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# The 1870 Ghost Dance and the Methodists: An Unexpected Turn of Events in Round Valley<sup>1</sup>

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In 1939, Cora DuBois published the most extensive study to date of the 1870 Ghost Dance, which originated among the Northern Paiute Indians of Nevada and spread westward into Oregon and California.<sup>2</sup> Using data gathered principally from field interviews, DuBois reconstructed the complicated series of cults which comprised the Ghost Dance movement as it spread. The cult series varied from area to area as local embellishments were added and original tenets of the basic Ghost Dance cult modified, while the cults in any one area formed more of a continuum of religious waves than a discrete series of religious movements which could be neatly blocked off with beginning and ending points. DuBois pointed out that as these waves progressed, the doctrine associated with each became increasingly pro-white and pro-Christian, thereby paving the way among the Indians for acceptance of the Christian religion.

As DuBois reconstructed the general 1870 Ghost Dance movement, the original doctrine promoting return of the dead originated among the Paviotso of Walker Lake, Nevada, about 1869. The doctrine began to diffuse westward in 1871, and, once underway, spread quite rapidly. There were two strands of diffusion: the first, and less important to us here, took the doctrine across Northeast and

North Central California into Oregon before taking a jog to coastal tribes in extreme Northwest California. The second strand of diffusion went into California via the Achomawi and Northern Yana Indians to the Wintun and Hill Patwin. Here a new cult, the Earth Lodge Cult, developed out of the original Ghost Dance doctrine. An early phase of this cult retained the element of dancing to see the dead, but the second and more prominent phase emphasized the approaching end of the world. Only Earth Lodge Cult members would survive this catastrophe, protected by remaining inside subterranean earth lodges (dance houses) built specially for the purpose. The Earth Lodge Cult passed from the Hill Patwin to the Pomo around the beginning of 1872, where it rapidly gained a great number of followers.

Following DuBois' reconstruction further, almost immediately after the Earth Lodge Cult was introduced, and certainly before the end of 1872, another cult, the Bole-Marú Cult, developed among the Patwin and Pomo Indians. The Bole-Marú abandoned the idea of world destruction and stressed instead concepts of an afterlife and an anthropomorphic Supreme Being. The cult was also characterized by local "dreamers" who received from supernatural revelations instructions for

special dances, dance costumes, and other paraphernalia. Because of some obvious resemblances to Christianity of the Bole-Marutenets, DuBois (1939:1-2) pointed out that acceptance of the cult helped predispose many Indians to accept Christianity.

In the Coast Range of Northern California, DuBois mentioned yet another cult in the Ghost Dance continuum, the Big Head Cult, so called because of the large feather headdresses worn by its members for dances. This cult apparently developed from the Bole-Maruru Cult in Pomo territory, but DuBois (1939: 129) admitted that the date of its origin was problematical.<sup>3</sup>

DuBois gathered most of the data for her reconstruction of the Ghost Dance movement from field interviews with Indians in Nevada, California, and Oregon. At the Round Valley Reservation in Northern California, she talked with five Yuki Indians and one Wailaki, while several Pomo living off the reservation were also able to contribute information on developments there. For the most part, these individuals were not yet born or were quite young when the actual events of the Ghost Dance took place in the 1870's. From the interviews, DuBois concluded that two Ghost Dance cults, the early manifestation of the Earth Lodge Cult (which featured dancing to see the dead),<sup>4</sup> and the Big Head Cult, had passed through the Round Valley area. The first was brought from the Sacramento Valley by a Salt Pomo Indian named Santiago McDaniel, while the second came to Round Valley via the Kato Indians of Long Valley. Of the two cults, DuBois (1939:108) was "inclined to assume" that the Big Head Cult was the more important, because she seemed to get more complete informants' accounts of it. However, disagreement among her informants did not allow her to assign dates to the cults or even to be sure which cult came first, although once again, DuBois (1939:105) was "inclined to believe" the Earth Lodge Cult was first.

Additionally, puzzling and irreconcilable with DuBois' informants' accounts was a statement made by the Indian agent at Round Valley in 1874, referring to native religious teachers bringing about "a remarkable change in character and life of nearly the whole tribe . . . in the renouncing, not only of their pagan customs and beliefs, but the vices of gambling, swearing, drinking, etc."<sup>5</sup> And finally, although DuBois presented evidence for Bole-Maruru activities among the tribes on the Round Valley Reservation, informants' accounts did not allow her to assign any firm date to their beginning. In all, DuBois (1939:108) concluded about her reconstruction of the Ghost Dance movement in Round Valley, "more material . . . [from] Round Valley would be desirable . . . on the whole, the data procured were confused and unsatisfactory." And here the situation stood for thirty years.

