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THE CHINOOKAN TRIBES

THE Chinookan stock comprised a considerable number of tribes whose permanent villages of cedar-board houses dotted the banks of the Columbia and its tributaries from the rapids known as the Dalles to the sea. With four unimportant exceptions the land bordering the Columbia for this entire distance — about one hundred and seventy-five miles — was occupied by these tribes. The exceptions were: the vicinity of Klickitat river, where some Klickitat had come down from the interior and intermarried with the Chinookans; Lewis river, which also was held by the Klickitat; Cowlitz river, the valley of which was occupied by the Cowlitz, a Salishan tribe; and the sites of Westport and Clatskanie, Oregon, where a band of Athapascans from Willapa river had settled. In all cases these alien tribes were late comers: in other words, the Chinookan stock once held unbroken a strip of territory from the ocean to the Dalles of the Columbia in Washington and Oregon.

Fish, especially salmon, were plentiful far beyond their needs, and were so easily taken that the people were indolent and inert, lacking the initiative, the energetic force, the manliness characteristic of tribes whose livelihood must be gained largely by hunting. In common with most of the other tribes of the north Pacific coast, they were so unusually licentious that chastity was practically unknown; and to a remarkable degree they lacked the tribal instinct, so that killing by hired assassins and by supposedly magical means became a recognized practice of frequent occurrence. Numerous instances have been recorded of chiefs who ruthlessly killed the men and sold the women of their families in order to insure their own wealth and power.

In 1811 the trading post of Astoria was established at the mouth of the river, and in 1825 the Northwest Company built Fort Vancouver opposite the mouth of the Willamette. The men then engaged in the fir trade on the frontiers were as a class rough and lawless, and on occasion barbarous and almost inhuman. Memoirs of men active in the trade prove this. Living in permanent villages, unable and indeed unwilling to move away from the vicinity of the demoralizing settlements, the Chinook and the Clatsop, at the mouth of the Columbia., soon fell a prey to diseases to which they were unaccustomed, particularly smallpox, measles, and cholera. As the Columbia became more

and more used as a highway into the interior, dissipation and disease spread to the inland villages. Whiskey was no less potent than the epidemics. One of many instances of this may be cited. In the youth of Támlaitk, who was born about 1825, the houses of the Indians, placed closely together, extended from Hood river to Indian creek, and many families, not finding room on the level now occupied by the town of Hood River, built their homes on the bench above. On the northern side of the Columbia the whole flat at the mouth of White Salmon river was filled with houses. Whiskey began to be sold on the northern side, and canoes full of drunken Indians returning home would capsize, the helpless natives sinking like stones. Whole families were thus wiped out in a moment. This, combined with an epidemic of cholera, about 1830, almost exterminated two populous villages, and now there are but two survivors. The tribes at the Cascades, in numbers and in culture among the leaders of the Chinookan stock, owed their extinction largely to the same cause. In drunken debauches parties would attempt to cross the river above the falls, only to be drawn into its angry rapids and drowned.

Those who speak a dialect of the Chinook language number considerably fewer than two hundred, and the only Chinookan Community is that of Nihhlúidih (commonly known by the Shahaptian name of Wishham), a group of small houses scattered here and there on the volcanic rock that confines the Columbia at the Dalles. These Upper Chinook, therefore, have been studied as the only available type of the stock.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The reader's first mental picture of the Wishham should be of a scattered village community on the banks of the mighty Columbia. Their homes were not tents of skin, nor wickiups of reeds, but rather substantial structures of rived timbers and planks. Close before the village flows the river, and behind it rise the bare or scantily wooded bluffs. They neither wandered far in quest of buffalo nor tilled the soil, but for sustenance depended on the fish taken from the river, and on the roots and plants gathered from hillside and meadow. If they desired to travel for a distance the canoe was drawn into the water, and the firm thrust of the paddle carried them to their destination. If the man

were of the "noble" or wealthy class, his own hands were not hardened by the paddle, but the large canoe was manned by a crew of slaves.

The tribal life was one of indolent, licentious ease, dignity, and filth. Their position on the river being one of the very best for taking fish, the Wishham had an unlimited supply for their own use and ample stores for barter, which gave them everything they needed. From the western ocean were brought shells and sea foods, and through the medium of the plateau tribes came the buffalo-robes and pemmican of the plains Indians. From the north were brought woven blankets of goat-hair, and the river, itself furnished them, as nature's gift, logs for fuel and for building houses.

In the tribal organization caste and pride of birth were everywhere present, and the individual could scarcely aspire to enter circles above that in which he was born. The position of head-chief descended from father to son, if the latter were worthy. The same was true of the many sub-chiefs or head-men, who, in fact, were simply the heads of wealthy and influential families. If the elder son was not deemed worthy, the people did not recognize him as chief, but took their problems to his brother or next of kin who was strong and upright. There was no selection by popular vote. Public sentiment either approved or disapproved and thus secured the object of its choice. If the chief's eldest son had not reached maturity, the next adult male relation acted as chief until the son became of proper age. If the office descended to a brother or to another branch of the family, it was expected to revert to the main line when the male heir reached maturity.

Hospitality was unstinted, the chief's house being always free to visitors, be they needy or not; and whether or no the call were one of a social nature, food was always provided. A successful hunter or fisherman often, as an act of courtesy, not as tribute, took to the chief some choice portion of food.

The chief's duties were largely advisory and judicial, consisting for the greater part in his acting as intermediary when requested to do so by disputants. There seems to have been no recognized council. Nevertheless, there is a trace of such in the habit of the chief calling influential men together when he had a peculiarly difficult matter to adjudicate. If the question involved a capital offence, one for which an assassin might be employed, guards were posted around the house in every direction, that no one of the family of the man concerned might

spy on the proceedings. The official or sanctioned killing of offenders against tribal precepts or individual rights was an accepted institution. Such killing was done by the injured individual, or by one of a class of men publicly known to be available as assassins for hire.

Slavery was an important institution in the tribal organization. Slaves comprised the lowest stratum of the social order, and their possession was an index of the social station of their owners. But the Wishham did not possess slaves in any large numbers, and secured them principally by barter, for they were not a militant tribe. Naturally the larger number of their slaves were those born of servile parents. Not every family owned chattels of this sort; indeed the majority of households did not. An ordinary family of the better class would have two or three, and the wealthiest as many as ten. Occupying the same house as their masters, slaves were treated kindly and given plenty of food, eating at the same time as the others, but somewhat apart by themselves. Those of suitable age and in the same household were married, and the children were, of course, chattels. Sometimes an unmarried male slave made love to a woman of his class belonging to another family. When this was discovered, the master of the woman reported the matter to the owner of the man, and usually the difficulty was settled by arranging that the two should dwell a part of the year with one master, and the remainder with the other. Sometimes one of the slaves would be sold to the owner of the other.[1] Slaves were not only permitted, but they were expected, to flatten the heads of their children. Marriage between a slave and a free man or woman was unheard of, nor did tribal usage tolerate concubinage. Male slaves were used mainly to paddle the canoe of the master, and in fishing, hunting, and carrying wood; and occasionally as assassin in avenging wrongs. Female slaves were the drudges of the women, digging roots, gathering berries, curing fish, carrying water. No danger attended a man alone in his canoe with several slaves, for they were usually well treated, and nearly always had been taken young and reared in the tribe, so that all

1 One informant stated that a child born of parents belonging to different owners was sold by the first of the two masters who found a purchaser, and that the next child naturally belonged to the other. Another informant denied this, saying that the children belonged to the master of their mother.

recollection of their parent tribe was lost and there was no desire to escape. The life of a bondman was not necessarily one of hardship; he had considerable leisure, and if he were well behaved might enter the house of a neighbor, seat himself, and listen to or take part in casual conversation. A slave much given to running away was cut on the bottom of his feet, so as to make travelling difficult.

Among the people on the southern side of the Columbia from the Cascades down to the ocean, a favorite slave was sometimes either killed when the master or a much-beloved child died, or wrapped, as though for burial, and, still alive, placed in the sepulchre with the dead. This was far from an invariable practice. One informant tells of visiting at a village near Fort Vancouver, Washington, when the son of the chief Kiésnut - also called Wínatka - died. Two young slaves of the same age as the deceased were bound together and their weighted bodies thrown from a canoe into the deep water of the Columbia. The body of the chief's son was taken in a canoe to an island and placed in the usual burial house.

Polygyny was practically universal among the upper classes, a man of wealth having as many as eight wives. All lived in one house, the impartiality of the husband preventing discord, and the women were nominally equal, although a wife from a family of very high rank was naturally treated with deference and given more prominence in the presence of visitors. When a woman was suspected of unfaithfulness she was whipped, or, bound hand and foot, was laid close to the fire until she confessed. If a wife committed adultery and the guilty man was known, the father of the wronged husband reported the matter to the chief, who, finding the complaint justified, gave the petitioner the right to have the culprit killed by one of the *itóhiul,* men of bold, reckless spirit, made so by their medicine, which was especially for fighting, and some of whom served the public as professional assassins for hire. Armed with a heavy, dull instrument of whalebone shaped like a long, double-edged knife, the assassin would lie in wait for his victim, and when the opportunity was presented to do so in secret, he would strike him a heavy blow on the head, cutting and crushing the skull. As assassins these men were called *idiahipshúlit* ("he kills in secret"). If, however, the guilty man belonged to a wealthy family, the chief would inform them that he had been detected in a wrong and they must offer payment. This indemnity went to the fatherin-law of the

woman concerned, the logic being that, inasmuch as he had bought her when she became his son's wife, he was entitled to indemnity when his purchase was damaged.

When the family of a young man had selected a girl for him, they sent a messenger to her father, asking permission to purchase her. Consent being given, the message was brought back to the youth's father, and on the appointed day (soon after the proposal), his family went in a body toward the other house, stopping a short distance from it. The messenger was sent on to the house bearing a gift, or, if the gift were a slave, leading him by the hand. As he started, he began to shout loudly and continued until he reached the house, where he said, "Here is one thing!" He returned to the waiting party and went back to the house with another portion of the purchase price, and so on until each article had been taken to the girl's house and given to her father. Then the latter sent a messenger with gifts, one at a time, but of less value. Next, all the members of the bridegroom's party went in a body to the house and gave small presents, such as beads, shells, and moccasins, and returned home, while the bride's family began to cook a great quantity of food. When the feast was ready, the groom's family - and he for the first time with them - went to the other house to partake of it. They sat down on mats before the bowls of food, the young man taking his place beside the girl, and while they ate, the members of the bride's family came and took from them any loose article of clothing or adornment, until each had some souvenir. At the end of the meal the guests rolled up the mats, took the bowls or spoons, and departed. All the relatives and intimate friends participated in the festivities and many spectators were present. The couple lived in the bride's house for a few days, and then, accompanied by her family and relations, attended a feast at the other home, where another exchange of presents occurred. Thus the marriage celebration continued until five feasts had been provided, if the means of the young man's family permitted such an extended season of festivities; for on every occasion they were expected to give presents of greater value than they received. The last feast occurring at the bride's house, the couple might decide to dwell there permanently, in which case it was the duty of the young man to provide fuel; if they made his home their abode, it was expected of his wife that she would carry water and keep the house clean and orderly.

Each family of the tribe had a house, or quarters in a house, in the

main village, Nihhlúidih, and a fishing station, or rights in a fishing station, on the river bank, perhaps near the village, perhaps at some little distance from it. Those families whose stations lay at some distance from the village built their summer houses apart, near their stations, thus creating numerous small summer villages of two or three or half a dozen structures. In the coldest weather they lived in underground rooms, which were either at the main village or some distance away where eddies in the river deposited abundance of firewood. During the fall and spring they were apt to be living in their permanent houses of cedar planks at Nihhlúidih, but a whole year might be passed in other places.

These permanent houses were built over a square or an oblong excavation about three feet deep, the usual dimensions being about sixteen by eighteen or twenty feet. At the middle of each end was placed an upright cedar slab about two inches thick and ten or more inches wide, with a notch cut at the top to accommodate the fir ridge-pole, which was some six inches in diameter. These slabs projected about ten feet above the ground. At each corner in the excavation was another cedar post, on which rested the end of one of the two eaves-poles. The fir rafters, perhaps four inches in diameter, had a pitch of thirty degrees from the horizontal and were set about two inches apart, the upper ends resting in notches cut in the ridge-pole, and the lower ends on the eaves-poles. Cedar boards were set upright, extending from the floor to the roof, both at the sides and at the ends of the building, and the space between the boards and the walls of the excavation was packed with dry grass. The excavated earth was piled against the outside walls. The roof was a thatching of matting and cedar bark, and in the centre was a smoke-hole three feet square through which the ridge-pole extended. Matting was hung on the inner walls, and the earthern floor was covered with dry grass and rush matting. The doorway, about three and a half feet wide, was usually at one side of the front supporting post, but sometimes the post stood in the middle of the entry. This outer doorway extended from the ground level to the roof, and it was closed with a double thickness of matting.

The outer door of a chief's house was cut through a broad board, which was carved with the figures of eagles and other birds and animals regarded as having "good dispositions." Such creatures as rattlesnake, mountain-lion, and grizzly-bear, always destructive, were not

represented. A post similarly marked but smaller stood inside at the rear. At the death of the chief these carved objects were placed with his body in the house of the dead.

Entering, one descended a short ladder to the floor, passed through an entryway between tiers of fuel, and through another doorway in a partition separating the fuel compartment from the living-room. This partition also was of boards and extended to the roof. The inner doorway was covered with a piece of matting.

