

THE following information was secured during the winter of 1929 from Agnes Mattz, a full-blood Tolowa woman of forty-five, who came from Smith river, north of Requa in California. She was in domestic service in Oakland, California, at the time.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

The first ceremony lasted ten days, but the elaborate dancing and singing festivities described later were reserved only for the daughters of prominent families.

Ordinary procedure.—The girl was placed under a tule mat within the common dwelling-house. The mat was stretched diagonally from the wall to the floor, forming thereby a shelter or retreat. Under this tule mat others were spread out as a bed. Here the girl remained all day without sleeping. She was permitted to sleep at night but was forced to rise each morning before dawn to bathe. She went to the river with head and body covered by a tule mat. Were she to see the sun she would suffer from weak eyes in later life. For the first three or four days she must fast completely on both food and water. When she ate once more, it was from special containers. Her mother or any other woman who knew the formulae came to pray over her. The informant gave the formula repeated for her on this occasion to the best of her memory:

This young girl, give her food forever, Old Man. May she always eat this food. You are over us, looking at us, every step we make. She is going to eat her food, something which will never make her sick. And you will give her water to drink. And all kinds of berries you will give her. Some berries have worms in them but that will never make her sick. You know that if I did not pray for her and for all her food, she would not live long. You are over us, Old Man, and you wanted to give us all these things when you sent us all to this world, so you must guide this girl.

After a formula had been repeated and the fast broken the girl might eat morning and night only, and she must eat alone. When she broke her fast it was usually on dried smelts, acorns, and blackberries. At this time also a pinch of incense made of wild roots (unidentified) had been placed on a fire made especially for this purpose under the tule shelter. No particular observances were initiated after the breaking of the fast and before the ninth night. At this time the girl's body was rubbed with red clay. On the following morning she bathed and removed the clay.

More elaborate procedure.—The more elaborate ceremony was held for the daughters of wealthy persons. When still children they were pointed

out with the comment, "We are going to 'medicine' her when she gets old enough." The better the care and the greater the ceremony at puberty, the larger the bride price which might be expected later. If a girl were not given an adequate ceremony, it was felt that she would die young. What differentiated the elaborate puberty ceremony from the ordinary one was the dancing and singing which took place nightly and the accompanying feasting. The dancing was done chiefly by the boys and girls. No married or divorced woman was permitted to join. The girls must have passed puberty. No information concerning the boys was obtainable. It is uncertain whether dancing took place in the girl's house or in the village dance house. In any case the girl was present but in concealment under tule mats. On the first night only a few dancers and singers attended the girl. The numbers increased until finally on the ninth night the climax was reached. The dancers were told to sleep in the early evening. They were then awakened and told to bathe. After bathing, the girls put on their best clothing which consisted of a deerskin apron and cape, beads, bracelets, anklets, etc.; they were painted with red and black pigment. Untattooed girls had their chins decorated with three stripes of finely powdered charcoal mixed with deer fat to imitate real tattooing. The hair was twisted into two strands with strips of fur, and a strand hung over each shoulder. Two feathers were inserted into the base of the strands at the back of the head, and a basket hat was then worn. The boys also wore their best clothing, which consisted of a fur apron from the waist to the knees, woodpecker head-bands, etc. First the men, ranged as to height, entered the house dancing. The girls, similarly ranged, followed and danced to alternate places between the boys. They formed a semi-circle. The musicians were seated in two corners of the house back of the dancers. The informant recalled that six different songs and dances were performed in connection with the puberty ceremony. However, the songs were sung at any time and no particular feeling of sacredness seemed attached to them. Between dances dried fish and acorn soup ("which makes you sing good") were furnished the performers. They were at liberty to rest, even to go home for a time. Also between dances prayers were said for the girl that "she might have a long life and have everything nice."

