was asleep. It was a big one. She said, "Throw away your shoes and stockings and you will feel better." I feel better--a little better. That was a month ago. I paid her ten dollars in white man's money. There are other doctors. This one is good. She smokes a pipe. She smokes after doctoring.

ODF told MMF never to wear shoes or stockings or they would make her sick again.

During April, 1938, a four-day dance and feast were given for CNM who was cured by ODF. The payment she received, according to SLF, was, "two new blankets, a stick basket about eight inches high, and beads--rough and good, and American money: both beads and greenbacks were in the basket." Another informant (CWF) commented upon the clothes worn by the dancers: the men wore feather skirts from waist to ankles ('i?ci? '), on their heads they wore yellowhammer feathers (so-la-pa), which were made into headdresses ('ga't'as') with wire; in the center, at the back of the head, were some small blue feathers from the breast of the blue jay ('ga'tse'). The men wore the headdress over a hairnet. About seventy people were there for the picnic, which consisted of American food: pies, cakes and stew. Before the feast could begin ODF took a little bit of every type of food on the table on a paper plate and then set it on fire.

In 1940 there was promise that the tradition of doctoring would not end with ODF, for a new young woman doctor was given a special doctoring dance in the spring of that year. The girl, a high school graduate (called ETF), had been ill and both Indian and white doctors tried to help her. The history of her sickness was recounted by ODF as follows:

ETF got sick, and although ODF knew all along what was wrong with her, ETF went to a white doctor. She was given hypodermics on her leg and the leg got very sore.⁷³ ETF went to ODF, who thought it would be a very simple matter for the white doctor to drain the leg. ODF told the white doctor what to do, but he didn't follow her advice. They took ETF to the hospital. It seemed as though she had appendicitis. They didn't help ETF at all in the hospital and finally she came home. She got terribly ill, and her whole body shook as though she were in constant spasms. ODF was called, and after having a very difficult time with ETF, she cured her.

ETF had to spend time in the hospital twice, and in between was doctoring by her own people. Her dance took place before she returned to the

hospital the second time. Although ODF claimed to have cured the girl, other Pomo doctors had doctored her too: many people considered DCM as the one who had healed her. As DVF pointed out:

When ETF was sick, lots of doctors doctored her. She had white doctors, but they didn't know what to do. One day I went down to see her and told ETF's mother that maybe she was sick with some Indian sickness that the white doctors didn't know about. I recommended that they try DCM from Pinoletown, a singing doctor. So they did. DQM came over and doctored her too.

Those who did not believe in Indian doctoring considered the reason for ETF's becoming a doctor was that her family were bad people and she was being punished for it. In fact, ODF was a deciding influence. ETF did not want to become a doctor, but was told by the older woman that if she kept refusing to do so she would get sicker and die. Two Lake County Pomo doctors, DVM and KBM, said they would cure the girl so she would not have to take up their profession but ODF would not let them for she thought that they would poison her.

The girl's mother talked about a day when both her daughter and ODF were at the coast. A girl had drowned, and her body lay on the shore. A crowd had gathered. She said: "Both ODF and ETF heard the girl groan, something which was inaudible to everyone standing around. Only doctors can hear dead people groan." Another strange occurrence was recounted by CWF:

One day ETF was swimming and saw a fish with the head of a woman and it frightened her. She was very troubled by what she had seen and one night she began to scream and say that if she didn't become a doctor, the fish would come after her and kill her. Then she got very sick, and DCM was called in to cure her.

ETF constantly told her nine-year-old niece, KCF, that she too would one day be a doctor. ETF said the child was destined to become a doctor because she saw things, such as a fish swimming on dry land and a 'cotton-tail' standing on his hind legs carrying wood. ODF agreed with her protege, saying that undoubtedly KCF would become very ill when she grew up, and "they will have a hard time making her recover." Also she said that the little girl was born with a veil (caul) which was another indication of her destiny.

During the first two weeks of April 1940, ETF had her doctoring dance and shared it with SCF. It was given twice, each time for four evenings on consecutive days. The repetition of the sequence was insisted upon by ODF because too many mistakes were made the first time, and there were too many

drunk people around. CNM prepared the round house and built a new drum for the occasion. Dancing began when people were ready, any time between 7.30 and 10 p.m. Spectators numbered up to a hundred people each night. ETF wore a dress which she had dreamed about--it was made of white buckskin, the skirt was almost down to her ankles and had a bordering fringe at the bottom and on the jacket. The front of the dress was decorated with abalone ornaments. On her feet she wore moccasins.

CHM was the chief singer, and at other times three different men took over from him. On the last night there was a special dance to finish the series of dances, and to doctor the feathers. A feast was held at the CNM's house after the dance was satisfactorily completed.

ETF learned to dance by watching others and had only one night's coaching in dancing from ODF before the event. On the first night of the second series of dances ETF was ill; CWF explained this by saying that she was not doing all she should do, for she was supposed to sing four songs as well as dance, but she refused to sing so she was sick. A different explanation was offered by ODF, who said it was a good sign,

There was someone in the round house who was sick and as soon as ETF entered, in her doctor dance, she took that sickness out of that person and into herself. When she threw up it was that sickness she was vomiting. Once she got rid of it, everything was all right.

Before entering the round house CHM led the dancers in a procession, stopping everyone at four different places for a short dance, he kept time with his split stick and sang. The singers and dancers entered from the south entrance. The singers clustered round the center pole and sang four short songs before the dancing began. The first dancer to begin was CNM, who entered backwards, bent over almost to the ground. His feather coat showed first through the doorway. Once inside, he turned around and began dancing around the east side of the fire. He was closely followed by ODF, who also backed into the round house, turned around, and danced around the fire. The singers continued singing until the dancers almost reached them, then they stopped. The two dancers took their places with their backs turned to the fire. The singing resumed, and the second couple backed into the round house. That pattern was followed by each couple: PEM and ETF, UNM and FGF, IIM and CWF. Once all four couples were inside, the women standing close to the south side of the center pole, facing it, and the men standing just beyond them, also facing the pole, the singers started again and four more short dances were completed. Then they all filed out of the round house and through the south door. After the same sequence had been repeated with different participants for the other young girl, there was general dancing. It was nearly one o'clock when the dancing ended.

