

# WAPPO ETHNOGRAPHY

BY

HAROLD E. DRIVER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN  
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY  
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## INTRODUCTION

THE INFORMATION which makes up the greater part of this paper is the result of four weeks' work with fullblood Wappo Indians on their reservation near Geyserville, California, during the month of July, 1932. The project was financed by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. Acknowledgments are due to Professor A. L. Kroeber, who initiated the work and encouraged it with many valuable suggestions; to Dr. Paul Radin who, from his former linguistic experiences with the Wappo, gave me many ethnological cues as well as direct bits of information; and particularly to Mr. J. K. McCorkle, who supplied an automobile, accompanied and assisted me in the field, and offered many helpful suggestions.

*Informants.*—Most of the information was obtained from three informants, who habitually spoke their native tongue and otherwise preserved, perhaps better than any other family, the remnants of Wappo culture. John Tripo, said to be the oldest living Wappo, was a very mongoloid-looking old gentleman nearly ninety years of age. With him lived his probable cousin, Mary Eli, doubtless more than eighty years old. The third member of the trio, George Fish, a son of Mary Eli's, gave his age with assurance as fifty-eight years.<sup>1</sup> The less conspicuous members of the household—two black-eyed youngsters, grandchildren of Eli—peeked at us from around the corners of the house and through the doors and windows for a long time before they were confident enough to show their whole persons. The description of our informants' home would not be complete without reference to their dogs, which never failed to herald our arrival in the morning and to escort us the last few hundred yards to the tune of their barks and yelps. There were cats, too, but they stayed on the roof of the house where the sun and the heat from the chimney kept them contented. The house was a small one-roomed wooden affair, with two supplementary adjoining sheds serving as kitchen and bedroom. Only a few baskets, pounding stones, and acorns showed that it was the abode of Indians.

The Geyserville reservation covers sixty acres, which are mostly hilly and impossible to cultivate. Altogether there are some dozen houses, occupied chiefly by Pomo families. The land, however, was formerly Wappo, and on it can still be seen a sweat-house pit and leveled places in the sloping ground

<sup>1</sup>We talked for a few hours with another Wappo living near Middletown, Lake county. His name is Jack Knight.

where the beds were placed inside the grass houses. Most of the middle-aged and younger Indians work for the local farmers, and a few own or manage farms of their own. The old people are supported in part by the Federal government. They still gather a few acorns and pound them up into the flour which is used to make mush or a kind of bread. In general, the present status of the Indians of this region is the old story. Everything has been taken from them. Treaties made years ago have been violated. There remains only a sorry remnant of a once independent and courageous, if simple, people.

The material making up the body of this paper is of varying reliability and completeness. Most of it was recorded on at least two independent occasions. Whenever possible, I checked one informant against another, but sometimes only one had the particular bit of information which I sought. The concrete census material under the caption, Village of Unutsawaholma, was gone over several times and is therefore essentially reliable. However, it concerns the last Wappo town which preceded the complete breakdown of aboriginal life, and is likely to differ in some respects from the native conditions prior to the coming of Europeans. At any rate, it offers some basis for valid generalizations. The sketchiest sections are those on ceremonialism and religion. Fortunately this material has already been salvaged in part by Radin and Loeb. All the sources on which I have drawn are listed in the bibliography and cited in the proper places in the text.

It is still possible to obtain additional information concerning the Wappo, especially on certain aspects of their material culture such as basketry, which is still an active art; but before the end of another generation this culture will have vanished forever from the minds of the survivors. In order to give the reader some basis upon which to evaluate this material, brief biographies of informants follow.

John Tripo was born at Unutsawaholma (see maps) and remained there until grown. As a young man he went to Lake county, where he stayed less than a year, living with his mother's mother at Hatenûk, a Wappo-speaking town. The rest of his life has been spent in and around Alexander valley.

Mary Eli also was born at Unutsawaholma. After she was grown, but before her fourth child, George Fish, was born, she lived for two or three years in Pomo territory below Healdsburg. When Fish was a boy, she lived among the Pomo at Koloko (a central Pomo town), Cloverdale, Dry Creek, and Healdsburg. Most of her life, however, has been spent in Alexander valley with the rest of the Wappo.

George Fish was born in Healdsburg. As a boy he lived in the near vicinity. He has since been to Ukiah, Lake county, Sacramento, Colusa, Napa, Stockton, Fresno, and San Francisco, but has made no acquaintance with Indians other than Pomo. Most of his knowledge of Wappo culture he obtained at second hand from members of the tribe who are now dead. He possesses a considerable comparative knowledge of other tribes, especially the Pomo, and seems to be able to differentiate them from the Wappo. He was used chiefly as an interpreter for the older persons.

Until they were grown, both Tripo and Eli lived in grass houses in an aboriginal community, and hence have had some first-hand contact with the culture.

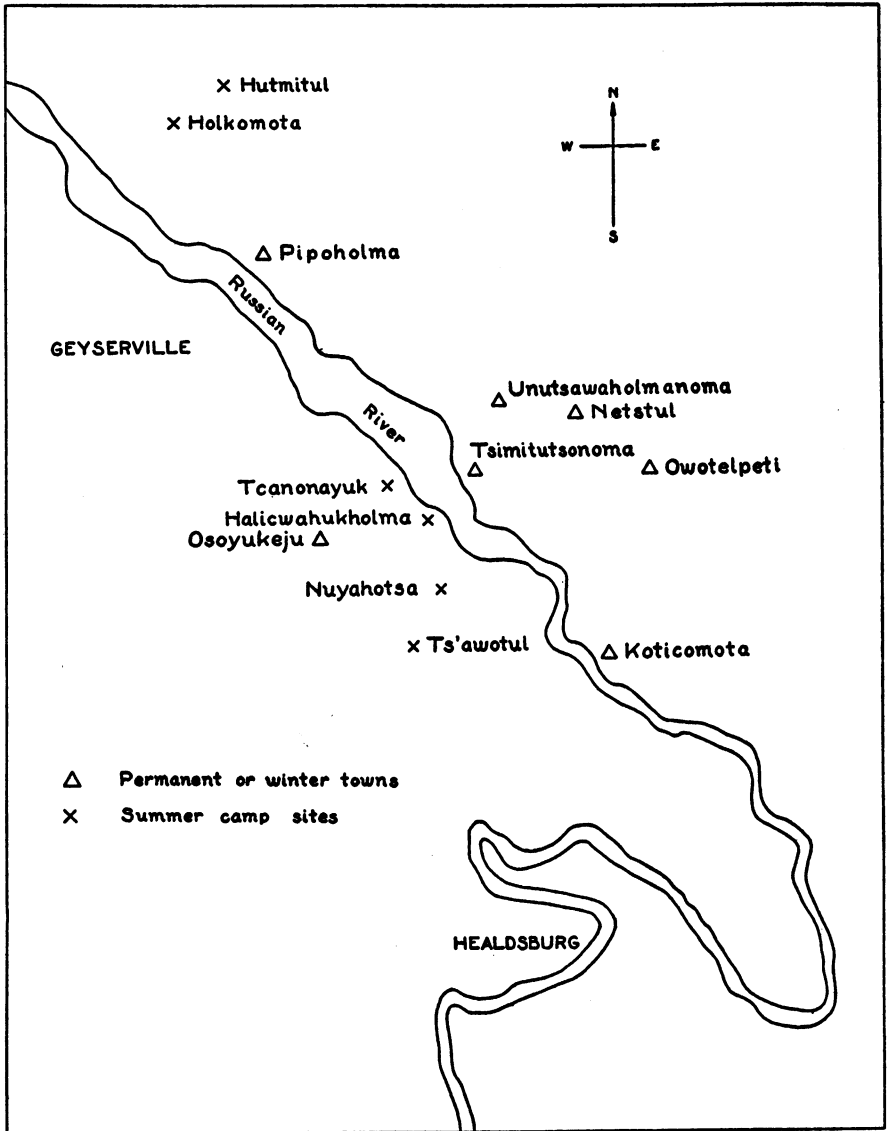
*Geography.*—The former range of the Wappo was a small territory some fifty miles long and from fifteen to twenty miles wide, lying directly north of San Francisco bay, and almost contiguous to it. The center was about halfway between the Sacramento river and the Pacific ocean on the east and west, and between Clear lake and San Francisco bay on the north and south. The land is mostly hilly or mountainous, but there are several fertile valleys in which most of the aboriginal population lived. The altitude varies from the peak of Mount St. Helena, some 4000 feet above sea level, to the mouth of the Napa river at tidewater. The land is drained by streams flowing into the Pacific on the west, the Sacramento river on the east, and San Francisco bay on the south. It forms a sort of hinterland, internally marginal to the Clear Lake region, Russian River valley, Sacramento valley, and the Bay region. The higher crests are clothed with conifers, which give way to oaks and grasses on the lower slopes and in the valleys. The climate, like that of most of California, is mediterranean, with winter rains. The winters are mild, with snow only on the highest peaks, and the summers are warm and sunny but not uncomfortably hot. Today the lower slopes and valleys are covered with vineyards and orchards.

*Cultural status.*—The aboriginal culture of the Wappo Indians was one of the simplest in North America or, for that matter, in the world. They were without writing, metals, agriculture, pottery, or domestic animals, even dogs. To us, their life was one of colorless simplicity. The chief food was the acorn, eaten as a rule in the form of mush. Small game undoubtedly furnished more of the diet than large game, although deer meat was an important food. These people did not hesitate to eat rats, mice, grasshoppers, snails, and such undelicious.

Houses were mostly of grass thatch and could be constructed in a day or two. Dress was at the minimum, from stark nudity for the man to a short double apron for the woman. Only in cold weather did the Wappo attempt to cover most of his body with a skin or a woven tule cape. Basketry was the only art of any note, and in this the Wappo excelled. Their baskets, in variety of shape, size, weave, and decoration and in quality of workmanship, are comparable to those of the neighboring Pomo, who are sometimes said to have made the finest basketry in the world.

In social organization, the Wappo were without clans, real chiefs, or definite tribal unity. The small social unit was the bilateral group of kin, and the larger one was the whole town or village community, numbering at most two or three hundred but usually about one hundred persons. As a rule, these small communities were more friendly among themselves than they were with the Pomo, but there was no centralized authority binding them together, and whatever unity they possessed was felt rather than actually achieved.

Another indication of the low cultural status of the Wappo was the lack of any far-reaching division of labor. All men except "physicians" did some



Map 1. Wappo village sites in Alexander valley and environs.

hunting and fishing, and all women gathered vegetable foods. Arrowhead makers and clamshell-bead makers were the only tradesmen giving most of their time to their special tasks. Even the so-called chiefs hunted and fished with the rest of the men.

Without writing, systematized knowledge was scant. The only records were bundles of sticks, which were mere mnemonic devices to mark the moons and the dates of events, a few days in the future. They also used sticks to count their clamshell-bead money, each stick standing for ten beads. Compared with



other equally primitive groups, they perhaps excelled in counting, but their method was definitely inferior to that of the neighboring Pomo.

All in all, the Wappo culture most closely resembles that of the Pomo, but is definitely a hinterland variety or pale counterpart.

Linguistically, the Wappo affiliate with the Yuki, Coast Yuki, and Huchnom, directly north of the Pomo. Kroeber is of the opinion that the Wappo tongue perhaps differs as much from that of the Yuki as does German from English, and estimates that the two Indian groups separated as early as a thousand years ago. The cultural relationship between these two divisions is discussed under Comparisons and Conclusions.

The specific data to follow refer only to the Wappo in and about Alexander valley. There were no informants left in the other subdivisions to the east and south, which probably differed to some extent from the Alexander Valley people, much as the subdivisions of the Pomo showed minor differences.

#### ORTHOGRAPHY

The vowels a, e, i, o, u have their continental values, intermediate in length and close. A circumflex accent ( ^ ) denotes a vowel short and open. The consonant c is pronounced as is sh in English, and tc as is ch in English. Other consonants are pronounced the same as in English. The glottal stop is indicated by an apostrophe ( ' ). Stress accent is not given when it falls on the antepenult. This is essentially a simplification of the symbolism employed by Paul Radin.

#### ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

The essential facts concerning the ethnogeography of the Wappo have already been given by Barrett and Kroeber.<sup>3</sup> The data presented here consist mainly of additional town or camp sites.

Name, Wappo, an Americanization of Spanish *guapo*, brave (sometimes spelled Wapo or Wappa). Powers<sup>4</sup> uses name Ashochimi, probably of Pomo origin. Other more localized names given by Barrett.

We checked Barrett's boundaries between Wappo and Pomo in vicinity of Alexander valley, with complete agreement. Also confirmed his dialectic differences. Dialects all mutually intelligible; only children had difficulty with them. Radin has said in conversation that true dialectic differences, i.e., in pronunciation and grammar, did not exist; differences merely in vocabulary.

Wappo habitation sites of 2 kinds: permanent or winter towns, temporary or summer towns. In summer, more permanent towns were abandoned and people camped by Russian river: moved back to waterproof grass houses when winter rains set in.

Map 1 shows habitation sites in Alexander valley and environs. These certainly not all inhabited at one time.

##### Permanent towns:

Kotico-mota, black-oak hill; "large town," 2 sweat houses. Nêts-tul, milkweed valley; "large town," 40 houses, 1 sweat house. Owotêl-pêti, soaproot earth oven; 40 houses, 1 sweat house. Pipo-ho'lma, white-oak grove; 40 houses, 1 big sweat house. Tsi'mitu-tso-noma, hummingbird-place town; "small town," no sweat house; people sweated at Unutsawaholma.

<sup>3</sup>Barrett, 1908a; Kroeber, 1925. For complete citations see References Cited.

<sup>4</sup>Powers, 196.

Unutsa'wa-holma-noma, toyon-berry-grove town; 11 houses at time of census, formerly 17 houses; 1 sweat house. Oso'yûk-eju, going-to-make-buckeye-mush creek; "small town," 1 sweat house. Cêi-kana, wind gulch; 9 houses, 1 sweat house. Hol-teu'kolo, wood rump, 1 sweat house. Last 2 locations unknown. Mêlka'wa-hotsa-noma, salmon-sweat-house town; at present site of Middletown, Lake county. Number of houses in each town estimated, not actually counted, by informants; probably much too high.

Summer camp sites:

Halic<sup>4</sup>-wahûk-holma; inhabitants lived at Unutsawaholmanoma in winter. Ho'lko-mota, pounding-basket hill; 1 sweat house. Hut-mitul, coyote valley. Nuya-hotsa, sand sweat house; inhabitants lived at Unutsawaholmanoma in winter. Teano-nayuk, manzanita bush; people at Osoyukeju in winter. Ts'awo-tul, willow valley; at Owotelpeti in winter. Tiko-mota, willow hill; at Owotelpeti in winter. Walma-pêsite, mud pressing; at Unutsawaholmanoma in winter. Last 2 locations unknown.

Ending -noma same as Yuki -no'm, but means town or home rather than people; -nûk means people. Thus, Unutsawa-holma-noma-nûk, toyon-berry-grove-town people.

Names of places other than towns: Hêlawa-tul, crazy-dance valley. Hotsa-mota, sweat-house mountain. K'emis-me-nan, gray water well. Kopa-me-nan, bullfrog water well. Lêl-humotûk, rock pile. Me-teumê, water salt. Mêtsa-mota, arrow mountain (now Fitch mountain). Mitico-opaus, hazel-tree one. Nui-tul, sand valley. Pêlkôt-tul, clover valley. Teuya-mota, house mountain. Teuyuk-hol, my black-oak tree. Tiko-nusûk, tree lying down. Tso-eju, redwood creek.

## SUBSISTENCE

Like other central California peoples, the Wappo depended more on vegetable than on animal food. The acorn, perhaps the most important single food source, was supplemented by various grass seeds, roots, and nuts. The deer was the chief game animal, although small game such as rabbits, squirrels, rats, birds, and grasshoppers probably provided more food the year round than did the deer. Fish were regularly caught, but were apparently a less important food than land animals or plants, and certainly constituted a smaller part of the diet than they did among the Pomo around Clear lake. Sea food was eaten only occasionally when trips were made to the coast.

## ANIMAL FOOD

*Salt-water.*—Eaten: Abalone, hilê; pried off rock with stick, or shell crushed and meat taken out without removing shell from rock. Clam, pitsi; sand loosened with digging stick, arm thrust down hole, sand scooped out with hand and clam seized. Crab, mena-tea/mata; swum after or picked up off beach. Mussel, gujic; picked off rocks by hand.

*Fresh-water.*—Eaten: Lamprey eel, cõt; seized with hand as it lay coiled in shallow stream. Turtle, mitce; caught with hands. Bullhead, ci'towa; driven into net; not eaten by young boy because, when he ran, it would bite him in the side and cause pain there. Chub, kut'; not sought. Salmon, mêlka'wa; dog salmon, makat'; steelhead salmon, nu'uca; trout salmon, tsêmawi; all harpooned, or caught in baskets or nets tied to dam. Sometimes fish numerous enough to be scooped up in baskets out of shallow water. Sucker, kokêleu; driven into net. Trout, 2 kinds, homêm, mets'êkititi; caught by tying grasshopper on end of hair fastened to line attached to 3- or 4-ft. pole; trout swallowed bait, hair caught in its "teeth."