The houses were placed in irregular rows, and faced the river. Usually on each side of the inner doorway, and at right angles to it, was a board extending to the roof, each marking off a family-space. The other families had their places around the walls, but there were no other partitions. Four to six families, comprising ten to fifteen people, inhabited each house. In the rear, four or five feet from the ground and extending across the entire wall, was a shelf for food and utensils. The fire burned in the centre of the room, but there was no fire-pit. All cooking and eating were in common. The beds were on the floor and consisted of a layer of grass covered with matting, on which the fur and woven bedding was spread.

In the house of a medicine-man there was placed at the rear of the room his *ikímoqdih,* an upright cedar plank carved into figures of birds and animals.[2] This he had caused to be made according to his instructions by some one skilled in such work. He made no invocations to this post, but it was supposed to tell him at night, through the medium of dreams, what was happening or was going to happen. The space immediately in front of this post was sacred, and any child carelessly

2 Henry, in 1814, noted these objects in a house at the Cascades: "At the end of each range are some broad upright planks, on which figures are rudely carved, somewhat resembling fluted pillars. At the foot of the chief's bed are planted in the ground, at equal distances, four figures of human heads, about two feet high, adorned with a kind of crown, and rudely carved and painted. Beside these figures are erected in the ground two large, flat, painted stones. On the side of each partition, facing the fireplace, are carved and painted on the planks uncouth figures of eagles, tortoises, and other animals, some of them four feet long. The colors used are white, red, black, and green; the sculpture, in some instances, is not bad." (*Henry-Thompson Journals,* Coues ed., Volume II, page 805.)

going near it was expected to fall ill.

During a severe winter the Wishham made use of a dwelling entirely under the ground, and thatched with poles, matting, and cedar bark. The entrance was by means of a ladder in a narrow passageway, and as there was no other opening, fire could not be built within. Cooking, therefore, was done outside or in another house, and the only light possible was an occasional cedar torch. The old men assert that in such quarters it was so warm that they slept in comfort without clothing or covering.

The summer house consisted of two upright forked posts, a heavy ridge-pole, and very long rafters resting on the ground, the end walls and the ridge-roof being formed of matting. At the fishing camps the people lived under one side of the drying shed, which was little more than a cedar-bark ridge-roof extending farther on the western side than on the eastern, the fish being hung in the western part where they would receive the most sun.

In the days antecedent to the advent of white explorers, the manner of dressing was apparently dictated by the desire to decorate the body and to protect it from the cold, rather than by any sense of modesty. In the summer-time the men wore a scant loin-cloth, which commonly was a scrap of an apron, and women made no effort to conceal the body except with a small apron either drawn between their thighs or left hanging. It was not regarded as a serious breach of etiquette on the part of either sex if this scant apparel was omitted.

Both sexes practised tattooing. The designs were the figures of animals or birds associated with their dreams and revelations, and were placed on the breast, arms, and face. The work was performed with a sharp piece of bone and soot. Men and women wore a long dentalium shell in the nose: every one wore this nasal ornament, for anybody without it "looked like a slave." Shells of the same kind were sewn in several parallel rows of three or four each on a piece of skin, the whole forming an ornament about one and a half inches wide and three inches long. Men wore a broad, low-hanging ornamented collar of porcupine-quills sewn on deerskin. This was sometimes fastened to the shirt. The chiefs had their hair loose and thinly covered with strips of skin to which dentalium shells were sewn, and on all occasions they wore two eagle-feathers in their hair in order that people might readily identify them. For special occasions the men wore deerskin shirts and

leggings, and women, in addition to the loincloth, a collar-like cape that half concealed the breasts. This was increased in length with their growing modesty until it reached the knees and had evolved into the usual woman's skin dress made by fastening two deerskins, or preferably mountain-sheep skins, together. The skins were beautifully dressed, and decorated with porcupine-quills and shell beads, and later with white and blue beads secured from the traders. Some of the most beautiful dresses of this kind seen by the author are still in possession of the Wishham. Well-made basket-hats were a picturesque feature of their dress, and are still worn on gala occasions.

The heads of both sexes were flattened through pressure, in infancy, by means of a board fastened to the cradle.

Owing to their favorable position for barter, the Wishham acquired an unusually varied assortment of possessions. From the Klamath, who sometimes came to the Dalles, they got elk-skins and beads, which they passed on to the Chinook in exchange for slaves and canoes, and eastern bands brought them horses, buffalo-robes, and meat. From the Klickitat they secured slaves, skins, deer-meat, hazel-nuts, huckleberries, and camas, for their fish, since the Klickitat were not good fishermen, though excellent hunters. From the Wenatchee bands they obtained goat-hair robes. With the villages opposite Vancouver, Washington, they exchanged roots and berries for wapato roots, which did not grow in the neighborhood of Nihhlúidih. With the Chinookan villages at the Cascades they traded their roots and berries for fish, which as obtained there were fatter than those caught by the Wishham at the Dalles. From the Yakima and other local Shahaptian bands they obtained dried roots and bread made of roots. They secured the majority of their slaves from the Wasco, and from the Klamath, who brought Modoc and Paiute captives to the intertribal mart at the Dalles.

An unusual traffic arrangement was occasionally made between the Chinookan tribes on the river and the Klickitat. The former were not fond of war, so a Klickitat war-party - its size dependent on the amount of the remuneration offered - was hired to meet the enemy. The villagers so punished would perhaps hire a band of the same soldiers of fortune to prosecute a campaign of retaliation.

The staple of barter was *itkílak* (pounded salmon). In the preparation of this article of food the salmon was beheaded and gutted, and with a sharp knife the two halves were separated from the back-bone

and the skin. The clear strips thus obtained were laid on a platform in the hot sun for a day. The next morning the flesh was soft, and the women squeezed it through their hands into shreds, placing the mass in large dishes or in a pit lined with grass or matting, and mixing with it the large quantities of roe taken from the fish. It was then thoroughly worked over with the hands and spread on a piece of matting. After a thorough drying for two days, or more if the sun was not hot, it was pounded fine in a maple mortar with a stone pestle, and then rammed tightly in baskets of split cattails lined with fish-skins. Such a package weighed from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds, and was the product of about one hundred salmon. Fish prepared in this way kept for months. No salt was used, and to the white man's palate it was rather insipid.

Another method of preparing salmon was to split the fish, roast it on one side slightly, then squeeze the meat out of the skin into a pit, mix it, dry it for about three days, then place it in a wooden bowl and mix it with fish-oil. It was eaten so, or mixed with berries, or with camas or other roots. Still another method, no longer in use, was to split the fish, thoroughly dry them in the sun, and tie them up in bundles, which were stored in pits lined with grass and matting. Fish so prepared could be kept for several months without spoiling. Fish-heads were dried over a slow fire and used in making soup.

Fishing stations were held in the family, and the head of the family apportioned the time among his adult sons. If the members of a household became too numerous to use one station they might purchase rights in another. A half interest in a station might thus be secured for a season by the payment of two buffalo-robes; or a widow without family might dispose of her fishing station for a few trinkets and a certain number of fish yearly - enough to support her. If a man living in Nihhlúidih had no station nearby, and wished some fish for immediate use, he would go to the river where some one was fishing and lower a rope to the man below, and the latter, whoever he was, would tie to the rope as many fish as were required. Inland tribes coming to the river at the fishing season, and desiring to catch any considerable quantity of fish, paid for the privilege. At the present time, since a recent decision of the Federal court, the fishing stations are held in common by the small remnant of the tribe.

The principal method of taking salmon is to extend slightly be-

yond the edge of the rock a platform on which the fisherman takes his station armed with a long-handled dip-net, which he thrusts down into the water close to the rock. This method requires an eddy, a place where the current is up-stream, so that the flow of the water may hold the cone-shaped net extended. The salmon, in their travel upstream, swim close along the edge, and thus the Indian's net is directly in their course, and the quantities taken are beyond belief. On favorable days a man simply lifts them out until he is physically exhausted, and another takes his place. At times three or four fish enter the net at once. Since this sort of fishing requires perpendicular rocky shores, just the right stage of water, and a reverse current, stations where it can be conducted are not numerous, and they were formerly, and some still are, used day and night. At other places and stages of the water many salmon were taken with spears, and at other times wicker traps were used.

Sturgeon were caught with hook and line. Lampreys were taken in vast quantities by means of fine-meshed dip-nets, and were used fresh, or split open and dried. A few thousand of these black, snake-like objects hung up to dry make an interesting, if not an appetizing, sight.

On the night following a death all the relatives and intimate friends came to the house, where at one end of the room lay the body, and at its head and feet sat two men called *iyáhihhlihlih,* whose medicine particularly fitted them for the care of the dead, and who were supposed to be capable of receiving communications from the departed spirits. At the other end of the room were the people, singing and dancing. If the deceased were a man or a woman who had received supernatural power, his songs were of course known to somebody, and under this person's leadership the people spent the night singing his medicine-songs. During this time the *iyáhihhlihlih* might hear the spirit of the corpse make certain requests as to the manner in which the body should be dressed, but of that the people knew nothing, and the men in care of the body gave no heed. Toward the end of the night the two men prepared the body for burial by washing it, dressing it, whether man or woman, in ornamented moccasins and leggings, and shirt or dress, and painting the face yellow. A song formerly used by a certain *iyáhihhlihlih* when washing a body is the following:

As daylight approached, the request of the ghost might grow insistent, and then the two men took a sprig of rose-bush and repeatedly struck the ground close beside the body. Then the insistence ceased,

but later it might begin again, in which event the man at the head of the body rose and asked the people to stop singing. "We are having trouble," he would say. "This dead person is asking for something. Wait until I get through; I am going to sing." He then sang his own medicine-song, it being peculiarly appropriate in controlling the soul of the departed. "If we are not careful," he admonished the people, "some one who lives in this house will die." The man at the feet of the body then stood and sang one or two of his songs, and said: "It is true, what this man said. I know it, too. You may start again to sing, but be very careful." If there were any shadowy spot beside the body, it was believed that this space sheltered the spirit. The two men, after thus quieting the ghost, now sat down in the shadowy places, and if the complaint of the spirit came again, they struck these spots with sprigs of rose-bush. This continued until full daylight, when the body was laid in the centre of the house, and the relatives danced round it in a circle, not shoulder to shoulder, but single file, moving forward.

A short time after sunrise this ceased, and preparations were made for carrying out the body. If it were very heavy, two more *iyáhihhlihlih* were engaged. The corpse was carried out head foremost, the friends and relatives following, and was taken to the river's edge, where it was placed in a canoe, in which the two attendants embarked. Their destination was the island of the dead some three miles up the river, and as the paddles struck the water, the wailing of the mourners rent the air. When the canoe reached the shore, the *iyáhihhlihlih* carried the body into the house, placed it on top of the remains of those previously deposited there, barred the slab door into position and bound it with twisted hazel-brush, and returned to their canoe.

In former times the house of the dead was on the bluff back of the village, but about the year 1840, because the bodies were being stripped of valuables by the Wishham themselves, a house was erected on the island, where since that time the dead have been laid away. The killing of slaves at funerals was not unknown to the Wishham. When such a sacrifice was to be made, the hands of the victim were bound behind his back and a fellow slave stabbed him in the presence of the assembled people. The body was deposited at the foot of the bluff.

For ten days the relatives mourned, crying aloud from shortly before sunrise until the middle of the morning, ceasing then for about an hour, and wailing again until midafternoon, when they washed their

faces and ate. The immediate relatives continued mourning in this way for five days after the customary ten, and about a month passed before they resumed their normal demeanor. Even in the case of a still-born child the family mourned five days. A widow remained in the house concealed behind a screen for about twenty-five days, coming out only at night. Either before the body was taken to the burial house or after the return of the party, her hair was tied close to the head at each side, and cut close to the thongs that bound it. Self-torture was not practised, and no food was placed with the body.

A widow or a widower gave away to relatives, friends, and all others who attended the burial ceremony, gifts varying in value according to the closeness of the relationship or the friendship, and somewhat according to the apparent sincerity of their grief. What remained was distributed by a relative of the deceased among the surviving members of his immediate family. A year, or possibly less, after the burial a man was hired to gather the bones, wrap them up in a skin, and leave them in the burial house; and again friends and relatives were invited to the house, and each received a present. The collecting of the bones was never omitted; but sometimes the remains of two or more relatives were wrapped together in a single bundle. The following song was used on such an occasion by a certain man possessing the right to act in this capacity.

Any one guilty of murder, that is, the killing of a tribesman, even though the deed were justifiable, had to spend a year in seclusion, either among the rocks, or, especially in winter, in a little hut on the edge of the village. He was not permitted to eat with others, nor to drink from their water-vessels, nor from a spring, - for the spring would have failed. He could not fell a tree, for the forest would have withered.

The Wishham word *yúhlmah* applies to all that pertains to the supernatural, from that which is merely uncanny to the extremely emotional religious observance. The subtle disease which takes the life of a loved one is *yúhlmah,* and so is the insect's unexplained ability to throw off a leg or a claw to escape captivity. The good and the evil of their lives are all an inseparable part of their belief in *yúhlmah.* They are bound by chains of supernaturalism to an unusual degree. A remarkable feature of their belief and practice is the evil magic of the *itóhiul.* These were men who in their visions had received *yúhlmah* which gave them invulnerability and hence the privilege to kill or to

commit lesser crime. Inasmuch as it was their *yúhlmah* which permitted these men to do evil, the people were in terror of them, and usually submitted to their outrages. Every phase of the tribal life was in some way involved with the necromancy of these magicians of evil. Previous and succeeding references seem to illustrate amply this feature of Chinookan belief, and for that reason no extended discussion of the men or their acts seems to be needed.

