Final Published Report as of December 9, 2010

Nevada County Historical Society

Committee to Investigate
The Society's 2000 Endorsement of the Tsi-Akim Maidu

November 4, 2010

Committee Report
November 4, 2010

Background

At a meeting on November 2, 2000, the Board of Directors of the Nevada County Historical Society (NCHS) approved a resolution written by Don Ryberg of the Tsi-Akim.[1]

In June 2010, NCHS Board member Wallace Hagaman offered a motion (in the form of a draft letter) to recognize the Nisenan Tribe of the Nevada City Rancheria as the "only indigenous tribe of Nevada County". (See Appendix 1)

The Board appointed this committee to investigate the issue of conflicting claims.

1. The Ryberg Letter and NCHS Board of Directors

A letter dated October 30, 2000 from Don Ryberg to the NCHS Board emphasized the troubled and sometimes violent history of the indigenous peoples of this area including their forced removals during the 1850s. The letter also stressed efforts by the Tsi-Akim to reclaim their culture. The NCHS readily acknowledged this painful history in their endorsement, and gave its support to the tribe's efforts at cultural recovery. (See Appendix 2)

2. The Nevada County Board of Supervisors

On January 9, 2001, the Nevada County Board of Supervisors passed resolution 01-16 that, among other items, "formally supports and endorses the efforts of the Tsi-Akim Tribe to pursue Federal recognition..." The minutes of that meeting state that, "... the Nevada County Historical Society recommended approval of the resolution to support the Tribe". (See Appendices 3.1 & 3.2)

The Tsi-Akim subsequently used the Society's endorsement to gather approximately twenty-two similar resolutions.[2] (See Appendices 3.3 & 3.4)

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1 NCHS Board of Directors meeting 11/2/00. "New Business. Ed Tyson read a resolution (#114) that was given to him by Don Ryberg (sic), current tribal Chief of the Maidus. They requested assistance from the NCHS in gaining official recognition. Mr. Ryber (sic) felt our recognition would be a helpful first step. Motion for recognition was made by Maria Brower and seconded by June Rice. Motion was carried."

2 The Tsi-Akim Maidu website cited these resolutions until recently. The "Who We Are" page included the statement "The Nevada County Historical Society was first to recognize the tribe in 2000". (See Appendix 3.4) A check of the website on October 2, 2010 found any reference to the NCHS gone, and the "Recognitions" page showed "Under Construction".

3. The Maidu Connection

Research revealed factual inaccuracies regarding the Tsi-Akim's claim to Nevada County as its traditional territory.

The common perception that Nevada County is part of "Maidu" territory *is* inaccurate. The error is a common one, namely, that the term "Maidu" represents a political unit, specifically a single tribal unit. In fact, the term "Maidu" refers to a very large and diverse linguistic unit.

Don Ryberg and his immediate family, who constitute a significant number of the Tsi-Akim residents in Nevada County today, are indeed, Maidu. However, they are Mountain Maidu of the Taylorsville Rancheria of Plumas County. These Mountain Maidu are part of a linguistic group that linguists identify as the Northern Maidu and are distinct from the Nisenan of Nevada County. (See Appendices 4.1, 4.2 & 4.4)

The Northern Maidu and the Nisenan are sub-groups of a parent "Maidu" stock, which in turn is part of a larger Penutian language that included Miwoks, Wintus, Yokuts, and others. The Nisenan and Northern Maidu each had many different groups speaking many different dialects, as different as German is from Italian. Just as Germans and Italians (though tracing their roots to a common Latin base) developed different cultures and politics, so did the many different dialect groups among the Nisenan. Scholar Herber Luthin writes of the distinct languages spoken in California by indigenous peoples, "[e]ach language reflects a cultural division too." There is no ethnographic evidence to suggest that there were any political institutions or allegiances that extended between Maiduan speakers of the many dialects. Rather current research depicts Native California as a politically decentralized place.

According to the authoritative Handbook of North American Indians, the Nisenan territory alone had more than a hundred identifiable and politically autonomous villages or rancherias. There were many different cultures, mutually-incomprehensible languages, and dozens and dozens of separate political units in the broad Maiduan territory. (See Appendix 4.3)

4. Traditional Homeland

The claim that Nevada County is a part of the traditional homeland to the Tsi-Akim is clouded. (See Appendix 4.4)

A letter from the Tsi-Akim's attorney seeking support from a member of the Yuba Co. Board of Supervisors states that the Tsi-Akim "...now has a living cultural village site just outside Nevada City..." There is no claim that Nevada County is the tribe's traditional land. The letter later refers to "an historical photograph of the Tsi-Akim (Ch'akom) village in Taylorsville...". (See Appendix 3.3)

In his discussion with this committee in August 2010, Don Ryberg stated that the "Tsi-Akim" name was assumed by members of the Taylorsville Rancheria of Plumas County to avoid the use of their "white man's name".

Mr. Ryberg further stated that membership in his tribe was open to anyone in thirteen surrounding counties who were acceptable to the Tribal Council. When asked if non-Indians could join, he said, yes. He further said that if the tribe received federal recognition, the Council would then reevaluate who would remain a member and who would not.

The Tsi-Akim produced no verifiable evidence or documentation that any of its members can trace their genealogical roots to historic Nevada County. Without such evidence, the NCHS cannot support the contention that Nevada County is the Tsi-Akim's (or the Taylorsville Rancheria's) traditional territory. The claim that their ancestors are buried in historic Nevada County remains unsupported.

5. Conclusion

The catalyst for the NCHS to examine its original endorsement was the assertion by another group, the Nevada City Rancheria tribe, which challenges the Tsi-Akim's claim to being the indigenous people of historic Nevada County.

This committee interviewed representatives from both groups and we thank them for their cooperation and candor. This committee did not investigate, nor reach any conclusion, as to the merits of either group's quest for Federal recognition.

The committee determined that upon closer examination, many of the claims in the original endorsement are unsupported by facts. It is understandable why the NCHS Board of Directors gave its original endorsement. Recollections of those present in 2000 suggest that the Board believed Don Ryberg had a direct genealogical connection to other, well-known Indians of Nevada City, like Louis Kelly.

The Board may have been more cautious had it understood how its concurrence would be leveraged to gain endorsements in other localities.

The Board did not critically examine the resolution, but rather adopted it as a gesture of good will. In retrospect, this committee now sees that was a mistake.

Therefore, this committee recommends that the Nevada County Historical Society rescind its November 2, 2000 endorsement of the Tsi-Akim Maidu.

Committee Members:
Chair Daniel Ketcham, & President NCHS
Brian Blair, Director, NCHS
Maria Brower, Director, NCHS
Desmond Gallagher, Director, NCHS
Tanis C. Thorne, Ph.D., NCHS member in good standing

Appendices

Summary of Appendices

1. Draft letter presented to NCHS Board of Directors to recognize the "Nisenan Tribe of the Nevada City Rancheria as the only indigenous tribe of Nevada County".

2. Letter of Don Ryberg, Tribal Chairman, Tsi-Akim Maidu to Board of Directors, Nevada County Historical Society, October 30, 2000.

3.1 Resolution No. 01-16 of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Nevada (January 9, 2001).

3.2 Excerpt of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Nevada

3.3 Letter to John Nicoletti, Supervisor-District 2, Yuba County Board of Supervisors, April 26, 2010.

3.4 Screenshots of Tsi-Akim Maidu website.

4.1 Map 2 "California Linguistic Diversity" and Map 3 "California Language Families and Stocks" from Herbert W. Luthin, ed. *Surviving Through the Days: A California Indian Reader* (UC Press, 2002), pp. 574-575.

4.2 Jerald Johnson, emeritus professor, California State University, Sacramento: synopsis of select sources defining Nisenan as separate entity from the Northern Maidu, dated August 28, 2010.

4.3 William C. Sturtevant, General Editor and Robert F. Heizer, Volume Editor, *Handbook of North American Indians*, (Smithsonian Institution, 1978), Volume 8, pages 370-397.

4.4 Ethnohistorical Synopsis by Tanis C. Thorne, Ph.D. Sept. 29, 2010.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1

On letterhead Current Date

Nevada City Rancheria Tribal Council
P.O. Box 825
Nevada City, CA 95959

Attn: Richard Johnson, Tribal Chairman

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The Nevada County Historical Society has had a relationship with the Nisenan people of the Nevada City Rancheria since our inception in 1946, and our founding members even before that time. In addition to members of the society contributing Nisenan items for preservation and educational purposes, members of the society have had personal relationships with tribal members. For an example, Chief Louis Kelly, the last headman of the Nevada City Rancheria, entrusted photos and other personal items to the care of the society through his friend, Doris Foley.

A collection of Nisenan materials have been housed in the society's Firehouse Museum since 1946. Other records and photographs are preserved at the Searls Historical Library. Today, the Firehouse Museum display has been renewed and enhanced under the supervision of the Nisenan members of the Nevada City Rancheria.

Based on this historic relationship, along with careful, documented research, we recognize and fully endorse the Nisenan Tribe of the Nevada City Rancheria as the only indigenous tribe of Nevada County. We continue to support your efforts to preserve the rich heritage of the Nisenan people and their way of life in Nevada County.

Daniel Ketcham,
President, Nevada County Historical Society

Appendix 2

Tsi-Akim Maidu
PO Box 608 Cedar Ridge, CA
Phone (530) 272-1326 Fax (530) 274-7804

October 30, 2000

Board of Directors
Nevada County Historical Society
Nevada City, CA 95959

Dear Directors,

I am Tribal Chair and representative of the 114 member Tsi-Akim Maidu Tribe, Approximately 40% of which live in Nevada County. We are a well-organized Tribe. We have a 5 member Tribal Council, a Constitution, Enrollment Ordinance with Resolutions and an Advisory Council consisting of local non-tribal professionals. Our non-profit status is pending and expected to be completed shortly.

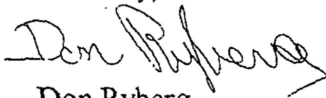
The Tribe is requesting the Nevada County Historical Society's assistance in helping us to achieve official County recognition by their endorsement of a Resolution. We believe it is important for the Historical Society to support our goal because it is an inherent right of everyone to have a heritage to pass onto their descendants. Nevada County is part of our traditional homelands, as home to us is where our dead lie buried. The people of Nevada County can assist us by offering their moral and ethical support.

The Maidu culture was strong and flourished in this, their traditional territories for 10,000 years. First contact with non-Indians started a cycle of cultural devastation. The Federal government destroyed or outlawed our culture, language, heritage and religion, but could not completely destroy our spirituality. The Federal government made treaties, which were never honored because the California State government opposed and fought vigorously against those treaties. The land and its resources were considered much too valuable for the Indian. The State made policies devastating to the Maidu Indian culture such as the California Indian Removal Policy of 1855. However, this could not prevent the few survivors from returning to their lands, the lands where their dead lie buried.

The present day tribal members are survivors of this once great Nation and are striving to restore and preserve what's left of their culture. The Tsi-Akim Maidu have been trying for 150 years to gain recognition. In honor of our ancestors, we are continuing to seek acknowledgment. Are you the generation that has the compassion to help us reach this goal?

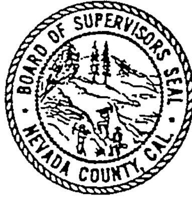
On behalf of the Members of the Tsi-Akim Maidu, I thank you for your support and efforts toward the furtherance of our goal.

Sincerely,



Don Ryberg
Tribal Chairman
Tsi-Akim Maidu

Appendix 3



Appendix 3.1

RESOLUTION No. 01-16

OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF THE COUNTY OF NEVADA

A RESOLUTION RECOGNIZING THE TSI-AKIM MAIDU TRIBE

WHEREAS, the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is a tribal organization of the indigenous Native Americans that inhabited the Nevada County region for thousands of years; and,

WHEREAS, the tribe claims Nevada County is a part of the traditional tribal homeland to the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe, and is their current home, and is where their dead lie buried; and,

WHEREAS, the current members of the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe are descendants of this once great Native American Nation; and,

WHEREAS, the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is dedicated to the preservation and perpetuation of its people's language, culture, history, heritage, religion, and spirituality; and,

WHEREAS the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is represented by a five member Tribal Council that has adopted a Tribal Constitution and Enrollment Ordinance listing its members; and,

WHEREAS the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is currently pursuing official Federal recognition so that their members and future generations can enjoy the rights and privileges that they are legally entitled to, including housing, health care, elder care, and education;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Nevada County Board of Supervisors does hereby:

1. Recognizes the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe and further recognizes the importance and contribution of their history, and present cultural heritage in Nevada County; and

2. Formally supports and endorses the efforts of the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe to pursue Federal recognition so the Tribe can further develop the cultures of which they were deprived; and

3. Formally supports the continuing efforts of the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe to preserve their heritage, culture, language, and religion.

(Extract)

Appendix 3.2

STATE OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF NEVADA

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS MINUTES, JANUARY 9, 2001

Meeting held in the Board Chambers, Eric Rood Admin. Center, 950 Maidu Ave., Nevada City, CA

SCHEDULED ITEM: 11:15 A.M.

28. Resolution recognizing the Tsi-Akim Maidu Tribe, supporting and endorsing the efforts of the Tribe to pursue Federal recognition, and supporting the continuing efforts of the Tribe to preserve their heritage, culture, language and religion. (Supervisor Conklin)

ACTION TAKEN: Chair Martin introduced the agenda item.

Supervisor Conklin advised the Board that he was approached by the Tsi-Akim Maidu Tribe a couple of months ago, and he invited the representatives to come forward.

Mr. Don Ryberg, representing the Tsi-Akim Maidu Tribe and Tribal Chairman, asked for the Board's support to achieve their goals.

Ms. Irene Moon, Vice Chair of the Tribe, thanked the Board for considering their request for recognition.

Ms. Louella Jerdow(?), Secretary of the Tribe, noted that they were attempting to receive both County and Federal recognition.

Chair Martin asked how the County's support would make things different, or how would it help the Tribe and the County if they were to receive recognition as a Tribe. Discussion ensued. Supervisor Conklin asked if the Tribe was associated with laying claim to, or in ownership of any particular real estate in Nevada County that might become a rancheria. Mr. Ryberg stated theirs was a landless Tribe.

Chair Martin stated that the Nevada County Historical Society recommended approval of the resolution to support the Tribe.

Motion made by Supervisor Conklin, seconded by Supervisor Van Zant, to adopt Resolution 01-16. On a roll call vote, the motion passed unanimously.

LAW OFFICES OF LETTY LITCHFIELD

716 D Street
Marysville, C.
(530) 673-4616
(916) 485-4253
FAX (530) 742-8576

APRIL 26, 2010

JOHN NICOLETTI
Supervisor-District 2
Yuba Co. Board of Supervisors
915-8th Street, Ste. 109
Marysville, CA 95901

Re: Request for County Board of Supervisors Resolution on behalf of the Tsi-Akim Maidu tribe

Dear Supervisor Nicoletti:

Thank you for meeting today with Tsi-Akim Maidu tribal Chairman, Don Ryberg, and I, about our request that the Board of Supervisors issue a Resolution of recognition and support for the tribe. As you know from the documentation that Chairman Ryberg shared with you today, many of the tribe's ancestors lived in Yuba County.

As we discussed, I am assisting the Tsi-Akim Maidu tribe (formerly known as "Taylorsville" of the Taylorsville Rancheria in Plumas County) in their quest to have their tribe returned to the list of Federally Recognized tribes. In doing so, it is not necessary to have local and state support, but we believe that every little bit helps. Therefore, the tribe has been gathering Resolutions from various County Boards of Supervisors and other organizations.

These Resolutions are nothing more than a showing of support for the tribe's continued existence, and their desire to preserve their heritage, culture, language and religion. It should be noted that the tribe is very moved by such Resolutions, and views them as a form of apology for the many atrocities that occurred during the Gold Rush era, including near annihilation of the Maidu people.

This tribe, which now has a living cultural village site just outside of Nevada City in Nevada County, has made it a goal to actively participate in coming together with Non-Indian communities for healing of the people, as well as healing of the land and waters. The Gold Rush left significant amounts of Mercury toxins throughout Northern California's lands and waters. Our Yuba River and its watershed areas stand much to gain from this tribe being

---

Federally Recognized. Indeed, the Tsi-Akim Maidu were consulted on, and supported, the very recent collaborative effort that resulted in Western Aggregate agreeing to put three miles of its land from the Parks Bar Bridge downstream into a Conservation Easement for a wild Chinook salmon restoration project.

On behalf of the Tsi-Akm Maidu, we greatly appreciate your time spent in listening to our request, and we appreciate you forwarding this request to the Board.

Towards that end, I am attaching a list of the numerous governing bodies and organizations that have signed Resolutions for the tribe, and I have provided actual copies of some of those Resolutions.

I am also attaching a copy of an 1840 map that shows the Maidu Tribal lands in Northern California, a copy of an historical photograph of the Tsi-Akim (Ch'akom) village in Taylorsville, and a sheet with chronological information on the tribe's Federal Recognition status.

Thank you very much for your interest in this tribe as a People of our state that is very historically significant, and for whom we should all be acting to help preserve their continued existence and well-being.

Sincerely,

Letty Litchfield

Enclosures
Cc: Chairman, Don Ryberg
Tsi-Akim Maidu

The Tsi-Akim Maidu have gathered formal Resolutions of Recognition and Support from the following organizations:

California Heritage Commission

California State Archives

Nevada County Historical Society

Nevada County Land Trust

Nevada Irrigation District

Nevada County Board of Supervisors

Plumas County Board of Supervisors

Sierra County Board of Supervisors

The Yuba Watershed Institute

South Yuba River Citizens League

Friends of Deer Creek

The Sierra Fund

American Rivers

Foothills Lions Club of Grass Valley

Sierra Nevada Deep Ecology Institute

Shingle Springs Rancheria

Sierra Friends of Tibet

Wolf Creek Alliance

KVMR Radio Station

California State University, Chico

Colfax/Todds Valley Consolidated Tribe

Placer Land Trust

Maidu Summit Consortium
Consisting of:
Maidu Culture & Development Group
Roundhouse Council
Susanville Indian Rancheria
Tsi-Akim Maidu
Maiduk We'ye
Greenville Indian Rancheria
Mountain Maidu Preservation Association
Tasmam Koyom Cultural Foundation
United Maidu Nation

BACKGROUND:

THE TSI-AKIM MAIDU TRIBE OF THE TAYLORSVILLE RANCHERIA WAS ONCE ON THE FEDERAL REGISTER, AND IS SEEKING TO HAVE ITS NAME RETURNED TO THE FEDERAL REGISTER.

-In May 1923, the Department of Interior purchased the Old Allick Allotment, establishing the Taylorsville Rancheria as a home site for a band of homeless Indians of the Taylorsville area.

-In June, 1935, the approved voting members of the Taylorsville Rancheria voted to have the Indian Reorganization Act apply to the tribe.

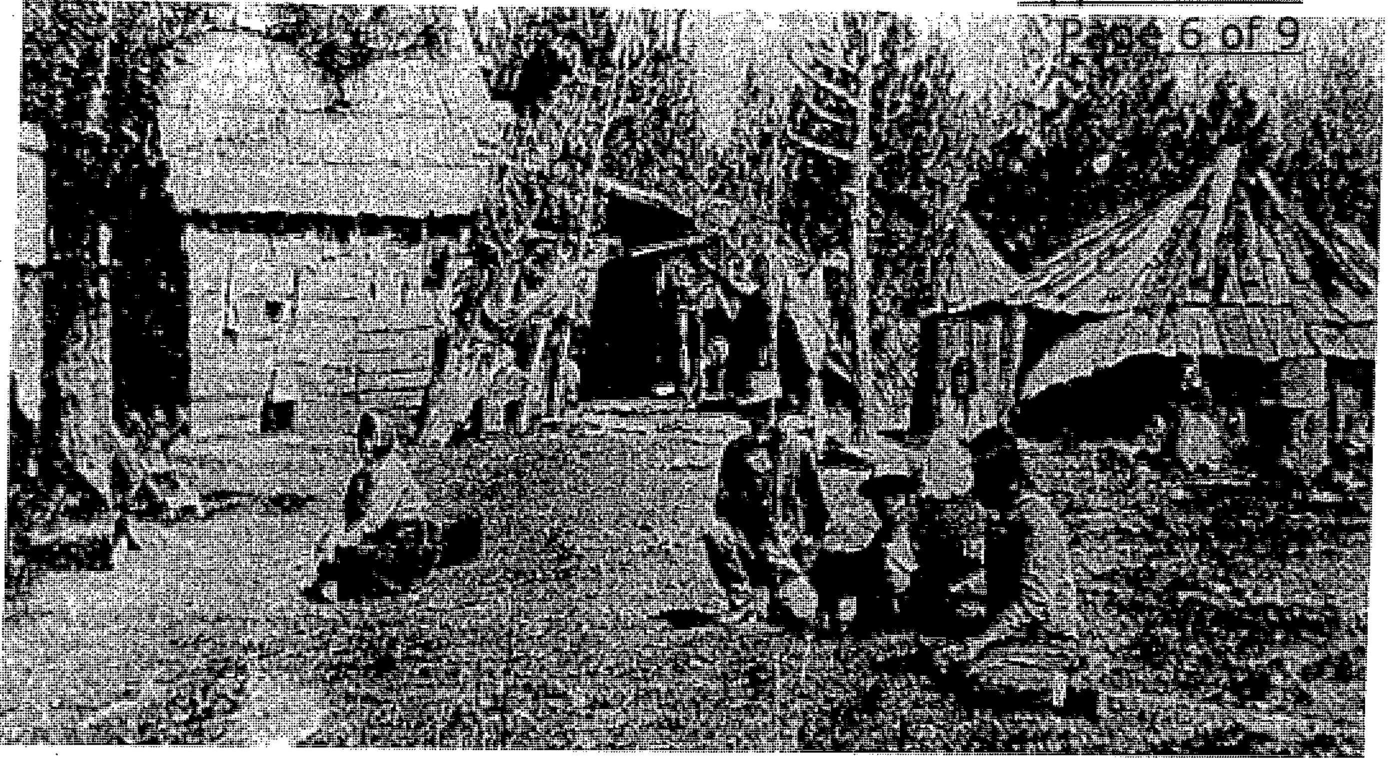
-On November 7, 1966, the Federal government sold the tribe's Taylorsville Rancheria lands to Plumas County. While there is no evidence of an Act of Congress terminating the tribe, and there has never been any notice to the tribe that it was terminated, its name disappeared from the Federal Register.

-The Plumas County Board of Supervisors has signed a Resolution supporting the tribe's ongoing mission to preserve their heritage, culture and language, and to be returned to the Federal Register.