Dam or weir for salmon and other large fish: row of posts driven with stones into bottom of stream; shoots of willow or hazel twined around stakes; top of dam ca. 3 ft. above water, with several openings in which wicker traps or baskets placed, mouths facing downstream

<sup>4</sup>Hâlic name of a people from Sulphur Bank, Lake county, who camped at this site for a short time.

to receive fish coming up. Dams not fish-tight, because one upstream said to catch as many as one downstream.<sup>5</sup> Wicker fish traps and uses like those of Pomo.<sup>6</sup> Type like Barrett's fig. 6<sup>o</sup> called ahohulaputê, 3 or 4 ft. wide at mouth, 5 to 8 ft. long, with inner retaining cone. Types similar to his figs. 2, 4, called tsinuk'; his fig. 5, pênuksma. Fish also driven into net ca. 5 ft. across at mouth. Net held by 2 men, rest drove fish into it. To stir fish out of deep hole, man either dived into water or agitated it with long stick with pepperwood foliage tied on end. Some dived and caught fish with bare hands; one man was said to get 2 at a time. Soaproot, oka'li, and dove weeds used for fish poison; buckeyes, angelica not used. Plants pounded up and ca. one gunnysackful dumped into quiet pool. No fishhooks, dipnets, gill nets used.

Preparation and preservation. Clams eaten raw or roasted; dried at coast and brought home. For drying, fish split with flint knife, not bone awl; intestines removed, head cut off. Dried in sun on hot day or smoked in house; stuck between poles of roof or hung by string through perforation in tail. For eating, roasted on coals or in earth oven like that of Pomo.<sup>7</sup> Earth ovens both inside and outside house; outdoor ones communal, used by everyone in village. Roasted fish eaten at once; pounded up, bones, skin, and all, and eaten with fingers as was pinole;<sup>8</sup> or dried and stored in baskets. Sometimes pulverized roasted fish mixed with pinole, water added, and mess drunk without further cooking.

*Birds*.—Eaten: Geese, lôk, and ducks, k'aiya; killed with sling (described under Weapons) using stones, not clay balls. No duck nets or decoys. Bluejay, ts'ai; pigeon, opêl; quail, pipi; mountain quail, tsatsa; all snared with bent-sapling trap like that of Pomo.<sup>9</sup> Quail also driven into net; Pomo used same method.<sup>9</sup> Hell-diver, menakutic, not sought, eaten if caught in fish net. Woodpecker, palite', and yellowhammer, ts'ui; caught in basket placed over hole in tree; same method used by Pomo.<sup>10</sup> Crane, k'ek'; shot with bow and arrows, not baited;<sup>11</sup> dance whistles made from leg bones, which brought bad luck if broken. Robin, tsibidôkdôk. Owl, otu'kulu.

Blinds, tsitsa teuya (game house), made near spring. Game birds shot from ambush with bow and arrows. Net, pui, sometimes suspended from pole and acorn bait so placed that bird disturbing it was caught in net. Birds also driven toward long net held by 2 men who dropped it over them at proper instant.

Following-named birds never or rarely eaten, not because of specific taboo, but because not liked or not worth bothering with: Meadowlark, witsilô. Swallows, 3 kinds, tsê'kêma, teintsê'kêma, cînsololo. Little snipe, ts'id-idudu. Jack snipe, pipâk. Kingfisher, metsa'tata. Hummingbird, tsi'-hito.

Following-named birds dangerous or sacred, not killed or eaten: Buzzard, mai'yata. Eagle, 2 kinds, lêpits, tsuts. Roadrunner, wika, dangerous because it ate snakes. Crow, ka'; raven, ka'koti (big crow). Hawk: 10 species recognized, named nihlîk, tsupenihiik, tiya, cêk', tsintsîna'tsa, tumpa, kata, têtêk, tulpam, lolopate. Feathers of these birds picked up off ground or taken from nests, not got by killing birds. Young birds, if found in nest, might be killed.

All edible birds roasted whole. Eggs (pêtais) of quail, geese, ducks, and turtles roasted in ashes and eaten.

*Land animals*.—Eaten: Deer, kêcu. Driven along brush fence, owilûk, 4 or 5 ft. high (one fence half mile long), clubbed with straight stick or shot with bow and arrows. Short fence built across trail, with opening in which noose placed; hunter approached animal wearing stuffed deer-head disguise, onan, "pawing" ground and imitating movement and sounds of deer until close enough to shoot with bow and arrows. No deer nets like those of Patwin.<sup>12</sup> No mention of brush deer blind like that of Pomo, but method same as Pomo one in other details,<sup>13</sup> including cutting up of kill on spot and equal division of it among hunters. How-

<sup>5</sup>Patwin; Kroeber, 1932, 278.

<sup>6</sup>Barrett, 1908b, 165, pl. 27, figs. 2, 4, 5, 6.

<sup>7</sup>Loeb, 1926, 173.

<sup>8</sup>Same as Patwin; Kroeber, 1932, 278.

<sup>9</sup>Loeb, 1926, 166.

<sup>10</sup>Loeb, 1926, 165.

<sup>11</sup>Loeb, 1926, 166.

<sup>12</sup>Kroeber, 1932, 279.

<sup>13</sup>Loeb, 1926, 170-171.

ever, if killer a newly married man, he took deer home to mother-in-law, who divided it. Bear, *tsitsa*; grizzly, *tsitsa*; brown bear, *holt'um*; black bear, *uyu tsitsa*. Considered "bad men." Not deliberately sought; killed, if encountered, with bow and arrows or spear (see Weapons); also snared.<sup>14</sup> Hide more valuable than meat, used for robe. Foxes hunted primarily for hides, which were made into bags or quivers. Fox meat eaten by some; avoided by no special group; not taboo. Wolf, *lu'utsa*; black fox, *cuwi'ima*; mountain lion, *wima*; wildcat, *pa'mala*: killed chiefly for hides. Raccoon, *tika*; snared; good eating; hide used for bag. Rabbit, *yênic*; driven along brush fence, clubbed with straight stick; snared; shot with bow and arrows; impaled on sharpened limber stick thrust into burrow. Gray squirrel, *hôt*; ground squirrel, *tshima*; chased on foot, hit with club; shot; impaled on stick. Wood rat, *ohka*; shot, clubbed. Mice, 3 kinds, *solko*, *hatseokoiyo*, *mota solko*; gopher, 2 kinds, *pép*, *lêteo*.

*Insects*.—Grasshopper, *tsi*; caterpillar, *li*; picked up, along with squirrels, rats, mice, and gophers, from field burned to obtain such small game. Snails, *hutu*; picked from ground or water, roasted. Lice, *hi*, and fleas, *te'ota*, eaten during process of delousing.

*Not eaten*.—Coyote, *hut*; sacred, never killed. Skunks, *cila*; not liked. Frogs, 4 kinds, *gatfik*, *gatfikuk'iwilnik*, *lilitsu'i*, *cigatic*; toad, *lilikopa*; lizard, *donûk*; snakes: all poisonous. Rattler most dangerous snake. Lizard also sacred.

*Preparation and preservation*.—Meat always roasted, never boiled; held over fire on stick, laid on coals, or cooked in earth oven. Deermeat cut in strips, dried either in or outside house as were fish; stored in baskets inside house; same method used by Pomo.<sup>15</sup> Small animals eaten almost entirely, e.g., rabbits pounded, bones, loose entrails, ears, and all; roasted. Deer sometimes similarly prepared.

*Hunting and fishing usages*.—No taboos or restrictions like those of Patwin<sup>16</sup> before day of hunt. Ritual on hunting day same as that of Pomo,<sup>17</sup> with these exceptions: spirits prayed to were not specified; body was rubbed with angelica and pepperwood to deodorize it, as well as to propitiate spirits (songs not recorded). Hunter carried no food, ate nothing while hunting, and, if away more than one day, drank only at night after birds ceased chirping and before they began in morning. Hunter could not include fish in meal eaten on morning of hunt. Fisherman ate no meat of land animal on day he fished. Division of meat: chief or other prominent man, not necessarily one who made kill, divided meat (also see above). Chief's permission not necessary for hunting, but required for other serious undertakings (see Chieftainship and Government). Hunter tied extra bowstrings around waist, carried arrows in quiver over shoulder or under arm. For luck in fishing, man tied string of clamshell beads to mouth of fish basket, or 4 times threw a few beads into stream, praying to *Hutas* (Coyote), "Give me luck." Coyote was first to throw beads into stream; he taught this custom to mankind. Fisherman also rubbed body with angelica or pepperwood. Women not allowed to "hang around" fishing place, would bring bad luck.

*Pets*.—No domestic animals, not even dogs. Skunk a pet, deodorized by puncturing "stink sack," behaved like a cat. Gray squirrels, raccoons, rabbits, and quail fed and kept. Bear cubs and fawns best pets; would follow owners around like dogs. Fish's grandfather had bear cub which followed him everywhere, ate and slept with him; but it finally got too big, had to be killed.

#### PLANT FOOD

*Acorn*.—Acorn, *mêl*, many kinds: tan oak, *teetetic*, best; black oak, *kotic*, most plentiful; white oak, *pip*; post oak, *mêl*; iron oak, *picmêla*; live oak, *hicic*; unidentified oaks, *tsôkic*, *holmêl*. Method of gathering and preparing acorns like that of Maidu,<sup>18</sup> except for following differences or additions: Both men and women carried acorns to village in burden baskets. Kernels were dried in sun but also indoors on twined willow rack suspended from roof ca. 7 ft. above floor. Mortar basket, *holko*, pestle, *te'ola*, and stone base, *lâlpaya*, same as those of Pomo,<sup>19</sup> always used for grinding; woman sat with legs on top of hopper to hold it steady.

<sup>14</sup> Powers, 200.

<sup>16</sup> Kroeber, 1932, 280.

<sup>18</sup> Dixon, 184-187.

<sup>15</sup> Loeb, 1926, 172-173.

<sup>17</sup> Loeb, 1926, 171.

<sup>19</sup> Barrett, 1908b, pl. 23, figs. 3, 4.

Meal sifted through open-bowl basket with openwork bottom designed for purpose, or through twined seedbeater, wanma; not tapped in winnowing basket. Leached in cold water. Boiled in large coiled baskets. Boiling stone cleaned with moss, not rinsed in extra basket of water, Patwin fashion.<sup>20</sup> Mush or soup drunk from small basket or eaten with unworked mussel or clamshell, not with fingers. Somé persons perforated such shells, always wore them around their necks. Acorn bread like that of Patwin<sup>20</sup> and Maidu, except "Indian baking powder," tso tsipê (dirt red), mixed with batter. Granary height of man, 4 or 5 ft. wide; built on stone base ca. 2 ft. high to keep out water; willow or hazel stick vertical warp, with smaller shoots twined in to sustain it;<sup>21</sup> roof grass-thatched. Acorns with hulls on stored in granary; kernels and flour kept indoors in baskets. No underground storage.

*Roots.*—Soaproot, okali. "Potatoes" (*Brodiaeas*), awe, 5 kinds: awakata, holawe, te'otíc, nuis, haiyawe. "Sweet potato," wítcí-tsela. Anise root, mun munkona. "Carrot," citúk, kulutíc. "Onion," tsipe, lêlpa tsipe; grew in mountains. All roots dug with plain digging stick, cooked in earth oven.

*Other food plants.*—Grapes and berries. Eaten raw: wild grapes, kola; "fly wild-grapes," tsíu kola (small); blackberries. Manzanita berries, teano, and elderberries, katêmem, made into nonintoxicating drink. Toyon berries, unutsawa, roasted and eaten whole.

Pinole, wa'atê. Made from seeds gathered with seedbeater and basket; seeds roasted, pounded, sifted, eaten dry with fingers. Following botanically unidentified plants prepared in that manner: 2 kinds of tar weed, lêpi, 1 ft. high, and mêtuma, a yellow flower; a yellow flower, hits, 4 ft. high; a yellow flower, eutcan (like sunflower), 4 or 5 ft. high; a green flower, ci'pema, 3 ft. high (black seeds in big pod; made best pinole); a white flower, sicík, 1 ft. high; 2 kinds of wild oats, te'an and siwaliya; a short green flower with a bad odor, tsiwhalele. Manzanita berries also dried, pounded up raw, eaten dry.

Clover, ci, 8 kinds. Pêlkôt (best); cipa; lôtos; holci, wood clover; cêtsici, small clover; cêkanajumê; pôť; gatíkci, frog clover. Person crouched on hands and knees to pull up clover, ate it at once or took it home in basket.

Buckeye, cumoto. Prepared as by Pomo.<sup>22</sup> Piled loose around house, not kept in granaries.

Milkweed, kômíc. Leaves and roots eaten.

Tule, cône. Sprouts, tsaiima, and inside of head eaten.

Hazelnuts, mitíc; sugar-pine nuts, tsitsinai; mushrooms, hol-tsêma (wood ear) eaten.

Seaweed dried, baked, eaten.

#### CONDIMENTS AND MEALS

Salt, teumê; got from lake near Valley Ford, Sonoma county.

"Pepper" obtained from pepperwood balls, prepared as by Pomo.<sup>23</sup>

"Sugar," kawaju. Naturally formed pitch gathered from pine trees. Bark not scraped as by Kato.<sup>24</sup> Pitch lump sucked; was supposed to cure colds and other minor ills. Honey got out of trees. Yellow-jacket and hornet larvae eaten.

Meals twice a day: breakfast at 8 or 9 A.M., supper at about sundown. Hungry person might eat any time. Men, women, and children ate together.

Storage (see also Plant Food): shedlike storage shelter built beside house, used primarily for wood, also for food.

#### TOBACCO AND PIPES

Tobacco was smoked but not chewed. It was not cultivated.

Tobacco, luteê, gathered wild by river. Cured as by Patwin.<sup>25</sup> Never chewed. But angelica roots chewed. Pipe like those of Pomo, Yuki, Wintun.<sup>26</sup> Each man had own pipe. One who smoked another's pipe might get sick. Sweat house favorite place to smoke. Tobacco carried and kept in hide of small animal. Taken on war or hunting expedition as good medicine.

<sup>20</sup> Kroeber, 1932, 276.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Barrett, 1916, 7-9.

<sup>22</sup> Loeb, 1926, 174.

<sup>23</sup> Kroeber, 1932, 280.

<sup>24</sup> Loeb, 1926, 173.

<sup>25</sup> Loeb, 1932, 47.

<sup>26</sup> Kroeber, 1925, pl. 30.

## BODY AND DRESS

Men went nude most of the time and women wore the usual double aprons, made ordinarily of buckskin. In winter both sexes sometimes wore capes of hide, feathers, or tule. Tattooing was rare. The ears were pierced but not the nose. Body decorations consisted of woodpecker-scalp belts, shell beads, and paint. There was no head covering of any kind and the feet were usually bare. The almost complete absence of tattooing among the Wappo sets them off from their neighbors.

*Hair*.—Men and women had same styles of hairdress. Hair long. Worn coiled on top of head and held with hairpins of bone or wood ca. 10 or 12 in. long; down back in 1 or 2 bunches; doubled back and tied near head in 1 bunch; or with ends turned back and stuck up in front like quail top. Usually no decoration on head. When visiting, man might wear eagle feather in hair to show he was "dangerous." Hairpins and hair nets with down feathers attached, wêlwêl, helped to hold on feather headdress, menale'uk. This headdress, fastened to wooden hoop, was worn for dances and "big times." Yellowhammer headbands, tsa'atê, worn across forehead by both sexes on special occasions. Hair oiled with marrow of deer. Comb, cõtizma, of anise root, not soaproot.

Mourning woman cut hair shoulder-length with flint, threw ends in stream. Male mourner rarely cut hair.

*Tattooing*.—Only 4 tattooed Wappo known, 1 man, 3 women. Numbers below refer to genealogies on file with Anthropology Department, University of California: 2 (man), line across chest; 25, lines on both cheeks from corner of mouth to ear, 3 vertical stripes on chin, diamond-shaped design on calf; 24 (sister to 118), 3 "loops" on chin; 190, 1 vertical stripe down middle of chin. Tattooing method: charcoal mixed with water, rubbed on skin which had been pierced with bone awl.

*Nose and ear piercing*.—No nose piercing or nose ornaments. Both sexes had ears pierced with the bone awls used to make coiled baskets. No ceremony. Ears of girl pierced when she was a baby; boy's ears pierced later. Custom not universal for boys. To compel obedience, sometimes parent threatened to pierce ear of unruly child. Earplugs: small wooden ones ca. ¾-in. long and as thick as a match; also deer radii ca. as thick as a pencil, decorated with beads in Pomo manner on special occasions.<sup>27</sup>

*Clothing*.—Man naked except for probably modern breechclout. Woman wore double apron of buckskin, paiya, with hair off. At certain dances, woman who had survived difficult childbearing wore shredded woven tule apron, niwe, made by doctor who handled case.

Dress of both sexes. Feet: Usually bare. Crude buckskin moccasins made which covered soles of feet only, tied on with buckskin thongs; these rarely worn, were said to bring bad luck. No tule sandals. Head: No cap. Rabbitskin blanket worn like cape over both shoulders; length of modern man's coat, covering rump; no arm holes; held on by 1 or 2 wooden pins in front. Men, perhaps women also, wore bear hides over both shoulders, pinned in front. Wealthy had expensive capes of goose- or duck-down feathers; wore them in manner described above. Shredded woven tule capes expensive, also worn. (See Money, etc.)

