VOLUME 8

# California

ROBERT F. HEIZER
*Volume Editor*

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

WASHINGTON

1978

# Contents


ix Key to Tribal Territories
x Technical Alphabet
xi English Pronunciations
xii Conventions for Illustrations
xiii Preface
1 Introduction
*Robert F. Heizer*
6 History of Research
*Robert F. Heizer*
16 Environmental Background
*Martin A. Baumhoff*
25 Post-Pleistocene Archeology, 9000 to 2000 B.C.
*William J. Wallace*
37 Development of Regional Prehistoric Cultures
*Albert B. Elsasser*
58 Protohistoric and Historic Archeology
*Chester King*
69 Indian-Euro-American Interaction: Archeological Evidence from Non-Indian Sites
*Robert L. Schuyler*
80 Native Languages of California
*William F. Shipley*
91 Historical Demography
*Sherburne F. Cook*
99 The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement
*Edward D. Castillo*
128 Tolowa
*Richard A. Gould*
137 Yurok
*Arnold R. Pilling*
155 Wiyot
*Albert B. Elsasser*
164 Hupa, Chilula, and Whilkut
*William J. Wallace*
180 Karok
*William Bright*
190 Mattole, Nongatl, Sinkyone, Lassik, and Wailaki
*Albert B. Elsasser*
205 Chimariko
*Shirley Silver*
211 Shastan Peoples
*Shirley Silver*
225 Achumawi
*D.L. Olmsted* and *Omer C. Stewart*
236 Atsugewi
*T.R. Garth*
244 Cahto
*James E. Myers*
249 Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki
*Virginia P. Miller*
256 Wappo
*Jesse O. Sawyer*
264 Lake Miwok
*Catherine A. Callaghan*
274 Pomo: Introduction
*Sally McLendon* and *Robert L. Oswalt*
289 Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo
*Lowell John Bean* and *Dorothea Theodoratus*
306 Eastern Pomo and Southeastern Pomo
*Sally McLendon* and *Michael J. Lowy*
324 Wintu
*Frank R. LaPena*
341 Nomlaki
*Walter Goldschmidt*
350 Patwin
*Patti J. Johnson*
361 Yana
*Jerald Jay Johnson*
370 Maidu and Konkow
*Francis A. Riddell*
387 Nisenan
*Norman L. Wilson* and *Arlean H. Towne*
398 Eastern Miwok
*Richard Levy*
414 Coast Miwok
*Isabel Kelly*
426 Monache
*Robert F.G. Spier*
437 Tubatulabal
*Charles R. Smith*
446 Yokuts: Introduction
*Michael Silverstein*
448 Southern Valley Yokuts
*William J. Wallace*
462 Northern Valley Yokuts
*William J. Wallace*
471 Foothill Yokuts
*Robert F.G. Spier*
485 Costanoan
*Richard Levy*
496 Esselen
*Thomas Roy Hester*
500 Salinan
*Thomas Roy Hester*
505 Chumash: Introduction
*Campbell Grant*
509 Eastern Coastal Chumash
*Campbell Grant*

520 Obispeño and Purisimeño Chumash
*Roberta S. Greenwood*
524 Island Chumash
*Campbell Grant*
530 Interior Chumash
*Campbell Grant*
535 Tataviam
*Chester King* and *Thomas C. Blackburn*
538 Gabrielino
*Lowell John Bean* and *Charles R. Smith*
550 Luiseño
*Lowell John Bean* and *Florence C. Shipek*
564 Kitanemuk
*Thomas C. Blackburn* and *Lowell John Bean*
570 Serrano
*Lowell John Bean* and *Charles R. Smith*
575 Cahuilla
*Lowell John Bean*
588 Cupeño
*Lowell John Bean* and *Charles R. Smith*
592 Tipai and Ipai
*Katharine Luomala*

610 History of Southern California Mission Indians
*Florence C. Shipek*
619 Prehistoric Rock Art
*C. William Clewlow, Jr.*
626 Basketry
*Albert B. Elsasser*
642 Music and Musical Instruments
*William J. Wallace*
649 Natural Forces and Native World View
*Robert F. Heizer*
654 Mythology: Regional Patterns and History of Research
*Robert F. Heizer*
658 Comparative Literature
*William J. Wallace*
662 Cults and Their Transformations
*Lowell John Bean* and *Sylvia Brakke Vane*
673 Social Organization
*Lowell John Bean*
683 Sexual Status and Role Differences
*Edith Wallace*
690 Trade and Trails
*Robert F. Heizer*
694 Intergroup Conflict
*Thomas McCorkle*
701 Treaties
*Robert F. Heizer*
705 Litigation and its Effects
*Omer C. Stewart*
713 Twentieth-Century Secular Movements
*Edward D. Castillo*

719 Contributors
721 Bibliography
769 Index

# Patwin

PATTI J. JOHNSON

## Language, Territory, and Environment

Patwin (ˈpăt¡wĭn) is the native word *patwin* 'people' and was used by several tribelets in reference to themselves. It does not denote a political unity. The term was suggested initially by Powers (1877:218) as a convenient name for those contiguous groups who displayed a close linguistic and cultural resemblance but who were distinguishable from those Wintuans inhabiting the northern half of the western valley. Subsequent linguistic analyses resulted in the further division of Wintuan into Central (Nomlaki) and Northern (Wintu) Wintuan with the Patwin remaining distinct as Southern Wintuan. Wintuan speakers are classified as belonging to the Penutian language family along with the Miwok, Maidu, Costanoan, Yokuts, and presumably other groups.*

At one time Patwin occupied the southern portion of the Sacramento River Valley to the west of the river, from the town of Princeton south to San Pablo and Suisun bays (fig. 1). They were bounded on the east by Nisenan and Konkow, on the north by Nomlaki, on the south by Costanoan and Plains Miwok, and on the west by Yuki, Wappo, Lake Miwok, and Pomoans. In actuality the region so delimited was occupied by many groups usually called tribes in the earlier literature and tribelets in the later. The Patwin were also divided among speakers of many different dialects, for example, Kabalmem, Cache Creek, Cortina, Tebti (Hill Patwin); Colusa and Grimes (River Patwin); Knight's Landing and Suisun (Whistler 1976).

General territorial limits drawn by various investigators for the Patwin are essentially similar. The greatest differences lie along the eastern and southern boundaries and internally with the classification into linguistic or cultural units. Gibbs (1853b) differentiated numerous tribes from Suisun Bay to Clear Lake on the basis of language, but only the Copéh of Putah Creek from which he had collected a vocabulary (Merriam 1929) is clearly a Patwin group. Powers (1877:218) located Patwin in the lower hills of the eastern Coast Range mountain slope (Long, Indian, Bear, Capay, Cortina, and Napa valleys were some of the more populous), both sides of the Sacramento River several miles below Stony Creek south to just above the mouth of the Feather River, and on the west side of the Sacramento only from the Feather River south to Suisun Bay. Parts of upper Napa Valley and Coyote and Pope valleys were ascribed to other groups as were the headwaters of Cache and Putah creeks. From informants' claims of particular hills and streams, Barrett (1908) was able to more carefully delineate the western extent of the Pomoans, Yuki, Lake Miwok, and Patwin. There is general agreement that Patwin occupied a strip several miles wide along the east bank of the lower