At dawn the dancers descended to the river whirling as they went and stripping off their clothes on the way. They were followed by the rest of the villagers, who recovered their clothing for them. It was considered very bad luck to make a misstep or fall in the descent to the river: this would shorten one's life. On this tenth morning a man, whose status was not obtainable, took the adolescent girl out from her tule shelter. She was dressed in a very full skirt of shredded tule, and a mat of the same material was

wrapped around her. She should also wear a cap of yellowhammer feathers, which would almost entirely conceal the face. She was led out and placed beside the fire. The man who officiated sang and shook her back and forth five times. The tule clothing was then removed and replaced with her ordinary dress. A child of six or eight who had been standing near her then preceded her in running down to the river. The girl jumped in, bathed, and returned to the fire. This was done ten times. She was then considered "all clean" and was "free." After this final observance which terminated in the middle of the morning there was a big feast. The father did not bear the burden of it alone. Various families charged themselves with the guests. Friends of the father helped in supplying food and wood throughout the ceremony. The fire for dances must be built of wood which did not crackle in burning.

The preceding ceremony, both in the simple and the elaborate form, was repeated for the three successive menstrual periods, i.e., there were four ceremonies all together. Then a girl was considered a woman and ready to marry. Associated with the four repetitions of the ceremony were two methods of keeping count. A yellowhammer feather with four black bars on it was passed through the pierced septum of the girl's nose at the time of the first ceremony. At the second repetition a feather with three bars was used, and so on until the last performance, when one bar was used. The second method of keeping count was to hang around the girl's neck a small circular basket in which four basketry disks were laid. One disk was removed after each ceremony.

Throughout the cycle of ceremonies a number of observances were rigidly held by the girl. She used an abalone shell head-scratcher; to use her own fingers would produce baldness. She ate apart and from her own dishes, which no one else might touch. She bathed after each meal, that is, twice a day. She wore a distinguishing face marking which consisted of two diagonal lines on either side of the bridge of the nose and one diagonal line on each cheek-bone. They were painted on in charcoal mixed with deer fat. These practices, in addition to seclusion, marked the girl off from the rest of the inhabitants of the village during the four months of puberty observances. Girls were frightened into taking meticulous care of themselves by being told that otherwise they would develop ill health later in life, and more particularly that they would have their flesh destroyed by worms. The informant stressed the tediousness of the personal care involved during this period, but seemed to feel that a compensating distinction resulted therefrom. She further commented on the strangeness of such a distinction accruing to girls at this time when boys had no parallel ceremonies of equal importance; yet men on the whole, she felt, were more important than women.

The septum of the nose was pierced before puberty. The informant reported that her mother called in an old woman to do it to her "so that I would be ready when I got sick the first time." The septum was rubbed and worked between the thumb and forefinger with warm water in order to soften it. Then a smooth redwood needle was thrust through the dividing cartilage.

Ear-piercing was done after puberty and seems to have had no significance other than making possible the wearing of earrings which "make you look pretty at a dance."

Tattooing also occurred after puberty and seems to have had no connection with it. It was purely decorative. The informant had only a small spot on the inside of her forearm which her sister had made in play. She reported, however, that her mother had three stripes on the chin running from the lower lip, one dot above each corner of the upper, and a band on the wrists and ankles. Tattooing was done in the usual fashion. The flesh was lacerated with a splinter of obsidian, and a paste made of water and charcoal (gathered from the earth lodge) was rubbed into the wounds. The operation often caused such painful swelling that eating was practically impossible for several days. Men tattooed only the ankles and wrists. This was optional. Dentalium measurements were marked on their forearms.

The hair after puberty was cut in bangs on the forehead. Also strips reaching a little below the ears were cut. When a woman was married the hair was permitted to grow again.

BOYS' EDUCATION

Boys of eleven or twelve, who were still "clean," were taken deer-hunting for the first time. Thereafter they received careful instruction in the care and safe-keeping of bows and arrows. The first time a boy brought food for the household was considered lucky. A woman of the family made him a new shredded tule apron for the occasion. The first time he speared a fish the same thing was repeated. But after this no notice was taken.

As in many Californian tribes, to be brought up by a grandmother was a great asset. As the informant expressed it, "If a boy is brought up by his grandma and believes everything she says, he gets to have good sense, he knows everything, he talks the same way to all kinds of people no matter what kind of clothes they wear." This last statement was an interesting commentary on the democracy of manners among the Tolowa despite emphasis on wealth.

NAMING

There were both real names and nicknames. Real names were used more than the latter. They were given at any age, and a person might have more

than one. Name-bestowing entailed festivities. Everyone assembled, then the person who was to confer the name entered and pointing at the one to be named said, "What? Is So-and-so here? I see him sitting here." At this everyone laughed heartily. Then the guests were feasted.