Woodpecker-scalp belts worn by chiefs and wealthy at public festivals. These belts of woven vegetable fiber, not of skin with scalps glued on; reached around waist once only; from 3 or 4 in. to 8 in. wide; red favorite color, very expensive. (See Money, etc.)

Both sexes painted bodies for dances, men for war. Three colors: red earth, tsipê (red); black charcoal, ts'êl; white earth, walalís.

Both sexes wore clamshell beads, abalone shells, and a few magnesite cylinders around necks and wrists. Abalone shells sometimes substituted for yellowhammer headband on forehead.

<sup>27</sup>Loeb, 1926, 156.

Girl put on clothes at no specific age, but when grown. No ceremony.

*Sitting positions.*—Men sat almost any way: Turkish fashion; knees drawn up together and clasped in hands; legs straight out in front. Women usually kept legs together: straight out in front; sideways with knees flexed, one leg partly under the other; both on top of basket when pounding or cracking acorns.<sup>28</sup>

*Hygiene.*—Except when menstruating, women bathed every morning in stream, rubbing with angelica root. Used no "towel," wind dried them. Never sweated in sweat house, not even for sickness, but applied hot rocks to pain. Men sweated once or twice a day—early in morning and perhaps again late in afternoon—then plunged in creek. Finger- and toenails cut with flint knife, kept short.<sup>29</sup> White earth used for soap to wash hair. Teeth not cleaned; informants laughed at idea. In summer, people swam at any time.

## HOUSES

Wappo houses were typical of the area. The dwelling house was of grass thatch on a framework of poles stuck in the ground and bent over to form a dome. The ground plan was usually elliptical. The earth-covered semisubterranean house was used both as a men's sweat house and for the ceremonial activities of both sexes. In the summer camping season, people lived in simple brush structures and danced in a roofless circular brush enclosure.

*Grass house, te tcuya.*—Ground plan oval (see village plan, map 2), never L-shaped nor rectangular. In construction and arrangement similar to winter grass house of Pomo, *kaditca*,<sup>30</sup> with following additions and differences: Doors, *tcuya nan* (house mouths), covered at night with bundles of grass held together with grapevine; not oriented according to cardinal directions; ca. 3 ft. high. Beds like Pomo;<sup>31</sup> bunches of grass or roots for pillows. No partitions except for menstrual room, which was separated from main room by tule mats or thatched grass, with one outside door and another opening into house. Women gathered materials, men did building; relatives cooperated; houses communal (see Houses, etc., under Village of Unutsawaholma). Housewarming feast given when new house completed. Bad luck not to give feast. Everyone invited. House said to last more than one year; frequently repaired. Ownership not vested in one person; mature occupants were joint owners. Theoretically, each family had its own door, fire, smoke hole; actually, exceptions to rule. Longitudinal axes of houses as much as 40 ft. in length. No mention of central baking pit. Multiple smoke holes. Arrangement like that of tule house.<sup>32</sup>

*Shade house, cute tcuya.*—Used in summer only. Same as Pomo *balo't'ca*, *xa'iga*, and *see'tca*.<sup>33</sup> Said to be communal, inhabited by same persons who shared winter house. Separate menstrual room. Built every year.

*Hotsa.*—Literally, hole. Combination sweat-, club-, and dance house. Construction like that of sudatory and dance house of Pomo.<sup>34</sup> Additions or differences: Hole 3 or 4 ft. deep dug for center pole, *hala*. Pole lowered 4 times, last time permanently set. Five side posts, not 8. Brush and grass under dirt roof, no tule. Only one emergency exit, this in rear opposite door. Footdrum, *nihwël*, flat cottonwood plank, not hollow log. Smoke-hole "ladder" a plain unnotched pole. Door faced south. When new town built, dwelling houses made before sweat house. No mention of mourners in connection with building of sweat house, preparation of floor, or painting inside. No mention of kinds of wood, names of parts or positions. Pit at Unutsawaholma ca. 35 ft. in diameter; others said to be larger, perhaps 60 ft. Proportions of other dimensions same as those of Pomo sudatory. Both sexes dug center pit, gath-

<sup>28</sup> Kroeber, 1925, pl. 60.

<sup>29</sup> Kato's long; Loeb, 1932, 47.

<sup>30</sup> Barrett, 1916, 2-4.

<sup>31</sup> Barrett, 1916, 4.

<sup>32</sup> Barrett, 1916, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Barrett, 1916, 4, pl. 2, fig. 2, pl. 3, fig. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Barrett, 1916, 9-16.

ered brush and grass, covered roof with dirt. Men built framework. When hotsa completed, chief invited everyone to "big blow-out" of feasting and dancing.<sup>85</sup>

*Brush dance house, pukêl.*—Same as Pomo tse marak or ke cane.<sup>86</sup> No plank drum. Door faced south. Ground plan (see fig. 1).<sup>85</sup>

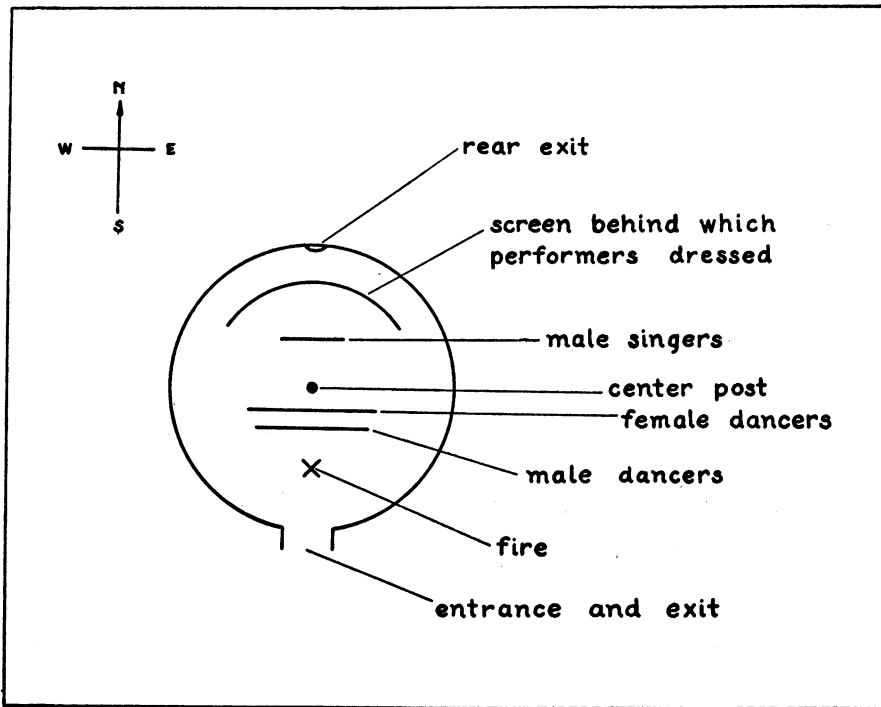


Fig. 1. Brush dance house.

## WEAPONS

The chief weapon was the bow and arrow, used with the primary arrow release. Bows were not made locally but obtained in trade from the north. The Wappo also used the spear, the sling, and a rude club. A detachable harpoon was used only for large fish. All weapons except the harpoon served both for hunting and for warfare.

*Bow, luka.*—Four kinds: manzanita bow, teano luka, best, most expensive (see Money, etc.); buckeye bow, cumoto luka; unidentified wood bow, te'ômie luka; bow with no special name. First 3 sinew-backed, got in north from Colusa and Stonyford; sinew bowstrings; backs decorated with triangles in black and red. Fourth kind made locally; not sinew-backed; vegetable-fiber bowstring; used by children or by men hunting birds and other small game. All bows ca. 4 ft. long, used for war and hunting. Said to shoot 200 yds., kill steer at close range.

Arrow release: primary; arrow held between thumb and first finger of right hand, string not grasped. Shooting position: angle of bow ca. 30 degrees from horizontal. Forward part of arrow steadied between index and middle finger of left hand, which held bow. Most men right-handed.

<sup>85</sup>For functions in hotsa and pukêl, see Nonexogamous Moieties and Ceremonialism.

<sup>86</sup>Loeb, 1926, 163.



*Arrow, mêtsa.*—Three kinds: flint point, single shaft of hazel or alder; wood point, single shaft of some hard wood, point hardened in fire, used for birds and small game; wood point, double shaft, holwawil mêtsa, unidentified hardwood arrow, poorer than 1st, better than 2d. Manufactured as by Pomo (Loeb, 1926, 184); 3 or 4 ft. long. Flint points made by a few professionals (table 3); wood points made by every man. Points notched or stemmed for hafting, chipped with antler flaker. Flint from St. Helena region. Shaft straightened in hands and mouth, pulled between 2 sticks, rubbed with rough stone, finally polished by drawing through hollow stalk of unidentified plant. Point not poisoned; rubbed with angelica for luck. Shafts not individually marked; identified by workmanship.

*Quiver.*—Whole cased skin of skunk, gray fox, wildcat, etc., with hair outside. Tail of animal at mouth of bag.

*Spear.*—Two kinds; ho'teowe, flint point 3, 4, or 5 in. long; tsau'tsítus, unidentified wood, all wood, point seasoned in fire. Both 6 ft. long or longer; used for war and hunting; thrust, not thrown.

*Sling, kumíts.*—Diamond-shaped buckskin, ca. 4 by 2 in., with hole or pocket in center for stone. Cords measured from middle of man's chest to his outstretched hand. Loop in one cord around middle finger, knot in other held between thumb and index finger. Used for war and hunting. Range: longer than bow's. Accuracy: Fish said good slinger could hit fence post at 75 yds. Missiles: stones only, no clay balls.

*Club.*—Straight stick ca. 2 ft. long; used for rabbits, small game, deer. No "potato masher," curve-shaped, nor stone-mounted club.

*Harpoon, tsiti matónuk' (bone slip-point).*—Detachable head of radius or ulna of deer. Single barbed point, cord attached. Used for large fish, especially salmon.

No spear thrower; spear not thrown.

## TEXTILES

Basketry was one of the arts of life in which the Wappo excelled. Their work was in every way comparable to that of the neighboring Pomo, who have been judged to be among the finest basketmakers in the world. This illustrates the principle that tribes generally low in culture may excel in some special feature. Besides baskets, rabbitskin blankets and capes of tule and feathers were woven. The loom used was nothing more than two poles in the ground between which the warp was stretched.

*Cordage.*—Indian hemp most common plant: pounded to separate fibers; fibers moistened in mouth, dried, wet again in mouth, then twisted on thigh. Milkweed, nêt, and "ear milkweed," tsêma nêt: used especially for nets; stronger than hemp. Iris. Unidentified plant, t'ók. Buckskin thongs, single or braided. Sinew.

*Rabbitskin blanket.*—Skins of rabbits, squirrels, rats, gophers, etc., used. Blanket made as by Maidu<sup>37</sup> with horizontal warp. Pomo blanket had vertical warp.<sup>38</sup>

*Feather cape.*—Informants not clear on manufacture. Made on same crude loom of 2 upright poles in ground as was rabbitskin blanket. Pairs of hemp strings, twisted, stretched between poles to form horizontal warp. Down feathers of goose or duck twisted in this 2-ply warp probably as by Maidu,<sup>39</sup> and tied with third short string. Warp thus made fastened together with hemp weft.

Informants said woven tule skirt and cape both looked like Hawaiian hula skirt, but were soft and cotton-colored; did not know method of manufacture.

*Basketry.*—Fish traps described under Animal Food, mortar basket under Plant Food. Basket, taka. Large 3-rod coiled boiling basket, ôko'ema. Also basket with 1-rod coiling. Coiling clockwise to person looking down into basket. Carrying baskets conical, twined, like those of Pomo, 2 kinds: heima, close;<sup>40</sup> holopute, openwork. Twined storage baskets also

<sup>37</sup>Dixon, 1905, 148. <sup>38</sup>Loeb, 1926, 180. <sup>39</sup>Dixon, 1905, 151–152. <sup>40</sup>Barrett, 1908b, pl. 22.

like those of Pomo.<sup>41</sup> Twining plain, diagonal, and latticed. Sitting cradle, *kêye*, like Pomo; <sup>42</sup> carrying strap either of buckskin or woven vegetable fiber. Decoration: black and red roots; beads, *tsiti taka* (bone basket); feathers, *teôpe taka* (feather basket), similar to that of Pomo.<sup>43</sup> Twined seedbeater, *wanma*. Net used for carrying things on back.

### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Musical instruments were as simple as those in the rest of California, and consisted of the plank drum, cocoon rattle, split-stick clapper, bone whistle, and a kind of flute. They were used chiefly to play accompaniments for dancing, but the flute at least was played for amusement.

Plank drum (see Houses).

Cocoon rattle, *yêtic*. Like Pomo,<sup>44</sup> but had 4 cocoons. Stick from 1 to 6 ft. long. Used by doctors.

Split-stick clapper, *datisma*. Like Pomo,<sup>45</sup> but inside of stick hollowed out to give resonance. Beaten against hand.

Two-bone whistle, *tsiti ciuna* (bone whistle). Like Pomo *libu*.<sup>46</sup> Abalone shells and feathers were hung on it for decoration. It was tied around neck with string.

Kuksu whistle of elderwood, several ft. long, used by Kuksu impersonator. Otherwise like Pomo.<sup>47</sup>

Flute, *luluê*. Like Pomo flute.<sup>48</sup>

No musical bow. No acorn string. No bull-roarer.

### MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS, UTENSILS, MANUFACTURES

The technology of the Wappo was of the simplest. Tools and household utensils were undecorated, with the exception of baskets. Frequently natural shells, stones, and sticks were utilized. In this respect, central Californian tribes contrast with those of the lower Klamath river, who carved and decorated such things as horn spoons and wooden mush-stirrers, and even ground out symmetrically-shaped mauls and pestles of stone.

Buckhorn wedge, *kêcu picê* (deerhorn), used for splitting timbers. Pounded with any stone, not with maul.

Split stone axe with crude handle of hazel *withe*.

No adze.

Fire made with hand drill, *tsitsê hol*, of buckeye wood. Various woods used for hearth. No ceremonial fire making. Fire kept going or borrowed, seldom made. Fine grass or moss used for tinder. As person twisted drill, he prayed to *Huthas* (old man Coyote) to make fire jump out of wood.

Mush paddle, *wolic*, undecorated, crude.

Dishes: baskets and shells; use of wood dishes uncertain.

No glue made, only pitch used as adhesive.

Tanning: skins scraped with rough stone. Methods of curing with grease, brains, urine, etc., unknown to informants.

Skin bag: whole skin of small animal cased, hair left on. Bag used for carrying and keeping clamshell money, tobacco, medicine, and other valuables, also for quiver.

See Plant Food for description of other utensils.

<sup>41</sup>Barrett, 1908*b*, pl. 26.

<sup>45</sup>Loeb, 1926, 189.

<sup>42</sup>Barrett, 1908*b*, 166, pl. 24, fig. 2.

<sup>46</sup>Loeb, 1926, 189.

<sup>43</sup>Barrett, 1908*b*, pl. 21.

<sup>47</sup>Loeb, 1926, 189.

<sup>44</sup>Loeb, 1926, 189.

<sup>48</sup>Loeb, 1926, 190. Kroeber, 1925, pl. 43.

## GAMES

The Wappo games were almost the same as those of the Pomo. They included the grass or hand guessing game, shinny, split-stick dice, deer-knuckle dice, a guessing game played with about fifty sticks, hoop and pole, and several other minor diversions. Most of these games, or similar ones, were played over much of North America as well as in California, and had analogues in many other parts of the world.

*Grass game, kwōsi.*—Same as Pomo game<sup>49</sup> except in linguistics and following details. Bones: plain or white, tēp; wrapped or black, we. When only 2 persons played, both knelt on ground, sitting on heels. Player holding bones shuffled them in a pile of grass behind his back. Alternately he brought right and left hand forward, swinging half-flexed arms, swaying body, singing songs, etc., to confuse opponent. When he stopped moving for an instant, holding one hand forward, his opponent guessed which bone was in his forward hand. Scoring same as Pomo<sup>50</sup> except that 12, never 8, was winning score. Referee held counters. Challenger held bones first. If 2d game was played, winner of 1st game held bones first. Thus challenger or former winner had advantage at start.

When 2 played on a side, their hands moved together, both holding same hand forward, left or right. Opponents had 4 possible guesses: (1) black in front (white behind), we; (2) white in front (black behind), tēp; (3) black outside (white inside), tule; (4) white outside (black inside), soloba. If both players held bones according to opponents' guess, both were "killed"; if only 1 did, he was "killed." "Killing" of 1 player reduced opponents' guesses to we or tēp. Both men and women played this game in any combination, at any place and time. It lasted for hours.