Each woman, in addition to the usual headdress over the forehead, wore a tall bushy crown of turkey feathers on her head. All the men, except

CNM, had smeared their faces with charcoal, as well as their legs and chests.

The same sequence of dances was repeated each of the four nights, until the last night at which a special dance to doctor the feathers for ETF was done. Since in the first series of dances mistakes had been made, everyone was most anxious that all should go well on the last night of the second series. CHM sang. The men were led in by CNM and were followed by the women. Facing south they all raised their bundles of feathers and lowered them to the ground four times. With a half-dancing, half-walking step they filed completely around the four beams supporting the roof of the round house, back to the south. They stopped facing east where they raised the bundles four times, continued another one-and-a-half circuits of the round house, lifted the outfits to the north, moved round again, lifted them to the west, then the south. The same pattern was followed and the outfits raised three times to each point of the compass, then twice, and finally once. After the final round the dancers returned to their starting point and faced south, here they again raised their bundles of feathers and lowered them to the ground four times. They left the outfits on the ground in front of the fire. Then the entire group retreated towards the center pole where they all bent forward, men and women, dancers and singers, and cried out four times together. The dancers picked up their outfits, and everyone left. The dance was over, and ETF was now acknowledged as a doctor in her own right.

APPENDIX I

TABUS

Among the Pomo, if tabus or rules were violated, death or other misfortune such as sickness occurred. Fines, in beads, were collected by some Marus for these offenses. The following tabus were specifically mentioned by informants. Absence of a tabu on the chart may not be significant, and may only represent the informants' failure to mention it.

Tabu	Maru *†	Kuksu †	Outfit and Maru Doctors **	Doctor Dance *	Poisoner
Meat	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Grease	yes	yes	yes	yes	-
Water	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Sexual relations	yes	yes	-	-	-
Husband of pregnant woman could not be present	yes	-	-	-	-
Pregnant woman could not be present	yes	-	-	-	-

* For the duration of ceremonies

† Tabu extended to leader, singers, and dancers

** For four days

APPENDIX II

DANCE AT UPPER LAKE RESERVATION, JULY 29, 1939

Ca. 10 pm. There were five singers gathered around the pole on the dance grounds, and all but CHM,* the leader, wore hats. CHM sat on a chair (which he had jokingly said he would not sell for five dollars), one man sat on a small bench, and the others on boxes.

CHM and CWM ate angelica root; when BWA [B. W. Aginsky] was in back later he saw them all, the young fellows (the dancers) and the singers too so far as he could determine, eating the root. Then CHM and CWM rubbed their hands together; later CHM rubbed his face and neck with both hands, then spit or blew into his hands and rubbed them together.

Then there was a silent (although his lips moved) invocation from CHM during which he raised his split stick rattle four times, shaking it so that it barely sounded.

Then there was a song in four parts, during which CHM and three others struck their split stick rattles (held in the right hands) against their left hands which were palm up at about waist level. They struck them frequently but lightly--very lightly. At times the song became louder and more rapid and there were pauses between the parts. During these CHM called out to certain members of the audience. Once he said, "I'm glad you could come. I stopped by but couldn't see you."

The first four songs were followed by four more, or perhaps they were all part of a series of eight for there was no particular pause between four and five. After the fifth song JAM made comments and spoke, calling aloud in Indian as he did at times during some of the pauses about this time in the dance. CHM said in reply, joking, "I thought this was Upper Lake. People don't talk like that [that dialect] here." After the fifth song there was a longer pause.

During the sixth song I noticed that there were six singers; there may have been for a while earlier. During the songs the singers moved as if using a rattle, even those who did not.

About this time, during the seventh song, a piece of burlap was hung from a rope to shelter the men dancers. After the eighth song there was a long, long pause. At the end of most songs, probably all, CHM called "Ho - ho!"

* The usual informant code is employed here; underlined initials are those of ethnographers.

An American flag was stretched westward from the top of the dance pole. A smaller American flag was hung from a branch near the south side of the dance floor, well above a person's head. Both flags had the stripes horizontal to the ground. There was a felt hat hanging half-way up on the south side of the dance pole which remained there throughout the dancing.

The floor of the dance hall was wet sand which must have been wet shortly before. BWA said it was cold on the feet and hard on them.

The singers formed something of a semicircle to the south of pole, and east and west of it. The singing at this time, and throughout the whole night, dancing included, was informal in attitude insofar as CHM, the leader, was quite willing to joke during the pauses, or to call to members of the audience. George said they were "teasing each other."

10:44 pm. Singing started again with the striking of rattles (always the split stick rattle was used). A pause; singing; a pause. Then CHM said, "Ladies, ladies, ladies." After these two songs were sung, sitting (all songs heretofore had been sung sitting), all the singers stood and started singing, loudly, with the rapid and loud striking of rattles. A slight pause was followed by a song and the appearance of two women from the back (east) who walked out and stood facing the pole with their backs to the audience. After a slight pause the singers started, and three more women joined those before the pole. A sixth followed, putting on the headdress as she came from the audience to the south. Most of the others had the headdresses on. Pause; and then the fourth standing song was sung while the women shoved each other around more or less and formed a semicircle around the south side of the pole, to the east part. The burlap was dropped, and from behind it appeared the men dancers who started coming out in line one behind the other. They formed a line behind the women, with their backs to the audience and facing the pole.

The leader had a complete headdress and white underwear under the feather garment which was only in back and bare above the waist. Two others wore a headdress, shirt, thin white trousers, and a feather garment. A fourth had underwear instead of a feather garment, otherwise he was similar to the two just mentioned.

After a pause, while the singing began again, the men circled twice counterclockwise (or was the second intended to be erratic dancing?; this is possible on the basis of the later pattern), faced the women, and then men and women turned and faced the audience.

A slight pause; then the above movement was repeated except that there was only one counterclockwise movement. During all these movements the men faced the women very briefly. After another slight pause, the fourth movement after the arrival of the men on the dance floor began. The singers started first, and as the song quickened the men danced and the women faced the audience. Then the men moved counterclockwise and lined up facing the women for a moment. Then they also turned to face the audience

and dance. There followed a very slight pause (part of the movement above?) and then the men moved counterclockwise very slowly. Then they lined up and faced the audience, and so did the women. In all these movements, before the men started their counterclockwise movement, both men and women would stand facing the singers and the pole.