Recent research in the various files and correspondence of the Round Valley Reservation agents for the decade of the 1870's has shed additional light on the Ghost Dance movement during this time. The information uncovered fills in some gaps, presents some surprises, and reveals a much more complicated situation than DuBois was able to describe for the area. An outline of events relating to the 1870 Ghost Dance movement as recorded by the Round Valley Indian agents follows.

First, we see that doctrines associated with both phases of the Earth Lodge Cult reached Round Valley. DuBois (1939:105ff.) has presented evidence for the first phase; evidence for the second phase comes from the reservation agent's monthly reports and is precisely dated for us. In March and April of 1872, the agent routinely described the Indians beginning their usual garden preparations for the year, but then in May he reported:

No land whatever has been cultivated by individual Indians [this month]. By some means they have all become convinced that

the world is to end during the month of August next and following the idea to its natural conclusion, they refuse to make any provision for their support.<sup>6</sup>

And the Indians' commitment to this Earth Lodge Cult notion persisted through most of the summer, since the Indians spent their time dancing. In September, 1872, the agent again referred to the Indians' activities:

Early in the Spring the Indians commenced preparations for planting extensively and had they persevered would doubtless have raised large quantities of corn and vegetables. But a report was circulated among all the Indians in this part of the State, the substance of which was that the world would end in the ensuing August and that they need do nothing but dance and so prepare themselves for a transfer to the "happy hunting grounds." They evinced their faith in the report by refusing to make any provision for their support after the set time, neglecting their gardens both on and off the Reservation and only worked either to supply present necessities or as they were required to do so. No reasoning availed anything with them and the result is that they have no produce of their own. Many of them see the folly of their course and will not be apt to again throw away their prospects for a crop on the strength of an idle rumor.<sup>7</sup>

The Round Valley Indian agent during this time was Hugh Gibson, a retired Methodist minister appointed under President Grant's Peace Policy. Reservation records reveal Gibson as a meek individual plagued with ill health during his tenure as agent; perhaps for this reason, he seems to have been rather tolerant of the Indians' activities in the situation. However, Gibson was replaced in October, 1872, by another Methodist minister, John L. Burchard, an aggressive individual with his own strong ideas about what was good for Indians. While Burchard's reports contain no further mention of Earth Lodge Cult activities, they do frequently express com-

plaints of the Indians dancing, both on and off the reservation. Since the dancing interfered with his own proselytizing activities as well as with his attempts to "civilize" the Indians, Burchard banned dancehouses from the reservation and ordered the Indians to burn their dance costumes and regalia. But of course, reservation Indians who wished to continue dancing had only to slip off to visit Indian friends who lived on private ranches in the valley and who were allowed to maintain dancehouses. Visiting Indian "preachers" in Round Valley had to preach either in those off-reservation dancehouses or in secret on the reservation.

The dancing which so annoyed Agent Burchard went on through 1873. All the intense dancing and the mention of costumes fit well DuBois' description of Bole-Marú Cult activities, which featured "dreamers" with their use of flags, costumes, and special dances. Admittedly, the agent's reports contain no specific descriptions of these, understandable because the Indians knew of his disapproval and tried to hide their dances from him. Similarly, the agent's reports do not refer to any beliefs held by the Indians of an anthropomorphic Supreme Being or of an afterlife for those who led exemplary lives on earth, but again, knowing the agent's views, it is unlikely that any of the Indians would discuss with him their religious cult activities. But if we accept the dancing during the latter part of 1872 and throughout 1873 as Bole-Marú Cult activities, then we may accept that Bole-Marú doctrine accompanied it. We should also bear in mind that during this time as well, the agent's Sunday sermons to the Indians urged on them Christian religious dogma, including, of course, the notions of a single Supreme Being and an afterlife.