*Shinny, naliv (shinny stick).*—Like Pomo game with these exceptions: curved stick, no net attached. Twelve players; 6 on each side, 1 keeping goal, other 5 running at large. Ball, napoli, carved from knob on madrone root. Goals from 200 yds. to half-mile apart, each consisting of 2 posts ca. 6 ft. high set 12 ft. apart. To start play, challengers threw ball up or dropped it in center of field. While in play, ball could not be thrown or picked up, but could be stopped with hand. Players did not grapple with one another. Bets laid by players or spectators. Two men, 1 from each side, acted as referees, each watching goal defended by his side, having authority to remove players from game. Substitutions permitted for ousted players. Sides: east against west moiety or one rancheria against another, challengers playing on field of challenged. No rest periods or "times out" until goal made.

*Stick dice, natc'av.*—Like Pomo mlaick'a or gadiaga<sup>51</sup> except played mostly by women, sometimes by men; no sides, everyone for himself; any number of people might play; winning score unknown to informants.

Small bone from deer knee, kulê, with 6 sides, thrown as die.<sup>52</sup> If either of 2 particular sides came up, no score, thrower lost die; if either of 2 other sides came up, 1 point scored; if either end came up, 2 points scored. Twelve sticks won game. No teams, everyone for himself.

*Stick guessing game, yoto.*—Like Pomo witeci<sup>53</sup> except about 50 sticks used; player guessed how many over a multiple of 8 were in one hand of player holding sticks, who, if guess correct, passed sticks to another player. Number of counters, kind of wood from which guessing sticks made, unknown to informants.

*Natcili-kôme, hoop pole.*—Like Pomo dakiro<sup>54</sup> except hoop of hazel, from 2 to 3 ft. in diameter; pole 10 ft. long; 6 points usually constituted a game; no betting.

*Matahi.*—Like Pomo batsui nelxale,<sup>55</sup> but informants did not know of what wood arrow made nor how it was decorated, could supply no data on girls' variation of this game.

<sup>49</sup> Loeb, 1926, 212-214.

<sup>50</sup> Loeb, 1926, 217-218.

<sup>51</sup> Loeb, 1926, 215.

<sup>52</sup> Loeb, 1926, 215.

<sup>53</sup> Loeb, 1926, 214-215.

<sup>54</sup> Loeb, 1926, 218-219.

<sup>55</sup> Loeb, 1926, 221.

Foot racing by either men or women. One course via several specified places and return measured ca. 4 mi.

Pole vaulting over stick or string for height or distance. Probably modern contest.

Two men would sit on ground, legs outstretched and feet touching, each grasping one end of stick, and pull against one another. Object to pull opponent off ground.

Isinatsai'dise, we are going to try out. Merely long-distance shooting with bows and arrows.

Men dived to see who could stay longest under water.

Two men would grab hands and try to throw one another down.

People swam dog-fashion without bringing arms out of water, or a kind of breast stroke.

Tag played by everybody.

Children had acorn tops, spun them with fingers.

Girls played with dolls of sticks, clay, or flat rocks about size of hand.

Absent: acorn or walnut dice, any kind of ring and pin game, anything like our boxing, tug of war.

### MONEY, VALUES, TRADE, TRAVEL, GREETINGS

Wappo money, like that of the Pomo, was of the clamshell disk variety. This was to be expected since the source of the shells was Bodega bay. There were no other strictly nonutilitarian forms of wealth, with the possible exception of woodpecker-scalp belts and other ceremonial regalia. Such utilitarian things as rabbit nets and deer-head disguises were among the most highly valued possessions. The Wappo traveled occasionally to the coast or to Clear lake, and received trade objects such as their bows from greater distances.

*Money.*—Wappo money like Pomo;<sup>68</sup> 2 kinds: clamshell disks, tupulu; magnesite cylinders, lél tsipê (rock red). First kind made as by Pomo except no information obtained on special driller, place where money made, or taboos connected with making. Arm not marked for bead measuring; beads counted. Beads worth ca. 1 cent each in lifetime of informants; formerly worth more, possibly 5 or 10 cents each. Eli once paid ca. 2½ cents each for whole clamshells at Bodega bay. All clamshells came from Bodega bay; either traded or got directly. Bay was common territory for Pomo, Wappo, Miwok clam digging. Magnesite cylinders obtained ready-made from Sulphur Bank Pomo. Dentalia unknown.

*Values.*—Following list of values given chiefly by Fish. Probably too high, but show relative scale. One cent, clamshell bead; 2½ cents, whole clamshell at Bodega bay; 10 cents, whole clamshell at Alexander valley; \$1, flute, pipe, arrowhead; \$1 to \$1.50, split-stick clapper; \$1.50 to \$2, whole arrow; \$2.50, bone awl; \$4 to \$5, cocoon rattle; \$5, sling, skinful of tobacco (skin not included), hair net, gunnysackful of acorns, gunnysackful of buckeyes, carrying basket, deerskin, digging stick of tsawatsitus wood, shinny stick; \$5 or \$6, hopper basket; \$10, spear of tsawatsitus wood, yellowhammer headband, baby cradle, set of 6 split-stick dice; \$15 or \$20, large flint spear point; \$25, flint-pointed spear (hotcowe), tulle cape, feather cape, fish net (large driving kind); \$30 or \$40, first-class feathered basket; \$40 or \$50, best bow (teano luka); \$50, bearskin robe; \$75, deer-head disguise; \$100, wife (gifts amounting to this sum presented by groom's family, if well-to-do, to parents of bride, who made equivalent return; see Marriage), long net for quail or rabbits; \$150, woodpecker-scalp belt.

*Trade.*—Following objects, not made or obtainable locally, were got through trade: sinew-backed bows from north at Colusa and Stonyford; clam and abalone shells from coast; tulle mats from Lake county (poor ones made locally); magnesite cylinders from Lake county; fish from Kelsey creek, Lake county; yellowhammer headbands from north (?).

*Travel.*—Wappo went to coast at least once a year, traveling 2 days each way. Were never molested by Pomo or Miwok on way to or at coast. Gathered or traded for sea products there.

<sup>68</sup>Loeb, 1926, 176-178.

Several times a year in spring and summer, made trip to Lake county for fish; went via Cloverdale. Kelsey creek principal fishing place. Fish decapitated, gutted, dried over fire in brush house for 1 or 2 days; seldom packed home "green" because too heavy in that condition. Men, women, and even children packed on such trips. Flint nodules got at St. Helena, carried home whole, worked there. Such trips not necessarily tribal affairs. Chief did not always go, but expeditions could not be made without his permission.

Informants recalled following places where Wappo went for dancing: Nicasio, west of San Rafael; Yountville, 3 days' journey; Hopland, 2 days'; Sulphur Bank (other name, Lîmîkma), 3 days'; Lakeport, 2 days'; Coast (Charles Hopp's place, southwestern Pomo territory), 2 days'; Coyote valley (near Middletown), 2 days'. People from all these localities except Nicasio also came to dance at Unutsawaholma.

When traveling, people took along pinole for food. Person carried load in carrying basket or net (see Textiles) on back, never on head; wore pack strap across forehead or chest, shifted it from one to the other to ease burden. Both men and women carried. No hand carrying-net. Babies packed on backs of mothers. Valuables carried in skin bag (see Miscellaneous Tools, etc.).

No boats of any kind: no navigable streams.

*Greetings.*—When 2 persons met, one said, mihi (is that you?). Other replied, i (yes). Or one said, ikalimibigasi (how are you feeling?). Other answered, huciabigasi (I feel good). At parting each said, miôpeka (I leave you). Vilificatory remark, k'a pîtsaya (person no good).

## ASTRONOMY, RECORDS, COUNTING, COLORS, DIRECTIONS

Stars and constellations were named, and the year was divided into four seasons and twelve moons. The moons were recorded with sticks, which were the only mnemonic device. These sticks were also used in counting. Colors were designated by four terms and intermediate shades were described by combining the two nearest terms. Besides the four cardinal directions, up and down were recognized. This was the limit of abstract knowledge. While a certain amount of religious belief and mythological knowledge was preserved and passed on, the culture was comparatively bare of intellectual or theoretical attainments.

The Lake Pomo seem to have been in advance of the Wappo in this regard. They counted to higher denominations, used knotted strings as well as sticks for records, and were more exacting in their astronomical observations.

*Astronomy.*—Celestial phenomena. Sun, hin-tume (day "sun"); male. Moon, uteuwamehin (night "sun"); male. Morning star, keu-soke; female. Evening star, sîm-soke; female. Big dipper, te'êna (long pole with hook). Little dipper (?), so'tsema. Milky way, hote'umîts (ghost road). Eclipse, hini-teaê'mse (sun lost). Full moon, hin-mopila (moon full). New moon, hin-ciîts (moon new). Rainbow, cîni-la'-kama (color spread). Whirlwind, oma-mêtili; caused by ghosts; made person's body swell up if it struck him.

*Time periods.*—Year, oma-wên (world season). Seasons: spring, oma'tc'utsasi; summer, hêlu-wên (fire season); fall, oma-te-tsawo-inca (world grass top ?); winter, tsa'-wêna (end season). Months: Jan., pipo-tso-hin (white-oak earth moon); Feb., kôtico-pêlê-hin (black-oak leaves moon); March, pipo-pêlê-hin (white-oak leaves moon); April, hin-yawêla (moon no-name); May, wa'ate-hin (pinole moon); June, t'olteûk-hin (burn-the-valley moon); July, teano-hin (manzanita moon); Aug., mêl-hin-yawêla (acorn moon no-name); Sept., mêl-hin (acorn moon); Oct., mêl-cimatisai-hin (acorn-leaves cover moon); Nov., hol-pêlê-hin (wood-leaves moon); Dec., holma-pêlê-hin (brush-leaves moon). Periods of the day:

morning, kewucei; noon, hinta howa'ê (sun divide); afternoon or evening, sumu; sunset, su'muwa; getting dark, teitcisê; night, huteuwa; midnight, huteu howa'ê (night divide).

*Records.*—Twelve sticks used to keep track of months. Chief threw one away at each last quarter when moon almost gone. Sticks also given to another village with feast invitation, as many sticks as there were days before feast. Prospective guests threw away one stick each day. Any brief time period recorded in this way.<sup>87</sup> Sticks also to keep score in games (see Games), and for ordinary counting.

*Counting.*—Quinary; 1 to 5, untranslatable terms; 6 to 9, derived from 1 to 5; 10, new term; 11, 10 and 1 extra; 12, 10 and 2 extra; etc. through 19; 20, 2-stick; 21, 2-stick and 1 extra; etc. through 29; 100, 10-stick; 200, 2 10-stick. All terms for multiples of 10, except the first, included hol, stick. This reflected practice of moving one stick for every 10 items counted. Only 1 size or kind of stick; no hierarchy like that of Pomo.<sup>88</sup> For native terms and details of Wappo system, see Dixon and Kroeber, 1907, pp. 677, 685; Barrett, 1908a, pp. 77-78; Radin, 1929, p. 138.

*Colors.*—Informants were shown colored beads and asked to name colors. Primary colors: red, tsipê; yellow, pôte; blue, cikatis (ci, clover); pink, humnacês. All intermediate shades were combinations, e.g., green, pôtecikatis (yellow-blue). Grays: white, k'aiêl; black, tsowê (tso, earth or dirt); gray or brown, k'êmîs.

*Directions.*—North, muti; south, wên; east, hêlûp; west, wita; up, mêt; down, tso (earth).

## DOCTORS, MEDICINE, POISONING

Like the Pomo, the Wappo distinguished between the doctor or shaman who obtained his power from supernatural experience and the one whose methods were essentially magical. The first was called sucking or dreaming doctor, the second, singing doctor. However, the Wappo neither believed in werebears who waylaid lone victims in unfrequented places, nor cured ghost-scare by again frightening the patient, as did the Pomo. The chief cause of disease among the Wappo seems to have been disease-object intrusion induced by sorcery, although natural causes also were recognized.

*Doctors.*—Two chief kinds: (1) sucking, yômâtô omuteo nîk (doctor suck he), dreaming, yômâtô hintcome (doctor dreaming), or "spirit" doctor; (2) singing, yômâtô onomela'e nîk (doctor sing he) or outfit doctor. This distinction and other usages same as those of eastern Pomo<sup>89</sup> except sucking doctor more powerful than outfit doctor. Most doctors men, but woman could be doctor of either kind.

Sucking doctor: Power acquired by supernatural experience. According to Fish, "A ghost comes to a man and tells him he must be a sucking doctor or he will die." Spirit appeared to man either at night in dream or in daytime in trance, and gave him visionary technique. This experience did not cause man to bleed at mouth or nose, as affirmed by Loeb.<sup>90</sup> Business of sucking doctor to suck out poisonous objects such as rocks, sticks, feathers, snakes, frogs. With eagle feathers he brushed paining spot on patient's body, cut it with flint, sucked out "poison." Swallowed or spit blood and "poison" into ordinary small basket with ashes in bottom. Emptied basket and washed it in running stream. Some dancing and singing interspersed. Fish once was sucked on stomach, said, "It feels like your guts are coming out." Doctor treated alone, had no seconds. No outfit other than feathers, flint, and basket. Few songs.

<sup>87</sup> On Pomo invitation sticks, see Barrett, 1917, 402-403.

<sup>88</sup> Loeb, 1926, 229-230.

<sup>89</sup> Freeland, 1923, 57-58; from heading, Doctors, 57, through paragraph ending with word, "beginners," 58.

<sup>90</sup> Loeb, 1932, 108. Loeb used one of my informants, Eli, but our accounts show several differences.

Outfit doctor: No supernatural experience required. Technique "picked up" by watching such a doctor practice or serving as one of his seconds. Outfit: feather headdress; antidotes such as rocks, parts of snakes and frogs, feathers of hawk, eagle, crow, or owl (hawk feathers especially potent); cocoon rattle (4 cocoons, handle 1 ft. long); double crane-bone whistle; no clothing except headdress. Doctor stood on south or sunny side of patient, who was laid with head toward east. Onlooker would get sick if he passed between doctor and sun in course of treatment. One or 2 seconds sang or beat time with cocoon rattle to doctor's dancing and singing. With his mouth doctor blew air and water on patient, or sprinkled water on him with feathers; then massaged him. Administered plants in form of teas or poultices. Did not "shoot" counterpoisons into patient; patient was touched or somehow received their power from distance. Prayers offered to Huthas (old man Coyote). Doctor did not frighten patient by means of spirit impersonation.<sup>61</sup>

Following were usages of both sucking and outfit doctors: treated mostly at night, rested during day; kept up treatment almost incessantly if case serious. Treated 4 days unless patient recovered sooner. Stopped after 4th day whether or not cure effected. Another doctor might continue treatment, however.

There were specialists (1) for women's sexual ills such as menstruation and childbirth, which were not treated by regular doctors because of fear of menstrual blood, and (2) for fractures; 1st kind sometimes women, 2d kind men. No special native terms for such doctors, so their status not clearly defined; probably outfit doctors.

No bear doctors or werebears as among Pomo.<sup>62</sup> Like bear shamans, Wappo poisoners (siiga) had power of rapid nocturnal transit.

Sucking doctor able to effect more permanent cure than outfit doctor, who might give relief to poisoned person but did not remove material object. Cure considered final only when material object sucked out. Sucking doctor who failed to get such objective evidence considered "no good."

Beads paid for cure. Patient tied 4 strings to upright pole ca. 10 ft. high,<sup>63</sup> piled other beads and gifts at bottom. Doctor who failed to cure did not accept payment.

Each doctor had own songs. Uncertain whether these songs were strictly private property or merely unknown to others.

Taboos: While on case, doctor avoided meat, fish, and fat, abstained from intercourse with wife, but observed no water taboo. Never hunted. When not on case, he could enter sweat house, but had to walk 4 times around fire counterclockwise before sitting down; sweated once or twice a day like any other man.

Purification: On 5th day, after being 4 days on case, doctor bathed in stream, rubbed himself with angelica roots and pepperwood leaves. After singing a certain song, he could eat meat and otherwise resume normal life.

Theories of disease: Disease object intrusion, induced by sorcery, chief cause of disease. Breach of taboo another cause. No soul loss or pure spirit intrusion. Minor ills such as constipation and colds, and injuries inflicted by natural agencies, such as wounds or fractures, apparently attributed to natural rather than supernatural causes.

*Medicine.*—Ailments and their cures:<sup>64</sup> Most of following remedies administered by laymen. Headache, hu ka'lica: hot stones or ashes put on head or head laid on them, pain sweated out; patient also bled and sucked at temple by doctor; Eli and Tripo had scars from such treatment, said everyone used to have them. Toothache, ca ka'lica: no worm theory; teeth never pulled; Fish put angelica in cavity to stop pain. Earache, tsēma ka'lica: hot ashes applied; ear not sucked. Rheumatism, ta'ka'lica (leg ache): hot ashes applied or patient laid on bed of hot ashes; doctor bled and sucked patient's joints. Stomachache, ne-wēla ka'lica: no emetics used; stomach sucked. Diarrhoea, pitica: wormwood leaves chewed or eaten. Constipation: vegetable purgatives used, tea from certain grasses and barks. Arrow wound: washed with plain water. Fracture: doctor sang, felt limb, set bone, put splints on it, wrapped it with unidentified root. Rattlesnake bite: no cure, death always fol-

<sup>61</sup>Freeland, 66; and Loeb, 1926, 322-323.

<sup>62</sup>Cf. Pomo. Freeland, 62.

<sup>63</sup>Barrett, 1917b; and Loeb, 1926, 335-338.