The Wishham attainment of supernatural attributes was attended with far less than the ordinary travail. When seven or eight years of age a boy was instructed by his father or other male relative in the mysteries of the acquirement of *yúhlmah,* and bidden to begin his journeyings to lonely spots among the high hills, that the spirits might come to him. There was no preparatory purification by sweating or other means, and usually no long fastings or waiting in the hills; the child suppliant as a rule merely made the journey thither and back in the gathering darkness. This was soon followed by similar travels, occupying as much as two days, to more distant hills, such journeys being undertaken at intervals during several years. On one of these pilgrimages some phenomenon, creature, plant, or rock might appear to the boy, and sing songs for him. If so, he might discontinue his quest, or continue in hope of securing further spiritual aid. In any event he under no circumstances mentioned to any one what occurred while out on these long walks in twilight and darkness. Whatever spirit appeared to him became his *yúhlmah,* and any success or distinction that came to him through life was due wholly to this guardian spirit. Through such agency his life was largely predestined. Some by their *yúhlmah* became healers; others the malign *itóhiul;* others by their spiritual helpers attained wealth. No one ever told just what spirit had given him songs, nor did any words in them reveal clearly its identity.

For some years following the acquisition of his guardian spirit the recipient made no outward demonstration; still he knew that the power was within him, and, whether its forces were for good or for evil, he could not in any way bring about a material change in the destiny of his life. The first visible manifestation of a man's *yúhlmah* was the public singing of the revealed songs, and it was dangerous to delay too long such singing, since to do so might cause the *yúhlmah* to make one ill in its effort to show itself. The usual time to give forth these songs was at the great winter medicine ceremonies. At these occasions a youth,

having reached manhood, suddenly broke forth into singing one of the supposedly revealed songs, and that was the first intimation any one had that a spirit had appeared to him.

This most important ceremony of the Wishham was *Achugwágwa,* the five-day winter function for the rendition of *yúhlmah songs*. When a person to whom some *yúhlmah* had given songs fell ill of indisposition, but not of a positive disease or recognized disorder, it might be that the cause was his failure to release the songs. His guardian spirit, the possession of which the sick person had never intimated to any one, was in fact making the body sick in its effort to burst forth. The family therefore invited all the people to their house regardless of whether they had medicine-songs or not.

At noon of the first day the women, and no others, entered the house for the preliminary part of the ceremony. In the back part of the room was a pole extending to the roof, planted just in front of a platform covered with an elk-skin. This pole was a peeled fir, specially cut for the occasion by a man hired by the family, and sometimes painted by a medicine-man, who let it down through the roof, but never brought it in at the door. The sick person was the first to sing and dance on the platform. Coming from his place, with hair hanging loosely over his face, and looking away from the women in deference to their greater experience in matters pertaining to *yúhlmah,* he began to sing one of the songs taught him in childhood by his guardian spirit, and moved toward the platform. Two women, expert at catching an air, immediately joined in the singing, and gradually they were accompanied by all the others as they learned the song. Then one of the women whose *yúhlmah* prompted her to do so took her place on the elk-skin, held the pole, and danced, singing one of her sacred songs, while the others joined in the singing and dancing, standing without any regular order about the room. When this song was finished, there was a moment of silence, then another woman began to sing one of her own songs, at the same time starting for the platform, where she also stood on the skin and danced, holding to the pole, while as before the other women sang and danced. In this manner they proceeded for about half the afternoon.

In the evening men and women entered promiscuously. Some of the younger and middle-aged women who had *yúhlmah* sat around the platform facing the crowd, who sat grouped against the walls without

any particular order. When the sick person felt so inclined, he began to sing his song and went to the platform, held the pole, and danced up and down, still singing. At the same time the women around the platform danced, and they, as well as the others present, whether possessors of *yúhlmah* or not, joined in the singing. When he had finished, any person in the room might start his or her song, and dance on the elk-skin. They continued until sunrise, with two or three pauses for eating. As the night wore on their fervor increased, and excitement became intense.

If during the dance visitors from another village came to participate, they at once despatched one of their number as a messenger to the house while the others drew up the canoe, and the host bade him tell his companions that a place would be prepared for them. Such an event was not sufficient to interrupt the enthusiastic singing and dancing. The leader of the newly arrived party, who was necessarily a possessor of *yúhlmah,* beat on the door, and his followers shouted. After repeating this, they pushed aside the mat and entered. Those already present drew somewhat back from the fire to give them room, the person who had been singing and dancing on the platform brought his song to a close, and the leader of the newcomers went to the pole, singing one of his sacred songs, in which his party, as well as the others, joined. He repeated three of his songs in quick succession, consuming in all possibly twenty minutes, and was followed at once by another of the visitors with his medicine-songs, and so on until each of the newcomers had sung. After they had finished, the crier for the host announced that food was ready for them in a certain house, and they filed out. The other people ate in the house of the ceremony, and at the conclusion of the meal singing and dancing were resumed, the visitors mixing with the others.

On the days following the first, the women might or might not perform as on the opening day. At dawn following the fifth night the crier stepped to the platform and announced that the dance was ended. The moment he ceased speaking, the men made a rush for the elk-skin, seized it, and endeavored to wrest it from one another. As they struggled and pulled, some one would throw a vessel of water over the skin, making it slippery and almost impossible to hold. When the fun had continued long enough, the crier called a halt, and whatever portion each contestant held was cut off and given to him. As elk-skin for

moccasins was scarce, the efforts to get possession of the prize were real. The parents of the sick person now distributed presents among the people as far as what they had would go.[3]

Apart from their ceremonial spirit-association and singing, the people were greatly given to dreams, and to the every-day singing of songs. In every home could be heard the low beat of the drum and the droning of some rhythmic song.

In the treatment of diseases there was a distinct line of demarcation between such as were recognized as physical disorders due to no supernatural cause, and hence treated by natural remedies, and those in which the patients seemed to wither and droop without ascertainable reason. These were ascribed to the action of *yúhlmah* and consequently were treated only by supernatural methods. Those who held the secrets of curing ordinary disorders were not called healers nor recognized as different from other men or women. Any person might possess one or more secrets relating to the healing property of roots and leaves, and might bequeath or sell such knowledge. If the ailment were one deemed to require supernatural aid, the father of the sick person went himself to a medicine-man, asked his help, and promised a certain amount of property in payment. The healer came to the house, asked for a board, or for two poles, and two short sticks with which to beat upon the board or the poles. The patient was placed beside one end of the poles, which lay parallel. Sitting by the patient, the healer began to sing, looking straight at the body, while assistants beat on the poles rhythmically. After a time the healer declared what he had seen, saying, for example, "This person is going to die; but if you will give me so much more" - naming the amount - "I will try to cure him. I may fail, but I will try hard if you give me that much." Of course the necessary amount was promised. The healer had the feathers of birds of prey in his hair, furs of different kinds on his head, and bands of fair

3 At times this ceremony was given by some person who wished to sing his sacred songs, and he then performed the part played by the sick person in the above description. In such a case two medicine-men of good repute sat in the front and watched the pole to see by its appearance whether any person who came forward to sing and dance was of evil power, and if any one was so adjudged by them, he was prevented from stepping on the elk-skin.

across his shoulders. He now started a song, which the others carried on while beating the poles, and the medicine-man swung his arms and made a sound such as the creature represented by his guardian spirit makes. With a final downward motion of his arms, and crying *"Up!"* he thus gave the signal to the others, who struck a last violent blow on the poles. Everybody was silent. The healer spoke: "Listen! There are the father and the mother. I wish you to say whether my words are right or wrong." Every one was all attention. The medicine-man proceeded to tell what the patient was doing, and where he was at the time he was made sick, and he appealed to the father to confirm the statements. The father might disclaim any knowledge of the facts, and it was then referred to the mother, who usually saw enough truth in the guess of the medicine-man to make her believe that the whole must be true. Now, knowing how and where the patient became ill, the medicine-man knew how to proceed. "If I take this sickness out of him," he said, "you will see black clouds, rain, and wind coming." Again he began to sing, and the poles were beaten. One of the beaters tied a band of deerskin or other skin around the medicine-man's abdomen and chest. There was another assistant medicine-man or medicine-woman present, sitting close beside the patient's head. The chief healer said, "Whenever I get hold of this sickness and bring it out, the patient is going to die" (faint). He put his mouth to some part of the sick man's body and sucked, and suddenly he cried, "Now!" and the beaters seized the band of skin and pulled in order to help him raise his head against the power of the sickness. At this point the patient always fainted, and the assistant medicine-man sprayed a mouthful of water over his face to restore him. The medicine-man now spat into his hands whatever he had ostensibly extracted from the sick person's body, and three or four men grasped his wrists, and helped him, with much show of overcoming a mysterious resistance, to plunge his hands into a bowl of water set near by for that purpose. The touch of water dispelled the power of the sickness. Now everybody was curious to see what was in the hands of the medicine-man, and usually it was seen to be a short, thin object, sometimes black sometimes yellowish or white, probably a small stick. The medicine-man sang another song in slow tempo and arose, holding the "sickness." He said: "You have all seen this. It is good, and I will keep it." He was now going to send this sickness, which was in reality some *yúhlmah,* to the place whence he

obtained his medicine-power, and thus it would become his own and be that much added to his supernatural strength. "If my *yúhlmah* can agree with this and keep it there," he says, " I will send it." He ordered the beaters to strike the poles without rhythm, and, holding the object between his index fingers, he called long and loud, and with some preliminary motions pretended to hurl it from him. The preliminary motions were to test whether the new *yúhlmah* felt willing to go to the place to which he wished to send it. If it seemed to hang heavy and reluctant, the inference was that it wished to go back into the patient's body, and he called for more and louder beating.

Sickness of the kind treated by medicine-men was usually regarded as simply *yúhlmah* not possessed by anybody, ranging wild, as it were, and the exorciser merely added this to his own supernatural power. When a person was very ill, as many as three healers were summoned, and if the case proved hopeless, one of them declared that the patient was the victim of an evil medicine-man, and, if the parents wished, although the patient could not be saved, he would remove the *yúhlmah* and cut it, thus destroying it and causing the death of the possessor. Consent being given and payment promised, he sucked out the *yúhlmah* as above described, and held it over the fire, where the ashes had been brushed aside, while another medicine-man cut the small object with a knife, and the pieces were dropped into the fire. Usually in such cases it was believed that two *yúhlmah* had been put into the sick person, and the second was brought out and severed as was the first. It was believed also that the evil medicine-man invariably died.

In the old times the killing of a medicine-man for having brought sickness and death to some person was a frequent occurrence. Nearly every one, says Hlalákum, was a medicine-man or medicine-woman in those days. Any person who died under treatment was said by the healer in charge, as a measure of self-protection, to have been made incurably ill by some other magician. Then, with the permission of the chief, the family of the deceased sent one of its own members, or a slave, or an *itóhiul,* to kill the supposed cause of their troubles. Sometimes a dying person continually mentioned the name of a certain medicine-man. It was then assumed that this man had caused the death, and the relatives secretly killed him, or had him killed by an *itóhiul.* An instance of this kind occurred in 1905, but the case could not be legally proved against the murderer.

MYTHOLOGY

The myths of the Wishham are exceedingly interesting in that they show unusual wealth of imagination and vivacity, yet they are disappointing in their incomplete cosmology and their inattention to obvious phenomena. It is possible that much seemingly non-existent material has been lost through tribal retrogression. The old men and women possessing knowledge of the stories have largely passed away, and it is likely that no person living at this time knows all the myths that were current when the tribe was in its prime. No considerable effort to suggest comparisons and similarities will be made at this time. A later volume will be devoted to the coast tribes, which have many characteristics in common with the Wishham, and with that material in hand a more satisfactory analysis of the whole can be given.

The Wishham mythology gives no heed to the creation of the world, but assumes it existent and populated with beings in human form, some of whom were committing evil and some good deeds. The miracle performer, Coyote, transformed the evil creatures into animals or objects, and the good ones into perfected human beings. The transformer is conceived to have been in the beginning in human form, but later his face was changed to that of the animal. The inconsistencies so common to Indian myths constantly occur.

COYOTE, THE TRANSFORMER

The journeyings of Coyote began at the ocean, at the mouth of Columbia river, where lived an *atatáhlia,*[4] an evil creature who was constantly destroying people by tying them upon a baby-board and sending them adrift into the foggy distance, with the command, "Go forever!" After a time the board came floating back to her, and upon it there was nothing but bones, for on its voyage it had been to a place of such intense heat that the flesh was melted away. On the shore sat many people awaiting their turn to be set adrift. Their hearts would have run away, but the power of the *atatáhlia* held them there. Then Coyote came among them, and after watching the evil one for a time,

4 *Atatáhlia* is a name applied to a class of mythological egresses.

he told them, "I will try that, and soon I will return." So he was tied to the board, and, as he started to drift out into the fog, the old woman said, "Go forever!" But all the people cried out, "Come back again!" After a while the watchers could faintly see the board drifting closer, and they wondered if Coyote had been powerful enough to survive; and when it touched the shore they saw that he was alive, and all the people were glad. Then, to prove which was the stronger, the woman was placed on the board and went out into the fog, while Coyote and all the people shouted, "Go forever!" In time the board came drifting back with nothing but her bleached bones upon it.[5] The people were happy that the evil was destroyed, and urged their deliverer to take from their number a wife. But he said: " No, I do not want a wife. I am to travel up the river."