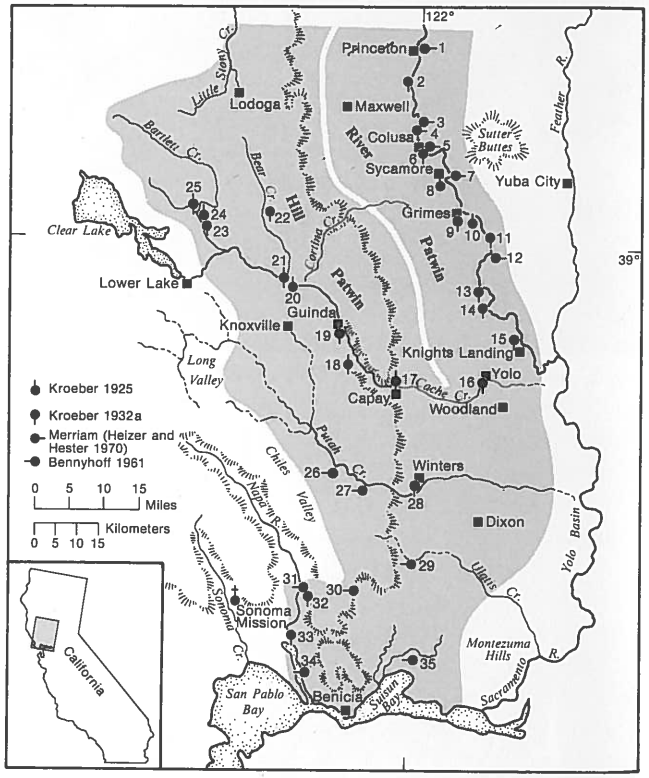



Fig. 1. Tribal territory and villages. 1, Bo'-do; 2, Katsil (*kač*ʰ*il*); 3, Si'-ko-pe; 4, Til-til; 5, Dok'-dok; 6, Koru; 7, No'pah; 8, Gapa; 9, P'ālo; 10, Nawidihu; 11, Kusêmpu; 12, Koh'pah de'-he; 13, unknown; 14, unknown; 15, Yo'doi; 16, Churup; 17, Moso; 18, Kisi; 19, Imil; 20, Lopa; 21, Tebti; 22, Sukui; 23, Ho'lokomi; 24, Tokti; 25, Tebti; 26, Chemocu; 27, Putato; 28, Liwai; 29, Ululato; 30, Soneto; 31, Napato; 32, Tulukai; 33, Suskol; 34, Aguasto; 35, Tolenas. Village names after Kroeber 1925; Kroeber 1932a; Merriam (Heizer and Hester 1970); Bennyhoff 1961.

* Italicized Patwin words in this article have been spelled phonemically by Kenneth Whistler. The phoneme inventory is as follows: consonants *p, t, č, k, ʔ, pʰ, tʰ, čʰ, kʰ, ṗ, ṫ, č̣, ḳ, b, d, s, h, ɬ, λ̓, w, l, r, y, m, n;* vowels *i, e, a, o, u,* plus the corresponding long vowels, indicated by a raised dot. The tentative orthography in Broadbent and Pitkin (1964:21) lacks *čʰ* and writes the voiceless lateral *ɬ,* which tends to be nondistinctively affricated, as λ.

Sacramento River. At Gray's Bend, above the juncture of the Feather River with the Sacramento, the boundary then extends to the west bank and from there proceeds in a southwesterly direction. Excluded from Patwin ownership are the Sutter Buttes on the northeast periphery and the Montezuma Hills on the southern extremity. Both are considered as unclaimed and utilized by more than one group. Sonoma Valley was once included under Patwin dominance but upon reexamination of linguistic evidence is assigned to the Coast Miwok (Beeler 1954; Kroeber 1957b). From time to time portions of the eastern and southern territorial limits have been called into question (Kroeber 1957b; Heizer 1966; Bennyhoff 1961).

From north to south Patwin territory extended 90 miles, and from east to west 40 miles. It can be divided into three physiographic regions from east to west: both banks of the Sacramento River and its attendant dense tree, vine, and brush vegetation interspersed with great tule marshes; flat open grassland plains with occasional oak groves; and the lower hills of the eastern Coast Range mountain slope rising to an elevation of 1,400 feet. Most of the population was concentrated along the river in large villages. Because much of the plains were submerged from floodwaters in winter and quite dry in summer, occupation of this region was sparse and seasonal. Tribelets in the hills lived in the numerous intermontane valleys, particularly along the drainages of Cache and Putah creeks (Powers 1874a; Koreber 1932a).

## History

Some of the earliest historic records begin with the Spanish mission registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths of Indian neophytes. At least by 1800, neophytes were taken from the Patwin settlement of Aguastos in the south-central area and probably from other villages by emissaries of Mission Dolores (San Francisco de Asís). Mission San Jośe, established in 1797, along with Mission Dolores actively proselytized Patwin from the southern villages of Napato, Malaca, Suisun, Ululatos, Soneto, Libayto, Tolenas, Putato, Chemocu, and Topayto (Bennyhoff 1961). Mission Sonoma (San Francisco Solano), built in 1823 near the southwestern periphery of Patwin territory, also baptized neophytes until secularization of all missions in 1832–1836. Statements in early reports by explorers such as Father Abella in 1811 and Luis Arguello in 1821 (Cook 1960) suggest that mission influence was confined chiefly to the southern valleys and lowlands.

While California was still under Mexican dominance, Mariano G. Vallejo assumed military authority over Sonoma Mission and its environs, including the Indians residing there. He maintained a friendly relationship with them while they in return provided a labor force and served as a visible deterrent to others of the region who actively resented the foreign intrusions. Upon numerous occasions Vallejo sent both Indian and Mexican troops against those Indian marauders who engaged in theft of livestock or instigated trouble among the people. Chief Solano, a Patwin of considerable diplomatic skill (Lothrop 1932; Peterson 1957), became Vallejo's friend and lieutenant, often serving as his spokesman when problems arose. George C. Yount, an American who had obtained a large land grant from the Mexican government, also established himself in Napa Valley in 1832. Under Vallejo's encouragement he too formed alliances with many of the Indians about him and enlisted their aid against those who stole or promoted violence. The military atmosphere enforced by Vallejo and supported by others continued to prevail toward the termination of Mexican rule but was eroded as more and more settlers filled the region. During the 1830s and 1840s the length and breadth of Patwin territory was rapidly overtaken by both Mexicans and Americans, who under the lenient policies of the Mexican government had secured title to substantial portions of land, and by others laying claim to the region's natural resources. The Vaca and Pena families had settled on the lower part of Putah Creek in 1842, William Gordon had taken residence on Cache Creek in 1843, Gen. J. Bidwell had acquired land in the northern area in Colusa County in 1843, John and William Wolfskill had established themselves on Putah Creek in 1840–1843, Col. J.B. Chiles had settled Chiles Valley in the southern hill region in 1844, and Thomas O. Larkin held land in Colusa County by 1846 (Menefee 1873; L. Palmer 1881; J.H. Rogers 1891).

At the same time explorers such as Jedediah Smith in 1830 (Larkey 1969), John Work (1945) in 1832–1833, and Lt. George Derby in 1849 (Farquhar 1932) traversed the western Sacramento Valley and sought either to expand their knowledge of the region's potential fur resources or to determine the area's suitability for military outposts and settlement. Some approached from the north as did Work, an Englishman employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, who proceeded southward along the Sacramento River with a party of about 100 persons. Others such as the American Lieutenant Derby came from the San Francisco Bay vicinity and traveled to the east and north.

The Sacramento Valley and lower parts of the delta facing Suisun and Napa valleys received the burden of settlement while inroads into the upland reaches were less frequent and tended to occur after the late 1840s. During the 1850s and 1860s, as pressure from incoming Euro-Americans continued to increase with great rapidity, most of the Patwin who had survived the ravages of epidemics and conflict eventually either became partly assimilated into the White culture by working as laborers for the ranches or were placed upon small reservations established by the United States government.