<sup>64</sup>Cf. Loeb, 1926, 328; 1932, 48.

lowed; family of stricken person observed no taboos prior to his death, could smoke and eat as usual. Sore eyes, *hutsi ka'lica* (eyes sore): no treatment. Sores and boils: tea from pepperwood leaves drunk, or it and other leaf poultices applied. Cold: pepperwood tea or broth of boiled angleworms drunk. Whooping cough: worm broth drunk; (Fish was once cured this way). To induce urination or menstruation: tea from a certain grass drunk. Smallpox: care of sick unknown; survivors bathed in stream, rubbed with angelica roots; angelica, pepperwood thrown on fire in house to drive disease away.

Rattlesnake fat used as medicine, but informants did not know for which disease.

*Poisoning.*<sup>65</sup>—Position of doctors in community and their relation to poisoners same as among Eastern Pomo.<sup>66</sup> Poison, *t'oma*, made from snakes, frogs, and parts (especially the blossoms) of young plants in spring. Poisoner, *siiga*, wore feather cloak, carried black pole ca. 10 ft. long with bag containing poison tied on end. He possessed power of rapid nocturnal transit, as did Pomo werewerebear. Poisoner might pronounce victim's name, standing between him and sun, and utter certain formulae; sickness or death of victim was supposed to follow. Naming of victim not necessary when his sputum, hair, urine, faeces, etc., available for contagious magic; when these were poisoned or destroyed, he was supposed to die. Human effigies like those of Pomo<sup>67</sup> denied. However, if picture of victim were drawn with charcoal on tree and shot with bow and arrow, victim died within 24 hours. Poisoner drank no water in daytime, abstained from meat, fish, fat. Informants denied Pomo custom of giving stranger anything he requested for fear he was poisoner.<sup>68</sup>

Any poisonous object placed under house, including piece of blood or flesh of dead person, would poison everyone near it. Once Fish noticed his well drying up, found piece of meat in it which he said was poison. On another occasion he felt pain in arm, attributed it to poison rock close by. Fish admitted one had to believe in poisoning before one could be harmed. Poisoner never frightened victim by impersonating monster.

## PUBERTY, BIRTH, SEX<sup>69</sup>

There were no puberty rites for boys, and those for girls were individual family affairs with the usual restrictions and food taboos. Infanticide seems to have been common, but may have been accentuated by the uncertainty of the future and the trying conditions resulting from exploitation by the whites. The *couvade* occurred in the most pronounced form found in California or, for that matter, in North America. The father actually lay down on his bed for four days. However, this was only a half-*couvade* because the mother was also confined and observed taboos similar to the father's. Other sex customs resembled those of the Pomo and other central California groups.

*Puberty.*—Girl, *pítsale*; at 1st menstruation called *hêtsúk*; at 2d and subsequent menstruations, *katsatsêca* or *manoki* (former more polite, meanings identical). At time of menses, girl retired to menstrual room, *tcêema tcuya* (bed house; see Houses), and lay down; no ashes were placed under her. She abstained from meat, fish, fat; drank from special basket used in menstrual room only (no drinking tube); used scratching stick, *mayote'atima hol*, because skin would wrinkle if she touched it with fingers. A female relative—older sister, mother, aunt—washed her face to prevent it from wrinkling. She could talk to anyone in main part of house, even to men, but had to do so quietly and slowly lest storm ensue. When she went outside to excrete, she wore deerskin over head lest she see (1) sun and go blind, (2) moon (result unknown), (3) snake and get rheumatism, or (4) certain water snake (*holwika*) and die. She went out door of menstrual room without going into main house, was led by any woman relative or even by an old man. After 4 days she was

<sup>65</sup>Cf. Loeb, 1926, 329–334; and Freeland, 69–72.

<sup>66</sup>Freeland, 69. <sup>67</sup>Loeb, 1926, 330. <sup>68</sup>Powers, 153. <sup>69</sup>Cf. Loeb, 1926, 246–257, 270–274.



bathed by any female relative while special doctor (see Doctors, etc.), male or female, sang a certain song in main part of house. Then she was allowed to leave menstrual room but had to remain in house until after 2d menstruation. These rites family, not community affair. If more than one girl put in same menstrual room, "all would go crazy."

No puberty rites for boys.

At 2d and subsequent menses, girl stayed in menstrual room 4 days, abstained from meat, fish, and fat lest she and relatives have bad luck, drank from special basket, left house by private exit, but did not wear deerskin over head nor observe any other taboos of first menses. On 5th day, bathed in stream. Eli once bathed before she was through menstruating, got rheumatism; was cured by father, an outfit doctor.

When man's wife was menstruating, he could not hunt, fish (worst thing to do), fight, gamble, dance, make weapons, nets, or traps, eat meat, fish, or fat, make dance costume or clamshell money. He "bummed around" most of time, but was allowed to carry wood, gather acorns and other vegetable food, and to smoke. If menstruating woman walked in man's tracks, he got cramps and could not run. When man had anything important to do, he abstained from intercourse with wife and avoided other women. Women could not touch hunting equipment or loiter around fish dam. Men afraid menstrual blood would give them bad luck or rheumatism. Women past climacteric no longer taboo.

*Birth.*—Pregnancy: Woman desiring children went to rock near Geyser spring on which hand and footprints of baby carved, supposedly by spirits. Also ate dirt from certain mountain to south in Pomo territory. No dolls or trees. Ritual performed unknown. Pregnant woman stopped working hard. Stayed in house during later stages. When outdoors, wore deerskin over head, was led by paid (?) female nurse. Observed sun, moon, snake, water-monster, food taboos as for first menses. Always turned her back on moon to prevent it from shining on her belly and harming foetus.

*Birth:* In menstrual room. Mother or other female relative acted as midwife; outfit doctor specialist called in if labor especially hard. Sometimes husband aided wife. Woman sat on kind of cushion which raised her slightly from ground. Midwife reached around her from behind and pressed down on foetus. At moment of parturition, midwife raised her up and baby dropped on mat. Mother or midwife cut navel cord and tied it with hair from mother's head. Every day until cord dropped off, another knot tied in it, each closer to belly than previous one. Cord buried "any place" after it fell off. For short time before and after giving birth, woman lay on warm ashes. When in difficult labor, she was not brushed with tail of deer or other article. No other information on doctor's treatment. Immediately after birth, baby bathed in warm water by midwife, not by one particular relative. Bath water thrown in certain place (informants vague); different place for each woman. Otherwise rainstorm might come. While small, baby bathed twice a day and rubbed with angelica by mother or female relative. Mother stayed indoors for 10 days or fortnight and, according to Eli, observed meat, fish, fat taboo. Fish said food taboo waived after 4 days.

If a certain hawk, *nihlik*, caught a bird near house of baby, baby might sicken or die as did victim of hawk.

*Version:* Foetus appearing feet first was pushed back into uterus and abdomen was massaged with rotary motion to turn foetus around so birth would be head first. This done by childbirth specialist (see Doctors, etc.).

*Infanticide:*<sup>70</sup> Immediately after giving birth, mother would throttle child by stepping on his neck or chest if she and husband did not want child. Neither chief nor anyone else had authority over parents in this matter. In genealogies, 2 couples whose lack of offspring attributed to infanticide.

*Abortion:* Woman "rolled around on her belly" or drank concoctions from certain plants to induce menstruation.

*Couvade:* At birth of child, father lay down; for 4 days could not smoke, talk loud or fast, or eat meat, fish, or fat. Stayed on his bed in main part of house (wife in menstrual room). Got up 5th day but went only a little way from house; on 6th day was more active;

<sup>70</sup>Cf. Powers, 198.

in succeeding days gradually resumed normal activities. For some days after getting up, he could not tire himself with work lest child become tired. If he smoked, his baby would "wheeze" and have difficulty in breathing. A few days later father could gather acorns, pepperwood nuts, and other vegetable foods; but if he killed any animal, his baby might die. After ca. 10 days he was allowed to kill deer, but could not fish or hunt bear until a later time. In recent years man has had to work and could not stay home in bed, so he has taken ordinary, unworked stick of wood or stone and ordered it to "watch baby." He has discarded this after 4 days. Fish ate meat of certain fish within 4 days after birth of one of his children. Pus came from child's ears, it died that winter; death attributed to breach of taboo.

Bastard, *hêlnacutê*, reared by mother and her relatives. Sometimes killed, but not always. Twins, *pala*, received no special treatment. None at *Unutsawaholma*.

*Sexual perversions.*—No berdaches. Tripo knew of them, but denied their former presence among Wappo. Anal intercourse in aboriginal times unknown to Tripo. He thought masturbation must have occurred, but knew of no concrete instances.

## DEATH<sup>73</sup>

Death customs were similar to those of the Pomo. The dead were cremated. Sometimes a bereaved widow attempted to throw herself on the funeral pyre, but was always restrained by a relative. The usual mourning practices, such as cutting the hair and putting clay on the head, were observed. There was, however, no tribal mourning ceremony nor any other public tribute to the dead.

Body washed, clothed in best, covered with clean blanket. Disposed of day after death for fear of ghost. Taken out any door; no special mode or place of exit. Six men carried corpse on 3 sticks placed under its legs, hips, and thorax. Pallbearers did not wash afterward (?). Body burned mile or so from village because ghost feared. Hole dug ca. 2 ft. deep, wood heaped up several ft. high, body laid on it. Some old man or woman not related to dead person lighted pyre and poled body around so it would burn evenly. Burning flesh not eaten. Corpse touched only by those compelled to do so; touching it might give person itch. Relatives wailed in rhythm approaching that of dance; scratched faces with nails, beat and cut breasts with stone. *Suttee*: sometimes woman who had lost child or husband tried to throw herself on pyre, but relatives and other bystanders, expecting such action, held her back.<sup>74</sup>

Woman always cut off hair with flint to mourn death of close relative such as parent, husband, or child. Frequently all women in house cut hair together because each related to dead person. Men mourners rarely cut hair. Most of dead person's possessions burned on pyre (see Property). Relatives offered clothing, baskets, beads, and other valuables. House of dead person often burned; however, this custom not always observed if house occupied by several families or if death occurred in winter when building materials scarce. No instance of whole town being burned when chief died. Everyone who wished might witness cremation. Ashes buried in hole directly beneath fire.

For from several months to few years after person's death, relatives cried whenever in mood. No paid mourners. Clay smeared solidly on head of mourning woman; left on for year or so. Her face washed, not covered with pitch. She visited grave every day for about a week, then less often; after about a fortnight stopped going there because afraid of ghost. Ghost "hung around" for long time, no definite period; walked, talked, opened doors, and made various noises; was heard only, never seen. Ghost of *Eli's* husband opened door, walked on roof.

No annual tribal mourning ceremony like that of *Maidu*.<sup>75</sup> Fish had heard of it when in *Sacramento*; denied it for *Wappo*.

<sup>73</sup>See Loeb, 1926, 286-297; and Powers, 200.

<sup>74</sup>*Suttee* reported for Pomo; Powers, 170. <sup>75</sup>*Dixon*, 1905, 245-259.

## VILLAGE OF UNUTSAWAHOLMA

The following sections are based on concrete genealogical census data of about the year 1870, when Mary Eli was in her 'teens and John Tripo in his twenties. At this time they lived with nearly a hundred others in a little settlement of grass-thatched houses.

The material is presented in a manner similar to that of Gifford, who obtained a much fuller body of data than I. Comparisons are made chiefly with Gifford's Clear Lake Pomo village of Cigom, in which the culture was similar to that of the Wappo. The genealogies are not included in this report but are on file with the Department of Anthropology at the University of California.

Concrete data of this kind afford a basis from which reliable generalizations can be made. Informants are often very poor generalizers. Doubtless in a more highly formalized and systematized culture almost everyone would know the customary rules and modes of conduct, but in a relatively free and simple culture such as that of the Wappo, often no such patterns of behavior exist. The informant too often cites one or two instances of a kind of action or quite arbitrarily lays down a rule which actually had no basis in experience. In regard to postnuptial residence, for example, my informants favored matrilocal one day and patrilocal the next, and, when I pointed out their contradictions, admitted that there was no fixed rule of residence. The census data confirm this.

Cigom was more than twice as large as Unutsawaholma, having 235 inhabitants and 20 houses to Unutsawaholma's 92 inhabitants and 11 houses. Most of the people of both towns had been born in them. In each town, the family group was based on the husband, one wife, and their children. The house types of the two towns were similar, and in each community many of the houses were occupied jointly by two or more families, each having its own fire and entrance. These families almost always were related by blood. It is obvious that the Lake Pomo and the Wappo had much in common; differences were minor.

## HOUSES, FAMILIES, PERSONS

Twenty-one families, totaling 92 persons, lived in 11 grass houses. Number of occupants in each house ranged from 21 to 4, averaged 9; families in each house (family defined as those who ate together), from 6 to 1, averaged 2; persons in each family averaged 4.5. Using reputed head of house as point of reference, relationships of individuals within each house shown in table 1.

Abbreviations to be used throughout in lists and tables: hh, head of house; fh, family head; h, husband; w, wife; f, father; m, mother; ss, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; stpm, stepmother; rel, relative; fem, female; wo, woman; pts, parents; sib, sibling. Apostrophes omitted; e.g., hh w means house-head's wife.

## INTRAHOUSE RELATIONSHIPS (Table 1)

No 2 house groups of identical constitution. Summary of results from all 11 houses: 15 individuals related by blood to the house-head and not to his wife; 14 individuals related by blood to the house-head's wife but not to him. Thus neither his nor his wife's relatives predominated. If matrilocal residence prevailed, wife's relatives should have predominated. If patrilocal residence were the rule, husband's relatives would have been most numerous.

TABLE 1  
INTRAHOUSE RELATIONSHIPS

Relative	House											Total relationships	Total persons
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI		
hh.....	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	11	11
hh w.....	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	11	11
hh f.....	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 P*
hh m.....	×	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4 P
hh m ss.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	1	1 P
hh m ss s.....	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 P
hh m ss s w.....	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh b.....	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 P
hh b w.....	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh ss.....	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	2	2 P
hh ss h.....	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh ss h f.....	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh ss s.....	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	2	3 P
hh w f.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	2	2 M†
hh w f ss.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	1	1 M
hh w f ss h.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	1	1
hh w m.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 M
hh w m m.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	1	1 M
hh w m b.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	1	1 M
hh w m f b.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 M
hh w m f ss.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 M
hh w ss.....	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	3	3 M
hh w ss h.....	..	..	×	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
hh w ss s.....	..	..	×	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	2	2 M
hh w ss d.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 M
hh stepson.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh s.....	2	2	×	..	×	×	2	×	×	..	×	9	12
hh d.....	..	..	3	×	×	..	3	..	×	..	2	6	11
hh d h.....	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
hh d h f.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh d h m.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
hh d s.....	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	3	3
hh d d.....	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	3
hh m fem rel.....	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 P
hh m fem rel d.....	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1 P
Total relationships.....	8	8	18	5	8	6	6	5	7	4	7	82	..
Total persons....	10	9	21	5	8	6	9	5	7	4	8	..	92

\* Paternal: related by blood to house-head, not to his wife.

† Maternal: related by blood to house-head's wife, not to him.

Therefore these data suggest that residence was random. By far the most frequent relationship (excepting that of house-head and wife, which was universal) was son or daughter of house-head and wife. Other relationships in order of frequency were: house-head's mother, 4 instances; house-head's wife's sister, wife's sister's husband, daughter's son, 3 instances each; all others, from 1 to 2 instances.

INTRAFAMILY RELATIONSHIPS (Table 2)

Similarity of family- to house groups partly result of inclusion of single-family houses in both tables. The family-head's relatives predominated over those of his wife 11 to 4. This paternal bias is of limited significance because there are so few known instances of it. Again fundamental unit was parents and offspring, and house-head's mother was relative most frequently included.

TABLE 2  
INTRAFAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Relative	House																Total* rela- tions- hips	Total* persons
	I		II		III						V		VI		IX			
	Family																	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	c	d	e	f	a	b	a	b	a	b		
fh.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	...	X	X	X	X	20	20	
fh w.....	X	X	X	X	X	...	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	20	20	
fh f.....		X									X					2	2 P†	
fh m.....	X	...	X	X							X					4	4 P	
fh m ss.....																1	1 P	
fh m ss s.....			X													1	1 P	
fh m ss s w.....			X													1	1	
fh ss.....						X										2	2 P	
fh ss s.....																1	1 P	
fh w f.....														X		1	1 M‡	
fh w m m.....																1	1 M	
fh w m b.....																1	1 M	
fh w ss.....																1	1 M	
fh stepson.....													X			2	2	
fh s.....	2	2	2	...	X			X	...	X	X	...	X	...	X	12	16	
fh d.....				2			X		2	X	X			X		9	14	
fh d h.....																1	1	
fh d s.....																1	1	
fh d d.....																2	2	
Total relation- ships*.....	4	4	6	2	5	2	2	4	2	4	6	2	3	3	5	2	83	..
Total persons*.	5	5	7	2	6	2	2	4	2	5	6	2	3	3	5	2	..	92

\* Includes results from houses IV, VII, VIII, X, XI (table 1), each of which contained only one family and hence is included in both house and family statistics.

† Paternal: related by blood to family-head, not to his wife.

‡ Maternal: related by blood to family-head's wife, not to him.