Suddenly in February of 1874, Agent Burchard reported a surprising turn of events in his monthly report:

... the most extraordinary work of Saving

grace ever known on this coast is now being displayed amongst the Indians. Four Hundred & Ninety have joined the church, one Hundred of them having been baptized in the Christian faith. Very many of them give bright evidence of genuine conversion praying, and talking with an intelligence that astonishes and confounds us all, beyond measure.<sup>8</sup>

And this Great Revival, as Burchard regarded it, was just beginning. Indians continued to join the church, so that by April, Burchard could report:

The moral and religious condition of the Indians was never so good. Some 850 have united with the church and over 700 have been baptized. The Sabbath schools, weeknight prayer & social meetings, and the public preaching of the Gospel are well attended with anxious and inquiring listeners . . . every sabbath our school houses are crowded, many sitting on the floor, not being able to obtain seats. Not an oath have I heard, nor seen an Indian drunk, nor known of a quarrel or fight for the last three months, and not one has had to be punished for disobedience or other fault.<sup>9</sup>

But Agent Burchard didn't realize what had caused this revival among the Indians. He naturally interpreted it as the result of his own inspired preaching. Either not knowing or not choosing to acknowledge any Ghost Dance cult activities or any other forces which could have been influencing the Indians, he said of the transition in them, "This is the best fruit of the Peace Policy of President U.S. Grant!"<sup>10</sup>

Indians of all tribes on the reservation continued to join the church so that within a few more months, Burchard could report that almost literally every Indian on the reservation was a baptized Methodist. In September, 1874, he said of the 974 Indians in the Round Valley agency:

Nine hundred and thirty-one Indians and half-breeds on and near the reserve have been admitted into the church on probation, (as is the custom of the Methodist

Episcopal Church,) sixty-three of whom have, upon examination of Christian character, been admitted into full connection as church-members.<sup>11</sup>

Dancing, gambling, quarreling, prostitution, and general "debauchery" among the Indians all stopped; with the consequent improved sanitary conditions, general health among the Indians also improved so that the incidence of venereal disease decreased and the number of live births began to show an increase. Indians sometimes held midweek religious meetings in their own houses. Some Indian couples asked to be married in the church. As the religious fervor remained at a feverish pitch, Agent Burchard licensed six "earnest Christian Indians" as lay preachers in 1874;<sup>12</sup> the following year, he licensed another five.<sup>13</sup>

According to the reservation records, the religious fervor remained at this peak almost a year. Early in 1875, Burchard must have begun to fear for backsliders among his charges when he requested the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to require that all Indians in Round Valley move onto the reservation, justifying his request by pointing out that the off-reservation Indians with their dance houses served as a lure for the Christian Indians and exercised, as Burchard put it, "a very deleterious influence over many of the Indians who started well to lead a Christian life."<sup>14</sup> This dancing may well have been a part of the Bole-Marú Cult activities which commenced in 1872 and which apparently were kept up throughout the Great Revival by a few Indians. Or, the dances might also have been a part of the Big Head Cult activities, which, according to one Yuki informant of DuBois, were held in a sweat-house just off the reservation around this time (DuBois 1939:120).

After 1876, the Round Valley agent's reports no longer cite actual numbers of church-going Indians on the reservation, although the agent remained optimistic about the prospects of civilizing the Indians through

Christianity. It is noteworthy that the Methodist Church leaders in 1876 were concerned enough about the religious situation in Round Valley to appoint an additional missionary for the Indians there. But despite all efforts, after another year had passed, Agent Burchard was forced to concede that:

... a reaction has taken place. Scores are lost to the church—lost all their interest therein—and I fear will be forever lost.<sup>15</sup>

And in 1878, when the next agent, still another Methodist minister and the last "Peace Policy" agent, arrived to take charge of the reservation, he observed that at most there were only twenty "Christian Indians" to be found there.<sup>16</sup>

After 1884, Indian agents at Round Valley were again political appointees; their reports contain only occasional references to the Indians' dancing. Probably this is because the politically-appointed agents did not see converting the Indians to Christianity as part of their duties, and so allowed the dancing as long as it did not interfere significantly with reservation routine.<sup>17</sup> Relevant data on the 1870 Ghost Dance and its derivative cults disappear from the Round Valley Reservation records entirely after 1886. Coincidentally, it is almost exactly to this time that DuBois' Round Valley informants' accounts date, with a Yuki Indian's description of Jeff Davis, a Bole-Marú dreamer who began dancing about 1887.