Then there was a pause, singing, and the men move counterclockwise and face the women who turn to face them. Then the men face front and dance in line. There were two whistles at this time. A slight pause; singing; men go counterclockwise and dance as before. (Now there are three men with double flutes. During the dances men hold feathers in their hands, not this dance alone.) There were then three repetitions of the movement just described, making four. During these the men first face the women, then the audience.

A pause; then a movement similar to the above but with a slower, higher step. (One woman laughed so hard that she stopped dancing and turned her back on the audience.)

A pause; dancing repeated; noticed two flutes. (The woman has recovered from laughter by now.) Another pause; dancing repeated with men counterclockwise, then lining up to face the audience. A slow, high step, as in the last few dances. A pause; repeated; now there are three flutes.

11:01. A pause; repeated except that the step is now a low one.

At 11:02 the dance broke up to be resumed later. The men went to the west and back, and the women to the east and back, except for one who joined the audience in front (south).

During this pause the singers left the pole and the burlap was put up again to protect the men dancers. CHM's chair and one box were left in sight, BWM said the others were shoved out of sight behind the burlap. The split stick rattles were laid beside the pole with one leaning against it.

During this pause CWM said, "Don't get tired, folks. This is an all night dance, till sun-up. About one-thirty, two o'clock, we're going to have a little sandwich, acorn soup, and pinole." The Indians and we (about a half dozen whites were at the dance, and they came early) talked and a few people moved about. Children were all about, laughing; it all seemed very informal. BWM guessed there were about sixty Indians there as spectators; including the singers, dancers, and those out back, about 75-80 all told.

11:13. CWM came out and sat down and called, "Helema, helema, helema, [ladies], no sleep, no sleep." He was joined by CW and others. They talked and laughed. CWM again called, "Helema, helema, helema." They were joined by TSM and REM. All talked and laughed. They sat on the boxes which had been brought back from behind the edge of the burlap.

11:16. Men's headdresses could be seen above and behind the burlap. Then the singing starts on the second series of dances with the singers

seated. Only CHM sings (some of the others laugh while talking among themselves). CHM shakes his rattle lightly in the air at times; his voice rises, falls, rises, and he strikes with his rattle on his left hand as the others join in. Then they shout "Ho" as they stop.

11:18. Singing starts again and all sing, striking their rattles on their hands. It stops, and BWA and others shout "Oh." (BWM says "Ho," CHM says "Oh.") CHM starts the singing alone, lifts and shakes his rattle lightly, and then the others join in, striking their rattles against their left hands. A slight break, and all start singing again, striking their rattles on their hands. Then the singers and BWA shout "Oh."

CWM goes behind the burlap while the five others sing (one was actually behind the burlap). CWM used the drum for a few beats at this time. It was north of the pole. The singing stops, with "Ho." CHM talks with the singers and says, "We got to wait till daylight, till sun comes up."

11:27. Singing starts again, with CHM alone at first, shaking his rattle in the air at times. Then striking it on his hand as the others join in. CWM is still absent. A slight break, and then all sing and strike rattles on their hands.

There is a pause, during which the singers stand up, placing the boxes up against the pole and standing behind them facing the pole. CHM says to BWA, who was bent forward, "Doc, don't go to sleep. No sleep on grounds [or you will be] put with helema, helema, helema."

Singing starts with singers standing. Two women appear from the left, then one from the front who puts on headdress as she arrives (same one as earlier). A pause; then the women line up east of the pole and facing it, the men on the west, facing it. The men dance facing the pole and other women straggle in. A pause; repeated. A pause; repeated. On the fourth dance the men come forward, moving one behind the other counterclockwise, and line up behind the women (south). All face the pole and dance.

There were eight women, and six men, two of whom were bare to the waist, one wore an undershirt, and the others shirts, headdresses, and feather garments, as before.

There is a pause; then singing; all face the pole. The men start dancing first, moving counterclockwise. The women turn, and the men dance out of formation and then front. All this time a woman on the east (she came in and stood on the east part of the dance floor) threw beads at one of the dancers. Then a short break; then the men move counterclockwise and dance facing front. A slight break; repeated. Men face women after counterclockwise circuit and then immediately front; the women also face front. In this part of the dance this seemed normal. A pause; singing; the men face the pole, the women are slightly irregular. A pause; singing; finally the dancers start, men and women facing each other. Then the men move counterclockwise and line up facing the women; then front. Pause;

repeat (one flute). Pause. Singing. Then louder, and the dancers begin. (One man dancer went backward through the line of women and returned. There is a slight break; then the men moved counterclockwise; and then the men and women faced the audience. CHM said, "Give them a hand." (Applause.) Repeat. Pause. Applause.

CHM sings, then the other singers and the men and women dance facing each other. A slight break. Men move counterclockwise, line up, and all face forward. Pause. Repeat. Pause. Repeat. (Three flutes noticed.) They leave the floor as before; put up burlap.

In the foregoing dances, to the best of my knowledge the men always faced the pole in the pauses, most of the women doing the same but at times being a little irregular in formation. Also, the men would face the women briefly after their counterclockwise circuit and then turn to face the audience (south). At this time (perhaps always) the women also turned to face the audience.

The women in dancing rocked a bandana between two hands, an end held in each. All the women had their hair hanging down. At times the men made the feathers in their headdresses quiver. The men wore netted caps with feather-like projections rising from them, usually two on each side in the back. In the center back there was a bunch of brown feathers spreading out like a small feather duster.

12:05 am. This set of dances started with four singers and three rattles. CHM said, "Where are all the ladies? This is a ladies' song. You are supposed to sing." There was no response except giggles. When the first woman appeared CHM said, "Now come on," and four women came out. One sat on the ground, one on the bench of the spectators, and two on a box. A fifth woman finally appeared. Then the sixth and seventh women appeared and these two sat on another box. Thirty seconds later an eighth woman appeared and stood up until Tomashile (Tomashele?) gave her his box to sit on. The women were talking, joking, giggling. Then the men were dancing behind the burlap, their feet and headdresses visible. This phase ended at 12:16 pm and BWA thought that it consisted of three series of four dances by men behind the burlap.