There existed also the name taboo for deceased persons. Breaking it was atoned for with a money payment. Not only the immediate family but also collateral relatives were entitled to consideration in this respect and could demand indemnification.

MARRIAGE

Bride purchase existed but with the usual compensatory gifts from the girl's family. A bride was usually chosen by the man's parents. The two young people might never have seen each other. This careful control of marriage applied particularly to rich families. The bride went to the groom's home or the groom and his family went to the bride's. She appeared richly dressed with many strings of shells around her neck. Divesting herself of her rich clothing and ornaments, she presented them to the mother-in-law. If a bride failed to make this gift, she and her children were looked down upon. The informant felt that the bride's gifts might be large but rarely equaled even half of the bride price. One hundred dollars was a very large payment for a bride.

The bride price was not returned even though the woman died childless. If a man died leaving a woman childless it was felt to be a great tragedy. If a couple separated, the husband was entitled to ask for the return of the bride price. The woman's father usually demurred, especially if there were offspring. He refused on the grounds that "it would be as though his grandchildren had come out of the ground," i.e., it would reduce the children to the status of bastards. Sometimes in such cases part of the bride price was returned but seldom all of it.

After the exchange of bride price and gifts, the couple might reside either patrilocally or matrilocally, but the ideal situation was to establish a household of their own. Households therefore roughly consisted of the biologic family. The house in which the informant was brought up contained her mother, father, sister, her sister's husband, and their five children, i.e., it sheltered ten persons. The informant felt this group to be somewhat larger than that in the average household.

Theoretically, bastards were not tolerated. According to the informant the child was thrown in the river. "We don't want that kind of child in our place."

ESCHATOLOGY

The burial customs are given approximately in the words of the informant.

Indians are afraid of the dead. They must not be taken out of the regular door. That is the way the living go out. The dead have gone to a different country and they must travel a different road. The boards of the old houses weren't nailed. The walls were just boards stuck in the ground. So they took out a couple of boards. After the body was wrapped in tule mats they carried it out through the opening. It was carried to the graveyard. There the body was washed. It could not be washed in the house because it might leave uncleanness there. One person, a man or a woman, went to the river to get the water to wash the body with. He was followed to the river and back by a young person. Beads and money shells were put on the body. If it was a woman, she was dressed in her deerskin dress. Her hair was left unwrapped and hanging over her shoulders. Shells and baskets were piled on the grave when it was being filled. Then everyone went to the river to bathe.

When a woman's husband dies she shaves her hair. If she remarries or has a lover she lets it grow. If her hair is kept short it shows she is a good woman and hasn't known a man after her husband's death.

The bereaved burn the property of the dead in order that they may not suffer reminders of their loss. Burning took place at the time of burial. Theoretically, all valuables should be destroyed, even boats and paddles. This produced such a conflict with Tolowa emphasis on wealth that actually valuables were often purified instead and then used by relatives. The article was washed with a paste made from a root whose name was unknown to the informant. Pepperwood leaves (bay?) and salal berry leaves are also purifying agents. Objects were rubbed with them and laid aside for a month or two. Today houses are still purified after illness or death by burning salal berry leaves and pepperwood leaves, filling the house with their smoke and then brushing everything off with the same kind of leaves. This also prevents illness.

"Almost all dances make people feel badly because the people who died aren't there to enjoy them." Certain clothes were kept for dances and worn commemoratively. When a wealthy man or woman died he might say, "Don't bury these clothes, but take them out and wear them when you have a party."

POSITION OF WOMEN AND DIVISION OF LABOR

A premium was placed on a woman's capacity for work. When a man thought of buying a wife he looked to see if her hands were rough and scratched. If they were, he was convinced of her industry. Women were

required to carry out all the food-gathering activities connected with acorns, greens, seeds, etc. She was responsible for making tule mats, weaving baskets, etc. Twice a day she went for water. Women dried fish. One of their most arduous tasks was collecting wood. This might entail crossing the river in canoes to a spot where the firewood had not been exhausted. The canoe was filled and returned to the settlement. The wood was then placed in baskets and carried with the aid of a tump-line to the houses. Fires were kept burning constantly, and keeping them supplied with fuel was heavy work. If a fire went out, new fire was borrowed from a neighbor. The informant with an air of grievance said that men lay in the sweat-house all day while women worked very hard. Actually, however, the men shared in economic support by fishing, sea lion and deer hunting, canoe making, etc.