How may we draw together all these diverse data to form a coherent account of events in Round Valley for the 1870's? So far, from archival evidence, we have firmly established May, 1872, as the time of the arrival of Earth Lodge Cult doctrine in Round Valley. DuBois had hypothesized that only the early phase of this cult, stressing dancing back the dead, passed through Round Valley, while our archival evidence definitely establishes that the Earth Lodge doctrine stressing the end of the world was also prominent. Shedding more light on this, Foster inquired among the Round Valley Yuki Indians in 1937 about the

1870 Ghost Dance movement and was told that:

Power to drive out the whites and a return of the land to the Indians, coupled with promises of great wealth, were the cardinal points of the doctrine. A return of the dead, or at least an opportunity to see the deceased, was evidently of lesser importance [Foster 1944:219].

Statements from the reservation records cited above agree with Foster. Considering these statements in combination with statements made by DuBois' informants, it appears that the Earth Lodge doctrine in Round Valley could more properly be considered as a single cluster of ideas essentially arriving simultaneously, and not readily separable into two or more phases. Additional evidence for this comes from the statement of a Pomo Indian who was one of about 1,000 Pomo removed to Round Valley Reservation in May, 1872, after the Pomo's Earth Lodge prophecies of the end of the world failed to materialize and they began to annoy neighboring white ranchers. The informant said, "When we went up to Round Valley, the Yuki had already heard the word [about the approaching end of the world]. Someone from the Sacramento Valley had brought the message to them" (DuBois 1939:90). The most likely "someone" referred to is one Santiago McDaniel, a Salt Pomo from Stonyford whose activities in Round Valley DuBois (1939:105ff.) discussed, but only in connection with the idea of dancing back the dead. To the Pomo, the two ideas appear to have been closely connected.

Going further, archival evidence supports DuBois' hypothesis that the Bole-Marú Cult developed very shortly after the Earth Lodge Cult; Agent Burchard's complaints of the Indians' fervent costumed dancing and general carrying-on during late 1872 and through 1873, and even for the years after that, are easily interpreted as complaints of Bole-Marú practices. Unfortunately, the archival evidence

makes no reference to any dancing which could be definitely identified as Big Head Cult activities as opposed to Bole-Marú activities, although we know that both cults occurred about the same time in Round Valley. One reason for this lack of differentiation could be that the agents did not discriminate among Indian dances. But another reason could be that the Big Head Cult took hold most strongly among the Wailaki Indians who, although formally registered at the Round Valley Agency, in reality shunned the reservation as much as possible and stayed in the mountains north of the valley, where they had lived before whites came to the area. Supporting this is the fact that it was from the Wailaki that DuBois received the best accounts of the Big Head Cult. If the cult did catch hold most strongly among the Wailaki, then the Round Valley agents may never have seen a Big Head dance and so had no opportunity to comment on it. Conversely, from the lack of information DuBois obtained from Indians of other tribes in Round Valley, these other tribes appear to have been less influenced by the Big Head Cult. For example, the Yuki Indians, in whose aboriginal territory the reservation was established and who were one of the most numerous of tribes on the reservation, apparently never embraced the Big Head Cult to any degree. This could be due to general skepticism on the part of the Yuki toward the Ghost Dance movement and its promises (Foster 1944:219), despite the fact that the cultural decay experienced by the Yuki was at least equal to that of surrounding tribes, including the Wailaki, and despite the fact that the fraction of their aboriginal territory occupied by the Yuki at the time was overrun by whites and Indians of other tribes. But there is also evidence that aboriginal religious beliefs may have been influential in the tribe's rejection of the Big Head Cult. As one of DuBois' Yuki informants said: "The Yuki had their [aboriginal] god, Taikomol, who had a big feather

horn, and they didn't like to represent him in that way. It was like mocking Taikomol" (DuBois 1939:119).<sup>18</sup> At any rate, the apparent differential acceptance of the Big Head Cult by the Round Valley tribes leaves us unable to clarify the timing of the cult, and in view of this, there is no reason not to agree with DuBois that it almost entirely did follow the Earth Lodge Cult.

Up to this point, we have considered the evidence for the Ghost Dance movement cults in the Round Valley area as mentioned by DuBois' informants. None of these informants made any mention of a Great Methodist Revival in Round Valley, whereas the archival evidence for such a revival now forces us to explain the Indians' apparent instantaneous acceptance of Methodist doctrine at a time when the 1870 Ghost Dance cults were rampant in surrounding areas. On the other reservations in California, no such acceptance of Christianity took place. Undoubtedly the Bole-Marú doctrine prominent in 1873 resembled the preachings that the Methodist agent urged on the Indians at the same time. Why did the Indians choose to embrace Methodism over their native preachers' teachings?