HOUSE- AND FAMILY-HEADS

Head of house usually was mature but not senile person, always a man. In 2 houses where only 2 generations were present, both headmen were of 1st or oldest generation. Of 8 houses where 3 generations found, 6 headmen belonged to 2d generation, 2 to 1st. In 1 house, responsibility naturally vested in 1st generation because members of 2d or middle generation dead. In the 1 house containing 5 generations, headmen were of 3d generation.

Taken separately, many families (eating groups) included too few generations to make such a rating worth while. However, usually heads of families who were not heads of the houses in which they lived were also middle-aged.

This suggests certain premium placed on physical fitness of family- or house-head.

#### INTERFAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF FAMILIES IN JOINT HOUSES

Only the most direct relationships considered. When 2 relationships were equally close, e.g., parent-offspring and siblings, both are given. P indicates paternal connection, M maternal, N neutral. Parent-offspring class, total 4 instances: m to s, 1 instance, P; pts to d, 2 instances, M; pts to s, 1 instance, P. Siblings, 6 instances: b to ss, 2, N; b, 1, P; ss, 2, M; ss to unmarried sibs, 1, M. Grandparent-grandchild, 1: pts d d to d m pts, 1, M. Uncle-aunt and nephew-niece, 3: wo f b to man's b d, 1, P; wo f ss to wo b d, 1, P; wo m ss to wo ss d, 1, M. Great uncle-nephew aunt-niece, 4: wo m f ss to wo b d d, 2, N; wo m f b to man's b d d, 2, N. Great great uncle-aunt nephew-niece, 2: wo b d d d to wo m m f ss, 1, N; man's b d d d to wo m m f b, 1, N. Relatives by marriage, 5: unmarried sibs ss h pts to pts s w unmarried sibs, 1, N; pts d h pts to pts s w pts, 1, N; sibs b d d h pts to pts s w m m f sibs, 1, N; pts d d h pts to pts s w m pts, 1, N; wo ss d h pts to pts s w m ss, 1, N. Uncertain relationships, 1: wo fem rel to wo fem rel, 1, N.

Of 26 total relationships, 5 paternal, 7 maternal, 14 neutral. Number of relatives by marriage comparatively large because house III contained 2 pairs of unrelated parents whose children were man and wife. Thus husband was living with his parents, wife with hers, and each with other's. The husband's parents had no relatives other than offspring and, at the same time, constituted a separate family, so all their connections with other families were through their son's wife. All interfamily connections outside of house III are in parent-offspring and sibling classes.

#### INTERHOUSE RELATIONSHIPS

Siblings, 4: 2 ss to b; 2 b to b. Parents and offspring, 4: 2 d to m; s to m; s to pts. Uncle-nephew, 1: man's f b to man's b s. All other connections unspecific; informants vague.

#### HOUSES CONNECTED BY BLOOD

Houses	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
I.....	..	×	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
II.....	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	4
III.....	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	×	..	×	5
IV.....	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
V.....	×	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	2
VI.....	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
VII.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	1
VIII.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	1
IX.....	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
X.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0
XI.....	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2

Out of 55 possible interhouse relationships, only 12 (22 per cent) known to have existed. However, informant's knowledge probably incomplete. All houses except x related to at least one other house; 5 connections maximum for a single house. Most of known connections were between siblings or parents and offspring. Only 4 known instances of one person changing residence in order to marry and live with another (see below).

## POSTNUPTIAL RESIDENCE

Statistics given so far throw some light on marital residence, but problem has not been approached directly. Following data significant. Nine instances of married man and one or both parents living together: patrilocal evidence. Six instances of married woman and one or both parents living together: matrilocal evidence. One instance of married brothers living together: patrilocal. Three instances of married sisters living together: matrilocal. Four instances of married sister and brother living together: neutral. Summary: 10 instances favor patrilocal, 9 matrilocal, 4 are neutral. This evidence, combined with that above, indicates that no rule of residence existed. In addition to this somewhat indirect proof, 4 instances known of person moving to house of spouse's parents. Male 35, house II, moved after marriage to house III of his wife 24. Male 55, house II, moved to house V of his wife 69. Male 150, house unknown, moved to house X of his wife 146. Female 51, house III, moved to house VIII of her husband 67. (Some of these marriages took place after time of census, so genealogies may show these individuals in houses of birth.) Although 3 out of 4 matrilocal, instances too few to be significant. Informants' own generalizations agree that residence might be either matrilocal or patrilocal, or might change from one to the other. No fixed rule.

## NATIVITY

List of those born in other towns: male 45, Pipoholma; males 31, 18, 12, Tekenan; males 150, 73, female 136, Loknoma; female 11, Sulphur Bank; male 40, female 16, Hatênûk; female 175, 176, Mecuyok or Hicomenoma.

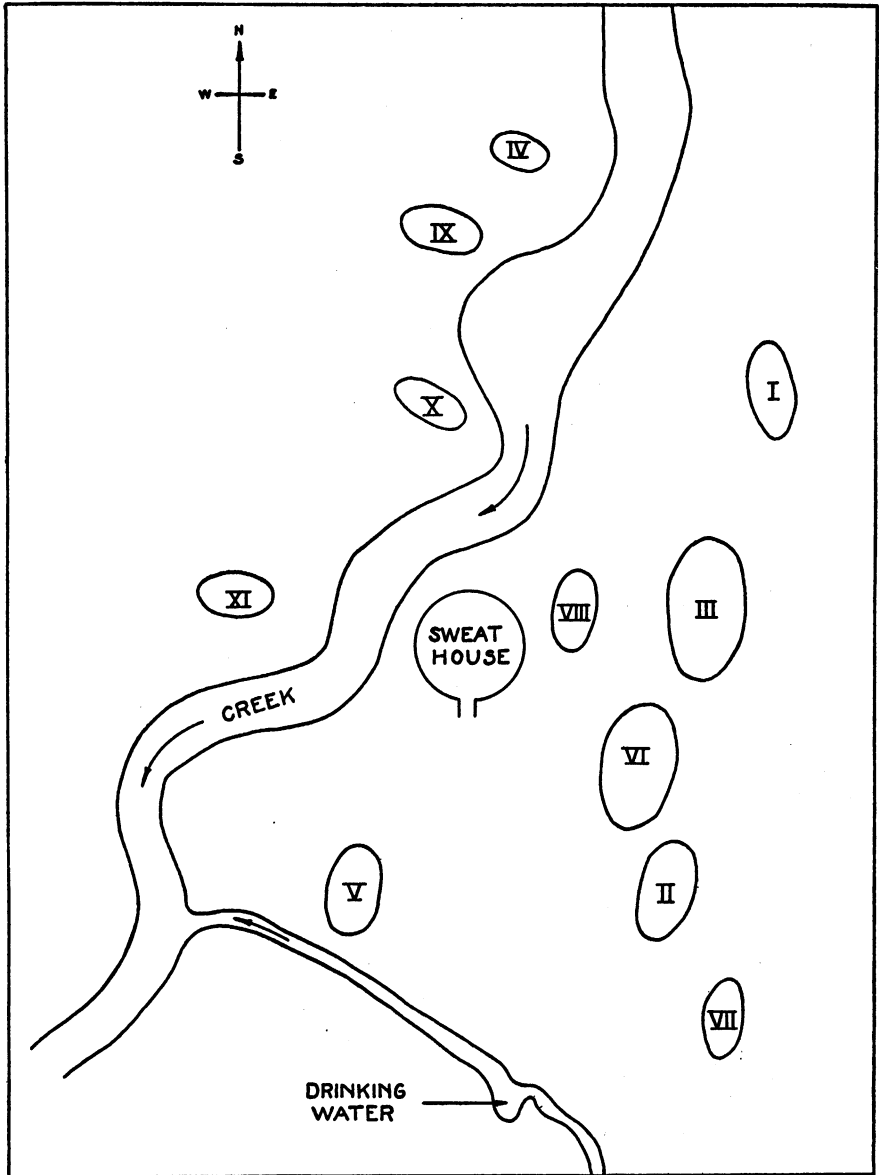
Thus 7 males and 5 females, 12 out of 94, or 13 per cent of Unutsawaholma inhabitants of foreign birth. Persons 45 and 31 chiefs; others of no special importance. All towns Wappo-speaking except Sulphur Bank, which was Southeastern Pomo. Hatênûk at Kelseyville. Mecuyok or Hicomenoma near Lower lake, either in Lake Miwok or Southeastern Pomo territory, according to Barrett's boundaries, although town not shown on his map.<sup>74</sup>

## PERSONAL NAMES

English meaning of names as given by informants. M, male; F, female; letters refer to classification of names (see below).

Apîs, dove, M b. Awêlomîk, a few potatoes, M d. Awetulpi, potato valley woman, F d. Caiêl, ember, M e. Catil, teeth sound, M f. Cinholi, dark stick, M e. Cipematsa'wepi, clover blossom, F d. Citul, clover valley, M d. Côt, lamprey, M c. Ga't'api, laughing, F f. Gu'juyuju, potato bug, F a. Haiyuwa'o, white dog, F a. Ha'tsenapo'lic, digging stick, F e. Hawepi, pick up, F h. Hilehut'o'nepi, abalone haircut, F f. Hîtspi, unidentified grass, F d. Holimîkali, good climber, M f. Holopu'teocak, empty basket, M e. Holjac, dry wood, M e. Holt'u'm, black bear, M a. Holwe', wood pin, M e. Homê'm, trout, M c. Ho'natê'ls, flat head, F f. Hopte'ota, wrinkled face, F f. Hutkacîs, coyote scapula, M a. Hutmelewe, coyote swing, M a. Hutsikênêna, cataract eyes, F f. Hutsila'api, fanning eyes, F f. Hutsiola, four eyes, M f. Hutsus, long ears, F f. Hutuko'yepi, punch a hole, F h. Hutumetso'têpi, snail squeeze, F a. Ka'koti, raven, M b. Kaseholi, necklace, M e. Ka'waju, pine sugar, M e. Kêcuko'lêpi, deermeat, F a. Komwateci, unidentified grass, M d. Kopa'ateui, bullfrog cooking in ashes, F a. Lak'age'depi, broken arm, F f. La'kmele, no acorns, M d. Lômte, put down, M h. Lutee, tobacco, M d. Lutsa, fox, M a. Meca'tapi, whiskey (perhaps related to Spanish mescal), F e. Mecê'uk'ma, beads hanging on arm, F f. Me'nanêpi, dig a well, M h. Mewêli, make a dam, M h. Mîtce, turtle, M a. Mîtcehê'l, turtle anus, M a. Motahu'cuwe, steam coming out of hill, M g. Na'ta'tsia, can't taste anything, F f. Ohame, intestines, M a. Omae'we, rough place, M f. Omapu'lîca, whirlwind, M g. Osôtê, bundle, F e. Pamalamepi, wildcat hand, F a. Pa'ma'moyapi, earth-oven leaves, F d. Pépt'ogu, field mouse, M a. Pipimeta, quail woman, F b. Pôtêpi, down feathers, F b. Takaciutso'mîc, conical basket, M e. Te'akpi, blackbird, F b. Teukolowîs, hump on rump, M f. Teute, burning, M h. Tilî'l, unidentified bird, M b. Tôm, fawn,

<sup>74</sup>Barrett, 1908a, end.



Map 2. Village of Unutsawaholma. Roman numerals refer to house numbers.

M a. Tsatsaapi, mountain quail, F b. Tsi, grasshopper, M a. Tsitiwai'api, birth mark, F f. Tsi'tsahu, bear head, M a. Tsi'uhu, fly head, M b. Tsu'sépi, hair unkept, F f. Tsowéle, black mushroom, M d. Tsuiélpí, paralyzed, F f. Tupeholpi, wood quail-top, F b. Tupepukél, quail-top brush dance house, M e. Tupeyok'ma, quail-top trail, M b. Tupulumota, bead mountain, M e. U'yupi, bear girl, F a. Wa'atehutsipe, pinole face red, M f. We'lakapi, flint arm, F f. We'tama, flint, M e. Wima, puma, F a.

Names of unknown meaning. Côjima, F. C'omo, M. Côtoya, M. Holmajine, M. Hutsêma, M. K'aiju, M. Kô'komis, M. K'ope, M. Mats'a'tala, M. Me'naki, M. Pinûcmûc, F. Pipihopai, F. T'amu, M. Te'ênên, M. Tsélamepi, F. Other names either Spanish or English.



No differences in meaning between male and female names except possibly in classes (e) and (f). Animals grouped together include 34 out of 85, or 40 per cent of all names. Class (f), which describes person in terms of his own characteristics, next most numerous. About 70 names (82 per cent) nouns or modified nouns. Remainder verbs and other parts of speech. The feminine suffix -pi appears in most female names.

Inspection of genealogies shows no relationship between names and marriage or descent.

Multiple names (not including Spanish or English names): M 27, 2 names; M 177, 3; M 191, 2; M 180, 2.

Acquisition of name. No special person named child; Tripo said paternal grandparents did so; Eli knew no rule; Knight said child given 2 names, one by each pair of grandparents; Fish said name given by mother, but on another occasion said paternal grandparents gave it. No formal naming ceremony. Names sometimes picked up as are our nicknames.

CLASSIFICATION OF NAMES

	Male	Female	Total
(a) Land animals.....	11	10	21
(b) Birds .....	4	7	11
(c) Fish .....	2	0	2
(d) Plants .....	6	4	10
(e) Inanimate objects .....	11	3	14
(f) Aspects or conditions of persons (nicknames).....	5	14	19
(g) Natural forces .....	2	0	2
(h) Actions .....	3	3	6
Total.....	44	41	85

When person had 2 or 3 names, each was of equal status. No evidence of the double-name system of Pomo<sup>75</sup> in which one name sacred and secret. Children said to be named after dead relatives, but genealogies show no evidence of this custom. Only one name, Pô'têpi, occurred twice; was name of paternal grandmother F 96 and her puerile granddaughter F 125, who were alive at same time.

Name taboo: Names of dead not permanently taboo; some children said to be named after dead ancestors. However, one day when we were working on genealogies, informants' relatives came to visit and informants asked us not to talk about dead while relatives there. Afterward, informants showed no hesitancy in mentioning names of dead, said only that relatives might not have liked it. If someone called out person's name in night, he was likely to get sick. This reflects poisoner's tactics (see Doctors, etc.) Informants frequently laughed outright after giving name, especially its English equivalent; this suggests names not very sacred or taboo. Informants' sense of humor surprisingly parallel to ours. Possible result of European acculturation.

PLAN OF VILLAGE

Map 2 drawn freehand from observations on the spot. House sites clearly marked by shallow depressions dug out for beds (see Houses). Size, shape, orientation, and occupants of houses indicated by informant. Houses not arranged in any geometric form; no street. Sweat house central. Doors of dwelling houses (not shown in map) might face in any direction, but sweat-house door always faced south. Houses on east side of creek all oriented in same direction but probably reason for this topographical: land there slopes from east to west, west side of creek almost level.

<sup>75</sup>Loeb, 1926, 257-261.

MARRIAGE<sup>78</sup>

Monogamy was universal, even for chiefs. Most of the Pomo also were monogamous. There was no true bride purchase, the ceremony consisting of an equal exchange of gifts between the families concerned. Divorce was by mutual consent with no formalities, but it seems to have been uncommon. Marriage was prohibited between all known blood relatives. A widow might marry her deceased husband's brother or a widower his deceased wife's sister, but there was no rule or preference in the matter.

Monogamy universal, even for chiefs.

No definite age for marriage. Girls said to have married when only 12 years old, more frequently at 15 years of age. Eli thought she was about 15 years old when she married. Groom usually few years older than bride.

Marriage arranged by principals, subject to approval of both sets of parents. Ceremony consisted of exchange of gifts of about equal value between families of couple. Groom's parents offered beads, blankets, meat, fish, and other products of hunt. Bride's parents gave in return pinole, bread, baskets, and other articles associated with or produced by women. If parents did not approve of match, they refused to make gifts. Parents exchanged gifts of decreasing value for indefinite period after children's marriage. Bride or groom who failed to give occasional presents to parents-in-law was considered "no good."

When Tripo was young, he had affair with girl and wanted to marry her. Her family did not approve and made it so unpleasant for him that he ran away to Lake county for few months. When asked what they would have done if he had stayed, he said they would have "cussed" him. This illustrates part of relatives in person's choice of mate.

Husband never worked for parents-in-law instead of giving them gifts, but did carry wood and water for them and do other minor things to please them.

Potential spouses frequently cohabited in secret before marriage. Matches often resulted from philandering at "big times." This was best time for obtaining mate. Neighboring villages invited to such festivities; this sometimes resulted in intervillage marriages.

Newly married man gave first deer he killed to mother-in-law. If he got this deer while hunting with father-in-law, father-in-law took charge of it, either dividing meat at place of kill or carrying animal to mother-in-law for her to divide it. Sometimes she also received 2d deer killed by son-in-law.

Separation: Widow lived with mother-in-law for 2 or 3 years after husband's death; was not supposed to speak to or "do business" with any man. Got approval of mother-in-law before marrying again. Sometimes married deceased husband's brother if he not already married and if mother-in-law approved match, but no such established preference. Similarly, man might marry deceased wife's sister, but not because of compulsion or established preference. When man's wife died, he visited mother-in-law every few days and continued to give her presents of game for indefinite period. Man or woman who married too soon after death of mate was likely to be poisoned.