-The tribe is represented by a seven-member Tribal Council that has adopted a Tribal Constitution and Enrollment Ordinance listing its members. And, the tribe has a 501(c)(3) Non-Profit incorporation status.

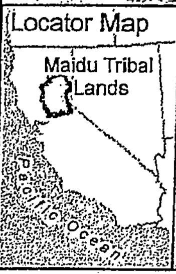
CONTACT INFORMATION:

Chairman, Don Ryberg
1275 E. Main Street
Grass Valley, CA 95945
Office of Tsi-Akim Maidu tribe: (530) 274-7497
Cell: (530) 559-8595



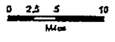
Ch'akom-duka Village aka: Taylorsville Rancheria
Courtesy of Dorothy Hill Collection CSU Chico

Kom Yamani
Sumblli
Naka
North Fork Te-Tem Sewi (North Fork Feather River)
Koyom
Hopno
Buku
Tosikoyo
Yatamoto
Silo
Bomkoyo
Middle Fork Te-Tem Sewi (Middle Fork Feather River)
South Fork Te-Tem Sewi (South Fork Feather River)
Chitakam Yamanmanto
North Fork Puda Duom Sayo (North Yuba River)
Homlukbe
Middle Puda Duom Sayo (Middle Yuba River)
South Fork Puda Duom Sayo (South Yuba River)
Hoyo Sayo (Sacramento River)
Estom Yamani
Wokodot
Puda Duom Sayo (Yuba River)
Kokokeha
Te-Tem Sewi (Feather River)
North Fork Kum Sayo (North Fork American River)
Middle Fork Kum Sayo (Middle Fork American River)
Nem Sayo (Bear River)
Hownosum Soka
South Fork Kum Sayo (South Fork American River)
Sohuli
Hulupiti
Kwotoa
Kum Sayo (American River)
Yakokpe
Momol
Hoyo Sayo (Sacramento River)



Legend
Maidu Site
Mountain
Rivers
Lakes
Maidu Tribal Lands

Maidu Tribal Lands 1840



**BEFORE THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS
OF THE COUNTY OF YUBA**

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF	)	
SUPERVISORS OF THE COUNTY	)	
OF YUBA RECOGNIZING THE	)	
TSI-AKIM MAIDU TRIBE	)	**RESOLUTION NO.** ______________

WHEREAS, the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is a tribal organization of the indigenous Native Americans that inhabited the Yuba County region for thousands of years; and

WHEREAS, the Tribe claims Yuba County is a part of the traditional tribal homeland to the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe, and is their current home, and is where their dead lie buried; and

WHEREAS, the current members of the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe are descendants of this once great Native American Nation; and

WHEREAS, the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is dedicated to the preservation and perpetuation of its people's language, culture, history, heritage, religion and spirituality; and

WHEREAS, the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is represented by a five member Tribal Council that has adopted a Tribal Constitution and Enrollment Ordinance listing its members; and

WHEREAS, the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe is currently pursuing official Federal recognition so that their members and future generations can enjoy the rights and privileges that they are legally entitled to, including housing, health care, elder care, and education..

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Yuba County Board of Supervisors does hereby:

Recognizes the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe and further recognizes the importance and contribution of their history, and present cultural heritage in Yuba County; and

Formally supports and endorses the efforts of the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe to pursue Federal recognition so the tribe can further develop the cultures of which they were deprived; and

Formally supports the continuing efforts of the Tsi-akim Maidu Tribe to preserve their heritage, culture, language and religion.

PASSED AND ADOPTED this ____________________ day of ___________, 20___,
by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Yuba, by the following vote:

AYES:

NOES:

ABSENT:

ABSTAIN:

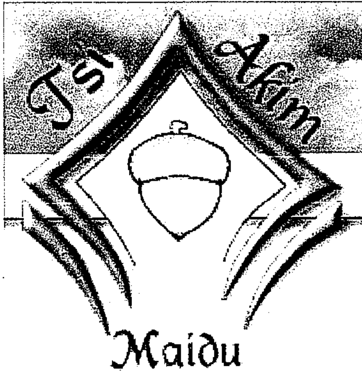
____
CHAIR

ATTEST: DONNA STOTTLEMEYER
CLERK OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

____

APPROVED AS TO FORM: COUNTY COUNSEL
ANGIL MORRIS-JONES

Pat Blacklock, Chief Deputy
____



TSI-AKIM Maidu
Tribal Office

1275 E Main St
Grass Valley, CA
95945

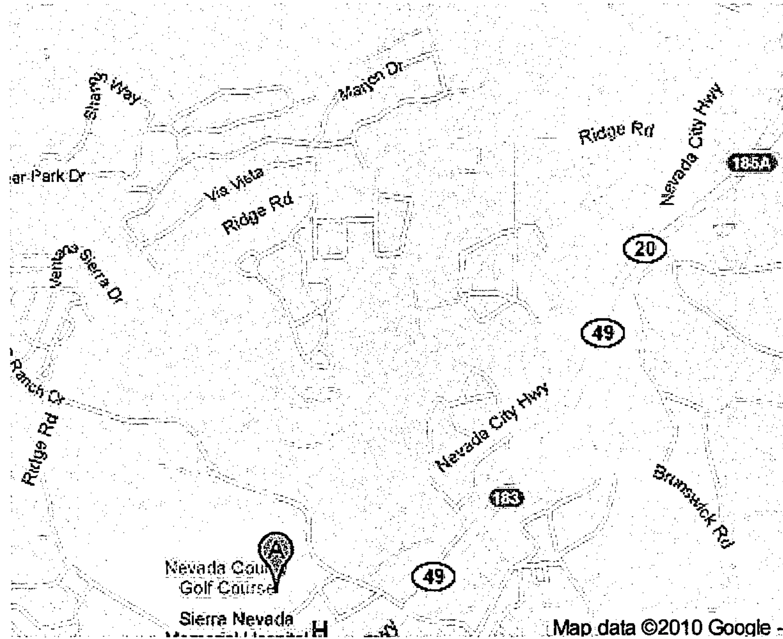
530.477.0711

Who We Are

The Tsi-Akim Maidu tribe are indigenous American Indians that have inhabited the Nevada and Plumas County region for thousands of years. Nevada and Plumas County Supervisors officially endorse the tribe. The Nevada County Historical Society was first to endorse the tribe in the year 2000.

NEW Phone, Office & Thrift Store Directions:

1275 East Main, Grass Valley, CA 95945, 530.477.0711

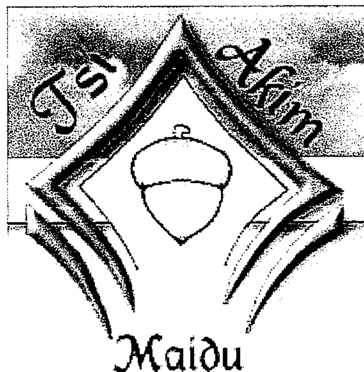


View Larger Map

Tribal Council:

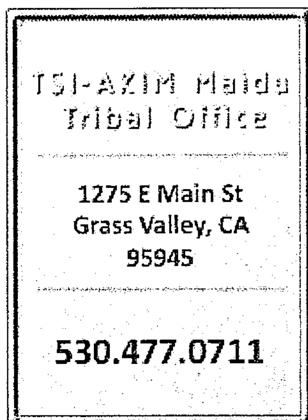
Don Ryberg, Chairman
Eileen Moon, Vs Chairman
Evelyn Davis, Treasurer
Louella Giordano, Secretary
William Harrison, Co-Secretary
BettieRose Davis, Member at Large
Marvin Cunningham, Member at Large
Ben Cunningham, Member at Large

©2004 Tsi-Akim



Who We Are ⊖ What We Do ⊖ Where We Want to Go ⊖ Tribal Council

Where We Want To Go



OUR VISION:

- To acquire a secured land base
- To better educate tribal members and non-Indian community
- Study the history of our tribe and all Indian peoples

We encourage you to join us in recognizing the importance of our goal, with your support we can achieve it.

"It seems a basic requirement to study the history of our Indian people. American has much to learn about the heritage of our American Indians. Only through this study can we as a nation do what must be done if our treatment of the American Indian is not to be marked down for all time as a national disgrace"

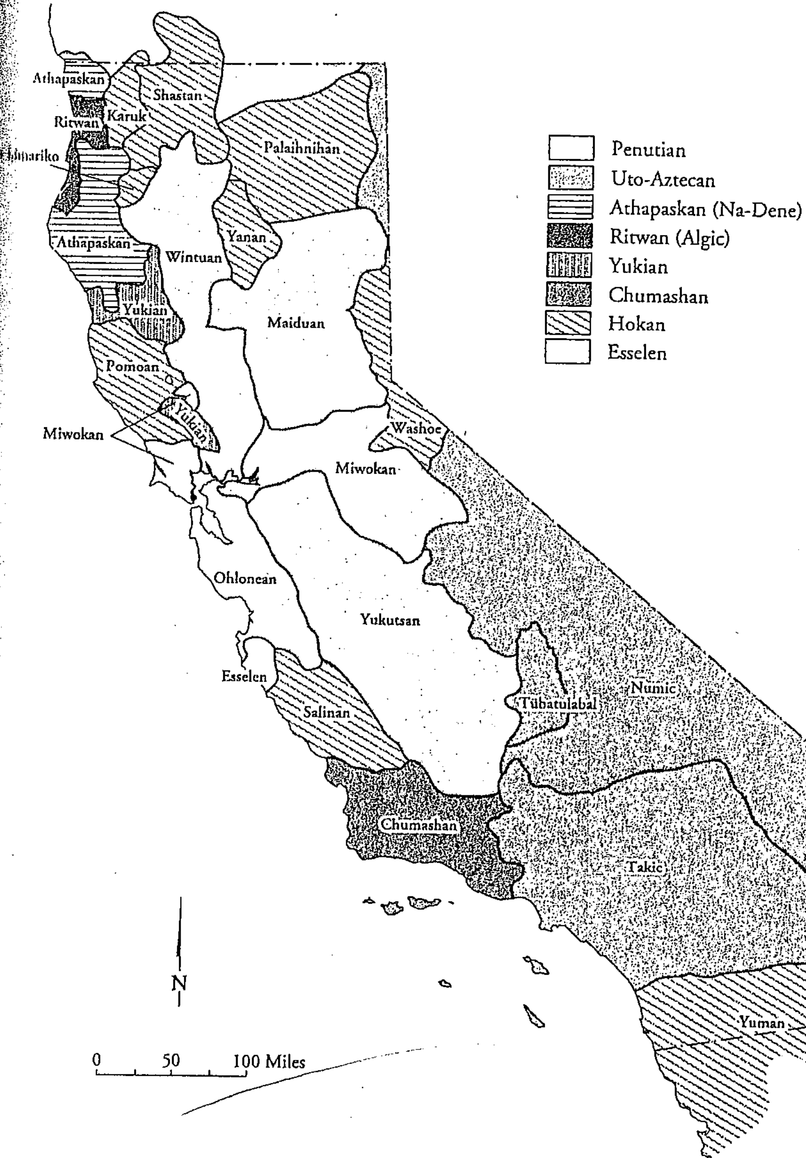
John F. Kennedy—1963

©2004 Tsi-Akim

Appendix 4

Appendix 4.1

MAP 2. California linguistic diversity.



MAP 3. California language families and stocks.

Saturday, August 28, 2010

Below you will find many sources that clearly define the Nisenan as a separate entity from the Northern Maidu who include the Taylorsville area. While many of these sources use much of the same information many of them present different data that further confirms the distinctiveness of the Nisenan as a well establish group that clearly were the occupants of the Nevada County and City areas. Let me know if this is sufficient for your purposes and if not I will see if I can scare up some additional sources.

Powers, Stephen
1877 Tribes of California. Reprinted by the University of California Press, Berkeley in 1976. Berkeley. Pages :282-345.

Powers collected his information in 1871-1872 and various chapters were published mostly in the 1870s in the Overland Monthly. His chapter 30 on the Maidu he discusses the Indians north of Bear River while in Chapter 31 he describes the Nisenan living from that river south to the Cosumnes Drainage. Since Powers was able to gather only a realitively small amount of information in his trip through California his boundaries are not always very precise. Later researchers virtually all agree that the Nisenan lived on the Yuba Drainage and the Maidu were further north on the upper Feather River and in Butte and Plumas counties and further north and not further south. It is important that as early as the 1870s, Powers who was not a trained ethnographer, recognized that the Maidu and Nisenan were distinct groups.

Kelsey, C. E.
1905-1906 Census of Non-Reservation California Indians. Archaeological Research Facility Department of Anthropology, Berkeley 1971 pages: 86-87.

Kelsey lists the Taylorsville Maidu as living in Plumas County at the southeastern end of Indian Valley. They are probably closely related to the Maidu at the Greenville Rancheria at the northwestern end of the valley. He lists Little Johnnie Smith with wife five children and his mother-in-law, Charley Redhead and wife and three children, Alec and wife with all of these families owning land. Mose and wife and seven children, Shoemaker Bob and wife and four children, Ike Tom and wife and two children, Jim Alec, Humbug Jim and Simmons Charley and wife who did not own land.

Dixon, Roland B.
1905 The Northern Maidu. Bulletin Americn Museum of Natural History. Vol. XVII. The Knikerbacher Press, New York. Pages 8-9.

Dixon also attributes the territory of the Maidu to north of the Yuba River and all of the land of the Nisenan occurring from the Yuba south to the Cosumnes River. He arees with Powers assessment of the boundaries though he does not accept the Bear River as the northern boundary of the Nisenan.

Faye, Paul Louis
1923 Notes on the Southern Maidu. University of California Publication in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Vol. 20(3):37.

The Nisenan are also known as the Southern Maidu as Faye points out that they differ from Dixons Northern Maidu.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1925 Indians of California. Bulletin 78 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

For over half a century this was considered the bible of California Indian Groups and their boundaries. On pages 392-393 Kroeber discusses the division between the two Northern Maidu groups and the southern or Nisenan. He indicates on Page 393 that the Nisenan held the territory from the Yuba Rivers and Bear Rivers south and the entire American River drainage. Even though these three groups are all considered Maidu the Nisenan consider themselves as distinctive from the others. Between Pages 446 and 447 Plate 37 is a map which shows the Nisenan controlling the Grass Valley and Nevada City Area.

Littlejohn, Hugh W.
1928 Nisenan Geography. Unpublished manuscript in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. Pages 10-12.

Littlejohn discusses the northern boundary of the Nisenan in detail and based his interpretation on the information provided by several Nisenan informants. They all indicated that the people living on the Yuba drainage were Nisenan and the Maidu north of there spoke a different dialect and had different customs.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1929 The Valley Nisenan. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Vol. 24(4):255.

This monograph was based on information provided by one Nisenan informant who was primarily familiar with the Sacramento Area but did have some knowledge of peoples upstream on the Sacramento River and establishes that Nisenan subgroup also controlled land between the Sacramento River and the Foothills.

Beals, Ralph L.
1933 Ethnology of the Nisenan. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31(6):335-410.

Beals map of Nisenan territory shows it between the Feather and Yuba River drainages and extending south to the middle fork of the Cosumnes River. This monograph is one

of the more complete descriptions of Nisenan Maidu and contains many items of culture and activities not found in Northern Maidu culture.

Duncan, John W.
1963 Maidu Ethnobotany. Unpublished Master Thesis, Department of Anthropology, California State University, Sacramento.

Duncan's thesis reflects extensive interviews and field trips with Lizzie Enos who had extensive knowledge of Nisenan botany and culture before White settlement and Brian Beavers who was a Maidu from the east of Oroville who similar knowledge from the area occupied by the Northern Maidu that differed in many ways from that collected from the Nisenan.

Heizer, Robert F.
1966 Languages Territories and Names of California Indian Tribes. University of California Press. Berkeley.

In this monograph Heizer compares information from Powers 1877, Powell 1891, Kroeber 1925 and unpublished notes of C. Hart Merriam. Of the four Merriam's Map probably reflects the reality of settlement better than the others. Unlike Kroeber who often placed boundaries along rivers this was seldom the case in California with land divisions in less occupied lands such as along mountain and ridge tops and alignments. Otherwise overall there is pretty good agreement between the sources on where the Maidu and Nisenan lived. Merriam also had many more dialectical divisions within the overall Maidu Group then the three main subdivisions of Kroeber.

Merriam, C. Hart
1967 Ethnographic Notes on California Indian Tribes III. Ethnological notes on Central California Indian Tribes. Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey No. 68, Part III Pages: 305-313, 319-322. Department of Anthropology, Berkeley.

Merriam describes fieldwork between 1902 and 1906 among mostly the Nisenan from south of the Feather River drainage to the North Fork of the Cosumnes River. He visited many small camps on various drainages that had two or three families of mostly husband and wife and elderly individuals. He notes that there were no children at most of these camps. Once again the Nisenan are located in the same territory identified by Native American informants. Many of those Indians that were interviewed were born several years before the beginning of the gold rush in1849.

Merriam. C. Hart and Zenaida Merriam Talbot
1974 Boundary Descriptions of California Indian Stocks and Tribes. Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, Berkeley. Page:17.

This publication indicates that the Southern (Nisenan) includes Nevada City, Todd Valley, and south to Yankee Jims.

Gardner, Ruth Ann
1977 Life History of Lalook: Louis Kelly. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Anthropology, California State University, Sacramento.

This work resulted from several months of interviews with Mr. Kelly over a period of two years. Mr. Kelly was born in 1885 in an Indian Camp west of Nevada City. He lived his entire life in the area and his grandparents were from the Nevada City group of Indians. His second wife Naomi was born in 1888 and was from the Colfax locality. His son Lester was born in 1909. Mr. Kelly's granddaughter gave said Naomi died in 1962. The individuals discussed in this thesis are all identified as Nisenan. Ms. Gardner uses Beal's map to show Nisenan Territory. Also discussed are Anthony House and other localities in Northern Nisenan Territory.

Johnson, Jerald J. and Dorothea J Theodoratus, Editors
1978 Cultural Resources of the Marysville Lake, California Project (Parks Bar Site), Yuba County, California. Prepared for thr United Stated Army Corps of Engineers, Sacramento District, Sacramento.

Chapters seven through ten discuss the Indigenous Northern Hill Nisenan on and around the Yuba River. Pages 304-392. One of the Native American consultants said "the people from Ione, Fiddletown, Dobbins, Marysville, Sacramento, and Nevada City all spoke the same language"--- from Sacramento to Lake Tahoe, to Auburn all speak the same. This generally matches other descriptions of Nisenan Territory and clearly establishes the Nevada City area in that Indian groups territory.

Wilson, Norman L. and Arlean Towne
1978 Nisenan. Handbook of North American Indians. Vol. 8:387-397, Robert F. Heizer Editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

This article is a compilation of much of the information presented in the other sources cited above with additional unpublished data gathered by Wilson and others. As you can see it also distinguishes between the Southern or Nisenan Maidu as a distinct group from the Northern Maidu north of the Yuba River drainage. Their Figure 1 shows many Nisenan villages on the Yuba River drainage and no Northern Maidu settlements. Mr. Wilson was from the Auburn area and was familiar with many of the Nisenan in that area as well as Nevada City.

Riddell, Francis A.
1978 Maidu and Konkow. Handbook of the North American Indian, Vol. 8:370-386. Robert F. Heizer Editor. Smithsonian Institution Washington D.C.

Riddell's Figure 1 matches the southern boundary of the Maidu and the northern boundary of the Nisenan quite closely. An enlarged map showing the Indian Valley

locality places the Taylorsville area well within Maidu and not Nisenan territory. He also shows the locations of several Maidu settlements in that area. Riddell was originally from Susanville and became interested in Indians early in life. Over 50 years he collected information on the location of various Indian groups and their settlements including many of them that he mapped the villages and associated features, including in some cases remnants of roundhouses. In a 1996 article in a monograph called Here Grows a Green Tree" in Honor of David A. Fredrickson published by the Center For Archaeological Research, Davis Riddell published many of the village maps that he had recorded and included information that had been collected from local Maidu and in some cases local Whites.

MacKenzie, Nancy Hines
2002 Restoring Federal Recognition to the Miwok Tribe of the El Dorado Rancheria, El Dorado County, California. Unpublished Master Thesis, Department of Anthropology, California State University, Sacramento

This thesis is based on genealogical work with many Indians living near or in the boundary area of the Southern Maidu Nisenan and Northern Hill Miwok. This makes clear that there is a clear distinction made between the Miwok and their northern neighbors the Nisenan. The federally recognized tribes at Shingle Springs Rancheria and at Auburn contains considerable genealogical information obtained when the Auburn Rancheria was terminated in the middle of the 20th century. In order to get rerecognized as a federally recognized tribe they had to do extensive genealogical research and this documents they location of the tribe and its affiliation with the Nisenan Maidu.