As he went on he heard that above him two women had all the salmon penned up. Coming near to the place, he saw the two women in their canoe catching driftwood. Wishing to get in to their place, he formed himself into a piece of alder, slipped into the water, and floated down. As he passed close to the canoe, the younger woman cried, "See that nice piece of alder!" But the other did not wish to secure it. "Here are smaller ones, she said; "let that one go." After passing out of sight, Coyote floated ashore and returned to the point from which he had started. Having studied the matter for a while, he became a piece of cedar, thinking that perhaps they would take that kind of wood, which they could use in making their drying racks. Again he drifted close to the boat, and the younger sister called attention to the cedar log, but the elder did not seem to wish it. The next time he formed himself into a piece of oak, but this, too, the elder woman rejected. A long fir pole was Coyote's next disguise, but even this, which would have been so useful to lay from eaves to eaves and hang dried fish on, did not appeal to the elder sister, and was allowed to float by. Coyote's ingenuity was almost exhausted, and for a long time he sat on the bank meditating before he transformed himself into a little baby, strapped to a board. He floated down the river toward the women, crying lust-

5 It is likely that the evil thus defeated is symbolical of death by drowning in the surf, the mouth of the Columbia being exceedingly dangerous for navigation.

ily. Water began to lap into his mouth, and it seemed to him that he must soon choke, when the younger woman cried-excitedly: "Here is a baby! Some one has tipped over and lost it. Quick, let us get it!" The elder said, "No, sister, we do not need a baby," and began to paddle away; but the other seized her own paddle and endeavored to force the canoe toward the drowning infant. They paddled with all their might, and the water fairly boiled with the rapid strokes, but, both being of the same strength, neither could make headway, and all the while the baby was drifting nearer to them. At last it came close to the stern, and the younger woman reached out and took it into the canoe. "It is a boy!" she cried. "Now if we rear it we will have some one to help us." So it was agreed that they take the child and care for it.

When they reached home they untied the child and removed it from its wrappings. The younger said to herself: "What are we going to feed this baby? I will give it a piece of dried lamprey to suck." She did so, and the baby eagerly took the lamprey, which was soon eaten. She laced it up on its board, cut off another piece, and when this was about half eaten the baby fell asleep. "Now the baby is sleeping, we can go and get more wood," said she. The elder woman was uneasy since the coming of the infant. She took no interest in it, and did not wish to help care for it. The two went out and began to catch driftwood. When Coyote found it quiet in the house, he opened his eyes. Quickly he unlaced his cover, crept slyly out, and saw the women on the river. Inside be found a great abundance of dried lampreys and other fish, and he hurriedly roasted a quantity on sticks, ate them, and hid the sticks. Then he laced himself to the board, put the half-eaten piece of lamprey in his mouth, and closed his eyes. The women returned and were surprised to find the baby still sleeping. When they retired for the night, the younger sister laid the baby at her side, and Coyote liked that place to sleep, but was all the time thinking how he could let the salmon escape. The next morning the younger sister gave him another piece of fish, and after seeing the child asleep the two went to the river for wood. Again Coyote crawled out and ate, and then went to the pond in which the fish were impounded. After making five oak root-diggers he concealed them and returned to the baby-board. The third day Coyote cooked and ate, then took one of his root-diggers, thrust it into the bank of the river, and pried off a great mass of earth. Again and again he repeated this until the digger was blunt and broken., and then

he took a new one. This, and a third, and a fourth were used, when the sisters, happening to look up, saw what was going on. As Coyote began to use his fifth digger they started to paddle ashore in great haste, the elder sister saying over and over: " You see, I did not want to take that baby. It was Coyote, and we shall lose our fish, and now we shall never live as well as we have lived." Just as the canoe grounded, and they leaped out, Coyote pried off the last mass of earth, and the water began to rush out of the lake, carrying the salmon with it. He picked up a lump of white clay and ran toward the two sisters. "It is not right for you to have all these fish penned up in one place!" he cried. "Things are going to change. There will be other beings here besides you." He threw the lump of clay; it struck the younger sister on the forehead, leaving a white mark. Then he did the same to the other. "You two are swallows," he said, "and will be seen only at salmon time." They flew away, but each year, when the salmon come, many of them are seen along the river building their nests in the rocks.

When Coyote came to Shkichúthat (a prairie at Vancouver), he found there certain evil people whom he thought he would change in such a way that their true character would be known. He came to them while they were all asleep around a pit of roasting goose-eggs, and, after eating the eggs, he pulled the faces of the people out into long, peaked snouts, and lengthened their ears. Awaking they discovered what had been done to them, and knew at once who was the guilty one, for it was common knowledge all along the river that Coyote was travelling up-stream and changing the creatures whom he found. So they followed him, and when they came to him sleeping they pulled his nose and ears and made them pointed. Coyote was very angry, and he transformed them into wolves, as they are now. After that Coyote himself was human in form, except his head.

The salmon were now in the river, and as Coyote travelled up the stream they followed him. All the various places along the river he named. When he came to Skólups (Cape Horn, Washington), he stood thinking for a time on the top of the high bluff. In the middle of the stream he saw a canoe in which was a sturgeon. Soon there appeared a person coming out of the water under the canoe with a sturgeon in each hand. These he threw into the boat. This was a surprising thing, catching sturgeon by diving! Coyote decided to go above, and swim down and steal the fish while the person was under the water.

So he swam down, picked out a fine sturgeon, and went ashore with it. On the bank was a large oak, behind which Coyote now concealed himself, waiting to see what the diver would do. The next time the fisherman came up he paused and looked into the boat. He seemed to be counting his fish. He climbed into the canoe and sat there looking at them. Soon he pointed his finger straight up at the sky and moved it in a circle, gradually lowering it but constantly moving it in a circle. At length when the finger pointed straight at the oak it stopped. In great fear Coyote dodged, but the finger followed every movement. The fisher then began to paddle to the shore, and Coyote was more frightened than ever. When the boat touched, he saw that the paddler had no mouth, but every other feature was that of a human being. This strange person began to walk toward Coyote, all the time pointing his finger at the latter's eyes. Of course he did not speak, and Coyote decided that this was his way of accusing him of having stolen the sturgeon. Coyote looked at him intently and decided that something ought to be done to his face. He tried to induce the person to be still, and proposed by signs to cook a meal. He gathered stones, built a fire, and cooked the fish on the hot stones. "We are going to eat now," he said by signs as he gave the man the best portion of the fish. The man came close to Coyote, took the fish, smelled of it, and threw it away. This astonished and displeased Coyote. The person picked up another piece of fish and threw it away. Coyote pondered but a moment, then he seized a piece of flint, felt of the strange person's face, and suddenly cut a straight slit where he thought the mouth ought to be. "Hurry and wash your face!" he cried, and the man ran to the river, washed, and returned. "My friend," he said, "you should have cooked a larger fish." "Why, you nearly poked my eyes out for having taken this little one," retorted Coyote. This man belonged to the village which was called Nimíshhaia. After the meal he went to the village, and the people saw him coming with a hole in his face and emitting strange sounds from it. They asked by signs what had happened to him, and he replied that some one had put this mouth on him, and he told them what it was for. So they called down to Coyote to come and make mouths for all of them. He did so, but most of them he made a little too large, which is the reason the people of that village always had larger mouths than others, and talked more loudly. It was decided that since Coyote was such a great person they ought to give him a good wife, but to this pro-

posal he replied that he did not wish to have a wife: he was a wanderer, and had no home.

So Coyote left Nimíshhaia, and a little above that place he saw a man turning somersaults, landing on his head, and yelling loudly, as if it hurt him. Coyote was curious, and, going to see what it all meant, he found that the man had his ankles tied, and between his legs was a bundle of firewood. "What is the matter, friend?" he asked. "My wife is about to have a child," the man answered, "and I am carrying wood for the house." "But that is no way to carry wood," said Coyote. He untied the man's legs, cut some hazel-brush., and began to twist it into a rope, which he attached to the bundle as a pack-string. He swung the fagot on his back, passing the loop of the rope across his forehead. "Take the lead, and I will carry this in for you," he said. So the man went ahead, and Coyote followed, bearing the bundle of fuel. "Here is my home," said the man after a while. Coyote threw down the load, and said, "That is the way to carry wood. Where is this woman who is to have a child?" The man showed him a woman lying on a bed with a pile of robes wrapped around her hand. She did not seem to be pregnant, and Coyote unwrapped the hand, in a finger of which he saw a sliver embedded in a mass of pus. "Is this what is the matter?" he asked. "Yes," was the answer. "That is nothing; let me show you," said Coyote. He took a small sharp flake of bone, pricked the finger open, and pressed out the sliver. "Now I will show you how to make a child," he said. He then did so. Coyote remained a few days in that house, and the woman said she was soon to be a mother. In a short time the child was born. "That is your child," he said to the man. "I give it to you."

Coyote next came to a place where he saw many white salmon in the river, but as no one was fishing he thought it must be a difficult place to fish, so he decided to make a trap. This place is now called Skahlhúlmah (Little White Salmon river). He began to twine cords of hazel-brush, and when the trap was finished he hung it over the riffle. Going to the shore, he watched, and said to the trap: "I have made you and hung you here, and I will call you *alúlh*. When you are filled with fish, you must call to me." He went off a little distance and sat down. Soon he heard a call: *"Náhlumsht, ná-hlumsht!"* - "I am now filled, I am now filled!" Coyote ran to the trap, found it full of fish, and called the people from the village. By the time they reached the stream he

had the trap on the bank, and he directed them to stand in a line while he distributed the fish among them, two to each. But there were not enough, and he set the trap again and again, five times in all, and by that time the people had learned how to use it, and how to make one.

Coyote travelled on, and after a while came to another stream, a larger one, where there was a large village. This was Námnit (on White Salmon river). As he sat on the bank looking down the stream, he said, "I want some young person to get me a drink of water from the river." A woman answered: "There is nobody drinking water here. We have a hard time to get water." Coyote looked about and saw plenty of water close at hand, and asked what was the matter. That he might see what the trouble was, a young girl was sent for water. Coyote sat and watched her. She waded into the creek and began to dip, but suddenly she dropped the vessel, screamed, and started back running. Coyote told them to send another girl, and this was done with the same result. Then he himself went down to the same spot, waded out, dipped a vessel full, and started to the bank. As he did so, he saw two white salmon chasing each other in fun, with mouths wide open. "This is what they were afraid of," he said. A great crowd of people surrounded him and drank eagerly of the water. Soon it was exhausted, and he fetched more, until all were satisfied. Then he went into the brush and cut sticks for spears. He asked for string, and a woman gave him a string of beads. He repeated his request for string, and another woman handed him two strings of beads, and so it went until a great many beads had been given him. Seeing that they did not understand what he wanted, he went to the woods and got some inner bark of the white fir, pulling it off in long strands. When the first spear was made, he called the people to the river to watch him, and he began to spear salmon. Then he gathered stones, built a fire, cooked the fish, and bade the people eat. "These things are good to eat," he said, "but you are afraid of them. They will not harm you. Go up-stream and shout and frighten the fish down so that those who are here can spear them. This place I will call Námnit." When Coyote started to leave, they asked him to remain and take a wife, but he declined and went on.

In the next village he entered a house where sat an old woman. He began to wash his hands. She said: "I do not know what to feed you. You can see I am poor and sick." He noticed that her body was covered with something white, like slime. She took some of this substance and

placed it on a plate and gave the dish to him. Coyote did not at all like the looks of the food offered him, and as the old woman seemed to be half blind he pretended to eat it, but really threw it over his shoulder. But she was watching him. He could not throw it away fast enough, so he put some in his quiver, gave the dish back, and said he had eaten well. This old woman was Chinook Salmon. Coyote went on to a place farther up the river, where he began to smell something sweet, as if somebody was cooking. He ran about, calling, "Wait for me; do not eat all the food, I am hungry!" He ran so distractedly that he bumped his head on a pile of stones and made a hole in them, and from this accident the place received a name. He sat down after a while, and, remembering the stuff in his quiver, opened the bag to throw it out. Inside he found a fish, fat and nicely roasted. He hungrily devoured it, and then finding oil on the quiver, he even ate that. The fish tasted so good that he decided to return to the old woman and get more; so back down the river he went beyond her house, and then came in again, as if he were another traveller from below. He washed his face and hands, sat down, and said: "I am tired. I have come a long way, and am hungry." "I do not know what I can do for you," she replied. "Coyote was here not very long ago, and I fed him of my flesh, but he threw it all away. You can see what my flesh looks like, and I do not think you would wish to eat it. There is nothing I can give you." Coyote sat thinking what to say next, and at last, perceiving that she knew who he was, he cried, "You old, ugly, rotten thing!" and took his departure

Coyote next came near to Nihhlúidih, and learned of a woman who every time a man came wished him to marry her, but each one she destroyed by throwing him from the cliff on which she lived. "Well," he said, "I will go and marry her." He made five long sharp bones and five stones and went with them toward her house. She was always watching for travellers. Coyote saw a person ahead of him and started to go round her, but she came to meet him; he then went off on the other side, but she again intercepted him. He knew then that this was the woman. He had been told that when she met any man she immediately made love to him and took him home along a steep trail, always preceding the man. Once at the top, she would lie down next to the wall - the house was on a ledge - so that the man would have to lie on the outside where he could be easily pushed over the cliff. When she began to make love to Coyote, he burst into tears, and said that

it made him feel sad, because his dear wife had been dead only a few days. She said, "I love you, and would like to live with you." He cried all the louder and said he could not think of such things. Then she took him by the arm and coaxed him along until he followed. When they approached the trail, he quickened his pace and reached the foot first. He mounted ahead of her, and lay down next to the wall, so that the woman had to lie near the edge. When she caressed him, he took one of the stones and pushed it into her body, but immediately there was a sound of grinding and the stone was worn off up to its end. He thrust another and another, until all the five were used up. Then he used the five bones. All the time she was weakening, and in the end, having gradually pushed her over near the edge, he suddenly shoved her off. She struck the bottom and was crushed. Coyote went down and examined her body, which he found to be made of flint. He said to the body: "That is not the way to do, destroying people as you have been doing. There will never be any such person as you again." The spot where the body was crushed is the place where the people of Nihhlúidih used to get their flint. Even now the spot is covered with flint.