*Population*

Observations of explorers and settlers (Work 1945; Bidwell in J.H. Rogers 1891; Yount in Camp 1923), mission records (Merriam 1955; Bennyhoff 1961), census reports, and ethnographic data (Kroeber 1925, 1932a) provide some clues to total population but are still quite incomplete. Nevertheless, such meager information has not obscured recording of the apparent and drastic decline experienced by the Patwin from the point of Euro-American contact onward (table 1). Missionization, casualties from military forays, and raids perpetuated by settlers in retribution for theft of livestock and for the acquisition of laborers to work the farms and ranches made significant inroads on the native population. The most dramatic reductions resulted from the malarial epidemic of 1833 and the smallpox epidemic of 1837. Cook (1955a), who has most carefully chronicled this period, estimates a decrease of up to 75 percent directly attributable to these diseases. The downward trend in population continued, and by 1923-1924 Kroeber could not find any Patwin surviving in the entire southern half of the region. Most of the few remaining were residing in or around only four communities in the Cortina and Colusa vicinities. From government rolls Kroeber and Heizer (1970) were able to trace only three to seven persons who were of one-quarter or more Patwin descent living in the Napa Valley in 1955. As of 1972 the Bureau of Indian Affairs census listed only 11 Patwins for the entire territory. All but three of the reservations (Colusa, Cortina, and Rumsey rancherias) have been terminated; those three were described as "Wintun" and were mostly occupied by descendants of other groups.

**Table 1. Population**

| *Date* | *Population* | *Group* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|
| precontact | 12,500 | Wintu, Nomlaki, Patwin | Kroeber 1932a |
| precontact | 3,500 | River Patwin, Valley Nisenan | Cook 1955a |
| 1803-1827 | 527 | Southern Patwin, 10 villages | Merriam 1955, 1970 |
| pre-1833 | 15,000 | River Patwin, Valley Nisenan | Cook 1955a |
| after 1833-1837 | 4,500 | Wappo, Miwok, Patwin | Cook 1956:126 |
| 1843 | 3,000 | Wappo, Miwok, Patwin | Cook 1956:126 |
| 1905-1906 | 185 | Patwin | Kelsey 1971 |
| 1910 | 1,000 | Wintu, Nomlaki, Patwin | Kroeber 1925:357, 883 |
| 1923-1924 | 200 | Patwin | Kroeber 1932a |
| 1972 | 11 | Patwin | U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs |

**External Relations**

Historically there was a friendly exchange between the Patwin of Long Valley and the Southeastern Pomo. Long Valley Patwin could freely visit Clear Lake to fish or hunt with or without permission, depending on the particular Pomo tribelet. It was necessary to request permission when acorns or grass seeds were sought. Likewise these Pomoans would obtain permission to gather seeds in Long Valley area. Obsidian was taken from Big Borax Lake in Southeastern Pomo territory whenever the Patwin wished. Both groups in this region intermarried frequently (Gifford 1923:78-80). Northeastern Pomo on Stony Creek knew and had names for Patwin on Little Stony Creek, around the modern community of Sites. They would visit the River Patwin but only on special occasions. River Patwin did not reciprocate (Kroeber 1932a:364). Both the Lake Miwok (Kroeber 1932a) and the Wappo (Driver 1936) were closer culturally to Pomoans than to Patwin, and it may be inferred that they had less communication with Patwins. Kroeber has indicated that Valley Maidu and Patwin had considerable contact. Both Kroeber (1929) and Merriam (Heizer and Hester 1970) collected River Patwin names of villages on the west bank of the Sacramento from Nisenan informants. Kroeber's informant also knew the names of the major Patwin villages on Cache and Putah creeks and west to Napa Valley.

Many items were traded among themselves and with other tribes. Bows were a common item of exchange; Cortina people got them both from the Southeastern Pomo and from the Nomlaki to the north. At times they were traded to the Wappo. Obsidian was either brought in or gone after to the west and east. Originally, finished shell beads were traded in from the coast but later in the historic period Patwin also made them and traded in whole shells for that purpose. Flicker headbands and red woodpecker scalp belts were exchanged for beads. The River Patwin gave cordage for netting to the Hill Patwin in trade for shell beads. Magnesite beads were obtained by Hill Patwin from Pomoans. Items such as salmon, river otter pelts, and game animals were also given to the Nomlaki, who reciprocated with beads. Salt was traded to the Patwin by Pomoans (Davis 1961).

Not all relationships among Patwin tribelets and with other tribes were friendly, as Menefee (1873) noted for the Napa Valley groups. Disputes were acted upon in the manner of feuds. Provocations for battle included poaching, the most common offense, and death attributed to poisoning. Retaliation might be against the individual or group caught poaching at the time, by organized battles or by surprise attack on a village. In battles, one line of men armed with spears and bows faced an opposing line

from the enemy village. Each side shot arrows and hurled spears at the other. The chiefs were present but did not participate in the fighting. In an evenly matched battle the chiefs would eventually call a halt by walking between the lines and indicating the dispute was over. Peace was arranged by an exchange of material goods between the two sides. In the hill region an elk hide or armor constructed of vertical rods held together with cord was sometimes worn. Warfare seemed to be generally more organized in the hills. There are several recorded feuds for both the Hill and River people: Cortina Valley Patwin against a Pomoan group, and then again against some of the River Patwin, the Long Valley people against those of Cache Creek, Nisenan against River Patwin, and various River Patwin villages against one another (Kroeber 1932a).

## Culture

### *Religion*

• RITUAL One of the more distinctive aspects of Patwin culture was the Kuksu cult system, found elsewhere through much of north central California. Kroeber (1932a, 1939a) thought the cult may have originated with the Patwin because of its greater elaboration there; however, Bennyhoff (1961:328) reasoned that the addition of traits came from outside the area and was temporally a rather late manifestation. A main feature of the cult was the occurrence of one or more secret societies, each with its own series of dances and rituals. Membership was by initiation; among Patwin, boys from 8 to 16 years old were ritually captured, shot or speared, then isolated from the rest of the community for a short length of time during which they received instruction on the secret medicines and knowledge of the society. As noninitiates women and young children generally were not allowed to become members; an exception was women belonging to higher-status families. Among some Patwin groups women often were allowed to witness the ceremonies (Loeb 1933:208). Besides a single Pomoan group living adjacent to the Patwin and no doubt influenced by them, the Patwin were unique in possessing three secret societies. In the central California cult system, almost all groups possessed the Kuksu but only the Patwin also had both the ghost and Hesi types (Kroeber 1932a:313). The purposes of each society were slightly different although overlapping. The ghost type, called *way saltu* 'northern spirits', stressed initiating, the Kuksu emphasized curing and shamanistic functions, and the Hesi (*hesi*) elaborated on ceremonial dancing. With the River Patwin, the ceremonial cycle would begin in the fall and end in the spring with the Hesi, but among the upland Hill Patwin the Kuksu was held in the summer, as among the Pomoans, with whom they shared other ceremonial traits (Loeb 1933:214). Calling the societies to action depended upon when boys were ready to be initiated and not upon any fixed seasonal or sequential schedule.

To become a member of any of the societies a boy would be sponsored by a close relative, usually his father or maternal uncle. It was desirable though not required to belong. Membership in each society was not mutually exclusive and an adult who belonged to all three carried greater prestige. Details of each cult varied from area to area, and even from village to village, but they did have several salient features—a series of dances taking place in a special dance house, a ceremonial director, dance performers versed in the ritual who were spirit impersonators, dance regalia (headdresses of feathers and sticks, feather cloaks, bodies painted with charcoal, clay, ocher), clapper sticks or other instruments, and a log foot drum in the floor of the dance house for sound accompaniment. Onlookers would assemble for the ceremony of three days and four nights duration. There were assigned seating arrangements in the dance house for the performers and onlookers. Often the ceremony would terminate with the dancer in a state of frenzy, and with each series of dances there went a feeling of danger to the performers, in the spiritual sense. In the Hesi society there were four grades of membership based on the amount of experience and knowledge of rituals and medicines. Both the Kuksu and Hesi ceremonies were replaced or modified considerably by the adoption of a more recent variation of the Ghost Dance of 1870, the Bole (*bo·le* 'narrative; dream recited in ceremony'). Some earlier features were retained, such as the dance house, foot drum, and Moki (*mo·ki*) dancer (spirit impersonator performed by Hesi director). There were some similarities to the Ghost Dance; for example, dreams served as a vehicle for communication with spirit beings (Kroeber 1932a:308–309). In 1906 Barrett (1919a) witnessed and described a Hesi ceremony that had overtones of the Bole.

