

# THE TOLOWA AND THEIR SOUTHWEST OREGON KIN

BY  
PHILIP DRUCKER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN  
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY  
Volume 36, No. 4, pp. 221-300, 2 figures in text, 3 maps

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA  
1937

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Issued October 22, 1937

Price, \$1.00

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON, ENGLAND

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## PREFACE

THE MATERIAL given in this paper represents the results of a summer's field work at Smith river, California, in 1933, and of a summer spent with the survivors of Nadéné-speaking groups at Siletz reservation in Oregon in 1934. The work was financed by the University of California.

The culture of these people exists in memory only. Whatever approach to completeness this paper may have is a result of the coöperation of the people who assisted me: George White and Jennie Scott, both of Lake Earl, California; Henry Johnson, of Smith river, California; Lucy Dick, of Chetco river, Oregon; Abe Logan, of Rogue river, Oregon; Coquille Thompson and Nellie Lane, of Coquille river, Oregon. A number of other people gave information on subjects of which they had special knowledge.

Mr. H. G. Barnett has been kind enough to place at my disposal a large body of material on the Galice creek group, and also data from Chetco and Sixes river. I present this briefly to round out the picture. Dr. Cora Du Bois has allowed me to make use of her notes on Lower Rogue river ("Tututni") culture.<sup>1</sup> I am also indebted to Dr. Melville Jacobs and to Mr. Verne Ray, both of the University of Washington, for permitting me to use their notes and manuscripts on neighboring people for comparative purposes.

A word may be said here about the form of presentation of my material. Fuller data were obtained from the southernmost of these Athabascans, who have remained in their original territory and have survived in greater numbers than their Oregonian kin. Their culture, therefore, will be described first; then there will follow brief sketches of the other groups. It is not necessary to give detailed accounts of these latter cultures, for Mr. Barnett's copious lists of the culture elements of these people are soon to appear.

The usual symbols are used in writing native terms. *x* represents a sound which may be a combination of *xr*. There is a sound intermediate between *u* and *e*, whose value varies in the different dialects, and even with different speakers of the same dialect, which I have written as *u*.

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<sup>1</sup> The source of this material is indicated by (DB).

## INTRODUCTION

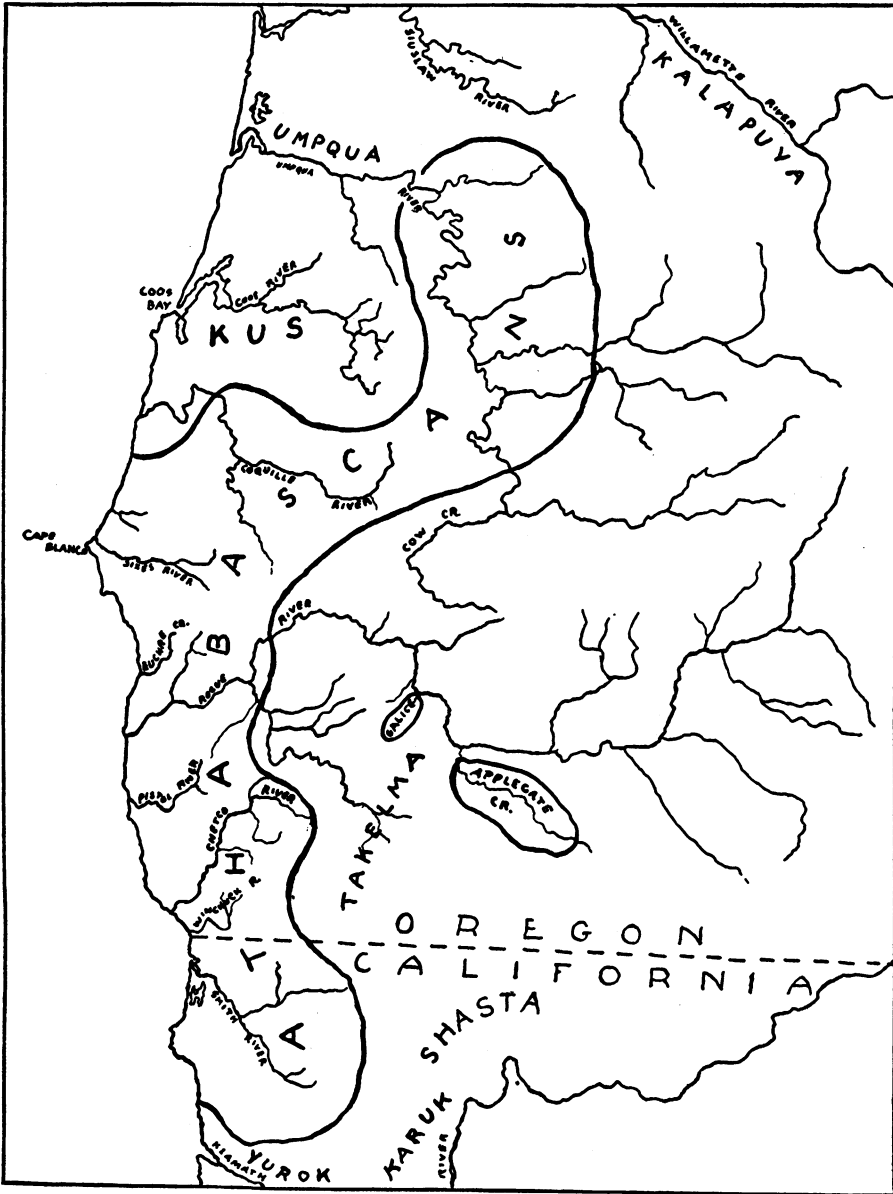
In southwestern Oregon and the northwesternmost tip of California lived a people speaking an Athabaskan language and sharing in an essentially common culture. Their villages were scattered along the coast, usually at the mouths of streams, from Crescent bay northward to Sixes river and inland along the larger waterways. Above Sixes river they were cut off from the coast by alien people, holding only the upper valleys of the Coquille and Umpqua rivers. Two small groups, isolated from their kinsmen, lived almost in the heart of Takelma territory on Galice and Applegate creeks.

These Athabascans have been divided into a number of groups, partly on a geographical basis and partly as the result of post-European historic accidents. The proper division is the purely geographical one. The inhabitants of each drainage system formed something of a linguistic and cultural unit. (There was absolutely no national or tribal sense, nor any political entity greater than the village.) Though the dialects were mutually intelligible throughout the region, there were sufficient variations of sound and usage from one river valley to the next to make the speaker's provenience readily recognizable. As with the language so with the culture. The kind and number of accretions to the common stock of traits of course differed as the alien neighbors of each group differed. The southernmost group, the Tolowa,<sup>2</sup> acquired from the adjacent Yurok an overlay of customs different from that which the Upper Coquille people acquired from their Kusan neighbors.

Our first task in blocking out the uniformly constituted substratum must be to determine these alien influences. To this end, the natural subdivisions of the people may be dealt with separately in order to compare them with each other. The following were the main divisions. The southernmost villages on Crescent bay and Lake Earl in California formed a group which has been lumped under the name "Tolowa" with the Smith river towns. Although this usage is not the happiest possible one, for convenience it may be retained. The differences between these two were minor, and directly traceable to the amount of contact with the inhabitants of the lower Klamath. The Winchuck river villages just to the north may have been more closely affiliated with those of Chetco river, the next important group up the coast. There were a number of settlements on the ocean frontage between Chetco and Rogue rivers. It is no longer possible to determine with which of the two latter groups they belonged. The lower thirty or forty miles of Rogue river contained a number of populous towns, which, together with those along the adjacent coast, formed something of a cultural unit. The coastal villages at Euchre creek and Sixes river appear to have been affiliated closely with the Lower Rogue river sector. The inhabitants of Coquille river were distinguished culturally from their more southern kindred by the adoption of more Kusan culture elements. Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to obtain information on the people who lived in the valley of the upper Umpqua. The inland Galice creek people, sur-

<sup>2</sup> The name is said to derive from the Yurok name (Tolowel) for one of the villages (Kroeber, Handbook).

rounded by the Takelma, had become almost Takelman in culture.\* These, then, are the units with which we may deal: Tolowa, Chetco river, Lower Rogue river, Upper Coquille, and Galice creek.



Map 1. Territory of the southwest Oregon Athabascans and their neighbors.

The distribution of population along the coast and on the lower reaches of waterways has been mentioned. One might well say that the people occupied their territory only marginally. The reason is intelligible in terms of geog-

\* There are no longer survivors to be found from Applegate creek, but it is a safe guess that they differed scarcely at all from the Galice creek group.



raphy. The greater part of the coast is bold and rocky, rising steeply almost 2000 feet to the western edge of the Klamath peneplain. The only coastal plain of any magnitude appears at Crescent bay, extending a short distance beyond the mouth of Smith river. Between these points the edge of the peneplain retreats some five miles from the coast. A narrow continuation of this plain extends a few miles beyond Chetco river. From here to Hunters creek there is no plain lower than the 1000-foot terrace. A narrow terrace seldom exceeding a few hundred yards in width extends from Hunters creek to a point between Euchre creek and Cape Blanco.<sup>4</sup> It is apparent that people wishing to take advantage of a rich food supply in the ocean and rivers cannot live a great distance from the water. We may expect that the paucity of low terraces and coastal plain suitable for habitation must have had an effect on the populational distribution.

Because of the heavy rainfall (10-20 in. per month through the winter),<sup>5</sup> there is a dense cover of vegetation over most of the area. The lower slopes of the abrupt coast line, and some of the narrow sandy terraces, are brush-covered, with dense tangles of Tideland spruce, *Pinus contorta*, rhododendron, and manzanita. Above this is a transition zone of Douglas fir, red cedar, and white cedar, with an undergrowth of brush and tall ferns. The stand of timber of Curry county (southwest Oregon) has been estimated at 11,000 feet BM per acre of timbered land.<sup>6</sup> This figure would be increased if one considered only the western transition zone, with which we are primarily interested, and did not include the more open stands of sugar pine in the eastern part of the area. A large part of the Smith river coastal plain supported a dense stand of coast redwood, the northern end of the main redwood belt. Two small stands, comprising together about 400 acres, up Chetco river, are the northernmost extension of the species. A few miles inland, along the ridges, several species of oaks are to be found.

If the rich flora, with its bountiful supply of edible roots and berries, was favorable to human settlement, the fauna was no less so. Deer abounded in the hills, and bands of elk browsed in the plains and valleys. Most important of all were the salmon runs, which annually filled the rivers and streams. Along the coast, surf fish, a number of kinds of mollusks, and occasionally large sea mammals were obtainable.

Despite such drawbacks as the scarcity of good dwelling sites, and the steep, densely wooded ridges which tended to make communication between valleys difficult, the picture is one of a very favorable environment. Food, animal and vegetable, was abundant. A few weeks at the weirs and spearing stations yielded a winter's supply of the staple food, salmon. While the women gathered the important acorn crop in the fall, men hunted, adding a stock of venison to the larder. The problem of subsistence did not demand so much time as in less favored regions. One had leisure to bestow on implements the careful finish characteristic on Northwest Coast workmanship. The elaborate carved decoration of northern tribes was absent, but canoes and paddles, stools and wooden cooking troughs, even netting shuttles and gauges, were neatly finished. It

<sup>4</sup> Diller, 1902.   <sup>5</sup> Smith, 1925.   <sup>6</sup> Gannett, 1902.

is not easy to tell at this late date whether the pride in workmanship was as great as among the people of the lower Klamath; the latter may have surpassed the Athabascans in this regard as in so many others. In the realm of ceremonials the Athabascans were far inferior to their neighbors. One is impressed by the fact that, unlike many adjacent groups, these people were not especially interested in elaboration of ritual. Aside from their first-salmon rites (and the unique Tolowa girl's puberty ceremony), the only performances were simple displays of valuables, which lacked all the complexity and religious associations of the Yurok-Karok. The one dominant interest of these southwest Oregonians was in the field of social relations; specifically, in acquiring and holding prestige. The desire for personal glorification appears in many cultural settings, but among few peoples has it been so outstanding. Perhaps the simplicity of the culture set off the major leitmotiv more sharply. Our Athabascans were of course not unique in this respect; they shared an attitude common to all coastal peoples from Alaska to northern California. Wealth, figured in terms of dentalia, was one of the main contributing factors in reckoning prestige. But mere possession of a quantity of the valued shells was not sufficient in itself to establish a man as a respected personage in his community. Every man had certain rights which had to be defended. Should someone infringe on these rights, the injured person could demand compensation or take revenge. If he did neither, he lost the respect of his fellow men. They would feel free to injure or insult him as they chose. It is clear from account after account of injuries and claims that it was not avarice which motivated demands for wergild. To make a claim showed that a man would not allow himself to be treated with contempt, that he commanded the respect of kinsmen to the degree that they would fight for him were his demands not met. In other words, here was a man of importance. One soon feels that the tokens paid were of little intrinsic value to the people themselves except as they demonstrated recognition of the recipient's position in society. If there was a single cultural attitude which dominated all others among these Athabaskan groups, it was this feeling for prestige.

It would be overcoloring the picture to imply that the prestige consciousness was constantly present in the everyday lives of the people. Ordinarily, they worked, ate, loved, and lounged about on sunny days in normal human fashion. But when two personalities clashed, the cultural prestige pattern came to the fore. It showed itself in a readiness to take offense, in a vindictive desire to "make even" for the least injury. One had no compunctions about taking advantage of a weaker person when occasion arose. A weakling had no place in the culture.

## THE TOLOWA

## ETHNOGEOGRAPHY

A survey of Tolowa geography reveals several important features of the culture. First of all, it emphasizes the marginal habitation of the area. The important towns were at the mouth of Smith river and southward along the coast, with a series of minor settlements or suburbs upriver, and only camp sites in the mountains. This situation is sharply in contrast to the populational distribution of the Yurok, which Kroeber has stated is much more dense upriver than along the ocean frontage.<sup>7</sup> The cause is probably to be found in the fact that Smith river, which has its sources in the coast ranges, is much shorter, and is navigable but a few miles from the mouth, as compared with the Klamath, a much larger river. Lacking a good waterway, inland expansion was impeded by the dense tangles of forest and underbrush which still make cross-country travel difficult. There was a slight shifting inland, but the population never came close enough to the margin of subsistence to make large-scale expansion necessary.

The distribution of the places of economic importance, namely, the fishing, hunting, and gathering tracts, makes clear that each major town was an almost completely independent economic unit, surrounded by a continuous area from which subsistence could be obtained. The secondary settlements were obviously former camp sites, that is, "fishing claims," at which some of the users settled permanently.

Geographical nomenclature was of the same type as that of the Yurok (see Waterman's<sup>8</sup> lengthy discussion). Places were named from their relation to other named spots: *xa'wunhwut*, "xawun at"; *xa'wunlet tas'o'*, "xawun on placed"; *xa'wun nī'le*, "xawun running past," are typical. Many of these primary names, from which the compounds are formed, are untranslatable.

The practice of naming houses according to their geographical location, so prevalent among the Yurok, appears in a dilute form in Tolowa culture. Only a few of the houses were named; most of these appear to have been the houses of the rich men. The names are in every instance similar to Yurok house names.

*Towns and settlements.*—(1) *xa'wunhwut*. In historic times moved to island (*stu'ndaso-hwut*) (1a). 13 "Indian houses," 3 "white-man houses," 3 sweat houses.<sup>9</sup> 2 divisions: *ke'ta*, "upriver," and *t'e'ta*, "downriver," *xawunhwut*; each centered about house of a rich-man.

(2) *yo'to:kut*, "to south above." Formerly largest town. 7 Indian houses, 6 white-man houses, 2 sweat houses, and sacred sweat house. 2 divisions: *caī'na*, "on the hill" (or *ta'xo*, "northward"), and *sī'xo*, "below, or oceanward," *yotokut*. 2 named houses: *ta':tlet tas'o'*, "on top placed," and *caīna tas'o'*, "on the hill placed."

(3) *tro':let*. Small suburb of *yotokut*.

(4) *mu'nsontun*, "house there." Site of annual salmon weir, abandoned until last owner moved from *yotokut* and built house.

(5) *keho'sli'hwut*, "upriver (where) it flows." Old site, reinhabited from *yotokut*. 3 houses and men's sleeping house, "aboveground, not a real sweat house."

<sup>7</sup> Kroeber, 1934b.   <sup>8</sup> Waterman, 1920.

<sup>9</sup> The house counts represent the buildings remembered by informants as occupied 40-50 years ago.

(6) mī'litcuntun, ". . . at foot of." Former weir site. 2 houses, one each side of river: tō'nī, "west," and n'ī, "inland." 1 sweat house. 2 brothers with families, related to yotokut, lived there.

(7) e':tcūlet, "land great upon." Large town, noted for wealth. 11 houses, 4 sweat houses. 3 named houses: tatnī'let, "above on top," na'kutme', "at end of within," yō'tōnīrēkut, "south oceanward."

(8) tucræku'tun. 9 Indian houses, 3 white-man houses, 2 sweat houses. Offshoot of etculet, established after quarrel over whale rights, 3-4 generations ago. Last rich-man moved with family to nō'trulsō'let, ". . . drying-place" (8a), when notorious etculet sorcerer moved in.

(9) si'tragī'tum, "to beach descends there." 1 house and sweat house. Old site, re-inhabited by etculet man after quarrel mentioned above.

(10) ta':tatun. Moved twice in memory of informants; down to beach near breakwater, then to seni'gxat, where were 11 houses, 2 sweat houses.

(11) ta'ti'tun. Abandoned, but informants remember few persons who "belonged" or "half-belonged" there; probably suburb of tatatun.

(12) mesLte'ltun, ". . . flat there." Wealthy offshoot of tatatun. 9 houses, 2 of which were of Yurok type, 2 sweat houses. One named house: yō'mene, "south house."

(13) tcunsu'ltun, "pigeonberries there." 2 houses and sweat house. tatatun suburb.

(14) tē:nātcuntun, "trail at foot of."

(15) tcestu'mtun, "it goes across there" (i.e., ford there). 2-3 houses; most of inhabitants slain in feud in historic times, survivors moved to relatives at tatatun.

(16) na'kutat, "at end of above." tatatun suburb.

(17) muslye'. Recently abandoned, said yotokut suburb.

(18) tunme'tun. 2 houses; yotokut suburb.

(19) Ltru'eme, "sand inside." 2-3 houses, tatatun suburb.

(20) ta'gesLsa:tun, "opens backward (inland) there." Yurok omen; apparently mixed in blood, but closest affiliations to Yurok, southward.

(21) xa'tsaxothwut, "acorn-soup basket on,"

(22) numcæ'tun, and

(23) mu'nceī'na tas'ō', "house on the hill placed." Long-abandoned sites.

*Economic geography* (see map 3 at end).—(The following lists do not pretend to be exhaustive, but represent a sample of the range of places from which foodstuffs were obtained.)

xawunhwut (specific information on xawunhwut geography rather scant). Fishing: (1) xawunni'le, "(by) xawun flows," Smith r. (2) caxotlegi'nLlL, "stream forks." Up-river rich-man had a "house" there—a large hollow tree in which he camped while fishing.

yotokut. Fishing: (3) wenaxu'etun, "(canoe) goes around there." Besides figuring in first-salmon ceremony, important place for setting nets. (4) mu'nsoṅtun and (5) mī'litcuntun, fish-weir sites owned by yotokut men; anyone could go there, help with the weir, and get fish. (6) kehōslī'hwut, fishing place and camp. (7) cacæne'xot tregī'le, riffle and creek owned by yotokut man. He built a trap there annually; had house there. (8) xatsaxo'thwut, 2 houses on old site; used as summer fishing camp. (9) tēLa'te'nstkcuc, "mussel shells falling" (also, cē'ci'i' tas'ō', "sweat house there"). Smelt-fishing camp; rich-man built a sweat house there.—There was no place in yotokut territory where clams, mussels, etc., could be obtained; went to mouth of Winchuck r. or tagiatun (see etculet below). There were mussels on Low rock, (10) mu'n na'set's'ō', "house in front placed," but canoe always capsized on way back from the rock, "was bad place." Hunting and acorn-gathering: elk, deer hunted in sand hills and redwoods s of yotokut; also across river at (11) kusteūmai'ntun, "redwood . . . there"; went for deer and acorns as far up as (12) tēlō'stī', "whale lying" (where rocks still retain impression of body of whale stranded by receding Flood waters).

etculet. Fishing: many kinds of fish obtainable in Lake Earl, (13) tcuskLmu'n. Rich-man owned creeks running into lake from E, set traps, etc., in them; names (N to S): (14)

to' tregi'le, "rapids creek"; (15) hwu'tncic tregi'le; (16) taina'ltum tregi'le, "dancing there creek"; (17) se'tun tregi'le, "rock there creek"; (18) tetai'xot tregi'le; (19) cwu'mtea tregi'le; (20) yo'ni'xotme, "(from) s runs in"; (21) wisti'xot tregi'le (this last was a "bad" creek; only water dogs in it, nets set only at mouth); (22) ru'cwul tregi'le. Fished, set nets, etc., in Smith r. as far up as Mill cr.; (23) ca'xotme, up to a riffle (24) moni'tcestuntun, "across (the creek) ford there." Surf fish caught on beach near "mouth" of Lake Earl, (25) e'tculet ta'ame (smelt couldn't be dried on sand there, would cause a storm). There were houses and one sweat house along beach. (26) teuskLgi'totun, "waterfall there," place for lamprey weir.—Point St. George, (27) ta'giatun, "standing up there," place for shellfish gathering; also camping place for sea-lion expeditions. Beach N of tagiatun only place where na'set shells found in any quantities; outsiders not permitted to hunt for them. When gathering shellfish, usually camped at (28) me't'ena'gatrul tregi'le, "razor-clams clean creek"; for some reason couldn't take surf fish when they ran on the beach there, nor at (29) ta'gocnuLxuntun, "sweetwater place," a camp site with several houses and sweat house. Latter place inherited from last etculet owner by his tatatun son-in-law. Hunting and acorn-gathering: Elk valley, (30) tutne'sme, elk-hunting tract; for deer and acorns went up into hills between Elk valley and Smith r.—In general, etculet territory extended N and S from (31) telo' teucLeru'Ltun, "whale came out there," to (32) nesno't'o ta'giatun along the coast, and from (22) ru'swut tregi'le on the SE end of Lake Earl inland to Smith r. Lake Earl itself good duck-hunting place, monopolized by etculet.

tatatun (including mesLtel'tun). Fishing: salmon caught with hooks offshore in Crescent bay. Rich-man owned fish-trap sites on Mill cr. at (33) cu'etaixotme; (34) Le'slintun, "forks there" (where were some houses); and in the main river at (35) teuste'teuhwut, "(salmon) spawn much (?) on." Fished for smelt at (36) ni'xonagatum, "(from) inland (the trail) goes there," and at (37) cinya'Leai, "in summer (where) they dry (surf fish)." Shellfish obtained at (38) tukce'me, "clams in"; (30) yo'tonirecut, "s oceanward." Hunting and acorn-gathering: Bald Hills, (40) nuntutun, "in water (?) there," principal camp, several houses and a sweat house; (41) yo'n't'hwut, "s inland on," 3 or 4 houses but no sweat house.

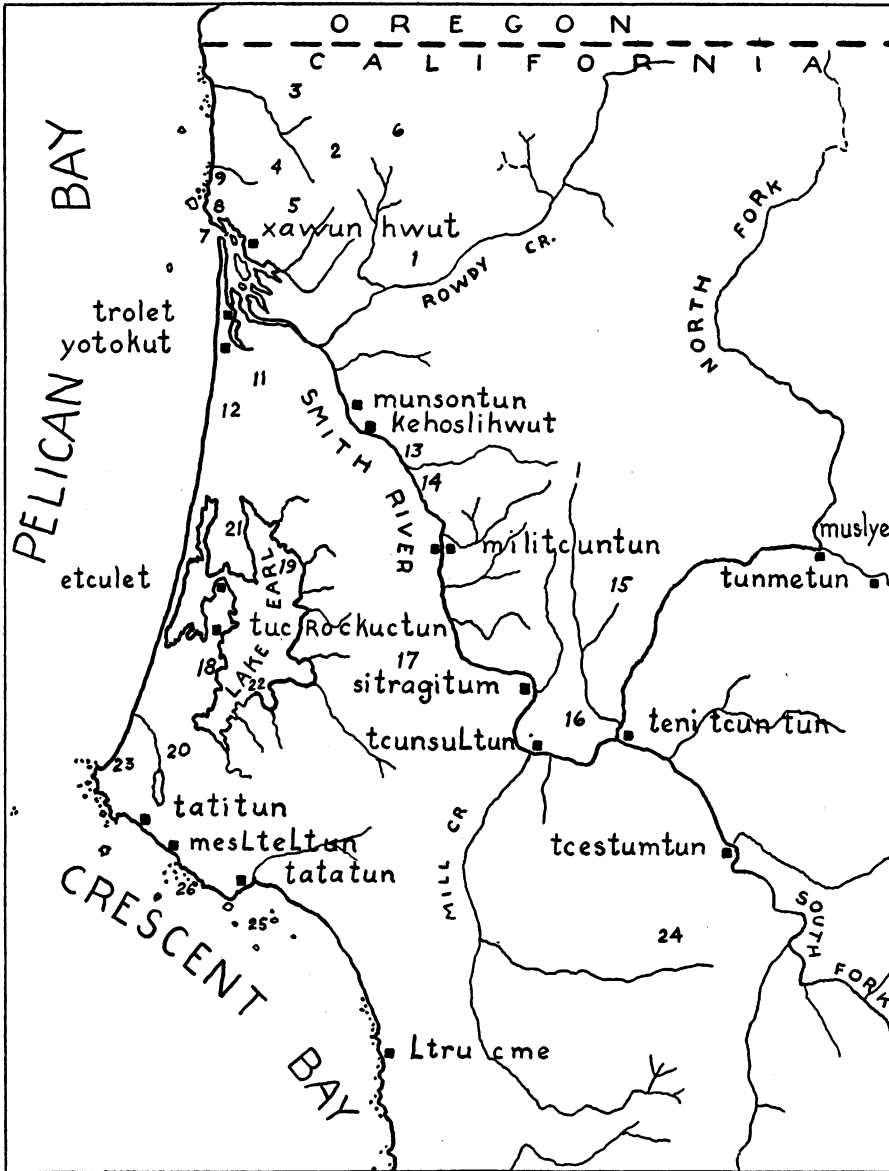
Whale claims. (See also under Subsistence, Property.) Claims held on beaches adjacent to towns: xawunhwut people owned whales drifting ashore between mouth of Winchuck r. and (42) sentewa', "rock big" (one account gives Gilbert cr., (43) cri'cwu' tregi'le, "fish-head creek," as N boundary); yotokut and etculet, beach between sentewa and tagiatun in common (some accounts give 2 areas, sentewa to (25) etculet ta'ame, latter to tagiatun, in both of which individuals from both towns held rights). tatatun people claimed between tagiatun and (44) se:Lu'cme', "rock split." Some overlapping of claims caused by transfer between individuals of different towns.

Sea-lion claims. (See also under Subsistence, Property.) Rich-men in major towns owned rights to hunt sea lions on (45) ya's'o' (yo' tas'o', "s placed" ?) and (46) t'as'o' (t'e tas'o', "N placed" ?).