Coyote now proceeded to a village where he was told that an *atatáhlia,* a female monster, and her husband, Owl, were carrying the people away and cooking them in a pit that they might eat them, and Coyote knew that he must change that. After thinking long he procured some green fir cones, cut them into bits, and dried them. He strung them, tied the strings around his legs, arms, and neck, in close rows, and threw his robe over them. Thus adorned, he went to the place where the monster usually was to be seen. She came to intercept him and kept in front of him, no matter in what direction he turned. Every time he stirred, the dry cones rattled. She said, "Where are you going?" He answered: "You see where the sun comes out in the morning? That is where I am going. My wife died a few days ago and I feel sad and do not wish to remain at home. She was a good wife. So I do not like to talk to women yet." He started to dance, and the cones rattled loudly. She ran up to him to take his arm, but he eluded her. Again she tried, and he pushed her with his staff and told her not to touch him. She asked, "How did you become so that you could make that sound when you dance?" "You need not ask that," he replied," because I would not tell you, no matter how much you might pay me. If I told you that, you would never have to hunt for food, but only

dance thus and the people would come to you. Then you would have only the work of cooking them." He started to leave her, but she came up with him again, and when she asked him once more how he made that sound, he at last, with apparent reluctance, consented to disclose the secret, provided she would promise to tell him the source of her own power. To this she agreed, and he said: "Then I will tell you how to dance and make your bones rattle as I do mine. I had my body completely covered with pitch, eyes and all. Then I was put on the fire. The pitch burned over my skin, and my bones were gradually roasted dry. That is why they rattle, because they are dry and charred. Hear my head!" and he shook it. "Hear my legs! " and he shook them. "Good! " said the *atatáhlia*. "I am glad to know this, and I shall do it. Let us go up and you can work on me." She took him up to the pit where she was in the habit of cooking her victims. All around the edge of this great hole sat her captive people, old and young, awaiting their turn to be roasted. All were wailing, and everywhere about the pit were piles of the bones of those devoured by the *atatáhlia* and Owl. Coyote told the waiting victims to go into the woods and collect fresh pitch, and they scattered among the trees, soon returning with quantities of it. Stones were heated, and Coyote proceeded to cover the *atatáhlia* from head to foot with pitch, being careful not to leave a single bare spot, and all the while she was shifting her body to make sure that no spot should be missed. "You must agree that I am to be the judge of when you are done," said Coyote. "I will punch your arms and your head with this pole, and in that way I can tell when the work is done, because your bones will rattle." The *atatáhlia* stood beside the roaring fire, and Coyote pushed her into it. Immediately she began to blaze. Coyote quickly gave each of five men a forked stick, one to hold her down by the neck, the others by the legs and arms. They pinned her down, and whenever Coyote ordered her to be turned, they rolled her over. When the pitch had burned out of her mouth, she cried, "I am burning! Take me out!" but Coyote only reminded her that he was the judge of when it was time for her to be taken out. "This will punish you for roasting people!" he said. In a short time the creature was dead, and Coyote told the people they were free to go home, and as they ran away they were happy, and sang. Soon after this Coyote saw Owl, the husband, coming home, leading a great number of captives. He picked up a handful of ashes, threw it at Owl, and said: "This is not the way to

do. It is wrong to roast these people. There is going to be another kind of people here, and this must stop. I have killed your wife because she did it. From now on you will be nothing but a bird, and your name will be Owl, and you will live among these rocks. Once in a great while you will be heard, and when you are, some one will die." An owl's voice is always sad because he is mourning for his wife, and his feathers are mottled because of the ashes.

Coyote continued his travels, sometimes doing right, at other times making mistakes, and all things, good or bad, were made so by him.

As he came to a place now called Skin, he saw many people who did not act right and had foolish ways. All wanted to be chiefs at once. "It is not right that these people should be so proud. I will humiliate them, he said. So he climbed up on the rock above the village and urinated upon them until they were drenched. The people of Skin,[6] speak differently from the Wishham, and this is the reason.

THE TRANSFORMERS[7]

A girl went out to bathe for good luck. Five successive days, as she bathed, she wished for some one to be there, and the fifth time she saw a man lying on her dress. This was Grizzly-bear. She said, "Keep away, keep away from my dress, my relation!" He questioned, "On which side am I your relation?" She repeated: I wish you would keep away from my dress! I am getting cold, sitting in the water." "Say to me, 'Keep away from my dress, my husband,'" the Bear responded, "and I will go away." So at last she said it. The man then got up and walked away from the dress. She put it on, and Grizzly-bear carried her home on his back. But as they went, she tore off shreds of her cedar-bark skirt and dropped them in the trail. At length he reached his house. He said to the girl, "Can you eat camas?" She replied, "Yes, of course I can eat camas." He produced some of the roots and roasted them in the ashes. So the girl lived with the Bear, and in due time she

6 Skin was a Shahaptian village on the northern bank of the Columbia at Celilo falls, and its territory adjoined that of the Wishham.

7 Related by a Chinook woman.

bore twins - a girl, whom they called Hlákakonwa, and a boy, who was a Grizzly-bear like his father.

Now this girl who had married the Bear had five brothers. One of them, when she disappeared from the place where she had been bathing, searched and found the pieces of cedar-bark along the trail. He followed, and came out on the edge of a clear space in the woods, and on the other side he saw a house, which he entered. The two Grizzly-bears were alone, the women absent digging roots. They received the young man, by their magic power knowing who he was. The young Bear said, "Uncle, let me louse you." He began to look for lice, and suddenly bit off the man's head and ate it. They buried the body. On the next day came the second brother in search of his sister, and he too was killed and buried. That day, on the way home from the camas meadow, the girl asked her mother, "Have you any brothers at home?" "Yes, I have five brothers," she said. It seems that the girl suspected something. On the following day the third brother found the trail and in it the tracks of his two brothers. He followed, and he also was killed, although the old Bear this time tried to restrain his son.

Now the young Bear made a song: "I have been rolling my uncle's head." The girl, possessing wonderful power, heard it, and said to her mother, "We had better go home and see what my brother is doing." But the young Bear knew at once that they were coming, and when they reached the house there was no sign of what had occurred. On the fourth day the next brother met the fate of the others, and the girl, out in the field with her mother, was filled with anxiety and wished to hurry home, but her mother desired to remain until they had finished digging their camas.

The youngest of the five brothers had been bathing day and night, looking for medicine. His dream told him: "Your brothers have been killed." So he took his arrows and set out. "Do not kill any bird," the dream warned him. He found the clearing and entered the house, and the young Bear greeted him: "My uncle, you have come. I am glad to see you." The man made no reply, nor did he move while the Bear walked all round him. He refused to permit the Bear to louse him. Now the girl began again to feel uneasy, and urged her mother to return. So they hurried home, and when they ran into the house, the young Bear lay down behind his uncle. When the woman caught sight of her brother, she cried, "You have come!" "Yes, I have come," he

answered. The young man lived there with his sister, and there were no further attempts to take his head.

Daily he gathered pitchwood, which he piled under the beds, and quantities of heavy fuel. Then he told his sister, "Now we will go home." And she consented. While old Grizzly-bear and his son were sound asleep, the young man set fire all around the house, and propped heavy logs against the door, so that they could not open it. Soon the house was burning fiercely, and the young Bear began to cry. The girl turned and saw that the smoke was rising in a column straight to the sky. Five times she turned to look back, and the last time she began to sing, "My brother is gone in smoke to the sky." On her great-toes this girl had long nails like bear-claws.

The three reached a large lake, and the woman said to her daughter: "I think I will swim." She dived into the lake, came up some distance from the shore, and called to her brother, "What do I look like when I dive in the lake?" "You look fine," he replied. She dived again and came up a little farther away, and repeated her question. His answer was the same. A third time she dived, a fourth, and a fifth, and each time asked her question. The fifth time he replied, "Oh, you do not look so well." The sixth time she came up she was covered with hair: she had turned into a hair-seal. The other two went homeward without her.

They reached the village. One day the chief proposed to marry the girl, and it was so arranged. She never talked except privately with her husband, and she never laughed. Jaybird once remarked, "It is strange that our chief's wife never laughs." She said to him, "I am going to laugh." Then she went outside and laughed five times, "Ha-ha-heeee!" and the people fell dead. She devoured them all. Then she looked inside the house for her husband, but she could not find him for, as soon as she began to laugh, Jaybird and the chief had run out of the house, and they had been the first ones to fall dead, although she had not intended to kill them. Not one person was left in the place.

When she realized that she had swallowed her husband, she thrust her finger down her throat and vomited all that she had swallowed, and he was the last one to come out, as he had been the first to go down. His legs had been bitten off. She washed him, legless as he was, put him in a basket, and sang, and after a while he came out laughing, but without legs. She replaced him in the basket, and hung it up in the

house.

Soon after this she bore two boys. They were Mus'p and Skomó'hl.[8] She bathed them daily and nightly so that they would grow quickly. She warned them not to go in a certain direction, for she wished them not to find the place where she had vomited up the bodies of the people. One day they followed her to the prairie where she was digging camas, and as they were shooting, Skomó'hl, the younger, broke his bowstring. They returned to the house, and, searching for something which they could use for a string, they saw the basket hanging there. They took it down, thinking to find something suitable for a bowstring, but they found a person, who said, "Oh, my children; oh, my children! " He told them that they had a village of people in a certain place, to which he pointed, and that their mother was not human, but *iekshthéhlô*.[9] When their mother came home that evening, she noticed that they were morose, and she asked: "What is the matter, my children? We are alone here, but do not be downhearted." At dark they went to bed, and the younger said: "To-morrow let us go where our mother told us not to go, and see what is there. There must be something." The next morning, while she dug camas, the boys visited the forbidden place, which they found covered with bones and old houses in ruins. Skomó'hl said: "Surely she is *iekshthéhlô*. She has eaten our old people." He now began to think constantly what he should do.

The next morning they again took down the basket, and the younger tried to put legs on his father, but he could not. Then, leaving the basket and their father inside the house, they set fire to the structure, and smoke rose and fell over the fields like feathers. The woman caught some in her hand and, looking at it closely, said, "Ha!

8 *Mus'p* is the Salishan (Chehalis dialect) name for the black, or female, butterball duck and *skomó'hl* is the white, or male, of the same species. In Chinook both are *ukúnasisi*. The narrator of the myth, a Chinook woman born about 1830, declares that the Salishan names were always used in the Chinook version, and that both characters were boys. This indicates that it is a borrowed myth; and the incidents themselves are for the greater part Salishan rather than Chinookan. Coyote, according to the narrator, did not appear as the transformer in Chinook myths, but began his labors of righting the world among the people next above them.

9 A fabulous monster that is believed to devour people.

I will catch you!" She knew what her boys had been doing. When she went toward the house, the two boys were running to meet her, and she thought, "I will eat the elder first." But while she was waiting for him, the other ran round behind her, seized her hair, and shook her. All the bones fell rattling out of her skin, which he threw to the ground, and it turned into a female dog. Then the two started to travel, the dog following them.

The two brothers travelled on until after a long time they came to a man, of whom Mus'p inquired, "What are you doing?" The man answered: "I am making a knife. I have heard that two men are coming, and I am going to kill them." "Let me see that knife," said Mus'p. He took it and began to examine it, and said: "Are you going to kill those two men who are coming? You will never kill them. Your name is Beaver. Turn around!" He touched the knife to the man and it remained there like a tail, and Mus'p commanded him, "Now go and dive!" Beaver dived, and came up, and Mus'p said, "Now slap the water with your tail!" Beaver slapped the water as beavers have done ever since. "Now sing!" He began to sing in the way beavers do now in the mating season.

The two went on and found another man working on two knives. Mus'p got up on his back. "What are you doing?" he asked. "I am making knives with which to kill those two men who are coming," was the answer. "Let me see your knives," said the boy. He took the two knives, and said, "Come here, closer." He put the two knives on the man's head, and said, "Now jump!" He jumped. "Turn around and look at me!" The man did so. "Now run!" The man ran. "You will never be a man again and kill people; you will be Deer," said Mus'p; "people forever will kill you and eat you!" The man became a deer, and the two knives his horns.

Again they went on, and came to a town, a large town. At one end of it Mus'p called out, "All you people, get your nets!" The people brought out their dip-nets. He directed them to get sticks to make a weir, and they began to build the trap in a creek where the tide came in. Then Mus'p showed them how to catch herring with a net held between two canoes and raised by ropes when full of fish. These people

were Yuhlúyuhlu.[10]

The two came to another village, and Mus'p called out: "Come and see this whale in the river! Get your spear poles! Take five canoes and spear this whale!" So they did as he directed, and killed the whale. These were Qunítsa'th (Makah) at Neah bay. They put some buoys on the whale and the five canoes towed it ashore, and the head-man distributed the flesh and blubber.

They arrived at another large town, and Mus'p called out, "Come and catch these blue-back salmon!" He then showed these Tqinaiyúhlkhl (Quinault) how to make the trap and take the salmon.

At Damons point they showed the Tqiyanúhliks how to use a stick in digging razor clams.

Next day they crossed the bay (Grays harbor) and found a large village at the mouth of a stream (Chehalis river). When Mus'p told the people to get their nets, they ran into the houses and brought out their dip-nets, and he cried: "You are mistaken, I did not say dip-nets! But keep them, and you shall always be herring catchers."

At the mouth of Nemah river, where the people slept in hanging baskets because the beds were infested by fleas, the two brothers showed them how to sweep out their houses and thus rid themselves of vermin.