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Handbook of North American Indians

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT
General Editor

Appendix 4.3
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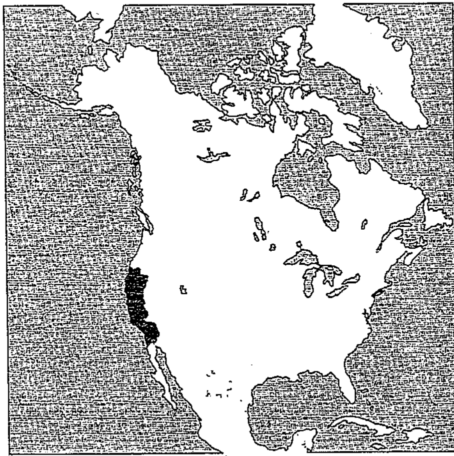
VOLUME 8

California

ROBERT F. HEIZER
Volume Editor



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Appendix 4.3
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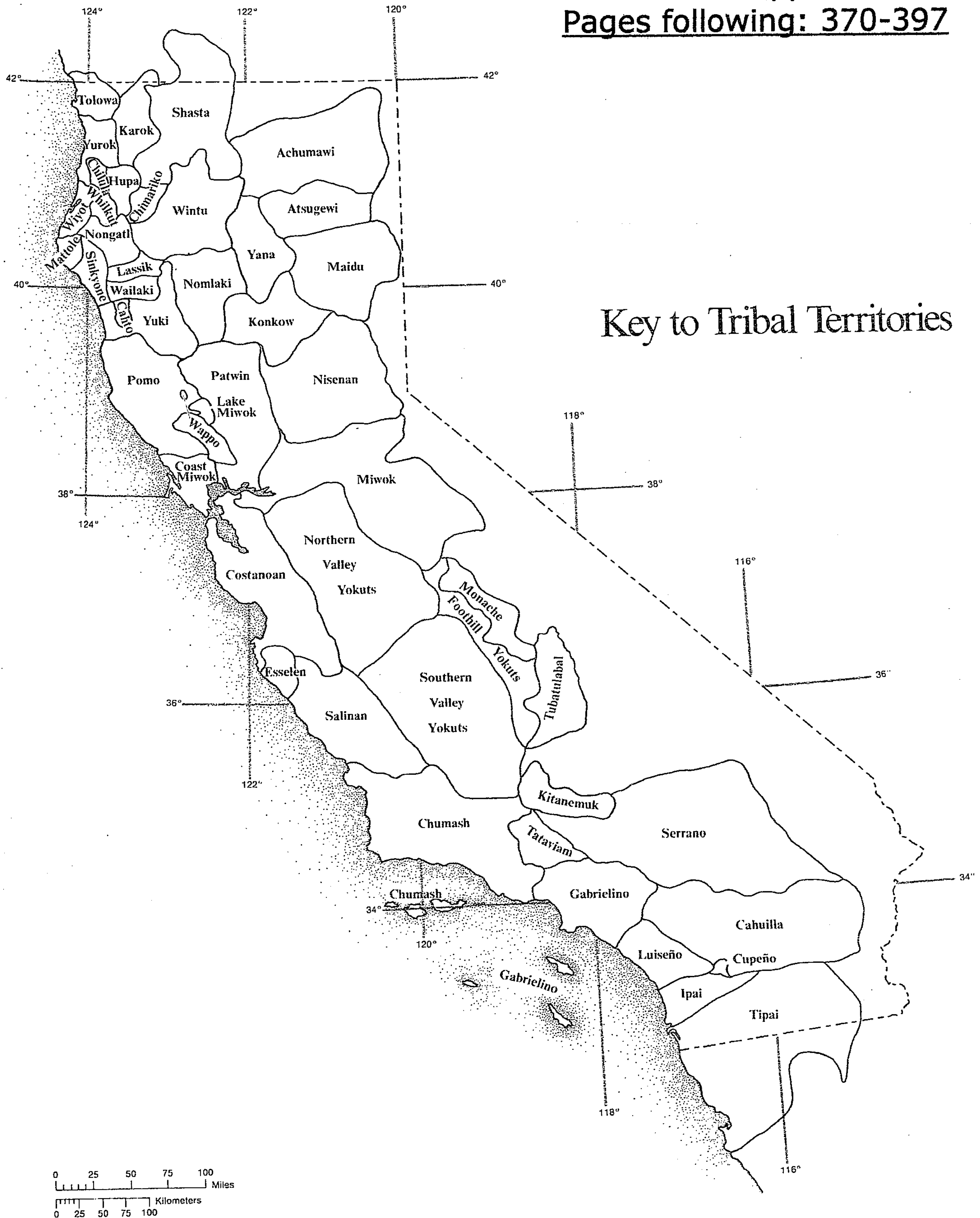
Key to Tribal Territories



Maidu and Konkow

Appendix 4.3

FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

Language, Environment, and Territory

The term Maidu (ˈmī͵dōō) as used here refers to those people also known as the Mountain Maidu or Northeastern Maidu, while the term Konkow (ˈkän͵käw) refers only to the Northwestern Maidu. The third form of Maiduan speech is that of the Nisenan, also known as the Southern Maidu. The drainages of the American and Feather rivers of the northern Sierra of California approximate the extent of the area held by the Maiduan people (fig. 1).

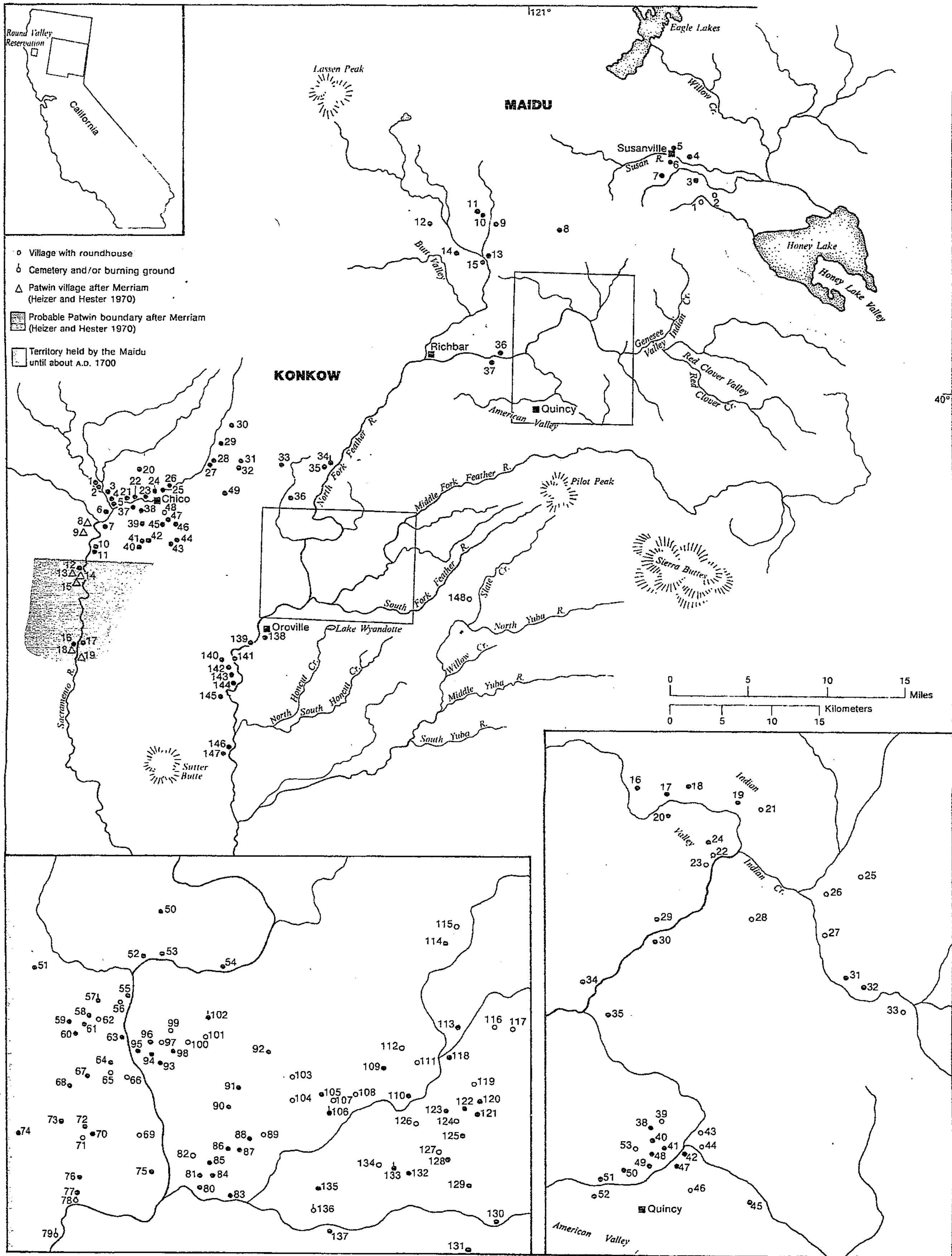
Maidu was spoken by people living in the high mountain meadows lying between Lassen Peak and the town of Quincy some 50 miles to the south and east, probably in four dialects (American Valley, Indian Valley, Big Meadows, and Susanville). Konkow was spoken in a number of dialects along the lower reaches of the Feather River Canyon up to about Richbar, in the surrounding hills, and in the adjacent parts of the Sacramento Valley (Shipley 1963:1). Both forms are members of the Maiduan family of languages, which is classified as California Penutian. Within the Maiduan area, the dialects, in general, were quite closely related; however, the three forms of speech were mutually unintelligible at first contact.*

The Maidu inhabited a series of mountain valleys, the more important of which are Mountain Meadows, Big Meadows (now Lake Almanor), Butt, American, Indian, Genesee, and Red Clover. In each area, where winter weather would allow, permanent villages were established. In other areas, the Sierra and Mohawk valleys for

* The best orthography for Maidu and Konkow is that by Shipley (1963). To conform to Handbook standards, *ɨ* is used for Shipley's y and *y* for his j. The *d* and *b* are implosive. Italicized words have been respelled by William F. Shipley (Maidu) and Russell Ultan (Konkow) in this orthography. Doubtful interpretations are indicated by a question mark.

Fig. 1. Tribal territory and village locations.
Maidu: 1, *witáyim;* 2, Lone Pine; 3, name forgotten; 4, name forgotten; 5, *sumbílim;* 6, name forgotten; 7, *ƙàsím;* 8, *pepépem čùm;* 9, *yòlím;* 10, *wisótpinim;* 11, *kólyèm;* 12, *čám bukùnayim;* 13, *maním báldɨƙɨ;* 14, *táldinom;* 15, *potádi;* 16, *kóbatásdayim;* Kotasi? (D, Ka, S); 17, *kówkòwƙi yakɨm;* 18, *kókitpe;* 19, *bunúk;* 20, *ˀolílimbe;* 21, *dókočòk dòyím;* 22, *ˀokóno;* 23, *ˀočó;* 24, *wayápom mòmí;* 25, *ˀóm koyò;* Ong-Koyo-diknom (Ka); 26, *yódawìm* (R, Ka); 27, *čakámdɨƙì;* Kushdu? (Ka); 28, *čílwam ˀínkomì;* 29, *koyóm bukúm;* 30, *čiwisi;* 31, *konók wusùpa;* 32, *kóm koyò;* 33, *yolám motò* (R, D, Ka); 34, *kòwówtàyi;* 35, *púslem koyò;* 36, *tohánom;* 37, *nòƙóm pìno;* 38, *wayápom mòmím ˀústu;* 39, *wayápom mòmím čálá hɨbé*?; 40, *wayápom mòmí;* 41, *píttelim* (R, Ka); 42, name forgotten; 43, *sátkini wałám ƙùmhú;* 44, name forgotten; 45, *kawa;* 46, *bábe;* Omhübe? (Ka); 47, *čàkám*? or *čákɨm*?; 48, *pečáma;* 49, *bukúlisa ˀínkomì;* 50, *čílwam ˀínkomì;* 51, *dàsím yodá;* 52, name forgotten; 53, *boléywi;* Opüle? (Ka).
Konkow: 1, Shidawi (Kb); 2, Se-dow-we (M); 3, Sook-soo′-koo (M); 4, Muli (Kb); 5, Pah′-kem (M); 6, *čéno* (Kb); 7, Pe-dow-kah (M); 8, *čéno* (M); 9, Chan-no? (M); 10, Soō′-noos (M); 11, Sunusi (D, Kb); 12, Batsi (Kb); 13, Baht-che (M); 14, Yoot′-dok-kah (M); 15, Mo-ning-we (M); 16, Momingwi (Kb); 17, Pinuk (Kb); 18, Mau′mah (M); 19, Bo′-do (M); 20, Pake (D, Ka); 21, O′-tah′-ke (M); 22, Bay′-he-yu (M); 23; Bah-hahp′-ke (M); 24, Wah-nah′-tahm (M); 25, Tse′lim-nah (M); 26, Yow′-koo (M); 27, Yauko (D, Ka); 28, O′dawi (Kb); 29, Otaki (D, Ka); *ˀótakìmme* (P); 30, Tsulumsewi (Ka); 31, Nem′să-wà (M); 32, némsèwi (Ka); 33, Ti′kus-se (M); 34, Tatampanta; 35, Tă-tan wu-ta (M); 36, *kóyo·mƙàwi;* Konkau (Ka); 37, Yu′dow (M); 38, Bahyu (D, Ka); 39, Tadoiko (D, Ka); 40, Pe-tut′-taw (M); 41, Sap′-se (M); 42, ki-dak′-te (M); 43, Utapi; Ushtupedi (P); 44, *ˀéskeni* (M); 45, Wil-lil′-lim hoo′-loo-ko (M); 46, *ˀéskeni* (R, Ka, Kb); 47, *mičupda·* (M); 48, *míčupda·* (R, D, Ka, Kb); 49, Yum-mut-to (M); 50, Olimi; 51, Taikuš (D, Ka); 52, Oltibe; 53, Koto; 54, *čéno;* 55, *sá·klemkòyo·;* 56, Wilewimkumbali; 57, Pumeku; 58, Waywushuno; 59, Bachakumlulumi; 60, Kusukuyamanimkoyo; 61, Weleudeh (P); 62, Yahankumbali; 63, Hapaiya or Hapumbasa; 64, Tatbemkoyo; 65, Tsiwopemkoyohukuma; 66, Lolingkumbali; 67, Kupno; 68, Tsamhenom; Tsambahenom (D, Ka); 69, Seleskoting; 70, Lowingkoyo; 71, *pókpoƙo;* 72, *hámsɨmkòyo·;* 73, *pókpoƙo* (M); 74, Hule; 75, Ukiali; 76, Lolosimboda; 77, Dimidoli; 78, Sukleli or Tobewimhukuma; 79, Shilteamomahukuma; 80, Bistamcha; 81, Kawitumtumi; 82, Taiwaia; 83, Tsaktomo (Ka); 84, Shushumlami; 85, *píye·to;* 86, *tá·yimƙòyo·;* 87, Hayembenke; 88, Pahumi; 89, *čá·mpɨli;* 90, *tá·yimƙòyo·* (M); 91, Omolkoyo; 92, *ˀá·lemyɨda;* 93, Shudokoyoloma; 94, Lasito; 95, Bipyan; 96, Tokoto; 97, Pambisku; 98, Pamtali; 99, Pulewi; 100, Palangkumbali; 101, *tó·toƙùmi; tó·tommàˀa* (D, Ka); 102, *tó·tomˀɨstɨ;* 103, Tsitsimpakani; 104, Manimkaipa; 105, Yowitoma; 106, *síto;* 107, Benkumkumi (R, D, Ka); 108, *píwbe;* 109, Watchahu; 110, Munmunpani; 111, Hikinimkumbali; 112, *yínomƙùmbali* (R); *yɨno* (Ka); 113, Kotano; 114, Watama; 115, Pikimkumi or Pikingkumbali; 116, Dowoli; 117, Wonomkoyo; 118, Hokoma (Ka); 119, *pólomkòyo·;* 120, Piudusi; 121, Yakiowa; 122, Lukumbuni; 123, Titikyani; 124, Chikimaisa; 125, *kálkalyà·ni;* Kalkalya (D, Ka); 126, *séwimƙùmbali;* 127, Chichi; 128, Lumlumi; 129, Kukumbisi; 130, Kulaiapto (D, Ka); 131, Tsuka (D, Ka); 132, Witakasi; 133, Chatono; 134, *ˀá·lemƙùmbali;* 135, Yuhemui; 136, Ta'a; 137, *holholholto(m); holholto* (D, Ka); 138, Yumam (D, Ka); 139, Botoko (D, Ka); 140, Wabusi; 141, *ˀóllolokpa·* (R, Ka); 142, Botok (Kb); 143, Taichida (Ka); 144, Hincho; 145, Bauka (D, Ka); 146, Bieyem; 147, Tomcho (Kb); 148, Bupumkumi.

The following villages in the Oroville region cannot be located: Naka; Nikdompakani; Onihulia; Pokibay; Shumemheno; Tekteka; Tsunpem.
Sources: Riddell 1960–1974 (unmarked, except with R in the case of duplication); Dixon 1905 (D); Kroeber 1925 (Ka); Kroeber 1932a (Kb); Merriam in Heizer and Hester 1970 (M); Powers 1877 (P); Swanton 1952 (S).


Round Valley Reservation
California
Village with roundhouse
Cemetery and/or burning ground
Patwin village after Merriam (Heizer and Hester 1970)
Probable Patwin boundary after Merriam (Heizer and Hester 1970)
Territory held by the Maidu until about A.D. 1700
121°
Eagle Lakes
Lassen Peak
MAIDU
Willow Cr.
Susanville
Susan R.
Honey Lake
Honey Lake Valley
Butt Valley
Richbar
Genesee Valley
Indian Cr.
Red Clover Valley
Red Clover Cr.
KONKOW
Quincy
American Valley
40°
North Fork Feather R.
Middle Fork Feather R.
Pilot Peak
Chico
Sierra Buttes
South Fork Feather R.
Slate Cr.
Oroville
Lake Wyandotte
North Yuba R.
Willow Cr.
Middle Yuba R.
South Yuba R.
North Honcut Cr.
South Honcut Cr.
Sacramento R.
Sutter Butte
0 5 10 15 Miles
0 5 10 15 Kilometers
Indian Valley
Indian Cr.

example, only seasonal villages or camps were in use, occupied only during the warmer months of the year. Each of the other valleys had one or more villages, and the people in each were, to a degree, considered as a separate social entity. For example, those living in American Valley were known as the *silóm maʔá,* from *silóm koyó,* their name for the valley. Those living in Indian Valley were the *tasáy dɨm,* after *tasím koyó,* their name for that valley; and those living in Genesee Valley were the *yetámmetom maʔá* after *yetámmetom,* their name for Genessee Valley. It is evident that group differentiation for the Maidu was dictated by geographical considerations (Riddell 1968).

The northern portion of Maidu holdings is an area typified by a juniper-sage environment; however, demonstrating that portions of this region were economically productive is the archeological recording of an unnamed, abandoned village three miles east of Susanville with some 22 observed house pits remaining. Susan River and Willow Creek, with their sloughs, meanderings, and tributaries, support extensive meadows and marshes before flowing into Honey Lake, thus providing a superb habitat for fish and waterfowl. In addition, the ever-important acorn-bearing oak groves are within easy collecting distance.

Whereas the Maidu occupied an area generally 4,000 feet above sea level or higher, the Konkow territory included a portion of the Sacramento Valley floor and a section of the sierra foothill east of Chico and Oroville. The valley floor generally presented a vast savanna environment in which grasses and oaks formed a natural parkland.

The climate of the Konkow region was characterized by a wet winter and a dry summer season; in winter there were occasional freezing temperatures, and fog and rain occurred with varying intensity.

As to tribal territory, some difference of opinion might exist between the Maidu and their neighbors, Paiute, Achumawi, Washo, and Yana, although certain prominent physiographic features were used as boundary markers to generally delimit the Maidu territory. Border areas of value for hunting and gathering might be used by both the Maidu and their neighbors by consent or by incursion.

The Maidu penetration into the Great Basin was greater in earlier times than at the first American contact around 1850 (see fig. 1). By their own admission, the Maidu at some earlier date held all of Honey Lake Valley and its environs. At some time in the relatively recent past, possibly circa A.D. 1700, the Maidu withdrew to the west side of Honey Lake, and the vacated area was taken over by the Paiute. Although the Maidu traditionally claim the area, they cannot name any villages and few physiographic features. This is in contrast to the Paiute who are able to give explicit details of use and village and camp names, as well as being able to name all the significant physiographic features (Riddell 1960). Although this loss was apparently relatively insignificant to the Maidu, the gain to the Paiute certainly was of considerable importance as the marshlands of the mouth of Susan River at Honey Lake, as well as two hot spring areas, provided new territory of higher economic potential than the strictly sage desert environment from which the Paiute emerged. In fact, groves of oaks on the western edge of Honey Lake in the vicinity of Milford became directly available to the Paiute for the first time.

Appendix 4.3

The Konkow people derive their name from the anglicization of the native term *kóyo·mk̀àwi* 'meadow-land' (see Hodge 1907–1910, 1:725). The division line between the Konkow and their Maiduan neighbors, the Nisenan, lacks clarity for a diversity of reasons, among which is the early decimation by disease, slaughter, and removal of people who would be in a position of authority on the subject. Also, it seems probable that the boundary between the two groups did not have quite the same importance as it might have between the Konkow and Nomlaki, for example. In fact, the people living along Honcut Creek, between the Yuba and Feather rivers, appear as possibly being dialectically transitional between the Konkow and the Nisenan (Kroeber 1925:393). The line may have gone from the Feather River up Honcut Creek to the North Fork of Honcut Creek and up the latter to its headwaters at Wyandotte Lake, and then sharply east to the North Yuba River and then northeasterly up Slate Creek to its headwaters at Pilot Peak.

The Konkow were divided into several village communities: Kewsayoma'a (*kíwsewimàʔa*), *yínommàʔa,* Totoma'a (*tó·tommàʔa).* The last two, along with several others now forgotten, composed a larger unit called *tá·yi* 'west people'. (Merriam gives a number of divisions for the Konkow and Maidu that provide a somewhat different set of boundaries from that given here; cf. Heizer 1966:42–43.)

External Relations

In terms of cultural similarities and differences between the Maidu and Konkow on the one hand and their non-Maiduan neighbors on the other, there are few outstanding elements of difference and many of similarity. One difference is the occurrence of the Kuksu cult among the Konkow but not among the neighboring Yana or among their kinsmen, the Maidu. They did share this cult trait with the Nisenan and many non-Maiduan central California people (Dixon 1905:322).

Differences recognized by the people themselves stem from language and locational considerations. Although the Maidu and Konkow territories were laced together by a network of trails, it would have been unusual for a person living in a village to go more than 20 miles from home during his lifetime. This distance might have been

somewhat greater among those Konkows living within the flat Sacramento Valley. Mountain people are recorded to have been driven west to a low elevation in the foothill area because of famine during a harsh winter. The lowland people were reported to have responded with compassion, possibly because their distant mountain kinsmen were, in that instance, few in number and thus posed no threat according to informant Tom Epperson (Riddell 1960–1974).

Although an individual may not have traveled far, trade items were widely distributed from village to village and from group to group. Such items changed hands at intervillage gatherings through the hand game, a form of gambling. Trade of local goods for those more common to other areas also took place.

Settlement Pattern

A settlement pattern of "village communities" (Kroeber 1925:398) served as the only political organization of the Maidu. A village community was recognized as an autonomous unit and consisted of several adjacent villages. Central to the village community was the village displaying the largest *kúm* (Konkow *kúmi*), a semisubterranean earth-covered lodge (fig. 2) provided as a ceremonial assembly chamber. The central village, although not always the most populous, was probably the residence of the most authoritative man of the village community, who used the *kúm* as a regular dwelling (Kroeber 1925:397). Among the Maidu and Konkow, this headman was primarily an advisor and spokesman (Dixon 1905:224). The separate villages were self-sufficient and not bound under any strict political control by the community headman. The central location around the largest assembly chamber of one village was primarily for ceremonial and subsistence activities.

On a basis of five persons in a house and seven houses in a village, precontact village population can be estimated at 35 persons. The number of villages in a community varied, but it is estimated that the group size did not exceed 200 (Kroeber 1925:397). Each village-community, therefore, probably consisted of from three to five villages. A village-community owned and defended a known territory, which was a common hunting and fishing ground for all members of the community. In the mountains, the Maidu villages were segregated into existing valleys, and each village-community was well defined. Because the Konkow, in the northwestern foothills, settled in a more widely dispersed pattern along river canyons, the territory of a single community was less determined (Kroeber 1925:398).