*Ritual geography* (see map 2).—It would be well-nigh impossible to include every spot in Tolowa territory which had supernatural associations. One receives the impression that every outcrop of rock, every trickle of water, every little clearing in the brush had power for good or evil, or figured in some event in mythological times. Hence only the more important localities, such as those at which shamanistic or other power could be obtained and those with more important and characteristic religious associations, are listed.

xawunhwut. (1) me's'o'n, "in the center"; knoll on which prospective shaman sought power. (2) xawunletnati'ase, "xawun on top standing rock"; a very powerful place, one of the few not covered by primeval flood. It "looks out all over the world." There are songs and "words" (i.e., formulas) "belonging to it"; if one knows them xawunlet will protect and bring him good fortune wherever he may be. On clear days a wisp of fog

will appear, clinging to the top of the mountain; then people know that someone is reciting a formula to kill an enemy. "Xawunlet is angry," they say. There are 4 places on the lower slopes where men went for gambling luck: (3) tū'cai nō'n'sun, "buzzard hill"; (4) tsū'eya'gīna, "breasts—," 2 small knolls about 50 yds. apart, each with a pit



Map 2. Part of Tolowa territory, showing points of ritual significance.

in the top for training; (5) nesnō'ta, "high moving," large boulder which quivered when seeker after luck climbed upon it; (6) kwecutlet, "in the middle flat." For hunting luck, men bathed in the sea or swam out to (7) sesLa't, in the estuary. (8) e'ckō'nī and (9) setcō', "rock eating," had weather power. By reciting proper formula and throwing pebbles at them, storm could be produced.

yotokut. Besides being the center of world, and spot at which first redwood grew,

yotokut contained sacred sweat house associated with annual first-salmon rite (*q.v.*), so was very sacred. (11) tō'li'ge mityagi'a, "(some mountain plant) grows there"; a "doctor place"; fact that plant usually found only in mountains grew on this sand hill showed associations of place with the mountains, and hence with shamanism. (12) tu'tluwure, depression in sand hills containing three "ponds," two of which were safe to bathe in for luck; third was inhabited by an enormous sea serpent. (13) tūyo'se', "bear rock"; (14) xoi'ntu'teuntun hwu'ntai, "—at foot of dive in," a pool; hunters swam for good luck at both places. At latter one had to dive to bottom; if nose bled good luck was assured. (15) nō'n'sunteūlet, "hill big on top," a doctor place. A young man once dug a pit in bedrock on this hill with elkhorn wedges. Sitting there, he cast a line across the ocean to Dentalia's home, catching a large number of dentalia, which he kept alive in a cooking basket full of water. He later poured this water into the pit, making it lucky place to train for wealth. (16) sō:skwu'L, "widow," mother of angler above, who became a boulder. On passing one had to "feed" her tobacco, food, or blades of grass if one had nothing else.—There were many dangerous places in the mountains; campers dared not talk loudly, nor laugh, or "woods devils" came and put out their fire.

etculet. (17) o'nmōilet, a doctor place. Another mountain, near Cheteo r., has same name; the two were originally one, but the top floated away during a (or the) flood, coming to rest in Tolowa territory. All the power was in the top, so the Cheteo o'nmōi "was no good for anything any more." Small stream o'nmōi treg'ile, which had its source on the mountain, was lucky, but could not be found unless one had trained properly. (18) Itrucno'nsun, "sand mountain," a doctor place. (19) n'i'let kustē' testa', "inland side redwood lying," a large submerged redwood stump; gamblers dived to hole at base for luck. It was the pillow of sea serpent that lived in Lake Earl. (20) n'i'xōcteni, "inland trail goes (around)," pond; gave strong luck for gambling. Men who trained there took sand from there to lay gambling sticks on. Women might not bathe in it. (21) xa'gast'ketun, "holes . . . there," series of small pits, where women trained for dice game. (22) etas'o', "land placed," small island, where men went to "cook" arrow points to make them poisonous. (23) sō:skwu'L, "widow," another lady who turned to stone; was dismembered and "pieces of her" were scattered about; person who knew formula could kick each piece, wishing for good weather, and wish would be granted.

tatatun. (24) se:ltō'liā, "rock moved apart (‡)," doctor place. (25) tatat'et. Gamblers swam on S side of this rock for luck; on N side lived some "water people" (te'xuce). Once a young man paddled out there to dive in, but he happened to look down in the water and saw one of them watching him, all ready to pounce. He stayed in his canoe. (26) trame'hwuthōmmī, "fir trees (‡) on growing," sea rock, an "island" at high tide (since blasted away for road ballast), to which men went for sweat-house wood, to get gambling luck. On its oceanward side was a smooth area which the local sea serpent used as a pillow. (This "snake" was a mild-mannered individual, who never harmed anyone; he had horns of dentalia, and was very rich.)

*Trails and travel.*—Little information was obtained about trails; white men's roads made them less important. The beach was the natural highway between towns; travel by canoe was preferred up and down the river, about Lake Earl, and even along the coast (though this last was considered something of a feat). Ferriage was always free.

*Some directional and geographical terms.*—

t'e, downriver; also N on ocean.

taxō, northward (e.g., taxō xuce, "to north people," Oregon people).

‡ke, upriver.

n'i', inland (in general, ‡ke used only along the river).

mō'n (tō'n ‡), oceanward; w; also across.

sī'xō, beach (also na:set).

se'neta, to the beach; westward; downhill.

yeni, southward; "up" along the coast.  
 -tun, loc. suffix, there.  
 -hwut, loc. suffix, on, at.  
 -tcuntun, loc. suffix, at the foot of.  
 -let, loc. suffix, on top of.  
 ta's'o', placed there, lying there (usually translated by informants as "setting there").  
 cāixō, high.  
 me', in, inside.  
 sīsxō, ocean, the whole world.  
 mīne, ocean.  
 teuslmun, pond, lake, lagoon.  
 nīli, river (lit., "it flows").  
 te'nīli, rapids.  
 tregile, creek.  
 Lesli', forks of river or creek.  
 e, land.  
 nō'n'sun, hill, mountain.  
 ta:gesus, ridge.  
 t'ū', level clearing, "prairie."  
 se:, rock, boulder.  
 temī, trail.

SUBSISTENCE<sup>10</sup>

The Tolowa inhabited a region of abundant food resources. Salmon were plentiful in Smith river, almost the only small river along the coast in which there are two runs of Chinook a year. Steelhead might be taken almost the year around. The sea provided a wealth of easily obtained food in the form of shellfish, surf fish, or "smelt," as well as the more spectacular though economically less important sea lions, and an occasional stranded whale. In the adjacent hills, acorns, nutritious and easily stored, abounded, as well as many other vegetable products: roots, berries, seeds, and the like. Deer and elk were much sought after, but their importance was doubtless increased after the introduction of firearms. Small game was also abundant. It is clear that there was a far wider margin of food supply than that available to most Californian natives.

One soon is forcibly impressed by the basic importance of salmon and acorns. Next were marine products, smelt, mollusks, and so forth. The essentially coastal distribution of the population was probably at once a cause and a result of the importance of these latter foods. The highly esteemed deer, elk, and sea lions (the "ocean deer") were prized in proportion to the difficulty with which they were obtained. A miscellany of vegetable products, small game, and minor sea foods gave variety to the dietary.

Animal foods: spring (Chinook) salmon, silverside, fall (Chinook) salmon, dog salmon, steelhead, smelt, perch, sturgeon, deer, elk, sea lions, lamprey eels, mussels, 2 or 3 varieties of clams, sea anemones, several small unidentified marine forms, dead whales, small game (ducks, mud hens, quail, rabbits, squirrels), gull and shag eggs.

Plant foods: acorns (several kinds distinguished, all used alike), camas and camas-like tubers, fern roots, skunk-cabbage root, tarweed and grass seeds, many kinds of berries, green shoots of various kinds for "greens," a kind of seaweed for salt. Pine nuts traded from inland.

<sup>10</sup> For first-game observances see under Religion and Ritual.



Tabooed foods: dog, coyote, wildcat, grizzly bear, cougar, all birds of prey and carrion, sea gull, dove, foetuses, land-bird eggs, snakes, frogs, octopus. Did not eat (that is, not taboo, but "not liked"): yellowjacket larvae, flesh of most fur bearers (raccoon, mink, otter, skunk, etc.); some refused to eat black bear because of similarity to man. (For further food restrictions, and usages, see Ceremonial Treatment of Food.)

The food quest began in the early summer, when the people assembled along the river for the spring salmon run. Roots and berries began to ripen, and might be gathered. From the river they went to the beach to gather shellfish and smelt, and to hunt sea lions. These were cured for storage. When the fall salmon entered the river, in late summer, the people camped at the communal weir at munsontun, or at individually owned places, to catch and dry the winter's supply. Later, they moved up into the camp sites in the mountains, where the acorn crop was harvested and the men hunted deer. Winter, when the rains and cold weather set in, found the people back in the towns. This was the time for making and repairing gear, holding dances, and gambling. Even then, however, some fresh food was to be had. Deer and elk ranged close by in the lower country, and there were steelhead in the river. Occasionally, a dead whale was washed up on the beach.

If there were lean times, they must have been in the late winter and early spring. Then the winter's supplies would be running low, the water too high for fishing, and the deer and elk beginning to move up into the higher country. Unlike the Yurok, who are said to lack even legendary references to famine, the Tolowa point out vaguely defined town sites (some are surely imaginary), deserted because "all the people starved to death." Such times of real privation must have been most infrequent, however, for the variety of available foods should have been nearly sufficient to make up for the failure of any one. Late spring, when the old fern was quite dry and the new growth just starting, is said to have been the time for burning off the hillsides to improve the hunting grounds.

*Fishing.*—Fishing, from its economic importance, merits first place in a description of the food quest. The task of fishing, and the manufacture of all the gear, fell to the men. Women might not even watch the making of a basketry trap, or the tying of a gill net. The chief devices used were weirs, nets, and harpoons. Angling, although not unknown, was little practiced. Good fishing sites were deemed important property, and privately owned.

Communal weir (uss teū'), built at summer low water on riffle at munsontun and/or militeuntun (latter site probably older). Owner gathered, prepared materials; called kin and friends to put in. Anyone who helped given fish. V-shaped row alder stakes, supported by slanting braces on downstream side, supported panels of hazel wickerwork. Point of V was downstream. 2 center stakes driven first, to accompaniment of formula; if easily set, weir was successful. Basketry "trap" a rectangular wicker mat doubled, end and part of side sewn together to make wide-mouthed closed cylinder, placed in apex of weir. Men went upstream, heated rocks in fire, with formulas, from canoes threw rocks in deep holes, shouted, splashed, to drive fish into weir. (One informant aided in several successful drives in youth; later tried but failed, not knowing proper formulas.) Smaller editions of above (uss) built by individuals in sidestreams. Weir left to be swept away by high water.

Small weir (na'ti'a, "standing up"), built diagonally across small stream; conical net held open by wooden hoop in lower end. Stick, with crab-claw rattles at end, at-

tached to net by string, set upright in ground (this device gave name to weir); rattles gave warning when fish entered net. Fisherman drowsed on bank, holding rope tied to net hoop; hauled it out when rattle sounded. A very lucky man occasionally thus caught an otter. Used chiefly at night.

Lamprey weir (ta:cau'l), V-shaped fence, point upstream; chute from apex past fisherman's platform. One held torch while other used eel hook. Eel hooks also used at suitable places without weir.

Basketry eel<sup>21</sup> pots, round or conical, with smaller cone for ingress, set in suitable places.

Gill nets (mecxa') set in holes between stakes, or fastened to rocks, outer end downstream so fish turned out from bank into net. Various sizes mesh for Chinook, silverside, steelhead, and so forth. Triangular or ovoid boards, perforated near point, for floats; grooved or notched pebbles suspended from "lead line" for sinkers. Nets rather small, 1 fathom deep by 10-15 fathoms long; suspended sinkers fouled easily, so had to take up as soon as salmon entered. Fisherman stood in end of canoe, cork line in one hand, lead line in other, throwing net back over his head. To set, paid out cork line from pile at feet, holding out at arm's length to prevent fouling. No drifting or seining.

Eel nets (sustü'), conical, ca. 2 ft. long, mouth spread by wooden hoops; fastened to pole to lower into water and pull up when eel entered.

Smelt run along the beach during the latter half of the summer, coming in to spawn on beds of fine gravel, where the people still catch them in great numbers. The approach of a school is indicated by the actions of the sea gulls, which gather to feed on the fish. Fishermen stand ready, watching the waves as they break close to the beach. When one sees the smelt, black against the white of the breaker, he runs out knee-deep, thrusting his scoop net under the wave as it breaks over, raising it to let the fish fall into the "sack" at the proximal end. A lucky dip may catch forty or fifty pounds of smelt, one a moment or two late will not get any.

Smelt net (lumcmu'n), fine mesh, conical, lashed to V-shaped pole frame 7-8 ft. long, 6 ft. wide at diverging ends, with crosspiece ca. 18 in. from apex. Outer edge of net stretched tight, slackening proximally. User grasps butt of frame and top of "sack" formed by apex of cone in right hand, crosspiece in left.

Salmon were harpooned from canoes, often at night, when a long torch was supported on a pair of crossed sticks to extend over the bow. The canoe might be moored, or allowed to drift slowly over a deep hole. Usually one man steered and steadied the canoe while another wielded the harpoon. Men sometimes waded out on shallow riffles to "spear" salmon. Platforms seem not to have been used.

Sea angling with "hooks," 2-pointed bone gorgets, said to have been practiced in sheltered coves, and out in Crescent bay; probably became important only after contacts with whites.

*Hunting.*—Hunting methods were fairly varied. Before the advent of firearms, the main dependence must have been on traps, though driving with dogs is said to have been common. The densely wooded nature of the country renders stalking difficult. Informants maintain that near-by hills were kept clear of brush by annual burning; this also improved the grass, so that deer frequented such clearings and could be shot easily.

Deer, elk caught in running noose of twisted or braided hide suspended between 2 trees in runway, tied to springy sapling to prevent breaking. Elk caught by horns, had

<sup>21</sup> Actually lampreys, but termed "eels" colloquially.

to be shot; deer choked down. Rabbits, quail, and other game, caught with similar small nooses. Pitfalls dug in deer runways, covered with twigs, leaves; 2 pairs poles crossed sawbuck-fashion, set across long axis of pit, to suspend quarry to prevent jumping out. Several men with dogs drove band of deer, elk into water, to be shot or clubbed from canoes. Dogs well trained for this. Some stalking in clearings, but deer-head disguise denied. In shooting with bow, aimed low; deer crouched, gathering self for leap at twang of bowstring. No salt licks established; too close to ocean. Figure-4 trigger used for: deadfalls for fur bearers (bear, mink, otter, fisher, etc.), and for quail trap, pyramidal "box" of sticks laid up crib fashion. No spring-pole snares. Mud hens on Lake Earl became too fat to fly; clubbed from canoes. Sleeping sea otters, seals, and sea lions on beach clubbed.

The technique of the sea-lion hunt is worthy of full description.<sup>13</sup> The expedition (there might be one or more canoes, each with a crew of five) paddled out to the rocks, where one or two from each canoe disembarked. The men had to jump at just the right moment, when the canoe rose at the top of a swell, to reach the lowest precarious foothold. Sea lion asleep on the rocks was clubbed over the head. If the animal escaped, the men reëntered the canoes to pursue it. Four paddled while the harpooner, usually the canoe-owner, stood ready. The harpoon (see fig. 2, p. 237) was too heavy to throw far. The line was tied to, and then wrapped around, the shaft, so that the whole was thrown; at a strike the shaft detached, allowing the line to unwind. The crew paddled madly to enable the harpooner to seize the floating shaft. When he caught hold of it, he lay with one arm over the gunwale, while his companions were kept busy steering and keeping the canoe from capsizing as the quarry struggled. The animal was pulled in close enough to be dispatched with a dart after he had worn himself out. A small sea lion might be rolled or hoisted into the canoe; a large one was towed ashore.

*Gathering.*—Most of the gathering of edible products was women's work, though men did not disdain to help at times. Women dug the edible roots, picked berries, and gathered the all-important acorns. On the beach they gathered shellfish, and the seaweed, used for its salt content. Trips to offshore rocks for big mussels or sea birds' eggs were naturally made by the men.

*Preparation of food.*—Because of the seasonal nature of the principal food resources (salmon, acorns, and smelt), it was necessary to preserve quantities large enough to last over the winter. A feature never omitted in a description of the house of a man of wealth is the rows of well-filled storage baskets set against the walls. The preparation and curing of nearly all the provisions fell to the women.

Salmon: split down back with flint knife into long wide slices, skewered with hazel sticks to hold flat, dried on frames in sun, sometimes partly smoked. Backbone, with attached meat, dried separately. Stored in baskets, pack frames, or suspended from overhead frame in house. Heads split, partly broiled, dried. Eggs dried on basketry trays, stored in seal-paunch lining. Smelt: not cleaned, sun-dried whole on drift logs or piles of clean beach gravel; turned often to dry evenly. Lampreys: split with flint knife, bone awl used to pull "strings" from tail to head. Longitudinal cuts to open flat, held with skewers. Sun- and smoke-dried. Shellfish: partly roasted, shelled, skewered on sticks, smoked. Venison: cut into strips, sun- and smoke-dried. For convenience in carrying

<sup>13</sup> The ritual procedure and concepts associated with sea-lion hunting are described under Religion and Ritual.

home, elk meat usually partly jerked where elk was killed. Sea lions, stranded whales cut into long narrow strips by men; grease cooked out, stored in sea-lion paunch. Men worked in pairs to butcher whale. One held the piece of blubber by means of a rope (sometimes a tumpline was used) while his partner wielded the knife. Sea-lion meat sometimes dried after most of grease extracted.

Acorns: dried, shelled, stored in baskets; ground as required. Sometimes buried whole in mud. Camas: pit-roasted for immediate use or for storing in "cakes." Seaweed: washed in fresh water, coiled in flat round cakes, sun-dried. Roots, berries, shoots, etc., not preserved.

Cooking methods: broiling, stone boiling in basket or wooden trough, pit-oven roasting. Broiling: fresh venison, salmon, smelt, placed in split stick over coals; rabbits, squirrels, unskinned, ungutted, directly on coals. Deer, elk blood, in paunch, cooked in hot sand or ashes. Boiling: dried fish, meat, fish eggs. Fresh meat boiled in troughs by men, especially for feast. Sea-lion meat pit-roasted overnight; stones heated in pit, covered with thimbleberry leaves (various aromatic leaves, fir twigs, etc., added for "seasoning"), meat put in, covered with leaves, etc., then sand; fire on top.

Acorns: ground on slab mortar, winnowed on basketry tray, leached on sand bed with warm water, cooked into "mush." Camas: pit-roasted 2 days. Fern roots: scorched, peeled, pulverized to remove strings, made into cakes with salmon eggs or dried fish. Many kinds roots, berries, greens, eaten uncooked.

Informants are insistent on the fact that within a "town" food was common property. A successful hunter of deer or sea lions gave away more meat than he kept for himself. "The old men sang deer songs all night long to bring him luck, because they knew he'd give them some venison." Similarly, the wealthy owner of many "pieces" of whale meat, who would fight to the last breath another owner who cut an inch or two too wide, usually gave away most of the meat, keeping but little for himself. The chief reason for this is revealed on analysis of the "town" group. As will be brought out later, the town consisted essentially of a paternal lineage, who jointly held the right to exploit certain tracts (though this "ownership" was nominally held by the head of the group). Thus all townfolk, as part owners, enjoyed a right to share in the products of their territory, a right which was given more force by the stress on affection and mutual helping among a group of kinsmen.

#### MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture of the Tolowa may be characterized first by an interest in good and neat workmanship, and second by the paucity of the tool kit. Briefly summarized, woodworking was the chief craft of the men. House planks were split out of the straight-grained redwood, well-finished dugout canoes were made, wooden vessels, food stirrers, netting shuttles, and mesh gauges were neatly and symmetrically carved. Work in bone, horn, and shell represented the acme of technical skill; the same implements and methods were used on these more difficult materials.

Many similarities to the material culture of the Yurok appear, but there are also a number of unexpected differences. A comparative study of some of the elements will be made later.

*House types.*—Living house (mu'n): rectangular ground plan; floor area excavated *ca.* 1 ft. Walls of vertical redwood planks whose lower ends were held against edge of pit by horizontal plank, or baseboard, secured at either end behind the corner posts; "binders" (that is, a pair of horizontal timbers, inside and outside wall planks, lashed at ends with

hazel withes) about middle of wall and probably along the top. Corner posts supported roof plates; pair of longer posts in each end supported longitudinal stringers on which upper ends of roof planks were laid. (Stringers may have rested in notches cut in the planks, instead of on posts.) Posts, plates, stringers, and binders carefully squared; rectangular notch cut in ends of plates and stringers to hold end roof planks more firmly. Roof 2-pitch, planks secured by binding-timbers fastened to stringers and plates; planks over central part did not quite meet, leaving gap for smoke hole. Plank laid on edge along windward side of smoke hole and propped with a stick for windbreak; could be changed to other side when wind shifted. Longitudinal axis of house usually E-W, doorways in E end. Round outer doorway cut through wide plank led into "woodshed," unexcavated area ca. 3-4 ft. wide, separated from rest of interior by plank partition. Doorway in center of partition formed by omitting upper part of plank, block step placed on outside, and notched log ladder on inside. Women entered living area through space left between planks in partition because of risk of exposure on steps. Inner doorway left open, outer closed by sliding plank door. Stone grips set outside door to facilitate passage. Floor was of planks laid at right angles to long axis of house (poor man's house might have earth floor); two short planks laid in center of house with space between for fire pit, a shallow, clay-lined depression surrounded by stones. Storage baskets of food placed along side and end walls; dried meat, fish, etc., placed on pole frame overhead. Rich-man's house, used for dances, same construction as rest, but larger. If owner wanted to move, often tore down house and built on new site with same planks. Names of floor areas: between doorway and fire, t'e't, "downriver"; to left of fire, mone; to right, mō'n (both words seem to mean "across"; cf. mōne'ta, "across the river"); back of fire, n'i'nt, or ile'lio' (n'i', "inland, away from the coast").<sup>13</sup> Guests were always seated at n'i'nt; head wife slept at mō'n. All implements, valuables, etc., kept in the living house. Men sat on cylindrical or mushroom-shaped wooden stools, often polished, shell inlaid; women sat, slept on sewn tule mats. Wing of crane or goose used as broom to sweep house.

In southernmost towns, tatatun, meslletun, there were a few "Yurok-style" houses, apparently with 3-pitch roof, central pit, etc.

A man at etculet fastened 2 pairs of especially large elk antlers at either end of the roof of his house. This was said to have looked extremely well.

Sweat house (ce'cli'i): subterranean; vertical plank walls held in place by horizontal studs whose ends were secured behind corner posts; roof 2-pitch, supported by single ridgepole resting on 3 posts; peak of roof covered with old canoe bottom; entire roof earth-covered. Sloping trench on one side led to rectangular doorway; sill, formed by horizontal stud, 3 to 4 ft. above floor level; wood block inside served as step. Fire pit in corner; short trench led from fire pit under end wall to vertical mud-plastered flue or ventilator, which was thus not suitable for exit, and not so used. Ventilator covered with board from outside; doorway never completely closed, so served as smoke hole, shielded from wind by plank adjusted in front of it. Names of floor areas: between doorway and ventilator, mī'ncelut; side opposite door, mō'n; end opposite ventilator, tei'nus. Owner of sweat house always slept at mincelut; others slept anywhere, did not own particular places; squared pole placed between teinus and center post, and another across mō'n, for use as pillows; some men had small individual wooden pillows. In doctor-making dance, shaman danced at teinus, therefore this area always had plank floor whether rest of sweat house did or not. Only a rich-man built a sweat house; he and male neighbors (usually relatives) slept, loafed, and worked there. Fires for sweating made morning and evening; dry alder wood and fir boughs gathered by men as part of training for good luck.

*Navigation.*—Canoe (re:nu's), redwood dugout, blunt ends, peaked prow and stern; inturned gunwales; small knob on bottom in bow, "footbrace for man in bow"; two knobs on bottom near stern, "footbraces for steersman," seat carved out for steersman.

<sup>13</sup> There seems to be a contradiction of terms here; if the doorway always faced E, as asserted, that logically should be the "inland," and the rear of the house the "downriver" area.

Yokelike strip of wood attached to prow. Canoe moored by rope to prow. Names of parts: bow, *nī'un*, "face"; rope through bow, *nī'ramə*, "face handle"; "yoke," *hwu'tasla*, "on top lies"; footbrace in bow, *cre'yū*, "heart"; steersman's footbraces, *tsū're*, "breasts"; steersman's seat, *weta'trus sta*; stern, *ta'un*, "rump." Five-men boats ("sea-lion boats"), for use on ocean, said to have been 4 to 4½ fathoms long, 3 feet deep, 1 fathom beam; boats for river use nearly as long, but not so wide nor deep. No keel; some canoes slightly flattened on bottom to make more stable.

Paddle (*me't'ū*), 5, 6 ft. long; narrow pointed blade, some equipped with cross handle. On river only used by steersman, others use long pointed poles (*me'Lki*); on ocean all use paddles; all but steersman stand. Bailer, close-twined basket, or ladle of wood, shaped somewhat like modern sugar scoop.

*Implements and weapons.*—Knives: flint knife with wooden handle (*tre'ta*), often had thong for suspension about neck; unhafted blade, for splitting fish (*sekwe'num*); double-

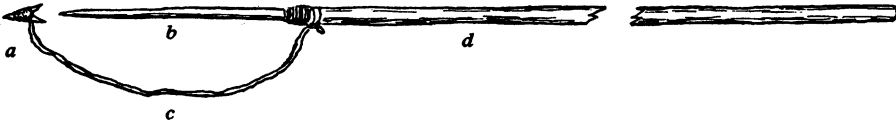


Fig. 1. Salmon harpoon. *a*, head; *b*, foreshaft; *c*, line; *d*, shaft.

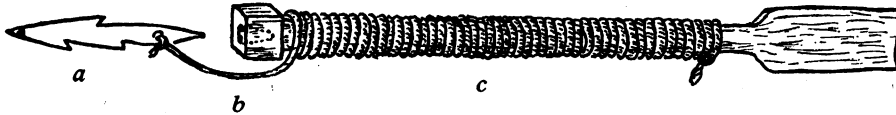


Fig. 2. Sea-lion harpoon. *a*, head; *b*, line; *c*, shaft, with line wrapped on.

pointed blade (*na'Lmi'*), wrapped in middle for handle, for war and display; (same name used for post-white machetelike iron and steel knives, made from saws, etc.); if necessary might use "eolithic" knife of split cobble. Adze (*teu'Lsi'L*), for woodworking, curved stone handle, Yurok type. Wedge (*tcete'nul*), of elkhorn; several lengths used for splitting planks; driven with large stones (polished stone mauls not used—"too small"). Maul (*mul'yatri'Ltus*), pear-shaped polished stone with expanded ends, Yurok type, for splitting firewood, etc. Awl (*mul'ga'Lgus*), usually split deer metapodial. Scrapers for tanning, usually ribs of deer or elk. Mesh measures (*me're'gutəL*), for small mesh nets, of horn or bone; for gill nets, of wood. Netting shuttle (*creulpū'L*), ends split longitudinally, spread apart, curved, to hold cord. Pestle (*me'Lsu't*), long cylindrical polished stone, ringed at top. Pounding slab (*sexə't*), smooth flat stone on which basketry hopper set. Acorn-mush stirrer (*me'elu'k*), carved, decorated paddle of wood, usually oak. Split stick used for picking up hot stones for cooking; stones, simply smooth beach pebbles. Digging stick seasoned, pointed, of hardwood.

Bow (*tutku'e*), short, flat, constricted grip, usually of yew, sinew-backed, Yurok type. Arrows (*ə'ñhəs*), pigeonberry wood, 28 to 34 in. long over all, three feathers, 4 to 7 in., wrapped on at ends; some foreshafted; war and big-game arrows tipped with flint or obsidian. Shafts scraped, smoothed between two longitudinally grooved pieces of sandstone, polished with equisetum, straightened by heating, bending with hands and teeth. Salmon harpoon (*tecta'*) (fig. 1), horn or bone point, bound between two pieces of horn beveled so outer ends diverged for insertion of pole; pole (*me'Lki'*), single hardwood foreshaft; line of braided or twisted elk hide from point to pole. Sea-lion harpoon (*tulki're*) (fig. 2), elkhorn point with two barbs on one side, one on other, tipped with flint (?), in recent times, with metal. Strap or braid of elk hide (previously dried, dampened, and stretched), attached to head, tied to fiber rope 15 to 20 ft. long, which was wrapped around socketed shaft with carved vane; entire thing thrown, point detached from shaft, rope unwound. Darts, short, fairly heavy, tipped with horn or flint, to dispatch harpooned sea lion. Sea-lion club (*mutcu'LgūL*), polished, well-seasoned piece of hardwood, 3½ to 5 ft. long, as large in diameter as could be grasped comfortably; used

to club sleeping animals on rocks. Salmon club, for killing netted or trapped salmon, smaller edition of sea-lion club. Eel hook, pole with backward projecting point of horn or bone.

Armor, tuniclike affair of heavy elk hide; "wet so arrows would slip off." Only few men used; rest relied on dodging. Helmet consisted of wide headband of elk hide. Some vague mention of rod armor. No shields or spears.

Arrow release primary. Bow held nearly horizontally, palm up, 3 fingers outside, thumb and little finger on inside.

*Receptacles.*—Basketry: almost identical with Yurok-Karok—same materials, techniques, patterns (see O'Neale).<sup>14</sup> Types: (all-stick open-twine) conical burden baskets, cradles, trays for cooked food, fish storage baskets; (close twine) cooking and serving baskets, hoppers, sifters, and mealing trays, women's caps, acorn-storage baskets, storage baskets for valuables. Names of many design elements are translations of Yurok-Karok designations:<sup>15</sup> (a) T, flint (teunt'i), Y, "flint," K, "flintlike"; (c) T, bear hand (t'uyo'la'), Y, "spread finger, or spread hand," K, "frog hand"; (d) T, points (teetru'c), Y, "sharp tooth," K, "points"; (h) T, crane legs (telhwe'ya), Y, wax'poo, K, apxank'o'ikoi; (i) T, frog foot (kwele'teu hwe'), Y, K, "foot"; (l) T, house planks (ste:gi'), Y, "elk," K, "cut wood"; etc. Realistic designs of deer, etc., "allowed" only on close-twine storage baskets.

Stone vessels (se:tsa') and large clamshells, used to catch grease from drying or cooking meat, fish; grease stored in paunch lining of sea lions. Wooden trough (aenu's), large, rectangular, used for cooking large quantities of food, as for a feast. Flat wooden trays, used as platters for cooked meat, fish. Elkhorn purse (trut hix:nu's), hollowed-out section of horn, decorated, with lid bound on by strips of skin, used for dentalia, Yurok type. Man's pack (muLma'), pair of hazel sticks each bent double and lashed snowshoe-fashion; burden, especially dried salmon, packed between the two frames, carried by tumpline across head or chest. Dried salmon often stored in such packs. Men sometimes used women's burden basket. Tumpline (tül), for packframe and burden basket, central part either sewn or twined, ends braided. Spoons (so's), carved of elkhorn, decorated, used by men; poor people might use similar ones of wood. Women used spoons of mussel shell.