They crossed the river in a canoe and came to a small village, Wínupu, where they heard a man in a house, shouting. It was raining. They entered, and beheld a man shooting at the roof, and yelling. Wherever the water dripped through and fell on any one, that person died. So Jaybird was shooting at the rain. "What are you doing?" asked Mus'p. "I am killing those people who come to fight us," answered Jaybird. Mus'p looked up at the roof, and said: "That is not the way to make a roof. I will fix it." Then he showed them how to repair the leaky roof

The two crossed the bay to Tiápsuyi, and there on the beach was Jaybird spearing cockle clams. As they left the canoe, Jaybird said to himself, "These must be great chiefs, for they wear sea-otter robes." He prepared to give them food, and roasted the cockles in the ashes. Mus'p opened one, ate the meat, and then drank the juice. Jaybird

10 An unidentified tribe said to live on Vancouver island.

thought it odd that this great chief drank the "cockle oil." They remained there that night, and the next day at ebb-tide the people all went out with their spears for cockles. Mus'p and his brother walked out over the flats, and each time they felt a cockle under foot they picked it up and put it in a basket. They told the people that was the way to gather cockles, and Jaybird said, "I was thinking a long time ago of doing it that way." They went upon the sand, made a fire and heated stones, dug a pit, and showed the people how to pack the cockles in it. They taught them also how to hang cockles on a string to dry. "Have you any whale oil?" asked Mus'p. They brought some oil and he showed them how to eat fresh cockles with whale oil. Said Jaybird, "I thought of that a long time ago."

Again the two went on, this time to Nakáhuti (Cape Disappointment), where they found a woman at play, a monster of the kind called *okóhl*. She was killing children. On the beach was a great rock over which she threw them, crying, "Go forever!" and they fell on the sand beyond, dead. The two brothers looked on from a distance, then went down close. "Where is your mother?" asked the woman. "She is coming," said Mus'p. The little dog was still following them, and it was her power that enabled them to do what they did. The woman then said, "I am glad you have come; we will have play." Said Mus'p: "You and I will play; my brother is always sick and never plays. You throw me over that rock first." So she took him by the hair, swung him, and threw him over the rock. He landed on his feet unhurt. The ground there was covered with children, some dead, some yet alive. He quickly made them well. Then he came around the rock, and the woman cried, " Oh, my nephew, I thought you were dead!" He said, "Now I will throw you over the rock." She was not pleased, but he assured her, "It did not hurt me." He had made the stones on the other side sharp flints, and had told the children that if the woman fell over there half dead they must cut her up. So he caught her by the hair and flung her over the rock, crying, "Go forever!" and the children fell upon her with the flints and cut her into pieces. Then Mus'p sent them back toward the east to the homes from which the woman had stolen them.

The two brothers now walked across the point to Walúmlum (Fort Canby). Entering the first house of the village, they beheld two old women, who said, "Oh, young men, whence do you come?" "We have come a long distance," answered Mus'p, "and have been telling

the people how to live." They said: "We have a great chief here. We catch all kinds of fish and hunt all kinds of game." But in fact they ate only the chief's excreta, for he devoured all the food. When the tide came in, the people went down to the beach. Skomó'hl said to Mus'p, "Do nothing until we see what that man is going to do." Just then the chief came to a canoe, and took out a sturgeon, which he raised, about to swallow it, but it slipped past his mouth and fell on his shoulder. This mishap was caused by Mus'p watching him. Lightning began to flash from the chief's eyes, and Jaybird cried, "Now we shall all die!" Mus'p and his brother went out from the house of the two old women toward the place where the chief was, and as he turned about and saw them, the lightning began again. Mus'p went toward him and stamped on the beach, and the chief sank to his ankles. Again he stamped, and the chief sank farther. Five times Mus'p stamped, and the chief was in the sand over his knees. Then Mus'p said: "In no other place do the people eat the excreta of their chief. They get fish and game, and give him some of it. You will remain here, and you will be a rock." The chief's name was Iekáluhsitk, and this is what that rock is now called. The two old women were turned into mice, and Jaybird became as he is now. The others remained people.

The brothers next came to Hlákhahl where they saw a person walking on his hands and carrying a stick between his legs. "Stand up!" commanded Mus'p; and he showed the man how to make a bundle of sticks and carry it on his shoulder. They went on to Tsinúk, where Mus'p told the people to get their nets, and he showed them how to use the seine for salmon. He told them: "When you catch the salmon, do not eat them at once, but lay them in the house. Then at the next flood-tide cook and eat them. Call in the people and have a feast, and if any fish remain, throw them into the fire and burn them. Do not attempt to keep them. Do this five days, and after that you may eat them at any time, and keep what you do not eat."[11] In the last house of this place Mus'p found an old woman cooking. He asked her what she was preparing, and she said she was cooking *iekshthéhlô*. "If you eat this you will die," she said. "I am hungry," he answered; "give me that!" She filled a large wooden bowl with the soup and he ate five

11 This custom was observed by the Chinook and the Clatsop.

spoonfuls. Feeling a pain in the stomach, Mus'p went outside, and the two brothers, followed by the dog, went up a hill (Scarborough hill). This soup had been made of human bones, and Mus'p began to vomit; and each time a hill was formed, until there were five. He said to his brother, We will turn into rocks and remain here forever." So they became stone - Mus'p, his brother, and the dog.[12]

COYOTE'S SLAVES

A war broke out on the river, and Coyote participated, capturing two slaves, both small persons. "I am going to have something different from the others," thought he. He took them home and set one down on each side of his house. The next morning he saw that one of his slaves was beginning to swell, and he notified the people in the village that something was wrong with him. The swelling continued, until the slave seemed ready to burst, and about midnight he did burst, the explosion wrecking the house. Not knowing what had happened, Coyote began looking for his slave, and he decided to call on his medicine for advice. His medicine was his feces, which he called his "two sisters." They were very wise, knowing always what was occurring. They told him that the slave he had had in the house was West Wind, and Coyote could not find him again because he had gone back to the place in which he had been found. But when snow fell, Coyote was to trap him, setting a snare wherever he saw a black spot on the hillside. When winter came, Coyote saw a small black spot on the snowy hill, and there he set a trap. On the next day he saw the same small person caught in the trap by the hand, and he brought the captive back to his house; but again the slave blew up, destroying the house. This time his medicine told him it was of no use to try to keep this person a slave. "He is very important," it said. "He lives up in the hills, and whenever he comes, the snow goes away. If you had killed him, the winter would never end." So Coyote had only one slave, and that was Flea. After the fight in which he was captured, Flea was in the bottom of the canoe

12 The three rocks, reputed to be the relics of the brothers and the dog, were still to be seen until, during the youth of the narrator, some Chehalis people pried them loose with poles and rolled them down the hill.

in which the fighters were returning home, and he was so small that another slave sat down on him without seeing him, which made Flea flat.[13]

THE ANIMAL PEOPLE HOLD A MEDICINE-CHANT

All kinds of bird and animal people met at a village in the winter to sing their medicine-songs. Grizzly-bear was the first. Everybody was afraid of him. He sang and danced, and each time he came near the fire he slapped it, and made coals and smoke and wood fly into the air and shower down on the others, but no one dared say a word. "If anybody interferes with what I am doing, I will eat his head, bones and all!" declared Grizzly-bear, and to show his bravery he again slapped the fire. The others lowered their heads and said nothing, for they were all in fear of such a powerful man. A small person sat there. By and by he cried, "I am going to stop him! " He walked forward quickly while Grizzly-bear was singing, and said: "You are going too far, Grizzly-bear! We all know your name. You say that if anybody interferes, you will eat his head. You slap the fire and burn us. Your name is big enough, and you ought not to do this. I think you are not the right kind of man; you are a bad fellow!" Grizzly-bear turned about and glowered at the little person; then he growled, "Who is that interfering?" He slapped the fire again, and repeated, "I want to know who is doing this talking, and I will eat him!" "Here I am," said the one who had spoken; "look right at me! If you are foolish enough to eat me, I will make you drop everything there is in you!" Grizzly-bear looked at the other closely, and, recognizing him as Lizard, he said: "Oh, you are my relative, and I do not like to have trouble with you here. People all over the country would have the news that we have been fighting. They will have it that Grizzly-bear and his brother were quarrelling at the medicine-singing." Grizzly-bear then sat down, for he feared Lizard.

Another came forward and sang, making a rattling, buzzing sound. This was Rattlesnake. "Let nobody interfere while I sing," he warned;

13 This and the following story were related as parts of the transformer myth, but they doubtless should be considered as separate stories of a later period.

"if anybody does, I will give him *shôalúptin"* (the grass which the rattlesnake is supposed to eat in midsummer in order to make its bite most venomous). Rattlesnake began to sing: " I do not know where I shall bite first; I do not know whom I shall bite first." All the people remained very quiet. About the middle of the song, a person cried out: "Stop that 'Where I am going to bite, whom I am going to bite,' you flat-nosed thing! Other people here want to sing, and you must not take up all the time!" Rattlesnake began to rattle angrily, so that for a time no other sound could be heard. The people were frightened, and urged the one who had spoken: "Go out and show yourself; he may bite any of us!" So Raccoon came out, and said: "I am the one who spoke. If you bite me, I will burn out your eyes!" Rattlesnake turned and looked closely; then he said, "Why, we are relations, and I do not wish to have trouble in this gathering." So Rattlesnake withdrew.

Then Black Bear came out to sing, and he was followed by the other animals, and by all the plant people. At last it was nearly spring, when Crow started his song. The West Wind began to blow, and the snow to melt, and it was spring when Crow finished. Lizard went home among the rocks, and one day he sat on the sunny side, making arrows. Grizzly-bear came along and looked, shading his eyes from the sun, and said, "There is the person who interfered with me at the singing." He went around and approached from the back. Lizard knew he was coming, but paid no attention. He sat in a crevice. Something seized him by the hair and pulled him back. He looked up, and saw Grizzly-bear. "Do you remember what you said to me at the singing?" asked the latter. "I do not remember saying anything to you," said Lizard. "Now tell me what it was you said to me that time," persisted Grizzly-bear. He growled fiercely, and repeated, "Tell me!" and raised his paw to slap Lizard. But just then the latter slipped from his grasp, darted into the crack, and came up a moment later from another crevice armed with bow and arrows, and dressed for a fight. Grizzly-bear leaped toward him again, and slapped at him, but Lizard dodged into the crack and shot him. In this manner the fight continued, Grizzly-bear leaping about and Lizard shooting little arrows into his body. After a while Grizzly-bear fell dead, and Lizard cut off his claws. Down the breast of Grizzly ran a strip of white fur, which Lizard also cut off

to use in his medicine-making.[14] One day Raccoon was down in the creek feeling under the stones for little suckers and crawfish. Rattlesnake saw him, and recognizing in him the person who had interrupted his singing, he determined to have revenge. He went to the edge of the water and waited unseen, and after a while Raccoon came that way, thrust his paw into the crack where Rattlesnake was, and got bitten. He did not notice this, and put his paw in again, and was bitten five times. His paw began to swell, and, thinking he must have gotten into some thorns, he built a fire and held his paw in it until the swelling was reduced. Then, happening to look around, he saw Rattlesnake, and aware now of the cause of his wounds, he picked him up and burned his eyes. The fire is what made his paws so black and slim.[15]

ORIGIN OF ETERNAL DEATH

Coyote had a wife and two children, and so had Eagle. Both families lived together. Eagle's wife and children died, and a few days later Coyote experienced the same misfortune. As the latter wept, his companion said: "Do not mourn: that will not bring your wife back. Make ready your moccasins, and we will go somewhere." So the two prepared for a long journey, and set out westward.

After four days they were close to the ocean; on one side of a body of water they saw houses. Coyote called across, "Come with a boat!" "Never mind; stop calling," bade Eagle. He produced an elderberry stalk, made a flute, put the end into the water, and whistled. Soon they saw two persons come out of a house, walk to the water's edge, and enter a canoe. Said Eagle, "Do not look at those people when they land." The boat drew near, but a few yards from the shore it stopped, and Eagle told his friend to close his eyes. He then took Coyote by the arm and leaped to the boat. The two persons paddled back, and when they stopped a short distance from the other side Eagle again cautioned Coyote to close his eyes, and then leaped ashore with him.

14 Grizzly-bear fears a certain kind of lizard," says an informant, "since it is a deadly food, causing dysentery; that is the only creature he fears besides the eagle, which sometimes carries off his cubs."

15 It is said that a rattlesnake bite does not kill a raccoon.

They went to the village, where there were many houses, but no people were in sight. Everything was still as death. There was a very large underground house, into which they went. In it was found an old woman sitting with her face to the wall, and lying on the floor on the other side of the room was the moon. They sat down near the wall.

"Coyote," whispered Eagle, "watch that woman and see what she does when the sun goes down!" just before the sun set they heard a voice outside calling: "Get up! Hurry! The sun is going down, and it will soon be night. Hurry, hurry!" Coyote and Eagle still sat in a corner of the chamber watching the old woman. People began to enter, many hundreds of them, men, women, and children. Coyote, as he watched, saw Eagle's wife and two daughters among them, and soon afterward his own family. When the room was filled, Nikshiámcháshт, the old woman, cried, "Are all in?" Then she turned about, and from a squatting posture she jumped forward, then again and again, five times in all, until she alighted in a small pit beside the moon. This she raised and swallowed, and at once it was pitch dark. The people wandered about, hither and thither, crowding and jostling, unable to see. About daylight a voice from outside cried, "Nikshiámcháshт, all get through!" The old woman then disgorged the moon, and laid it back in its place on the floor; all the people filed out, and the woman, Eagle, and Coyote were once more alone.

"Now, Coyote," said Eagle, "could you do that?" "Yes, I can do that," he said. They went out, and Coyote at Eagle's direction made a box of boards, as large as he could carry, and put into it leaves from every kind of tree and blades from every kind of grass. "Well," said Eagle, "if you are sure you remember just how she did this, let us go in and kill her." So they entered the house and killed her, and buried the body. Her dress they took off and put on Coyote, so that he looked just like her, and he sat down in her place. Eagle then told him to practise what he had seen, by turning around and jumping as the old woman had done. So Coyote turned about and jumped five times, but the last leap was a little short, yet he managed to slide into the hole. He put the moon into his mouth, but, try as he would, a thin edge still showed, and he covered it with his hands. Then he laid it back in its place and resumed his seat by the wall, waiting for sunset and the voice of the chief outside.