Now the women stand up and the burlap is removed. The women form a straight line facing the pole. The singers are also standing now. The men are dancing in place behind the burlap. One made a mistake and got ready to come out but the music stopped. CHM said one more to go.

The women faced the singers in a close line. The men came out singly and formed close behind. According to BWA the term "forty-nine dance" was used as meaning old. Were these, he questions, pre-Marū?

Throughout the entire dance the women were in a row stretching east-west, and the men formed a row south of them in parts of the dances. There were four men and five women now. A pause. The men and women danced facing the pole. CHM said something about being supposed to face the other way but no one did. Then the men moved counterclockwise, lined up for a moment behind the women, all facing the pole, and then both men and women faced forward.

A slight break; then men counterclockwise slowly. Men and women faced each other and one of the women dancers came front then and threw beads on (or near) one of the men dancers. Then she went back. Then the men went counterclockwise, and men and women danced facing front (south). Slight break. Men counterclockwise, facing women. Same woman dancer came front then and threw beads on the same man (JMM), while keeping time to the dancing. I think the dancers turned front here.

A slight break. Men counterclockwise, face women, then front. The women remained in front through this.

In the preceding dances it was JMM's mother who first threw beads at him. Then the woman dancer, who was not JMM's wife. JMM's sister called him "Butler."

12:33 am. They started to sing and men started to dance. Stopped. Started again. Stopped. (Were these mistakes, false starts?) Then they started again and the men went counterclockwise and lined up, and men and women all faced front, the men breaking line as they danced. Three flutes. Ended with "Hoo, Hoo." Applause. CHM said, "Give them a hand."

A pause; then movement as above three times repeated, making four. In the second and third times two men went around counterclockwise during the time the others danced more or less irregularly. In the fourth time two men singly broke to the right (east).

12:39 am. A pause. Fifth movement similar. An Indian from the west side joined for a moment (drunk?). SFM came and joined the dance a moment. During the dances he often danced about eight feet from the pole, then moved in close and called out loudly. CW said, "My god, look at him! A little corn in this dance."

Then the dancers left and sat down in back behind the burlap which had been left down. The singers sat and smoked. At 12:30 there were forty-five Indian spectators (estimated).

During the intermission CHM talked with someone in the crowd about the food--surf fish, etc.--they were going to have. "They want Ukiah dances now. They want JMM, they want SFM. The Ukiah got no singer. I going to do my best. When [at] Upper Lake I going to sing all bum songs. CWM says he is going to join the Ukiah dances. He don't want to dance with Upper Lake." CWM smiled.

At this intermission a young man came out and picked up what beads he could. He also watered the floor a little from a pail (or something of that nature). CHM talked about the Gilak dance, ". . . always got to pay. We don't dance that dance for nothing. That's the only dance we're superstitious about. We don't want to make monkey out of that dance. We got to have money for that dance." Then CHM put up the burlap shelter.

12:56 am. CHM called vigorously seven times; he sat in his chair leisurely while he called, laughing and joking. The singers gathered. The audience sits around during the intermission. The boxes (seats) are not removed.

1:00 am. CHM starts singing; he strikes his hand with his rattle and others join in. All are sitting down. EC said, "[They] just sang the midnight song; there are different songs for different times." Pause. Still sitting, all sing and strike hands with rattles. End with "Ho," and applause. Pause. CHM says, "Halema, halema, halema. No fair, doc, going to sleep. We have a certain kind of trial here if you go to sleep. You are fined or dance." CHM sings, shakes the rattle in the air lightly several times. Then louder as he strikes his rattle against his left hand, and all sing for a very short moment. A slight break; then all sing and strike hands with rattles. This was a group of four songs.

BW moved to the east side to watch. BG called out that the white people could join in and rather urged it. RC, EA, and EC joined and one Indian woman, then other women, four, all lined up on the east. There was much applause for our dancers.

Singers stand. Sing. Four men dance on the west. Men and women both dance facing the pole. Pause. Twice repeated. BG says, "Watch the chute, number one coming out." There is laughter at this reference to dances at Ukiah powwow when man came singly from tule or redwood bark conical shelters. Pause, and the movement above is repeated, four times. Then the men dance out singly and line up behind the women, men and women facing the pole and dancing.

1:16 am. Pause. Singers stand. CHM sings, then strikes his left hand with his rattle and the other singers join in. The men and women dance. There is a slight break, and the men move counterclockwise and the women face front and dance. Repeated three times, making four. There is laughter and much applause. A pause. The men and women dance facing each other. Then the men move counterclockwise, and in a row they face the women momentarily and then face front. There is laughter throughout and much applause at the end. "Ukiah got them beaten." Hurrah for Red Handkerchief [RC]."

1:21 am. Singing. Men and women face each other and dance. The men move counterclockwise erratically, then face front. A slight break, then the men move counterclockwise--erratic--then front. Women face front throughout this. Pause. CHM sings, shakes rattle. Others join, rattles are struck on

hands. Men and women dance facing each other. A slight break. Men counterclockwise, then dance facing women briefly, all face front. All the time men danced holding feathers in both hands (see variants before).

1:25 am. Pause. Singing, men and women dance facing each other. Then men counterclockwise, and finally all face front. Pause. Voice: "Come on Lake County, Ukiah's getting away ahead of you." CHM sings, then the others join, men and women face each other and dance. A slight break. Men counterclockwise erratically, and finally face front. Pause. Repeated essentially. Men face women before facing front. Two flutes (was this true before?). Pause. Repeated with two flutes. (Did they face the women momentarily before turning front?) During these dances the men dancers hold feathers in both hands which are held in front with bent elbows, and the men stooped slightly forward. Pause. Men counterclockwise. Then a slow, high step--erratic--rather a hopping step. EAF dances it as it should be. This was twice repeated, with much applause at pauses. At the end of the third movement a woman's voice said, "Pretty good, isn't it?"

Intermission. A young man ran out and picked up some of the beads not found in the previous intermission. The audience just sat around. One drunk was noticed lying on the ground at the north end of the east bench.

1:45 am. BG said, "Don't get impatient; singers got to have half an hour recess; got to sing till sun-up. Dancers can change, but I got to tough it till sun-up. If I had five, six singers. . . . [?] Expecting someone from Ukiah but held up by American dance at Pinoleville. Think have big crowd by two, two-thirty. The majority of my dancers will be here. We doing pretty good. The whites nearly got the best of us."