*Technology.*—For woodworking, as making house planks, canoes, etc., fallen redwood, or well-seasoned drift log, preferred. Burned off at required length, then several wedges set in end in vertical row, driven by hitting each one in succession. Hollowing out, as for canoe, cooking trough, done by adzing and burning; slow burning aided in seasoning wood. Outside of canoe shaped first, then inside. Objects of wood, horn, bone, shell, ground down with coarse sandstone, polished with equisetum, then oiled to prevent cracking, checking. Cracks in canoes filled with hot pitch, smoothed with hot pebble. Horn soaked in water for some time to make workable. Cordage: made of iris fiber usually traded from Yurok, but also collected it themselves; men and women spun 2-strand string, cord, on thigh; men tied into nets, setting stake into ground, tying number of meshes desired on it, then working vertically till net long enough. Skin working: done by either men or women; hides cleaned, dehaired with rib, shell; dressed with oil or mixture of deer brains, then worked. Adhesive: dried sturgeon or salmon skin, chewed to soften and moisten, provided "glue."

*Ordinary dress.*—Men: upper part of body bare, deerskin kilt (with hair on). Usually barefoot, but on journeys, etc., wore 1-piece moccasins, with sewn sole (?). Indispensable article of dress was quiver of otter, fisher, raccoon, etc., hide, case-skinned, lower end sewn shut, turned inside out. Good quiver (otter or fisher) might be painted with simple designs, trimmed with woodpecker scalps, but such a one rarely for everyday use. Used to carry arrows, pipe sack, knife, fire drill, etc. Rich-man wore necklace of dentalium beads, dentalia in ear lobes or in nasal septum; common men only on gala occasion. Hair worn loose, or gathered in bunch in back by strip of fur; for a fight, tied up on top of head with sharp bone skewers through knot, "so they wouldn't grab him by it." In cold weather wore painted double deerskin robe; wealthy man might wear sea-otter robe.

<sup>14</sup> O'Neale, 1932. <sup>15</sup> O'Neale, fig. 13. <sup>16</sup> T, Tolowa; Y, Yurok; K, Karok.

Tule mat used as raincoat. Facial hair removed with thumb and knife blade; old men sat outside of sweat house "shaving" thus, touching hairs to lips to make sure they had come out. Hair brush of cylindrical bunch of plant fiber; "comb" smooth stick, used to whip water out of hair after swimming.

Women: 2-piece buckskin apron, or shredded cedar or maple bark skirt; usually bare-foot; hair in 2 braids; basketry cap. For cold weather, robe of untrimmed deerskin, or rabbit, etc., skins, sewn together.

*Ceremonial dress.*—Men: hair loose, down back; headbands of various types—fur bands, decorated with small feathers, down (teaməLkī'); two strips of buckskin sewn together in front so ends projected, 8 woodpecker scalps sewn on (nikonLēLto'); strip of deer-skin from belly, with vertical bands of white hair left on, between which mallard, etc., down was glued (muLme't'tum); long band of buckskin with woodpecker scalps, sometimes with bills, sewn on at intervals, worn across forehead with one end trailing, or across chest bandolier fashion (tī'testum hōLekī'); pair of white "eagle" (condor ?) feathers, each consisting of 2 spliced together, trimmed with woodpecker scalps along shaft (to'Lkī'); buckskin bands with 5 hornlike rims of abalone shells (La'hwasteta:məne) (cf. Yurok sea-lion tooth headband); headbands with deer antlers (La'hwō'stē tamō'mē); wide buckskin bands with 2 or 3 rows of woodpecker scalps (te'LRē) (type worn in Yurok Jumping dance). No Yurok-type head nets. Necklaces of 10 to 40 strings of small dentalia; dentalia in ears, nose. Skirt of mink, raccoon, fox, etc., skins; quiver of otter or fisher, trimmed with woodpecker scalps.

Women: basket cap, trimmed with dentalia. Hair in 2 braids, wrapped with strips of mink or otter skin; might wear to'Lkī in hair, fastened just below edge of cap. Necklaces of small dentalia. Two-piece apron of buckskin; back apron wide enough to go about waist and fasten in front, covered with small shells, na:set, usually 3 sizes, smallest at top, largest at bottom, abalone-shell pendants around bottom; front apron, shredded piece of buckskin decorated with shells, abalone. Sugar-pine nuts and smaller seeds also used to ornament dresses, especially of less wealthy.

Both sexes painted faces for ceremonies only; no fixed patterns, usually 3 vertical stripes on chin, 3 horizontal bars on cheeks, in red, white, and black paints.

*Tobacco and pipes.*—Tobacco (se'LūL) grown; burned off clump of brush, planted seed, covered with aromatic leaves, fir boughs, etc., to impart good flavor; patch sheltered by brush windbreak, to prevent wind from blowing away strength of leaves. Wild tobacco not used—"didn't taste good."

Pipe (etco'), concave, tubular, of polished wood, inset steatite bowl, sometimes *Haliotis* inlay on stem. Carried in small skin sack, diameter of pipe but slightly longer, to hold tobacco in bottom. Men smoked in sweat house, when "training"; in sacred or dangerous places.

*Games.*—Many-stick guessing game. Principals agreed on day, place, began to train. Usually gambled in house, sometimes in sweat house. Each side (principal and his kin) had set of 50 to 100 slender rods (tea'Lti'), 5 "aces" (teaxu'n), rod with band around middle, deerskin robe. Wore feathers, necklaces, but not most valuable things. Leaders sat on deerskin robes on opposite sides of fire, with pile of sand into which extra "aces" were placed. Bets put in woman's cap; anyone could contribute, or make side bets with any opponent. Twelve counters (teun) placed between sides; won from this common pile until gone, then from each other. Leader (colloquially, "dealer") divided tea'Lti, with one ace, behind back, while his side sang, shook deer-hoof rattle, beat drum (hide over rectangular frame, modern; informants state used to pound cooking basket with end of rattles). Dealer brought sticks to front; other side guessed which hand contained ace. Anyone might guess; clapped hands, then pointed to hand opposite one which he thought contained ace;<sup>17</sup> dealer threw sticks down one or two at time from other hand; if ace appeared, opponents shouted "teaxun!"; won privilege of dealing. If guess wrong, drew ace from remainder, won one counter. Overanxious guesser revealed intentions by

<sup>17</sup> This seems to be equivalent of guessing for unmarked stick in the more northerly hand game.



gestures, expression, etc.; at disadvantage, because anyone might guess, but if 2 guessed at once, and guessed both ways, dealer threw down both bunches, and won. Leader of each side usually began dealing, but chose someone else to take his place. When man won 11 counters, gave deal to someone else; sometimes when won 10 (especially if consecutively), opponents shouted "two!" ("na:æ!"); play was for last 2 counters. Sometimes continued for 2 days and nights. Women might watch, bet, but not sing, guess, or deal; if woman guessed a man (i.e., correctly), he would die within the year.

Women's dice (teutxu't), 2 large and 2 small mussel-shell disks. Picked up between hands, dropped on hide tied over acorn cooking basket; if pairs had same side up, or all 4 came up same, won a counter; if not, passed dice. Play was for 10 counters. Groups of women played long sessions. Did not sing.

Men's shinny (sa'hwī), 3 or more men on side, with long heavy spoon-shaped clubs; ball, round section of (willow ?) root buried in center of field, dug out with clubs, driven across opponents' goal. Used clubs to parry; good player never got hit. Some wrestling with clubs, but not as much as in Yurok men's shinny; was open, running game.

Women's shinny (natu'lteL), played like men's shinny, described above, but with light sticks, and double ball of 2 sticks tied together (same as Yurok men's shinny).

Other games, contests: wrestling, shooting at marks (with bows, later with rifles), foot races to a stick set in ground—winner, one who grasped first. Bet heavily on all games, etc.

*Dogs.*—Aboriginal dogs (Li'), described as "big, with pointed ears, slim belly." Trained to hunt, drive deer into water, etc. Named. Good hunting dogs prized; but regarded as magically potent for evil.

*Calendar.*—Twelve or 13 lunations counted; as result, 13th month sometimes equated with 1st or 12th. First 10 numbered, rest named. Year began "about Christmas time when the sun was farthest s," i.e., winter solstice. Moon names: La' tana'sta'ó', 1st moon; na:æ tana'sta'ó', 2d moon; ta:æ tana'sta'ó', 3d moon; tu'nteí tana'sta'ó', 4th moon; cwela' tana'sta'ó', 5th moon; hosta'ní tana'sta'ó', 6th moon; ste'te tana'sta'ó', 7th moon; na:æ-tūhū'mne tana'sta'ó', 8th moon; Latutū'í tana'sta'ó', 9th moon; nes'nceai tana'sta'ó', 10th moon; canūmnó'tó'ó tana'sta'ó' (untrans.); na:æ canūmnó'tó'ó tana'sta'ó, or cō'ncu'n. (This last moon was "bad," dangerous. Used to be 15 moons in a year, but this made winter too long; Coyote hid by their sweat house to kill some of them as they came out. He killed 2, the next (13th) managed to escape; Coyote only succeeded in stabbing him in the rump. The name is said to refer to this wound.)

*Mnemonic.*—To keep track of time (as number of days before dance, game), etc., made bundle of proper number of small sticks; broke one each day; when all broken, day had arrived.

#### MONEY AND PROPERTY

The money concept is one which the Tolowa shared with their neighbors up and down the North Pacific coast. Dentalium shells were the tokens serving as currency. The exact working out of the concept, as expressed in the nomenclature of the several lengths of dentalia, reflects the influence of two systems. The one was that of their northern neighbors, with whom they agreed in stringing the shells in tens and valuing them according to the total length of the string. The other system was that of the Yurok, who used a string of standard length, the value of which depended on the number of shells it contained. Ten shells of a Yurok "11-string" reached the highest mark on a Tolowa's arm, leaving one shell over; a 12-string reached the next highest, leaving two shells over, and so on; hence the Tolowa names.

The part played by this shell money in Tolowa culture corresponds exactly to that of our currency among ourselves. In both forms, the value of the tokens is arbitrary and standardized. The uses of the dentalia were virtually the same as those of our money. One could pay damages; hire a doctor to cure; buy a

magical formula, a canoe, a quiverful of arrows, or a dance headband with the shells. (Paying a price for a manufactured object is of course the equivalent of paying wages for work done.) The chief points of difference are that the Tolowa currency counted for more in determining social status, and that it was not normally exchanged for the necessities of life. The first difference is the result of the lack of other mechanisms for rating society (I am speaking now in terms of Tolowa culture only; the source of the northwestern wealth-status concept of course must be sought among higher cultures). Whereas our culture offers various means of attaining social recognition besides mere possession of wealth, the Tolowa had no other device by which a man might be honored above the rest of the populace. (Shamanism is a possible exception, but, as will be seen, the obtaining of supernatural power was motivated to an appreciable degree by the wealth to be derived therefrom.)

The second difference appears more basic than it really is. We are accustomed to think of money as something to be exchanged for economic, or subsistence, wealth. That the Tolowa did not use their currency to purchase foodstuffs does not make the dentalia any less money; it means merely that to them food was only edible, not saleable. There was, after all, no need to buy food. As has been indicated, the economic unit was not the individual, but the entire paternal kin group. Were one member hungry, others gave him food from their stores, knowing that when his hunting or fishing luck improved he would distribute his catch as liberally. To say that Tolowa money differed in essence from ours because it was not used to purchase one class of things which was unsaleable and did not need to be bought, would be to draw an artificial distinction.

In considering the cultural significance of the money concept of the Tolowa and their neighbors two facts must be recognized. The first is that the supply of money was limited, and consequently the values remained fairly stable. The total national wealth probably never varied greatly. The distance from the source of supply prohibited any sudden inflations of the currency. The second point is that the individual fortunes did not circulate freely, but remained in the hands of a few men and their direct descendants. I do not mean that sums were not frequently transferred between members of this wealthy class, but that the mass of people had little opportunity to receive more than trifling amounts. In other words, a poor man could not become rich. Most of the advice given the young harped on the fact that a serious-minded youth who "trained" assiduously might thereby hope to acquire riches. Many tales are told of poor but industrious lads who came to gain great wealth, tales very reminiscent of our own moral yarns about the ambitious newsboy who became a millionaire by his efforts. But the moral lectures and the tales alike are extremely vague when it comes to the practical details of how one went about becoming rich. The usual solution is found in a supernatural reward. One can conceive of no means other than the supernatural by which a fortune might be acquired by a poor man. The tokens were concentrated in the hands of the rich, and there they remained. The mode of inheritance, by which all heirs nominally held shares but the eldest (or brother) actually "kept the estate together," saw to this. Poor men were given shares of sums received as weregild

or marriage payments by their rich kinsmen, but the amounts they received were too small to be of any consequence. Men were also paid for making canoes, and arrows, and for decorating dentalia, etc. But there was never a demand for these products sufficient to give rise to a real artisan class. A canoe-maker, for instance, in the course of an ordinary lifetime would never make canoes enough to get rich thereby. The only real professional class in Tolowa society was that of the shamans, who received many payments of tokens and valuables for their services. It is possible that in several generations a line of shamans might have been able to accumulate a large amount of wealth, but even this would be a slow process. By and large, direct inheritance was the only practical means of becoming a rich-man.

The effect of this stability of the fortunes was to segregate society into two sharply set-off classes: the rich-men (and their immediate families), and the poor people, who constituted the bulk of the population. Slaves fell into the latter group; they were treated the same as poor relatives.

The Tolowa had another class of valuables, which Kroeber, in describing their use by the Yurok, has appropriately termed "treasure." These were the scarlet woodpecker scalps and the "flints" used chiefly in wealth-display dances. Occasionally they were exchanged in transactions of great moment. The so-called "women's money," consisting of the beads and shells used to decorate women's dance regalia, is more properly to be likened to the treasure of the men, but because of its lesser value was more often used in exchange.

Dentalia (te'ltos), strung in tens. Over-all length of string, from extended thumb and forefinger to upper-arm tattoo marks, determined value; individual shells measured against finger joint or tattoo marks on hand for check and identification. All on string supposed to be same size; actually seldom were: usually 5 each of 2 sizes; 2 or 3 large shells on "head end," rest small; or graduated series. Names of sizes and of string containing 10 such shells same: teūLa', longest, estimated at \$50 a string or \$5 each; teūna':re, \$20 or \$2 each; teūta':re, \$10 or \$1 each; teūtu'ntci, \$5 or \$.50 each. Smaller gradations recognized, indicated on tattoos; e.g., teūtu'ntci, kwe'si teūtu'ntci (a little smaller,—lit., "middle"), senemo'n teūtu'ntci ("shortest"). Smaller than teūtu'ntci not money; strung for necklaces (na'gactekLū), worth \$.25 half fathom; decorated pieces (teūtu'ntci na'gactekLū), \$.50 half fathom.

Names of strings refer directly to Yurok strings of 11, 12, 13, and 14 shells; teū, "big," "more," in this usage "left over"; La, "one"; na':re, "two"; ta':re, "three"; tu'ntci, "four"; i.e., in measuring Yurok string of longest shells, 10 shells would be held against arm and one left over, not included; in 12-string, 2 left over, etc.

Largest dentalia (gla'tci'ltcūt, "hand grasp with"), not strung. Projected beyond hand when grasped. (Also called na'hwulun hwo're, "dead person's rib," since one sufficed for death payment.)

Dentalia decorated with snakeskin wrappings, woodpecker-scalp down, incised lines. Paid ca. \$1 per string for decorating; did not affect value but served for identification.

Scalps of the red-headed woodpecker (tcet:tu'k) almost like currency. Larger \$2 each; smaller \$.25 to \$.50. Scalps usually of red part only; skin of whole head (tcet:tu'k tamu'L, "woodpecker scalp with mouth," i.e., beak) occasionally used. Wide headdresses (te'lbe), of 50-60 scalps sewn on buckskin base in 3 rows, value ca. \$100. Occasionally figured in transactions.

Large blades (teunti'), of black obsidian and other silicates, red or white, extremely valuable. Chiefly for wealth display, sometimes used in exchanges. Post-white machete-like "whale knives" (usually made of cross-cut saw), extremely valuable in early his-

toric times. Some references to similar "knives" made of whale bone, owned by rich-men before contacts with whites (and used in wealth displays).

Women's money (trə'hai hitru't) included: shells for dance dress (na'set), \$10, \$5, \$3, half fathom, according to size. Round clamshell beads, obtained in trade, \$7, \$5, \$3, half fathom, according to size. Abalone-shell pendants (La'hwo':cti teelai'kletas'o'), prized, few abalones found in Crescent bay, most obtained recently from white traders. Small gastropod shell (teekī'k), found on beach, \$1 per 10 fathoms. Pine seeds (mulhwe'mē'), traded from inland, \$1.50 per 5 fathoms; smaller black seeds (tcūlī't) \$1 per 5 fathoms.

The individual property rights held in land, based as they were on the death of a kinsman at the place, clearly represent an extension of the ordinary mourners' rights to a claim of permanent tenure. That is, mourners were entitled to be the first to go in search of food after the five-day mourning period; in the "owned" places they claimed the right of prior use in perpetuity. Actually, only while the memory of the deceased was fresh in their minds did such private ownership cut much of a figure in the daily life. Only then was trespass really resented. Informants are often hard put to it to define the limits of a rich-man's claims, or in some instances to recall precisely in whom a title was vested. They are prone to refer to tracts as belonging "to such-and-such a town (which means, of course, a kin group); they all used it, and other people could go there too." But after a death, the owners "had to be the first to go there" (i.e., claimed the right to be the first). The idea of land ownership was present, but it would be reading false values into the picture to represent the concept as an important factor in the culture, for only under special circumstances was it brought into play.

Deer-hunting, acorn-picking tracts; riffles for spearing, trapping salmon, etc., most small streams which fish entered; sites of 2 annual weirs in river, all private, hereditary property. Almost never transferred outside of family. Hereditary owner nominal owner only; "he was boss for it" but all his kin had right to utilize; only outsiders had to ask permission (which was ordinarily freely given). Townsfolk thus held surrounding areas. Man of wealth and prestige might claim a place, enforcing claims for trespass, etc.; became hereditary property. Usual grounds for such claim: death of kinsman there, so trespass became insult to dead and to mourners.

Each coastal town "owned" adjacent beach, i.e., owned dead whales that drifted ashore there. (Only in 2 towns, yotokut and etculet, did beach areas coincide.) Individuals "owned" certain pieces, e.g., shore or ocean side of tail, or cubit square piece of blubber from back, etc. Rich-man might own many such portions, usually gave most away to poor kin. All owners had to be notified before butchering could start; very jealous of claims—man might be killed for cutting strip few inches too wide. Claims inheritable; occasionally sold (though no set value); thus some men owned rights on several beaches.

Right to make trip to sea-lion rocks hereditary property; only one or two in each town held rights at one time. xawunhwut and yotokut people did not use rights as much as those of nearer towns, who moved to permanent camp at Point St. George every summer when sea became smooth enough for trip. Each year owner who had most recently lost a kinsman "opened the season" making first trip. He had right to break canoe of anyone who usurped this right. If no one had died recently, all owners went together, then might go at their pleasure. Sea-lion claims occasionally transferred.

#### SOCIAL LIFE

*The town.*—The unit of Tolowa society was extremely simple, consisting of a group of paternal kindred, who inhabited a town and shared in the right to exploit the food resources of the surrounding territory. Before the destructive

effect of Caucasian culture made itself felt, genealogies show that nearly all the male inhabitants of a town were related. The number of free lances who attached themselves to the strongest groups for the benefits to be derived increased as the culture was shattered and the families began to die out. Our survey of local geography makes clear that each town group was economically, and even religiously, an independent entity. The fact that there was a sprinkling of small settlements associated with each major town does not mar the simplicity of this picture. These were outposts of the town groups; a family or two would move permanently to one of the camp sites which they were entitled to use. They retained their blood ties to the major group. The inhabitants of these suburbs, even where the cause of the shift is reputed to have been a family quarrel, usually aligned themselves for both feuds and festivities with their more numerous kin.

As has been noted, at least two of the towns, xawunhwut and yotokut, were divided into two parts. In both towns, the two halves were branch lineages of a single group. As the original lineage became more populous, and perhaps unwieldy, it simply split in two. Though the daughter groups were nominally independent, the remembered kinship and propinquity contrived to make them cooperate on most occasions.

These towns, with their suburbs, represent at once the minimal and maximal social units. (It must be borne in mind that the term "Tolowa" is used only for convenience in referring to the Nadene-speaking population just south of the Oregon-California line.) There was no feeling of tribal unity. Each kin group was politically autonomous; what outside ties existed were only those of traceable blood kinship or marriage. Thus, the tatatun people had no complications about siding with the Yurok of Rekwoi, among whom they had many relatives, against other "Tolowa" towns.

It is my impression that the town groups were in a sense rather fluid. If a lineage prospered and multiplied for some generations, the kinship bond weakened and the people gravitated around the stronger subgroups, or rather, around the leading men of the branches. This is obviously the manner in which the town divisions mentioned above were formed. Or a man might move, after a family unpleasantness, establishing a settlement at some camp site. If informants are to be believed, such quarrels were the chief cause of populational shifts, though doubtless economic considerations, such as the desire to be nearer good fishing places, or even sheer restlessness, were also contributing factors. Once established, a division or suburb might thrive, coming to rival the parent town in importance. This seems to have been true of mesLtel'tun, which was apparently a former tatatun suburb. In this fashion the centers of population must have shifted appreciably in the course of several generations.

*The rich-man.*—Each of these town lineages centered about one individual, the man of greatest wealth. His status derived from his possession of riches. The rich-man had no formal authority at all; if his kinsmen did his bidding it was out of respect for his wealth and his personality.

A rich-man (xucæ') was one who had: a house big enough for a dance, valuables enough (own possessions and those he had the right to borrow from

brothers-in-law, etc.) to equip a dance; a sweat house; hunting, fishing, whale, and sea-lion claims; canoes, nets, harpoons, and other gear for exploiting those rights; money enough to obtain allegiance of young men by buying them wives and paying weregild for wrongs committed by them at his orders or at their own discretion. His position thus was based on wealth; it was hereditary only in the sense that wealth was inherited.

The relationship uniting the rich-man and his kinsfolk was essentially a symbiotic one. It is said that some of the richest men never worked; their henchmen hunted and fished for them. In return the rich-man gave feasts, and in lean times would share his stores with his people. He bought wives for the young men, or at least contributed most of the payment; but it was also he who accepted and held the bride prices paid for their sisters and daughters. Perhaps most important of all, it was the rich-man who was obliged to pay compensation for wrongs his henchmen committed, to save them, and himself, from retaliation. Secure in the knowledge that he could, and would, thus protect them from vengeance, the poor men worked and fought for their rich relative. It is only fair to add that he received a lion's share of any indemnities paid for injuries to one of them. The rich and the poor, then, were bound together not only by ties of blood but also by the actual necessity for coöperation. Neither a rich-man without henchmen nor a brave man without a wealth protector could survive; society compelled them to join forces.

*Marriage.*—Although the existence of true "purchase marriage" in North America has been questioned, the Tolowa usage appears to fulfill all the requirements of that institution. First and most important, the people themselves definitely feel that a man, or rather his family, *bought* a wife from another kin group. A few men are known who betrothed infant daughters—"sold" is the term informants use—simply for the purpose of raising money when hard-pressed by claims for damages. Informants see nothing objectionable in such negotiations. This would scarcely be true if such "betrothals" were not perfectly in keeping with the attitude toward the bride price; that is, the money transferred at a marriage is considered to be nothing more nor less than a price paid for the woman's person, just as anything else may be bought and paid for. This attitude also made permissible the handing over of women in blood payments. Such usages would scarcely have been possible had the marriage payment been merely the first part of an exchange of gifts between the two families concerned. It is true enough that there was a dowry, and often a sizeable one, brought by the bride to her husband's people, but there is a world of difference between the initial payment and the dowry. The amount paid for the bride was arrived at by bargaining through an intermediary, and was mandatory. The amount of the dowry was never prearranged, and it was not always given. The idea of the dowry was not to reciprocate for the bride price, but rather to demonstrate that the woman's family were rich and powerful, and hence would not permit their kinswoman to be maltreated. "It showed that they (her family) cared something for her, and so her husband's side had to treat her well." The dowry of a rich-man's daughter consisted of a dance dress, which the bride gave to her mother-in-law, and dance paraphernalia

(headdresses, otter-skin quivers, etc.), worn by her escort and handed over by them to the groom's sponsor. The latter was expected to prove that he also was rich and honorable by sending the escort home reëquipped as handsomely as they had arrived. It is quite obvious that the "exchange of gifts" which accompanied a marriage was not an even trade. The man's family gave two amounts and received but one. In marriages of poorer people, that is, the more distant kin of the rich-men, smaller sums were transferred, and the affairs were concluded with much less formality.

It seems worth adding that this purchasing of women did not react unfavorably on their status. They were not considered mere chattels, despite the fact that they were sold for a price. After all, they were human beings in whose welfare their relatives had an active interest. Blood kinship counted for a great deal among these people. For this reason, the bride price was supposed to be kept intact so that it might be refunded readily if the woman was mistreated. The recipient of this sum, father, brother, or rich kinsman, assumed responsibility for the woman's well being; the trusteeship being inheritable in the same fashion as other property. Another duty incumbent upon the trustee was to make a payment at the death of the woman's child. At the end of the five-day mourning period he had to send a payment "so that the woman could again cook for her husband." The latter (or his sponsor, who had furnished the bride price) was supposed to make a reciprocal payment, which was considered an addition to the bride price. Actually, these returns were not made regularly, since they could not be compelled. In recent times, at least, a man who held many trusteeships (for daughters, sisters, nieces, etc.) was, owing to the high infant mortality, quite out of pocket.

The result of a marriage was to establish a formal bond between the two families involved. In-laws were supposed to "respect" and aid each other. The respect took the form of decorous speech and an exchange of gifts at visits; the aid, that of lending each other valuables for dances. This last was the reason why it behooved a rich-man to marry and to see that his sons married daughters of wealthy men. In-laws were also supposed to be good friends. My informants seemed quite shocked in telling of an occasion in which a man, justly enraged at being despoiled of his right to the first trip to the sea-lion rocks by a brother-in-law, vowed to shoot the offender. "You see how mad he got (when cheated of his sea-lion rights); he said he was going to shoot his *own* brother-in-law!" It scarcely need be mentioned that these formal friendships were often only cultural ideals.

An effect of this contractual bond established by a marriage between two families appears in the attitude toward the sororate. It was in the nature of an insult for a widower to break this affinal relationship by remarrying into a family other than that of his dead wife. Even if they had no eligible daughters, "a good man would ask his (dead) wife's family before he married someone else; then they know he still thinks something of them." The same held true to a certain degree of the levirate. A widow's brothers-in-law felt that they had a claim on her, but if she remarried elsewhere their hurt pride could be assuaged by a payment from her new spouse.

Marriage: by purchase, usually "ca. \$100" (actual range, from \$50 to ca. \$300) in dentalia, valuables. Groom's father or rich kinsman arranged and delivered bride price through intermediary to girl's sponsor (father or rich-man); some days after, latter sent her to her husband's home, with escort of male and female kin, bearing gifts. Wealthy girl brought: dance dress for her mother-in-law; food, valuables, dance regalia, which her father-in-law distributed among those of his kinsmen who had contributed to the bride price. He was obliged to reëquip the escort to send them home. Was mark of distinction: to pay extremely high price for bride; to obtain bride from great distance (i.e., from Oregon, Yurok, Karok, etc.); to have many wives; to exchange sisters, full payment accompanying each. Man of standing attempted to arrange marriage for himself or son which would establish the most advantageous connections. No stigma attached to marriage to woman given as part of blood payment. "Half-marriage," i.e., matrilocal residence, with small payment, considered dishonorable, occurred rarely (as compared to Yurok).<sup>18</sup> Bride's gift of dance dress to mother-in-law considered crux of situation, "she buys him and brings him into her house like a slave."

Arranging of marriage by heads of families led to many child betrothals. Payments sometimes transferred at betrothal; if one of pair died before nubility, without available substitute, payment refunded. Girl usually remained in care of her parents till puberty, then sent to betrothed husband.

Informants assert that it was considered well for a man to marry a relative on the maternal side; "it makes the two families closer." Any maternal relative, cross or parallel, might be married, but it was felt that kin on the father's side were too closely connected to be married.

Of 124 marriages recorded from etculet and tatatun, 14 were of couples belonging to the same town; but in none of these 14 marriages could a paternal relationship be traced within the 3 or 4 generations of the genealogies.

In other words, patrilocal residence seems to have been the important factor in regulating marriage. There was no definite rule against marriage within the town, and such marriages did occur (though there was a definite feeling that a man of standing would seek a wife from afar); but coresidence plus a traceable degree of kinship was a bar. The father's sister's daughter was said to be ineligible as a mate, probably because the father's sister still "belonged" to the kin group that held her bride price and was responsible for her. This system of kin marriage is obviously not to be compared to the custom of "cross-cousin marriage," since here the distinction is not between cross and parallel kindred, but rather according to residence.

The source of the concept would seem to lie in the strong feeling for the importance of affinal relationships. The bond between the two families connected by marriage was as strong as well as a formal one. Rather than allow this tie to be broken, a woman's family might at her death take the initiative in arranging for a successor. This substitute could be inherited or given directly to one of the husband's younger kinsmen, even his own son. The significant point to native eyes lay in maintaining and strengthening the affinal connection.