Motherless children cared for by deceased wife's mother; this consistent with matrilineal residence.

When man married widow, he treated dead husband's mother well, giving her game, etc.

No formal divorce. One person "just got up and went." Wife always kept children. Divorce rare. Adultery, but not barrenness, grounds for divorce. Fish said barrenness might be fault of man. Three women known to have made 2d marriages before or about time of census; each did so after death of first husband: woman 33 first married to 45, later to 46; woman 63 first married to 73, later to 72; woman 176 first married to 178, later to 179. Greater number of remarriages in more recent times.

<sup>78</sup>Cf. Loeb, 1926, 277-285; Gifford, 1926, 319-327; Powers (on Wappo), 198-199.

Parent-in-law taboos: Bride could not eat with parents-in-law, and could talk to them only when it was absolutely necessary to do so. Husband allowed to eat, remain in same room, and talk with parents-in-law, but was supposed to be polite to mother-in-law, carry wood and water for her, and bring her game.

No celibates at time of census. Later celibacy common; precise frequency unknown. Probably ascribable to breakdown of culture. Said also to be result of smallpox epidemic before time of census, which seriously diminished population. This may also explain small size of families as given in table 2.

Theoretically, blood relatives of any degree not allowed to marry. Instance to contrary: man 32 married mother's female relative 44; their precise relationship unknown. Because great majority of Unutsawaholma marriages locally endogamous, marriages of remote blood kin must have occurred. Genealogies do not extend back far enough to show this. Within last 2 generations another marriage between blood relatives: man 81 married his f m b d d d 115.

For postnuptial residence, see above.

### OCCUPATIONS, OFFICES, SPECIAL ABILITIES, DIVISION OF LABOR

There was little real division of labor. A man seldom if ever gave his full time to a single occupation. The occupations and trades listed in table 3 below are very similar to those of the Pomo. Women's activities were less specialized than men's. In fact, the only women with distinctive positions were the solo singer at dances and the so-called woman chief, who was probably a male chief's wife and acted as a kind of hostess.

Results of an attempt to discover trade or ability of each man are given in table 3. Categories, except first 4, are occupations for which men noted or in which they spent considerable part of time. Data doubtless incomplete. Furthermore, although all men grown, their ages varied; some too young to have acquired special skills, others too old to have retained former positions. For example, 191 said to have been a chief, but at time of census was not even head of his family or house, therefore probably senile. His sister's son head of house and family. Nevertheless, data give more adequate idea of relationship of occupations to each other and frequencies than general words; but inadequacies hardly warrant formal statistical correlation of categories with each other.

Only 2 outstanding activities of women: female chief (described under Chieftainship) and paid solo singer before audience in dance house.<sup>77</sup> Women 16 and 143 solo singers, 53 and 16 chiefs.

Most men hunted and fished at some time of life. Each man made his own weapons, traps, nets, etc., or helped to make them if they were jointly owned and used. All clothing except woman's double apron made by men, including woven rabbitskin blankets and feather and tulle capes. Men built houses and cut necessary poles, made musical instruments, served as pallbearers at funerals. Male dance "captains" made all ceremonial costumes, including those of women. Other male activities given in table 3.

All women cooked and otherwise prepared food; gathered grass seeds for pinole and other vegetable foods; made household and cooking utensils; wove all baskets except fish traps and baby cradles (latter made by old men as well as by women); made their own double aprons, even tanning the hides for them; and gathered grass for covering house during its construction.

Both sexes gathered acorns and carried them home, gathered wood, carried water, packed on journeys. Most doctors men, but some women doctors.

<sup>77</sup> Apparently same as woman solo singer of Pomo; Loeb, 1926, 223.

A few occupations and special abilities seemed to run in families. From parent to offspring: flute making and playing from father 23 to son 47 (mother of 23 a singer); singing ability from parents 140 and 143 to son 147 to grandson 159. Between persons of more

TABLE 3  
OCCUPATIONS, OFFICES, SPECIAL ABILITIES OF MALES AT UNUTSAWAHOLMA

Male	Head chief*	Lesser chief	Head of house	Head of family	Sucking doctor	Singing doctor	Hunter	Fisherman	Gambler	Singer	Bead maker	Arrowhead maker	Pipe maker	Flute maker, player	Woodpecker-belt maker	Sweat-house fireman and janitor
2	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
9	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
12	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
15	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	..	..	..	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..
23	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..
26	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×
28	..	..	×	×	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..
35	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	..	..	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
40	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
47	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..
56	..	..	×	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..
67	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..
68	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	..
71	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
72	..	..	×	×	..	..	×	×	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	×
73	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	×
134	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	×
140	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	×
145	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	×
147	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
150	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
159	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
177	..	..	×	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	..
179	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
181	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
183	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..
186	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..
188	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..
189	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	×	×	×	×	×	..	..	..	..
191	..	..	..	×	..	..	×	×	×	×	×	×	..	..	..	..
195	..	..	×	×	..	..	..	×	×	×	×	×	..	..	..	..
Total.....	1	1	11	20	0	2	8	9	4	7	6	3	1	2	1	4

\* Relevant information concerning each of these sixteen headings can be found in following sections, respectively: Chieftainship, Chieftainship, Occupations, Occupations, Doctors, Doctors, Animal Food, Animal Food, Games, Ceremonialism, Money, Weapons, Tobacco, Musical Instruments, Body and Dress, Occupations.

remote relationship: hunting ability from man 32 to his mother's sister's son 28, and from man 15 to his sister's daughter's sons 67 and 72; fishing ability from man 15 to his sister's daughter's son 67; occupation of singing doctor from man 18 to his daughter's husband 36; arrowhead making from man 183 to his daughter's husband 188.

Head of house or family had no specific authority or functions. Position not institutionalized; included to show relationship between such prominence and other positions.

Sweat-house firemen and janitors were appointed by chief to gather wood, keep fire going, and sweep out sweat house. Sometimes young men helped them to gather dead branches from ground. They cut no green wood. They worked singly or together, according to task.

### PROPERTY

As among other primitive peoples, a Wappo owned what he made and used himself. Anything made or used jointly was the common property of those concerned. Gathering tracts were apparently owned by indefinite groups of relatives, but hunting territory belonged to the whole tribelet. Incorporeal property scarcely existed, and there seems to have been no fixed rule of inheritance for any kind of property.

Property owned individually, jointly, tribeletally. Each person owned his clothes and body ornaments. A man owned his own weapons, musical instruments, pipe, etc.; doctors their outfits and possibly their songs, although latter uncertain; women their baskets and utensils, which they made. In general, anything made by a single person and used exclusively or chiefly by him was his to do with as he wished.

Fishing places, weirs, fish baskets, nets, and other fishing and hunting equipment made or used by more than one person were owned jointly, usually by relatives. (Family ownership would apply if term, family, meant group of relatives. But this term already used to designate those who ate together, therefore not applicable here.) Such equipment used jointly or by any one of owners. Fish said fish nets owned by families because too difficult for one man to make or use one. Such equipment never made professionally and sold.

Gathering tracts and acorn trees also owned jointly by groups of relatives. Others not allowed to molest them. When we asked informants to show us extent of property thus owned, they were vague and attributed most of Alexander valley to 3 chiefs. This suggests that groups were unusually large or that informants confused ownership of land with chief's theoretical title to it. Other statements agreed that chief was theoretical owner of tribelet's territory. He marked trees and set up occasional posts to designate boundaries. Hunting territory communal within tribelet. Stranger on tribelet's property likely to be shot. Fish did not know whether hunter could follow wounded animal into another tribelet's land.

Title of house not vested in single person, but jointly in all adult occupants.

No fixed rules of inheritance of property. Bead money left to dead person's children and paternal and maternal nephews and nieces. Wife or older relative did dividing. Perhaps one-third or one-half of bead money thrown on funeral pyre. Nothing like primogeniture or ultimogeniture; all children and nephews and nieces treated alike.

Relatively few material possessions inherited; most of them burned on funeral pyre of owner. Exact kind or amount of personal property thus destroyed either not fixed or forgotten by informants. Their statements similar to those of Pomo,<sup>78</sup> but they put less emphasis on inheritance of songs and charms.

### CHIEFTAINSHIP AND GOVERNMENT

The so-called chief was little more than a natural leader, one with excellent physical, mental, and moral qualifications. He had little authority over the rest of the group and no means of enforcing his commands or wishes other than his own physical prowess and that of his relatives and immediate following. Although the chief was the acknowledged leader and was supposed to be concerned with the welfare of everyone, punishment for a wrong as serious as

<sup>78</sup>Loeb, 1926, 198-199.

murder was fixed by the relatives of the slain and the slayer, and not by any tribal police organization or court of arbitration. The men of the settlement sometimes met to discuss affairs of interest to the entire group, but no votes were cast and there was no governmental machinery for carrying out their decisions. Such a description would fit most tribes of central California and many other peoples of the more primitive world.

Theoretically, 4 offices or functions connected with concept of chieftainship: (1) war chief, (2) home chief, (3) dance or ceremonial chief, (4) "news man" or town crier. War chief the war leader. He organized attack and led fighting. Home chief supervised domestic affairs; decided when tribe should hunt and fish, set dates for "big times," and carried on all peaceful negotiations with other rancherias. Dance chief directed ceremonials and took leading part in them. Town crier announced all important events to village, and carried such messages as feast invitations to other rancherias. Word for chief, *kanitu'keima*.

Each chief named by informants is said to have held all 4 offices. Following persons named in order of succession to head chieftainship: 45, 191, 31, 9, 71. 71 youngest; relative ages of others uncertain. 191, *Mitcehê'l*, probably person mentioned by Barrett.<sup>79</sup> In practice, apparently no distinction between the 4 theoretical offices since first 4 chiefs named above said to have filled them all. These men all mature and influential contemporaneously. Man 45 was head chief. Informants vague concerning distinction of head chief from others and method of acquiring that position. Apparently personal prowess main prerequisite. Men 45 and 31 born in other Wappo villages (see *Nativity*). Man 71 son of 31; others not related. An unrelated man, 9, was head chief between 31 and 71.

Theoretically chief chose own successor and taught him how to make speeches, etc. When acting chief decided to retire, he called people together, gave beads to successor, son or nephew, and made farewell address. Audience applauded. Successor gave speech of acceptance and ordered people to go hunting, make pinole, and otherwise prepare for feast.<sup>80</sup> Among chiefs named above, however, next most prominent chief succeeded head chief whether related to him or not. Usually assumed position at death of head chief; under this circumstance no public installation ceremony or formality of any kind.

Informants said each chief had personal following, but were unable to specify allegiances of all persons in census. Fact that several unrelated men were called chiefs at same time and succeeded one another as head chief, suggests that head chief was simply man who had largest or most influential following.

Head chief responsible for whereabouts and well-being of subjects. Man wishing to go on trip to another rancheria got permission to do so from head chief. If man did not return, chief went to other rancheria with armed force to find out what had happened to him. Fight likely to follow if man had been killed. Inter-rancheria murder never settled by payment of weregild; this method used only to settle local murder.

Chiefs had little authority over subjects. Punishment for murder determined by families of killer and victim. If money accepted in compensation for a life, affair closed. Feud followed if payment refused.

Chief killed own game as other men did. When member of hunting party, he divided kill. Similarly, chief's wife gathered acorns and did same work as other women. Chief ordered everyone to bring food to feast, did not supply it himself.

When speaking to people he stood on top of dance-sweat-house between smoke hole and entrance. Beads around his neck were only sign of rank. Informants said no rivalry among prominent men for chieftainship. Their picture one of tribal harmony.

Tribal meetings of males held to talk over affairs of common interest. All men attended but only prominent ones spoke, such as heads of houses. No voting. Head chief made final decisions. In theory, chief's decision might override public opinion. Actually, I think this extremely unlikely. However, chief's permission was asked for any important undertaking, such as trip to coast or move down river in summer.

<sup>79</sup>1908a, 265. <sup>80</sup>Cf. Pomo, Loeb, 1926, 238-239.

In Unutsawaholma, 2 women chiefs, k'anemaiyapi, 16 and 53. Woman 16 was head woman chief and wife of male chief 9. She and 53 ordered other women to bring food for feast and served as general "kitchen" foremen. Had no real authority and never gave orders to men.

## WARFARE

Like the Pomo and other central California Indians, the Wappo did not glorify war. Small private raiding or avenging expeditions were probably more common than intersettlement battles. Even a large battle was likely to cease if a prominent man were killed, especially the one who was responsible for the outbreak. Scalps were not taken. There was no war for conquest, although Barrett tells of a Southern Pomo group, defeated by the Wappo, which evacuated Alexander valley in favor of their conquerors.<sup>51</sup>

War causes, in order of probable frequency of occurrence: poaching, deliberate murder, poisoning.

Weapons: bow and arrows, spear, sling. Every warrior carried bow, arrows, and spear. War arrow flint-pointed. Spear had either wood or flint point. Sling same as that employed in hunting but stones larger than those used for birds. Bow and arrows and sling used when 2 sides lined up some distance apart. Spear chiefly for surprise night attack. Warrior sneaked up on sleeping man, took his most valuable possessions such as weapons and clothing, heated point of spear in fire and thrust it into man's stomach and up into his chest.

Warrior put black, white, and red paint on upper part of body and striped these colors across face with fingers. In his hair, wore whole wing of eagle or other large bird, held on by hair net and hairpins. Loin cloth probably modern. No armor. No shield. Boys not taught to use quiver as shield.

Before setting out on war venture, warriors could not associate with women for fear of menstrual blood, could not be seen dressing by them. Old women past the climacteric cooked warriors' food at this time. A father or mother might throw beads into air, offering them to sun or to Huthas (old man Coyote), saying prayer and making vow: "I hope you will give my son good luck and bring him back to me. These I give you to give him good luck. If you send him back to me I will give a feast for the whole rancheria." Warriors sometimes threw beads to sun, moon, wind, thunder, old man Coyote, and Kuksu. No war dance before encounter. Chief or prominent man often took along medicine in form of tobacco, which was smoked. War party went without food or carried only vegetable foods such as pinole or acorn bread. Meat, fish, and fat strictly taboo. Warriors prayed not to get hungry, ate and drank only at night after birds ceased chirping and before they began in morning. Man who killed an enemy abstained from meat, fish, fat for 10 days. Killer who broke these rules might be harmed by Gilak, "Indian devil."

Sometimes man deliberately invited trouble by sneaking into enemy village at night, killing a sleeping enemy, and confiscating his weapons and valuables. Next day "news man" told people: "So-and-so has killed a coyote." Everyone knew man had killed one of enemy.

For battle in daytime, sides lined up some distance apart. Warriors spread out to present less solid target to enemy and to have plenty of room to use bows and arrows and slings. Slingers carried stones in baskets. Women and children never gathered stones or picked up fallen arrows. Opposing warriors did not pair off; both parties sought to kill prominent enemies, each of whom wore long eagle wing in hair. Attacking side yelled, "Yi yi yi!" Defenders shouted, "Ye ye ye!" Both hurled all manner of taunting and derogatory remarks at one another. Fighting continued until one side retreated or eminent warrior slain. If war caused by murder, fighting ceased when murderer killed. Battle seldom stopped arbitrarily by chiefs; even nightfall did not always end it.

<sup>51</sup> Barrett, 1908a, 265.

When village attacked, women and children not killed unless they got in way or offered resistance, but sometimes taken captive. Villages frequently burned.

Scalp or other parts of enemy's body, such as hands or feet, not taken. However, killer disfigured corpse by gouging out its eyes or defecating upon it. War party burned own dead on spot, usually left enemy dead where they fell. Weapons, clothing, eagle wings only trophies taken.

Victory celebrated by "big time" of dancing and feasting. Friendly rancherias or allies invited.

Peace made by exchange of gifts, according to Barrett.<sup>83</sup> Our informants said losers always paid winners to induce them to cease hostilities; winners made no return gift. Former custom common to all north-central California; latter not reported before, perhaps erroneous.

War stories. Besides 2 war stories given below, one reported by Barrett.<sup>83</sup> Following stories told by Fish, who heard them from K'aiju, 28.

At Loknoma all men went out to hunt deer at daybreak, leaving women and children at home. Party of Spanish and probably Patwin<sup>84</sup> from region of Napa, led by Vallejo, attacked village, set fire to houses, and killed most of women and children. Only a few escaped, together with sick old man who had not gone on hunt.

Late in evening hunters returned and saw dead bodies and burned homes. One brave man said, "That's what I am looking for, that's what I live on, I like to be worked up once in a while." Enemy had gone away and were boasting among themselves. One said, "I wish I had somebody to fight with, a real man." "Maybe somebody will wake you up in the night," said another. The first replied, "I like to be waked up when sleeping." (He meant he would welcome a chance to fight.)

By this time about 10 Wappo men had caught up with Spanish party and were hiding a short distance from camp. All Spanish and Patwin, including guard they posted, went sound asleep. A Wappo walked into their camp, took eagle feathers and other finery from a Patwin, heated flint-pointed spear in fire, and thrust it into stomach of sleeping man.