• SHAMANS Certain rituals within the cult system were of a curative benefit; however, most curing was done by shamans who acquired their power from a paternal kinsman. As with ritual knowledge, a doctor purchased his medicines and information rather than obtaining them by dreaming, although among some Hill Patwin dreaming did occur. When someone became ill a shaman was called in to diagnose and cure the disease. He would feel and press upon the patient, then obtain the appropriate medicine and administer it. At times the shaman would suck an offending object—string, for example, or often blood from cuts on the temple—but usually medicine rather than sucking was used. The shaman would stay until the patient claimed to be feeling better. A shaman was well paid for his services. If he gained a reputation for failing, he was simply no longer called but would be under suspicion as a sorcerer. A shaman was usually the only one who would handle ancient charm-

*Population*

Observations of explorers and settlers (Work 1945; Bidwell in J.H. Rogers 1891; Yount in Camp 1923), mission records (Merriam 1955; Bennyhoff 1961), census reports, and ethnographic data (Kroeber 1925, 1932a) provide some clues to total population but are still quite incomplete. Nevertheless, such meager information has not obscured recording of the apparent and drastic decline experienced by the Patwin from the point of Euro-American contact onward (table 1). Missionization, casualties from military forays, and raids perpetuated by settlers in retribution for theft of livestock and for the acquisition of laborers to work the farms and ranches made significant inroads on the native population. The most dramatic reductions resulted from the malarial epidemic of 1833 and the smallpox epidemic of 1837. Cook (1955a), who has most carefully chronicled this period, estimates a decrease of up to 75 percent directly attributable to these diseases. The downward trend in population continued, and by 1923-1924 Kroeber could not find any Patwin surviving in the entire southern half of the region. Most of the few remaining were residing in or around only four communities in the Cortina and Colusa vicinities. From government rolls Kroeber and Heizer (1970) were able to trace only three to seven persons who were of one-quarter or more Patwin descent living in the Napa Valley in 1955. As of 1972 the Bureau of Indian Affairs census listed only 11 Patwins for the entire territory. All but three of the reservations (Colusa, Cortina, and Rumsey rancherias) have been terminated; those three were described as "Wintun" and were mostly occupied by descendants of other groups.

**Table 1. Population**

| *Date* | *Population* | *Group* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|
| precontact | 12,500 | Wintu, Nomlaki, Patwin | Kroeber 1932a |
| precontact | 3,500 | River Patwin, Valley Nisenan | Cook 1955a |
| 1803-1827 | 527 | Southern Patwin, 10 villages | Merriam 1955, 1970 |
| pre-1833 | 15,000 | River Patwin, Valley Nisenan | Cook 1955a |
| after 1833-1837 | 4,500 | Wappo, Miwok, Patwin | Cook 1956:126 |
| 1843 | 3,000 | Wappo, Miwok, Patwin | Cook 1956:126 |
| 1905-1906 | 185 | Patwin | Kelsey 1971 |
| 1910 | 1,000 | Wintu, Nomlaki, Patwin | Kroeber 1925:357, 883 |
| 1923-1924 | 200 | Patwin | Kroeber 1932a |
| 1972 | 11 | Patwin | U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs |

**External Relations**

Historically there was a friendly exchange between the Patwin of Long Valley and the Southeastern Pomo. Long Valley Patwin could freely visit Clear Lake to fish or hunt with or without permission, depending on the particular Pomo tribelet. It was necessary to request permission when acorns or grass seeds were sought. Likewise these Pomoans would obtain permission to gather seeds in Long Valley area. Obsidian was taken from Big Borax Lake in Southeastern Pomo territory whenever the Patwin wished. Both groups in this region intermarried frequently (Gifford 1923:78-80). Northeastern Pomo on Stony Creek knew and had names for Patwin on Little Stony Creek, around the modern community of Sites. They would visit the River Patwin but only on special occasions. River Patwin did not reciprocate (Kroeber 1932a:364). Both the Lake Miwok (Kroeber 1932a) and the Wappo (Driver 1936) were closer culturally to Pomoans than to Patwin, and it may be inferred that they had less communication with Patwins. Kroeber has indicated that Valley Maidu and Patwin had considerable contact. Both Kroeber (1929) and Merriam (Heizer and Hester 1970) collected River Patwin names of villages on the west bank of the Sacramento from Nisenan informants. Kroeber's informant also knew the names of the major Patwin villages on Cache and Putah creeks and west to Napa Valley.

Many items were traded among themselves and with other tribes. Bows were a common item of exchange; Cortina people got them both from the Southeastern Pomo and from the Nomlaki to the north. At times they were traded to the Wappo. Obsidian was either brought in or gone after to the west and east. Originally, finished shell beads were traded in from the coast but later in the historic period Patwin also made them and traded in whole shells for that purpose. Flicker headbands and red woodpecker scalp belts were exchanged for beads. The River Patwin gave cordage for netting to the Hill Patwin in trade for shell beads. Magnesite beads were obtained by Hill Patwin from Pomoans. Items such as salmon, river otter pelts, and game animals were also given to the Nomlaki, who reciprocated with beads. Salt was traded to the Patwin by Pomoans (Davis 1961).

Not all relationships among Patwin tribelets and with other tribes were friendly, as Menefee (1873) noted for the Napa Valley groups. Disputes were acted upon in the manner of feuds. Provocations for battle included poaching, the most common offense, and death attributed to poisoning. Retaliation might be against the individual or group caught poaching at the time, by organized battles or by surprise attack on a village. In battles, one line of men armed with spears and bows faced an opposing line

from the enemy village. Each side shot arrows and hurled spears at the other. The chiefs were present but did not participate in the fighting. In an evenly matched battle the chiefs would eventually call a halt by walking between the lines and indicating the dispute was over. Peace was arranged by an exchange of material goods between the two sides. In the hill region an elk hide or armor constructed of vertical rods held together with cord was sometimes worn. Warfare seemed to be generally more organized in the hills. There are several recorded feuds for both the Hill and River people: Cortina Valley Patwin against a Pomoan group, and then again against some of the River Patwin, the Long Valley people against those of Cache Creek, Nisenan against River Patwin, and various River Patwin villages against one another (Kroeber 1932a).

## Culture

### *Religion*

• RITUAL One of the more distinctive aspects of Patwin culture was the Kuksu cult system, found elsewhere through much of north central California. Kroeber (1932a, 1939a) thought the cult may have originated with the Patwin because of its greater elaboration there; however, Bennyhoff (1961:328) reasoned that the addition of traits came from outside the area and was temporally a rather late manifestation. A main feature of the cult was the occurrence of one or more secret societies, each with its own series of dances and rituals. Membership was by initiation; among Patwin, boys from 8 to 16 years old were ritually captured, shot or speared, then isolated from the rest of the community for a short length of time during which they received instruction on the secret medicines and knowledge of the society. As noninitiates women and young children generally were not allowed to become members; an exception was women belonging to higher-status families. Among some Patwin groups women often were allowed to witness the ceremonies (Loeb 1933:208). Besides a single Pomoan group living adjacent to the Patwin and no doubt influenced by them, the Patwin were unique in possessing three secret societies. In the central California cult system, almost all groups possessed the Kuksu but only the Patwin also had both the ghost and Hesi types (Kroeber 1932a:313). The purposes of each society were slightly different although overlapping. The ghost type, called *way saltu* 'northern spirits', stressed initiating, the Kuksu emphasized curing and shamanistic functions, and the Hesi (*hesi*) elaborated on ceremonial dancing. With the River Patwin, the ceremonial cycle would begin in the fall and end in the spring with the Hesi, but among the upland Hill Patwin the Kuksu was held in the summer, as among the Pomoans, with whom they shared other ceremonial traits (Loeb 1933:214). Calling the societies to action depended upon when boys were ready to be initiated and not upon any fixed seasonal or sequential schedule.