Upriver xawunhwut rich-man bought a tatatun woman, by whom he had several children. Her brother received the bride price; on his death left it to his son, Sagina. The eldest son of the xawunhwut man was of marriageable age when a younger child died; the father refused Sagina's proffered death payment, demanding a bride instead. Sagina

<sup>18</sup> Waterman and Kroeber, *Yurok Marriages*, 1934.



gave his sister; the xawunhwut man did not want her for himself, but gave her to his eldest son (of course a payment was made to validate the union). The reason given for his insistence on the marriage was that he wanted to continue to be able to borrow treasure from Sagina for dances.

It is admittedly difficult to determine the frequency with which kin marriage was practiced; it most certainly was never of common occurrence, despite its theoretical good repute. Informants can cite only very few instances. Nevertheless, the fact that even a few well-authenticated occurrences are known, coupled with the favorable attitude with which it was regarded, make it certain that the trait was present in the culture.

*Levirate and sororate.*—Common. If husband died, his younger unmarried kinsman made small payment to widow's family to marry her. Lacking available male, she might be "set free" to return home. Her children belonged to husband's kin; if she had no children, husband's kin demanded payment from next husband as recompense for bride price (small amount usually sufficient). At wife's death, husband could claim a substitute, but had to pay for her (not full bride price); the in-laws often took the initiative in substitution, since it was an insult not to continue the relationship. On death of a child, rich-man might demand another bride in lieu of usual death payment, thus marrying 2 sisters (had to pay for 2d wife).

*Divorce.*—Common; grounds: adultery, cruelty, incompatibility. Adulterous wife sent home; refund of bride price, and nearly equal amount from her lover, enforced. Slaying of guilty pair common; might cause feud, but usually weregild for both accepted more readily since they were "in the wrong." Confession extorted from suspected wife by holding her naked over the fire. Dramatic accounts tell of such ordeals in which a slave, who was woman's lover, assisted the husband. Abused woman could return home, telling kin to refund her bride price; they would be forever shamed if they permitted their kinswoman to be ill-treated without protest.

*Seduction.*—Seduction of unmarried girl serious affair; offender forced to pay for the wrong, and pay to marry her; or, if he did not want her, paid equivalent of the full marriage price, leaving the child "on the woman's side." Seduction of widow less serious; payments smaller, though as strictly enforced. Most remarriages of widows (outside husband's kin group) resulted from such affairs; payment constituted the marriage.

*Household.*—Man, wife (or wives), unmarried children. Married sons supposed to build houses of their own; usually near father's; 2 married brothers did not normally share house, "their women would fight."

*Kinship.*—(For terminology see Gifford.)<sup>19</sup> Close blood kindred formed unit against outsiders; paternal kin, because they lived together, formed basic social group. Man expected to help kin: to contribute to their marriage and weregild payments, to work or fight for them, at any time; kin were under same obligations to him. All members of kin group entitled to use hereditary hunting, fishing, etc., lands, though one was the nominal owner.

A man and his classificatory brothers-in-law closely connected, but more formally. Exchanges of presents considered good form on visits, etc. (as well as at death of child). Man's brother-in-law supposed to lend him valuables for wealth displays. Obscene remarks in brother-in-law's presence gave grounds for claim. No in-law avoidance; no joking relationships.

*Inheritance.*—Wealth, real property, descended in family; eldest son "kept it together," i.e., held most of it, though nominally all had shares. Sons, brothers, brothers' sons, sisters, and daughters inherited in about order named; females only if no close male heirs. Wife inherited nothing.

*Trusteeships.*—Money given in marriage payments supposed to be kept intact (so it might be refunded in case of divorce, etc.), inherited in same manner as wealth. In-

<sup>19</sup> Gifford, 1922.

heritance of such funds implied assumption of responsibility for welfare of woman for whom they were given and also of making payments to husband on death of her children. Trusteeships inherited by women if no male heirs available.

*Torts and damages.*—It is not necessary to comment at length upon the legal system, for in essence it is the same as that which Kroeber has described for the Yurok. The underlying principle was that every injury had to be compensated by payment, whether avenged in blood or not. If blood vengeance were taken, and it usually was in more serious cases, both wrongs had to be paid for before the affair could be settled. The main point of difference between the Tolowa weregild system and that of the lower Klamath, as described by Kroeber, is that the amounts paid by the former were less standardized. There was indeed a pattern scale of values for all sorts of injuries which informants can recite, but cases show that the amounts actually paid were determined by other factors. (See Appendix, cases 1 to 17.)

Wrongs were against individual (and his kin), and were settled with them. Financial compensation only valid settlement; if revenge taken, both injuries had to be paid for. Defendants usually sent intermediary (kwecutnagaL, "in the middle he walks"), who conferred with both sides until agreement was reached, diplomatically altering tenor of insulting messages to prevent further strife; had to be man of standing to command respect and attention of hot-tempered youths. If intermediary related to both sides, expedited settlement. He received no fixed sum; was "given a present" for efforts by parties concerned. One rich-man, a noted intermediary, seldom was paid as much as he himself contributed in order to hasten settlement; of course defendants were thus obligated to him. One or two men usually accompanied intermediary as witnesses; on some occasions "witnesses" really an armed guard to intimidate other side. Threatening and bargaining, to save face, preceded most settlements. After agreement, formal meeting arranged; both sides brought respective payments, but fully armed; payments transferred; danced, then on friendly terms again—if meeting did not resolve into pitched battle instead. Once formal payments made, not supposed to harbor ill-feelings (though of course old feuds often flared up anew long after settlement).

Scale of values for various injuries theoretically more or less formalized: adultery, \$100 (i.e., = bride price); murder, ca. \$100–150; wounds, depending on seriousness, \$30–75 (if wounded man died after payment made his side had no further claim; if wound not paid for, demanded full murder price); head and face wounds higher than body wounds (unless latter very serious); fist fight, \$10–20; swearing (including holding hand with outstretched fingers toward person) and speaking a "dead name" (this was swearing, whether intended as insult or not), \$10–20; violation of mourners' rights (including trespass on claim established at a death), \$10–20.

Actually, plaintiff demanded as much as he thought he could bully other side into paying; a very rich man, with many armed henchmen, received more for an injury than a lesser person, even injuries to his dignity had to be paid for.

Vengeance not obtained on even "eye-for-eye" basis: man slashing another's face with a knife, or beating him severely, would be killed if failed to pay. Similarly, in a killing, victim's family would seek life, not of stripling who committed the deed but of "the best man on his side," i.e., the rich-man of the family. This gave rich-man strong incentive for parting with his money to pay for crime. All members of group contributed to make up necessary sum, but rich-man had to give larger part. Conversely, on receipt of weregild, rich-man kept most, distributing only small portions to kinsmen; even wounded man got only small share.

Accidental injuries paid for same as malicious ones. Injuries of minor nature (fighting, swearing) between poor persons often settled by them through intermediary; not brought to attention of rich-man. Women could receive payments; women's quarrels

settled in "women's money." If minor affair not settled, and plaintiff died meanwhile, his kin said, "He took your hand with him" (in event of fist fight) or "He took your tongue with him" (cursing), demanded double usual amount.

*Wars.*—Wars more properly feuds between two kin groups; intertribal "warfare" (as with Yurok, etc.) on same basis: family from one town (plus perhaps a few more-distant kin and affinal relatives, and a "lively" man or two) might carry on feud with similar group of Yurok; actually Tolowa often sided with Rekwoi (at mouth of Klamath r.), where they had more affinal kin, against other Yurok groups. Semihistorical accounts tell of xawunhwut rich-man who sent raiding party to N of Rogue r., and another to Grant's pass, for no particular reason save sheer maliciousness, and because he was rich enough to pay for any wrongs he wanted to commit. Ambush, night raids on sweat house, trickery, usual tactics; though pitched battle might occur if two inimical groups chanced to meet. In battle, individuals dodged about, shooting at each other; sometimes grappled with and held foe till ally stabbed or clubbed him. Women might pick up arrows, or even take part if husband or kinsman was being worsted.

*Slaves.*—Slave-holding was practiced in a minor way. The chief value of slaves was to enhance the prestige of their owners. One has the feeling that the Tolowa knew vaguely that a rich-man should own some slaves, but didn't quite know what to do with them. Slaves hunted and fished for their master just as did his poorer kinsmen. In fact, they were treated in about the same way; a man might buy a good slave for a wife. "They treated good slaves just like their own relatives." There were probably never very many slaves at any one time.

Slavery usually for debt (damage claims), which defendant unable to pay; such acts as: swearing at rich-man; violating mourners' rights; being rescued (especially from drowning). (Yurok said to have been particularly addicted to this last means of acquiring slaves. "If you were standing in water up to your knees, they [Yurok] would try to pull you out, to claim you for slave.") No capture of prisoners for slaves. Slavery not particularly disgraceful, except implied poverty.

*The functioning of society.*—The functional aspect of Tolowa social life is extremely interesting. The society operated under a rather complex set of rules. Food-getting was hedged about by property rights, which were at times guarded most jealously. A marriage had to be arranged by a formal procedure of purchase; if separation followed, the money had to be refunded. A man had certain obligations to his kin, and others to his in-laws. Murder, adultery, trespass, and cursing all had to be paid for in a formal manner, and, ideally, according to a set scale of values. Thus, there was a pattern controlling all social contacts, all clashes of the egos, which was consistent enough within itself to provide for any sort of situation. Informants are seldom at a loss when hypothetical cases, for example of injury to persons or property, are put to them to say who would be held responsible and how much weregild he would have to pay (though in practice this theoretical scale was not always adhered to). And yet there was absolutely no formal machinery for the enforcement of this system of rules and regulations. Within the kin group, the rich-man had no formal authority. His influence depended upon his wealth and per-

sonality. He could not actually compel any of his people to comply with his wishes; yet at the same time, he dictated the policy of the whole group, for there was no democratic conclave to guide or pass upon his decisions. Similarly, there was no superior authority, neither tribal chief nor council, empowered to regulate intergroup relations. The forces which really controlled the contacts of individuals and of groups were of a different nature. The chief motivating factor of the culture was the emphasis on prestige. This pride in status was very real; one defended one's honor zealously and sought to enhance it at every opportunity. Another important factor was the strength of the blood bond. These two things combined to provide the social machinery and to give the social attitudes their characteristic cast. There is nothing in these factors which differs radically from the Leitmotifs of the more northerly coastal cultures. The comparative poverty of the Tolowa simply caused different manifestations of these principles. One might say that the southerners had the same notions, but less to work with. The madly splendid gestures by which the northerners gained prestige, giving away or demolishing huge amounts of property, would have been impracticable for the Tolowa, and were certainly unthinkable. Treasuring as he did his few little bits of wealth, the true northwestern Californian would as lief cut off an arm as deliberately to smash a single dentalium. He had to content himself with making a display of his wealth by equipping a line of dancers. To maintain his social position he had to guard himself against any affront. Indeed, were he quick to resent any indignity, he would enhance his status.

This desire, or even need, to save one's face regulated the legal system. A man *had* to avenge any wrong committed against himself or a kinsman. He might choose to take blood revenge, and pay for it properly afterward; this was the more honorable course, since it showed that he was not desirous merely of a financial return. But even a claim for damages, pressed and paid, made clear that here was a man of power and substance, and one not to be trifled with. Should he allow any offense to pass unheeded, however, he would mark himself a weakling and coward, to be imposed upon by every bully and braggadocio who came along. His future safety depended on his course of action. The revenge taken, or the amount of compensation demanded, varied inversely according to the strength of the other side. The latter expected him to take the most drastic steps, but, to save face in turn, had to wait until he made the first move. Too great a readiness to pay weregild was also a sign of fear, of weakness. Every settlement was preceded by a long haggling over amounts, by threats and counter-threats, terminated barely in time to prevent further violence. The haggling was motivated not by a feeling of avarice, but by a desire for prestige. To press and compel payment of an exorbitant claim, on the one hand, or to defy such demands and finally settle for but little, on the other, were moral victories that covered one with glory.

The manner in which the sea-lion hunting was managed affords a good picture of the working of the social system. By an extension of the usual mourners' rights, the "owner" who had most recently lost a kinsman was entitled to make the first trip of the season. There was no formal conference to decide this matter. In as small a population as that

of the Tolowa everyone necessarily knew who had the prior right. Trespass could thus be nothing less than an intended insult, which the injured party had to avenge if he did not wish to be subjected to everlasting contempt.

The desire for prestige motivated other phases of life as well. Marriage was *de convenance*; the ideal was to rise in public esteem by creating an economically advantageous alliance. The interpretation placed upon "half-marriage," and its consequent unpopularity, derive from the same concern over public opinion.

The foregoing remarks apply directly to the small class of men of wealth, since it was they who dominated and directed the social life. It is not always easy to determine the attitude of the poor. In general, the latter seem to have shared in the same prestige interest, if somewhat vicariously, the glory of their rich kinsman being reflected upon them. They arrayed themselves in his finery in the dances. They received a share, if but a small one, of payments made to him, and he made payments for wives or weregilds in their behalf. And, after all, he was more than just a master; he was a blood relative as well.

I have sought to make clear that the interest in prestige took precedence over any desire for wealth for its sake alone. It cannot be denied that there seems on first acquaintance to be a rather avaricious cast to the social attitudes, but greater familiarity reveals this wealth emphasis is far subordinate to the desire for social esteem. The rich-man, who in his capacity as intermediary contributed far more to expedite settlement than he could hope to receive for his services, was obviously not seeking financial gain, but honor. Nor would a man cold-bloodedly kill another who refused to pay a damage claim amounting to perhaps twenty dollars, thereby making himself liable for a claim five times as great, and to possible reprisals as well, merely for the paltry sum involved. Such an act is intelligible only when we realize that the killer was defending his prestige; had he dropped his rightful claims, others would have felt free to repeat the offense. One who hoarded dentalia out of sheer avarice would never be esteemed as a "rich-man." Status was indeed reckoned in terms of wealth, but only when the tokens were used for the benefit and protection of the kin group.

#### THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

More features varying from Yurok custom appear in the usages associated with the crises of life than in any other phase of Tolowa culture. Nevertheless, the Tolowa, at least those of the southern towns, were taking over concepts of their Yurok neighbors, a process which seems to have been directly correlated with the many intermarriages.

One concept which is especially noteworthy is the final act of the name-giving ritual: at the conclusion of the feast a basket of whale oil was thrown on the fire. There are, unfortunately, no known parallels south of the Columbia, but many northward.

*Birth.*—Parturition in living house; woman reclined, holding to cords tied to roof. First 5 days infant put in openwork food tray; washed twice daily with deer-tail brush; fed only few drops of water colored with scrapings of abalone shell; eyebrows marked with black paint of soot and deer tallow to make black. (In southern towns, tatatun,

mesl̄teltun, put directly into cradle basket; mother "smoked" herself and child daily for 10 days with fir and salalberry leaves.) Father gave small present to all who came to see child, during the 5 days. Child then put into cradle. Meat, fresh fish, cold water, taboo to mother for 10 days, to father for 5 days (in southern towns taboos lasted longer, as among Yurok). At end of respective taboo periods, parents underwent purification ceremony, i.e., recitation of formula over foods which removed taboos. Placenta (called "baby's grandmother") placed in tree. Child's umbilical cord kept in little decorated buckskin bag, tied to handle of cradle, later worn on necklace for good luck. Bit of angelica root tied to back of cradle. As child grew, changed into 2 or 3 successively larger cradles; abandoned ones kept unless child died, in which event were taken to woods and left.

In event of miscarriage or stillbirth, man and wife went through full food-purification rite (see first-salmon rite); then went to brush shelter out in the woods; not permitted to talk, make fire in daytime, eat anything but dried fish and acorn soup. A woman brought their food once a day; she had to bathe after each trip. After 5 days, man returned home, underwent food purification a second time, sweated, smoked self with fir boughs, etc.; might cut arms and legs to "get rid of the bad blood." Five days later, the woman moved to brush hut near living house, where she remained another 10 days; then ceremonially "brought back into the house"; went through food purification. Clothes of couple left in woods. Embryo not buried in cemetery; buried in woods at night in spruce-root basket. After woman had miscarriage, no sea lions could be found on sea-lion rocks; rocks covered with blood. Hunters ground up some herbs in a basket of water, with formula; took mixture out to rocks and sprinkled it about on them; then would be many sea lions.

Twins, if of same sex, will live; if of opposite sex, only first born will live. Killing of one of pair denied.

Rich-man, to insure child's welfare, might give feast 6 mos. to year after birth; hired priest to perform food purification, then gave feast, weniya'te'ryū, "eat for him."

*Naming.*—Names usually given between 5–10 yrs. (till then child called by kinship term, or equivalent of "boy" or "girl"). Rich-man announced feast for own children; all people with unnamed children brought them. Two men who knew procedure hired; were told what names were to be given; usually "brought up dead names," i.e., bestowed name of dead relative, which removed taboo on use. Guests assembled in house; children brought to door by one of ritualists, told to say, e.g., t'a na'set tel̄a', "x on beach whale (is)"; other name-giver (ritualist) replied, "Yes, so-and-so (using child's new name), we'll come down." Child sent to river or ocean to bathe, another took its place, making same or similar statement. When all were named, both name-givers bathed to remove contamination of "dead names"; feast followed, at which people made a point of addressing children by their names "so they get used to them." People urged to eat all food; all leftovers had to be burned. As final act, soup basket of whale oil thrown on fire; good omen if blaze reached roof.

*Names.*—Personal names used in address; most untranslatable (or suggested translations doubtful); after death, name of deceased, even words similar to or forming elements of name, not used in presence of his kin lest they be offended and demand compensation. After few years taboo removed by giving name as described above. No distinction between men's and women's names; men took names of deceased kinswoman and vice versa. (Sometimes if no small children in family, adults went through rite "to bring name up again.") Nicknames common, usually uncomplimentary, referred to personal peculiarities, etc.; such not used in address, or person would become angry, fight. Some geographical nicknames given, according to town, house, or marital status (same as Yurok practice but such names less common); sometimes people objected to being thus addressed: "That's not my name; I have some relatives (i.e., to give a name to me), I've got a real name."

*Tattooing.*—Small children sometimes had dots tattooed on shoulders "to pull them up so they grow." Girls had chin tattooed, usually 3 wide lines, usually before puberty;

no ceremony for this. Boy's and girl's nose and ears pierced before puberty; without ritual. Men's arm tattoos, for measuring money, put on after maturity.

*Education.*—Informal training in crafts, etc., begun in childhood; nearest approach to formal education were dissertations by elders in matters of etiquette given at meal times or in evenings. "A man who thinks well of himself, who thinks he wants to have anything (be rich), must always be careful of his actions; at meals he doesn't grab his acorn-soup basket and begin to eat, he waits until other people have something to eat too; he doesn't keep looking at his dish, eating fast without speaking; he eats slowly, looks around and talks so people don't think he's hungry and thinking about his belly all the time. He must treat old people with respect so they can see he's got good sense; old people know something (i.e., magic) and can wish him bad luck if he doesn't treat them well. When he goes around he doesn't think about women all the time, he's thinking about how he can get some money and get rich. Then he won't always take his hand back empty (of money—i.e., will acquire wealth); and people will think something of him; they will think what a big man he is."

*Puberty.*—No puberty rites for boys. Pubescent girl (*tc'oxta*) confined to living house 10 days. Slept on tule mat placed against side wall. Arose before dawn, bathing in river or ocean; on return painted by kinswoman with *t'ec*, paint of deer tallow and soot from sweat house (this paint kept as protection against witchcraft). Two vertical lines drawn on sides of nose, 3 on breast, 3 on inside of elbows. Wore: yellowhammer tail feather through nasal septum, necklace of dentalia, dance dress. Ate meal of dried fish, acorn soup, warm water, while older woman "took care of her" (recited formula ?). If sun had already risen, not permitted to eat—"she would be eating the sun, wouldn't live long." After meal, nose feather, paint, etc., put in little basket worn on necklace; beads, dance dress hung over bed; bathed to remove paint. Same procedure for evening meal, after sundown. Might not look at sun or fire, lest eyes become sore. Bone or abalone-shell scratching stick, tied to wrist, used for scratching; if used fingers, would get sores or skin disease. At night, coals of angelica root placed on sand-filled tray beside bed for warmth. At end of 10 days "came back to the fire" until next period, when bed was put on other side of the house. Was *tc'oxta* first 4 periods (sometimes cut off section of nose feather as mnemonic), then woman recited formula over girl's food "so she could eat anywhere" (until this time could eat only in own home, even between periods); hair was banged across forehead, few strands cut on sides, indicating maturity; arms, legs gashed lightly with flint "to remove bad blood." All leftovers from girl's meals during puberty saved; she threw them in the water when she bathed; if they were thrown on land, bird or dog might eat them, making her ill.

One informant stated young kinsman sometimes was paid to "follow the girl," i.e., go without water for the 10 days of her first period, which aided her and brought him good luck.

Many people in the southern towns practiced the Yurok puberty rites for girls, according to which girl bathed, carried wood (1 load 1st day, 2 loads 2d day, 3 the 3d, etc.), ate only once a day by waterfall, surf (lest hear bird's call), etc.

Women not confined during subsequent menstruations. Remained in home, worked, drank water, etc., but had to eat apart from rest of family, off separate dishes, and for 10 days ate only dried fish and acorn soup. No head scratcher used. Could go about daily tasks, attend ceremonies, etc., but might not approach sick person nor man training for luck. Sexual intercourse taboo during the 10 days.

In *tatatun* and *mesLteLtu*n women were required to go into separate dwelling during menses. At *mesLteLtu*n the house of a doctress was used for this purpose in informants' times; at *tatatun* a special house was built. On one occasion during a ceremony at the former town, a man erected a temporary building for the use of the visitors, and the request was made that all menstruating women eat and sleep there.

*First-game observances.*—Only for salmon; old woman threw dress over boy's head as he came home with his 1st salmon; he gave it to her. Neither he nor his parents permitted to eat it.

*Marriage.*—Actual marriage ceremony without much formality once payment had been transferred. Daughter of wealthy family dressed in dance regalia; and an escort (usually of close kin) similarly dressed. She was taken to husband's home, and regalia given to parents-in-law. Escort usually stopped en route to prepare a meal for her; she might not eat at wedding feast—"she would be eating all her children." Parents-in-law gave feast to escort; she sat watching them "eat for her," i.e., in her honor. Parents-in-law might reëquip escort with dance valuables to take home.

*Death.*—Body laid on n'i't side of fire, head to N (if died away from home, must be brought back; if by canoe, laid in stern, canoe paddled stern first). Might be kept in house 2-3 days, until kin assembled; 2 persons had to sit up with body at night. Grave dug N-S, 2 or 3 ft. deep, on day of funeral (might not be left open overnight); in town cemetery, which was close among houses. Gravedigger, usually kinsman, held bunch of yarrow in mouth to prevent saliva from falling into grave, when finished, scraped up own tracks from bottom of grave. Then made fire on W side of grave, lighted bunch of *Xerophyllum*, "swept" it through the grave, S to N, 5 times, then threw it E. Boards put in bottom and sides of grave. Someone, accompanied by a child, brought basket of water (from place other than that at which drinking water was obtained), carrying basket on shoulder or back, never in front (where reflection would fall in); stones heated in fire by grave to warm water. Body wrapped in tule mats, passed out through hole in N wall of house, laid on E side of grave, head to N, washed. Two men washed man's body; 2 women, a woman's. All grave offerings washed also; buckskin, etc., removed from them "not allowed to bury what people eat," i.e., deer). Left side of body painted with soot; dentalia put in ears, nose, mouth, and hands; fire drill on chest. Widow or widower lay down beside body, back to it; extended arm backward over body "to say goodbye," then rose. Body rewrapped in mats. Four men with ropes lifted body 5 times, last time lowering it into grave. Offerings thrown into grave (dentalia usually unstrung, flints broken in two, etc.). Board and earth put over body. Baskets, dance dresses, etc., hung from poles set up over grave. Dentalium necklace broken by chief mourner; few shells given to all attending funeral, thanking them for coming. Mourners bathed in river or ocean before returning home; 2 women meanwhile had cleaned the house, fumigating it with fir boughs, etc., and prepared food. At the house, mourners' hair singed (widow with children, close to head; childless widow, to shoulders; widower, just ends). Pregnant widow, pubescent girl, shaman, not permitted to cut hair. Mourners wore braided *Xerophyllum* necklaces and wrist bands; small children marked with t'ec from forehead down bridge of nose. Priest performed full food-purification ritual (see first-salmon rite, p. 261), reciting formula over food, marking each of mourners with pinch of mixture of food and chewed-up angelica root, sending them to bathe, after which they partook of food. For 5 mornings, i.e., until soul of deceased left grave, head of family visited grave; gravedigger might accompany him, or went alone. Priest repeated food purification. Gravedigger only one under taboos: for 5 days following funeral ate apart from rest, ate only dried fish and acorn soup, had to shield face from sun. After second food purification, took his clothes to the woods, sweated, fumigated himself with fir boughs and angelica root, could not eat bear or mud hen (used to be a bear) for a year. According to an account, a man could act as gravedigger only 5 times.

The mother of a deceased child could not cook for its father for 5 days, after which she went to her relatives to ask for payment to her husband (if her kin lived near by, usually sent payment immediately at end of 5 days). Amount depended on standing of the 2 families; usually \$10 to \$25. Husband signified acceptance by eating food she prepared; only common instances of refusal were those in which a rich-man demanded a second wife from her people. Husband expected to make a return payment, giving slightly more than he had received; this was considered an addition to the bride price—"he bought his wife more." Actually return payments not always made, so man with many married daughters or sisters paid out far more than he received.

If there were no close male heirs to inherit house, sweat house, canoe, etc., these things usually burned; kin "don't like to see strangers using his things."



At tatatun and meslteltun, there was additional rite for mourners. Chief mourners went directly from graveside to the sweat house. Priest built a fire, reciting formula over fire, and the water baskets, water, herbs, etc., to be used, and corners of building. Each mourner given soup basket of warm water and herbs, to wash with. Priest could not drink water for 5 days thereafter, was under other restrictions for some time, hence had to be well paid. Mourners went through the usual food-purification rite afterward.

The history of this rite is as follows: a half-Yurok woman, married to tatatun man, somehow learned the formulas of the Yurok death-purification rite (cf. Handbook, 46) from her maternal kin at murek<sup>\*</sup>; taught them to her son, a half-brother of the last tatatun rich-man. The son persuaded the people that the rite was essential for their well-being, enlarging it to include all the mourners instead of the scapegoat gravedigger.

*Mourners' rights.*—During time between death and burial, no one was allowed to pass through the town without payment. No townsman permitted to go in search of food during 5-day mourning period; then the chief mourners had to go first. If necessary (if salmon run began), mourners might give permission in return for small payment. Mourners' permission necessary before plans could be laid for dance, etc. (plans usually made 2-3 mos. ahead). If death occurred after dance announced, payment made to mourners in return for permission to hold dance. If death occurred during gambling, dance (except girl's puberty dance), festivities had to stop.

#### RELIGION AND RITUAL

Under the head of Religion and Ritual are grouped several sorts of practices dealing with the contacts of human beings with supernatural forces. In essence, the acquisition and use of shamanistic power on the one hand, and a ceremony performed for the common weal on the other, have but little in common. And yet it so happens that there are certain features recurrent in almost every phase of Tolowa culture dealing with the supernatural. One of these is the use of formulas. Usually these were myths recounting the manner in which something was originated, whose telling possessed power to bring about the desired result. This trait is not unique; the Tolowa are one with their neighbors of northwest California, who, as Kroeber has phrased it, "can imagine nothing of any real consequence being done successfully without a formula." Shamanism and sorcery, the important first-salmon rite, removal of taboos or contamination, or the launching of a new canoe, were all accompanied by these recitatives. Such formulas were property, saleable and inheritable. For convenience, I use the term "priest" to refer to the owner of one of these learned elements of ritual, whether it was used for common good or private gain.

Another strand common to religious concepts was the geographical localization. Almost all supernatural power came not from individual spirits or beings, but from the mana-like essence pervading particular spots. Of the public ceremonials, the first-salmon rite, and its minor duplicates, attached to certain places, as did the Yurok-Hupa-Karok rituals. The girls' puberty dance was localized in a peculiarly different fashion. Although it was restricted to no particular spot, it was "not allowed" to be performed north of xawunhwut. This strikes one as being simply a misinterpretation of the localization of the White Deerskin and Jumping dances on the lower Klamath. The Wealth-display dance had few religious associations and was not localized at all.

A third trait common to all religious activity was the insistence on ritual purity for any dealings with supernatural forces. A man had to fast, go with-

out water, and above all avoid everything pertaining to sexual matters, lest the powers he supplicated do him injury. This last requirement, that of continence, must have complicated life somewhat. At least, the people were continually getting themselves into difficulties because, as one informant put it, "they didn't want to give themselves away," i.e., call attention to illicit affairs by observing the taboos imposed on the "unclean." These three concepts, the use of formulas, geographical localization, and ritual cleanliness were the web strands which bind together Tolowa religious practices.

The rituals themselves are characterized chiefly by their simplicity. Compared with the major ceremonies on the lower Klamath, with their complex esoteric preparation, the Tolowa rites were markedly barren. The routines of the dances were few in number. Increasing the splendor of the regalia was almost the only device to relieve their monotony. Similarly, there was no elaborate sequence of ceremonies. One feels that the people were not interested in such development. They were more eager to see a handsome row of head-dresses than a varied and intricate performance.