NAA, Smithsonian.

Fig. 2. Konkow semisubterranean earth-covered dance house at Chico. Photograph by Henry W. Henshaw, 1893.

In the mountain environment of the Maidu, soft-bottomed glacial valleys were covered with snow during the winter months. Melting snow transformed the valleys into spongy meadow or marsh and sustained a heavy river flow during the summer season (Kroeber 1925:396). The Maidu "selected sites along the edges of these valleys, and rarely lived out in the middle of the level stretches" (Dixon 1905:175). Archeological evidence, too, shows that the village sites were located above the meadow or marshy valley floor (Riddell and Pritchard 1971). This placement provided excellent views of the surrounding country and enabled the dwellings to be constructed among a mixed coniferous forest. The winter months were difficult; preserved and stored food provided the main sustenance. Some families moved to lower elevations for the winter; however, most groups of Maidu remained in the permanent village sites throughout the winter months (McMillin 1963:63).

In Konkow territory, the Feather, Yuba, and American rivers wind their way through the northwestern foothills, carving deep, narrow canyons. The Konkow settlements were situated by preference on the ridge, high above the rivers and generally on small flats on the crest of the ridge, or part way down the canyonside (Dixon 1905:175). Sites were further located on elevated knolls in reference to attack and defense considerations.

Subsistence

The Konkow followed a yearly gathering cycle that took them away from their winter dwellings on the river ridges. In the summer, they journeyed up into the mountains for hunting, and dried deer meat was brought back to the winter villages. Food gathering during the spring took the Indians into the valley areas to collect grass seeds, especially wild rye (Duncan 1964:15). At the summer camps the Konkow constructed a roofless, circular brush enclosure large enough to house three or four families, which could also be used for ceremonies. There was a fireplace in the center and two openings oriented toward the east and west or south (Voegelin 1942:62). Maidu knowledge of the native flora and fauna was complete. Most plants and animals had multiple uses serving subsistence, religious, and material necessities. They utilized the flora and fauna to the fullest: the root, stems, leaves, and seeds of plants and the flesh, skins,

horns, bones, and hoofs of fauna were used for specific items of food, shelter, clothing, tools, and medicine.

Women and children gathered nuts by hand and collected seeds with the aid of a seed beater. The seed beater was used to strike the grass or plant head causing the seeds or grass head to fall off into a tray-basket held underneath (Dixon 1905:187). Both nuts and seeds were transferred, after gathering, to burden baskets held on the back by a shoulder or head strap.

Acorns provided by oak species were the primary source of nut meats. Three varieties were distinctly preferred: those from the black oak (*Quercus kelloggii*), the canyon or golden oak (*Quercus chrysolepis*), and the interior live oak (*Quercus wislizenii*). Two other species are particular to the northeastern mountain region: huckleberry oak (*Quercus vaccinifolia*) and bush chinquapin (*Castanopsis sempervirens*) (McMillin 1963:35-36).

The acorn flour was bitter because of tannin in the acorns and had to be made edible by leaching with warm water. Flour was spread over the interior of a flat, shallow excavation in sand. Cedar sprigs laid over the flour prevented it from being disturbed as warm water was poured into the basin. As the water seeped through the meal, it was absorbed by the sand. This was repeated numerous times, each time using hotter water, until the bitter tannin was leached out. The dough was then cooked with water by adding hot stones to the cooking basket to form a soup, or if thicker, mush. Bread was made from the dough by wrapping it in oak (Dixon 1905:187) or wild grape (Duncan 1964:78) leaves and baking under a pile of hot stones. "The resulting bread is very solid and heavy, resembling almost a lump of putty, and is, like the soup and mush, almost tasteless" (Dixon 1905:187).

In the foothills the Konkow gathered nuts from the digger pine (*Pinus sabiniana*). The nuts were eaten whole or ground into flour and the shells made into beads. The Maidu used the mountain species, sugar pine (*Pinus lambertiana*) and yellow pine (*Pinus ponderosa*). They ate the nuts plain or cooked into a soup or patties. Hazelnuts (*Corylus cornuta*), the nut of the buckeye (*Aesculus californica*), and wild nutmeg (*Torreya californica*) were other nut-meat sources. The buckeye nut had to be processed, as the acorn, but it took more thorough leaching to remove the poisonous, bitter-tasting prussic acid. The nutmeg required even more processing, and these nuts were first cracked and then buried in the ground for several months. They were then dug up and roasted in ashes (Dixon 1905:188).

The Maidu and Konkow drank a wild mint tea and manzanita cider. The cider was prepared in large quantities by crushing manzanita berries and mixing with water to form a stiff dough. The dough was placed on a willow sieve over a soup basket. Water poured over the dough dissolved the sweet berry flavor. The resulting liquid was a light amber color and had a strong, sweet taste not unlike that of a [illegible] (Dixon 1905:191).

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Roots were eaten raw, roasted, boiled, dried, or pounded and mixed with berries, then baked in small, flat cakes (Dixon 1905:189). A digging stick aided in gathering roots and bulbs. This was a straight stick, a yard or more in length, with one end hardened by fire. Utilized roots included blue camas (McMillin 1963), the Indian root, cattail root, and the tule root (Duncan 1964:47, 76, 77).

Yellow jacket larvae, angleworms, locusts, grasshoppers, and crickets were caught and eaten. To gather locusts and grasshoppers, a fire was started around a large hole in a meadow and the insects were driven into the pit and collected in quantity. They were eaten dry or roasted and were stored for use during the long winter months (Dixon 1905:191).

Eels were speared and the meat was cut into small pieces and stewed. Salmon were caught with a salmon-gig, fashioned from bone or antler, and dried by hanging on a pole. The whole fish when dried was pounded into a coarse powder, stored in baskets, and eaten dry (Dixon 1905:185). The Konkow regarded the first salmon catch of the season as an occasion for ceremony. The first fish had to be speared by a shaman, and after it was cooked each man ate a piece. Only then was fishing begun in earnest (Dixon 1905:198).

Fishing was also accomplished with the use of nets or fish traps. The nets varied in size with heavy or light cord woven into a large or small mesh, depending on the use of the net. The Maidu nets were of the bag type, which were held open at the mouth by a piece of elastic willow wand. A pole tied to the opposite side of the net mouth was raised when fish entered, thus closing the mouth and trapping the fish. Seine nets of the Konkow were large and capable of stretching across the width of a stream (Dixon 1905:143, 147).

Animals, as a food source, were hunted or captured. Of the species available in the Maidu and Konkow environments, only the coyote, dog, and wolf were not eaten. The Konkow also did not eat bear and mountain lion. Buzzards were avoided, as were lizards, snakes, and frogs (Dixon 1905:185).

Hunting necessitated knives, spears, bows and arrows. Hard black basalt was used for knives and spears. The stone was fastened to a handle of wood and secured with pitch. Spearpoints were inserted in the end of a wooden spearshaft, pitched and wrapped with sinew. Arrow points were made from obsidian, which was obtained through trade. Silicate material was also used, and some came from a cave near Oroville. The Table Mountain Cave was regarded as sacred, and a person going to get flint brought with him offerings of meat and beads for the spirits. Exploitation of this resource was somewhat controlled, and "a person was allowed to take only as much flint as he could break off at a single blow" (Dixon

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1905:133). Having obtained the stone, the person in respect had to crawl out backwards. Bad luck or poor quality stone would result if these customs were not followed.

The Maidu, living in the mountains, depended much more on game than did the lowland people and, thus, became more skillful hunters (Dixon 1905:192). Good hunting dogs were highly prized. Hunting could be attempted as a single or collective (deer drives and bear hunts) effort.

The grizzly bear was hunted for its hide, which was used in ritual dances. In the spring a ceremony was held in the front of the cave of a bear nearing the end of his hibernation. In the ceremony, the men addressed the bear, instructing it to stand up and let them shoot, as its life had already been paid for. The participants concealed themselves behind trees in the vicinity of the cave. The first man would approach the bear and shoot one or two arrows. He then ran, with the bear in pursuit, to the hiding place of another hunter. This continued until the bear, his body full of arrows, finally succumbed (Dixon 1905:194).

Deer could be hunted alone, but were more often caught during large deer drives. Such a hunting effort involved great numbers of men, lasted several days, and ranged over a large extent of land. Deer were either driven over a steep cliff or routed along their favorite runways and then shot by concealed hunters. Squirrel, rabbit, and elk were shot with arrows. The elk were followed for days and killed with arrows when exhausted. Rabbits were caught in nets and then clubbed to death. Quail were snared along known runways. Because it brought bad luck, the eagle was never shot. Geese and duck were either shot or caught in nooses that were hung by a cord above the water's surface (Dixon 1905:192, 195).

Meat was prepared by baking or roasting. Fire was started with a buckeye fire drill, which was twirled between the palms of the hands to ignite dry grass and tinder wood (Dixon 1905:191, 181). In baking, rocks placed in a hole were heated by a fire and then the fire was raked out. The meat, wrapped in broad, flat maple leaves, was placed in the pit and the hot stones were piled on top. The hole was filled with earth, and in one or two hours the meat was ready. For roasting, meat was placed directly on the coals (Dixon 1905:191; Duncan 1964:32).

The hides of animals were used for clothing, for adornments such as headbands and belts, and for sinew for tools. Tanning was an occupation of the women. Bone or stone scrapers were used to remove hair and the hide was then placed on a slanting post set in the ground. A cake of dried deer brain was dipped into warm water and rubbed over the skin. Following this, the hides were soaked in water, wrung out, and rubbed down before a fire until dry (Dixon 1905:142).

Salt was obtained from local salt deposits but was not used extensively (Dixon 1905:191). Among the Konkow, other condiments used included dandelion, deerbrush flour, hazelnuts, watercress, wild garlic, and onion (Duncan 1964:12).

Culture

Clothing and Adornment

Although the climate of the Maidu and Konkow environments differed considerably, the same clothing was worn by both groups and did not vary with the seasonal temperatures. All year around, the clothing was scant. In the heat of summer, men, as a rule, went naked or wore only a breechcloth of buckskin (Dixon 1905:155). Women wore an apron skirt consisting of two tassels in front and back. In the foothills, the tassels were of grass or of willow or maple bark. In the mountains, the apron was made of buckskin or bark.

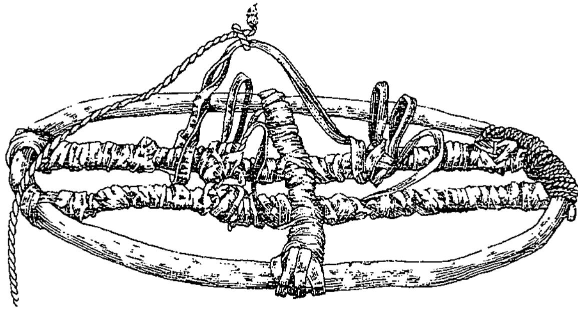
Moccasins were worn only by the Maidu. In the severe cold of winter, grass was stuffed inside to give added warmth. Moccasins were of unsoled deer skin. They were sewed with a seam up the front and reached above the ankle. For protection against the snow, an additional piece of deer hide was worn from the ankle to the knee. This legging was worn with the hair side in and fastened at the knee and around the bottom of the moccasin. Snowshoes were also used in winter (fig. 3) (Dixon 1905:162–163, fig. 34; Kroeber 1925:405).

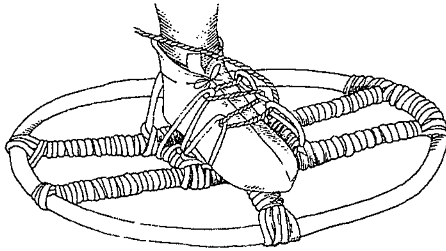
Robes of deer or mountain lion skin were worn with the fur side in, draped over the shoulders. Older men in the mountain area wore a netted cap called the *ʔolé* (Konkow *wik̄a·*) This was used during dances to attach ceremonial headdresses. Maidu women wore as a head covering a basket hat or cap made of tules in a manner characteristic of those worn by the Achumawi, Klamath-Modoc, and Sahaptin women. Thus, they differ from those worn by the Shasta, Yurok, and Karok (Dixon 1905:162).

The Maidu wore their hair long and left hanging loosely, while the Konkow cut their hair shorter. Soaproot was used for washing, and hair was trimmed with a hot ember. Beaten pine cones and porcupine tails were used as hairbrushes. The Konkow men plucked beard and mustache growth, while the Maidu did allow mustache growth that was slight (Dixon 1905:163).

Ornaments were of shell, bone, feathers, and wood (Dixon 1905:164). Necklaces were made from colored shell and dentalia. Women pierced their ears and wore ear ornaments (fig. 5) of bone or wood with woodpecker scalps or quail tips attached. Men pierced the septum of the nose and wore one or two woodpecker feathers. Among the Konkow, the nose was pierced as a part of the initiation into the secret society.

Paint was made of white or red clay, a red stone, fir tree fungus, or charcoal. It was applied before ceremonial





after Dixon 1905: fig. 34.
Fig. 3. Maidu snowshoes.

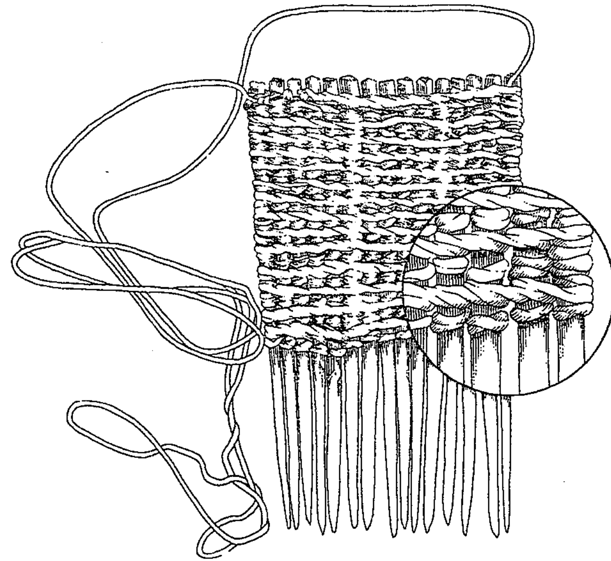


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Fig. 4. Konkow comb. Whittled wood splints fastened together by twined cord. Length 11.5 cm; collected 1889.

dances, and the patterns were simple dots and rough streaks. The Maidu tattooed by puncturing the skin with fish bones, pine needles, or bird bones. Then a red pigment was rubbed into the skin. Men were more often tattooed with patterns of vertical lines on the chin or a single vertical line rising from the root of the nose. Tattooing was also applied to the breast, arms, and

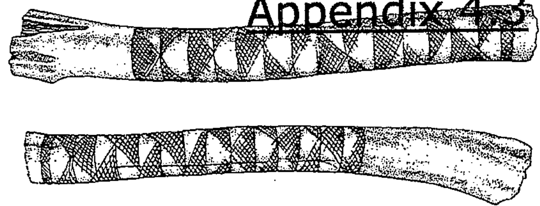

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Fig. 5. Ornaments worn in pierced earlobes. Bird bones with design incised and filled with dark pigment. Average length 13 cm; collected 1838–1842.

abdomen. The Konkow tattoo designs were made by cutting the skin with sharp flint or obsidian, then rubbing the area with charcoal or a reddish pigment. Women were more elaborately tattooed with three, five, or seven vertical lines on the chin. Lines or dots were occasionally applied to the backs of the hands (Dixon 1905:167).

Structures

Three dwelling structures were used as the seasons varied during the year. The semisubterranean earth-covered lodge (fig. 2) and the conical bark dwelling were used only for four or five months beginning in November (Dixon 1905:175). In the summer, shade shelters were constructed close to hunting and gathering sites off and away from the main village. The summer shade was built on upright poles supporting a flat roof of oak branches and leaves. There were no walls and there was space enough for ceremonial activities.

The semisubterranean multifamily winter living and assembly house was constructed in spring when the ground was soft (Voegelin 1942:182). It was of circular ground plan, was excavated to a depth of about four feet, and had a diameter of 20 to 40 feet. The earth removed was used later as a part of the roof cover.

The dwellings which the Konkow built above the river canyons were, as among the Maidu, of three structural types. The semisubterranean lodge, excavated in the spring when the earth was soft enough for digging, was constructed in a form somewhat different from its Maidu counterpart (Dixon 1905:169).

Technology

Basketry was both an art and a necessity. Twining was used for burden baskets, milling or mortar baskets, storage or dish baskets, seed beaters, and fish traps. Material varied with the species available in the environment. The Maidu used roots of yellow pine and bear grass (*Xerophyllum tenax*), together with the roots of the common brake (*Pteridium acquilinum*) or the stems of the maidenhair fern (*Adiantum pedatum*). The Konkow used willow (*Salix* spp., including *S. hindsiana*) or the redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) with shoots of hazelnut (*Corylus cornuta*) forming the radial elements in burden baskets.

The Konkow used a simple twining while the Maidu used a twining with a double overlay. Designs were worked in with different colored sewing splints made from redbud, willow, and pine root dyed black with charcoal (Dixon 1905:145-146). Patterns were simple diagonals, either parallel or zigzag (Kroeber 1925:414).

Coiled basketry was more complicated (fig. 6). These baskets were very firm and water-tight. They were normally either a brownish red or black on a white or neutral background (Kroeber 1925:414). A bundle of three twigs was coiled tightly to another bundle with the sewing splint. The separate bundles of three were joined together by passing the sewing splint over the first three twigs and then under the upper twig of the bundle below. Baskets were made in varying sizes, with a proportionately varied stitch.

The Maidu make a twined overlay design, but only on their burden baskets. This idea was possibly taken up from their northern neighbors. The Konkow do not use overlay designs on their twined baskets, although in general the technical aspects of Konkow twining are similar to those of the Nisenan and the Maidu. The Konkow usually employ diagonal twining for burden baskets and weave designs int[illegible]e from coiled basket antecedents and from the ancient-style horizontal band patterns. The Nisenan do not use the

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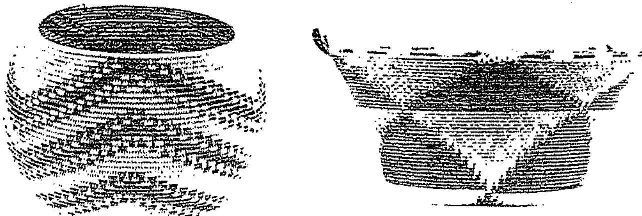

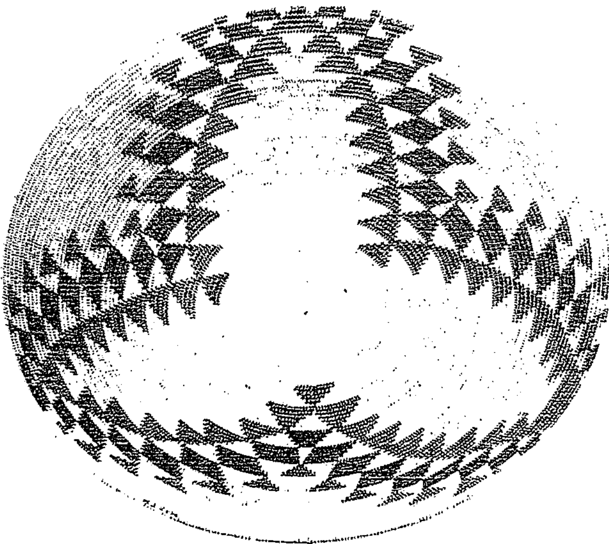

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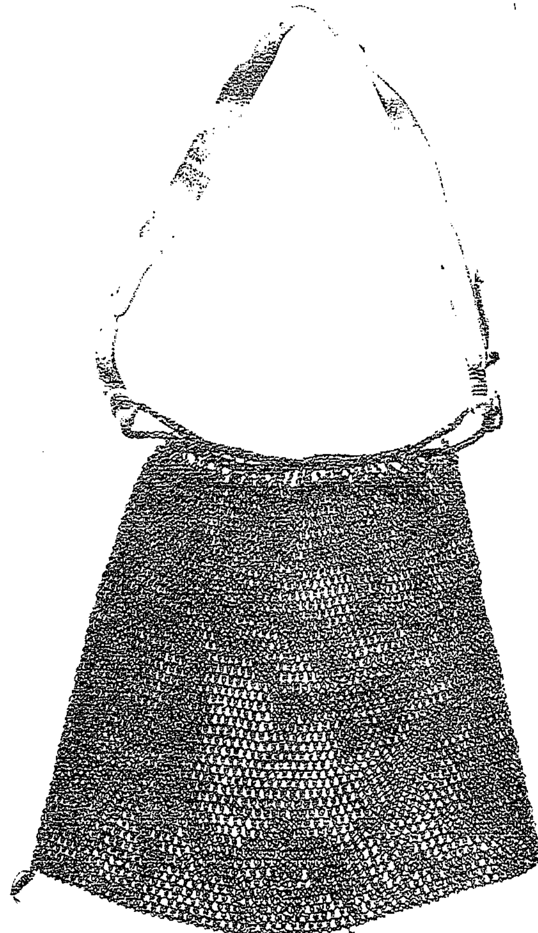
Fig. 6. Maidu coiled baskets. right, Basket woven with red woodpecker feathers, rim decorated with quail plumes and shell beads; diameter 22 cm, collected 1889. center and left, Same scale; collected before 1921.



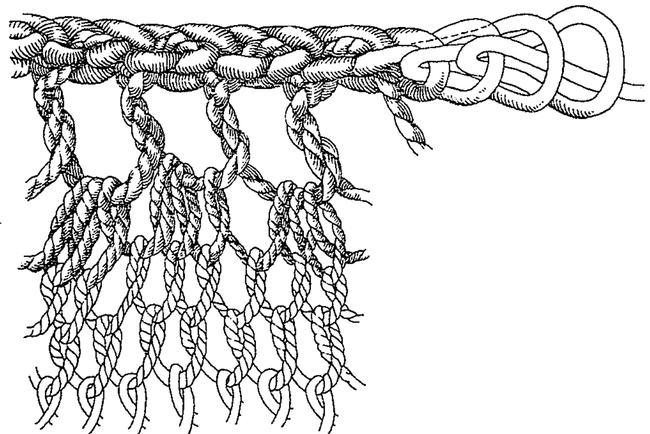


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Fig. 7. Konkow carrying sack. Knotless netting of 2-ply milkweed fiber cord with leather strap; detail shows construction of rim. Length 38 cm; collected 1889.