Furthermore women treated men with much respect. The informant made the statement in the following manner.

No girl must ever walk in front of a man or boy. It is awful. If you walked in front of them people would say you weren't brought up right. Parents had to tell girls all these things, especially how you have to act about men.

Women must have meals prepared when men returned home. They must be quiet while men ate and only after the men were through might the women eat. In the presence of men they sat decorously with their knees folded to one side under them. Men often used low wooden stools but women did not.

Girls were reported to have played in the sweat-house during the absence of men, and women were allowed to enter it to witness the women's shamanistic dance. But as a rule women avoided it. The men were accustomed to sleep there. The practice was to shut all openings and strip off clothing before going to sleep. A "sweat" was made every morning and evening and the heat lasted twelve hours.

SOCIAL RANKS

Chieftainship was hereditary in wealthy families. A chief was an individual of outstanding wealth. "He didn't hunt or fish like the rest; he was so rich he didn't have to. Sometimes he was so rich that he had ten wives. All his sons were looked up to because they came of a good family. One of the sons would become the headman but there was no way of telling which would be chosen."

Sometimes the chief adopted or bought poor boys to work for him. They had to get food, carry wood for the sweat-house, and perform other similar tasks. The boys so adopted or bought were sons of poor people. "Poor people can't say anything. They haven't got money to talk with. They haven't

anything to say. They are like slaves." When an adopted boy is old enough, his owner might buy him a wife and release him to make his own living. The informant in discussing this matter of adoption seemed to feel that she was dealing with a form of slavery but of slavery to which no particular onus other than poverty was attached.

Individuals who had been lazy or inefficient in gathering food during the spring and summer were forced to buy it in winter. If they were too poor to pay for it they were given food by others but they were looked down upon. "Anybody could do what he liked with them."

WEALTH AND PROPERTY

Among the Tolowa real property could belong to individuals. Rich men owned portions of the river bank where no one but themselves might fish, unless of course the owner rented the fishing right. The same type of ownership extended to deer hunting grounds. The tribe moved in the winter to the mountains to hunt deer and in the summer to the beach to gather sea foods. The beach was not marked off into privately owned strips but belonged to the tribe as a whole. When a whale was washed ashore it also was considered common property and was divided by the headman. He was entitled to reserve the best portions for himself, including the flippers which were considered a great delicacy.

Other forms of wealth were dentalia and obsidian blades. Dentalia were strung according to size and kept in elkhorn boxes. The shells were fragile and highly prized. Therefore they were handled slowly and with reverence. Men tattooed marks on their fore and upper arms by which to measure the length of their strings. The possession of a string the length of a man's arm was a sign of wealth.

Obsidian blades were black or red and varied in size from the length of a man's hand to that of his arm.

The social implications of wealth and its desirability were expressed by the informant in approximately the following words:

A rich man was born rich and was a headman in the village. He owned much shell money and many obsidian knives. He had special fishing spots and land for hunting deer. If a poor man wanted to be rich he had to do a lot of sad things. He would go to a lucky mountain and cry and wish hard to be rich. He would think of his father and mother and how poor they were. He just sat and cried and thought hard about beads and rich things like that. For ten nights he would keep watch over a small fire of fir limbs. It is lucky to find a little basin of water on the mountain at this time. At dawn he would come back to the village crying. It was awfully sad to hear him. Then he would go to the sweat-house where the men were still sleeping and build a

fire from fir limbs which he had brought down in a bundle from the mountain. After he was through sweating he would go to the river to swim. Sometimes people go crazy wishing so hard to be rich.

SHAMANISM

Shamans were generally women, although men might occasionally acquire the rank. The attitude of the informant toward male shamans was that "they are not much doctor, they know only a little bit." The following account was either a real or a hypothetical case related by the informant.