*Shamanism.*—The Tolowa shared with their neighbors to the south and east a set of shamanistic concepts unique in North America. The complex is peculiar in that the shaman derives power by possession of an unusual sort of object—a "pain." The pain is not a spirit, but yet possesses power of itself, and is at the same time the cause of disease. The guardian-spirit idea is weak or entirely lacking. A comparative discussion is scarcely in order at this point, but it may be well to emphasize that, although traces of the guardian-spirit idea have recently been found among the Yurok (where a novice may receive her first pain in a dream), and the southwest Oregonians stress the importance of the guardian spirit, I could discover no trace of the concept among the Tolowa. A potential shaman often received her call in a dream, it is true. These dreams, however, were vague, and served only to indicate that her quest for power would be successful. One dreamt "about the mountains" (since the pains come from the mountains), or "about the sunrise" (whose colors indicate the color of pain the dreamer will obtain). There is no hint of a personal supernatural benefactor. Even certain minor doctors who dreamed songs do not seem to have received them from a particular being. This posits a neat problem with respect to what the shamanistic complex among the Athabascans really was in prehistoric times, a problem which may be discussed later.

The shaman, man or woman, was a figure of some consequence in Tolowa society. As has been stated, shamans formed the only professional class, and were the only people who could hope to acquire any amount of wealth by means other than inheritance. Powerful shamans were known far and wide. As among ourselves, the specialist from afar was often considered superior to the local practitioner; wealthy Tolowa hired Yurok or Karok shamans, and Tolowa doctors were called upon by the neighboring peoples. This practice probably accounts in a large measure for the general level of similarity of curing methods, and so forth, over northwestern California.

The distinction between the possessors of pains and the formulaic doctors, or priests, was fairly clean-cut, and duplicates Yurok usage.

Shaman (ti'nun) received power through control of "pains" (si' se'ne), small red, yellow, black, or white disease-causing objects. Another class, "talking" or "singing" doctor (te'ce'e'), less powerful, power from bought or inherited formula, or, rarely, dreamed song; not pains. Most shamans women; but some powerful men shamans. Seeker of shamanistic power began by dreaming "about the mountains" (whence came the pains; shaman's dream of sea bad omen); then started training. Rigors of long training cited as reason power usually attained after maturity; "young girl thinks too much about men, instead of about becoming a doctor." But some young girls, even preadolescent, known to have become shamans. After training period, novice went to "doctor-place" (in mountains, where pains obtainable) with male relative(s), who assisted her. Wore: yellow-hammer headband, fir branches about waist, shredded-bark skirt. Fasted, fumigated self with fir boughs and herbs, danced (usually 5 nights), while assistant(s) sang and smoked. Novice might hear cry of yellowhammer, or see flicker of light. Pain approached until she could seize it, throwing it into mouth. She usually fell unconscious, assistants revived her, took to sweat house where male kin and hired singers waited. Singers sat, keeping time by "kicking" with heels; novice danced at tei'nus part of floor 10 nights, step was not stamp, but shuffling of feet on floor. She sat facing E (toward mountains) during rests. When especially powerful song sung, "she danced just like wild"; often entered trancelike state, ran to another sweat house, even to another town; men there had to sing for her. No harm could befall her while in this state. Danced until able to vomit pain into acorn-soup basket, which she held before her; swallowed pain again, repeating until she could bring up easily, thus gaining control of pain, the object of dance. If too weak to dance, because of fasting, etc., another shaman might be hired to help, supporting her body. Occasionally novice unable to "take out pain," usually because of witchcraft of older jealous shamans; caused her death. If gained control of pain properly, cured some sick person without pay, then was full-fledged practitioner. If no one was ill, someone feigned illness and was treated. Shaman usually continued obtaining pains, at intervals, until she acquired, and thus was able to extract all different kinds. Some few received pains without rigorous training, being "given a pain" by a relative; simply danced to gain control of it.

Doctor-making dance song: mewitona'li hwi:na'n'sun to'chwe'ya' yati:sus ("In spring-time [to] every mountain my voice goes").

Disease caused by: pain lodged in body; unconfessed sin (breach of taboo or actual crime) committed by sick person or relative (which might also cause pain to lodge in body); witchcraft by "poisoner," i.e., sorcerer, or malicious shaman. Shaman hired (usual fee \$10-\$20); if fee insufficient might refuse case, offering "uncleanliness" (menstruation or recent sexual intercourse) as excuse; fee might be increased and accepted. Patient placed by fire in living house; friends and kin assembled to sing and watch cure. Shaman smoked (pipe and tobacco indispensable), then danced until reached state in which could "see" cause of illness. One shaman, a man, had basketry "plate" which "danced" ahead of him on floor; if it refused to dance, patient incurable. Such sleight-of-hand displays usually absent. If sickness caused by pain, shaman sucked it out through pipe, or by applying mouth directly; she usually fell back unconscious, "the pain was so strong." When recovered, danced, vomited pain into hands, displayed it; then danced until it disappeared. Sometimes, on discerning pain, demanded additional payment to extract it; or denied having sufficient power, recommending another shaman, whom relatives had to hire. In event of unconfessed wrong, shaman "saw" act; told guilty person to confess to save patient's life. If pain had entered patient's body because of act, might be sucked out, but would not leave shaman's hands until confession made. If illness caused by sorcery shaman, if she dared, told name of poisoner; kin might try to compel latter to remove spell, though usually afraid to attempt this. "Talking" doctors smoked, recited formulas, sprayed infusion of herbs over patient with mouth. Those having power from dreamed songs, sang, smoked, to cure. Fees paid two latter types of shamans, \$2-\$5; were called only for minor ills. A few shamans never acquired pains, but only clairvoyant power; hired to dance to "see" cause of illness and what doctor

could cure. Many such visions now interpreted as foreseeing coming of whites, etc. If patient died, fee returned; honorable man gave shaman half, "for his work," buried remainder with body. Malicious shaman could send pain to cause death; some reported to have left one or more pains in patient when curing to get another fee. Ill shaman danced to cure herself.

*Sorcery.*—The practice of black magic by shamans is too common to merit more than passing notice. Besides the shamans, however, there was a special class of sorcerers. They obtained their power, and used it, in a manner quite distinct from that of the shamans.

Whereas some sorcerers are said to have practiced their evil art in secret, others openly boasted of their misdeeds. Usually their reputation for invulnerability was sufficient to save them from retaliation, though modern firearms seem to have been more effective against them than aboriginal weapons. I have the notion that often sorcery may have been an outlet for a thirst for recognition. It is certain that a wizard was greatly feared. Instances are known in which valid damage-claims against a sorcerer were dropped by men of influence. After all, one would not be able to kill him if he refused to pay, as he surely would, and his lethal powers were unailing.

A reputation for sorcery was the sort of thing that one might acquire unintentionally. Such a bit of circumstantial evidence as being seen by night near the house of a sick person (sorcerers were reputed to come by night to gloat over the sufferings of their victims) would be sufficient to start the rumor. A hardy soul might capitalize on such a reputation, were he not ambushed and slain before he had time to inspire dread among his neighbors. An instance may serve to show how these accusations originated.

The young daughter of Nesun, at etculet, fell gravely ill. The shaman hired to cure her intimated that sorcery was the cause, but could not or would not reveal the name of the wizard. He could not cure unless the spell was removed. The distracted father went out into the night to see if anyone were lurking about. Seeing a shadowy form not far away, he hurled a convenient stone. There was a thud and an astonished yell. Nesun, his blood turned to water, fled into the house. The next morning he found a few drops of blood where the wizard had been, and a bit later, to his surprise, met a fellow townsman, an innocuous youth of eighteen or twenty, with a fresh and conspicuous gash on his head. Saying not a word, Nesun hastened home, armed his two brothers and himself with whale knives, then pounced upon the astounded lad. They dragged him into the house, and brandishing their knives, demanded that the spell be removed. Everyone was surprised. They had never suspected the boy was a wizard. At the height of the excitement, the boy's father came running in with a Winchester. Nesun stood his ground. He described the damning circumstances to the father, who, like the rest, had been unaware of his son's evil powers. The father, being a just man, told his son, "If you did it, you have to tell them." So the boy admitted he had bewitched the child. After all, he had no other recourse. The confession, together with the ministrations of the shaman, was enough to complete the cure. Within a few days the child recovered. I do not know whether or not the young fellow continued in his evil ways.

Sorcerers (te'na:gi, "at night travels [?]" ; in English, "Injun devil") usually men. Operated with set of 10 small animate objects (teese'), each of different power, from headache to sudden death. Sorcerer selected proper piece, recited formula naming victim, to whom "poison" sped "like a bullet." Victim bled at mouth, died, body swelled "till his skin cracked." Possession of set of teese' gave: good fortune; power to assume animal form; rapid travel. Famous sorcerers associated with certain animal forms: bears,

wolves, spotted dogs, etc. Sorcerer bent on mischief revealed by flare of light emitted from time to time by *teese'*. Formulas, fasting, continence necessary for handling *teese'*, or they turned on sorcerer and his family. For safety two sorcerers often combined forces, each using a little poison from his set. Often went about by night, killing whomever they encountered; but if brave man knew proper formulas, might lie in wait, seize sorcerer, holding him till daylight, when captive had to pay large ransom. *Teese'* obtained by purchase; 10 pieces partly burned angelica root, put in bag with *teese'*, soon acquired all properties of latter. Sets cached out in woods in tree, cave, etc.; sometimes discovered by light which they emitted, and stolen by hardy individuals. Original set obtained from "woods devils," harmless race of wild, hairy, wood sprites. Other sources of power: Rocklike object (*ma:to'ni*); gave good luck; used to kill people; kept picketed on a string; "ate up" vegetation all around; had to be used occasionally to kill someone, "that's just like feeding him meat." Fishbone; placed in grave for a time, held in mouth while proper formula spoken; would kill enemy. Certain places (see Ritual Geography); their power utilized by persons knowing proper formula. Formulas to kill traveler recited over track: "I hope you die before you get home." Oregon people reputedly knew many such. Usual means of vengeance against sorcerer: hiring one more powerful to slay him through witchcraft; occasionally he could be shot or stabbed, but usually power made him invulnerable. Many sorcerers bragged openly of crimes to intimidate people.

Existence of berdaches denied by Tolowa; only one informant seemed to know what they were, stating he had seen such an individual among "Humboldt county Indians," wearing woman's clothing, etc. Tolowa male shamans seem to have been normal men who sought supernatural means of acquiring wealth. One account tells of *tatatun* woman who purchased a wife and lived with her, and of a female shaman at *mesl'teltun* who was said to have exhibited similar proclivities. Considered very shameful.

*Rituals of the food quest.*—It is a common enough phenomenon that many religious concepts should center about the mainstays of subsistence. The Tolowa were no exception. The main rituals associated with food-getting were not, however, particularly elaborate. The outstanding feature of the main first-salmon rite was the recitation of what is said to have been an extremely long formula. It is interesting to note that the ceremony at *tatatun*, though deemed a minor one, was the most complex in ritual elements. Simple or not, the performance of the rituals was considered essential both to make the "new" foods plentiful and to make them safe for human consumption. Many of the older people ceased to eat salmon when the rite was abandoned, or contented themselves with repeating such scraps of the formula as they could remember.

A belief which gave added stress to all food observances was the common northwestern Californian concept that game is immortal. The spirit of the animal, salmon, deer, or whatever it might be, was induced to allow himself to be captured by performance of the proper ritual. Only if the flesh were properly handled, "with respect," as informants say, would the spirit resume animal form and allow himself to be taken again.

A curious feature which may be commented on here is the use of the first-salmon ritual as a mourners' purification rite. From descriptions and specific statements of informants the ceremonies were well-nigh identical. The association of ideas is far from clear. It may simply be that the most powerful formula known, together with its related acts (marking of the spectators, etc.), was used to counteract the effects of the most awe-inspiring of the phenomena of life.

*First-salmon rite* (ha'guclī xa'crenic, "salmon go out to catch").—Annually; to make "new" foods (especially salmon) plentiful and fit to eat. Held at beginning spring salmon-run at wenaxuctun, near yotokut; abbreviated forms at other places.

Sacred sweat house (ce'clī' a'wulsit, "sweat house, he understands") associated with rite. This was "Salmon's home." Rebuilt with much ceremony when yotokut last moved; parts not called by usual terms: ridgepole was "Salmon's backbone"; roof boards, "Salmon's ribs"; front wall, "Salmon's head"; etc. No one dared enter without proper formula; nor run past it, nor walk by eating. Visitors warned of taboos. Sweat house inhabited by great numbers of snakes, some double-headed. Building had weather power; piece of wood from it put in water caused continuous rain till removed.

For rite, priest entered sacred sweat house, "praying" (reciting formulas), fasting, 5 days. Then went to spear one or more salmon, while wife prepared other foods. (While pounding acorn meal, she might not pause even to change grip on pestle.) Priest's wife or daughter, in dance dress, carried fish from canoe to site of rite. According to some accounts, rite performed at spot near riverbank; others say in priest's house. Priest built fire, cut up and broiled salmon. When cooked, it was placed on basketry tray, with all other kinds of food (acorns, edible roots, berries, etc., those not ripe represented by leaves); long formula, describing origin of world and of foods, of Salmon's journey from home in s northward to Smith r., up Smith r., mentioning all place names passed; several hours required for recital. "He brought all the salmon up the river. Sometimes he 'pray' so hard the sweat poured off him. It sounded fine." At conclusion, priest chewed up some angelica root, mixed it with piece of cooked salmon and rolled into ball. "Marked" spectators with pinch of mixture down each arm, each leg, up back over the head, reciting short formula for their health; what remained was popped into person's mouth. Each, as he was "marked," ran to river, dived in, spat out mixture under water. When came up, clapped hands, shouted "for long life." Sexes bathed in different places. When all had bathed, priest divided up rest of food, to be eaten there, or taken home for kin unable to attend. Only adults allowed to attend. After this, everyone could catch and eat salmon; "he opened the season." Priest not paid for services. Priest, and formula, together with marking with angelica root, called teamai'iLexī. Priest hired to perform same rite (perhaps abbreviated) as mourners' purification; dried salmon if no fresh.

*Minor first-salmon rites*.—Fish dam "boss" at munsontun performed rite over first salmon taken in weir there. Additional formula accompanied driving first 2' stakes of weir.

At tatatun, priest went out in bay, alone or with small boy; caught salmon with bone hook. Came ashore at cinlō'æ nīga'ula'tun, "spring-salmon split there"; built fire, cooked fish. Fire drill, sticks for stirring fire and broiling fish hidden near fireplace. No one might watch fire-making and cooking; few dared approach place at any time. He carried cooked fish to house; recited formula, etc., as in wenaxuctun rite.

*First-smelt rites* (Lume tetnayu'ltuc, "smelt bring on beach").—Held at yotokut, etculet smelt camps, and probably formerly wherever smelt caught. In midsummer, when smelt run, priest went to beach with basket of water in which 2-3-year-old dried smelt has been boiled. At low tide, smeared potion on gravel with hands, reciting formula. This made smelt run. Watching him forbidden; if seen by accident, going to or from beach, priest given small payment, "for luck." Next day priest fished; whatever caught on first dip, he threw back; then caught sackful. At camp, broiled catch on coals, pouring sea-lion grease on them "so the smelt would be fat." Other food prepared meanwhile; priest recited formula, repeated procedure of first-salmon rite with mixture of smelt and angelica root. All except priest ate; he fasted 5 days, caught another sackful, repeated ritual. Whoever had eaten of first catch had to take part in second rite. Then all permitted to catch and eat smelt.

*Deer singing*.—Before hunt, men sang deer songs all night in sweat house. Lay on backs, beat time on floor with heels. No instruments, no painting, etc. Occasionally stood up to rest, smoke. Pinch of tobacco left on hand blown into air with wish for deer. Did not sleep or eat till after hunt, or spoiled luck. In hunting camps, men lay around separate fire, sang as in sweat house.

Songs: (1) *La'na:nī cu'cæ*, "one band (of deer) I want (to kill)." (2) *natame'ta cæ'kwinyū teena'wicL*, "around the top (of the mountain) my foot points (i.e., pointed tracks of deer), I make there." This is a song of the Deer spirit; it was very lucky for a hunter to sing it. (3) *se'lugi tee'lteo'* eta'motil, "Deer woman (?) wait for me."

*Sea-lion singing*.—Before sea-lion hunt, sang as for deer, except used sea-lion songs. Some especially good deer songs might be sung during first part of night.

Song: *La' tontō'nyac se:runta'tuL*, "One yearling sea-lion (to) rock turn back."

*Ritual of sea-lion hunting*.—(See also "sea-lion hunting methods, p. 234). After singing, owner and crew started for sea-lion rocks. Live coals carried on bed of sand in bottom of canoe. Disembarked at rock *teu'nun se:Liu'L*, "at foot of rock stop"; made fire with coals, smoked, blackened faces with soot-and-tallow paint. Formula probably spoken. If several canoes going, met here and proceeded together. From this point, might not laugh, use person's name, refer to land or women, lest storm arise. If one of party "unclean," canoe would "get stuck"; "they paddled but couldn't get anywhere." Someone had to speak proper formula, dive under canoe. Sea serpents had something to do with this; they would cause same difficulty if mentioned by name. Both sea-lion rocks "bad"; each owned by sea monster. If one threw stick into small hole on top of *taso'*, saying, "This is so-and-so, I give him to you," person named would die within year. Pebble from rock gave exceptional hunting luck; but if used while "unclean" caused illness. People awaited hunters on beach; women prepared food. Leader of expedition supervised butchering and division of meat on return; hunters cooked and ate hearts first. One account states 2 fires built, men's and women's. Unclean ate at women's fire.

*Food usages*.—All food had to be "treated with respect"; spirit watched how flesh handled, if not treated properly, could not be obtained again. Fresh meat, fish, taboo to all "unclean" (men or women recently having sexual intercourse, menstruants); made them ill, gave hunter bad luck, etc. Salmon bones thrown back in water, became salmon again. If dog ate fresh salmon, fisherman, net, lost luck. "Shortened one's life" to shoot salmon with bow and arrow. Smelt: women might not catch on pain of death. If no men about when run began, a woman could have small boy hold to net frame (though she actually dipped up fish). Could not wash smelt in fresh water. Clams, mussels, any sea food could not be cooked, eaten, with flesh or grease of any land animal, especially bear; nor with mud hens (once were bears). Deer (and elk) and sea lion (is ocean deer, treated same): hunter started early, breakfastless. Family might not sleep, lest deer sleep in brush (where hunter could not find them). Hunter might not laugh, talk, think of anything but deer. Deer eye punctured for luck, not eaten. No one might ask successful hunter returning with meat what he carried; if asked question hunter had to reply, "Your grandmother I carry"; (and questioner could not claim damages if grandmother was dead). Hunter could not give away meat en route—had to bring home first; could not urinate while carrying meat—had to lay it down. Raw meat could be given away in baskets (which must not be returned empty); cooked meat had to be eaten where cooked. If piece of venison buried, hunter could not see deer again. Women never allowed to eat heart. Everyone had to wash hands after eating or would get cramps.

*Girl's puberty dance*.—A public ceremony on the occasion of a girl's coming of age was held only for the daughters of rich-men, and in times of stress, as "when they heard sickness was coming." The performance of the ritual on this latter occasion was based on the belief that at this time a girl possessed a tremendous magical potency, which might thus be used in behalf of the people. A poor man's daughter might be "borrowed" on such an occasion. The ceremony was a most solemn one. Informants are emphatic in their assertions that this was not a "good-time dance." Its importance is reflected by the fact that the dance would not be interrupted even if a death should occur during its performance.

There was little in the composition of the ritual which was unique. Various combinations of the elements recurred among other northern Californians and Oregonians. A detailed comparison will be made later. The most striking thing is that this ritual is one of the few traits setting the Tolowa off from their Oregon kin, who did not have any rite of public recognition of a girl's pubescence. The fact that the Tolowa, subjected as they were to strong cultural influences from the Yurok (among whom no performance was made on these occasions), should be the ones having such a ceremony is rather anomalous. One would expect just the opposite.

*Teo'xta wu'neteyun*, "(for) pubescent girl they sing." Not ordinarily held for girl's puberty; only for pubescence of rich-man's daughter, or in times of stress. In latter event, often "borrowed" girl from another town; dance should be on her first 2 periods; actually on any of first 4. Walls of "dance-house" covered with shell dance-dresses, etc. Girl placed on mat along side-wall; hidden by mats covered with beads, dance-dresses, etc., hung from wall; lay there 10 days and nights; warmed by coals of herbs on sand-filled tray; ate only twice, on 4th and 7th days. All males, even small infants, had to leave house. Old woman recited formula over girl's food before she ate, and after ceremony. Girl drank only warm water; bathed daily before daybreak.

Dance. Men and unmarried girls danced (for dress, see Ceremonial Dress). Dancers formed double line along wall opposite girl, men next to wall, girls in front, both facing wall; men put hands on wall binder, girls held men's belts. At each end of row of dancers was group of older men who led singing; the 2 groups took turns starting songs. One man began song, stamping to keep time; another sang "second," different words; rest joined in, singing nonsense syllables. No instruments used. Certain songs for each movement of dance; same songs always used, could not make up new ones. First movement: leader sang, *teu'kustōni haiii* (refers to "big money"); second sang, *kwi'ls tei't haiii*, "willow tails (?)." Step simply vigorous stamping with one foot; "sometimes they kicked with both feet together." Girls did not dance as vigorously as men. A number of songs for this movement. Second movement (*cenai'ic*): leader shouted, "*cenō'œ!*"; dancers stood still, shouted, "*xō'tea wu'ewe'ya nu'Lei'il*," "(in) good weather my voice sounds well!" Then wished for health, money, long life, etc. This also excellent time to wish for whale to drift up on beach. Then leader began *cenai'ic* song. Dancers bent body side to side from waist, men swaying first right then left; girls, left, then right. Many songs for this movement: "these were the best songs." Usually sang twice (10-15 minutes); if wanted longer rest sang 4 times. Song: leader, *tekwi'na se'me haiii haiii*, "(at) *tekwi'na* (a 'lucky place'), on the beach"; second, *yatru'L Lie'galtu'*, "on the ocean little white-caps (are)." After rest, leader changed to quick time, "*hai! hai! hai!*" Dancers began 1st movement. Two alternated most of night. Third movement (*enai'Inō'ō*). At certain point, leader signaled, dancers faced fire, forming single line, men and girls alternately; danced short time thus, turned back to wall, then faced the fire again. Stood still, turning heads slowly from side to side. Just 3 songs for this movement, 2 of which are: leader, *LeLyō'hō tetno'hœ*, "(from) the wall of the house take your arms (i.e., and face to the fire)"; second, *wu'nste ho'tme haiii* (name of a lucky creek near Lake Earl). Leader, *Lahwō'etentreyū tetno'hœ*, "Abalone shell-woman take your arms (from the wall of the house)"; second, . . . First night performed this movement once, 2d night, twice, 3d, 3 times, etc. Fourth movement (*numnō'ti'ic*). Just before daybreak each morning, leader shouted, "*numnō'ti'ic!*" Dancers faced fire, forming single line; 3 men came forward from each end, danced to center of floor and back 3 times; then center men of each trio danced forward, seized each other by shoulders, whirled around. Everyone joined in revolving about floor en masse. Only one song for this: *na'Ligi mu'tai'nusLo'ō*, "money into the house (with) daylight (comes)." Then dancers and spectators left.

On 10th morning, before this last movement, priest and assistant wrapped pubescent girl in elkskin robe, tying it about her waist with heavy belt. Brought her from behind



screen to center of floor on her bed mat, assistant pulling edge of mat while priest pushed. While she kept eyes tightly closed, priest took robe from face, covered her eyes with visor of bluejay feathers, reciting formula. Faced her E, seized belt from behind, shook her violently from side to side, then thrust her forward and jerked her back 10 times. With forward shove, feathers of visor turned up away from eyes; with jerk back, turned down again. Removed visor and robe; girl looked about for first time in 10 days. With small girl, she ran to river or sea to bathe. As soon as she left door, dance began. Song: *te' xta me'texō*, "pubescent girl her breast." She bathed 5 times, running back to look in door after each time. Dancers paused, turned around, then turned to wall; began to dance as soon as she left. She bathed 5 times more, entering house to hold hands over fire each time. Dancers rested only while she was in house. "This was the hardest part of the dance." Then she seated herself by fire, dancers performed last movement, formed into groups outside, danced to water, discarding regalia. Priest recited formula there, dancers dived in; when came up clapped hands, wishing for health and long life. Two men and 2 women followed with baskets to pick up regalia, return it to owners.

Dance considered "hard work," not fun like wealth-display dance. Talking, laughing during dance not permitted. Not necessary for all to dance every night, but person dancing one night should dance again, and also on last night, or be represented by a stick which was "named for him." Ceremony repeated at girl's next period; persons taking part in first performance should take part in second; girls who married in meantime represented by sticks. No esoteric preparation for dance, which of course had to be arranged on fairly short notice, without compensation of mourners, etc. Informants positive if death occurred during dance, would not stop, "they had to finish out the 10 nights."

(Some accounts obtained varied slightly from above, some denying part-singing, stating man who "sang second" sang only nonsense syllables as did rest, though to variation of melody; some stating *enai'lnō'o* movement performed only once each night.)

*Wealth-display dance.*—The dance which was used as an occasion for making a show of their treasures, and which was equated by the natives (mainly for this reason) with the White Deerskin and Jumping dances of the lower Klamath, is included with religious practices only by courtesy. It was primarily an occasion for ostentation and merrymaking. The only religious flavoring consisted of the speeches or prayers made during the rests, in which "good things" (plenty of food, good weather, etc.) were "wished for." The routine of the dance was simplicity itself; its chief merit lay in the brilliance of the display, and the exuberance with which it was performed.

Wealth-display dance given at any time (usually in winter), at any town having dance house and wealth enough to equip dancers. Rich-man planning dance began months ahead of time, paying mourners, gathering wealth (borrowing from relatives), storing food. Sometimes several rich-men agreed to give dances successively, "helping each other" by lending each other wealth.

Men and unmarried girls danced. (For dress, see Ceremonial Dress.) Each man carried quiver full of arrows. Dancers formed line along side of house, facing fire, men and girls alternately. Groups of older men stood in corners at ends of line, led songs and dances; often 2 towns represented, one in a corner, singing took form of competition between towns. One or two old men tended fire. Spectators sat opposite dancers. Men held quivers up to level of eyes, girls held on to wrists of man on each side. Some "part-songs" as in puberty dance; permissible to make up new songs for this dance. No instruments used. Dance step simply vigorous stamping with one or both feet; dance considered great success if good dancers in corners split or broke through floor planks (!). Rested after each song; men stood in places, girls dropped arms and turned to one side. During rests, one of leaders, or fire tenders, spoke of "nice things." "He talked about anything he wanted to. Sometimes he talked about (how) in nice weather the ocean is

all smooth and shiny like an abalone shell . . . etc." Probably not formulas, though pattern of speeches fairly well fixed. Dancers and spectators could talk, laugh, shout during dance; "it was good-time dance."

First night of dance attended by few people; most dancers boys; little wealth displayed. Each night more valuables brought out. Regalia, such as abalone shell-rim headbands, etc., kept in corners. Between dances, leader on one side called man from center, who went to corner, took off headdress, put on different one. Danced across floor in front of row and back, returned to place. Next man called over to other corner, given similar headdress, etc., until entire row thus equipped. Then began again at center. Each change was to more valuable type of regalia. Spectators could call dancer by name, to "come out in front" (teena:set na'gaL, "in front walk"); dancer went to corner for special regalia, headdress with deer antlers attached, or big knife (one of the machetelike "whale-knives"; in pre-white times, asserted to have used "knives" made of whale ribs). If chose antlers, mimicked actions of deer; sometimes 2 or 3 wore antlers at once. Man might bring girl out, especially if spectators thought she was getting sleepy; usually man carried big knife for this. She skipped rapidly sideways back and forth across the floor; man danced in center almost in her path, brandishing knife; as she approached, thrust knife on either side as close as possible without touching her, then moved body slightly to let her pass. She did not swerve from her path; if man slow or awkward, she ran into him, "then everybody laughed at him." Men from corners usually brought girls out; "they know how better than the young men in the middle of the line." After individual performances finished, one who had called out dancer(s) stood up to thank, wish good luck, etc. A good wish to make for a girl was, "I hope somebody buys you for a big price." On last night, the wide woodpecker-scalp headdresses put on. Long wands, covered with down of different colors, might be attached. Each man, as he put on "roll," laid down quiver, took "flint" or even single arrow in hand; no chance taken of obscuring headdress. Last night either line broke in middle, half coming forward 1 or 2 more steps; or all men came forward, leaving girls to form 2d line; the 2 lines danced sideways back and forth across the floor in opposite directions. One song always accompanied this.