The day passed, the voice called, and the people entered. Coyote

turned about and began to jump. Some thought there was something strange about the manner of jumping, but others said it was really the old woman. When he came to the last jump and slipped into the pit, many cried out that this was not the old woman, but Coyote quickly lifted the moon and put it into his mouth, covering the edge with his hands. When it was completely dark, Eagle placed the box in the doorway. Throughout the long night Coyote retained the moon in his month, until he was almost choking, but at last the voice of the chief was heard from the outside, and the dead began to file out. Every one walked into the box, and Eagle quickly threw the cover over and tied it. The sound was like that of a great swarm of flies. "Now, my brother, we are through," said Eagle. Coyote removed the dress and laid it down beside the moon, and Eagle threw the moon into the sky, where it remained. The two entered the canoe with the box, and paddled toward the east.

When they landed, Eagle carried the box. Near the end of the third night Coyote heard somebody talking; there seemed to be many voices. He awakened his companion, and said, "There are many people coming." "Do not worry," said Eagle; "it is all right." The following night Coyote heard the talking again, and, looking about, he discovered that the voices came from the box which Eagle had been carrying. He placed his ear against it, and after a while distinguished the voice of his wife. He smiled, and broke into laughter, but he said nothing to Eagle. At the end of the fifth night and the beginning of their last day of travelling, he said to his friend, "I will carry the box now; you have carried it a long way." "No," replied Eagle, "I will take it; I am strong." "Let me carry it," insisted the other; "suppose we come to where people live, and they should see the chief carrying the load. How would that look?" Still Eagle retained his hold on the box, but as they went along Coyote kept begging, and about noon, wearying of the subject, Eagle gave him the box. So Coyote had the load, and every time he heard the voice of his wife he would laugh. After a while he contrived to fall behind, and when Eagle was out of sight around a hill he began to open the box, in order to release his wife. But no sooner was the cover lifted than it was thrown back violently, and the dead people rushed out into the air with such force that Coyote was thrown to the ground. They quickly disappeared in the west. Eagle saw the cloud of dead people rising in the air, and came hurrying back. He found one man left there,

a cripple who had been unable to rise; he threw him into the air, and the dead man floated away swiftly.

"You see what you have done, with your curiosity and haste!" said Eagle. "If we had brought these dead all the way back, people would not die forever, but only for a season, like these plants, whose leaves we have brought. Hereafter trees and grasses will die only in the winter, but in the spring they will be green again. So it would have been with the people." "Let us go back and catch them again," proposed coyote; but eagle objected: "They will not go to the same place, and we would not know how to find them; they will be where the moon is, up in the sky."

THE SHINING BALL[16]

Coyote heard that some great authority or law had come into existence. No one knew what the power was or whence it came. Coyote soon learned that the object which was causing so much excitement was a great round ball, bright in color like the sun, and that all the people from up and down the river were gathering in order to learn more about this new and wonderful object. Each tribe wanted to possess it and take it to their village. Jack-rabbit and Fox, two very fast runners, were its keepers, and thus far they had allowed any one who wanted this ball to take it and run, with the understanding that if he were the faster in the race he could escape with it, but if Fox or Jack-rabbit overtook him, he would have his head cut off because of his failure.

Now when the people were all together, they talked long over the question of how to decide the ownership of the ball. Fox and Jackrabbit, knowing their power to run, wanted the rule to remain as it had been, for every competitor had lost his head. Others did not think that a good way; but at last it was decided that as the owners of the ball wanted it so, the people would agree to race for it. It was arranged that the people were all to stand side by side in line, and then the ball was to be rolled along from in front of them, and the runner securing it first would take it and run toward his home, but if the old owners overtook

16 A similar myth is related by the Salishan tribes of the upper Columbia. See Volume VII, "Origin of Sun and Moon." VOL. VIII-9

him, he would lose his head.

Coyote and Deer were the only ones who thought they would try to win this game. Coyote had five children, the youngest a girl. Deer had two boys. These seven children were to enter the race. Coyote's eldest son took the ball first. For a time he left the two guardians behind, but they soon began to gain rapidly. Coyote's boy increased his speed, but, in spite of all he could do, Fox and Jackrabbit overtook him and cut off his head. Then the ball was given to the second brother, who also lost his head. Thus, one after the other, the five children of Coyote were killed.

The two Deer boys had been lying quietly, not frisking about like the other runners. Fox came and kicked one of them ,saying, "Here, take this ball; that is what you came here for!" The Deer half rose, fell, got up, stumbled, and fell, as if he were half asleep. "Let us cut off his head now," said Fox; "there is no use in wasting time with him!" Not wishing to leave the bloody body so near their home, they started to take Deer down to a hollow to behead him. Instantly a thick fog came, and no one could see anything. Young Deer was holding the ball, and, while the people were confused in the darkness, he whistled to his brother, and they started rapidly toward the mountains. When the fog lifted, the two Deer were seen far up in the mountains, one on each of two parallel ridges; they were tossing the ball from one to the other, and it made a glittering path through the air. Fox and Jack-rabbit, who had lost possession of the ball, were very angry, and began blaming each other for having been outwitted by Deer.

The father of the two Deer lay quietly at home, but he knew all that was happening. He and Coyote were neighbors. The latter was frisking about and began to reproach the other for being lazy. When the two Deer came near home, they began to sing, "Away back where we started with the ball, there is where Coyote's children were killed." Coyote was outside listening, and when the singing was heard, he said to Deer, "Do not believe those words, do not rejoice. Those are my children trying to deceive you." A second time they heard the singing, but this time the words were: "Away back where we started with this ball, there is where the Deer children were killed." The two Deer were having sport with Coyote. "You see," he said, "I told you those were my children." A third time the words were heard sung, as they had been the first time, and Coyote was worried. He put a large stone

in a pit, and around it he thrust stakes. A fourth time the words were heard, saying that the Deer children had been killed, and Coyote was again cheerful. But when for the fifth time the song was heard, and the words said the Coyote children had been killed, the voices could be distinguished as those of Deer, and Coyote in despair leaped upon the sharp stakes and died.

Deer slowly arose, and just then the ball was thrown before him, gleaming like the sun, and the place was bright. "What are we going to do with this ball?" the Deer children asked. "We will break it, and pound it, and take the shining powder to rub over our bodies," said their father. So they powdered it, and rubbed the dust over their bodies. In the pit lay Coyote, dead. Getting too much of the yellow powder on their bodies, the Deer rubbed their hands on Coyote's fur to rid them of the dust, and that made yellow patches on his hide. The Deer began to discuss the question of where they should go, now that they had won the ball and become objects of envy. The boys said, "We can travel on the earth or on the clouds." The father decided that they should go the simplest way, travelling on the tips of the grass, not on the earth, in order to avoid the possibility of anybody tracking them. They started southward and travelled all day.

The next day Coyote recovered, and tried to find the trail of the Deer, but he could not. So he started out at random, and by chance he too went southward. After a while he stopped to drink, but just before his mouth touched the water he happened to see a strange-looking person in the stream. The man had bow and arrows, and Coyote decided quickly that he had better kill this man before he himself was killed. He drew an arrow, and the man did the same. He shot, and the man disappeared, only to reappear a little later. Coyote shot all his arrows and was without weapons. He crept down to the edge of the water and peeped over to see if the man was still there, and, to his surprise, there he was looking up at him. He seized stones and threw them into the water, but still the strange man looked out at him. He brought forth his medicine, and when the first "sister" lay on the ground he asked about the man in the water, but it replied: "If we tell you, you will say that you already knew all about it." That was a way Coyote had of pretending that he knew everything. "If you do not tell me," he threatened, "I will call for rain," and he began to spit on them. Rain they feared, for it would dissolve them, and they at once began

to tell him. "You remember when your five children went for the ball, and the two Deer went along. Your children were all killed, and Deer's two sons came home with the ball. Now, all that singing you heard, saying that Deer's sons were dead, was a lie. When you fell back into the pit, the two Deer came back with the ball, which they broke in pieces and made into dust, and rubbed on their bodies. When they got through, they rubbed the dust off their hands on your fur. Then they left that place, walking on the tips of the grass. They went to the river at the Dalles and crossed. They pulled your ears and your nose, so that you would look different, and now you have long ears and a long nose. What you saw in the water was your own reflection, but you did not know yourself" He then called the "sisters" back inside, and went to the water, recovered all his arrows, put them in his quiver, and drank. He said, "No matter how far you travel, you Deer, I am going to catch you sometime." He then continued the pursuit.

After travelling five days the Deer stopped to sleep, thinking themselves out of danger. They little knew Coyote was not far behind. On the next day he found their camp of the night before, away up in the middle of the mountains. A little later he caught sight of them, and his anger began to rise. The Deer were so bright and shining that it hurt the eyes to look long at them. When he got close behind them he picked up some dirt and threw it on them, then more and more, and with the fourth handful that struck them the golden color was gone. "It will not do for you Deer to have this great name and be the chief of all the people," explained Coyote. "There will be people of another kind soon, who will be leaders, not such as you. I give you the name of *chánik."*

COYOTE AND SALMON

Chinook Salmon, who had four wives: Mouse, Goldfinch, Dove, and Cricket, was a great hunter, and spent much of his time in the pursuit of game. Dove had one child, but there were no other children. Coyote was living with this family, but it was his habit to spend his time roaming about the country. One day he failed to return. "Where is old man?" asked Salmon, but nobody knew. A little later, however, he came in. "Where have you been, grandfather?" asked Salmon. "Grandson," he replied, "my people used to trap eagles, and I have

been looking for eagles. I saw two young ones in a nest." "Where did you see two eagles? We will go there to-morrow and get them," said Salmon. "It is not far from here," Coyote assured him.

The next morning they started out toward the mouth of the river, and came to a high bluff, where they saw a nest in a tree which stood on the edge of the rock. They looked at it a while, and saw two eaglets open their wings, which made Salmon very anxious to get those fine feathers. He told Coyote to remain below while he climbed the tree. "Before you go," counselled Coyote, "take off your fine clothing, beads, and shells, and leave them here." "Why?" asked the other. "That is the way the old people used to get eagles," explained Coyote. So Salmon took off his finery and began to climb. Now Coyote started to make medicine that the tree might grow higher. Salmon heard him muttering words, and called down, "What are you saying?" "I say, you are getting close now," cried Coyote; "keep your eyes on the birds or they will fly away!" Salmon continued to climb, but the tree kept growing. At last, however, he reached the nest, only to find it empty. He looked down, and found himself so far above the ground that it made him dizzy; and more than that, he saw Coyote, dressed in the clothing and ornaments he had left below, travelling homeward.

Coyote went back to their house, and took for his wives the two for whom Salmon had never seemed to care - Mouse and Goldfinch. He told them that the eagles had flown away, and that Salmon had gone to live with some friends and did not intend to come back to his wives, for he was tired of them.

The next morning Coyote said that they would move their camp, and, though Dove and Cricket did not trust him, they decided to go along. They followed, and in the evening made a camp apart from the other three, for they would not be wives of Coyote. The next day the journey was continued, and it began to rain. This was the tears of Salmon, who in the meantime had climbed down the tree, but could not descend the face of the rock until he caused a stream of water, his tears, to flow over the cliff. He found his home deserted, but he followed the trail of his wives.

Dove was carrying her baby, walking beside Cricket. Five days Salmon had been following, and now he came up behind the two women, who were weeping. When they saw their husband, they were overjoyed, and quickly gave him clothing. The three then followed

the others, and after a while Coyote caught sight of Salmon. Immediately he began to cry, and to take off Salmon's clothing and ornaments, which he begged Salmon to take back, but the other refused them, saying: "You may keep them. You have spoiled them. You told me a lie and made me feel sad. If you had told me you wanted these two women, you could have had them."

The six stopped and built two houses. The next morning Salmon went hunting, and later in the day returned with deer meat, some of which he gave to Coyote. "I have left a great deal of meat in the mountains," he said. "To-morrow we can get it, and you may have it." So the next morning both started out for the mountains. They crossed a dry creek-bed at the foot of the mountains, and it began to rain. They went a little farther, and saw a great quantity of deer meat hanging in the trees. "Coyote," said Salmon, "you take all you can. Take it all; I do not need any." So Coyote loaded up with all he could possibly carry. Salmon said he would go on up the hill and kill another deer before returning, and Coyote started back alone. When he came to the first creek, he found a good deal of water running down, but he managed to cross. The second creek was deeper, the third still deeper, and the fourth nearly too deep to ford. It was still raining, and in the middle of the last watercourse he fell, the head-strap dropped down about his neck, and the load of meat pulled his head under water. He lost consciousness, and his body floated down the stream, finally lodging, on some branches. He regained his senses, and, looking up and seeing the surface of the rushing water, thought it was clouds blown by the wind. He got up, but fell again, and once more was carried down by the current. At length he came to the Columbia river, and after a while his body caught on a stump. Here he again recovered consciousness, but, try as he would, he could discover no land. He made use of his medicine-power, and said, "After a while there will be land here," and soon there was a small island. He sat there, and after he was rested he made a hut. There he was compelled to remain.

One day he saw Swans flying overhead. The birds thought it strange that there should be an island where they had never seen one before, and flew lower to examine it. They saw a person sitting there. Their chief said, "If we find that this man is alone, we can go down and look at him." Then he continued: "If we find he is alone, we can take him home and our youngest sister can have him for a husband." They flew

very low, saw that there was a single person there, and alighted. The eldest asked, "Are you alone?" "Yes," said Coyote. "Can we take you away with us?" Swan continued. "We have a sister, and you can marry her." "All right, all right! Take me along!" said Coyote eagerly. The two largest put their wings together, and Coyote sat on them, holding to their necks, and thus was borne away. They told him to shut his eyes, and not to open them until they got home. They flew far across the water to their home, and there Coyote married the Swan woman.