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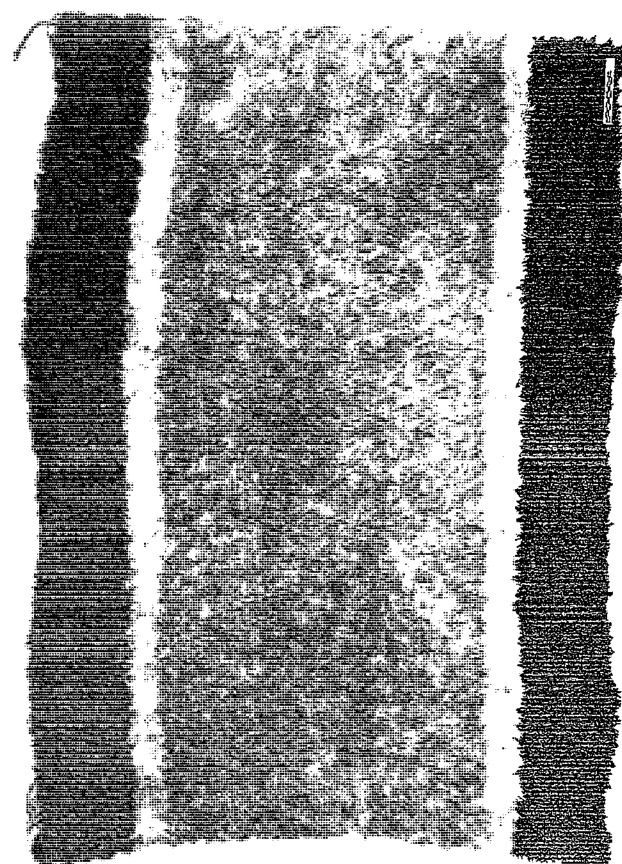

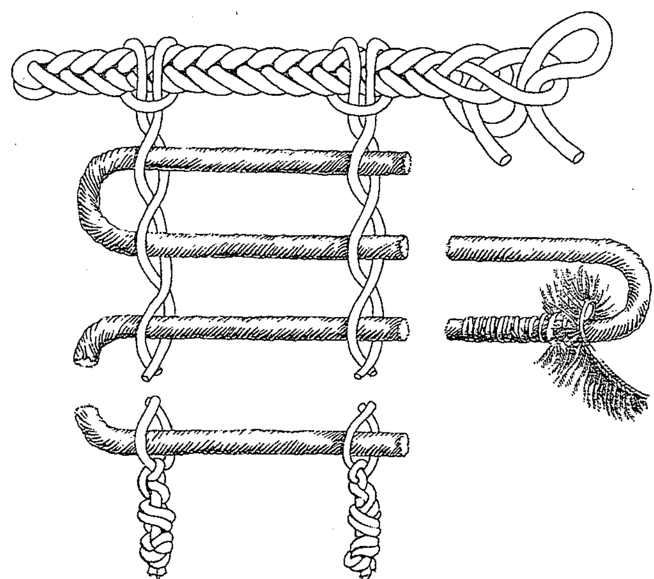

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Fig. 8. Maidu feather blanket. The weft cord is closely wrapped with webs of feathers stripped from their shafts. The warp cords are attached to a braided cord on the upper edge of the blanket and are twined to hold the continuous weft cord. They are finished on the lower edge by knotting. The feathers used are wood duck, mallard, and Canada goose. Width 108 cm; collected 1841.

coiled-type patterns for their twined baskets. Konkow burden baskets are so similar in design and weaving to Pomo and Patwin that they are nearly indistinguishable. In overall appearance they are more closely related to these two groups than they are to their Nisenan kinsmen (Lawrence Dawson, personal communication 1974).

The tule mat was made from the rushes along rivers and served as seats, beds, roofing, and doors (Kroeber 1925:415). Tule leaves were used shredded for skirts, rafts, mats, beds, coverings of the summer shelter, dance headdresses, and doors (Dixon 1905:148, 198, 292, 304). In a twined form, they were used as sacks, mats, headbands, and in basketry (Voegelin 1942:62, 80, 102, 198).

Other textile art included blanket making (fig. 8). Woven rabbit skin, wildcat skin, and geese and crow skins were used as blankets and robes. Feather work was created for dancing implements, headdresses, belts (fig. 9), and ornamental ropes. Feather plumes were made by tying the feathers to small sticks that were then bound and decorated with strings of beads.

Transport

Since the rivers of the foothill region were too swift for navigation, the Konkow did not manufacture watercraft, although the Maidu used canoes in the mountain regions. There were dugout boats made by burning out the center of logs. Single paddles or poles were used for steering. In addition to the canoe, simple log rafts were constructed for crossing rivers.

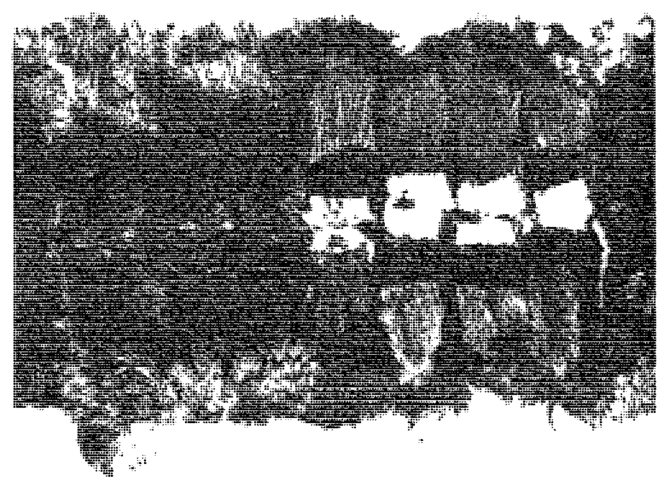

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Fig. 9. Konkow woman's dance belt. Buckskin covered with woodpecker scalps; abalone pendants attached along lower edge. Length 103 cm; collected 1889.

Tobacco

Tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*) was the only cultivated plant. Pipes were one piece and tubular. An elderwood pipe was used for social gatherings or bedtime smoking. A stone pipe was smoked by shamans for ceremonies where tobacco was used as an offering (Voegelin 1942:92–93).

Political Organization

• LAW AND PROPERTY Land for fishing and hunting was held in common. Any member of the village community could procure food from the defined tribal territory. The boundaries of the community property were guarded by different pairs of men selected each week to protect against poachers. They wore a single magpie feather upright on the top of the head. The men were selected for their steadiness of temper and good judgment. The underbrush was kept clear by burning in order to make hunting easier and to define territory in war. Within the common land, certain families could claim fishing holes as their own and if any other tribe member wished to use the private property, permission had to be secured. Among the Maidu, it was common for families to erect and own private deer fences. The fishing holes and deer fences were inherited in the direct male line (Dixon 1905:224–227).

Other property was owned by men or women according to need and service. The men owned their hunting and fishing implements such as nets, bows, arrows, spears, canoes, clothing, and knives. The *kúm* was also the property of the male. Women owned those materials necessary for housekeeping, cooking, and gathering. Baskets, utensils, acorn pestles, mats, blankets, digging sticks, seed beaters, and basketmaking supplies were among the woman's possessions. Due to the custom of burning all the personal property of a man at his death, there was little to be inherited. Those things that were not destroyed went first to the eldest son and then the rest was shared by the other children (Dixon 1905:226).

Theft of material possessions within the tribal community was punished by reprisal. If the thief was caught, he had to pay the aggrieved with something of equal value. If the thief did not pay, the aggrieved had the right to kill him. Theft or murder committed on the person of another tribal community was not regarded as wrong and involved no blame or punishment by the home people. The most important means of dealing with murder was by blood revenge. In both intertribal and intratribal murder, the victim's family had the right to kill the murderer. Effort was made to kill the offender in the same way that the original victim lost his life. The same weapons were used, the same wounds inflicted. Among the Konkow, the murder could be appeased by payment if the victim's family was willing to bargain. According to custom, if the offense was between two villages, parties from both sides, dressed in war dress, met and sat in conference until a price was agreed upon. The customs were the same for the Maidu, except that the murderer had to fast, eating no acorns or meat. Often, even after a price was paid, blood revenge was exercised. When a woman was killed, the aggressors often gave a woman of their own village or tribe to the aggrieved in order to avoid blood revenge or reprisal (Dixon 1905:227).

Oaths of any kind were not given, perhaps were not necessary, as evidenced by the Konkow belief, "the man with a crooked tongue is like the man with the crooked arrow." Lying was therefore avoided but it was not usual to curse another man. "The worst that could be said to a person was to wish that a snake might bite him" (Dixon 1905:227–228).

• LEADERSHIP The group headman played a relatively minor role in village community organization and was not selected by inheritance. Rather, he was chosen through the aid of a shaman who conveyed the choice of the spirits to the people. The chief was chosen for his maturity, wealth, ability, and generosity. He could also be removed by the word of the shaman, again a messenger of the spirits (Dixon 1905:223–224).

The Konkow chief was primarily an advisor; he was responsible to a council composed of elder members of the Kuksu cult. His duties in war involved leading his tribe into battle. The chief could declare war and, among the Maidu, could negotiate for peace. The chief had special rights to the ceremonial earth-covered lodge as his place of residence, and it was often burned at his death. There were no redistribution advantages; the chief hunted and received food as did other members of the village community. In addition, he provided food for visitors and ceremonies; apparently he depended on support from relatives and possibly others to do this. The chief directed communal activities of deer drives, fishing, and gathering (Voegelin 1942:106).

War

Most warfare involved feuding between villages within a village-community or between village-communities. Often war was associated with blood revenge and could be avoided by meeting a demanded price as restitution. There were also traditional foreign enemies to contend with. To the north, the Maidu had conflicting interests with the Washo, Yana, and Achumawi but were on better terms with the Paiute. The Konkow fought the Yana (Dixon 1905:205–206).

Raiding and ambush were the most common tactics as there was little feeling of tribal unity. At times, several villages would band together against a common enemy but these unions were only temporary. Attack was usually at dawn, and warning of an attack was given with smoke signals and fire. On the battleground, the men stood with their side to the enemy and kept in constant motion to dodge arrows, which were often poisoned.

Spears, sticks, and slings were also employed in fighting. Elkhide armor covered the body from the knees to the shoulders. Straight round sticks of mountain mahogany were also made into armor; these were bound into the form of a waistcoat with a high collar that enabled the warrior to withdraw his head entirely from an approaching wave of arrows (Dixon 1905:205).

The Konkow were known to torture their captured male enemies. If the prisoner were an ordinary person, women were allowed to take part in the ceremony that led to the eventual death of the prisoner. If he were an important or influential person, only the men took part and the ceremony was led by the shaman. Here the victim was shot with arrows. In the warfare of the Maidu, male prisoners were usually killed. The slain were then scalped and the scalps were suspended on a pole on the return of the warriors to their village. Women were carried off by their captors but usually escaped after a short time. Slaves were not common, although often the captured women would serve in the families of the enemy until they could escape (Dixon 1905:206–207).

Trade

Trade was with immediate neighbors who could provide goods that the Maidu and Konkow could not ordinarily obtain. The Konkow secured from neighboring groups shell beads, pine nuts, and salmon. In return they gave arrows, bows, deer hides, and several sorts of food to Maidu and to the Wintuan peoples. The Maidu traded with the Achumawi despite their mutual enmity, giving bows and deerhides and receiving beads, obsidian, and a green pigment for dye. In exchanges, beads were counted individually, not by the string. Currency was a standard circular, disk-shaped shell bead. These beads, when traded, were often rough and the Maidu performed much of their own bead finishing. Strung clamshell disk beads and baked magnesite cylinder beads were also highly prized. The Konkow received abalone shell from the Wintuans, which went primarily into ear ornaments and necklace pendants rather than currency. Dentalia were valued highly and were too rare for use as standard money (Dixon 1905:201–202; Kroeber 1925:399, 421).

Life Cycle

• MARRIAGE Marriage was simple, being established by the couple living together. The customs of initial courtship differ somewhat between the Maidu and Konkow. Common to both groups were the practices of patrilocal residency and the levirate. There was no rule of exogamy; in either group a man was free to wed within his village but usually went elsewhere to find a wife. Before residing permanently in the husband's village, the married couple lived for a time with the bride's family, and the new husband rendered service to them by providing food. After this initial service it was not uncommon for the husband to occasionally provide for his wife's family, and it was considered an advantage to see a daughter married to a good hunter. In both groups chiefs or rich men had many wives. According to the practice of levirate, a man had first claim to his wife's sisters; if he failed to exercise his right, it passed to his brother (Kroeber 1925:403). Divorce in both groups was simply a matter of the wish of either party involved.

Among the Konkow, when a man wanted to marry he repeatedly visited the girl's home and engaged in topical conversation with her father. He then brought gifts of his own hunting and fishing efforts, and if these were accepted, he visited once more. This time, without further discussion, the couple was given a separate bed and were considered married. They continued to reside in the girl's home for a few months before taking up their patrilocal residence. The Maidu courtship was somewhat more abrupt. A man would visit a girl's family and plan to spend the night. If the girl did not want him, she would sit up all night. Her decision was greatly influenced by her parents, and an important consideration was of the man's worth as a good provider. After the initial decision, the couple resided for a time in the girl's home and the husband provided the family with fish and game (Kroeber 1925:401).

• BIRTH A woman took considerable care during her pregnancy; she ate no meat or fish and, during the last part, did not leave her home. At this time, the husband was restricted from hunting and fishing. Among the Maidu, the parturient was assisted by a midwife and remained in her dwelling house or the summer shade shelter for the delivery. The Konkow woman left the village and went to a secluded spot outdoors to deliver her child. She was assisted by an old woman of the village and gave birth in a sitting position. To hasten delivery, hot herbal teas were administered and immediately after birth, heated stones would be placed on the mother's abdomen. The afterbirth was buried directly by the Konkow, while among the Maidu it was kept, wrapped in skin, grass, or bark, until the navel cord dropped off (Voegelin 1942:115). The child was immediately washed with warm water and the umbilical cord was cut with a sharp shell. The Maidu carefully preserved the cord and tied it to the baby's cradleboard (Dixon 1905:228–230).

Following the birth, the parents abstained from labor and the father did not hunt or fish. The period of rest and quiet for the new parents varied. The Maidu couple remained at home until the remnants of the umbilical cord fell away. The Konkow father remained at home while his wife stayed in the menstrual hut until she could again walk easily. In the case of a stillborn child, these restrictions were more severely enforced. The Konkow husband would fast for one month, and his wife remained in seclusion and fasted for three months. The Maidu huband and wife went off into the mountains for some months; the man returned alone while the woman stayed behind for additional seclusion. It was considered un-

lucky by the Konkow to give birth to twins. The mother often was killed with the children (Dixon 1905:230).

Until a child was about two or three years old, its designation was "boy," "girl," or "baby." The Konkow gave a name that either fit a characteristic of the child or pertained to some circumstance at the time of birth. Names were descriptive, such as 'snoring bird' or 'climbing girl'. The woman's name was changed at puberty, childbirth, and again at old age. The male received a new name on entering the Kuksu cult or secret society. These were given by older members and would be characteristic names such as 'wing-tied-up', 'pine-nut-eater', 'stick-it-in-the-ear', or 'licking-head'. In the Maidu families a child might be named after a deceased relative one year after the death, as this would remove the taboo placed on the dead person's name (Dixon 1905:230–231).

• PUBERTY At the first menses, the Konkow girl observed several restrictions while she remained quietly at home. She did not eat meat or fish and was fed only acorns, seeds, and roots by her mother. Five vertical, parallel stripes, alternating red and black, were painted on each cheek. When the last marks were removed, the girl was considered ready to marry.

At adolescence, a close friendship between two Indian girls among the Konkow is noted as being relevant to the female puberty rites. The older of the two served as the attendant for the younger who was experiencing her first menstrual period. On the first day, the girl and her friend stood with heads covered in the center of a ring of pine needles. These were set on fire and the two girls had to escape and run a short distance away. They then returned to the circle of women. There was much singing and laughter and they were given a warm bath. Afterward all retired to the girl's house, and at nightfall dancing and singing began and continued for five nights, lasting each night until dawn. The old women would sing and dance a ceremonial dance called the *wúlu* (Maidu *wulú*), which tells of their desire that the girls have eternal youth. Since, according to tradition, old people were eaten by the crow or *ʔá·ka* (Maidu *ʔaʔá* or *kákka*), one song in translation reads, 'put the two girls on the bridge so the crow cannot get them' (Densmore 1958:48; Dixon 1905:233–234).

The Maidu girl, at the first day of menstruation, journeyed with her mother into the mountains. She observed strict food restrictions and had to eat from her own dishes and drinking vessels. A scratching stick was used, and during the entire period the girl carried with her a deer-hoof rattle. At the end of the first day, the mother and child built numerous fires in the hills to signal to the village below that the ceremonies were to begin. They returned to the village where relatives had assembled and the dancing and song was begun outside around a large fire. The girl joined in the dances and at their finish the deer-hoof rattle was thrown to the girl, who ran off from the circle at top speed, signifying the end to that evening's dancing. The dances continued for four more nights. After two nights of rest, the girl's ears were pierced at dawn of the eighth day. Dancing resumed that night and continued the following night. The morning of the tenth day, the girl painted her body in red, black, and white and joined in the *wulú* dance in which only the women took part. At noon the girl was bathed and the remainder of the day was spent in feasting. At the subsequent period, one month later, the entire ceremony was repeated and ended with a final dancing of the *wulú* (Dixon 1905:236–237).

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There were no formal boys' puberty rites for the Maidu. The Konkow initiation of boys into the secret society took place at age 15 or older and could be considered a ceremony of adolescence rites. These new members were called *yéphoni*. The shaman, as head of the *yéphoni*, received from the voices of spirits the names of those to be initiated. It was to his advantage to name "bad" men so that they would not be inclined to harm the society. After a meeting or ceremony in the dance house, the shaman would attempt to capture those chosen by closing the door of the chamber. The candidates would attempt to escape while all others were made to leave. The doors were again shut and the shaman distributed to each candidate a wand that was hung up inside the dance house. The ceremony continued as a sacred acorn and birch-seed meal was sprinkled on the hair of each boy. The shaman ran around the initiates with a stick from the fire and then sprinkled water upon them. He called for food, and goods were distributed among the old and new members. One initiate was appointed to give a feast on the following day. The new members were then taught the dances of the *yéphoni* and during this time observed restrictions involving a taboo against eating any flesh and the use of a scratching stick. The ceremonies and dance lessons lasted for eight days, at the end of which new names and the wands were given to the initiates. Each was allowed to wear a netted cap as an insigne of membership. Following the eight days of initiation each new member gave a feast, and so there was a period of continued merriment (Dixon 1905:322–326).

• DEATH In the mythology, it is related that the Creator Wanome (Konkow *wó·nommi* 'immortal [one]') brought death to the people although he originally did not want the Indians to die. Coyote, who is spoken of in many myths, wanted the people to die because he wanted burials and memorial burnings. When Coyote's own son died he tried to made Wanome bring him back to life, but Wanome made his final decision: "You wanted it this way, and this is the way it will be from now on" (D. Hill 1969:5). And so, the Maidu and Konkow observed burial customs and the latter participated in an annual mourning ceremony during which goods and materials were displayed and burned.

The Maidu and Konkow acknowledged the existence of the soul, which they referred to as "heart." At a person's death it was said that "his heart has gone away"

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(Kroeber 1925:439; Dixon 1905:259). The soul left "like wind" from the mouth of the Konkow and then had to retrace every step taken in life. During this journey it haunted well-known places. The Milky Way was a path to the other world that the soul could follow after its time of haunting the past world. The good souls followed the left-hand fork of the Milky Way, which led to the "Heaven Valley." Bad people were changed into rocks and bushes. When a Maidu died, his soul stayed for a time and "blew about" crying constantly. The soul then left for the other world and was guided by deceased relatives toward the east, where the Creator lived, and passed through a gate into a paradise of food and pleasure (Dixon 1905:261–262).

Burial was the method of corpse disposal for both the Konkow and the Maidu. The Konkow dressed the body in the finest clothing and placed it in a flexed position in a bear skin. It was buried facing the west, along with some food and material possessions. The Maidu dressed their dead in beads and feathers and wrapped the body in otter skin. The body was buried in an extended position facing the east. Personal property and gifts were tied into a bundle and placed in the grave (Dixon 1905:243–244). Cremation was used by the Konkow when a person died away from home, the ashes then being carried back to the village and buried there.

Initial mourning customs were practiced by both groups. This may be accounted for by the belief that the soul stayed in among the people before journeying to the other world. The Konkow widow and widower cut their hair short and covered themselves with a mixture of pine pitch and charcoal. The widow remained in the house all day and spent her time weaving baskets that were to be burned during the annual mourning celebration. The widower refrained from gambling or dancing until after participation in the burning ceremony (Dixon 1905:243–244). Among the Maidu, only the women usually showed outward signs of mourning by covering themselves with the pitch and cutting the hair short. Men would do the same only on the occasion of the death of their father.

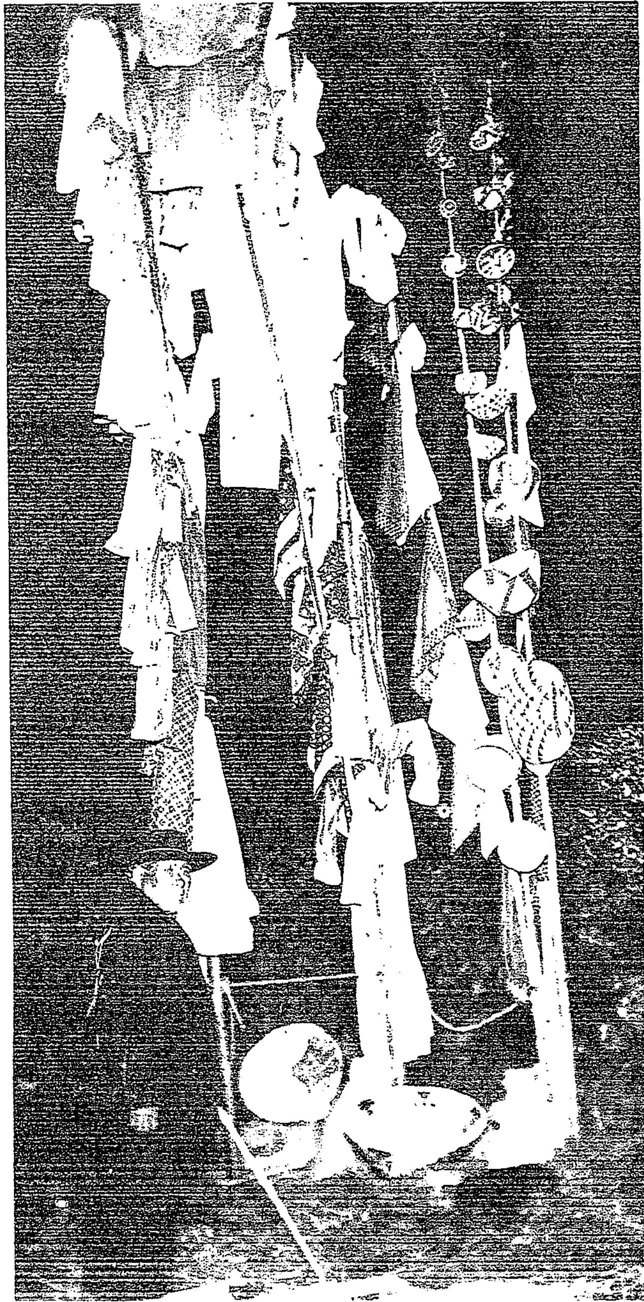
The mourning anniversary of the Konkow was an elaborate means of generating offerings to the dead and an economic exchange of material goods. When a person died his house and belongings were initially burned. Then, once each year for usually five consecutive years, the deceased's family participated in the anniversary burning ceremony during which they displayed, exchanged, and burned material goods that were prepared during the year for the ceremonies. Each village community had a designated burning ground ruled by a shaman of one of the villages. At the death of a family member, the mourners paid for a "string" with beads, furs, or food. The arrangement of the beads on the string indicated the family's membership to a particular burning ground where they would participate in the next burning ceremony. If another family member died in this time, the necklace was worn for five years following the most recent death. At the end of five years, the necklace was returned (Dixon 1905:246).