2 am. BWA joined the singers and all sang, striking the hand with the rattle. Four men had rattles. Pause. Repeat. Long, long pause during which the singers joked and laughed. Repeat. Four rattles. Pause. Then CHM sang alone. Finally all joined for a moment and strike their rattles against their hands. Break. Then all sing with rattles. Pause. (During the preceding few minutes Indians helped men dancers to don head-dresses. Feathers on head set in after the headband was put on.) CHM again sings alone, then others join with the striking of rattles. Pause. All sing. Rattles. Drum. Pause. Singers stand and BG sings, shakes rattles, drum. Behind burlap the dancers dance. Rattles struck on hand and all sing. Pause. All sing; rattles; drum. Dancers dance behind burlap. Pause. Repeat. Pause. Repeat. One woman from east side comes and stands behind CHM who cries, "Lady, lady, lady, come on my ladies, come on." Then he starts singing immediately. Pause. Two women come. CHM calls, "Ladies," etc. Starts singing again and men come out on west and from behind the women--three men and three women. Pause. CHM sings and shakes rattle. Then all sing and strike rattles and men and women dance facing pole. Then a slight break and the men move counterclockwise. Then irregular, and men and women face front. A slight break. Repeated. (Women rock kerchief in both hands. Men are barefooted throughout the entire dance, all night. One man at this time held a feather in both

hands with the fingers of both hands together; one holds some leaves similarly; one has a feather in one hand and in the other a feather also.)

Pause. Previous movement repeated. Longer pause. CHM sings and shakes rattles. Men and women lined up, facing the pole. Others join and strike hands with rattles. Men dance. Slight break. Men counterclockwise, then men and women face forward. Pause. Men counterclockwise, face front irregularly. Women also face front.

2:25 am. Pause. Singing starts. Men irregularly counterclockwise, then face front in row. Women also face front. Two flutes. Pause. Repeat. Women quite active. Pause. All face pole. Repeat as above. (In the dances here, as the men lined up behind them the women would turn front and the men also. During all this time, the men and women faced the pole in the pauses. Repeated with pauses seven times. Two flutes were noticed in the 2nd, 4th, and 5th repetitions, none in the last two; uncertain about other two. Last two movements had a higher hopping step. Throughout the dances men wore feathers in back. At 2:30 am there were about 35 Indian spectators. SFM danced and sang during this part, as did no other.

2:37 am. Break-up and dancers retired as before. A young man picked up the beads that were left; some of them not picked up before.

CHM said, "Tired. I got to take my medicine. I got to sing till sun-up. I get a little rest, I all right." "I like to try gilak dance, but leader has to have nickels, dimes, make motions. A payable dance." "Got lots of new dancers. Got new dancer lying here (drunk). Don't think he'll get up till sun-up."

2:45 am. CHM picks up drunk and gets him over to the bench. HH arrives and CHM announces a new dancer, "now lots of pep." (BWM: "because HH somewhat stewed up.") CHM starts singing, sitting. A short pause, then others join with the striking of rattles (two others and BWA and man with drum). Long pause. CHM, "Ho, ho, ho, tell them" (that is, tell them to call "ho, ho" at end of dances). "Ho, ho" from some of the crowd. CHM tells BWA something in regard to striking rattle. All sing, strike rattles on hands. Pause. Boxes placed close to pole. CHM shakes rattle slightly and sings solo. The dancers dance behind the burlap and one of the singers also. (Five singers.) Pause. Repeated, dancers also. Sounds of flutes behind burlap. Pause. Burlap dropped by CHM. All sing standing striking rattles on hands, men dance on west, facing pole. In semicircle. Repeated three times with pauses. In third repetition one woman appeared and stood with her back to the audience as the men danced. Two others joined her, fixing their headbands on. One at a time the men danced in file, came forward, and stood behind the women, all facing the pole, both men and women.

3:13. Pause. CHM sings, shakes rattle, then strikes rattle on hand as other singers join and the men dance. A slight break, then the men move counterclockwise, break ranks, and finally face forward (south) in a row, as do the women. Pause. Twice repeated. Pause. CHM sings, shakes rattles.

Then strikes rattles as others sing and the men dance. A slight break. Men counterclockwise twice, then men and women face forward. The men line up behind the women (south) and then all turn to face the audience, throughout these movements. (The dancers were bent forward most of the time when they danced (the men). Men and women face the pole at times of pauses. Apparently the women face front when the men line up. Pause. CHM sang. Shakes rattle, then others sing, men dance, and flap feather out back. Slight break. Men counterclockwise, face forward (imitate birds?). Pause. Counterclockwise, one man twice; face forward. Pause. CHM sings, shakes rattle; others join and men dance. Men and women face pole. Slight break. Men counterclockwise, broken ranks, and men and women face forward. Pause. CHM sings. Then men and women face the pole. Break. Counterclockwise for men. Then men and women face forward. Three repetitions. Pause. False start. Then counterclockwise. Then finally face forward. Pause. Counterclockwise. Men irregular, finally all face forward. Four flutes. Three times repeated. In these last four movements all singers sang, there were four flutes (possibly none in third, feathers in headdress quivered at least in third). At this time the dancers either held a feather in both hands in front, with arms bent, or some feathers in each hand separately; one dancer had none.

3:33 am. Break up. Dancers back as before, men and women. Boy out looking for any beads missed.

AP estimated 23 Indian onlookers at 3:15 am and about 15 between the dance floor and road, etc. At 4:00 am, AP estimated 26, including singers and dancers, with 10 more toward the road.

Intermission. Drunk behind EWA talking to other Indian, swearing, "I can get it, over there"(drink?). "You the god damnedest fool I ever seen. You god damned old shit, where they gone? What they gone to do now?"

3:55 am. Singer sitting, man in dancer's headdress at drum (sitting), and five others. Sing. Strike rattle on hands. Drum. Pause. Repeat. Pause. Stand and put benches close to pole. AG, "New kind of dance, halema, halema, halema. Come on, Upper Lake. Don't let Ukiah fellows get away with you now." SFM said, "This is morning coming-up song." A long pause. BWM now on east side. Sing standing; three women come out. The daybreak song. Pause. Sing. Women facing pole. Dancers behind screen. Drum. Men also face pole. Pause. Repeated three times. CHM, "Ladies, ladies, ladies."