To become a member of any of the societies a boy would be sponsored by a close relative, usually his father or maternal uncle. It was desirable though not required to belong. Membership in each society was not mutually exclusive and an adult who belonged to all three carried greater prestige. Details of each cult varied from area to area, and even from village to village, but they did have several salient features—a series of dances taking place in a special dance house, a ceremonial director, dance performers versed in the ritual who were spirit impersonators, dance regalia (headdresses of feathers and sticks, feather cloaks, bodies painted with charcoal, clay, ocher), clapper sticks or other instruments, and a log foot drum in the floor of the dance house for sound accompaniment. Onlookers would assemble for the ceremony of three days and four nights duration. There were assigned seating arrangements in the dance house for the performers and onlookers. Often the ceremony would terminate with the dancer in a state of frenzy, and with each series of dances there went a feeling of danger to the performers, in the spiritual sense. In the Hesi society there were four grades of membership based on the amount of experience and knowledge of rituals and medicines. Both the Kuksu and Hesi ceremonies were replaced or modified considerably by the adoption of a more recent variation of the Ghost Dance of 1870, the Bole (*bo·le* 'narrative; dream recited in ceremony'). Some earlier features were retained, such as the dance house, foot drum, and Moki (*mo·ki*) dancer (spirit impersonator performed by Hesi director). There were some similarities to the Ghost Dance; for example, dreams served as a vehicle for communication with spirit beings (Kroeber 1932a:308–309). In 1906 Barrett (1919a) witnessed and described a Hesi ceremony that had overtones of the Bole.

• SHAMANS Certain rituals within the cult system were of a curative benefit; however, most curing was done by shamans who acquired their power from a paternal kinsman. As with ritual knowledge, a doctor purchased his medicines and information rather than obtaining them by dreaming, although among some Hill Patwin dreaming did occur. When someone became ill a shaman was called in to diagnose and cure the disease. He would feel and press upon the patient, then obtain the appropriate medicine and administer it. At times the shaman would suck an offending object—string, for example, or often blood from cuts on the temple—but usually medicine rather than sucking was used. The shaman would stay until the patient claimed to be feeling better. A shaman was well paid for his services. If he gained a reputation for failing, he was simply no longer called but would be under suspicion as a sorcerer. A shaman was usually the only one who would handle ancient charm-

stones (ground stone artifacts, remnants of an earlier culture period) (Kroeber 1932a).

*Political Organization*

The maximum political unit was the tribelet, consisting of one primary and several satellite villages, with a definite sense of territoriality and autonomy. Each tribelet differed slightly from the next in cultural details. Dialectic boundaries were not equivalent and might encompass several tribelets. Kroeber (1932a) defined seven tribelet centers for Colusa Patwin, nine for the Grimes and two for the Knights Landing dialects. There were at least 16 Hill Patwin centers. This number represents recollections from informants' memories in 1923 and is only a partial distribution. The territory exploited by each tribelet was vaguely defined but was sometimes bounded by the limits of a small drainage (Kroeber 1932a). None of the ethnographers provides actual examples of districts, tracts, or resource ownership as Gifford (1923) has recorded for the Eastern and Southeastern Pomo, although such possession did occur.

Within the tribelet were several political and social distinctions. Each village had a chief who directed village activities. That position was the highest rank attainable and was determined by inheritance from father to son, if possible. A chief would be chosen from those eligible by the village elders on the basis of popularity and ability, but once named he enjoyed decision-making powers almost unrestricted except by concerted pressure from the villagers. His primary function was that of administrator in economic and ceremonial activities. He knew the village ownership of tree groves and fishing and hunting areas and decided when, where, and how the distribution of meat should proceed. He could require an individual family to gather or hunt a particular item such as deer. The chief presided over ceremonies, deciding when and where they should be held and which villages should be invited.

*Social Organization*

Gifford's (1918) analysis of Patwin kinship is the most extensive and is concerned with classification through examination of kin terms. Numerous maps are offered as graphic demonstration of the relationships with other California tribes. As Kroeber (1917) has shown, Patwin kin terms tend to merge considerably; the same term is applied to several members of the family even though they differed in age, sex, generation, and genealogical distance. This is at variance with other Wintuan, Miwok, and Pomoan groups whose kin systems reflect greater emphasis on identifying specific relationships with specific terms. There appeared to be little direct correlation of the kinship system with particular forms of marriage, descent, or personal relationships according to Kroeber (1917). It should be kept in mind that his conclusions were based on rather incomplete data. Neither Gifford nor Kroeber could find indications of clans, moieties, or other such institutions. Marriage to the maternal cross-cousin (mother's brother's daughter) was favored but not restricted to that relationship. A taboo prohibiting speaking to one's mother-in-law was in effect for two or three years after marriage and was observed by both sexes.

As reported by McKern (1922) there were three social groupings based upon familial relationships: the paternal family, the family social group, and the household. The consanguineal paternal family was formed by a man, his children, brothers and sisters, brother's children, and so on. Residence upon marriage was matrilocal until the man acquired enough wealth to establish his own household. Until that time he was subject to the authority of the family headman. Thus the family social groups included the paternal family along with married sisters and other women whose husbands had not yet gained independent households. The family head had undisputed authority over this social group even extending to his sons once they had effected separation from their wives' people. Since unilocal residence was not a feature of either the paternal family or the family social group, the segment that did reside under one roof was the household. It included a husband and wife, unmarried sons and daughters, married daughters and their husbands and children.

Inheritance upon the death of an individual by his successors could include either personal or family properties and otherwise followed the paternal line of descent. Personal items were buried with the deceased unless they were publicly willed to a successor prior to the donor's demise. Upon the death of the headman, family possessions passed to the descendant taking his place over the family. The family as a group would retain use of these, since a family head simply functioned as an executor. Personal names were also inherited, but by the family rather than the individual. Each family also had certain medicines and rituals that were inheritable only on that level.

McKern (1922) has identified a system of "functional families" wherein certain families within a village possessed special knowledge in a ceremonial, occupational, shamanistic, or official capacity. Each such family had secret medicines, charms, and rituals that were supposed to render it more successful in its acknowledged function. Technically there was no difference in the methods employed in the actual activities from those used by nonspecialist families. Thus, for example, the salmon-fishing family used the same fishing methods as any other family; however, they were considered to have an advantage in catching salmon. They also might elect not to use their knowledge upon every occasion. Functional families were not professionals to be employed for their special skill. Every family more or less performed the necessary activities for survival and social interrelationships. Some functions were performed by the women,

such as making certain types of baskets, but regardless of who did the work, the entire family was known by the name signifying their particular activity. Such specialist families carried a slightly greater prestige. Access to a family's store of secret medicines and charms was transmitted through the paternal line; however, if there was no close living relative to accept and carry on, or if the relative was unsuitable, a nonrelative could be adopted into the family to insure continuance of the specialty. Such adoptions were fully acceptable to other community members. McKern surmised that an individual could belong to more than one functional family and that probably not every village would have representatives of all families. His informants were able to provide names for 20 different functions, among them being families whose specialties were trapping ducks, making foot drums, making salt, performing certain dance ceremonies or certain shamanistic practices. There might be more than one family of the same function in a village. Shamanistic families, for example, would treat the same diseases but each had its own set of rituals and charms.