For a complete answer to this question, we must look at the general situation of the Indians on the Round Valley Reservation in the early 1870's, especially with regard to land. When the United States Government decided in 1856 to establish an Indian Reservation in Round Valley, it formally declared the entire valley set aside for Indians. However, the lush environment of the remote mountain valley soon attracted white ranchers who moved in with huge cattle herds. These men disregarded government proclamations and settled in the southern half of the valley, taking over what was officially reservation land. Despite years of protests to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington from the reservation agents about the crowded valley situation and

the hardships it posed for the Indians, the government made only feeble attempts to remove the squatter-ranchers. These attempts were handily defeated first in the California courts by shrewd lawyers hired by the increasingly wealthy settlers, and then at the Congressional level in Washington by Congressmen influenced by the settlers' lobbyists.<sup>19</sup> In the meantime, living conditions were trying indeed for the native residents of the reservation. Food, particularly meat, was always in short supply, but the Indians risked their lives when they ventured off the reservation lands to hunt or even to gather acorns, for fear of being shot by white ranchers who attached no value to an Indian's life. Further, as if the settlers and their herds did not detract sufficiently from the living conditions, the government itself had already created a difficult situation by bringing onto the reservation remnants of a number of Northern California Indian tribes. Maidu, Wintun, Wailaki, Huchnom, Pit River, and Pomo Indians, in addition to the resident Yuki, were all crowded together; typically, some of these tribes were traditional enemies.

For years, all the reservation Indians had been promised that the government would "soon" evict the whites and then issue the reservation land to the Indians in the form of individual plots of ground. And indeed, since at least 1863, a number of the younger Indians in Round Valley had been eagerly anticipating that day. Their hopes were greatly boosted in March of 1873, when the United States Congress passed an important land bill which redefined the reservation boundaries to give the settlers legal title to much of the valley land they already occupied, while at the same time the bill extended the reservation's holdings in the mountains north of the valley. This bill had given both the Indians and the agent hope that a final land settlement was in view and that the Indians could be allotted their individual plots of farmland. Further encouragement followed that summer, when a government commission

arrived in the valley to carry out the land survey of the reservation. Excitement among the Indians peaked toward the end of 1873 as the prospect of individual plots of land grew closer to reality. It was in the midst of this land excitement that the Great Revival suddenly took hold in February, 1874. As a later agent interpreted the chain of events:

[The Indians] were promised by [the] Commissioner, inspectors, and the agent that if they were "good," [the] Government would soon give each of them a piece of land. In the revival meetings [conducted by the Methodist agent] they were exhorted to become good, and in their minds becoming good became connected with getting land; and as all wanted lands, they *became good*—i.e., joined the church . . . The large part, however, when they saw that their religion did not bring the land they sought, became discouraged, and gave up even the semblance of religion . . .<sup>20</sup>

What we see in Round Valley, then, is a complicated series of political events fortuitously occurring contemporaneously with the cults comprising the 1870 Ghost Dance movement. Only when we are familiar with all the forces acting on the Indians at the time can we fit these events into a coherent sequence. This sequence may be summarized as follows:

(1) From the Sacramento Valley, a Salt Pomo Indian named Santiago McDaniel brought the Ghost Dance notion of dancing to see the dead. This probably occurred early in 1872.

(2) Very soon afterward, if not simultaneously, the Earth Lodge Cult doctrine forecasting the end of the world came to the Round Valley Indians; possibly McDaniel brought this as well. This doctrine definitely arrived in Round Valley in May, 1872, and ran its course by the end of the summer.

(3) By the end of 1872, evidences of the Bole-Marú Cult were apparent in the valley, in the form of intense dancing and special dance costumes. This dancing continued at least



through 1873 and probably merged with the dancing of the Big Head Cult in 1873 or 1874.

(4) Long-promised individual allotments of land for the reservation Indians appeared to be imminently fulfilled in the summer of 1873, while the Indians were urged by their agent to accept Christianity as a means of demonstrating their good faith and ensuring the land allotments. This pressure, perhaps ideologically reinforced by prior acceptance of Bole-Marú tenets, brought about the Great Revival which began in February, 1874.

(5) But the promises of land remained only promises and as this became apparent to the Indians, the Great Revival crested and began to crumble within a year.