4:08. Once more repeated and two men come out, one after the other and line up behind three women. All face pole and dance. Then stop, still facing pole. There are six singers and one at drum. The two men dancers were from Ukiah. Longer pause. CHM sang. Then the others, and then the two men move counterclockwise twice and dance in front of the women. All face forward. Twice repeated. In second movement of repetition twice counterclockwise, in first, once. During all these dances men and women faced the pole in the pauses.

4:12 am. Longer pause; stand and talk. CHM sings and strikes hand with rattle and shakes it in air. Others join, and men move twice counterclockwise. Men and women both face forward. Twice repeated, but only once counterclockwise. Then sang a little and stopped (false start?). Then sang. Men counterclockwise, then men and women faced forward. (Two flutes.) Four times repeated. Two flutes throughout. In last three times put flutes in mouth as they turned to face the audience, having first faced women. At end of next to last movement said, "Hi-yoh." Pause. Different step; a high, rather slow step. Men counterclockwise; one puts a flute in his mouth as they face forward. This was repeated three times. In the last two movements two flutes were used, against one in the first two movements. During the above dances the dancers faced the pole in the pauses.

4:41 am. CHM starts singing and shakes his rattle. Then the others join and strike their rattles against their hands. Pause. Repeated. "Ho-ho." (Five singers and a drummer.) Pause. All sing. Strike with rattles on hands. (One singer imitates a rooster.) Pause.

4:49 am. Stand boxes against pole. Sing. Dancers dance behind screen. Five men come out. Pause. Face pole, women in front, men behind. All dance. Three times repeated. On the third repetition two men came out from behind burlap which was dropped, one after the other (not singly), and lined up behind the women, all facing the pole. (In the pauses between dances the men and women faced the pole, and the women faced forward when the men lined up behind them and turned [after the counterclockwise circuits].) BWA said one dancer had two bands of charcoal on his leg. CWM took some and smeared it on first with one hand and then with the other. Longer pause. Singers standing. CHM starts singing, shakes rattle. Then others join and dance still facing the pole. Break. Men move counterclockwise, then men and women face front and dance. Pause. Men counterclockwise, and all face front. Pause. All sing. Men counterclockwise, irregular. Then men and women face front.

4:58 am. Pause. Sing and men dance facing women, imitating birds. Break. Men counterclockwise. Men and women face forward. Repeat. Drum and rattles used for movements for awhile. Pause. CHM sings and shakes rattle. No dancing yet. Other singers join with rattles and men and women dance facing the pole. Break. Men counterclockwise, very irregular. Then men and women come forward. Pause. Repeated four times. The first two of these very irregular; the second and fourth, three flutes; the third, flutes (not certain of number); no flutes for first repeat. Pause. Men face pole. One moves from west to east and all face pole. Pause. All face pole, then front. Very irregular. Two front and crossing. One man went through the row of women and pointed at singer and said "hoosch" as they stopped. Two flutes. Pause. In this dance the same dancer stayed back at first and then came forward, all very irregular, but the men ended up facing forward. One dancer pointed at me and said, "Hi, hoosch." Then he went through the line of women and over to the singers. Pause. Face pole, three men in front, one by pole coming forward, all face east and about and then front. One man as before saying "Hi, haik," and the back to the pole by the singers.

Sometimes called "Hi, haik, hi, haik, hoosch, hoosch." Pause. Irregular, face forward, one back to pole. Pause. One man near pole, then forward, others already there, face east. H goes back to pole, "Hi, haik, hoosch, hoosch," etc. Pause. H stayed at pole, then forward, irregular and widely spread. Finally H goes back to pole. (Three flutes.)

5:17 am. Breaks up as before. In the preceding dances I believe in all cases the dancers ended up facing the pole (unless some exception was noted). The flute is held between the teeth, one just puffs (information from young dancer). During the intermission some of the feather capes were hung on ropes; the burlap was down now and these were hung on the west side behind its old place. The old dance house was visible nearby, some distance to the north. Too small, they said. One of the singers fell off a bench (much laughter for he was not drunk) where singers sit.

5:30 am. Five singers plus one at the drum. CHM starts, others join, drum, rattles. Pause. All sing. Drum. Rattles struck. CHM shakes his rattle at the end. Repeated three times. In the last time CHM shook his rattle lightly at several places; "Ho, ho" by the singers at the ends of movements. Dancers can be seen getting ready in back during the preceding; no screen now.

5:39 am. Long pause. CHM starts and shakes his rattle very lightly. Then the others join, strike with rattles. The men dancers dance behind drums. Pause. Repeat. Pause. All sing, rattles, drum. (No dancing.) Pause. Stand. Put up boxes about the pole. CHM sings standing, shakes rattle. Then others (six singers in all) and the one at the drum join with the striking of rattles and the drum. Pause. All sing. Strike rattles. Drum. CHM shakes rattle at the end. Last movement repeated three times. Women came out at the beginning of these movements and faced the pole. By the end, the men are dancing behind, maybe earlier.

Pause. CHM shakes his rattle at the beginning. All sing with the striking of rattles. Three men come out one behind another and line up behind the women and men and face the pole. (One man carried a stick with a notch at the top, held in both hands. One held a feather so. One feathers, some in one hand, some in the other, held separately. Arms, etc., in position as before.) Pause. BG sings, shakes rattle. Then others join and men and women dance. All face pole. Break. Men counterclockwise. Face back momentarily, then forward, and men and women dance facing forward (south). Pause. Men counterclockwise, irregular, then forward. Three times repeated. Pause. Dance facing pole.

5:53 am. Pause. Men counterclockwise, irregular; face forward. Repeat movement above. Pause. Men counterclockwise, slow. Line up facing women. Then dance, men and women facing pole. Pause. Men counterclockwise. Men and women turn front and dance. Repeat.

5:56 am. Sun just appearing over hills. Pause. Face pole, while singers sing. A break. Men counterclockwise. Irregular. Face front.