*Subsistence*

Hunting and fishing were done by individuals or small groups. Fish were caught by one of several types of nets, which might be attached to a single pole or to two poles that were used to guide the nets. At least two fish weirs were constructed across part of the Sacramento River, one at the village of Koru (at Colusa) and one at Saka (below Grimes). These were constructed of posts and willow sticks driven into the river bottom, which was only a few feet deep at that point. The line they formed was broken in several places by gates purposely left. Salmon or sturgeon were collected into pens behind the gates and caught with a net. A smaller salmon, perch, chub, sucker, hardhead, pike, trout, and probably steelhead were also caught by nets. Mussels were taken from the river bed. Private ownership of some fishing places required that an outsider obtain permission from the owner to fish. Many other animals were taken—tule elk, deer, antelope, bear; ducks, geese, quail, and other birds; turtles and other small animals. Either deer were shot by one man or a small group of men, one wearing a deer head decoy, or they were caught with a net. Brown bear was shot or speared. Ducks, mud hen, geese, and quail were also netted by various means. When taken, birds of prey were usually shot; their feathers were important in ceremonial regalia. Duck decoys were also used.

Turtles were roasted. Salmon and deer meat were often preserved by sun-drying, after which they were pulverized to a meal and stored for future use.

Some animals were not used as food—dogs, coyotes, some birds of prey, frogs, reptiles, caterpillars, grizzly bears, and predator animals in general. Nevertheless, many were collected, for their skins and feathers provided materials for ceremonial paraphernalia, bedding, containers, and other uses (Kroeber 1932a).

Lowie Mus., U. of Calif., Berkeley.

Fig. 2. A.C. Mitchell and wife standing next to frame structure, probably an unfinished sweathouse. Photograph by C. Hart Merriam at Katsil, Aug. 8, 1928.

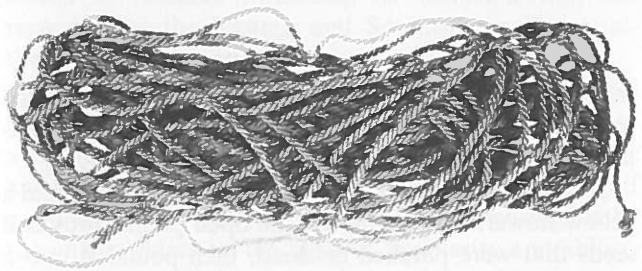
Sunflower, alfilaria, clover, bunchgrass, wild oat, and a yellow flower, all growing on the open plains, provided seeds that were parched or dried, then pounded into a meal. Seed tracts were privately owned by families.

As among many other California cultures a primary staple was the acorn. Two types of valley oak acorns, hill and mountain oak, and live oak (used rarely) were gathered. Oak groves were owned communally by the tribelet. Pulverized acorns were leached by pouring cold water over the meal spread in a sand basin. After processing it was made into soup or bread. For soup, water was added to the meal contained in a basket and heated by the stone-boiling method. The stones were stirred and removed with two oak paddles. Acorn bread was baked in a pit oven dug into the earth and lined with leaves. Buckeye, pine nuts, juniper berries, manzanita berries, blackberries, wild grapes, Brodiaea bulbs, and, in the valley, tule roots, were some of the plant foods collected at various times of the year. Bulbs were either baked or boiled; berries were eaten raw, dried and pulverized, or boiled. A complete list of plant foods was never obtained, but if other California groups can serve as an example, there were probably few edible plants that were not utilized. Each village had its own locations for these food sources, and the village chief was in charge of assigning particular families to each collecting area. Salt was scraped off rocks (in the Cortina region) or it was obtained by burning a grass found in the plains. Sometimes it was bought from the Northeastern Pomo. Tobacco leaves were dried and smoked. Tobacco was collected along the river; it was not cultivated (Powers 1874a; Kroeber 1932a).

*Technology*

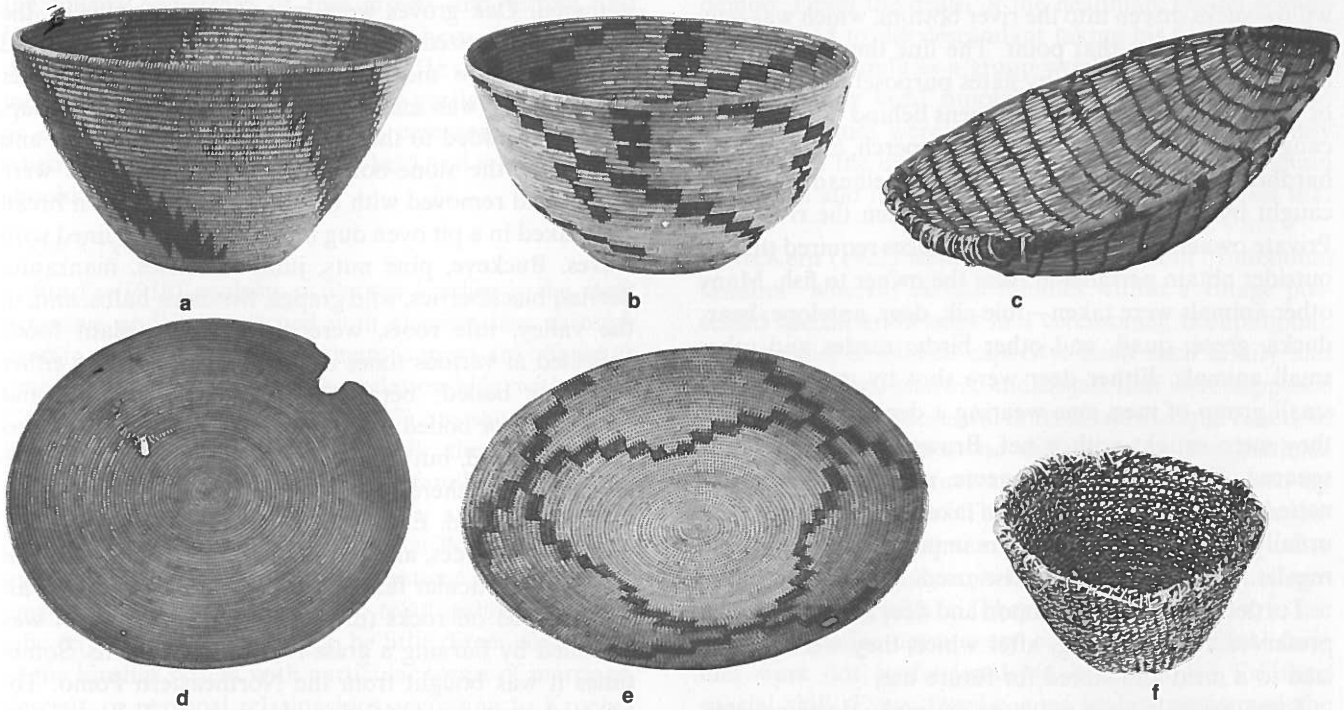
Both woven rabbitskin and leather robes were constructed. Feathers were used on ceremonial headdresses (woodpecker, raven) and on highly prized belts (red woodpecker scalps) made only by certain families (McKern 1922). Netting and cordage of wild hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*), grapevine, and milkweed (*Asclepias* sp.) fibers were important, particularly in hunting and fishing. Long burial ropes of hemp were wrapped around the body upon a person's death (fig. 3). River Patwin used temporary containers of tule. Cured animal hides served as bedding and burial robes (bear), women's skirts (deer), floor mats (deer), and tobacco sacks (fox, coyote, or wolf).