Dance usually spoken of in Tolowa and in English as "10-night dance," but did not necessarily have to be held 10 nights. Five-night dances common. In memory of informants, on one occasion dance held 14 nights, on another 1. Dance lasting 10 nights of course much better than 5-night affair. Not necessary for dancer to take part definite number of nights; could dance 1 or 10 as he wished. Giver of dance usually asked best singers and dancers to "help him" long beforehand. Men slept most of day; girls supposed to carry wood for fire. Giver of dance fed dancers; townfolk fed and lodged spectators. When 2 towns competed in dancing and singing, added much zest to affair. Spectators shouted encouragement when good song sung; volume was chief criterion. "North (South) wind blowing the harder," they said, according as the men in the N or S corner (not E and W) sang louder. No esoteric preparation for dance. A song: nagi'le toni'rcrut te:lo' n'i' hagi'le, "(at) creek oceanward (place name) whale landward comes up" (i.e., a whale is drifting ashore at that place).

*War dance.*—The so-called "war dance" and the associated practices were essentially for the purpose of purification of a slayer. The same dance seems to have been used as a dance of incitement and of settlement at the time of payment as well; if there were any differences between the three performances, I am not aware of them. Just why it should be thus used for different purposes is explicable only in terms of the paucity of the general ceremonial pattern.

The use of a stick "named for the dead man" is strongly reminiscent of a scalp dance, but informants insist that within their knowledge such trophies were never taken by their people.

Slayer(s) had to eat and drink from separate vessels for 5 days; vessels, clothes discarded. Sweated, gashed arms and legs for purification. War dance might be made by

slayer, or if he was in hiding, by relatives; "someone on his side had to make it." Men made fire outdoors; stood in row by fire, sang and danced. Painted faces black, used bird-bone whistles. Crossed two sticks, put piece of clothing on it, "named it" for slain man; one of dancers "came out in front" with it; others circled around it aiming weapons at it. At end of dance, fired arrows or shots in air, bathed, ate. Had to dance (perhaps half-hour at time) before each meal (twice a day). Apparently continued dances until settlements had been made. Anyone might join war dance; to do so, however, was to league oneself with killer's side.

Eating and drinking from separate vessels for five days also done after killing rattlesnake; "rattlesnakes are people."

*"Training" for good fortune.*—The concept of "training" to obtain good luck for any venture is found widely over the Northwest Coast. It is clearly a phase of the more widespread vision-quest. One achieves contact with the supernatural powers by fasting, and often by self-mortification. In this southernmost part of the North Pacific littoral, however, the training concept is strongly colored by the association of supernatural forces with localities. A man did not seek a guardian spirit on these quests. Rather, he was blessed by the impersonal, mana-like power residing in a certain spot. This force was formless and unnamed. One did not dream of it, to receive songs or tokens. Its only manifestation was the empirical results it produced; in other words, it revealed itself only by granting the seeker's desires, or by doing harm. It is quite consistent with the formlessness of these local powers that they were potent for either good or evil. By observing the proper ritual behavior, i.e., visiting the locality in a "clean" condition, using the proper formulas, etc., one constrained the power to act, no matter what the merits of the case. The restrictions of the "training" were not kept with any idea of arousing the compassion of the local power. The idea was simply to avoid the perils to which one who was "unclean" was exposed in one of these supernatural spots. The same forces that showered blessings upon the properly trained man would destroy one who was unclean or who did not know the correct formula to use.

Quest of supernatural aid for any purpose; hunting, gambling, getting wealth, becoming shaman rigidly patterned. Person visited "lucky place" by night, sat there wishing, weeping, etc. Returned home before morning, usually bringing load of sweat-house wood; if seen en route luck was spoiled; could not sleep till after daybreak. Sometimes made fire; covered it with green fir boughs; "bathed" in smoke. Five days: ate little, drank no water (drinking thin acorn soup instead), concentrated on wishes, refrained from sexual intercourse (usually several months). Every night visited lucky place(s). Entire territory dotted with "lucky places"; some favored for special kinds of luck. "Doctor places" usually in mountains; for hunting, bathed in sea or river; for gambling, bathed in pool or creek, went about practicing "shuffling" a set of gambling sticks. As a rule, visited places in own territory; "he knows how to talk to them (knows proper formula for addressing them) and they recognize him as relative." Dangerous to go to place belonging to another town, but not trespass (people of other town could not claim damages). If man "trained" but broke restrictions (especially against sexual intercourse), he became ill.

*Purification rites.*—In view of the numerous restrictions upon which success in hunting, gambling, acquiring wealth, etc., was thought to depend, a purification formula must have been a very lucrative possession. This is especially true of the various sexual restrictions. The innumerable feuds and legal bickerings arising from illicit affairs which happened to come to light give rise

to the impression that the Tolowa were, to put it mildly, a bit lax morally—a fact which seems contradictory in view of their endless harping on the evil effects of anything pertaining to sex (even where it was legally regular, as in marriage) upon any sort of material success. It is evident, then, that the rituals of purification for such offenses represent an adjustment between theory and practice; their importance results from the wide discrepancy between these two opposites.

Purification for breach of restrictions, etc., by means of formula. Unlucky hunter went to formulist, told symptoms, i.e., how deer acted; e.g., if couldn't see deer, piece of venison had been buried. Paid \$2–\$3. Priest made mixture of fir needles and alder bark; recited formula about Deer-spirit which is never killed but returns to woods to become deer again, etc. Gave mixture to hunter to carry. Such formulas purchasable.

*Blood-letting.*—Gashed arms, legs lightly with knife, rubbed blood off with stick, “to remove bad blood.” Occasions: training (blood sometimes used to color gaming sticks); “to make legs light” (especially for shinny game); (after sweating) for minor curing; to remove contamination (murderer, girl after puberty, couple after miscarriage).

*House completion and canoe-launching rites.*—Two typical occasions on which formulas were used are the rites at the conclusion of house- or canoe-building. The owner gave a feast, probably so that people would feel kindly toward him, and not wish him bad luck. The formula recited at this time was a part of the process of construction as essential as the selection and working of the timber.

For house: kin called in; priest made fire, recited formula while 2 women cooked. Priest “painted” wall boards with acorn soup, using bunch of herbs as brush. Then men who helped build house ate; leftovers thrown on fire.

Canoe: at completion of canoe, friends called together for feast on first putting it in water. Builder “talked about how he was going to have luck with that boat, etc.” Formula recited; if owner did not know it, probably had to hire priest. Formula described origin of first redwood (from which canoes made): it was “born” in center of world; was first thing to appear on this earth, etc. Same formula, or parts of it, seem to have been used at various stages of canoe-making—selecting and cutting tree, etc. Canoe, like house boards, “painted” with acorn soup.

*Supernatural beings.*—There were hosts of supernaturals who might affect the affairs of men. The creator (kwō'el'e'un; referred to in some accounts as cri'yīla wō'ō'n nū'a, “he sent [made?] them [the way] he said”) was rather remote. He was addressed sometimes in prayer. A pinch of tobacco would be blown into the air with a wish, “kwō'el'e'un, si'xō na'wīal,” “Creator, before (me) put it” (i.e., what I want). When drinking from a strange stream (which might be “bad”), one said “kwō'el'e'un, me'eū'ltsīs,” “Creator, inside of me it (this water) is going” (i.e., do not let it harm me). Other beings figured more prominently in the daily life, however, often being encountered, and commonly doing harm to mankind. A few are listed below.

Every river, lagoon, etc., inhabited by tremendous serpent; sometimes seen asleep, head pillowed on great boulder or redwood tree. Some were malevolent, killed people; others brought luck. Some had horns of dentalia. Also innumerable undifferentiated sea serpents; these always dangerous.

Double-headed serpent inhabited yotokut sacred sweat house.

Each sea-lion rock owned by giant octopus, which pursued and gobbled up anyone who broke taboo associated with rock.

Full complement of species of land animals inhabited ocean. Ocean-bears and ocean-panthers most dangerous. I believe they combined characters of their terrestrial kin with those of fish, but am not certain about details.

Water people, inhabiting both ocean and streams, very dangerous; seeing or even dreaming about them resulted in sickness or death unless purified.

Small forest and water sprites, size and form of children, lured hunters, travelers from path, made them crazy, kept them prisoners forever.

"Woods devils," wild hairy beings of human form, whistled at, annoyed hunters, etc., put out their campfires, but did no real harm. Sorcerer's "poisons" used by them only for hunting, first obtained from woods devils.

*Mythology.*—Lack of time prevented my collecting mythology. The tales are long and numerous. The outlines may be given briefly.

Creation. There was nothing but water and darkness. The Creator (one version speaks of 10) thought the world into existence. It came floating from s. At its center (at yotokut) was the First Redwood, under which were the tracks of all the animals, which the Creator (s) also thought into being. These were "prehumans," went away, became animals, constellations, trees, rocks, etc., "when the people came."

Trickster. Coyote was Trickster; went about doing some good, great deal of damage.

Culture-hero (tagiatun-mulha-geste'v, [at] tagiatun—with stick—dug out). Boy who was dug out of ground, grew up in miraculously short time and went about slaying monsters as far N as Rogue r. and as far s as Klamath r.; instituted kinship terminology and other details which Creators had overlooked; went up in sky to dance White Deer-skin dance (obviously a Yurok myth given a new geographical setting).

*Modern cults.*—A few notes on modern cults, chiefly the 1870 Ghost dance, and Shakerism, are appended here. Dr. Cora Du Bois has made an exhaustive investigation of the Ghost-dance movement in northern California and Oregon, and of its secondary developments. Analysis of the phases of this cult in northwestern California and adjacent regions must therefore be left to her intensive study.

Ghost dance of 1870 introduced by Siletz man, and 3 companions, at yotokut. Told Tolowa he had died for 10 days; received message that people must dance to bring dead back. They were to wear valuables, carry elk-horn purses and money so "the money they had spent on the dead" (put in the graves) would be brought back. (Same concept also said to have been innovated by a Tolowa as result of dream.) Tolowa soon began to dream, get songs, etc.; attributed own dreams to earlier date than arrival of Oregon man. Most rich-men dreamed; each added new features to dance—one danced naked, ringing a bell; another made people bathe after each dance, etc. Anyone could dance; danced themselves into trancelike state. Curing also part of complex; dancers formed circle about sick person, singing, dancing, blowing mixture of water and angelica root over him. Sometimes dreamed of old site, etc.; people went to dance 5 nights in old house pit. Dance persisted several years (apparently 5 or 6 years †); finally people began to lose interest and abandoned it. According to one account, the Siletz man, according to another, the rich-man, attempted to introduce dance to Yurok, but failed.

Shaker religion introduced among Tolowa about 1930, by Siletz people. Was known to have reached Yurok at Rekwoi few years before, but not taken up at that time. Shaker church at present competing with church of the Four-Square Gospel; people divided, some cleave to one and some to the other; some are impartial and belong to both. Features of general ethnographic interest in Tolowa Shakerism are: the songs, which are similar in style to old songs; extraction of pains to cure sickness (but with the hands instead of by sucking); discovery of "Injun devils" (sorcerers) by persons in trancelike condition; and discovery and destruction of their "poison."

CHETCO RIVER<sup>20</sup>

The information on names and locations of towns is somewhat conflicting. Parrish<sup>21</sup> states, "the Chetco villages are situated at the mouth and on both banks and about six miles up a small river bearing their name. . . ." It is not quite clear whether this should be interpreted to mean that there were three or four towns. He gives the total number of houses as 42. Dorsey<sup>22</sup> lists nine "Tce-titunne" (Chetco people) towns, but as Waterman<sup>23</sup> suggests, all Dorsey's lists of villages seem overlong, and most certainly include many place names, camp sites, and mythologic town sites. In all probability, with the Chetco towns should be included those on Winchuck river to the south and perhaps the nearest villages northward along the coast. The Chetco group may have consisted of the following:

xə'sa'tun.<sup>24</sup> Town at the mouth of Winchuck r.

tceet, or tceetxō. At mouth of Chetco r. There were really two towns, one on each side.

nałtene'tun. About where the modern town of Brookings now stands.

tea:gilī'tun. Up Chetco r., at the mouth of the North fork.

cxī'chəslintun. A little distance upstream above the preceding.

tū:ne'stun. Near cxī'chəslintun.

I am not at all sure that the last three places were real towns. They may have been fishing camps, or something of the sort.

The coast town which Parrish calls Wishtenatan (Waterman, xustene'tən) may have been affiliated more closely with Chetco river than with the Lower Rogue river group. I met no one from there, and have no way of judging.

By and large, the culture of the Chetco group differed only in a few particulars from that of the Tolowa. The routine of the food quest and the elements of material culture seem to have been almost the same. Details of house construction were almost identical. Sweat houses, however, are said to have been smaller and so low that one could stand erect only under the peak of the roof. "That was why the doctors danced (the doctor-making dance) in the dwelling house; the sweat house was too small." No other differences of moment were reported.

In the field of social organization we may assume virtual identity with the Tolowa. Accounts (though mostly obtained from Tolowa informants) of intermarriages and blood settlements between members of the two groups indicate the same rules regulated social relationships within and without the basic paternal lineage on Chetco river as among their more southerly kindred.

The most significant variants from Tolowa usage appear in religious and ceremonial life. The shamanistic pattern is unexpectedly different. In contrast to the Tolowa concept of unpersonified "pains" which of themselves came

<sup>20</sup> The material on the following groups of Athabascans, for the sake of brevity, describes chiefly the features wherein they differ from the Tolowa. Detailed descriptions of the cultures will be left to Mr. H. G. Barnett's exhaustive element lists.

<sup>21</sup> Parrish, 1854. <sup>22</sup> Dorsey, 1890. <sup>23</sup> Waterman, 1925.

<sup>24</sup> The difficulties inherent in collecting geographical data from people who have never seen their homeland are obvious. All the inhabitants north of the California line were rounded up and taken to Siletz about 1855. My lists of villages for this and subsequent groups (Lower Rogue r., Upper Coquille) are consequently faulty, probably omitting many smaller settlements or suburbs of the principal towns. I present them, however (with all due reservations), as being the best obtainable at this late date.

to the seeker-after-power, pains (of similar type) were given by a guardian spirit, usually an animal. These pains had power also, it is true, but were somehow more like tokens of the favor of the guardian spirit. This more typically North American pattern was shared by all groups from the Chetco river northward.<sup>25</sup> Shamans from Lower Rogue river, from the Upper Coquille, and from Galice creek, all obtained their supernatural powers in the same fashion. Other elements of Tolowa shamanism, the "doctor-making" dance, curing methods, and the rest, were common to all.

The first-salmon rite on Chetco river contained a number of familiar features. There was a sacred sweat house on a little point (ka:lō'hwut) on the north (?) side of the river, which had been built by a supernatural being "before the people came." My informant believed the structure was somehow associated with the ritual, but did not know just how. (Probably the priest trained there.) Anyone might catch the first salmon of the run. He had to give it to the priest, who cleaned it, made a fire at a place called ta'tlēc teu'ntun ("[where he] throws it in [referring to the salmon bones?] at the foot of") and cooked the fish. Only men were permitted to attend the rite, to hear him recite his day-long (!) formula, and, at the conclusion, to have the pinch of salmon and angelica root put in their mouths. Some men rubbed the mixture over their bodies before the ritual plunge in the river. Next day two girls,<sup>26</sup> dressed in dance finery, went to the river, where they were given more salmon. These they carried in their arms to a house (?) to lay them on a bed of clean grass. The priest walked ahead of them reciting formulas. These fish were cooked, and everyone might eat of them. Then salmon were free to everyone.

The girls' puberty dance was never made on Chetco river. "The dance wasn't allowed to come (i.e., be danced) farther north than xawunhwut." A pubescent girl's family took care of her in the same way as did most Tolowa (among whom, of course, girls' puberty observances were usually family affairs).

Though our material is less full than might be desirable, it conclusively establishes the relationship of Tolowa and Chetco culture. There was no sharp break between the two. Most elements present among the Tolowa were to be found among their neighbors just to the north. Rather, one has the feeling of a slight step downward in the scale of cultural complexity. Dwelling houses often lacked plank floors; the sweat houses were too small for dancing. Shamanism lacks the peculiar specialization. Ceremonialism is poorer by one ritual (the girls' puberty dance), which, though not regularly performed by the Tolowa, was the most elaborate of their stock of rites.

<sup>25</sup> It will be advantageous to defer comparison of these two bases of shamanism until after the more detailed accounts from Rogue and Coquille rivers have been presented.

<sup>26</sup> This part of the account was somewhat garbled. One would expect the rite to have lasted only one day, and the procedure of the "second" day to have been the manner in which the ritual began.

## LOWER ROGUE RIVER

## River towns:

tce'metun, or tce'me. Really two towns at the river mouth, one on either side.

tagaili'tun. Suburb of tututun. Only 2-3 houses.

tū'tutun. Important town 5-6 miles from river mouth. Divided into two parts, tatre'tun, "downriver," and na'gutætun, "upriver."

megwinō'tun. Town a few miles upriver.

kwuse'tun. Near, and possibly a suburb of, megwinotun.

Near the Rogue-Illinois confluence were the cista kwusta ("Chasta Costa") towns, or, rather, one town divided into 3 parts: LeatLi'ntun, tetei'wut, and seLa'tun.

## Coast towns:

tce'tleæc teuntun. Pistol river. May have belonged to the Chetco group rather than to the Lower Rogue river.

ska:me'me. Between Pistol river and the mouth of the Rogue. Waterman locates this village at Hunter's creek.

yukwī'tce, or yu'gwitce. Village north of Rogue river on what is now Euchre creek.

gwi'sat huntun (the "Cosutt Henten" of Parrish's lists). A village on Mussel creek. The word gwi'sat refers to mussels.

There were several villages in the general region of Port Orford, which are said to have been closely related. They formed Parrish's "Qua-to-ma" tribe. It seems quite likely that they were as distinct a unit as any of the others, Tolowa, Chetco, and the rest. I recorded the names of three towns; there may have been others.

sukwe: me, or sukwertce. At the mouth of Sixes river.

kwataime. A town a short distance to the north of the preceding one.

kusū'me. A town on what is now called Flores creek.

So far as our knowledge serves us, the subsistence pattern of the coastal towns of the Lower Rogue river division differed in no way from that of the Tolowa. Proceeding upstream, expectably enough, such marine products as surf fish, mollusks, sea-lion flesh, etc., were replaced by the flesh of land animals, especially deer. It is said that even at tututun, five or six miles above the river mouth, only a few men knew the practical and ritual procedure necessary for venturing "outside" in a canoe. Salmon and acorns were the mainstays, venison and camas took second place.

Fishing and hunting implements and techniques present few new elements. A long stick of vine maple, one end of which was steamed and bent into a loop while the other end served as a long handle, made a frame for a lifting net for salmon. Single-pointed sharp-angled fishhooks of bone or horn were used for offshore fishing, or, tied to tule floats, were drifted downstream for sturgeon. Small weirs built in side streams are said to have lacked the crab-claw signaling device used by the Tolowa. Hunting of seal and sea lions was flatly denied by Dr. Du Bois' informants; my informants believed the large ocean-going canoes were used for such expeditions, but details of procedure were vaguely known.

The houses of Lower Rogue river seem to have been about the same in form as those of the Tolowa. They were rectangular, gabled, of vertical planking. Parrish<sup>27</sup> describes pits "about twelve by sixteen feet square, and four or five feet deep, inside of which puncheons or split stuff are set upright six or eight feet high. On top of these, boards or thatches are placed for the roof." Most of

<sup>27</sup> Parrish, *op. cit.*



the house pits do not seem to have been so deep. Trenching a fairly large, historic, house pit at up-river tututun revealed a floor of packed clay scarcely eighteen inches below the ground level. The use of thatching for the roof is a noteworthy element. Thatch of grass or fern bound between long poles was used to cover both roof and sides of the rectangular, gabled framework of summer structures at more or less permanent camps. Rude windbreaks of brush were set up at temporary camps. The plank houses of the wealthy were named.

As among the Tolowa, the sleeping quarters of the men, from early childhood, was the sweat house. The structure differed from that of the more southerly group in being smaller, lower, and lacking a plank floor. As on Chetco river, it was specifically stated that shamans did not dance in the sweat house because it was too low. Dr. Du Bois' notes state that a round entrance with a sliding door was used; mine, that a small rectangular door was left uncovered, Tolowa-fashion. Men slept on tule mats, or on the bare floor. Long smoothed poles served as pillows.

Canoes were built of red cedar. They presented all the features of the craft of the Lower Klamath tribes, with their blunt raised ends, inturned gunwales, carved steersman's seat, and the rest. The shape of the bottom might vary. A flat bottom (laterally) (ntɛL) was steadier, less easily tipped; whereas a canoe with a rounded bottom (tummy's) was swifter. If the bottom was given a slight longitudinal convexity (ti:yau'lka), it was more easily turned. If it was straight (ulge't), it had more speed. Canoes for river use were about three and one-half fathoms long. Ocean-going canoes might be four or five fathoms in length. An early account<sup>28</sup> speaks of meeting a canoe from Rogue river some distance offshore which contained twelve men, indicating that it must have been a craft of some size. Only a man of substance would own such a vessel. Boatloads of people from Rogue river went by sea on visits and trading expeditions to Smith river, Crescent bay, and the mouth of the Klamath. Live coals were carried on a hearth of stone and clay in the bow. Canoes do not seem to have been named. An old tututun canoe-maker at Siletz gave his personal name to the last canoe he built, but this appears to have been a novelty, not common usage.

A few additional details on canoe-making may be included here. A large ocean canoe was widened by filling it with water, then throwing in quantities of hot stones. Braces were set along the outside to make it spread evenly. When nearly finished, the canoe was rubbed with oil, burned over, then polished with equisetum.

Some paddles were made with plain and some with crutch handles. They might have a notched blade, "for bracing against snags in swift water." Pointed poles of seasoned young spruce or fir were mandatory for traveling against the swift current. Bailers were scoop-shaped implements of wood. A large clam-shell might serve as a makeshift.

Most of the implements and weapons of Lower Rogue river could, by all accounts, have been duplicated in any Tolowa village. The small pyriform maul for driving wedges was not used (?). Dr. Du Bois' informant gave a vivid de-

<sup>28</sup> J. M. Kirkpatrick, *cited in*, Oliver Dodge.

scription of harpoonlike thrusting spears used in warfare, which my informants denied; such implements are lacking among neighboring groups. Basketry was of the same materials and in the same techniques as it was to the south, but modern examples seem crude compared with the fine, neat work of the Tolowa and Yurok-Karok. Statements that Rogue river people journeyed to the Tolowa and the lower Klamath river to trade for women's caps, eating baskets, and trinket baskets imply that the quality of the work may have been equally poor aboriginally. The shape of the cradle was the only distinctive feature other than that of quality: Lower Rogue river cradles were of the deep sitting type, lacking the "toe" at the bottom. The dimensions of the cradle indicated the sex of the child. A boy's cradle was wide across the top "so he'd have broad shoulders"; that for a girl was widest across the base. It is scarcely possible to judge whether or not the vessels of wood and stone, and the spoons of horn and shell, were of ruder workmanship than those of the Tolowa. They may have been almost equally well made.

Games were the same as the Tolowa ones, except that there was no women's dice game.

Little information is obtainable on money and wealth. Dentalia are known to have been strung in tens, and valued according to length. The names of the different sizes, and their relative values, have been forgotten. The same distinction was made between "men's" and "women's" money as by the Tolowa. The red woodpecker scalps, whether used in exchanges or sewn on regalia, usually consisted of the skin of the whole head with beak attached.

"Claims" at good fishing places were defended against trespass, and were inherited, but not saleable. As with the Tolowa, slaves were counted by the people themselves as property, but could scarcely be considered economic assets.

The functional basis of society was identical to that described for the Tolowa. The males of a paternal lineage occupied a town. Women were purchased from outside groups, sometimes from maternally related ones.<sup>29</sup>

Within this group of kinsmen, the most wealthy, who was also nominal owner of the real property of the lineage, was the head. He, together with his poorer henchmen relatives grouped around him, formed a social unit complete within itself. Clashes between two such units were settled by payments in the same fashion as among the Tolowa. Within the group they were glossed over if possible. Sometimes an intravillage altercation might lead to a schism, and a new settlement would be founded. Such an event must be taken to indicate that the group had become too large and unwieldy. Without formal machinery the ties of blood had to be strong enough to counterbalance the stresses and strains of daily contacts. When the relationship became too remote, a fission of the group occurred.

Dr. Du Bois' informant was of the opinion that slavery scarcely existed as an institution, considering it more as a sort of adoption. My informants seem to have been inclined to overemphasize the importance of slavery, some telling of the stealing of children from neighboring groups to sell them to the north-

<sup>29</sup> My chief informant had been betrothed to his mother's brother's daughter in infancy, "and would have married her, but she died before she was old enough." A man might marry any relative through the mother, but none on the paternal side.

erners who came down the coast on slave-buying expeditions. The true state of affairs must have been somewhere between these two views. Probably, as among the Tolowa, few slaves were held at one time, and most of these for debt. They would have been treated about as well as their owner's poor relatives. The attitude that they might be sold, however, implies that the Lower Rogue river people held a definite idea of property right. One would not think of selling a kinsman.

Wars, aboriginally, were feuds between towns. The usual tactics, ambushes, and surprise attacks on sweat houses were customary. There was no scalping (the custom was innovated by whites in the famous Rogue river wars, but never adopted by the natives). Dead enemies were sometimes mutilated in what early accounts describe as "an unspeakably horrible fashion."

Observances at various stages of the life cycle of the individual differed only in minor details from those of the Tolowa. Use of formulas, and the same general restrictions—avoidance of water and fresh foods—were customary at critical times. The same type of names were in vogue as among the southern group. Some men were given nicknames of geographical or marital reference.<sup>80</sup>

Women usually had a chin tattoo of one or three vertical stripes. My informants recalled two men, however, who had rows of dots tattooed from mouth to ears. No one knew why; "they must have dreamed it" (i.e., dreamed they should be tattooed).

Not only a boy's first salmon, but his first game of any sort, were taboo to him and his immediate family. An old woman threw a dress over his head, saying, "may you live long" (*θahwəni':etε*), and was given the game. A girl's pubescence, as on Chetco river, was a family affair, never an occasion for a public performance.

The same derivation of shamanistic power from a guardian spirit, which we encountered for the first time on Chetco river, appears in Lower Rogue river culture. A potential shaman, male or female, began by dreaming, often before puberty. A guardian spirit (*məsta'nī* [?], "Flint Person") appeared, saying, "I come to help you. Whatever you may want, call on me. Whatever you want, I shall help you. Do not forget me; think about me constantly." From time to time he came to his protégé, instructing him when and how to "train" and giving songs. The guardian spirit was usually a bird or animal, but appeared in human form. Raven, Eagle, Buzzard, Bear, and Yellowhammer gave the most powerful curing power. However, they were "mean," sometimes causing their protégés to do harm. Some spirits gave power for pursuits other than shamanism. White Deer gave hunting luck, Crane, luck at gambling. To tell one's dreams resulted in a loss of their efficacy. In this way, evil dreams, as of Wildcat or Yellowjacket, were neutralized. A novice who had a strong guardian spirit trained, fasting, bathing, visiting lonely places by night, until ready to dance (*riclyε'*, "fixing," i.e., doctor-making). "His people knew he was training, singing 'power' songs, and getting doctor-power, so they made him dance." It was essential that the novice perform the five-night "fixing" dance.

<sup>80</sup> A *tututun* man (and his house) were called "downhill-long-house" (*ta'un mune'nus*); another was called to-the-south-married (*une'uti*) because he had a Tolowa wife.

Those who did not dance in public were "secret-doctors" (nūyesta), who used their power to work harm. The novice's kin hired older shamans to assist, and sang for five nights. The novice danced himself (or herself) into a trancelike state. Various spirits appeared, armed with bows. It is said that the kinsmen made the potential shaman tell what spirit appeared; if an evil one presented itself, the novice was ordered to refuse it. When the proper being appeared and was accepted, it drew its bow, then shot a "power" (na:zənetce') (not a "pain"?) into the novice, who fell unconscious. An older shaman revived the novice. Such tricks as levitation, fire-eating, and the like might be displayed at this time. The new shaman then confessed evil dreams, and a formula was recited over him to prevent their recurrence. Then he was ready to practice.

Some people had power from Snow, and could bring snowstorms. Others had general weather power. People used to say, "Tell him to make good weather" (ho'tca nai úllsit al'ti':ni). A guardian spirit might "give" an object, or a style of face painting, which would protect the recipient on journeys, or a ritual for success at war, etc.

The curing procedure was much the same as that of Tolowa shamans. The fee was agreed on and given when the shaman was called. He might dance, sending his "power" (guardian spirit?) to see if a cure was possible, but he always had to attempt to cure. A shaman called to another community took some of his kinsmen along as an escort and to sing for him. He paid them each a small amount from his fee. At the house of the sick person, he smoked, then sang and danced to summon his guardian spirit. The latter did not possess the shaman, but seems to have stayed close beside him, and somehow "drove the 'pain' (si':zun) to the surface." The pain was sucked out or removed with the hands, displayed, then destroyed or sent away as the people desired. Pains might be sent by a malicious shaman, or come as the result of some unconfessed sin by the sick person or a close kinsman. (Unconfessed evil dreams, e.g., of Wildcat, Yellowjacket, or of having sexual intercourse with Deer or Bear, etc., were a common cause of ills.) The source of the pain was often "seen" (in a trance) as the shaman danced; an aide repeated and interpreted his babblings to the audience.

The concept of illness from soul loss (se'tseni'ta), caused by a sudden fright, seeing a ghost, etc., was reported. The sufferer became thin and weak. He would die unless a shaman danced to "bring the lost soul back with his power." I could not learn whether this meant he sent his guardian spirit, or if the songs drew the soul back.