On the first evening of the mourning anniversary rites, the mourners cried at the graves of the deceased, which were then covered with "flour" and then with earth. The second evening, all proceeded to the designated burning ground, which was a circular enclosure 50–100 feet in diameter and surrounded by a brush fence. Each family brought its own poles, which were designed to display the materials made for burning (fig. 10). The poles were planted on the north and south sides of a central fire. A period of bargaining ensued during which many materials were exchanged and a family might elect to burn poorer materials in exchange for higher quality goods. The fire was lit by an old man and the shaman delivered an invocation. For the rest of the ceremony the mourners danced about the fire and cried out for their departed; there was much wailing and singing. At this time it was also believed that the ghosts or souls of the deceased could be seen to dance slowly about the fire. The ceremony climaxed when the poles were lifted down and the material goods removed. These were thrown into the fire and the mourners would enter a period of frenzy. The ceremony ended as the shaman instructed the people to go back to the dance house for the remainder of the day. There the mourners would engage in celebration; they were instructed to "eat, gamble, and make merry" (Dixon 1905:245–250; Kroeber 1925:431).

Religion

A background to the Maidu and Konkow cosmogony, numeration, superstitions, and religious life may be found in the content of the creation myth. The myth involves an initial meeting between the Creator or Earth Initiate and Turtle. Turtle was floating upon a raft over the surface of the earth, which was at that time covered only with water. From the sky, a radiant Earth Initiate descended and sat in the raft with Turtle. A conversation followed during which Turtle requested land and the Creator asked how he would be able to create dry land. To provide the land Turtle dived for mud and returned six years later. The land expanded at the word of the Earth Initiate and he then was able to instruct his sister the sun and his brother the moon to travel the skies and provide the land with light. He called forth the stars, birds from the air, trees, and animals and provided the great oak tree with its many varieties of acorns. He made man, whom he called *kúksu*, and woman, named Morning Star Woman, from dark red earth mixed with water. The Earth Initiate expressed the desire that the men and women he created live easy lives and he gave them a means of eternal life. This done, he left the earth for the world above.

Coyote, a mythological troublemaker, who involved himself in various Maidu and Konkow myths, arrived to



Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., New York.
Fig. 10. Poles with clothing and baskets attached to be burned by mourners to honor the dead and for their use, as part of the Konkow annual mourning ceremony. Photograph probably by S.A. Barrett, near Mooretown, 1904.

learn how easily the people were living. Coyote said, "That is no way to do. I can show you something better. We will have a mourning ceremony and burn property." It was for this objective that Coyote brought death to the people.

kúksu, on the instruction of the Earth Initiate, taught the people how to cook and hunt, gave them their laws, dances, and festivals, and then they were suddenly made to speak many different languages. *kúksu* sent them to all different parts of the world and they became the forefathers of different Indian tribes (Gifford and Block 1930:85–91).

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The world created by the Earth Initiate was believed to be a flat, circular island floating on the surface of the sea. The Creator stretched ropes to anchor the land mass. The number of ropes used for this security differs according to the numeration beliefs and the geographic directions recognized among the Maidu and Konkow. The Maidu saw the earth anchored by five ropes stretching to the north, south, east, west, and northwest. Five was considered the sacred number and it was to the above five directions that the Maidu oriented himself. The Konkow practiced the ritualistic Kuksu cult and believed in the number four, which was a characteristic sacred number among the cult. The Konkow oriented themselves to the four directions from which the supportive ropes of the earth were stretched: north, south, east, and west (Dixon 1905:264–265).

Natural, climatic phenomena were explained in reference to variations of a myth concerning how fire was brought to the people. In general, fire was kept by a man and his daughters and, after Lizard discovered fire, it was stolen from the sentinel bird guarding it and brought back by a group of animals. In the race to bring the fire to man, Thunder and his two daughters, Rain and Hail (Northwind is also referred to as a daughter of Thunder), are seen as the pursuers. Stars were soft like buckskin, and the constellations were given names and purposes. Falling stars were thought to be "taking or carrying fire" and the rainbow was believed to be the urine of Coyote (Dixon 1905:265).

Mythology deals with numerous animals such as the hummingbird, lizard, dog, rattlesnake, and coyote. The coyote is noticeable in most myths, and there are Coyote stories that trace adventures of this character who is seen as opposite of the benevolent and wise Creator. Coyote is a trickster, and he causes most of the original creations to be modified to their present and less ideal states as utilized by man in daily life. There are stories concerning his roguish sexual adventures.

Charms were employed to stop storms or to bring rain or protection. Burning feathers, wild pepperwood, or oak leaves would stop a storm. Smoking or praying ceremoniously was the recourse during the periods of drought. Thunder was heard when a person was bitten by a rattlesnake or when a great man died or a woman had a miscarriage. Charms used to insure luck in hunting were in the form of stones found inside a deer and were worn about the neck. The shaman used charms to "rub out" pains of illnesses. Gambling charms were stones that were found and kept because of unusual shape or color. Roots could also serve as good-luck charms (Dixon 1905:266–267).

The Maidu and Konkow environs were occupied by mysterious powers and spirits. These lived in natural

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geographic sites such as rocky peaks, cliffs, rapids, waterfalls, and mountain lakes and also in the sky. Each shaman had one or many of these spirits as his guardians and sources of power (Dixon 1905:265).

The shaman was an important figure in Maidu and Konkow society. Since there was no complex political organization, the shaman, with his mysterious powers and spiritual communication, provided a sense of unity among the village community. He functioned in the festivals, Kuksu cult ceremonies and dances, and political relations with other tribes. He also served as a medical doctor, capable of healing the sick or causing sickness to fall upon an individual or entire village. The Maidu shamans inherited their office. The son, only following the death of his father, would become very ill and after a period of ceremony within the dance house he left the village and spent some months in the mountains where he met and won the favor of the spirits who were to be his guardian powers. These were thought to be the same spirits as identified with the father and were sometimes the ghosts of kinsmen. Among the Konkow there was a tendency toward hereditary shamanism, although there were defined methods for a person to become a shaman without family predecessors. The Konkow distinguished between dream shamans, who held assemblies in the dance house that were primarily clairvoyant proceedings, and the doctor shamans, who possessed the greater powers of healing or of causing sickness. The Maidu recognized only the all-powerful shaman who inherited his powers. Shamans underwent a period of instruction from older shamans and learned the art of curing "pains." This involved the sucking out of disease-causing agents that the shaman would display, like bits of wood, stone, bones, teeth, or small live animals. Shamans were not totally benevolent. They were known to possess different magical poisons that they administered by, for instance, touching or casting a shadow on the person they intended to kill. The pains a shaman sucked out of a person might be used against him later. Female shamans were known to be primarily malevolent and caused great trouble with their numerous poisonings (Dixon 1905:267–283). Among the Konkow there was also the Kuksu cult, the leader of which was also a powerful shaman. The cult functioned primarily as a ceremonial and dance organization rather than as a group involved in tribal politics or warfare. The Kuksu cult had spirit impersonations and followed a dance cycle in which dances were representative of the different spirits. The dances began with the Hesi Dance (Valley Konkow *hési*), which was celebrated in late September or early October. This feast lasted three to four days; only the men were allowed to participate. The next dance was the Waima or Duck Dance, also only celebrated by the men. This was followed by the *pá·no* 'grizzly bear' Dance, in which the women and chief participated. The Oleil (Maidu *ʔolél* 'coyote') Dance lasted 48 hours and was called the chief's dance. The Kaima was performed by old people while children 8 to 10 years old were taught by verbal explanation. The *móloḱo* 'vulture' Dance was performed by women. In the *sími* 'deer' Dance, the dancers dressed to impersonate deer. The Aki (Valley Konkow *ʔá·ki*) was a ceremony for the increase of the acorn crop in which the dancers wore costumes much like that worn in the Hesi, but the women were allowed to take part in this dance. The cycle concluded with the repetition of the Hesi Dance in May. These dances were known among the Maidu although there was not the connection with a Kuksu cult. Dances were held inside the dance house. The large ceremonial dances such as the Hesi were usually followed by festivities, including gambling, straw games, and races (Nelson 1909a:5).

Knowledge

The Hesi Dance cycle marked off the year's passing but was not the only means of designating annual divisions. The Maidu and Konkow recognized four seasons and a further subdivision into moons or months. The four seasons were spring, *yóm mení* (Konkow *yóhmènî*) 'flower month'; summer, *ḱáwkati* 'dust, earth'; autumn, *sém mení* 'seed month'; and winter, *kóm mení* 'snow month'. The Maidu divided the year into 12 moons, beginning in the spring. Each lunation had a name and meaning such as 'big month', 'ground-burning moon', or 'bread moon'. The Konkow referred to nine moons beginning their year in autumn. Some of the meanings given to the names of the months were 'seed moon', 'big-tree freeze moon', and 'little-tree freeze moon' (Dixon 1905:217–218).

Music, Games, and Art

Music and song accompanied the ceremonial dances, social dances, and game dances. Drums were called *kílemi* (in Konkow) and were made of a huge log usually of sycamore. Its sound was said to be "like the sound made by the bear." The rattles were named *wasóso* (in Maidu) and suggested the sound of swishing pebbles. Rattles, which were used by shamans, were also important in the adolescent rites of the Maidu girls. These were often made of green elder wood with the pith removed. A musical bow was played by holding one end in the mouth and tapping a single long string with the nail of the index finger. Flutes and whistles were used for melody (Densmore 1958:12–13). Song and dance were a form of amusement. A jumping dance was performed to the words, "I jump down and dance, then I jump back up and dance" (Densmore 1958:322). A dance using a sliding step was enacted by two men carrying bow and arrow and pretending to shoot.

A hand or grass game played by the men was a popular form of gambling. Bone cylinders were hidden in the hands under a bundle of grass. These cylinders were in pairs, with one bone marked, the other unmarked. The game was played by guessing which hand held the

unmarked bone. The gamblers sat opposite one another, and large quantities of goods were wagered on the results (Densmore 1958:43). A game much like football was played between the men of two villages. Players stood in parallel lines and tried to kick a buckskin ball stuffed with deer hair to the goal, which was two poles set at the ends of the lines. The winning team was the one that reached the goal first. The women played a similar game, except that ropes or sticks were tossed toward the goals by means of a long pole (Kroeber 1925:419).

Art forms were recognized in basketry, bead work, and feather work. The only object decorated with paint was the bow. A greenish-blue pigment was applied with a feather tip to make a design that "looked like a snake" (Dixon 1905:221). In addition, there is poetry, as recognized in the words of a Maidu chant:

> The world above
> in the on-top land
> mortal men wanting to talk
> on your dark trail
> by power, pour (it) over hither.
> Superb superb
> tobacco smoke drift away
> you will inhale deeply, drying
> out your throat
> Thus is that land (Shipley 1963:81).

History

Maidu and Konkow life was little affected by White contact until after the gold discovery at Coloma in 1848. In 1808 Gabriel Moraga explored up the Sacramento River to the lower reaches of the Feather River, in close proximity to Konkow country. In an expedition up the Feather River in 1820, Capt. Luis A. Arguello gave the river its name (El Rio de Las Plumas) (McGowan 1961). In 1828 Jedediah Smith with his band of trappers spent several months in Konkow territory (Sullivan 1934:74). From 1828 to 1836, brigades of Hudson's Bay Company trappers visited Konkow territory trapping fur-bearing animals. Michel Laframboise and John Work (Leader 1928) were leaders of such groups of trappers, both of whom spent the winter of 1833 at the Sutter Buttes to avoid high water. Capt. Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition sent boats up the Sacramento River to a Konkow village in 1841 (Wilkes 1845, 5:185).

Captain John A. Sutter established New Helvetia, now Sacramento, in 1839. Although Sutter's Fort was in Nisenan territory, it provided a focal point for ultimate penetration into the lands of the Konkow and Maidu people by settlers and then gold seekers. In 1844, Gov. Manuel Micheltorena issued to two Americans grants to land in Konkow territory, not far from the present city of Chico. A year earlier the first group of overland immigrants led by Lansford Hastings passed through Konkow country on their way to Sutter's Fort. So-called Indian haters in this party fired on the Indians as they went through the area (Bidwell 1906:75–79). In 1847 John Bidwell (D. Hill 1970:26) wrote to John Sutter that 82 White people lived in the upper Sacramento Valley. It was in this year that Bidwell moved out of Sutter's Fort and began to develop his domain in the Chico area.

Probably the first of many disasters to befall the Konkow was an epidemic of what may have been malaria, which decimated them in 1833 (Cook 1955a:322). This was a blow from which the natives never effectively rallied. What disease did not do the influx of thousands of gold seekers after 1849 did. By this time even the remote Maidu country was overrun with exploring parties and gold hunters. First into the Maidu heartland, except possibly for occasional mountain men, was Peter Lassen, who reached Honey Lake in 1850 (Bruff 1949). By this time the barriers were down and the Maidu and Konkow soon became aliens in their own land. The miners hired Indians to work for them but usually paid them poorly for their work. In ensuing years the Konkow people worked as ranch hands and farm laborers.

With the arrival of the Whites with their livestock and farms, the Konkow and Maidu ecological balance was upset. Food sources formerly available became extinct or scarce or otherwise unavailable. The Indians began killing and eating the settlers' livestock; and retaliation by the settlers, miners, and immigrants was swift and excessive. Often defenseless and innocent groups of Indians were killed by excited White men when oxen or other livestock were missed. It is true that the Indians, too, killed the newcomers with or without provocation; however, it was most often the Whites who did the killing.

In 1850, in an attempt to settle conflict between Indians and Whites, Congress authorized treaties to be made with the Indians to place them upon reservations. The Konkow signed a treaty that would have given them a limited portion of their own land (D. Hill 1970:40–46). Senators from California opposed ratification of these treaties and further demanded that the Indians be removed from the state. The issue as far as the Konkow were concerned was resolved when a reservation was established at Nome Lackee in 1854 and some Konkow were removed there in 1855 (McGowan 1961:137). Throughout the 1850s and 1860s Indian "trouble" flared up, but by 1870 resistance by the Indians was essentially at an end. In 1863 mounted soldiers marched 461 Indians to Round Valley Reservation; 32 Indians died or were killed on the way. This two-week trek is still remembered by the survivors' descendants (D. Hill 1970:74–78).

As regards Maiduan population (in this case only the Konkow and Nisenan) and its decline, the following figures (adapted from Cook 1943a) clearly show that the coming of the Whites was a great disaster:

Aboriginal	*8,000*
1846	8,000
1850	3,500–4,500
1852	5,000
1856	2,300
1865	1,550
1880	1,000
1910	900

To the 1910 figure can be added an estimate of 200 Maidu to make a total of 1,100 Maiduan people (Maidu, Konkow, and Nisenan).

Kroeber (1925) estimates that the Maiduan people (including the Nisenan) numbered 9,000 aborigines. Of this number probably two-thirds were Maidu and Konkow, with the Konkow total probably somewhat greater than the Maidu. The Konkow homeland nearly coincides with the present political boundary of Butte County, while that of the Maidu coincides with Plumas County. Indians in Butte County in 1940, 1950, and 1960 numbered 261, 207, and 421, respectively. Many of these are Konkow with varying degrees of Indian ancestry. For Plumas County the censuses for the same years recorded 235, 218, and 240 Indians. A large proportion of them are Maidu, both full- and mixed-blood. An undetermined number of Maidu live in adjoining Lassen County and would thus increase the Maidu total by somewhat less than 100 people more.

Possibly one of the best sources of information regarding the number of people claiming California Indian ancestry is the listing of those California residents who filed applications for enrollment to participate in the distribution of the California Judgment (Indian Claims) funds in 1973. The number who filed from Butte County was 1,435, from Plumas 422, and from Lassen County 375. Not all these claimants were necessarily Maidu or Konkow, nor necessarily full-blood Indians.

The present condition of surviving Konkow and Maidu Indians is essentially the same as for other California Indians. They have a very high unemployment rate, poor housing and sanitation, and a low level of educational achievement. Economic advancement is slow in part due to the difficulty of acquiring loans for improving housing, for establishing small businesses, and for improving livestock, water supplies, or land resources. Heartening in the case of the Maidu and Konkow is a renewed interest in their traditional values and cultural expression. The former shame felt by these people in being Indian has changed to pride. One tangible manifestation of this is the vigorous continuation of the annual Maidu Bear Dance held each spring at Janesville. The affair is attended by Indians of numerous tribes, but the two-day gathering is primarily a Maidu-sponsored ceremony. Attempts at the preservation of their language, ceremonies, and the art of basket making, for example, coupled with their pride in being Konkow and Maidu, indicate a continuing struggle for personal and tribal identity and advancement.

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Synonymy

The Maidu have been referred to as: Mai′-deh and Mai′-du (Powers 1877), Meidoos (Powers 1874), Midu (Merriam 1904), and Pujunan (Powell 1891). Their name is from their self-designation *maydɨ* 'person' (Shipley 1963:149).

The Konkow have been called: Cancons (Keane 1878), Cancow (ARCIA 1874), Caw-Caw (ARCIA 1868), Con-Con's (ARCIA 1870), Con-Cous (ARCIA 1867, 1868), Con-Cow (ARCIA 1863, 1864); Concow (Round Valley Cultural Project 1974), Cou-Cows (ARCIA 1864, 1865), Cow-Cow (ARCIA 1868), and KănKau (Curtin 1885).

The Konkow term *nótok̓òyo·* refers to the Maiduan people from Quincy in the south to Susanville in the north—the Maidu proper. As *kíwsewimmàʔa* the Konkow designate the people on the Middle Fork of the Feather River and up to Belden on the North Fork.

Sources

The primary source of information on the Maidu is the excellent work done by Dixon (1905). An earlier source of merit is that of Powers (1877). Kroeber (1925) is a good and generally available source containing data gathered on the Maidu from a number of early sources to provide a synthesis of their life and culture. Details of village locations and other ethnogeographic information are provided by Riddell (1968). Sensitive works by Robert Rathbun (Coyote Man 1973, 1973a) deal with aspects of Maidu life and mythology in a less formal, academic manner than has been done by others.

Sources for the Konkow that give the best coverage include, of course, Kroeber's works (1925, 1932a). Aspects of Konkow life and culture are found in D. Hill's (1970) ethnohistoric study, an ethnogeography by Riddell (1960–1974), and Rathbun's (1973, 1973a) publication.

The language of the Maidu and Konkow has been treated in considerable detail by Shipley (1963). Possibly the best tool for those interested in the Maiduan people is the bibliography prepared by Wilson and Towne (1972), which, while not complete, is quite extensive and is annotated.

Only limited professional archeological work has been done in Maidu territory (Riddell and Pritchard 1971). Archeological work done in the Oroville area, thus referable to the Konkow (Olsen and Riddell 1963), has resulted in a tentative archeological chronological table that gives a cross-dating with areas contiguous to the Konkow.

Nisenan

Appendix 4.3

NORMAN L. WILSON AND ARLEAN H. TOWNE

Language, Territory, and Environment

The Nisenan (ˈnēsəˌnän), sometimes referred to as the Southern Maidu, were the southern linguistic group of the Maidu tribe. The word Nisenan (*nisena·n* 'from among us; of our side') was used as a self-designation by the Nisenan who occupied the Yuba and American river drainages.

Nisenan together with Maidu and Konkow form a subgroup of the California Penutian linguistic family.* Kroeber (1925:393) distinguished three dialects of Nisenan—Northern Hill Nisenan, Southern Hill Nisenan, and Valley Nisenan—although it is possible to make finer dialectal distinctions (see "Native Languages of California," this vol.).

The Nisenan territory was the drainages of the Yuba, Bear, and American rivers and the lower drainages of the Feather River (fig. 1). The western boundary was the west bank of the Sacramento River, a few miles upstream from the mouth of the Feather River southward to a few miles below the confluence of the American River. The northern boundary has not been clearly established due to the similarity of language to the neighboring groups (Kroeber 1925:393). The first true Nisenan was spoken in the drainage of the Yuba. The eastern boundary was the crest of the Sierra Nevada. The southern boundary was probably a few miles south of the American River with a large area between the American and Cosumnes rivers occupied by the Miwok to the south (Bennyhoff 1961: 204–209).

The west-east orientation of Nisenan landscape varied from the plain of the Sacramento River near sea level to 10,000-foot peaks on the Sierra crest, bisected with intermittent and year-round streams. East of the river is a flat, oak-studded grassland with denser vegetation along the streams and marshes. About 15 miles from the river the land rises into foothills covered with grasses, oak, pine, and chaparral, grading into oak and conifer forest, bisected by deep canyons supporting year-round streams. Above 5,000 feet are dense stands of conifers, rocky exposures, and small, grassy meadows. This entire region supported abundant game, waterfowl, fish, and plant resources.

The Nisenan recognized several political divisions within their territory, accepting the leadership of the headman of a specific village during times of major decisionmaking, group hunts, and ceremonies. The riverplain encompassed three such tribelet areas, each densely populated with several large villages. It is not clear which villages exercised major influence.

One center was at the mouth of the American River extending east a few miles and north and south on the Sacramento River. Pusune (*pusu·ne*) was an important village. Another center was at the mouth of the Bear River including the valley drainage of the Bear and a stretch of the Feather River. One major village was Hok. A third area was at the mouth of the Yuba River and reached the northern Nisenan boundary.