Coiled or twined basketry containers (fig. 4) were extremely important items for almost all aspects of food collection, preparation, serving, and storage; for baby carriers; and for burial accompaniment. Based on examination of 40 documented specimens from the C. Hart Merriam Collection, Dawson (1972) has identified among the coiled specimens a mush boiler, a parching or winnowing tray, a mush dipper, a container for small articles, and baskets used for burial accompaniment. All these were constructed on a foundation of three rods. Two finely worked specimens were intended as grave offerings; one is ornamented with feathers and shell beads, the other is an oval type commonly called a "canoe" basket from its shape. The twined baskets include burden baskets for carrying coarse materials, a children's basket for catching fish, a type for gathering or cleaning coarser foods like bulbs, and a mortar hopper. Seed beaters are also reported to have been made. In the construction of coiled specimens Dawson notes that the method of starting a basket was distinct from that of the nearby Pomoans, Wappo, and Yuki. Twined baskets could be worked by at least two techniques—plain twining over one or two warps, or diagonal twining. The foundation for coiled baskets consisted of peeled willow shoots with split sedge or willow roots used as the sewing strand. Designs were incorporated into the body of a basket by replacement of the primary sewing strand with ones that had been blackened by burial in mud or with split redbud shoots that provided a red color. In twined baskets the foundation or warp materials consisted of whole shoots, probably of a willow. The weft strand materials were of a split sedge root or redbud. Some of



Lowie Mus., U. of Calif., Berkeley: 1-230631B.

Fig. 3. Burial rope from Colusa area; 3-ply, made of *Apocynum*. Said to be about 100 years old in 1972. Entire length about 60 m, rope thickness about 1 cm.




U. of Calif., Davis: C. Hart Merriam Coll.: a, 774; b, 776; c, 775; d, 765; e, 768; f, 777.

Fig. 4. Baskets. a-b, coiled cooking baskets; c, twined scoop tray; d-e, coiled winnowing trays; f, twined children's fish basket. Diameter of a, 35.0 cm, rest same scale; collected 1897-1906.

the basketmaking techniques are similar to those of the Pomoans and Wappo groups to the west of the Patwin; however, other features are more correspondent to those found among the Nomlaki, Valley Maidu, and Sierra Miwok who resided in the Sacramento Valley to the north and east and in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

Bone, wood, and stone were the most commonly used materials for tools. Stone flakes of various sizes served as scrapers and knives in butchering animals and dressing skins. Arrow and drill points and spearheads were shaped from obsidian and occasionally chert. Bows, besides being imported, were made locally of buckeye, juniper, or dogwood. Arrow shafts were of elderberry wood, juniper, or dogwood. Willow (River Patwin) or digger pine (Hill Patwin) provided wood for fire drills.

Tule balsa boats were constructed of large bundles of round tule bound together with grapevine to form crafts up to 20 feet long and 6 feet wide. The prow only was recurved. The craft were propelled by poling. Hill Patwin did not use boats.

To process acorns and other needs, wooden mortars of oak were used in the River area, and flat slabs of stone on which basketry hoppers fit were used in the hills. Bedrock outcroppings with mortar pits were used in the hills. The pestle was an elongated stream cobble, rarely shaped. Pooewin (southern Patwin) according to Merriam (1966–1967, 3:267) used a long pestle for pounding acorns, a short one for pulverizing meat.

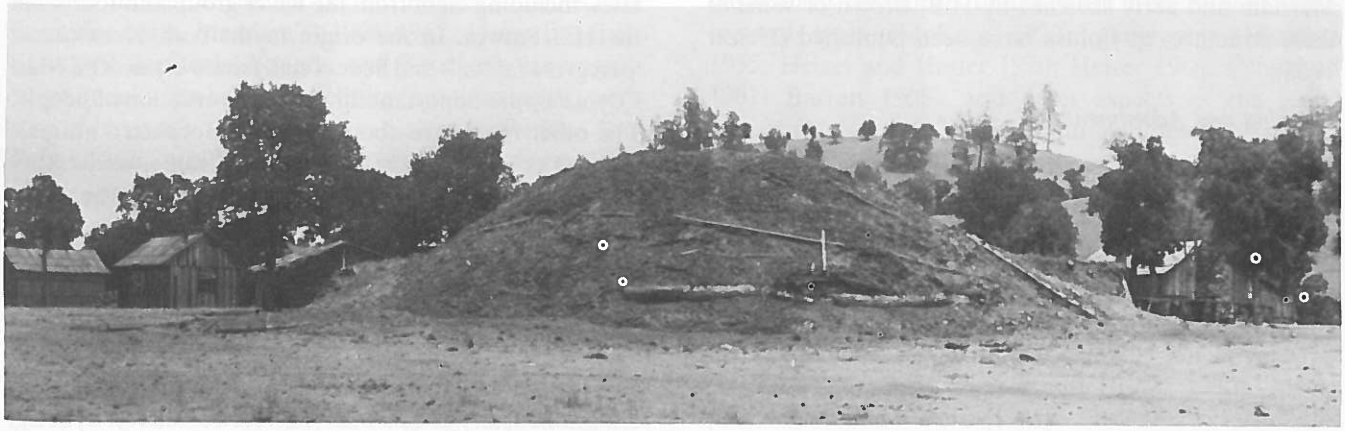
Mussel shells were used as knives to cut fish and other meats into strips. Bone awls were used in the construction of basketry. Fish were speared with bone harpoons in the River area (Cook and Treganza 1947). Digging sticks of wood were utilized for recovering bulbs and tubers and for loosening earth in the construction of houses and grave pits.

*Life Cycle*

Information on the life cycle of the individual is fragmentary. It is reported that if twins were born both were allowed to live. At the onset of puberty a River Patwin girl would not be allowed to eat meat or fat and she would be secluded for four days. In some areas a dance was performed to acknowledge the event. For boys, sometimes there was an initiation into a secret society associated with the Kuksu cult system. For marriage, the parents served as go-betweens. A bride price of shell beads and other items was paid to the bride's parents. Patwin were usually monogamous. After a woman had given birth she underwent the same meat and fat taboo that she had observed at puberty except that it lasted for a month. Her husband also observed a meat taboo and could eat only fish. The couvade was practiced (Kroeber 1932a:271). Upon the death of her husband, a widow would blacken her face and cut her hair. She remained in this state for about one year. Infanticide was sometimes practiced when the mother died (Powers 1874a:545). The dead were buried; normally only people killed away from home were cremated. According to a Hill Patwin informant, the River people set a corpse upright, then pushed the head down, broke the back, wrapped the body in a skin, and put it in the grave. Cemeteries were usually at one end of the community. Property was buried with the dead in large quantities (probably a very recent manifestation), and in some areas it was burned near the grave. Those in contact with the Pomoans and near the San Francisco Bay did practice cremation.

*Structures*

Structures are the most completely described aspect of material culture. McKern (1923) recorded in detail construction methods of the four types of permanent habitation occurring in a village. The dwelling or family house could be placed anywhere, the ceremonial dance house (fig. 5) was built at a short distance to the north or south end of the village, the sudatory (fig. 6) was positioned to the east or west of the dance house, and the menstrual hut was placed on the edge of the village farthest from the dance house. All these were earth-covered, semisubterranean structures with an elliptical (River Patwin) or



C. Hart Merriam Coll., Dept. of Anthr., U. of Calif., Berkeley.

Fig. 5. Ceremonial house at Cortena Creek. Photograph by C. Hart Merriam, June 1903.