There was no special class of sorcerers, unless the "secret doctors" (those who had not revealed themselves by dancing publicly) be so considered. Both they and regular practitioners could send pains into people to kill them. The sender of a pain might be revealed by a clairvoyant shaman. If the sick person died, his kin would kill his bewitcher.

"Indian devils" (Le'na'ga) were known as a Tolowa and Yurok institution. "Rogue river people didn't have that kind." These sorcerers occasionally came to Rogue river, or, in reservation times, to Siletz, on marauding expeditions. A vivid, if somewhat novel, description of their means of locomotion was obtained. I give it for what it is worth. "When one of these Indian devils is traveling, you can hear him whistle. He whistles

five times. The first time he is maybe miles away, way up on the mountain. A moment later he whistles again, a little closer, and next time, he is real close. The fourth time he is right in front of you. The next moment he whistles the fifth time, a long way beyond. I heard one whistle one night, and hid behind a big tree. He whistled again, and again, and the fourth time I saw him. I knew him. He was an old Smith river (Tolowa) man. He came through the air, but I couldn't see him till he lit on the ground right in front of me. There was a big blaze of light, and I saw him sliding along on the ground on his rump, making that whistling noise. Then he jumped up and disappeared, and a couple of seconds later I heard him whistling way up on the ridge. Apparently the whistling was not produced orally.

Formulists (tuce'ne, "talking-doctors") had more power than was attributed to their Tolowa brethren. They were reputed to learn their formulas in dreams. Whether or not these recitatives could be transferred by sale was not clear, but seems probable. There was no "fixing" ritual for talking-doctors. To perform a cure, it was first necessary for the sick person or a kinsman to confess the sin which had caused the illness. The formulist sat facing east and smoked; then, swaying from side to side, he intoned the proper formula. "He told about the first time it happened that way" (apparently the recitatives consisted of mythologic accounts of the first sicknesses and their cures). Then he sprayed mouthfuls of herbs and water (Lũteumə', "grass medicine") over the patient with his mouth.

There were formulas for a multitude of purposes. Some cured diseases, some were for purification, e.g., of hunters whose luck had been spoiled, or of mourners. Some were for working evil, to be said over some object associated with a person, or his track (hwenai i'sxa', "pick up his track").

Several accounts of the annual first-salmon rite were obtained from tututun informants. None are complete, and details vary, though the general outlines are the same.

*Version 1.*—First spring Chinook brought to priest, cleaned, broiled (outdoors?), placed on tray with other food, formula recited over. Priest put bit in everyone's mouth, saying, "I pray (that) the Creator give you (plenty) salmon to eat" (Lũ're hwonĩæði:cyu xowa'ele'ce nyũða'llyũ). All bathed.

*Version 2.*—Youth sent to spear first spring salmon; girl, in finery, met him on river bank, cleaned fish, carried it to sukale'me (said to be a place near upriver tututun). Priest made fire; cooked, recited formula over, distributed fish. Only adult males might eat. Priest trained before rite.

*Version 3* (DB).—Priest himself had to catch first salmon. Before he brought it into his house he wound shredded willow bark around his head, neck, and waist. Everyone in the village had to taste a bit of the fish "that kept people from getting sick on the new salmon." Afterward anyone could go out to fish. They had to do the same for the first eels each year.

"Training" for any sort of good fortune consisted of the usual partial fasting, abstinence from water, and visiting sacred places. A gambler who was able to approach his opponent's house by night, slice off a splinter from the planking, and escape unseen was sure to win. Men who had guardian spirits called on them for aid; others relied on the power of the sacred localities.

The food quest was occasion for much ritual. Hunters sang all night in the sweat house before setting out. Old men prayed, wept, bathed from time to time, to insure a successful hunt. The words of two deer songs were recorded:

(1) *teabai'yō hadu'tun ace:wun hōtca'me*, "(When) flowers are growing, (how) pleasant it is to me." This is Deer-spirit's song. On nice days deer browse in the clearings in the woods..

(2) *tæ'cī'hae hwōnō:ga hwenu'cīteī hwōnō:ga*, "It is not I you hunt, you hunt sleep." Deer-spirit sang thus to make his pursuers weary. For them to sing it was good, for it was a powerful song.

Behavior during the expedition was rigidly prescribed. In the mountains, a hunter dared not laugh, talk freely, or mention the names of monsters dwelling there, lest evil befall him. There was a sort of jargon used at sea for fishing or sealing, besides the prohibition on naming land animals, or women. (It is said that one who broke this taboo had to be thrown overboard to placate the sea-beings and save the lives of the rest!) In the jargon, the expedition was spoken of in terms of a shinny game against the ocean; the steersman gave directions by expressions from the game. "We are going to play shinny" (*nateī'lta*) meant, "We are going out on the ocean." "Hit the ball over that way" (*hwunθeteī'lta hatca'cū*) meant, "Paddle in that direction." These phrases were used so exclusively that they made the directions completely unintelligible to the uninitiated. Expressions from the many-stick game might be used, instead, but once the speakers were at sea, to change the game was not permitted.

A few beliefs about the treatment of animal food are new. A hunter removed the crystalline lenses (?) of a deer's eyes, swallowing them for luck, or giving them to a child to eat "so he would have good eyes." The offal remaining after butchering was left for Raven and Buzzard, patrons of hunters. Fir boughs to lay the carcass on, to catch the blood, were placed in the house. Then they were thrown out in the brush. This was done so that no woman would step on the deer blood. Children might not play with deer hooves, printing tracks with them, or the hunter would find only tracks thereafter.

Steelhead, sturgeon, and dog salmon were all magically potent, and might not be eaten by the unclean. Both sea and land animals could not be eaten at the same meal.

As has been mentioned, there was no public ceremony on the occasion of a girl's puberty. The only dance other than the "doctor-fixing" and the warriors' purification dance was a simple wealth-display dance identical with that of the Tolowa. The only difference is that, lacking board floors, a large plank was placed for the performers to dance on.

Prayers and offerings were made on various occasions.

The Creator (*xōwadece*; also *tug'e'xucæ'*, "above rich-man ?") was often addressed; some men prayed daily at sunrise. Prayers were simple but dignified. The following is typical:

"Help me, Creator, my father, that I may live longer in this world. You created this world; everything in this world you made. To you I pray. Grant that my children live long and happily in this world. Your holy power blow down on my children."

Offerings were made to: Creator, guardian spirit, Sun, Moon (at new moon), Screech owl (*bapū'sl'ε'*) (for hunting). One blew a pinch of tobacco into the air, and, addressing the particular being, said "Long life (give me)"

(həcnī'elɛ), or "A deer I am seeking" (θɛ'lɹɛ canunə'ltɛelɛ), etc. Tobacco, food, arrows, etc., were offered to supernaturals at certain spots.

The culture of the Lower Rogue river division, like that of Chetco river, reveals itself as essentially the same, but lacking much of the elaboration of Tolowa culture. Over this common stratum some new traits are found. These we may trace to alien sources, just as the specializations of the Tolowa are traceable to Yurok contacts.

## UPPER COQUILLE RIVER

### Upper Coquille towns:

hwæctun. Farthest downriver. Perhaps partly Kusan.

Parrish's list gives "Choc-re-le-a-ton" (Dorsey, Clte'a-rxi-li-i-tunné, "People away from the Forks"), indicating it as largest town. At forks of Coquille.

lunhæctun. Said to have been founded by man and three sons, with families, from Upper Umpqua; "they moved because of a quarrel." Informant was great-grandson of one of the brothers, dating founding about 1800.

natgrilitun. (Bend there.) Three sweat houses.

stoneæultul, suburb of natgrilitun, across river.

These are all the names I was able to record. There may, however, have been some others.

Because of the distance from the sea, the food sources of the Coquille river Athabascans were somewhat more limited than those of their coast-dwelling kin. Marine products were not a part of the regular dietary, and could be obtained only on occasional visits. Salmon, deer and elk, acorns, and camas were the chief foods. There was no spring run of salmon; the Chinook run occurred about August-September, and the silverside came about the same time. Dog salmon and sturgeon are said not to have entered the river (?). Steelhead ran in the high water of midwinter, though there were some in the river almost the year around. The environmental situation is comparable to that of the towns above tututun on Rogue river; the importance of hunting increased as sea foods were less available, and salmon runs less heavy. There were no new devices or techniques of food-getting reported. The same type of lifting nets were used as on Lower Rogue river. The deer-head decoy was denied consistently. Driving of deer and elk with dogs was said to have been the usual method of hunting. For this reason, well-trained hunting dogs were highly prized, and seem to have been given some care. They were fed fresh meat and salmon. The first four (not five?) times each year that a dog was given fresh salmon, a harpoon head and line was tied about his neck to protect him from harm. Dogs were named descriptively, and were never eaten. They were buried when they died.

The details of house construction on the Upper Coquille are no longer clearly remembered. The houses seem to have been on the Rogue river type, i.e., rectangular gabled structures over a shallow pit, with roof and walls of cedar planks. The space between the double front wall was, as usual, used as a woodshed. The outer doorway was closed by a sliding door; according to one account, poor people hung woven grass mats over the doorway. Houses of grass thatch were used at summer fishing camps. The sweat houses were small semi-subterranean earth-covered buildings of the same sort as those on Lower Rogue river.

Two types of canoe were used on the Upper Coquille. The first was the familiar Yurok-Tolowa-Rogue river blunt-ended dugout, with all the characteristic features; the second was the double-pointed dugout of Kus type. The former was made by the Upper Coquille people, and was said to have been better made, and more navigable in swift water. Informants were not sure



whether the second type was made locally or traded from the Kusan towns downriver. Paddles of two types were used. One had a carved crutch handle and notched blade; the other, plain handle and blade. Pointed poling rods were standard equipment for upstream travel.

Tools and weapons were in no way different from those on Lower Rogue river. Basketry and receptacles were likewise similar. It is said that sometimes at feasts great cooking troughs of the inner bark of cedar might be improvised if there were not enough wooden ones at hand. The neck skin of an elk was cased to make a container for valuables (apparently instead of a basket).

The only new game reported was the use of four split-stick dice by women.

Wealth consisted of dentalia (in tens), flints, and woodpecker scalps. Possession of slaves added to the prestige of a rich-man. Some men claimed places to set weirs for winter fishing (chiefly for steelhead). Fellow townsmen could fish there if they cared to, but outsiders had to ask permission. There is said to have been but little trespass; "they all had good places to fish."

On the Upper Coquille, as elsewhere in our area, society was based on localized paternal lineages. The account of the founding of the town of Lunhoctun by a man and his three sons three generations before my chief informant's time is characteristic. Wives were bought outside this patrilineal group; only men of standing were wealthy enough to strengthen affinal ties by marrying their maternal kinswomen. Intergroup disputes were settled by payment. Prominent men were chosen to act as intermediaries in such affairs. In short, the same social rules were in effect as among all the kindred groups to the south.

As on Chetco and Rogue rivers, the concept of the acquisition of guardian spirits was the foundation on which the shamanistic complex was based. A young person would dream, at intervals, of various beings. She (female shamans seem to have been in the majority) might acquire as many as five spirits; a really powerful shaman always had five. An account by one (N. L.) who was well on the way to becoming a shaman, and who had a number of relatives who were practicing shamans, is especially illustrative.

If a person is going to be a doctor, she begins to dream when she's still young. She dreams all the time. Her "powers" tell her when she should fast, and not drink water. She has to train all the time (i.e., for a long period). When she has five powers, she tells her relatives to sing for her, and she dances ten nights. I began to dream when I was 12-15. It was before I became tealun (pubescent). I first dreamed about Grizzly Bear. He looked just like a person, but he was a bear. He told me, "You're going to become a big doctor. I'm going to be your power; I shall stand behind you when you cure sick people. Tomorrow I don't want you to eat anything all day. I want you to walk around in the hills and practice this song all day." Then he sang his song for me. The next one I dreamt of was Yellowhammer. He looked like a person, too. He said to me, "I'm going to be your power. When you sing my song you can cure people who are sick. When you think about me, then you can cure." These two kept coming back to me, telling me how to train myself, all the time. Once Coyote came to me. I said, "I don't want you for my 'power.'" Coyote is mean, always doing mean things. He is kind of foolish, too, sometimes. You know the stories about him. I didn't want him, because I was afraid he might make me do things like he does. I was getting strong power all the time. Next I dreamed about Otter. He came to me and said, "I'm going to help you. You have to sing my song first when you want to cure someone who is sick. When you sing my song I shall be right there near you. Other people can't see me, but you will see me there helping

you." I wanted to wait until I got five guardian spirits before I danced (the doctor-making dance). I never danced it though. If my elder brother (a powerful shaman) hadn't died (he was killed when suspected of bewitching a girl), I should have become a strong doctor. But when he was killed, I didn't want it any more. I didn't have any one any more (i.e., to protect me); I was afraid someone might kill me. When I joined the church I threw all my dreams away. Now I don't dream any more. I have cured a few people, if they weren't too sick. That was before I joined the church. I can't suck pains out, because I have never danced. I just sang my songs over them. When I sang my songs over someone who was sick, I got nervous. I trembled all over. Then I knew the person would get well. I knew the spirit whose song I was using was with me, helping me. Then the person would get better.

xuLyesna, one of my father's sisters, was a strong doctor who cured lots of people. I took her name after she died. She had five guardian spirits, Grizzly Bear, Eagle (†), Crow, Yellowhammer, and Mink. She used to wear a headband of mink fur trimmed with dentalia when she doctored. Mink told her to do this. Grizzly Bear and Yellowhammer were the strongest of the powers, though. When she was still training, Grizzly Bear used to tell her to practice dancing out in the woods. Then she would go up to a big rock and suck blood out of it. He gave her power to do this. Once she met a grizzly back in the mountains. She just said to him, "You don't want to hurt me; you're my guardian spirit." Then she began to sing his song. The bear walked away. He didn't look like a person that time—he had fur on. But he was her spirit just the same. She would never eat any kind of bear meat. You can't eat the kind that you have for a guardian spirit; it would make you sick. You may not tell what you are dreaming until after you have danced, and are a real doctor. If you tell your dreams before then, you lose all your power. [This was how the informant "threw her dreams away"—by making public confession in church.] Sometimes I wish I hadn't given up my power. I'm a good Christian now, but if I still had my spirits, they would come and talk to me sometimes. All my relatives are dead; I haven't anyone to talk with any more.

The procedure of curing was the same as among the other groups. Some shamans in reservation times took pains out with their hands; then two assistants seized her (or his) arms, and with a great show of exertion forced her hands down into a basket of water "to cool the pain." Only then would the shaman be able to dispose of it for good and all. This, however, was said to have been a trait learned from the Alsea when the latter were moved to Siletz in the eighties. No other new elements were reported.

There also were formulists (teuce':ne), who ranked as lesser doctors. It may be that this class includes as well persons like the informant cited above, who had a little curing power, but had not yet danced. Should such a person display too much shamanistic power, however, she would certainly lay herself open to accusations of being a "secret shaman" (one who has power, but has not danced, and used her power for evil purposes), and she would very likely be murdered.

Other religious and ceremonial complexes were identical with those of the Lower Rogue river people. The only novel feature was one connected with the use of bear meat. It is said that when a bear was killed, a feast had to be given. All the meat was cooked at once, and had to be eaten then and there. It must never be dried. The skull was not saved, however, and the hide was dressed for use as a robe, etc. This is the only inkling of anything resembling the widespread "bear ceremonialism" to appear among these Athabascan groups.

Our brief summary of the culture of the Upper Coquille Athabascans brings

out the manner in which they fall in with their kinsmen in the drainages to the southward. Most of the points of difference are traits which have a distinctly Kusan flavor; the surprising thing is that there are not many more such elements. The essential unity of the culture from Tolowa northward to the Upper Coquille becomes increasingly apparent. It seems a great pity that there is no information on the most northerly group, the inhabitants of the upper part of the Umpqua river. They must have acted as middlemen, relaying southward whatever traits diffused upriver from the coast (from the Lower Umpqua, which is also a *terra incognita* ethnographically, but which we may infer was at a higher level of culture than our Athabascans), and also passing on traits from the Kalapuyan peoples of the Willamette valley. Had someone taken the trouble to investigate these less picturesque groups of the Northwest Coast twenty or thirty years ago, when good informants were still plentiful, our problems would be much simpler. As it is, we can only guess that the Upper Umpqua group shared in the common substratum of traits with the groups to the south, having—exposed as they were on almost all sides to alien peoples—a greater number of foreign traits superadded than any other of these Athabascans, except perhaps the Galice creek group.

## GALICE CREEK

The last and culturally most aberrant of the Athabascans of southwestern Oregon to be considered are the people who dwelt on Galice creek, a small tributary of the middle course of Rogue river. They, with their congeners on Applegate creek, a short distance upriver, appear on the map as small islands of Athabaskan speech, entirely surrounded by the alien Takelma. Their dialect seems to be the most divergent of all the groups.

Probably never a large group, these people had become through daily contact and intermarriage almost wholly Takelman in culture. It is characteristic that both of Barnett's Galice creek informants could trace blood relationships to the few Takelma survivors at Siletz and Grande Ronde. The name of one town only is remembered: talustun, at the mouth of Galice creek. It is not certain that there were others. Obviously, with paternal kinship a bar to marriage, there must have been a greater measure of Takelma blood than Athabaskan.

A complete inventory of the culture of these people would require too much space, and would merely duplicate the material of Barnett's element lists. For this reason, a few traits which seem more significant in placing the culture will be mentioned. Among devices of the food quest, the double-foreshafted salmon harpoon, and perhaps fish poisoning, and a long, narrow-frame plunge net of north central Californian type were reported. The deer-head disguise was used for stalking, and small game was widely hunted. The importance of such articles as pine nuts, "grass" seeds, etc., in the dietary was perhaps environmentally conditioned.

The descriptions of the house type disagree. One account pictures it as almost identical with the houses of the coastal groups; the other a rude structure formed by building a two-pitch roof of bark slabs directly over a rectangular pit. The walls were not plank-lined, but simply covered with tule mats. There is closer agreement with respect to the sweat house. This seems to have been a small crude affair consisting of a gabled roof over an unplanked pit, heated by direct fire. Apparently it was used only sporadically, for training, etc.; the men did not sleep in it regularly.

Implements, weapons, and basketry seem to have been about the same as those used on the lower course of Rogue river. One informant affirmed, and the other denied, the basketry sitting cradle with a "toe." Use of bear-paw type snowshoes must be associated with the inland environment.

It is difficult to evaluate the aboriginal social organization. Wives were purchased from nonkinsmen, preferably outside the village. The "chief," or head of the group, was he who had the largest share of worldly goods. It seems that almost all the males in the community were related to him. It was he who paid and accepted weregild for his poor kinsmen. In other words, the same loose social grouping prevailed as among the other Athabaskan groups we have dealt with previously.

A shaman's power derived from a guardian spirit who appeared to her (or him) in a dream. After a period of training, the novice danced ten nights in the dwelling house. Her guardian spirit appeared, "shooting a 'pain' into her."

Those who received Grizzly Bear or Rattlesnake as a guardian spirit were likely to do evil rather than good, although persons who had Rattlesnake power could cure snakebite by sucking the poison of the reptile from the wound. In the main, the procedure of curing was about the same as elsewhere throughout the region. There were also priests whose power was caused by their knowledge of formulas. It was not essential for them to have dream power. They were considered more powerful than the real shamans.

Besides the restrictions on a girl's behavior at puberty, there was a public ritual made for her. Each night during the ten days of her confinement, men and women danced a round dance. The girl was placed in the middle of the circle, covered with robes. Deer-hoof rattles were used to keep time for the dance—the first association of these instruments with girl's puberty observances which we have encountered in southwestern Oregon. One informant stated that the dance was repeated for each of the girl's first five menstruations.

There was a wealth-display performance, said to have been staged either in winter or summer, which, making due allowance for the poverty in terms of token wealth of the people, was much the same as that of the rest of the groups.

A first-salmon ceremony, consisting of the recitation of a formula and the ceremonial feeding of each of the spectators by the priest, was reported.

An interesting set of beliefs, unique among these Athabascans, were those directed toward wolves. These animals were regarded as friends and allies of men. Like men, they would take revenge if one of their number was slain, either by killing the guilty human (or a relative) or by stealing a child from the village. In the latter event, the child would replace the lost member of the pack and after a time would lose all desire to return to human society.

The Galice creek culture is easily placed. It is so permeated with Takelman elements as to be scarcely distinguishable from the culture of these alien people. They, in turn, are part of a larger culture province, which includes the Shasta and other north central Californian peoples. With little doubt this province is a marginal one, mirroring dimly the features which distinguish the more elaborate cultures of the coast.

## THE POSITION OF THE CULTURE

The fact that northwestern California and southwestern Oregon constituted a distinct province of the Northwest Coast culture has been pointed out by Kroeber.<sup>21</sup> Its precise boundaries are difficult to establish, but in its most typical aspects it may be said to have extended from the southern border of Wiyot territory, in California, northward along the coast to the vicinity of Coos bay in Oregon. Our knowledge of the shattered cultures of the Athabascan-speaking Mattole, Nongatl, Lassik, and Sinkyone to the south and east of the Wiyot is too imperfect to permit us to decide whether they were built primarily upon elements of the richer culture to the north, or whether they were essentially central Californian with a thin overlay of northern traits. Perhaps they might be included in a belt of secondary cultural intensity along with the Shasta and Takelma, whose territory likewise adjoined that of the more advanced peoples of the coast. The transitional Kusan culture at the northern limits of our province is in a category different from that of these impoverished ones of the marginal belt. The traits wherein it differs from the Lower Klamath center were borrowed from the still more elaborate Lower Columbian subarea. To assign the Kus to one or the other of these two culture provinces would be a most arbitrary procedure; the wiser course would be to consider them intermediate culturally as they are geographically.

From the foregoing pages some conclusions may be drawn respecting the position of the culture of the Tolowa and their kinsfolk. It is evident at the outset that these Athabascans were culturally on a lower level than their coastal neighbors to the north and south. It is also evident that they were culturally dependent on these more advanced neighbors, borrowing traits, and even entire complexes of traits, indiscriminately from the latter groups. In order to bring out the cultural dependence of the Athabascans of this northwest coast province on adjacent groups, we may examine a few complexes selected (chiefly on the basis of availability of comparative material) from various phases of life. To this end, house and canoe types, shamanistic concepts, girls' puberty ceremonies, and wealth-display performances will be discussed briefly.

The structural features of the dwelling house, such as the vertical wall planking, partitioned anteroom, and the round doorway with the sliding door, were fundamentally those of Yurok-Hupa-Karok culture. The principal differences, two- instead of three-pitch roof and the lack of a central pit, smack of greater simplicity rather than definite alteration of the pattern. Poor men's houses on the Lower Klamath also had two-pitch roofs, and the depth of the central pit varied, perhaps likewise according to wealth. The pointless use of the notched log ladder by the Athabascans (it will be remembered that women ordinarily did not use the ladder for entry or exit) indicates the degree of imitation of Lower Klamath custom. Kus plank dwellings, which were of Lower Columbian style, excavated so that only the roof was aboveground, and with a bench or shelf around the interior, were not built by the Athabascans even on the Upper Coquille. However, the aboveground houses of grass thatching

<sup>21</sup> Kroeber, 1920.

used as summer dwellings by Upper Coquille and Lower Rogue river groups were of the same type as those used by poor people among the Kus and Alsea.

The sweat-house complex of the Athabascans represents an amalgamation of traits whose origins are not easily traced. The use of the structure as a men's house, a typically Californian practice, recurred among the Kus. The floor plan and simple door, both of which varied from the Lower Klamath pattern, may have duplicated Kusan forms, but the structural details of the men's houses among the Kusan people are too vaguely recalled to confirm or disprove this suggestion. The earth covering and smaller size are reminiscent of the type of sudatories used from the Alsea northward along the coast.

There can be no doubt about the derivation of the type of dugout canoe used by the Athabascans. It retained all the distinctive features of Yurok-Karok-Hupa vessels. The Kus used a dugout of quite different form, sharp-nosed, lacking the carved seat, foot braces, etc.<sup>22</sup>

The source of the paddles is quite different. Crutch handles and well-formed notched or pointed blades, which contrast sharply with the undifferentiated paddle pole used on the Lower Klamath, were found continuously northward along the coast. They must have come to the Athabascans via the Kus.

The problem arising from the varying shamanistic patterns of the Tolowa and the Oregon groups has been referred to previously. Tolowa shamanism represents the acme of specializations of the notion of the unpersonalized "pains" as the sources of power. No trace of a guardian-spirit concept could be found. Even the Yurok and Karok did not go to this extreme; they retained the idea of individual supernatural beings as the givers of the shaman's power, although by no means stressing the subsequent importance of these spirits. Among the Oregonians, however, the guardian spirit played a most important rôle. It was he who instructed the novice, and finally gave her (or him) the pain. In this respect the Oregon Athabascans resembled their northern neighbors more closely: Kus, Alsea, Tillamook, and the Chinookan peoples. In another respect, the Tolowa pattern was more like that of these alien northerners, namely, that power was obtained as the result of a deliberate quest, rather than in an unsought traumatic experience. It is incredible that there should have been between Smith and Chetco rivers so complete a shift in the basic concepts of shamanism. Nor does it seem possible that one complex could have derived directly from the other. Two possibilities remain. The specialization of the Tolowa complex might have been carried to its height as the result of more intense and prolonged Yurok contacts.<sup>23</sup> From what we know of other aspects of Tolowa life this does not seem improbable. Similarly, in the three-quarters of a century of separation and different contacts, the system of beliefs of the Oregonians may have undergone change. The belief in guardian spirits, if already present, could easily have been accentuated by the influence of such peoples as Alsea, Tillamook, Chinook, and Kalapuya. Another source of influence in reservation days might well have been phases of the 1870 Ghost-

<sup>22</sup> The Kus did possess a few "Rogue river style canoes" as modern informants refer to them, but these were traded in from the Upper Coquille and Lower Rogue rivers.

<sup>23</sup> It must be borne in mind that the guardian spirit is relegated to the background in Yurok shamanism, overshadowed by the more spectacular pains.

dance movement, which dominated religious life at Siletz for several years. By subtracting, as it were, these late modifications from the shamanistic complexes of our groups, we obtain a remainder common to both, and in keeping with the patterns of their neighbors as well. Shamans would have derived their power from a sought vision experience in which a guardian spirit played an important rôle. Thereafter, emphasis would be placed on the pain which was the token of his favor.

In general, one may say that the lack of a ceremony of public recognition of a girl's pubescence characterized North Pacific coast cultures from the Strait of Juan de Fuca southward, for, although observances of this event were not lacking, they were of an individual character. The girl herself was usually obliged to fast, remain in seclusion, and bathe. Only the Kus, of the western Oregon peoples, elaborated this pattern, and even their rite seems to have consisted of little more than a ceremonial purification and bathing of the girl by a priest and his assistants; no others took part in the proceedings. Most northern Californians had some sort of public performance for this occasion. Among the Klamath and apparently the Achomawi also, the girl herself trotted forward and backward, always facing east, while the people sang.<sup>84</sup> The Lower Takelma danced the round dance. Upland Takelma, Karok, and Shasta combined these two types of dances, alternating them in the same performance. In the Hupa rite, the assembled people sang, but neither they nor the girl danced. The Yurok, like northern coastal groups, observed no public ritual. It is difficult to see, from this survey, where the Tolowa, and they alone of the Athabascans of this region, could have derived their performance. Their nearest neighbors possessing such a ritual were the Karok, but there is little in the form of the dance which suggests that of the Karok. Moreover, the amount of direct Karok influence has always been small. Two bits of internal evidence may be mentioned, although their significance is not clear as yet. First, the fact that the Tolowa rite was not regularly practiced may indicate that it was not well established in the culture.<sup>85</sup> This may mean it was a new complex (in which event we should have to look to the inland neighbors of the Tolowa despite the dissimilarities of the particular features of the dances), or it may indicate that the performance was in the process of discard. A second suggestion is afforded by the name of the dance, which means "singing"; it may be that the Hupa type of ritual is closer to the original Tolowa rite.

In the simplicity of ceremonialism as a whole, the Athabascans again reveal a cultural kinship with coastal tribes as far north as the Quinault, among all of whom shamanistic winter dances were the only ancient rituals of moment. The elaborate wealth-display performances of the Lower Klamath, with their manifold esoteric associations, were of an order different from that of the simple display dance of the Athabascans. The relationships of this latter performance are readily traced. The Kus had what was essentially the same dance, but had

<sup>84</sup> This same type of dance was used by the Northern Molala also. Our scant Kalapuyan material indicates that they resembled the coast people in lacking any public ritual; the girl seems to have fasted and sought a vision at this time.

<sup>85</sup> The high regard in which the dance was held by the natives need have no bearing on its integration into the culture as a whole.



a number of different types of individual performances "in front" instead of the two used by the Athabascans. The same dance appears in only superficially different form in the "Brush dance" of the Lower Klamath.<sup>86</sup> The curing function of the rite among the Yurok-Karok-Hupa is apparently a secondary one; indeed, it is said that the dance "is often made when the young men are desirous of a holiday."<sup>87</sup>

To sum up, the Athabascans of southwest Oregon and northwesternmost California were in almost every phase of culture dependent on their more advanced neighbors of the coast. Beyond their language they had little or nothing which was peculiarly their own; most elements of their cultural inventory may be found deeply rooted, and often far more elaborated, among surrounding peoples. This does not imply, of course, that they came into the region utterly without culture, but that, somehow lacking in the conservatism which characterizes so many primitives, they borrowed with but little selection from the neighbors whom they recognized as their cultural superiors.