Then this Wappo took refuge behind a rock and, with his companions, began shooting arrows at enemy. A Mexican was hit on forehead. Wappo killed 3 or 4 enemies; others ran without once stopping to fight. A Mexican said, "There are only a few Wappo, let's go back and clean them up." The leader said, "Where is So-and-so?" Others answered, "He's been killed." They went back and saw dead man by fire.

Wappo returned to Loknoma and cremated their dead women and children. They could not eat or sleep. Each thought, "I'd like to kill those people." The next day they went to Unutsawaholma and organized war party which included town chief, Holimikali, K'aiju, and from 100 to 1000 others (last figure obviously too high).

They went down by Napa and located Patwin. That night 3 Wappo sneaked into Patwin camp armed only with flint-pointed spears. One man's spear was so long he couldn't get it inside house where victim lay. Other 2 got their men. Raiders returned to main party, which then attacked camp. Patwin fled. Wappo followed, massacring them, including their women and children, "like frogs in the water grass." In meantime, Patwin war chief and a few men had barricaded themselves inside house. About 7 Wappo got chief. Then they returned to their homes. Only one Wappo had been killed. War had lasted 6 days, during which all warriors had abstained from meat, fish, and fat.

One Wappo brought home a young Patwin girl to work for him. When K'aiju saw her, he said, "What is this?" He shot her, and poured hot coals down her throat as she lay gasping in death. Later he explained to Fish, "I was boiling then, I don't care who I kill, I kill anybody." Big victory celebration was held at Loknoma. Unutsawaholma people were treated well.

<sup>83</sup>1908a, 266.   <sup>83</sup>1908a, 265-266.

<sup>84</sup>Patwin inferred because attacking Indians' word for tobacco was lol; for sugar, miteil; greetings, helapenûk or peu'came; Cache Creek people on great valley side of drainage spoke similar language.



Another war. Tribe near Kelsey creek in Pomo territory hired some Wappo, including Holimikali and K'aiju, to help them fight another people who also lived near creek. Fight lasted 4 days. Wappo side won.

Toward end of battle, fighting slackened and one enemy began shouting derogatory remarks at a Wappo warrior. The Wappo said to one of his fellows: "Have you a heavy rock? Mine is too light." He put heavier rock in his sling and hurled it at enemy, hitting him in belly and killing him. After that other side gave up.

About 10 men killed in entire fight. At one time enemy tried to surround Wappo, but failed because afraid of Wappo slingers. Wappo were given invitation sticks and went to Kelsey creek to celebrate victory. After this were permitted to fish on creek. This was last Wappo war.

### NONEXOGAMOUS MOIETIES

Like those of the Pomo, the Wappo nonexogamous moieties functioned only in ceremonies and games. They had no direct influence on marriage, personal names, or descent.

Nonexogamous moieties functioned in 3 ways: in competitive group sweating of men, in such competitive group games as shinny and hoop and pole, and in ceremonials in which both sexes participated. Only east and west moieties; others absent according to informants. Names correlated with southern orientation of dance-sweat-house door. Every family or house group sat in particular place in dance-sweat-house at tribal ceremonies.

Moieties had nothing directly to do with marriage; i.e., east person might marry either east or west person, and vice versa. However, if couple were of different moieties, wife joined that of husband by sitting with him at dances. Before such a marriage, prospective husband might go over to betrothed's side for short time to show people that the 2 families were friends. After marriage, however, wife invariably sat on husband's side. If bride and groom from same side, bride sat with groom's family instead of with her own.

Children old enough to attend dances sat with parents. When boy grown, i.e., old enough to sweat, he went on same side of sweat house as father, played on father's side in games.

We tried to check informants' generalizations by determining moietail affiliation of each person in genealogies; we read list of names alphabetically several times, then several times according to genealogies. Informants' designations disagreed so often that we considered results too unreliable to be significant. Moiety of married woman was always given as that of husband, but when we attempted to discover moiety of each woman before marriage, informants could not make that distinction. They were inconsistent throughout.

This system of nonexogamous moieties apparently prevailed all over Western Kuksu area. When a man visiting another settlement wished to participate in sweating, competitive sport, or ceremonies, he was assigned to the side to which he belonged at his own village.

Tendency of inheritance of moietail affiliation patrilineal, but fact that woman changed her moiety at marriage precludes possibility of establishing definite unilateral rule of descent, at least in conventional sense.

Radin, who obtained his information from Joe McCloud, a fullblood Wappo born in the vicinity of Napa, has told me in conversation that Wappo had matrilineal local exogamy. My informants denied this assertion. The concrete census data of about 1870 shows that 87 per cent of inhabitants of Unutsawaholma were born there. This figure probably not accurate and doubtless too high. Also, there was then only that one Wappo town in the vicinity, so man wishing to take wife who spoke his language and who did not live one or more days' journey away, was forced to marry Unutsawaholma girl. Nevertheless, if such a rule had formerly prevailed in Alexander valley, I think my informants would have some recollection of it. It is possible that both Joe McCloud and my informants are correct. There may have been differences within Wappo territory, with local exogamy in the region about Napa but not in Alexander valley. Also, taboo against marrying kin may have compelled many to seek mates outside of small local groups.

## CEREMONIALISM

The Wappo shared the Kuksu cult system with the Pomo, Patwin, Maidu, and other peoples in the vicinity. My information consists mainly of odds and ends. The informants seemed to know little about the cult system. Considerable information concerning it has been salvaged by Loeb (1932), and the cult has been discussed as a whole by both Loeb (1932, 1933) and Kroeber (1932). Other aspects of Pomo ceremonialism, to which that of the Wappo shows many similarities, are to be found in Loeb (1926) and Gifford (1926).

Two classes of dances: common dances, performed by anyone, usually by both sexes; dangerous dances, performed by certain men only. Dance names similar to those of Pomo, but descriptions fragmentary or lacking. Word for dance, *olol* or *lai*.

Common dances. *Lihuya*, in which even menstruating women permitted to dance. *Soto olol*. *Hut lai*, coyote dance. *Chok*, *momimomi*, or *lelkat'ice*: dancers said, "Hai hai hai húc húc." *Djane*. *Hintil olol* or *toto* (when person was ill, doctor said, "When So-and-so gets well he will dance the *hintil olol*"): dancer wore feathers in hair, feather cloak, yellowhammer band across forehead. *Tsitsa lai*, bear dance. *Karaya*, *loli*, or *suya*, crazy dance: performed by women only, while men sang.

Dangerous dances. *Gilak*, "devil": danced by men only, each wearing long yellowhammer headband over forehead down back to ground, and red, white, and black paint streaked across face, chest, and arms. *Laiyake lai*, thunder dance. *Hu tutca*, head big: performed by men only; Kuksu impersonation. *Hilmo*, "devil": danced by men only; one chief performer called "devil," several assistants who danced and sang; with his fist devil knocked coals off ember and ate them, walked into fire and disappeared. Fish refused to sing *hilmo* or *gilak* songs because bad luck might follow.

Dangerous dances given at 4-day festivities, interspersed with common dances in which audience participated. Audience ate twice daily, once in early morning and again about 2 P.M. Dancers and their families abstained from meat, fish, fat for the 4 days. Only common dances held in brush dance house, *pukêl* (for construction, see Houses; ground plan, fig. 1); given "every Saturday night" in summer. Dangerous dances performed less often; exact schedule unknown. Both kinds also given in sweat house in winter. In such periods of festivity, philandering went on throughout night. Those taking important parts in dances wore feathers on their heads and streaked their bodies with black, white, and red earth. On morning after performance, dancers swam in river to wash paint off.

Following is a 5-day round of ceremony called *sahanapicu'hoiyîl*, given at *Mu'tstul*<sup>85</sup> in a large dance-sweat-house. Told to Fish by an older relative. Fish never saw such a performance, and he probably improvised some parts of his account. Nevertheless, it illustrates general features which he said were similar to those of Clear Lake Pomo ceremony. This particular cycle kind of first-fruits rite. Given once a year in May when plants were beginning to flower and ripen. Before this dance, no plant foods gathered, previous season's vegetable food was consumed.<sup>86</sup> No comparable ceremony concerning animals.

*Hilmo* danced on evening of first day. Chief performer sang outside before entering sweat house. Ate fire. About daylight walked into fire and disappeared. On morning of second day *hote'u*, ghost dance, given. Men went into woods and disguised themselves with streaks of red, black, and white earth on faces and chests. Were supposed to represent dead. Entered dance house by door or slid down pole through smoke hole. Came in one at a time, yelling like ghosts. (On one occasion said to have been led in by *hilmo* fire eater.) Spoke in tongues. Behaved like clowns. Onlooker who laughed was fined short string of beads. Ghosts retired to dressing place about noon. In afternoon Kuksu appeared about 100 yds. from

<sup>85</sup>Different subgroup of Wappo. See map, Barrett, 1908a, end.

<sup>86</sup>Compare first-fruit aspect of Southern Pomo ceremony. Loeb, 1932, 103.

dance house, carrying 1-holed wooden whistle (Kuksu cilma) ca. 4 or 5 ft. long. He was giant in size. Children afraid to look at him. To conceal his identity, impersonator wore eagle, owl, buzzard feathers as mask and on other parts of body. When dance finished, impersonated spirit believed to return to home in volcano.

On evening of second day hilmo fire eater danced again, ate fire, disappeared in fire and reappeared, finally disappeared and did not return. Next morning everybody danced lihuya. In afternoon Kuksu gave same performance as before.

On evening of third day, gilak danced. Later hilmo. Next morning common dance for everybody; afternoon, hintil lai; night, fire eater again. Next morning fire eater went to river and washed off paint; his rôle finished. Another common dance for everybody. Afternoon of 4th day Kuksu appeared outdoors, this time with wife. Walked around wife 4 times counterclockwise, blowing t'kô, etc., on large whistle. Wife then gave birth to child. All 3 walked around, parents pushing child with stick until it grew as big as father. Then they walked around in 4 more counterclockwise circles and departed. Festivities ended. Everyone went home, taking with him leftover bread and pinole supplied by hosts.

## RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

Radin<sup>87</sup> has already published much of the Wappo mythology. Powers<sup>88</sup> and Loeb<sup>89</sup> likewise have contributed to the knowledge of Wappo religion. Magico-religious beliefs and practices already mentioned may be found under Animal Food, Astronomy, Doctors, Puberty, Death, and Ceremonialism. The material to follow is quite fragmentary.

Huthas, old man Coyote, chief deity; people prayed to him. Gilak "devil" who punished those who broke taboos. People also prayed to Kuksu, who carried long stick with which he made water come out of earth (this belief probably result of Christian influence). Ghosts or spirits of dead, hote'u. Heaven, hote'u noma (ghost home). Dead body, k'a lalik tímukuki (person dead lying down). Person in faint, k'a huci tcôsê (person alive sick). Dream, hintcome. Shadow, hu cute (head shade).

Ghost stayed with dead body 4 days (see Death). Left on 4th or 5th day, making sound like automobile. Went to heaven across ocean to west. Ghost waded ocean (Fish), or water dried up when ghost crossed (Eli). In heaven was chief, sweat house, dancing, and herring and salmon to eat. Ghosts sometimes returned to earth, especially if their clothes and personal belongings had been left lying around.

Ordinary dreams, even sexual dreams, had no significance. Dream important only when spirit or ghost appeared in it.

When person sneezed, he made wish. "A cough is nothing."

Rainbow sign of stormy weather, had no other significance.

Thunder, layaki; a "nice man" with a black mustache; at one time he cut limbs off tree and went inside house, was seen by white lady.

People prayed at night but not in morning or before meals; offered prayers before any serious undertaking. Hunter or fisherman asked Huthas (old man Coyote) "to give him a little, anyhow."

Informants knew about bull-roarer of Pomo, but denied its use among Wappo.

Wappo created near Middletown.

Geyser, têtê nan (teke, a white bitter salt; nan, mouth or well). "A ground squirrel with horns once took a menstruating woman into a geyser. She stayed. She makes hissing noise. Ground squirrel in every geyser. When one goes to Geyser spring, fog meets him halfway. He had better look out. The white people put a pipe in the geyser so she would whistle through it, but she didn't like it and quit hissing. She must be dead now."

Following story tells how a fire eater named George learned his art. He spoke Wappo. According to informants, he was once thrown into fire by Spanish but emerged unharmed.

<sup>87</sup>Radin, 1924.   <sup>88</sup>Powers, 1877, 199-203.   <sup>89</sup>Loeb, 1932, 107-108.

For 4 nights George slept on grave containing sister's ashes, trying to catch her. ("Catch" may refer to sexual intercourse.) Sister told him to go home. He refused. After 4 days sister fled to coast, and he followed. He pursued her out over ocean on streak of foam but did not catch her. She finally dived down and arrived at sweat house in land of dead. There he caught up with her, and they went in together. Chief said, "What do you want?" George said, "My sister." "But you aren't dead," the chief replied, "you can't stay here. I'll teach you art of fire eating so you will be likely to come back dead in a short time."

George was then taught how to eat fire, and cautioned not to let a menstruating woman look at him lest he die. After he got back on earth, he obtained a rattlesnake and brought it into the sweat house in a basket. He called the snake his sister. Then he went out and got a deer, brought it back to sweat house, and called it his sister also. He told people they were going to see what people in hell did, and said, "If I see blood [menstrual blood] I will die." Then he ate fire. Before dawn he took snake and deer back into the hills, and returned to sweat house to disappear in fire.

### COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The culture of the Wappo was typical of central California, which was a part of the larger California-Great Basin culture area. This area was characterized by a paucity of distinctive and formalized or systematized features, and is generally considered to have been one of the most backward regions of the continent. The heart or most active center of the California-Great Basin province is located by Kroeber among the Pomo, Patwin, or Valley Maidu. The Wappo were contiguous to both the Pomo and the Patwin and therefore shared some of the more specialized or truly central Californian features of the culture, such as the Kuksu cult system. They more closely resembled the Pomo than the Patwin, and ceremonially belonged to what has been called the western form of the Kuksu cult religion.

A comparison of the general level of Wappo culture with that of the Pomo seems to show that the Wappo were definitely more primitive than the Lake Pomo but perhaps the cultural equals of the Pomo who lived near the coast. Our information is fullest on the Lake Pomo, and therefore a comparison with them is most practical. The Wappo chiefs hunted and fished as did the ordinary tribesmen, but the chiefs of the Lake Pomo either bought their food or were given it by friends. In general, the data on chieftaincy and government from the Lake Pomo indicates a greater amount of formality and organization than was found among the Wappo. The Pomo also were superior to the Wappo in theoretical fields. They are said to have counted to as high as 40,000 with the aid of three sizes of sticks. In contrast, the Wappo employed sticks of only one size and were not accustomed to such large numbers. The same was true in astronomical knowledge. The Wappo were content with a simple moon count made with twelve sticks, but the Lake Pomo recognized the solstices. The Kuksu cult also seems to have attained a less complex development among the Wappo than among the Pomo. The paucity of Wappo data makes the demonstration of this point difficult, yet it is the opinion of all who have worked in the area.

The Wappo belonged linguistically to the Yukian family. This suggests the possibility of a close cultural connection with their northern colinguals which,

however, did not exist. It is true that the northern Yukians and the Wappo had many traits in common, but almost all of these were to be found among the intervening Pomo and other neighboring groups. No traits shared exclusively by the Wappo and the northern Yukians have been reported. I reached this conclusion after examining a list of five hundred traits compiled by Professor Kroeber and distributed over all California by Dr. S. Klimek, and after perusing the source material.

Common traits of the Wappo and Pomo which were not shared by the northern Yukians, or at least have not been reported for them, are too numerous to mention. Thus the acculturation of the Wappo by the Pomo was practically complete.

Kinship terminologies give similar results. Gifford found that the Wappo kinship system as a whole was most similar to that of the Southwestern Pomo, closely resembled the Southern Pomo system, and had many likenesses to that of the Lake Miwok. Taken as wholes, the northern Yukians and Athabascans show the next highest affinity to the Wappo system.

The couvade of the Wappo was the most pronounced in California. The father of the newborn child actually lay on his bed for four days. However, this was only a half-couvade because the mother was also confined to her bed and observed food and other taboos similar to those of the father. Some restrictions were imposed on the father of a newborn child by almost all California Indians, the exceptions being a few peripheral tribes. Although the couvade complex of the Pomo did not require the father to stay in bed, he had to remain home for eight days, and in other respects followed the same pattern as the Wappo father. While I do not wish to be categorical, I see no reason for placing the origin of the Wappo couvade outside of California. This does not mean that its origin in California had no connection with its existence in other parts of the world, but merely that the Wappo couvade showed no generic differences from those of neighboring peoples.

The nonexogamous moieties of the Wappo are interesting because they had nothing to do with marriage, and functioned only in the competitive games and sweating of the men and the ceremonial activities of both sexes. However, if a woman married a man of the opposite moiety she became a member of his group, sitting with him in the semisubterranean dance house and dancing with his people. Children, when grown, joined their parents' moiety. This was certainly patrilineal descent but was without exogamy or lifelong attachment for women. The moieties are no doubt historically related to those of the Miwok and Yokuts farther south.

In conclusion, there was little about the Wappo that was unexpected. Their entire culture fitted remarkably into its culturo-geographical context.

## REFERENCES CITED

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AA..... American Anthropologist.  
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