Hill Nisenan, between the Cosumnes River and the south fork of the American River near Placerville, formed another tribelet with strong affiliations with groups living in the lower drainages of the American River and in ridges that lay along the south fork of the American.

People occupying the ridges between the Bear River and the middle fork of the American River, including the ridges between the middle fork of the American and the Bear, formed another tribelet area. The territory of the upper drainages of the Bear and the Yuba rivers also is identified as forming another tribelet (Littlejohn 1928:10–15).

Few Indian villages existed on the valley plain between the Sacramento River and the foothills; the area provided hunting and gathering grounds for the valley people.

External Relations

Nisenan had few contacts outside their tribelet area of influence. These contacts were limited to trade, warfare, and ceremonial gatherings (Beals 1933:365).

Native communication followed the large streams, so familiarity was to the north and northwest in the Sacramento Valley. The San Joaquin portion of the valley was unknown to the Nisenan. Groups tended to identify themselves along physiographic lines, which were defined in the valley by stream systems and in the mountains by ridges. The Valley Patwin, Northern Maidu, and Valley Nisenan seem to have shared a consciousness of cultural

* Nisenan words cited here in italics have been transcribed by Richard Smith in the phonemic system described in Uldall and Shipley (1966), with the substitution of ɨ for their y and *y* for their j. Words not recorded by Uldall and Smith appear here in roman, with Kroeber's [ü] being interpreted as ɨ.

Fig. 1. Tribal territory with selected major villages. 1, Chichimbupu; 2, Manoma; 3, Onehuyan; 4, Mominku; 5, Polomyan; 6, Kaloma; 7, Helto; 8, Tuhu; 9, Toto; 10, Bayu; 11, Honkut; 12, Tomchoh; 13, Kulu; 14, Yupu; 15, Chiemwie; 16, Onopoma; 17, Taisida; 18, Molokum; 19, Mimal; 20, Sisum; 21, Hok; 22, Yukulme; 23, Popo; 24, Ollash; 25, Holloh; 26, Lelikian; 27, Intanto; 28, Homiting; 29, Talak; 30, Mulamchapa; 31, Bushamul; 32, Shutamul; 33, Yokol; 34, Olo; 35, Wollok; 36, Leuchi; 37, Nawe; 38, Wishuna; 39, Totola; 40, Pusune; 41, Momol; 42, Sama; 43, Yalisumni; 44, Sekumni; 45, Kadema; 46, Kishkish; 47, Yamankudu; 48, Pichiku; 49, Ekwo; 50, Shiba; 51, Yodok; 52, Yukulu; 53, Bamon; 54, Polunkit; 55, Chitokpakan; 56, Wapumni; 57, Kutba; 58, Komyan; 59, Opok; 60, Miminik; 61, Chletisu; 62, Chikimisi; 63, Ilemo; 64, Wuhulak; 65, Ekelepakan; 66, Tumeli; 67, Koloma; 68, Chapa; 69, Okilkil; 70, Bakacha, 71, Odayan; 72, Tete; 73, Opule; 74, Piuhu; 75, Bamuma; 76, Kotomyan; 77, Hu'ul; 78, Molma; 79, Bisian; 80, Siyakayan; 81, Chulku; 82, Didit; 83, Penui; 84, Popokemul; 85, Hakaka; 86, Watas; 87, Hempamyan; 88, Wemea; 89, Oyema; 90, Hembem; 91, Koyo; 92, Sumyan; 93, Palampenonu; 94, Soloklok; 95, Kaubusma; 96, Tuyi; 97, Siponi; 98, Ustuma; 99, Wokodot; 100, Kushna; 101, Tetema; 102, Hi'et; 103, Tsekankan; 104, Kayempaskan; 105, Yamaku; 106, Panpakan. These names have been anglicized wherever possible on the basis of the spellings in Kroeber 1925, 1929. Sources: Bancroft 1874–1876; Beals 1933; Bennyhoff 1961; Delano 1854; Gudde 1933; Hodge 1907–1910; Kroeber 1925, 1929, 1932a; Lienhard 1941; Littlejohn 1928; log of the ship *Alert,* 1841; Merriam 1966–1967; Powers 1877; Riddell 1972; Sacramento Claims 1928 (45 Stat. 602); Schoolcraft 1860; Sutter 1939; Wilkes 1849; Wilson 1957–1963.

similarity and an attitude of common cooperation and defense (Kroeber 1929:255–256).

Hill Nisenan knew the names of many of the major Valley Nisenan villages along the rivers due mainly to travel outside the local area by large groups of men for trading and fishing. Women and children rarely ventured outside their territory.

Black oak acorns, pine nuts, manzanita berries, skins, bows, and bow wood were traded to the valley people for fish, roots, certain grasses, shells, beads, salt, and feathers. Hill Nisenan traded acorns and shells for Washo seed beaters and dried fish from Pyramid Lake. Trade also brought into the area shell, magnesite, steatite, and obsidian from the west and obsidian from the east. Property was exchanged by local groups through gambling and settlement of disputes.

Settlement Pattern

The village or community group that controlled a certain territory and acted as a group in decisionmaking, ceremonies, and food gathering ranged from small extended families of 15 to 25 people to large villages of several families numbering over 500 (Kroeber 1925:831). This group occupied a village site or a cluster of small settlements around a large village. One village usually played a dominant role in this social-political organization. Its headman had the authority to call upon the surrounding villages in social and political situations. Relations were friendly but arguments occurred over trespass, hunting rights, and ceremonies. Family feuds might cause withdrawal of a family from a village; they would move to an adjoining village or establish a new settlement. Tensions occurred between tribelets over trespass, social crimes, insults to leaders, and gambling. Killing of Auburn/Nevada City men at Roseville in the 1820s caused deep-seated hatred of these people, and the epidemic of 1833 was explained as being caused by hill shamans sending bad air into the valley to avenge the killings (Payen 1961a:23; Wilson 1957–1963).

Valley Nisenan built their villages on low, natural rises along streams and rivers or on gentle slopes with a southern exposure. Villages varied in size from three to seven houses to 40 to 50 houses. Houses were dome-shaped, 10 to 15 feet across, and covered with earth, tule mats, or grasses. Brush shelters, supported by upright poles, were used in the summer and on food-gathering rounds (Kroeber 1925:407–408).

The dance house (*kúm*), located in major villages, was a semisubterranean structure, excavated to a depth of three to four feet, constructed with heavy beams and two or four main posts, with a covering of brush, tule, and earth. A smoke hole was at the top and the door usually faced east (Beals 1933:344). A plank drum was placed over a pit opposite the entrance. Another village structure was the acorn granary. The sweathouse, built similar to a

kúm but to accommodate four or five men, was used for curing and purification. Caves are rare; however, a few occupied rockshelters, one ceremonial cave, and a sweating cave have been reported in Nisenan territory (Payen 1961a:22).

Hill Nisenan villages were located on ridges and large flats along major streams. They were smaller than in the valley, and it was common for family groups to live away from the main village. Houses were conical-shaped and covered with slabs of bark, skins, and brush. Brush shelters were used in the summer. Most villages had bedrock mortar sites.

Other sites included seasonal camps, quarries, ceremonial grounds, trading sites, fishing stations, cemeteries, river crossings, and battlegrounds.

Nisenan territory was crisscrossed with well-established trails, and the Nisenan gave most physical features a local place-name. They had intimate knowledge of their tribelet area and its boundaries.

Subsistence

The Nisenan area offered abundant year-round food sources. Food-gathering quests were based on seasonal ripening but hunting, gathering, and fishing went on all year with the greatest activity in late summer and early fall. They did not depend on one crop but gathered many different staples.

Seasonal harvests could be personal or communal property. Much activity and social behavior such as status, sharing, trading, ceremonies, and disagreements were important adjuncts to the gathering and distribution of food.

Extended families or whole villages of hill people would gather acorns. Men would hunt while the women and children gathered the nuts knocked from the trees. Buckeye nuts, digger and sugar pine nuts, and hazelnuts were also gathered.

Acorns were removed from the granary, cracked on an acorn anvil, and shelled. They were ground into flour using a bedrock mortar and a soaproot brush to control scattering (fig. 2). After leaching to remove the tannin (fig. 3), the flour was cooked in watertight baskets. During the cooking process fire-heated stones were lifted with two sticks, dipped in water to clean them, and then dropped into the cooking basket. Enough mush and soup was prepared for several days.

A headman could ask for acorns for a ceremony or a family in need. There were lazy people who never had enough acorns. These people would not be helped and they would often move in with relatives at another village during the winter (Wilson 1972:36).

Roots, dug with a digging stick in the spring and summer, were eaten raw, steamed, baked, or dried and pounded in mortars and pressed into cakes to be stored for winter use. Wild onion (chan), wild sweet potato

Fig. 2. Lizzie Enos using a soaproot brush to sweep back into the mortar acorn meal scattered during pounding. A Maidu winnowing tray lies nearby. Photograph by Norman Wilson, Oct. 1958.

(sɨkum), and "Indian potato" (dúbus) were most desired. Wild garlic was used to wash the head and body, and wild carrot (ba) was used as medicine (Littlejohn 1928:30).

Grasses, herbs, and rushes provided food and material for baskets and clothing. Seeds were gathered using a seed beater and tray. They were parched, steamed, dried, or made into mush.

Many varieties of native berries, wild plums, grapes, and other native fruits were eaten. Manzanita berries were traded to the valley or made into a ciderlike drink.

Game was roasted, baked, or dried.

Deer drives were common with several villages participating, the best marksmen doing the killing. A circle of fire could be used where the animals were driven to the center and killed. Deer were also hunted using deerskin and antler decoys, snares, and deadfalls. They were run down in soft ground or snow. Antelope was taken by the surround, drives, and flag decoys. Elk was usually killed along waterways in soft ground.

Much ceremony surrounded the bear hunt. Black bears were hunted in the winter. Lighted brands were used to drive them from their dens. Grizzlies on the valley floor were greatly feared and rarely hunted (Wilson 1972:34).

Wildcats and California mountain lions were hunted for food and their skins.

Rabbits and other small game were killed with sticks and blunted arrows. Traps, snares, nets, fire, and rodent hooks were also used. In the valley and foothills nets were made into a fence where driven rabbits were entangled and clubbed. Other small animals were caught and killed except the coyote. Drives usually took place in late spring. The catch was divided by the man in charge of the drive.

Weirs, nets, harpoons, traps, and gorgehooks, as well as tule balsas and log canoes were used in fishing. Fish were poisoned using soaproot and turkey mullein or driven into shallow water and caught by hand. Freshwater clams and mussels were obtained in the big rivers. On

Fig. 3. Lizzie Enos leaching acorn meal. A bedsheet is placed in a sand basin and surrounded with pine needles. The meal is put in the sheet and warm water is poured over it. Photograph by Norman Wilson, Oct. 1958.

the lower courses salmon and sturgeon were netted and speared. Suckers, whitefish, and trout were caught at higher elevations. Waterfalls were traditional eel-fishing stations; Salmon Falls, on the south fork of the American River, was one such location (Wilson 1972:35).

Birds were taken with arrows, nets, snares, traps, and nooses. Owls, vultures, and condors were not killed. Feathers and birdskins were used for regalia, clothing, and decoration.

Grasshoppers were gathered in meadows in the summer. They were chased into conical pits by drivers beating the grass. A smoking grass bundle was thrown into the pits for killing. They were soaked in water and baked in an earth oven. A light crushing with a handstone on a basketry tray broke off the wings and legs, which were winnowed away. They were eaten whole, crushed into a meal, cooked like a mush, or stored (Wilson 1972:36). A ring of fire was also built to creep through the underbrush roasting the grasshoppers and other insects (Wilson 1957–1963).

Larvae and pupae as well as ants and other insects were eaten. Some were gathered for medicinal use and for poisons. Lizards and frogs were also eaten (Powers 1877).

Salt was taken from springs near Lincoln, Cool, and Latrobe. It was also obtained from a plant with cabbage-like leaves gathered in the summer.

Culture

Clothing and Adornment

Clothing was scant and adornment moderate. Men went naked or wore a breechclout of deerskin or pounded wire grass. The women wore short aprons made of wire grass, tule, or shredded maple or willow bark.

Fur blankets and skins were worn by Hill Nisenan while bird-feather robes were more common to the valley

NAA, Smithsonian.
Fig. 4. Captain Tom of Auburn wearing a rabbit-fur robe, flicker quill headband, a stick with woodpecker scalps and flicker feathers, and an abalone gorget. Photograph probably by A.W. Chase, before Aug. 1874.

people as protection from the cold. Rabbit robes (fig. 4) required about 40 skins, cut into strips, and were woven on a framework of pegs on the ground (Wilson 1972:35). Duck feathers were wrapped into two-ply cordage and woven into blankets. "Shawls" of round-stemmed tule were also worn by the men (Kroeber 1929:260).

Snowshoes consisted of a circular hoop of willow or redbud with two crosspieces tied with sinew.

Men wore their hair long, allowing it to hang loose, tucked under a netted cap, or held back by a band of fur. Women had long hair, either loose or tied with a band. Men sometimes grew beards. A sharp stone or glowing ember was used to cut the hair. Whiskers were pulled using a shell. Soaproot was used to wash the scalp and hair.

Ears were often pierced at infancy as was the nasal septum of some women. Tattooing was accomplished with pine needles and juice of a blue flower. A three-line tattoo was most common for the women.

Bead necklaces of steatite, clamshell, and whole olivella shells, as well as abalone pendants were traded from the Patwin and Maidu. Bead value depended on kind, size, number, and quality (fig. 5) (Kroeber 1925:421, Littlejohn 1928:35). Pine nut and seed necklaces, and flowers attached to cordage were worn by the woman.

Body painting using overall dots or streaks was common. White clay, red ocher, and charcoal provided three colors.

Technology

Stone objects included knives, arrow and spear points, club heads, arrow straighteners, scrapers, pestles, mortars, pipes, and charms. Basalt, steatite, chalcedony, jasper, and obsidian were used. Pressure and percussion flaking, grinding, and pecking were methods of manufacture. Bowl mortars were valued but informants stated that neither they nor their ancestors ever made them (Wilson:1957-1963).

Wood was mainly for utilitarian objects. Simple bows were two to three feet long and sinew-baked. Grass

NAA, Smithsonian.
Fig. 5. Captain Tom's wife wearing 10 yard necklace of 1,160 "money" beads made of clam (probably *Saxidomus* sp.) and a deerskin girdle and headband decorated with abalone. Photograph probably by A.W. Chase, before Aug. 1874.

knives, skin-dressing tools, and digging sticks were used. Wooden mortars were common in the valley.

Arrows were simple and compound. Shafts were made of willow, arrowwood, or cane and the foreshaft made of hardwood. Blunts and pointless arrows were reported. They were painted and fletched with hawk feathers.

Preparation of skins was done by women. After the hair was removed with bone or stone scrapers, the skins were soaked and rubbed with deer brains. They were not smoked. Bags for equipment, quivers, bow cases, and clothing were made. Sinew was taken from the back or leg of a deer.

Tule provided material for mats. Cordage and netting, made from the fiber of milkweed and hemp, ranged from thread size to rope one-half inch in diameter. It was used for rabbit and fish nets, seines, netted caps, snares, ropes, carrying nets, and tumplines.

Balsa canoes of round or triangular-stemmed tule and a single log or two logs tied with grapevine with a simple, flattened deck were used. These were pushed with a pole 12 to 15 feet long. Composite paddles were used with a single blade lashed to a shaft.

Baskets were coiled clockwise on a three-rod foundation of willow. Burden baskets and seed beaters were twined. All Nisenan girls learned basketmaking, but its construction fell to the older people as a winter activity.

Basketry material was gathered during the year with willow and redbud preferred. Shoots of hazel, roots of yellow pine and common brake, and stems of maidenhair ferns were used. The base color of baskets was practically white when new but changed with use to a pleasing yellowish-white or cream. Designs were imbricated generally of a reddish-brown color. A triangular decorative feature might represent an arrow point, mountain, or a tree to different basketmakers.

Women measured their basket designs for symmetry with a knotted string. Evenness of stitch, composition, and geometric accuracy were admired.

Baskets for storage, cooking and processing, "show," traps, cradles, cages, seed beaters, and winnowing were woven. Small feathered "treasure" baskets were special.

Life Cycle

Hill Nisenan women were assisted by old women, usually relatives, during childbirth. The mother remained quiet for several days being careful no cold air or cold water touched her. Taboos prevented parents from eating salt, meat, or grease, and from working, combing hair, or rubbing the eyes; all these activities were believed to cause damage to the child (Faye 1923:35; Beals 1933:368).

The baby was put into a "first" cradle made of tule, which was disposed of in a week or two, and the baby was then placed in a regular cradleboard. After 16 days a feast was prepared and the baby displayed to relatives (Beals 1933:368).

A girl was isolated in a menstrual hut for first menses. She fasted for 16 days and was not allowed outside alone. She could not touch her body but used a scratching stick. She could not step on a log or stick for fear of being bitten by a snake. On the sixteenth day she was bathed and a celebration was held. In subsequent menses the girl abstained from eating meat, salt, and fat for four days and slept in a menstrual hut. Husbands had no food restrictions. If they hunted, anything shot died in an inaccessible place. Women could talk to their husbands but could not touch their hunting equipment (Beals 1933:369).

Marriage customs varied. In the valley gifts sent to the girl's parents included beads and shells, but usually food was presented to prove the man's ability to provide. Consent of the girl was usually obtained before the man's intentions were made known to her family. If accepted, the man lived with the girl's family and hunted and fished for them. After six months they went to live with his people. In the mountains, the man made his intentions known and hunted and fished, bringing the results to the girl's home. A separate bed would be made and the couple considered married. A man might simply come to visit and stay. If the girl did not approve, she would discourage the suitor from joining her.

Child betrothal, of children the same age or a young girl promised to an older man, was practiced (Kroeber 1925:400; Beals 1933:370–371).

Residence was usually patrilocal but couples could make a residence choice.

Time before remarriage varied from six months to three years with a man permitted to marry sooner. A woman could marry her husband's brother but no other close relative. Permission and advice were obtained from the dead spouse's family (Beals 1933:372).

Divorce was by the desire of either party. Adultery was the most common cause. A man justifiably killed his wife's lover or walked out. He avoided his ex-spouse but maintained friendly relations with the family except the sister-in-law. Children belonged to the husband's family and were often adopted by the grandparents. When a widow remarried, her husband supported her children.

Mother-in-law taboos prevailed. In the valley the two would neither converse nor look at each other. If the mother-in-law met her son-in-law she would cover her head (Kroeber 1925:402).

Disposal of the dead was by cremation. Property was burned with the deceased and the house moved or destroyed. Burning usually occurred the morning following death. Friends and relatives wept and wailed. Bones and ashes were gathered and buried in the cemetery (Kroeber 1929:265; Faye 1923:37; Beals 1933:376; Wilson 1957–1963). Preinterment burning and primary burial were rarely practiced. After the burial the relatives returned to their houses and continued crying and wailing. A mixture of pitch and acorn black was used on the

widow's face and hair and she often cut her hair as a sign of mourning (Kroeber 1929:265; Faye 1923:37).

When a person died away from his village, the body was cremated at the death site and the remains returned to the village. It was important to be buried at the village of birth.

Political Organization

The headman or captain served as an advisor to a village or associated villages but each extended family had its leader who assisted the village headman. The headman had little direct authority, but when supported by the villagers and the shamans his word was mandatory. If he proved unwise he could be replaced. Chieftainship was usually hereditary, but a headman could be chosen by the villagers. He often named his successor, making an assistant before his death. It was possible for a female to succeed if no competent or favored male relative were available. The headman advised his people, restrained them from trespass, called and directed special festivities, arbitrated disputes, saw to the welfare of his people, and called family leaders into council. He acted as official host at ceremonial gatherings and supervised accumulation, preparation, and distribution of food (Beals 1933:359-360).

His food was supplied by the village. He had considerable wealth and often several wives. The village attitude is summed up in the expression: "Everyone wants their chief to have a good name" (Beals 1933:360).

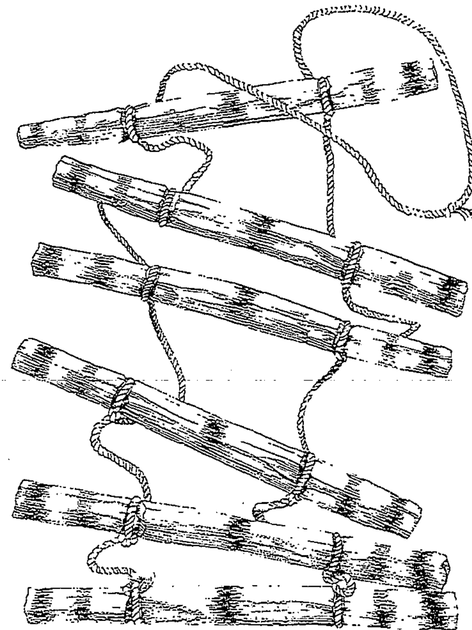
Each community or group of communities controlled its territory, including hunting and fishing grounds. Certain fishing sites, oak groves, and specific trees were family-controlled. Deer-drive fences and blinds were the property of the people who erected them.

• LAW AND PROPERTY Men owned nets, hunting equipment, canoes, their clothing, and the house if occupied by one family; if inhabited by several families it was property in common to the heads of the families. Women owned their clothing, baskets and basketry material, mats, cooking and food-processing equipment (Littlejohn 1928:33-34; Wilson 1957-1963).

Men hunted, fished, trapped, built houses, and made weapons and tools. Women gathered, prepared, and cooked food; dressed skins; made clothing and baskets; and cared for the young. Children were trained in their respective roles at about eight years of age.

Gifts were common, and sharing and generosity were admired traits. Loans and debt payments were practiced, and feuds were often generated over misuse of this trust (fig. 6).

Dishonesty and cruelty were seldom forgiven and resulted in avoidance. Theft was overlooked if restitution was quickly made but killing resulted otherwise. Minor food thefts were ignored. Murder or rape was followed by retaliatory killing of the guilty or, preferably, a close relative or friend. A person often hired a shaman to do



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: 21474.

Fig. 6. Dunning sticks. Wood whittled and painted with red and black pigment, tied with milkweed fiber string. These were tossed into a debtor's house by the creditor, as a reminder that the debt should soon be paid. Average length of sticks 9.5 cm; collected 1876.

the killing. The shaman was not accountable if he publicized the name of the person hiring him immediately following the killing. Payment for crimes could be arranged by the headman (Beals 1933:364).