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<sup>86</sup> Some points of similarity of the two performances are as follows: dancing in a house; men and unmarried girls danced; men held objects in front of their faces (Hupa men substituted quivers of arrows for the bundles of brush on the last night); individuals performed in front of the row of dancers.

<sup>87</sup> Handbook, 60.

## APPENDIX 1

## TOLOWA CASE HISTORIES

1. Tenewun, an etculet woman, first married a halfbreed from yotokut, who bought her from her brother for a horse (valued at \$50) and \$100 in dentalia. The brother died, entrusting the bride price to his mother's brother. Tenewun's first child died, and her uncle gave her husband a payment of \$25 in cash; the husband made a return payment of about \$30 in dentalia. Soon afterward the husband died. After a time, Tenewun married HusresLta, of xawunhwut. He paid her first husband's mother a small amount of money, and paid her uncle \$60. Then the uncle died, leaving the trusteeship to his own daughter. Tenewun subsequently lost four children; each time, she went to her cousin (m's br's d), and was given a payment of \$10-\$15 to take to her husband. HusresLta made a return payment each time.

2. A Karok family came down to etculet to fish one summer, and while there tried to buy a girl for their son, but ended up by making a trade, giving the Tolowa family an unmarried daughter. The Karok paid \$100 in dentalia; the Tolowa, \$150 ("because the Orleans girl had come such a long way"). The Karok went home, leaving their daughter with her husband; soon after, the etculet girl was sent with an escort of four men and four women to her new home; each man carried an otter-skin quiver full of arrows, and each woman, a burden basket of food, with a dance dress or string of beads on top as presents, "so her new relatives think something of her and treat her good." The Karok equipped them nearly as handsomely on their return.

3. Crainulus, a rich-man at etculet in former times, had five wives. His first wife was a woman from na'tenetun in Oregon ("Low Ranch"). He paid about \$200 in dentalia for her, because she was from so far away; "it made him look big to get a wife from so far." He used to visit his "brothers-in law" in Oregon now and then; when he finished eating he would take a string of "big money" from his purse and put it in his food basket as a present. The brothers-in-law would give him a return gift before he left. His second wife was a yotokut woman, for whom he paid a red "flint" and some dentalia (reckoned as about \$80), and the third wife was also from yotokut. He paid about \$100 for her. Then he bought another yotokut woman, Da:guLe. The second and third wives became jealous; he "didn't care about them, he just wanted big name for having lots of wives." So they ran away, and he got his money back from their relatives. Da:guLe's first child died, and Crainulus sent to her people to get a payment, but he said he didn't want any money; he wanted Da:guLe's younger sister. Her people considered, and finally consented, but said that he must wait until she had attained puberty. Then they sent her over to etculet, and he made a payment of about \$50 for her. She used to say, "I was a married woman, but for two years I just played like little girl; for two years that old man didn't even look at me (considering her still too young)."

4. MuswutcaLte, of etculet, had an affair with Ta:tist'um, a xawunhwut girl, and finally half-married her for a payment of 30 small woodpecker scalps and \$10 in cash, which was "put up for him" (i.e., provided) by his mother's brother (perhaps classificatory). Tatistum gave her husband's mother's sister a small dance dress, "just as if she bought him." This was reciprocated by a payment of 2 fathoms of big shells for a dance dress, "so his new relatives treat him good"; the idea being to indicate that though he himself was poor, he had rich kinsfolk. Tatistum's first child died, and her father exchanged payments with the relative of MuswutcaLte who had given the money for the payment. When her second child died, this relative gave the woman's father a woodpecker-scalp headdress, and then the couple were considered full-married. Her father made a return of \$10-\$15 for the child. Then the husband's relative, who was George White's mother's brother, died, leaving the trusteeship to George. Tatistum lost several more children (she had 13 altogether, of whom 7 are still living), and each time George had to pay \$15-\$20. The last time she came to him, he refused, because his previous payment had not been reciprocated; she then went to his sister, who also refused to pay; apparently a woman did not *have* to assume such an obligation; her uncle had warned her never to have

anything to do with receiving marriage payments, "that's how I go broke, paying for my sisters' children."

5. A man from xawunhwut bought an etculet woman, who died soon afterward. Then he bought her younger sister (paying not quite as much as for the first wife). A year or so later he was slain; he had no young unmarried kinsmen, so his wife went home to etculet. She began living with Yilhaigenil, a young man from tatatun, and soon became pregnant. Her deceased husband's kin learned of this, and "came after" Yilhaigenil. (They were exceedingly wroth because she had not shown the proper respect to her husband by waiting what they considered a decent interval of time before beginning an affair.) Yilhaigenil's father paid them about \$100—a big payment for a widow, but practically necessary under the circumstances.

6. One of the sons of the rich-man at xawunhwut was enamored of a yotokut girl; his father wished the friendship and goodwill of the tatatun rich-man, and bought a girl from him for his son, refusing to buy the yotokut girl. The son was enraged; his bride had, in his eyes, no good qualities whatsoever. In his fault-finding he hit upon the fact that she was rather dark, saying that she was "too black"; he referred to her contemptuously as that "tatatun ko'sra," (tatatun crow), and would have nothing to do with her. If someone told him his wife wanted to be ferried across the river, he would say, "I don't care if she gets across or not; that tatatun crow, let her fly across," and would walk away. After a year or so, however, he seems to have reconciled himself to making the best of a bad situation, and it soon became apparent that his wife was pregnant. His young men friends derived a great deal of amusement by asking him if that "tatatun crow" was turning white.

7. Yū'nakal' of tatatun was married to a woman named Yū'wai'tai:na, from tati'tun. He went on an expedition with some white men as a guide, and was gone nearly a year. Meanwhile his wife took to herself not one lover, but three, Nutkun, Tu'waitelta, and Tanasna. The three got drunk and began to fight; Tu'waitelta was stabbed almost fatally. All three were related, so payments were made "in the family"; outsiders never learned exactly how much was given. Relatives wanted to kill the woman's brother, to "make even," but Nesun, tatatun rich-man, dissuaded them. Yunakal returned from his trip, and, learning of his wife's infidelity, would have nothing to do with her, though she tried to come back to him. He attempted to get back the money he had paid for her, but somehow was unable to do so, so at last he took her back to keep it from being a total loss. Some time later she left him for a white man, whom she persuaded to give her husband \$50 to prevent any trouble.

8. A xawunhwut man became jealous of the attentions which he suspected his half-brother was paying to his wife. While under the influence of liquor, he accused the half-brother, who immediately started to take off his shirt (the usual procedure before a fist fight). The husband picked up some conveniently heavy object and hit his brother over the head, knocking him unconscious. Then he picked up an ax, and going outside, struck his wife on the head, killing her. Another man was passing by; the husband, now thoroughly amuck, attacked him, wounding him slightly, but the passer-by escaped. When his latest victim got away, the husband ran into a near-by house in which there were two women, intending to kill them both, but they somehow disarmed him and then between the two of them mauled him considerably, to the extent that his rage cooled and he fled up country into Oregon. There, apparently still with a grudge against the world, he set fire to a white homesteader's shack. Meanwhile the kin of the murdered wife, at etculet, were demanding \$150 blood money, saying that they would kill the xawunhwut rich-man if it was not paid. About that time the white man, who had learned the identity of the incendiary, arrived at xawunhwut. Knowing the customs of the country, he profanely demanded \$300 and threatened to call on the soldiers to exterminate the town. The xawunhwut rich-man was in a quandary, but he was more afraid of the soldiers than of the etculet people, so he notified them that he would pay their price if they would wait until he paid the white man. The latter settled for \$200 and a saddle horse. Try as he might, the xawunhwut rich-man could not raise money enough to meet the demands

of the etculet people, but he scraped together what he could, and offered a girl besides. His offer was finally accepted by the murdered woman's brother (the etculet rich-man), who gave the girl to his own son, TeustaLtei, as a wife. (He probably made a small payment to "legalize" the marriage, but the amount was not learned.) The two xawunhwut men who had been wounded recovered, and their claims were settled up without any ado, since it was a family affair. A short time later the girl who had been given to etculet died, and her husband's father demanded a substitute. Her younger sister, Na'pū'te, was given in her place. The etculet rich-man sent a payment of \$30 to xawunhwut's rich-man for her. Some time later TeustaLtei died; his mother paid a shell dance dress and 15 woodpecker scalps to one of Naputte's kinswomen so that TeustaLtei's half-brother might take the widow. They had two or three children, one of whom died; the xawunhwut people paid a dance dress (probably of seeds rather than shell), and a dentalium necklace. The etculet rich-man returned a payment of 8 woodpecker scalps and about \$15 in dentalia. The second husband became ill, and for nearly a year a half-breed, George Albert, supported and took care of him and his family. When he died, he told George to take his wife. George paid \$40 for the woman about six months later, and married her.

9. Nōlnic, the last rich-man at mesLteLtu, was found murdered on the beach. One of his younger kinsmen learned from some Yurok relative-in-law that he had been slain by a Yurok from some upriver town. The young man decided to revenge himself, and killed the headman of the Yurok lineage (though the actual murderer had been one of the younger men). The Yurok announced their intentions of "making even." The young Tolowa hired a "brother-in-law," who was a xawunhwut man noted for his ability with firearms, to act as a sort of bodyguard. (Some of the Yurok later told the brother-in-law that several times the two had walked into ambushes set for them, but had escaped unharmed because the Yurok people knew they would have to kill both, and did not want to do so since that would start a feud with the xawunhwut people—this was of course precisely the reason why the mesLteLtu man had chosen him to serve as bodyguard.) Finally the mesLteLtu people sent word that they wanted to settle the matter. An agreement was reached by which the Yurok paid about \$150, and the Tolowa slightly less. The two parties met somewhere in Yurok territory to exchange payments; the settlement nearly ended in a pitched battle because the Yurok attempted to give slightly less than the agreed amount. In the "Tolowa" party were: the informant (from xawunhwut), four or five mesLteLtu men, two men from kehoslinhwut, one from yotokut, three or four from etculet (these last six or seven were "lively" men, perhaps distantly related, who went along for the excitement), "and a whole lot of people from Rekwoi, so there were just as many men on our side as on the Klamath (i.e., Yurok) side."

10. There were three brothers living at si'tragi'tun, where their father had moved from etculet after a quarrel over whale rights. They were reputed to be professional killers; someone would hire them to kill an enemy and they would do it. Everyone was afraid of them, knowing that it would be necessary to kill all of them at once; the three seldom were together, except when on one of their expeditions. A man from xawunhwut and another from Oregon joined them. The xawunhwut man became suspicious of his mates. The five went down near Crescent City and ambushed someone down there. On the way back they made a war dance, and the xawunhwut man noticed that the others were drawing off to one side, watching him, waiting for an opportunity to kill him, so he ran off. They sent word to him at xawunhwut that if he deserted them they would kill him. He began to make his own plans. Two of the brothers came downriver (one of them had married a kinswoman of the "downriver" rich-man at xawunhwut). Their former running mate learned of their presence, and shot and killed one of them in the town of Smith River. Then he started back to xawunhwut to get the other; the latter, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the downriver rich-man, tried to get away. He started upriver, running and dodging from side to side as he ran, with his brother-in-law close by him. Just as he approached the place where his enemy lay in ambush he paused to get his wind. His foe shot him through the hips, then, stepping out of his hiding place, walked over to the fallen man and blew out his brains. The brother-in-law, who was un-

armed, simply stood to one side watching. Then the killer turned and began to run. The brother-in-law of the slain man picked up the latter's gun, took a rest against a tree trunk, and muttering a formula, fired. The formula was effective; the fleeing man sprawled headlong with a bullet through his back. The downriver man returned home. The last of the brothers at si'tragi'tun, when he heard the news, gathered a party of kinsmen and started down the river, to "make even." The party was joined by some men from yotokut; and they then attacked xawunhwut. The downriver rich-man told his people to stay in their houses and take no part in the affair; the relations of the two lineages were becoming strained. The upriver rich-man was wounded slightly. The downriver man learned somehow that in the raiding party was a yotokut man with whom he had had some trouble some time before, so with his formula and a new Winchester he ran out and shot his enemy. This is probably the only thing that prevented a feud between the two xawunhwut lineages. The upriver group accepted his deed as evidence of good faith. The si'tragi'tun party fled after this loss of one of their men. The upriver xawunhwut people paid for killing the two brothers; the si'tragi'tun man paid for wounding the rich-man; and the downriver rich-man paid for killing the yotokut man.

11. A young man from xawunhwut and another from etculet had a fight; the xawunhwut man was slashed across the face with a knife. His kinsman, the upriver rich-man, demanded a payment from the etculet people, who refused, on the grounds that the xawunhwut man had started the fight and therefore they should receive a payment too. The xawunhwut people sent word that they would kill the etculet rich-man if compensation were not forthcoming, but the latter was firm. The xawunhwut man sent an intermediary to etculet with eight "witnesses," who were armed to the teeth; a slightly irregular procedure—patently to intimidate the etculet people. The party boldly entered the house of the etculet rich-man, who, recognizing them as a picked group of fighting men, finally consented to pay \$60 (the price first asked was \$80). This sum was divided up as follows: the intermediary received \$5, each of the gunmen \$1 to \$2, the injured man about \$15, and the rich-man at xawunhwut the rest.

12. Two brothers from teestumtun came down to Ltrucme with their wives. There was a "mean" man living there, Resyu'tun, who, for no particular reason that anyone ever discovered, collected half a dozen young men from tatatun and mesLteL'tun, and, inviting the two brothers, staged a gambling game. One of the brothers was suspicious and did not come; the other attended, and, according to the prearranged plan, was treacherously murdered. The gamblers then set out to find the other brother; they came upon him asleep some miles down the beach and drove a knife through his throat as he lay there. The next morning they held a war dance at tatatun. Nesun, the tatatun rich-man, came out of the sweat house at the sound of the dance; his own brother was one of the party. When he learned what had happened, he was enraged. He stood there cursing the whole crew: "You crazy fools, what did you kill those people for? You haven't any money to pay for them; you are just eating up my money!" He berated them soundly, but they said nothing, and he finally paid \$100 for each of the slain men to their relatives. Resyutun contributed nothing, though he had been the instigator of the affair. Nesun was afraid to try to make him contribute because he was reputed to be an "Injun devil" (sorcerer).

13. A tatatun rich-man was murdered on the bank of Smith river by some men from xawunhwut. His relatives seem to have revenged themselves, but the killing was never paid for. He left a small son, who, when he grew up, with Nesun, the last tatatun rich-man, began negotiations to settle for the killing of his father. An agreement was reached whereby the xawunhwut people were to pay one of the large single dentalium shells, a woman, and some money; the tatatun people were to pay a smaller sum (they had probably killed a person of less consequence). The two parties met somewhere near yotokut to exchange their payments. Just as Nesun was about to receive the xawunhwut money, a woman told him that his brother was being killed. He snatched the basket of money and tossed it to her, then ran to where his brother was. Everyone began to fight, some at grips with each other, some shooting from a short distance. Nesun found his brother in the nick of time. Someone had slashed at him with a "whale knife," cutting off a part

of his scalp, and was about to finish him when Nesun rescued him. The fight lasted for some time; there were no deaths, but a large number of wounded. Some of the injuries, and the amounts paid later in settlement, were: the man whose scalp was cut off, two strings of dentalia, worth about \$25 each; two who received gunshot wounds, about \$25 each; a man with several arrow wounds, about \$100—this was one of the much-feared *si'tragi'tun* brothers, which explains why he was paid so handsomely; a wealthy shaman from *mesLteLtu*n (he took no part in the melee, but was insulted by having two arrows shot through his deer-hide robe) demanded and received \$15, "because he was rich"; a *xawunhwut* man, shot through the arm, about \$30; a woman who was cut across the face with a knife, \$10 in "woman's money"; the *xawunhwut* rich-man, whom Nesun had attempted to kill by firing at him twice at almost point-blank range, missing both times, \$25 for the injury to his pride. The woman who was to have been given in the death settlement was afraid to go to *tatatun* because of the fight, persuading her kinsmen to sell her to an Oregon man. The *tatatun* people learned of this some time later and collected a horse and about \$50 from the Oregon people "for taking our woman."

14. A very powerful male shaman lived at *mesLteLtu*n. Once during a curing performance "he threw one of his pains into his sister." She began to dance, vomited the pain, swallowed it again, and soon learned to control it, becoming a "doctor" in this way. Her daughter later on became a shaman in somewhat the same manner. She did not go out to the mountains to seek for a pain, but began to dance in the sweat house, with her uncle. He "took out" one of his pains and gave it to her. She swallowed it, learned to control it, and thus acquired the power to cure.

15. A former rich-man at *tatatun* was very wealthy and very proud. He owned a large sweat house. There were two trails past this sweat house; one passed in front of the door, and the other went around behind the structure. The owner would not let any man who did not wear at least ten strings of dentalium beads about his neck (a poor man would not be able to do this) use the trail in front of the door; such a person had to walk around behind the sweat house.

16. Nesun, the *tatatun* rich-man, "claimed" an acorn-picking tract in Bald Hills after an infant daughter of his had died there. Whenever the acorns ripened thereafter, he notified his relatives and neighbors, inviting them to go there to gather acorns. Once some people went there before he did, without asking permission. When he learned of the trespass, he was furious, and demanded compensation, saying "Why didn't you ask me to let you pick acorns there? I let anyone go if they ask me. Looks like you don't care about me (i.e., respect me); looks like you don't care my daughter died there." He received about \$20 in dentalia.

17. Whale rights were occasionally transferred. An *eteulet* man was "given" nearly half the underside of the carcass of whales drifting ashore between Smith river and *naLtenetun* (Ore.) by his brother-in-law after the death of a child. In another instance a *tatatun* man gave a big string of money to a kinswoman married at *Requa* (Yurok) for a big piece of whale blubber from every whale stranded between *se:Lus* (Split rock) and the mouth of the Klamath. This was considered a high price; the point was that she wanted the money so that her son might buy a wife, and so her kinsman gave it to her.

## APPENDIX 2

## UPLAND TAKELMA

A few notes were obtained on the Upland Takelma, from Molly Orton, at Siletz. These notes are included here, since she is the last member of her people who has any recollection of the old culture.

The informant stated her people were "mountain people," but closely related through intermarriages, etc., to the Lowland Takelma (which, as nearly as I could determine, comprised the inhabitants of the river valley). She claimed close kinship to Sapir's Lowland Takelma informant, Frances Johnson.<sup>28</sup> The "mountain people" derived most of their sustenance by hunting and gathering. Fishing was of less importance. Deer were stalked with the deer-head disguise, run down in the winter snows, snared, and driven by groups of men with dogs. Pits were not used. Rabbits (and deer?) were sometimes driven into fences with nooses set in openings. Grasshoppers, caterpillars, yellow-jacket larvae, and snails were utilized. The list of animals not eaten is somewhat short; it includes: porcupine, weasel, civet cat (?), screech owl, coyote, wolf, eagle, snakes, and frogs. Some people would not eat bear meat. The chief vegetable products were: acorns, grass seeds, camas (?), and pine nuts.

In times of summer low water, the people often went down to the river near Table Rock to fish. The salmon seem to have been of poor quality, rather badly battered by the time they had made their way up the river, but were no less appreciated. They were taken with two-pronged harpoons, on riffles and plunge nets in the rapids. Some had become so decrepit they could be seized and tossed out on the bank with the bare hands. The informant knew nothing of fish poison (but a half-breed at Big Bend, about the western limit of the Takelma on Rogue river, volunteered a good description of the use of soap-root for this purpose). The salmon were split and dried by the women. Sometimes the meat was pulverized for storage. The Lowland people used to trade this salmon to their Upland kin for venison and deer hides.

The winter dwellings were semisubterranean gabled structures of bark slabs. If I understood correctly, the roof was sometimes earth-covered. The clearest point about house construction is the rudeness with which it was made. Grass or pine needles might be collected for use as beds. The sweat house was a small earth-covered affair, to which men repaired irregularly for training, purification, minor curing, etc. It was not the men's sleeping quarters. In summer, the people used rude shelters of boughs as dwellings.

Canoes were used little or not at all, even by the people on the river. "The river is too swift and rocky there."

The list of implements includes ring-topped pestles and pounding slabs with hoppers; elkhorn wedges (any convenient rock was used as a maul); a pole ladder with tied cross sticks, and a hook for pine-cone gathering; a simple digging stick; looped stick (?) food stirrers; and tongs for picking up hot stones. Basketry was chiefly of spruce roots and of tules (?). "Yreka Siwashes (Shasta) made hazel stick baskets." Mortar hoppers, cooking and eating ves-

<sup>28</sup> Sapir, 1907.

sels, winnowing and parching trays, seed beaters, carrying baskets, storage baskets, and cradles (made with the "toe" ?) were some of the forms made. "We used to buy them from Happy Camp (Karok) people. They made the best ones." Arrows were carried at the side in quivers.

In warm weather, a man considered himself completely clothed when clad in a deerskin apron, a pair of 1-piece moccasins, and his quiver. Women wore 2-piece buckskin (?) skirts, and basketry caps (the better ones came from the Karok). In winter, men wore leggings, deerskin robes, and fur caps. Moccasins with fur inside, lined with grass, protected their feet. A sort of sleeve or mitten of a cased foxskin covered the arms. It was tied on somehow at the shoulder, and the tail was used to keep the wearer's neck warm. Bear-paw type snowshoes were essential to winter travel. Women wore some sort of a deerskin shirt or gown for warmth.

Concave, tubular, wood pipes were made to smoke the locally grown tobacco. Only the old men (and shamans) smoked.

Lack of time prevented thorough investigation of social organization. The general scheme appears similar to that of the neighboring Athabascans. Wealth, in terms of dentalia, flints, etc., gave prestige among the small kin groups. The rich-man's wealth benefited and protected his poorer relatives. He bought wives and paid weregild for them. They stood by him in times of common danger. The only point of difference in this phase of culture was that the sum of a "rich" man's possessions was smaller than, e.g., among the Tolowa.

The life-crises observances were quite simple. At birth, people, usually women, supported the parturient from behind. Someone bathed the infant with warm water and herbs, "praying" (formula ?) to make it strong. The mother got up as soon as possible. She was not permitted fresh food of any sort "for about a month." She did not use the head scratcher. Her husband sweated himself daily for 5 days, and abstained from fresh food for some time. He might hunt, but gave his kill to others. When the infant's umbilical cord detached, it was fastened to the cradle in a little buckskin sack. If an animal ate the placenta, the woman would have no more children.

Nose and ears were perforated when the child was still small. The girl's chin tattoo was likewise applied at an early age. Names were given "when the child was big enough to understand."

There were no puberty observances for boys. The first animal of each kind killed was taboo, but the custom of throwing a woman's dress over the young hunter was not known. There was a dance to celebrate a girl's first menses. Men and women formed a circle around a fire outdoors. The girl seems to have been inside the circle, covered with robes. At some time in the proceedings, she danced herself, while the rest of the people watched. She danced back and forth,<sup>20</sup> facing the east. She wore a visor of blue-jay tail feathers, and used a deer-hoof rattle. A scratching stick of bone was fastened to her wrist. She was permitted to sleep but little; "she might dream something bad, and poison the people." Just before dawn she bathed, and was allowed a few hours sleep,

<sup>20</sup> Dixon (1907) describes a nearly identical performance for the Shasta, in which the girl danced first (in the same fashion); then the spectators danced the round dance.



with a basket hopper over her head. Afterward, she carried wood for the dance fire of that night. For the five days of the rite, she was given only dried food, and not much of that. The ritual was repeated for each of her first five periods. Thereafter an old woman painted the girl's face, cut her hair in bangs across her forehead, and recited a formula over her. For this the old woman was given the clothes, etc., which the girl had used.

At death, the body was kept in the house till the kin assembled. It was washed, painted, dressed in finery, and flexed. An aperture was made in a wall or roof to remove the body. A summer hut in which a death occurred was burned, but not a winter house. One man carried the body to the small round grave. Mourners wailed, and threw valuables (money, tools, flint blades, etc.) into the grave. (The informant contrasted the Tolowa usage, which she had seen, of hanging offerings over the grave; nor were the graves so close to the houses as those of the Tolowa.) A widow's hair was cropped, and pitch smeared over her face and head. She fasted for some time. All the mourners bathed.

My data on shamanism duplicate those obtained by Sapir.<sup>40</sup> The shaman's power came from dreamed guardian spirits, who gave songs.

At a place now called Rocky Point, the people assembled in summer for salmon fishing. "This was big-time, like Fourth of July. This was the time salmon have sore backs." A dance similar to the Athabascan wealth-display performance was often performed. An old man trained for some days, then, with a dip net, caught the first salmon of the season in a large pool below a waterfall. He dressed and cooked the fish, and told the story of the origin of the fishing place.

The first owner of the place (Evening Star ?) challenged all who came there to a wrestling match, and killed them. He allowed no one to fish. At last someone (Swallow ?) managed to vanquish him, "and gave the salmon to be free to all the people."

The ritual was performed to make salmon safe for people to eat. This was said to have been the only place in the region where a first-salmon rite was performed.

<sup>40</sup> Sapir, 1907.

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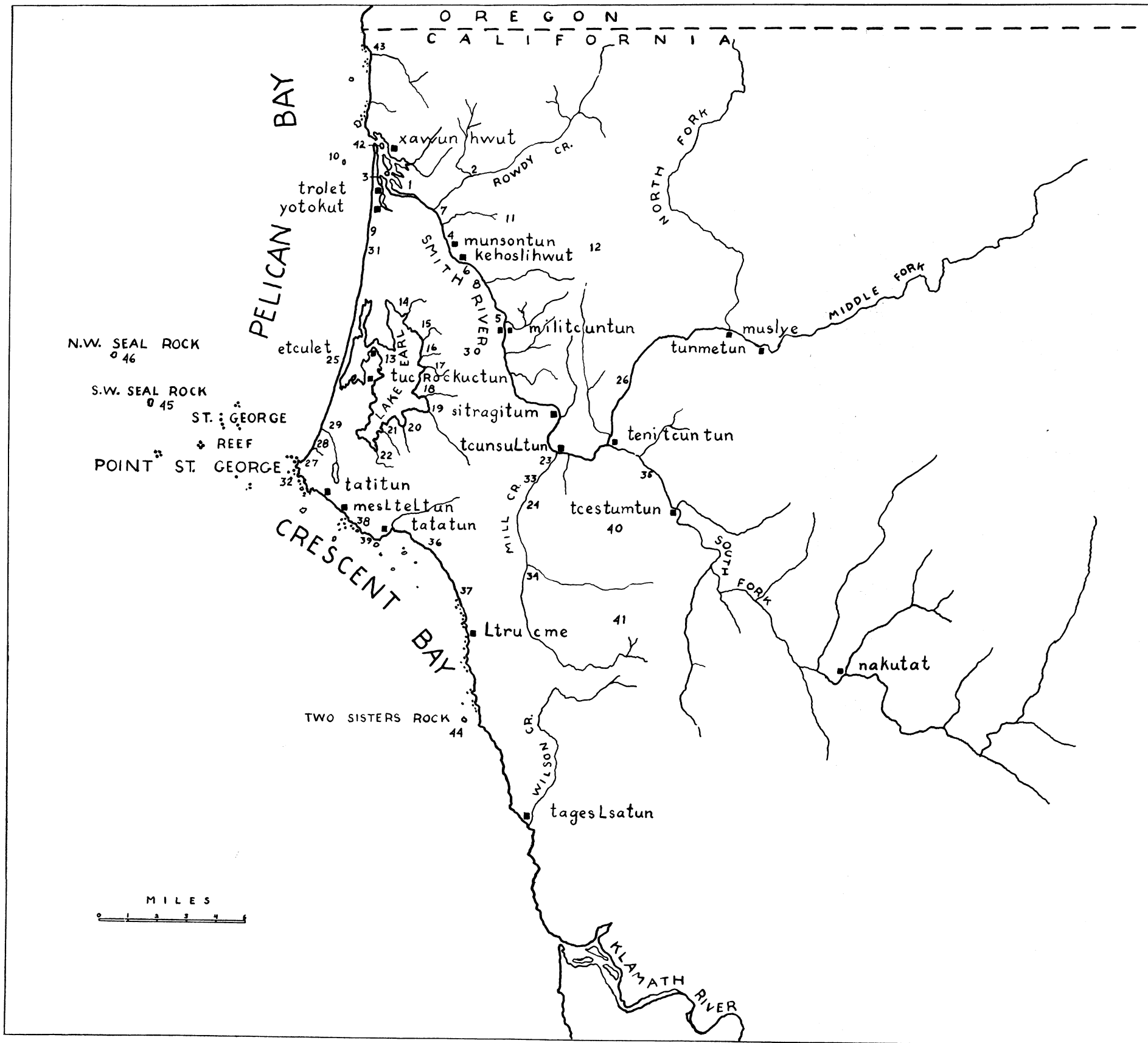
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AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology—Bulletin
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution—Annual Reports
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington Publications in Anthropology



Map 3. Tolowa territory, settlements, and sites of economic significance.