There was a young woman who must have been poor because she felt sorry for herself. One day she was eating dried fish eggs and a woman took them away from her because they were too good for such a poor person. The girl felt sorry for herself and kept thinking all the time about the fish eggs. "Some day I hope I have everything I want," she said. She used to cry all the time. When she went to sleep she dreamed she would be a doctor and medicine people and money would come to her.¹ She talked about it in her sleep and walked about. People began to notice her. They asked if she were going crazy. She said she couldn't help it. Old Man gave her everything she wanted in her dreams. She got worse and worse. Maybe she would grab fire and eat it in her sleep. She could step in fire and not get burned. Sometimes she would climb up through the smokehole when she danced in the sweat-house and men would have to hold her. Then the people would say, "Let's take care of her. She is going to be a doctor." For maybe one year she has to eat alone, she has to eat special things, she has her own plate and cup which no one else must touch, she must be clean and take care of herself, get up early in the morning and not have anything to do with men. If she didn't do these things she would be like common people. Then she is taken to a lucky mountain where she dances facing the east. While she is there one or two older women stay with her all the time and hold her up when she dances if she gets too weak. During this time she eats just a little food and may drink water only at certain times. The fire is made of fir limbs and nice smelling roots are burned in it. She has to dance over this fire. The men sit around and sing, usually about the lucky mountain.

Sometime during the period of initiation the woman danced for ten consecutive nights in the sweat-house and was then taken to the lucky mountain where she danced ten more nights. Should a candidate be incapable of sustaining the rigors of the dancing and fasting, her powers are never considered complete although she may be able to achieve certain types of cures. Thereafter she doctors to the best of her spirit's abilities and should she effect a cure she is generously paid.

¹ The close connection between shamanism and wealth for women, and vigils and wealth for men is here evident. The possibility for adjustment to the social emphasis on wealth open to both sexes is of interest.

The curing procedure used by a shaman who has not entirely mastered supernatural powers is the following: She places water in a basket and in the water a fragrant medical root. Then she says, "good words, that the person is going to get well, be on clean ground, that her spirit has told her to doctor in this way." Everything which she speaks is "holy and goes all over the sick man's body to make him well." She then sucks the medical root, blows on the person and assures him that he is well. The curative element in this form of doctoring is the words spoken by the shaman.

The method of treatment used by a powerful shaman and the one considered the more effective was described by the informant in this general manner.

When a doctor is called to treat a sick person, she is offered a certain sum of money. Maybe the doctor won't think it enough, so she will ask for more or even refuse to doctor at all. A pain is something sticking in a person so the doctor must suck it out. She says words which come to her in her dreams. She dances facing east. She closes her eyes and says she can see things. Then she turns to the sick person and says he wished evil to someone and now his badness is lodged in him. If the sick man confesses having had such thoughts maybe she can help him. The sick person tells what he has been thinking. Then the doctor says she will take out the pain. She spits on the sore spot and begins to suck. Finally she sucks it out and shows a small black thing in her hand all mixed up with her saliva. Sometimes it looks like a small turtle or a small snake. It has two eyes. Then she stands up and dances and sings. She blows on her hands maybe six times and blows the pain away. Her hands are empty but no one has seen the pain go. The doctor closes her eyes and says she can see which way the pain went. Sometimes it goes back into dangerous ground (i.e., quicksand).

If a shaman loses a patient she may be required to return the fee. If the family feels that her efforts were sincere they will ask for only half of the fee to be returned. Good doctors were always persons of wealth and therefore of importance in the community.

POISONING

Poisons were made of frogs and lizards. They were dried, powdered, and put in food. The victim's stomach would swell and the person die. The spittle of a dying person was considered particularly poisonous and deadly. It might be kept in a small basket until the poisoner wished to use it. Also poisoners had "something, maybe it looks like a little newborn bird." They talked to this charm all day, maligning the victim who would then die from the evil spoken against him. Sometimes a poisoner walked around his victim's house at night pointing his charm at the house. He might make small sounds resembling those of a mouse, bird, or dog. The people in the house

might hear the noise but they would be afraid to go out. The fear of poisoners is very great. No one would betray a suspected person for fear of being poisoned himself. Not only were poisoners within the tribe regarded with horror but the people living at Requa (Yurok territory) were generally held in distrust in this respect.