• WAR Large-group, organized warfare was uncommon. Differences were usually caused by trespass and ranged from random feuds between families to raids and surprise attacks. Often challenges were sent and battleground and time agreed upon before the battle. A surprise attack against the enemy was made at daybreak. Reliance was placed on dodging arrows in open warfare, and constant dancing movements were made.

Men were taken prisoner only to be killed. Women prisoners became part of the captor's household (Faye 1923:43-44; Beals 1933:366-367; Wilson 1957-1963).

Religion

All natural objects were endowed with potential supernatural powers. One informant remarked "that a tree could kill you if it wanted to" (Beals 1933:379). This power might be used to bring "luck" with the possession of certain "medicines." A lucky individual differed from a shaman only in degree and in not being formally initiated. The Nisenan world contained many supernatural beings and ghosts. It was believed that people would go to the west at death (Beals 1933:379-380).

Some people believed that the world was always here but in different form; others told of everything being made by someone and that the birds and animals were

Field Mus., Chicago.

Fig. 7. Event at a Maiduan, possibly Nisenan, feast. Woman preparing acorn mush while holding a mush stirrer in her left hand. Photographed about 1900–1910. Figs. 8–10 show other events at the feast.

Field Mus., Chicago.

Fig. 8. Men carrying basket of mush using a rope tied around the outside of the basket.

Field Mus., Chicago.

Fig. 9. Shaman blessing the food.

Field Mus., Chicago.
Fig. 10. Baskets of acorn mush, loaves of bread, and sacks of flour ready for distribution.

once human. Still others spoke of a flood that killed the first people because they were not good. In creation stories there was an Earth Creator and a culture hero who actually created the earth, and Coyote, the trickster, who created death and conflict from a once-perfect existence (Kroeber 1929:275-276; Beals 1933:379-382).

The Nisenan calendar named only the six winter months. Stars were little known, but they recognized and named the Big Dipper, morning and evening stars (Beals 1933:357).

• CEREMONIES Resistance to discuss their religion, disruption, the epidemic of 1833, and reported variations in practices make detailed descriptions difficult. However, certain central systems hold true for the Nisenan nation. Gifford (1927:220-223) divided Nisenan religious ceremonies into three strata. The earliest was indigenous dances. The second stratum came from the north; all dances were performed in the dance house, indicating they were of the generic type called Kuksu or god-impersonating. The latest stratum was introduced about 1872; it was a revival of the Kuksu religion adapted to the Ghost Dance religion.

The major religious system of Central California, the Kuksu cult, appeared in varied form. Cult membership was limited to persons initiated and instructed in its esoteric rites. The disguised dancers represented spirits of deities (Heizer 1962:11-12).

Other religious ceremonies included the mourning ceremony, known as the "cry" or "second burning," an annual ritual to the dead performed in the fall (Wilson 1957-1963). In the mountains this ceremony was conducted at a traditional location away from the village. There was a central pyre or fire surrounded by a brush wall within which the dancers and mourners performed, burned property, wailed, and cried. After the ceremony, gambling, feasting, and games occurred. Little is known about the mourning ceremony of the Valley Nisenan. Accounts by early travelers note large gatherings, wailing, and faces covered with ashes.

Important dances were the Kamin Dance (*kámhin*) performed in late March for the first clover or beginning of spring; Weda (*wéda*) or Flower Dance of late April; Lole Dance (*ló·le*) in honor of the first fruits; Dape (*dáppe*) or Coyote Dance; Omwulu or Rabbit Dance; Shamans' Dance; Nemusla or Big Time (*ném húsla* 'big festival'), where people came from some distance; and Husla (*húsla* 'festival'), a local festive dance (Gifford 1927:233-238).

• SHAMANISM The Nisenan had two types of doctors or shamans, curing and religious. Both used the dance house in their performances. Curing doctors or yomuse (*yómmɨse·* pl.), had limited contact with the spirit world and could be either sex (Loeb 1933:180). They were in possession of certain charms and medicines contained in

their doctor's kit. They diagnosed by feeling, then sucked at the area of pain and removed the offending object. This could be a dead fly, a clot of blood, or a small bone or stone that was taken from the mouth, displayed, then buried immediately. A woman shaman with a good heart was often preferred to a man because she was considered less likely to use poison (Kroeber 1929:273-274). In curing, the shaman drank his "medicine" before administering it to alleviate the fear of poisoning. Shamans were paid only if they cured the patient and the amount was decided by the patient.

Doctors poisoned people by throwing pains (*sila*), by touching them with charms, or by simply letting their shadow fall on a person (Loeb 1933:181).

The Shamans' Dance was held in the spring. The sucking doctors danced around an outside fire trying to see who was the strongest or "which had the loudest voice" (Loeb 1933:180).

The religious doctor or oshpe gained control over the spirits by dreams and through esoteric experiences. He represented the supernatural and was a dominant figure in the ritual of the dance house. It was believed that a shaman could conjure up spirits and voices of the deceased.

Other specialized shamans were poison doctors, bear doctors, singing doctors, weather shamans (called *ʔáyk̓ai*, the name of the Creator), and rattlesnake doctors (Kroeber 1929:273-274; Wilson 1957-1963).

Music, Games, and Art

The most important musical technique was the human voice, individual and group. Instruments accompanied singing and were used in dances and ceremonies. These included the flute and musical bow, clapper sticks, whistles, bull-roarers, cocoon rattles, split-stick swishers, and the foot drum.

Games were part of most social gatherings and included hand and guessing games, ball games, and games of skill such as target shooting, arrow dodging, foot races, rock throwing, wrestling, and a form of stick and ball game. Agility and trickery were heartily applauded and gambling on contestants was common.

Petroglyphs are found in the foothill areas consisting of dots, lines, geometric and curvilinear forms, pecked and grooved on natural rock faces. Paint may have been used (Payen 1959:66). Other forms of art included incising on birdbone, basket designs, feathers for decoration, and the use of paint especially on ceremonial objects.

History

Early contact with the Spanish was limited to the southern edge of Nisenan territory and most knowledge came from early penetrations of Spanish into Plains Miwok territory and minor explorations across their land.

By 1776, José Canizares had explored Miwok territory. Soon after, systematic removal to the missions and resistance by Miwok occurred on the southern border of the Nisenan. In 1808 Gabriel Moraga crossed Nisenan territory. In 1813 a major battle was fought between the Spanish under Luis A. Arguello and the Miwok, near the mouth of the Cosumnes River (Cook 1960:265).

No record exists of the Nisenan being removed to the missions. They did receive escaping missionized Indians into their area, as well as pressures of displaced Miwok villages on their southern borders.

In the late 1820s American and Hudson's Bay Company trappers began trapping beaver and establishing camps in their territory. This occupation was peaceful.

In 1833, a great epidemic, believed to be malaria, swept through the Sacramento Valley (Cook 1955a:308). This sickness was disastrous to the Valley Nisenan, wiping out entire villages. Survivors retreated into the hills. It is estimated that 75 percent of the native population died in this epidemic, and only a shadow of the Valley Nisenan was left to face the settlers and gold miners who soon followed (Cook 1955a:322).

Capt. John Sutter first settled in Nisenan territory in 1839. He had few problems with the remaining Nisenan. After making alliances with the Miwok villages on the Cosumnes River, he moved them close to the fort. Through persuasion and force he soon had most of the remaining Valley Nisenan on peaceful terms.

The mountain people were little affected by the epidemic or early settlers although their lands were crossed by Whites. But with the discovery of gold, the lands of the Hill Nisenan were overrun in a period of two or three years. James Marshall discovered gold near the Nisenan village of Culloma in 1848, and soon thousands of miners were living in the area. Widespread killing, destruction of villages, and the persecution of Nisenan, called Diggers by Whites, quickly destroyed them as a viable culture.

The few surviving Nisenan lived at margins of foothill towns and found work in agriculture, logging, ranching, and domestic pursuits.

In the 1870s there was a resurgence of native culture and modified ceremonalism under the influence of the Ghost Dance revival. This movement ended in dissolution in the 1890s. By the 1930s no living Nisenan could recall the times before White contact.

In the 1960s the condition of these Indians is described by low educational attainment, high unemployment, poor housing and sanitation, a high incidence of alcoholism, violent crimes, and suicide. Many have disappeared into the mainstream of White culture through marriage and movement to new areas.

The 1960 United States census (see California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs 1966:54) reported 1,321 Indians from the counties that the Nisenan originally held as their territory but with no tribal identification. Sacramento County listed 802 Indians, of

which only three or four were known descendants of the Valley Nisenan. El Dorado, Nevada, Placer, and Yuba counties in the 1970s have several Hill Nisenan families who are descendants of the mountain people, can speak their language, and retain some knowledge of the earlier lifeways. A few people still make baskets and practice other Nisenan customs; but for all intents, the old ways are lost. Some of these people participate in pan-Indian activities and enjoy private celebrations and gambling games, and many are active in social movements and organizations to better the Indian situation in the White culture.

Synonymy

The English term Nisenan derives from their self-designation *nisena·n* 'from among us, of our side' (Uldall and Shipley 1966:86, 222). The spelling Nishinam (or Ni-shi-nam) was used by Powers (1874b:21-31, 1877:313-330), Dixon (1910b:75), Merriam (1904:914), and Kroeber (1925:391-442). Merriam (1904) also cited Nis-se-non, and Kroeber (1925) Nisinan. Merriam (1966-1967, 1:19) adds Nis'-sim Pa'-we-nan and Nis-se Pa-we-nan. Only the form Nisenan is used by Littlejohn (1928:1), Kroeber (1932a:266, 376), Wilson (1957-1963, 1970:124), and Riddell (1972:1). Faye (1923:35-57) and Gifford (1927: 214-257) called the group Southern Maidu, while Loeb (1933:140-206) called them Valley Nisenan or Southern Maidu and Beals (1933:335-413) referred to the Nisenan and Southern Maidu.

Maidu names for the Nisenan are reported as Tainkoyo, Tanko (both presumably for *tá·nkɨ* 'Hill Nisenan'), Tankum, Tan'köma (both these probably for *tɨkɨ·mmàʔa* 'Valley Nisenan') (Dixon 1905:128, 1910b; the phonemic spellings for Konkow from Russell Ultan, personal communication 1974). A Nisenan village named Tanku is located by Kroeber (1932a:268) at the mouth of the Feather River; others call this village Wo'lok.

Writers of the mid-nineteenth century often referred to the Nisenan according to the names of their villages, which was the traditional manner of self-identification by Central California Indians. Hoc (Hock, Hok), Culloma (Coloma, Culooma, Koloma), Kiske, Yuba (Uba, Yupu) are among the major villages that appear in the literature in a variety of spellings. The village most often referred to was Pusune, which according to Dixon (1910b) was a Nisenan settlement near Barnard Slough between the American and Sacramento rivers. Among the spelling variants of this name are: Pu-su'-ne, Pu-su'-na, Poosoonas, Pushune, Puzhune, Puzlumne, Pūjuni (all these in Dixon 1910b, citing original sources), and Pujune (Kroeber 1929:256). Powell's (1891:99) label Pujunan for the Maiduan linguistic family was based on Pūjuni from Hale (1846:630-632).

The derogatory term Digger is still in the 1970s sometimes used in reference to the Nisenan as well as other Central California Indians (Heizer 1974:xiv-xv).

Sources

Kroeber's (1925) general work on California is the base point for reading about the Nisenan, but other ethnographic descriptions are important (Kroeber 1929, 1932a; Faye 1923; Beals 1933). Studies of special topics include Nisenan geography (Littlejohn 1928), religious ceremonies (Gifford 1927), the Kuksu cult (Loeb 1933), and Nisenan environment and subsistence (Ritter and Schulz 1972:1-58).

Descriptions of Nisenan life after contact are provided by Bryant (1849:265-272), Buffum (1850:40-51), Delano (1854:248-320), and Cook (1943b:16). Cook (1955a:316) gives some population estimates for the contact period. Little has been written on the twentieth-century Nisenan.

Nisenan linguistics are best represented in a grammar (Uldall 1930), and in a text and dictionary (Uldall and Shipley 1966). Culture element distribution lists are most complete in Voegelin (1942:49-162).

Representative museum collections in California are found at the State Indian Museum, Sacramento; Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley; The Oakland Museum, Oakland; and the University of California, Davis. Collections are also housed at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

An extensive annotated bibliography of the Maidu containing most published and unpublished sources on all Maidu groups, including the Nisenan, with historic and ethnographic references has been compiled by Wilson and Towne (1972). Kenton's (1972) bibliography surveys Maidu archeology. These are the most complete lists of sources for the in-depth researcher on Nisenan.

Appendix 4: Ethnohistorical Synopsis by Tanis C. Thorne, Ph.D., Sept. 29, 2010.

A primary argument is made by Tsi- Akim that Nevada County is part of their "traditional" or "indigenous" territory as "Maidu" people. Don Ryberg is also the Chairperson of the Taylorsville Rancheria in Plumas County, and frequently identifies himself as such at public gatherings. Of the 40 per cent of the Tsi-Akim membership that are alleged to live within Nevada County as of the year 2000, a substantial number are members of the Ryberg family, all with roots in the Taylorsville community. The scholarly consensus is that the "Nisenan" were the indigenous people to occupy the Sierra foothills of the American, Bear, and Yuba River watersheds in present-day Nevada County.

Much public confusion stems from a misunderstanding of the distinction between the Northern Maidu language originally spoken by Plumas County's indigenous people and the Nisenan language spoken by the indigenous peoples of Nevada County. Confusion also arises in confusing these pre-contact linguistic groups as political entities or "tribes," which they were not.

The Maidu and the Nisenan are sub-groups of a larger Maiduan language group that in turn is a subgroup of the larger California Penutian linguistic group (that includes Miwoks and Yokuts and Wintus, etc), according to the authoritative Handbook of North American Indians.[1] The Konkow, Michoopda, Nisenan, and Maidu were separate "speech communities" that sprung from a common root, called "proto-Maidu" deep in the past. On maps of California culture areas, the "Nisenan" and "Maidu" sub-groups are defined as distinct and separate territories. [Refer to App. 2]

Nisenan (sometimes referred to as "southern Maidu") simply translates as "the people"-- or as Indian informants said, "Indian people." The area within the Nisenan linguistic sub-group is further sub-divided into groups speaking mutually incomprehensible dialects of Nisenan. Kroeber (1925) defined these as Northern Hill, Southern Hill, and Valley. Scholar Sheri Tatsch in a recent Ph.D. thesis, further refines the boundaries of these separate dialects and argues that the Colfax-Auburn-Clipper Gap Indians of historic times spoke one-dialect, and the people of Grass Valley-Nevada City-Downieville spoke another. She calls the latter "Nisem k'auwak'" ("relatives of this place"). Tatsch agrees with others who have argued that dialect or district boundaries were defined by the ridges going in a generally east-west direction separating the deep canyons of the large rivers: the American, Bear, Yuba, and Feather.[2] Naming different geographical features and villages in one's own mother tongue was a form of claiming sovereignty over the landscape and its resources. Over 100 pre- and early contact Indian towns (rancherias)-- each politically separate--are identified in the Nisenan territory alone in the Handbook.[3] Commenting on the linguistic diversity of California with at minimum eighty to one

[1] Norman L. Wilson and Orlean H. Towne, "Nisenan," Volume 8, ed. Robert Heizer (1978) pp. 387-397.
[2] Sheri Jean Tatsch, "The Nisenan: Dialects and Districts of a Speech Community (UC Davis, Native American Studies, 2006).
[3] Norman L. Wilson and Orlean H. Towne, "Nisenan," Volume 8, ed. Robert Heizer (1978) pp. 387-397.

hundred "distinct languages [Nisenan being distinct from Maidu, see Appendix 2, Map 2]," scholar Herbert Luthin writes, "Each language reflects a cultural division too."[4]

The confusion and controversy arise from this semantical distinction: Nisenan are part of a larger Maidu-speaking parent group, but they are distinct from the Plumas County "Maidu" (as a sub-dialect set of the parent Maidu) as well as the Konkow of Yuba County (another sub-group of the parent Maidu.)

To illustrate this crucial difference, the Tsi-Akim is correct at one level of analysis when they say Nevada County is part of traditional "Maidu" territory, much like an Italian saying his ancestors are indigenous to Europe for thousands of years and Europe is their "traditional" land. However, at another level of analysis, the Tsi-Akim's statement is incorrect; it is as wrong for Plumas County Northern Maidu to claim Nevada County as their "traditional" territory as it would be for a modern-day German to say Italy are lands where their ancestors are buried. The general nature of the statement therefore is impossible to prove or disprove because it is very general and subject to interpretation. Important questions the public should ask are: What proportion of the Tsi-Akim can document their lineage to Maidu ancestors, and how many, if any, can trace their ancestry to indigenous peoples of the historic era known to have lived in Nevada County? It is not enough to simply imply that Tsi-Akim's ancestors are buried here; tangible evidence must be supplied. Without such evidence of direct descent, public policy decisions may favor the Tsi-Akim (as in an appointment to an Indian cemetery committee or donations of land or artifacts), overlooking the rightful "direct descendants." Since the NCHS has not been supplied with any such documentary evidence linking the Tsi-Akim's current membership and their direct lineal ancestors (parents/grandparents/great-parents) to historic occupancy in the historic period since the Gold Rush, we cannot evaluate its truth or falsehood of this implication.

What is seriously misleading is the identification of Ryberg as "current Chief of the Maidus" (as recorded in the NCHS Board of Directors' minutes of November 2, 2000. Ryberg's statement in his letter of Oct. 30, 2000, "The Tsi-Akim Maidu have been trying for 150 years to gain recognition" is also a misconstruction of the historical and anthropological record, for it implies a political organization of people extending over the thirteen counties, from which Tsi-Akim currently draws membership. "Tsi-Akim" was not politically organized 150 years ago, and has maintained no imaginary political cohesion, a stable membership, or joint purpose (under this or any other name) that can be demonstrated through evidence. Further, the Plumas County community of Taylorsville of which Ryberg and other current members of the Tsi-Akim community was federally recognized in the for a 30 or 40 year period in the 20th century; as Ryberg's family/tribe in Taylorsville had federal recognition for a considerable length of time, they had no reason to seek it.

Historical Contact:

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[4] Herbert W. Luthin, ed. Surviving Through the Days: A California Indian Reader (UC Press, 2002), p. 545

Once colonization by non-Europeans commenced, these indigenous place names (like Wau'kau dok for the rancheria west of Nevada City and Oustomah for the rancheria where Nevada City now stands) were replaced by American names, and thus Native names were erased along with Native claims to sovereignty. By claiming Nisenan territory as their own, the Plumas County Maidu, are engaging in a similar kind of erasure. This is an erasure of the rightful claims of the current residents of Nevada County, who trace their genealogical connections directly to the people of the Wau'kau dok community, who are not members of the Tsi-Akim tribe. The Wau-kau dok village persisted into mid-20th century (albeit only with a handful of residents) and became the federally-recognized Nevada City rancheria in 1913.

The Tsi Akim is engaging in an erasure of over 100 years of scholarship by Steven Powers, Alfred Kroeber, Hugh Littlejohn, C. Hart, Merriam, Hans Uldall, William Shipley, Ralph Beals, John P. Harrington, Richard Smith, and many, many others. (See Appendix 3 for a short annotated bibliography prepared by emeritus professor Jerald Johnson of California State University, Sacramento.) These scholars may disagree upon the nature of political organization in Nisenan territory, the boundaries of dialect groups, and the extent of trade, intermarriage, or resource sharing, but they all agree that Nisenan and Maidu territories are distinct and separate--though at some time, perhaps a thousand years earlier, they had a common parent language. These scholars' voluminous research is based upon interviews with such members of the Nevada City campoodie (aka Wau'kau dok) as Old Betsy, Dick Jaimie, Dick Childs, and Louis Kelly as well as Lizzie and Ed Enos of Clipper Gap and George Nye of Dobbins.

Tragically, the Native California Indian population rapidly collapsed after contact. The foothill population may have decreased by 75% in the 19th century, according to demographer Sherburne Cook, necessitating the abandonment of most pre-contact villages and the consolidation of the survivors. Doris Foley of the NCHS documented many such small communities in Nevada County in the late 19th century, but the number steadily decreased into the 20th century either because of population decline or assimilation into the large population through marriage or residential change. Special Investigator C.E. Kelsey provided one of the first censuses of the Indians of northern California in 1906. One of these communities of Native Americans he identified was the campoodie outside Nevada City, which became a refuge for some of the surviving local Indians like well-known Betsy Westerfield, born at Oustomah around 1850. Population decline, forced deportation, migrant labor patterns all disrupted traditional indigenous culture. "We had become a few little bands of people huddled here and there in what had once been our country," writes Pomo Essie Allen [born 1899], "fighting to stay alive by working for the ranchers usually at sheepshearing or wood chopping and in the hopfields."[5] California Indians sought employment as laborers in mining, lumber, and agriculture (while continuing to gather wild foods like acorns insofar as this was possible) and joining together for ceremonies in larger groups. Thus, people speaking many different dialects of the Penutian language family interacted and intermarried and formed new families and communities; people from the Colfax and Nevada City Indian communities intermarried, for example. Nisenan-speakers also mixed with Miwoks,

[5] Pomo Basketmaking (Happy Camp, CA: Naturegraph Publ. 1972), p. 7.

Washos, Wintuns, and Hawaiians (as well as non-Indians) in the latter half of the 19th and early to mid 20th centuries.

In 1913, the federal government took the Cully homestead into federal trust status, acknowledging the Nevada City rancheria as a "reservation" and its inhabitants as "Indians" under federal protection. The Taylorsville Rancheria in Plumas county also received federal trust protection following Special Agent C.E. Kelsey's recommendations. However, both rancherias were terminated along with many other tribes subsequent to the passage of the California Rancheria Act of 1958 and Public Law 108 (1953) as federal government policy shifted to termination after World War II. The Johnson family of the Nevada City Rancheria received the revenue once the reservation land was sold (but none of the members of the Louis Kelly family received money from the land sale). [6] Because most of the northern California Indian reservations regained federal recognition subsequent to the Tillie Hardwick class action suit (save four, one of which was the Nevada City rancheria), the reorganized Nevada City Rancheria "tribe" has court action available to them for re-recognition. The United Auburn Rancheria, after litigation, regained federal recognition with Congressional legislation, combined with judicial action, in the early 2000 and commenced a very lucrative gaming operation with their Thunder Mountain casino.

The Taylorsville rancheria also was terminated, but because no one was living on that rancheria, the BIA could find no distributees for the money from the sale. The land there was sold and privatized, leaving the Taylorsville people without trust land, but in a kind of legal limbo (viz: no trust land, but not technically "terminated" from the federal trust relationship as a "tribe").

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[6] Tanis Thorne, The Campoodie of Nevada City: The Story of a Rancheria, (Sansouci Publications, 1997).