(6) Most Indians fell away from the Methodist Church by 1877, some to return to various forms of Bole-Marú Cult dances, which persisted into the 1900's, and probably others to remain alienated from both Christian and native religions.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to reconstructing the sequence and dates of the Ghost Dance cults in Round Valley, I have shown that the cults did not find uniform acceptance among all the tribes in the area, with the example of the Yuki's apparent rejection of the Big Head Cult and the Wailaki's acceptance of the same cult. In this instance, the influence of aboriginal religious beliefs rather than differing amounts of cultural decay or land-base retention between the tribes seems to have been the determining factor in acceptance or rejection. Additionally, through archival evidence, we have increased the significance of the Earth Lodge Cult and the Bole-Marú Cult in Round Valley in proportion to the Big Head Cult which DuBois had speculated was the most significant cult in the area. Overall, DuBois' statement that the cults comprising the 1870 Ghost Dance movement in California gradually shifted from an anti-white emphasis to an acceptance of white values and religion remains true in the Round Valley area. Doubtless this acceptance was

hastened somewhat by the Great Revival of 1874, when most of the Indians at least outwardly embraced Christianity.

The fact that none of her Indian informants at Round Valley volunteered information about the Great Revival points up one of the difficulties of "salvage ethnohistory" fieldwork—simply that the fieldworker is at the mercy of the memories of people trying to describe relatively short-lived, non-repetitive events which took place more than half a century previous. This is not to condemn field interviews in historical work, but to emphasize once again the need to seek out and examine all relevant material in the total context possible, which in this case includes the context provided by archival research.

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## NOTES

1. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Seventy-third Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Mexico City, 1974.

2. While DuBois' study considers only the Ghost Dance movement as it originated in 1870 in Nevada, Spier (1935) has pointed out that the stimulus for this movement probably originated in a Christianized version of an aboriginal dance among the tribes of the Northwest.

3. To avoid confusion, it should be noted that the Big Head Cult as discussed by DuBois was valid for the 1870's and has since become extinct, while a Big Head dance continues today in Pomo Marú religion (see DuBois 1939: 126-127; Meighan and Riddell 1972:25ff.)

4. It is interesting that DuBois and others, in describing the early Ghost Dance doctrine, use the phrase "to bring back" the dead, whereas the Indians in Round Valley cited by DuBois use the phrase "to see the dead" (see DuBois 1939: 1-2, 105-106).

5. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874:73, quoted by DuBois (1939:107).

6. Gibson to Walker, May 31, 1872. Letter Book II

of Outgoing Correspondence from the Round Valley Indian Reservation, p. 63. (Letter Books hereafter cited LB II: 63, etc.)

7. Gibson to Walker, Sept. 2, 1872. LB II: 78.
8. Burchard to Smith, Feb. 28 1874. LB II: 161.
9. Burchard to Smith, April 30, 1874. LB II: 176-177.
10. Burchard to Smith, April 30, 1874. LB II: 176-177.
11. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874:314.
12. It is to these native lay preachers in the Methodist Church that DuBois' quote (p.107) taken from the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1874 properly refers, and not to any leaders of Ghost Dance Cult activities.
13. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1875:227.
14. Burchard to Smith, Mar. 31, 1875. LB II: 267.
15. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1877:41
16. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1878:12.
17. The strongest such reference to the Indians' dancing came in 1886, when the Round Valley agent fired a white reservation employee, saying of him: "He is *one* of the most degraded creatures in the State . . . visiting the Indian camps in an intoxicated condition, and getting the Indians drunk, dance [sic] with them all night, and on some occasions the whole party in a perfectly *nude* condition" (Willsey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June, 24, 1886. LB VII:10-11).
18. Unfortunately, DuBois interviewed only Yuki and Wailaki Indians in Round Valley on the subject of the Big Head Cult, and so missed any additional information that other tribes on the reservation might have been able to contribute.
19. The history of the Round Valley land struggle has been treated at length by Miller (1973).
20. Sheldon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *in* Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1883:18.
21. The next significant religious resurgence came when the Pentecostal Church became active in Round Valley sometime in the 1920's, drawing converts particularly from the Yuki Indians; the Round Valley Indians today attribute this to the emotional appeal of the church. DuBois (p. 2) also

points out that Indians involved in the Ghost Dance cults were subsequently drawn to the Pentecostal Church.

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