A case of poisoning by a thwarted lover was reported. The girl had rejected a suitor and married another man. The rejected suitor then secured a hair from the girl's head, placed it in the mouth of the snake and told it to kill the girl. The snake went to bad ground (i.e. quicksand). The girl began having severe headaches. A shaman was called in and he revealed that someone was working against her. Thereupon the rejected suitor was summoned to her presence by her family. He confessed to what he had done and said that he hoped she would recover. This was all that was necessary to undo the charm and thereafter the girl was well.

PRAYER

Prayers were formulae which had to be known word-perfectly. They were resorted to in times of danger, when a storm arose at sea, when one was lost in the mountains, or at any time when one feared for one's life. At such times the formulae were petitions to the spirits inhabiting either the ocean or mountains. In the words of the informant:

most of the men seem to know these prayers. When a storm comes up some one says, "Don't any of you men know a prayer?" Then someone who knows it, says it. That's how you learn them. It is the same in the mountains. When you get lost there all sorts of things follow you; there are mean things in the mountains. Ocean and mountains are the same. It is best to be on land.

In this connection the use of the term Old Man in petitions quoted throughout this paper may be noted. The informant compared him to the white man's God. The Tolowa would seem to share with many other Californians a belief in a supreme being.

CEREMONIES AND DANCES

The informant felt that many ceremonies and dances were definitely comparable to what is considered religion in the Euro-American culture. "When they have the feather dance, or dances for girls and doctors, it seems as though they are the times when they talk like religion."

First salmon ceremony.—The salmon run in Smith river during the late summer. A certain old man is sent to catch the first fish. After being caught it is cooked and the village assembles in the early morning to eat it. Then a particular man repeats a formula for the salmon to the effect: "May we

all be here every year to eat fish." The person who pronounces the formula was described as "a man who knew about these things" and was compared to "preachers" among the whites. After the pronouncement everyone partakes of a small morsel of the fish. No dancing is connected with the ceremony. All of last year's fish must be thrown in the river. The dried fish of last season must not be eaten after the new run begins. After the ceremony all are free to fish, even the women.

Feather dance.—It was performed during the winter in the dance house. It lasted five nights. The costumes consisted of the best buckskin clothing and ornaments which the dancers owned. Boys and girls performed while the older people, who were singers, stood in the northern and southern corners of the house. A pitch wood fire was used to furnish both light and heat. The young people danced in a line. From it one or two girls might step forward and dance back and forth on the tips of their toes. Three or four boys then stepped out of line also and a mock pursuit ensued in which the boys brandished knives and seemed to threaten the girl or girls. If two girls performed at a time they moved back and forth in front of the line in opposite directions. Another special feature often used in this performance was danced by a man wearing a deerhead decoy. He imitated the behavior of a deer who feared danger by running a few steps, stopping to listen, and running again. After a special feature of this sort the audience expressed its approbation by wishing the dancers riches and good fortune. "We wish that you may have another dress like the one you wear. We wish that when you marry you will be bought with two rows of dentalia." "We wish that you may get another knife like the one you have. We wish that you may have some day more beads like the ones you now have. We wish that you may go up in the mountains some day and get a fine woodpecker. We wish that a big seal might come ashore for us to eat." To such expressions of good will, the dancers replied with, "Yes, we wish that we might have more."

The dancing continues until morning. As day breaks, everyone goes to bathe. The women then return to the houses to prepare food. It was customary for one village to invite another to the Feather dance and for the guests to be fed at various houses. The men slept in the sweat-house and the women at the hosts' homes. The informant dubiously suggested that there might have been a special house for the guests to occupy.

The informant knew of the Requa (Yurok) Brush dance.² She said that it was performed for sick children, that it lasted two nights, and that men of all ages and unmarried women beyond puberty participated in it.

² For description, see A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, BAE-B 73: 61-62, 1925.

The song types known to the informant were shamans', feather dance, and love songs.

HAND GAME

The hand game described by the informant is that played with a bundle of slender rods, and one marked stick usually called the ace. From her description it seemed typical of the game as it is known in northwest California. There were, however, certain associated traits and beliefs which are of interest. Each side has a white deerskin mat spread out before it and after a guess has been made the bundle of sticks is allowed to drop, a few at a time, upon the deerskin to reveal whether or not the ace is in the hand chosen. The game is played to the accompaniment of a deerskin-covered drum and to singing by the side holding the sticks. Games continued all night and were often played from two to four nights in succession. It was played indoors and a fire built on white sand furnished light and heat.