More lively. Pause. Men counterclockwise, irregular, face front. Pause. CHM sings, all face pole. No dancing. Others join and all dance facing pole. Break. Men counterclockwise, irregular, face front and dance. Both men and women. Pause. Repeat. (There are 7 women and 3 men dancers.) Pause. Sing a very short while, dancers face pole. Pause. Men counterclockwise. All face forward. Pause. Men counterclockwise. Twice (or part of irregular dancing?) and irregular. Then face forward. Pause. Men counterclockwise. Then forward men and women. (In the above dances, unless otherwise noted, the women would face forward when the men lined up behind them [to the south]. Faced the pole in the pauses.) (APP estimated 29 Indian spectators at 5:40 am.) Pause. BG sings, drum. Others join, rattles, and dancers dance facing pole. Break. Men counterclockwise. Then face forward finally and dance. Pause. Sing. Men counterclockwise, variations and finally forward.

6:07 am. Pause. CHM sings, shakes rattle. Then others join and strike rattles on their left hands, and the men dance facing the pole. Pause. Men counterclockwise, irregular, then all face front. "Ho-ho." Repeat, maybe more variable. Again repeat. (Still 7 women, 3 men.) Pause. CHM, "We'll have to get the performance now. I want all the dance outfit now. Bring it in so someone can hold it if not dancing with the crowd." JAM, "We doctor soon now." He accepted a cigarette at this time, so did CHM. About this time CHM laughed and said, "I wish I dance that one." Another singer said he could go ahead and dance for he would sing. CHM said, "Oh, no you don't." Just before the last set of dances, CHM said "One move. Sun getting pretty high now. One move."

6:13 am. Singers standing around pole. The men and women are in front (south), and facing forward and holding outfits. CHM sings, shakes rattle. Then all join and the row moves forward with arms outstretched and then backward a few steps (always facing south). This is done four times and each time the arms are outstretched with the costumes held in them. Then they turn and go counterclockwise around the pole and so come front and face east. Then they step a few steps forward and back, with arms raised each time they come forward. This is done four times. Then they move in line counterclockwise around the pole and come front and line up facing north. The same procedure of stepping forward and raising the outfits is again repeated four times (here always facing north). Then counterclockwise around the pole and front and then facing west by moving the row about in a counterclockwise manner (as in other movements so far as necessary). Then forward and backward four times as in preceding cases, and arms with outfits are raised each time they step forward. (Strictly speaking, the arms with the outfits were stretched forward in all these movements rather than upward.)

Again the line moves counterclockwise about the pole (after facing around counterclockwise) and faces south. Then they step forward and back four times, always facing south, each time they step forward they raised their hands with the outfits (this time really up). Then they moved counterclockwise about the pole and lined up in a row facing south again. Again they moved a few steps forward and back--four times, and each time they stepped forward they reached their hands with the outfits forward and downward. Then the outfits were removed. Then they reached downward four times

to the south with the outfits in their outstretched hands and standing in a row facing south as they had during the removal of the outfits, they placed them on the ground at the fourth pointing. (Something which sounded like, "Ho holding on hauya" was sung during the preceding movements.) When in a row the women went to the west of the men (when men faced south, etc.) and in the circuits followed the men. There was a pause in the singing here. Then they resumed and the dancers danced in a row facing south. This was repeated three times. Flutes were used by some of the men during all four movements. "Ho, ho, ho." Then there was a pause. "Iyee, iyeh, iyeh," was sung four times. Then there was a swishing sound and they put their hands to their mouths and blew out (men only?). Then they picked up their outfits and took them away (about 6:25 am). When EA, RC, and EC were among the dancers (see above), some of the Indians shouted comments of which the following was one, according to EA, "Come on Fifth Avenue; come on Broadway; hurrah for New York."

END NOTES

1. Members of the Field Laboratory were: Charles Brant, Stephen Cappanari, Elizabeth Colson, Charles Churchill, Enid Fenton, Ernestine Friedel, Hiram Friedsam, Alice Gustav, Sol Hauser, William Henderson, Clara Lewis, Abra Lloyd, Juliette Lombard, Alfred Parsell, Fred Robin, Robert Rohr, Alta Schwartz, Joseph Shor, Al Li Sung, Linville Watson, and Helen Weinburg.

2. The presence of women at this stage is an innovation. Loeb (1926:339) writes, "The women were supposed to be in their houses mourning for the dead."

3. Barrett (1917:411) states, "Ghost dancers used the same words in speaking that ordinary people did, except that they inverted their statements and reversed the meanings of words."

4. According to Loeb (1926:343), among the Eastern Pomo these men were called "ash ghosts," and do not take part in the Ghost Dance itself but perform in the Fire Dance and try to provoke the crowd to laughter.

5. See Barrett (1917a:407). The dress of participants was not specified by informants.

6. Informants did not distinguish between the ghosts who dance and the "ash ghosts" who play with fire and clown around as is reported by Loeb (1926:345) for the Eastern Pomo.

7. Barrett (1917a:413) mentions the use of cocoon rattles.

8. See Loeb (1926:345). The Coast Central Pomo are not reported as having a special fire dance in the Old Ghost Ceremony; fire eating had special emphasis only among the Northern and Eastern Pomo.

9. Descriptions of the Kuksu are to be found in Barrett (1917a), Gifford (1926), and Loeb (1926, 1932, 1933).

10. Loeb (1926:364) suggests that cutting is an older type of initiation ritual.

11. This is similar to Loeb's (1926:350-351) report of the Old Ghost Ceremony death and resurrection ritual celebrating the recovery of a patient.

12. A full description of the 'idam' dance follows the discussion of informants' memories of the Kuksu (p. 9).

13. Sticking people probably refers to initiation.

14. This account gives the barest outline of the Pole Ceremony described by Loeb (1926:372-4) and Barrett (1917a:425-6).

15. Barrett (1917:433-40) gives an account of all of these except the 'pa-kó-ma-ke.'

16. The gilak was a cannibalistic monster, according to Barrett (1933:25).

17. Barrett (1917a:439) states that the 'idam' was a common dance but no one knew the details, except that only men performed. He suggests the existence of an "esoteric society" connected with the 'idam-ke.' Loeb (1926:387-391), on the other hand, describes a ceremony called by the Eastern Pomo 'damaxai' (Down Ceremony) which is consistent with Wilson's notes in all but name. Wilson reports his informants calling the ceremony 'idam.'