C. Hart Merriam Coll., Dept. of Anthr., U. of Calif., Berkeley.

Fig. 6. Sweathouse at Katsil made and used by Joe Mitchell. Photograph by C. Hart Merriam, July 13, 1930. Dome of house retouched.

circular (Hill Patwin) form (Kroeber 1932a). All except the family dwelling were built with the assistance of everyone in the village. Family houses were built by one's paternal relatives. Materials were gathered beforehand. Digging sticks were used to loosen the earth, which was then carried away in old baskets. Earth for covering the outside was brought from outside the village while that from the pit was banked upon the outside of the rim. With everything and everyone assembled, the project might be completed in a single day. Photographs taken by Merriam and early sketches by H.B. Brown of some of these structures at Colusa have been published (Heizer 1966).

*Clothing and Adornment*

Men went without any covering; women wore skirts or aprons (fig. 7) of tule or shredded bark (River Patwin) or of deerskin (Hill Patwin). Rabbitskin blankets were sometimes worn but found greater favor as bedding. No hats or foot coverings were worn. Men had long hair coiled on top of the head fastened with a straight bone hairpin. They sometimes wore hair nets.

*Music and Games*

A clapper stick of elderberry was used in ceremonies. The flute, an elderberry tube with four holes, was played during idle times. A whistle was made but undescribed. The foot drum used in dances was usually a sycamore log, 8 to 10 feet long, split lengthwise and hollowed.

The grass game found widely over California was also known to the Patwin. Women's games included dice, shinny, and a type of ring and pin (Kroeber 1932a).

*Mythology*

The most complete information on mythology was collected by Kroeber (1932a:303–308), who recorded 12 tales, including eight from the River group and four from the Hill Patwin. In the origin myths both Ketit (*kati·t* 'peregrine falcon') and Sede-Tsiak (*sedew ʔ̌iyak* 'Old Man Coyote') were important figures in the creation of people. The other myths are about anthropomorphized animals such as condor, grizzly bear, elk, antelope, and rattlesnake and their interactions with humans. There are three versions of the origin of the Hesi ceremonials.

## Synonymy

The name Patwin (*patwin* 'people') was introduced by Powers (1874a:542) in the spelling Patweens, later written phonetically as Pat-wīn' (Powers 1877:218). Synonymous names are Copéh (Gibbs 1853c:421), Southern Wintun (Kroeber 1932a:256), Southerly Wintun (Barrett

C. Hart Merriam Coll., Dept. of Anthr., U. of Calif., Berkeley.
Fig. 7. Women wearing skirts of skin and aprons. Drawn by H.B. Brown near Colusa on the Sacramento River, 1851-1852.

1908:81). The Nomlaki referred to them as *noymok* 'south people' (Goldschmidt 1951a:316), and the Yuki called the Little Stony Creek Patwin with whom they had contact Ku'mnom or 'salt people' (Kroeber 1932a:370).

Within the territory generally ascribed to the Patwin, numerous village names have been collected and several attempts made to identify larger politico-linguistic divisions. Powers (1877) defined 14 tribes; Merriam mapped 10 tribes, three dialect divisions, and 41 villages along the Sacramento River. Kroeber (1932a) identified 18 River and 16 Hill Patwin tribelet centers and their satellite villages, mostly in the hill region. Powers's "tribes" are linguistic units, Merriam's (1966-1967, 1) are linguistic units with territorial bounds, and Kroeber's are linguistic-political units having a definite (but unmapped) territory. Merriam's three primary dialectic divisions into Patwin, Win, and Pooewin were approximate precursors of Kroeber's cultural-environmental isolates of the southeastern, southwestern, and southern Patwin respectively. These three Kroeber (1932a:256) later reorganized into Hill (southwestern) and River (southeastern and southern) Patwin. In the linguistic classification of Whistler (1976), the dialect clusters of Hill Patwin (Merriam's Win) and River Patwin (Merriam's Patwin dialect) are grouped into a North Patwin language separate from South Patwin (Merriam's Pooewin, properly *puywin* 'east people').

There are many variations in the spelling of village and tribelet names, especially as recorded in the Spanish mission records. Those available in phonemic transcription are as follows (Kenneth Whistler, personal communication 1977): (1) from south to north on the Sacramento River were the South Patwin *yo·doy* or *yo·dol* (Knight's Landing) and *hololum* and the River Patwin *pa·leli, čakidi·hi, ƙusempu, nomačapin*; five tribelets near Grimes: *nowi, ƙodoydi·hi, loklokmatʰinbe* (*loklok* 'chicken hawk'), *holwa* 'mortar', and *yali*; *kapaya* (Sycamore; on the boundary between Southern and Northern River Patwin); the Colusa complex of *kukuy, koru·,* and *ɨatnodi·hi*; and *kačʰil, waytʰere* 'face the north', *čɨa,* and *ƙeti* ('mugwort wormwood', at Princeton); (2) in the Little Stony Creek drainage (Kabalmem dialect): *čʰuhe·lme·m, ʔeydi·ɬa* 'gnat village', and *pahka;* (3) Upper Cache Creek (*kapay*): the village of the *lo·lsel* 'tobacco people' (*alimatʰinbe* ?), two villages called *tʰebtʰi* 'confluence', with those the *lo·lsel* called *čʰenpasel* 'downstream people' at the upper of the two, and *kʰuykʰuy* 'sweet'; (4) Cortina hills: *ƛ̓et* (or *ƛ̓etdi·ɬa* 'ground-squirrel village'), *waykaw,* and *sukuy* ('bear', in Bear valley); (5) Capay valley: *ko·pe* 'root', *siča* (Rumsey), *ɨobɨobnome·m* ('junco spring'; successor village to the preceding), *ʔe·yadi·hi* 'manzanita village', *yo·čadi·hi* (Tancred), *kisi,* and *mo·so* (Capáy); (6) Napa valley: *napa* 'werebear; bear shaman'. Other forms are given in the lists of Powers (1877), Merriam (1955-1970), Kroeber (1932a), Barrett (1908), and Bennyhoff (1950a). Heizer and Hester (1970) have indicated the variable recordings of Merriam's village names, and Bennyhoff discusses some southern Patwin names as copied from mission records.

## Sources

The Patwin have been the subject of several major cultural descriptions. Kroeber (1925, 1932a) offers the most complete overview and also includes some explicit detail. His analysis of the Kuksu ceremonial system is particularly developed. Others write more fully of architectural types (McKern 1923), geography (Merriam 1955; Heizer and Hester 1970; Heizer 1966; Bennyhoff 1961; Barrett 1908), and other aspects of the social system (McKern 1922). Merriam also describes several ceremonies as he witnessed them in the early 1900s. Powers's (1877) summary of Patwin culture is brief but one of the earliest such statements. Curtis's (1907-1930, 14:73-96) work is broader in scope; however, it is drawn principally from other published sources. A useful comparative vocabulary list is also included. Some early firsthand observations on Patwin village life were recorded by Arguello (Heizer and Hester 1970), Abella (Cook 1960), and Work (1945).

Several of the more recent studies of Patwin have been brief articles in linguistics (Bright and Bright 1959;

Bright 1960; Shafer 1961; Sawyer 1964a; Hymes 1964a; Callaghan 1964; Broadbent and Pitkin 1964). There are also 14 manuscripts by Paul Radin and one by Angulo on Patwin linguistics (see Freeman 1966). Other unpublished manuscripts include those by Halpern (in Valory 1971:23) and Gifford (in Valory 1971:28). Original Merriam field notes (1908) are housed at the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Museum collections include the C.H. Merriam Collection of documented baskets at the University of California, Davis, and several other Patwin baskets at the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and Oakland Museum, Oakland, California. Taylor (1860-1863), Simmons (1905), Anonymous (1851, 1852), and articles in other northern California newspapers (see Taylor 1866; Gregory 1937) record incidents of conflict of Patwin with other Indians and Anglo-Americans and other events.