The participants were usually boys who had not known women because they were considered particularly lucky. The leader of each team however was a rich man of the village who directed the game and placed the largest stakes. Fifty to one hundred dollars might be lost by an individual in a night's play. The boys who actually manipulate the rods purified themselves before participating in the game by a vigil without sleep or water for five consecutive nights. They also have certain food taboos to observe, possibly on deer meat. Cold water must not be drunk, for that "cools one off" and "kills everything." A woman who has recently born a child must not be eaten with for she is considered unclean. During the actual gambling no woman is permitted to enter the house, although she may look in from outside.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

As is usual in California there was a belief in a first people who were animal characters. The earth burned up and they went. When white men first came they inspired the belief that the first people were coming back. They thought that they would return over the water. Therefore they said, "Let's not look at it (the water). It is bad luck." The informant also said that the Tolowa at this time believed that the Indian dead would return. She was possibly confusing the beliefs concerning the first appearance of the whites with beliefs of the later Messianic cults, reverberations of which may have reached them. The first flour introduced by the whites was believed to have been made of ground human bones and was believed to be poisonous.

TALES

The telling of myths had no religious or ceremonial significance. There were no tales belonging exclusively to women or told exclusively to and by them.

Tidal Wave

This happened in Oregon. There were no white people on earth when it happened. Chetko is where it happened. It is called Brookings now. Chetko or Chet is the Indian name. It is a very pretty place on the bank of the river. There are nice even fields along the river all the way down to the ocean. The rich lived near the water. The houses were so thick there were only little trails between them.

One evening everyone was playing, all the little boys and girls, all the young women and young men. A widow woman mustn't "cut up" or laugh. A widow woman with her hair cut short like a man came and joined the young people in their play. She began "cutting up" and laughing as loudly as she could. It was getting late that evening.

There was an old woman who was blind, she was so old. She had brought up her grandchildren, one boy and one girl. The boy was just old enough to fish for smelts. She always had things ready for them when they came in. She had a hard time bringing them up because she was so old and blind. She said, "I brought you up nicely. I had a hard time doing it."

The widow began to laugh as loudly as she could. The two children said to one another, "Grandmother said when a widow acts so, something would happen." The dogs jumped around. They were glad. Dog sat up and said, "Yes, you folks are going to see tonight what will happen to you, tonight." The two children ran in the house and told their grandmother, "Dog spoke," and they told her what dog said. The grandmother told the children to go right away, to go as fast as they could and not to wait for anybody. She would stay. She was too old and was ready to die anyway. She told the boy to take his fish net and his money. So the boy took the fish net and the money and the two children ran as fast as they could, upstream, away from the harbor toward Mount Emilie as their grandmother had told them.

Halfway there they looked back. They could hear the people cry. They could hear the cries rise and sink out. They could see the water come. When they reached the top of the mountain all the things in the woods which have names were there, deer, rattlesnake, panther, everything. The boy made a fire and they all sat around it. All night they sat around the fire on top of the mountain. When the sun came up it (water) had all gone away. The brother and sister stood up. Everything was gone. They went back to where their house had been. There wasn't anything there, no dead people. Everything was swept away clean. The ocean was nice and smooth. Everything was pretty. There was no wood to build a fire. The boy went down to the beach to fish. He saw far away someone slowly coming toward him. It was a girl. He went to meet her. They got married and people started again.

Pigeon

Before people were on earth, before the Indian was here, pigeons were a people, so were the cranes and the otters. They said, "Let's play cards." They all came together in a village, all came from different nations. The people were thick in the house so that there was no place to sit down. Young man (Pigeon) was playing cards. Everyone stood around with feathers and beads on. The drum was playing and people were singing. Pigeon was raised by his grandmother. He was raised very nice. On his side people were singing. They were singing so loud you could hear them far away. Some one came in very slowly, went to the fire and said, "Do you know what happened?" Pigeon didn't pay any attention to him. "Your grandmother died," he said. Pigeon said, "Never mind if my grandmother died. Go on." he said. "I shall remember her in the spring," he said. "I shall cry for her every spring," he said. He just kept on playing cards. He never went to see his grandmother. So that is why Pigeon still cries like this every spring. (Informant thereupon imitated the cooing of the mourning-dove.)

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