18. This name is given to leading singers.

19. Du Bois (1939:92) states, "The last dances were given about 1894."

20. Loeb (1926:394) gives 1872 as the year in which the Ghost Dance religion came to the Pomo from the Patwin.

21. Cf., Du Bois (1939:84, 92).

22. The term 'Maru' refers to the cult and its leader. Cf., Du Bois (1939:85, 92). Bunkash was also known as Munkash and Lame Bill. He was the Hill Patwin prophet who brought the Maru to the Pomo.

23. The reservation was on the coast.

24. These dates conflict with that given for the abandonment of the Noyo reservation, which was 1867. However, some Indians may have left earlier and also, the informant's dates may not be exact.

25. The informant did not know exactly when this happened, but said it was long before 1880.

26. Deed to this property was obtained by a group of Pomo Indians on October 20, 1881. See Book of Deeds, Mendocino County, Book 26, p. 62.

27. On the Yokaya rancheria.

28. I.e., about the early 1890's; cf., Du Bois (1939:92).

29. Loeb (1926:396) gives a different description with a few additional details. He elaborates, "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." Barrettt (1917:440) states that a characteristic feature of Maru dance houses was that there were painted designs on the walls.

30. The Leslie Crawford ranch, which was west of the Russian River, and south of Ukiah.

31. A different informant spoke of heaven as a flowery place, but in relation to Catholicism.

32. For other information on Pomo semi-underground dance houses in Central California, see Merriam (1962:105, Pls. 38-46) and Merriam (1966: 107-146, Pls. 6-22).

33. Loeb (1926:396) states: "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."

34. Wilson does not specify in his notes that this statement refers to a Maru meeting, nor does he give a date.

35. For a picture of such a flag flying from a long pole set up in front of an underground house at Stony Creek (Colusa County) in 1907, see Merriam (1962:Pl. 9).

36. Loeb (1926:397) states, "All the dances were 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 number of the singers."

37. Du Bois (1939:93) implies, from information given by the same man (TLM) who talked with Wilson, that the Big Head was danced at Yokaya.

38. The powwow referred to here was held in 1939 at Yokaya.

39. Du Bois (1939:82) speaks of only two dancers, a leader and a Big Head, with sometimes a second Big Head.

Loeb (1926:397) writes that the dancing is done by two men, one or both of whom carry split stick rattles and wear the Big Head.

40. The dance was revived in 1940 at Sulphur Bank.

41. The Wiyot Indian massacre on Gunther Island in Humboldt Bay occurred in 1860. It is described by Lord (1918:330-331). There is no reason to believe that the Maru cult was being practiced by the Wiyot at this time. No indication of the years in which these things happened is in Wilson's notes.

42. Loeb (1926:395) reports that the Maru dances lasted two or three nights instead of the traditional four nights for older ceremonies.

43. Wilson noted that dances ended about dawn on Sunday morning, the fourth day, at the time he was doing field work. A feast was held later in the day when the people were free.

44. Loeb (1926:395) writes that ceremonies could be held at any time of the year, unlike previous rituals.

45. ODF was an Indian doctor, and not spoken of as a Maru. The relation of healing to the Maru cult is discussed later.

46. This statement may refer to Indian doctors. Some informants did not distinguish between the Maru and later healers.

47. On another occasion the same informant said that the Catholic missionaries came in about 1860.

48. Who this chief was and exactly when his conversion took place is not recorded.

49. The Pomo called these nuns 'sisters,' but did not distinguish the order they belonged to from any other. Wilson does not specify the name of the order in his notes.

50. The churches were built before 1900.

51. Information regarding the other two churches for the same months was not recorded.

52. Loeb (1926:286) states, "Cremation was practiced prior to 1870 by all the Pomo."

53. Loeb (1926:396 fn.) states, "Songs, while theoretically taught in dreams, are actually taught by an older member of the family, especially the maternal uncle."

54. For a discussion of poisoning among the Pomo, see Freeland (1923:69-72) and Loeb (1926:329-334).

55. The importance of the family as protection against poisoners is further noted in Aginsky (1940a and 1940b).

56. In contrast see Barrett (1933:100) who relates a myth in which Coyote specifically created poison men.

57. Specific poisons are mentioned by Freeland (1923:67-72), and Loeb (1926:329-334).

58. An example of this is given in Colson (1956:118).

59. Barrett (1933:87-88) gives an account of the origin of sickness in a Pomo myth about Coyote who made people sick so he could cure them and make money.

60. Colson (1956:142-148) records FGF's autobiographical statement about this particular illness and its cure.

61. Reported in the Redwood Journal, May-June 1929.

62. Freeland (1923:59-63) and Loeb (1926:319-329) give additional information on this subject.

63. Wilson notes that beads were worth about one dollar per hundred at the time of his investigation.

64. Freeland (1923:59-60) lists objects found in outfit bags.

65. Wilson notes that these are called 'k[?]-af-chil.'

66. DCM, who claimed to be a singing doctor, prayed to "gushalnis, yomta, dasun, and kuksu" to help him. In contrast, TLM said that a singing doctor called on the Supreme Being, whose name was 'Ma'sbu' (He-who-wove-the-world).

67. Cf., Freeland (1923:62) and Loeb (1926:327,328).

68. Wilson notes that this means he "probably piled his things on the floor."

69. In Colson (1946:307-8) DNF states she cured a young girl, Elaine, of a broken leg by rubbing her.

70. Informant added this might be a Spanish cure since there was no milk before the Spaniards brought cattle.

71. No indication on how to use this was given by informant.

72. Three plants: first, "like grass, and found on the hills on the coast"; second, "like mint and found around the hills surrounding the valley"; third, "found around Clear Lake, and looks something like morning glory."

73. Dr. Smith, of the Sonoma County Hospital, said she was given a blood transfusion, and since something went wrong she was given many shots of adrenalin, all in a small local spot on the leg which contracted the blood vessels and cut off circulation, and gangrene set in. It was not until the summer, after ETF's dance, that the doctors finally cured her.

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Abbreviations Used

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-B	Bulletin
PMCM	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee
-B	Bulletin
UC	University of California
-AR	Anthropological Records
-AS-R	Archaeological Survey, Report
-PAAE	Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology

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