These Swans hunted deer and carried them home on their wings across the water. Coyote proved a good husband, and an industrious provider of wood in the absence of the brothers. They felt very happy, for their sister had a husband, and there was always plenty of wood when they returned tired from the hunt. After a while Coyote wearied of gathering wood, and desired to hunt deer, and they agreed to take him. So the next morning they carried him across the water, where he found a land full of game of every kind. The next day he was again taken to the hunt. Thrice the Swans carried him across the water, and each time Coyote observed that they made a certain sound when they flew. "That is the way they are able to fly," he thought. "If I could make that sound, I too could fly." The fourth time they carried him, he tried and succeeded in making the right sound. They were near land, and the Swans thought that now their brother must be able to fly, since he had the voice of a Swan; so they opened their wings, when down Coyote tumbled into the water. He drifted down the river until he caught hold of some roots and crawled ashore. Once more he was a wanderer.

THE KILLING OF CHINOOK SALMON[17]

Hearing a rumor that the Wolves and Skunk were going to kill Chinook Salmon, Coyote joined them and took part in the killing. Then he went to live with Skunk, and the Wolves took Salmon's wife, Dove. Soon it began to rain, and the water rose over the rocks on which Salmon had been cut open, and a single egg, which the assassins had

17 Compare the Salishan myth in Volume VII, "Coyote Defeats the Wolves."

neglected to destroy, was washed down into the river.18 The small fish soon born of it grew in a few years into a very large male Chinook Salmon. Hearing the story of his father's death, and desiring revenge, he began to practise shooting, swimming, and leaping. When he was full grown he ascended the river to the place where the murder had been committed. In the village there he heard the full story of the affair: how the Wolves, Coyote, and Skunk had killed his father; how the Wolves had taken his father's bow and arrows. So he continued his journey up the river.

Coyote and Skunk were living in a great pit, lighted by a small hole in the roof. Knowing their guilt, they lived in constant fear, and every time anything flew over and caused a shadow to fall on the floor they would cease singing, and say to each other, "That is the son of Chinook Salmon!" After a while they would reassure themselves that Salmon would never travel so far to find his father's murderers. Every night Skunk would sing: "Five years before I shall be seen, because I killed the great Chinook Salmon."[1] Eventually the young Salmon did arrive at the pit. He spoke roughly to them: "Where is my father's bow?" "My grandchild," said Coyote softly, "I am a relation of yours, and I could not tell you where that bow is. If I knew, I would tell you." "What do you know?" Salmon asked Skunk. "I too am related to you, brother. Probably you heard us crying when you came. We have been crying for five years because your father was killed." "That is not what I asked you," said Salmon. "Give me my father's bow!" Coyote was really frightened at this great person with the rough voice, and he ran quickly to the side of the pit and took out a bow, which he handed to Salmon. The latter attempted to string the bow, and the weapon broke. He took the pieces and struck Coyote on the head, crying, "Bring me my father's bow!" Another bow was given him, but this also was broken, as were a third and a fourth. But the fifth bow was different from the others: Salmon pulled with all his strength and it did not break. "This is my father's bow," he said, and he slung the quiver over his shoulder. He took Skunk by the tail and threw him out of the pit toward the river, then he treated Coyote in the same fashion.

18 The narrator was not in the least perturbed by the fact that the fish from which this egg came was a male.

As he came out of the pit he heard a woman's voice, softly wailing, "Oh, my husband!" He went in the direction whence the voice seemed to come, and as he entered the house which he found there the woman turned to look. The stranger resembled her dead husband, and she thought it must be some relation of his. Salmon sat down. She told him: "This house is owned by five Wolves, who will be home soon." "Yes, I know, he replied. He sat a while longer, and she said to him, "Come back here and wait." He turned himself into an old man, and Dove partially covered him with blankets. He was small and thin, like a withered old man. Soon a Wolf came in. "I smell fish," he said. He ran swiftly about and stepped on Salmon, and the woman warned him to be careful and not tread on her old father, who had come to visit her. So Wolf, finding nothing, became quiet. A second Wolf came, and a third, and a fourth, each one insisting that he smelled fish. The fifth one made the most trouble of all, and it was long before the woman succeeded in quieting him. The old man pretended to be half blind, but he looked at the Wolves closely, as he wished to be able to recognize them later. He remained there all night.

The Wolves asked if he knew how to make arrows, and he replied, "Not very well." "Do not say that," said Dove; "make them some arrows for hunting." "Then let them cut sticks and bring them in, as many as they wish," he responded. "Whatever they use for points, they may leave here, and I will point them. If they use poison, let them leave some of that also." He thought to himself: "Now I will have an opportunity to pick out some good arrows with which to kill them, and I will use strong poison on them." Next day he began making arrows, and for himself he kept out the five best. At night, before the Wolves went to sleep, the woman gave them the arrows. Early in the morning they went out to hunt deer, and in a little while Salmon went outside, looked up at the sun, and begged it to become very hot. Small creeks quickly dried up in the heat, and Salmon went into the mountains, where he made a fine spring of water, which could be seen from every direction. All other springs and streams became dry. Close beside the spring was a cool grove, in which Salmon sat down to wait.

About noon one of the Wolves, the eldest, came toward the spring, and as he started to drink, Salmon prayed that the spring might sink, so that Wolf would have to lower his head. When Wolf's head was down out of sight, Salmon shot him through the heart, and quickly threw the

body out of sight in the brush. Soon another Wolf was seen coming, and in response to Salmon's wish that this one might come to drink, he also came and was shot. The third and the fourth were killed in the same manner, and when the fifth and youngest came, Salmon was very anxious to kill this last one, so that the family might be exterminated. The Wolf came close to the spring, and Salmon wished that the water might rise in plain sight. It did so, but Wolf leaped across to the other side to drink, and though Salmon made a wish that he might return to the near side, he did not. Wolf seemed to feel that something was wrong, for he did not drink, but began to howl, and Salmon became convinced that he would not be able to kill the last one. Wolf ran away, and was soon far off in the woods, howling as he ran. From this one came the wolves of the present.

Salmon put up his bow and started back to the house, and Dove accompanied him on his return down the river. After a while he told her to lie down on her back. She did so, and he stepped on her abdomen, and five small wolves came out of her. These he killed in a fire. The two went on to the place where he bad landed in his canoe on the way up the river. He lay down in the bow, and the woman was in the stern, and so they drifted down-stream, sometimes assisted by the woman's paddling. After a while she came to the bow and lay down beside him, but he was sleepy and did not wish to be disturbed. "You Wolf-wife," he said, "I did not think you would disturb me. Give me that paddle!" Just then they were passing some high rocks. He brought the canoe close to the shore and thrust his paddle into the rock, making a round hole half way up the cliff, which can still be seen there. Then he placed the Dove woman on the end of the paddle, pushed her into the cave, and went on alone.

Two Ravens, both males, were living together. Continually they were flying up and down the river to see what they could pick up. After Salmon began to live near them they would tell him what they had seen along the stream. But one day they had nothing to tell him; in fact, they did not even come to see him at all. So he went to their home, and from a little distance he heard their voices. "I will take half of the body, half of the face, eyes, and ears, and one arm and leg," one of them said. "No, I do not agree to divide that way," the other replied. "I will take both eyes, her breasts, and hips." Salmon stood outside listening. He entered, and asked, "What is the trouble?" "Nothing; we

were just talking," they both assured him. He perceived that they did not wish to tell him. "You seemed to be speaking about something important," he insisted; "tell me about it." So the Raven who thought that he was not being treated fairly began to tell. "We found a person the other day, a woman. She was very thin, so that nobody could tell who she was, and by this time she is probably dead." "Do not kill that woman, my friends," said Salmon. "I am going to try you two: 1 am going to have you carry a stone, not a large one." He made the Ravens put their wings together, and he laid a small stone on them, and they flew into the air, croaking proudly. They came down and Salmon put on a larger stone, and so the trial continued, five times in all, until there was a large stone on their wings. When they showed that they could carry that, Salmon said, "Very well! You will be able to carry the woman. Handle her carefully, and do not try to frighten her by going too high. Bring her just as you find her." Salmon was recognized as a powerful person, and was obeyed. "We will not go now, for it is late," said the Ravens, "but we will go in the early morning and get back about sunset." Salmon consented.

The next day before sunrise the Ravens started and came to the place where they had found the woman. They placed their wings together, and the woman lay on them, face downward. Toward evening Salmon heard the voices of the Ravens, and he knew the birds were coming. Soon they descended with the woman. "Here is the woman we have found," they said. Salmon recognized her at once. "This is the woman I left above here in the hole in the rock, he said. She did not look much like her former self. He commanded her to lie down on the ground on her face, and then he poured salmon oil on her body five times, each time stepping on her body from head to feet. By the fifth time she had long, black, glossy hair, plump limbs, and clear skin.[19]

19 "This is the reason," said the narrator, "we regard the chinook salmon as something wonderful. If a man is thin and sick, he eats salmon and becomes plump and strong."

WHITE SEAL[20]

Eagle and his four brothers, Jay, Kite, Hawk, and Beaver, all good men, lived on the upper river. They decided to go on a journey downstream. After paddling a long way they saw a white seal asleep on a rocky island, and, determining to capture it, they let the canoe drift close to the rock. Then Eagle threw his spear into the sleeping seal, which immediately dived into the water and swam rapidly downstream, dragging the canoe with her. Eagle soon became alarmed and suggested that Beaver come forward and cut the rope with his teeth, but when the latter attempted to do this, his teeth broke and fell into the river. Hawk was then called upon to cut the rope with his sharp claws, but he preferred to use his beak, and as he pecked away, the beak broke and dropped overboard.

The Kite experienced the same misfortune. "You ought to be the one to cut this rope," they told Eagle. "You are great and you have good claws." "All right," he said; "hold the rope and I will cut it." But when he set his claws into the rope and pulled, they fell into the water. It was now left for Jay to try his strength, and Eagle called on him. "How can I cut it?" he demanded. "Take your topknot," said Eagle. So he took the topknot, which was Jay's war-club, and struck at the rope, but the topknot flew from his hand and sank in the water. Jay then began to cry: "Whenever anything happens, you always want me to join in and help. That thing I have lost is very important." The five were now without means of cutting the rope. Suddenly they found themselves enveloped in fog, and when this rolled away, land was in sight.

A woman sat on the bank, and just in front of her they saw everything they had lost - teeth, beaks, claws, feathers, line, and spear. This was White Seal, whom they had attempted to kill. Their boat came to land of itself, and they said to one another, " Who is going to claim those things?" Beaver was selected. He got out and walked along the edge of the steep bank, but slipped and fell back into the water. He

20 In this myth all the creatures are conceived as of human form. White Seal's people were all women, except a few old men, and all were malign. At the end of each contest with them the victorious party from up the river transformed the conquered ones into animals.

crawled out, and the woman called, "What is the matter?" "Sister, I want these things; they belong to us," Beaver said. "I am no sister of yours," she said. "Oh, I made a mistake, I meant to say niece," said Beaver. "No, I am not your niece," she replied. In vain Beaver tried to gain her favor by claiming relationship to her in other ways; she would not admit it. "Go back and tell Eagle that if he will call me wife I will return these things to you," said she. So Beaver went back and reported what she had said, and Eagle declared, "All right, I want another wife: I will be her husband." Beaver gathered up the things he and his friends had lost, and returned to the canoe. "After you get your teeth and claws and beaks and feathers on, come back and I will have your meal ready," the woman told him.

The five put on their lost members, and got ready to go to the meal. Approaching the house, they went in, and there saw all sorts of strange things. For fuel she was burning human bones. Her huckleberries were human eyes; and instead of roots, roasted and mashed, she placed before them human brains. She offered them also a number of human hands, and now even Eagle began to be frightened. Some of the bones on the fire were fresh and made a bad smoke, and the room was so filled with the smoke and the smell that the five could hardly breathe. Eagle went outside on a pretext and got some long, hollow, dry straws, one of which each of the five put into his mouth and down through his intestines. The meal was now ready, and they began to eat, taking everything White Seal offered, and all she had, but it simply passed through the straws. When the smoke became very dense, Eagle covered his four brothers with his wings, and put his own head beneath them. In this way he saved their lives. Soon he heard a voice saying, "Come forward, Iuhtílili, and swallow all this smoke." The sound of deep inhalation could be heard, and in a short time the smoke had disappeared. Somebody was heard to say: "I do not know what kind of up-river people these are. I think they are still alive."

Then, after an interval of silence, some one said, "I was sent to call you people to our house, to eat with us." "All right," said Eagle; "we are not much for eating, and we have just eaten, but we will go with you." This person was Squirrel woman. They went with her, and were given real food-salmon, meat, roots, and berries. Squirrel wanted Eagle to call her wife, so he married her and he and his brothers lived there five days, when some one came and said, "To-morrow we are going to

build a large sweat-lodge, and we want you to come and sweat with us." Said Eagle, "We do not understand this sweating, but we can try it."

So the next morning they went to the sweat-lodge, which was all ready. It was made of stone. They were told to go in, and, after they had entered, a large stone was placed over the doorway, then another and another, until there were five. Soon they began to grow warm, and a little later it was unbearably hot. Eagle asked, "What shall we do now?" Said Beaver, "I will roll over and we will have a little pond." He did so, and the ground became damp. Again he turned over, and the ground was wet. After he had rolled over five times there was a pool of water in the middle of the sweat-lodge, and the five took refuge in it. Their enemies, who sat inside the sweat-lodge around the edge, thought that they must now be dead. Eagle threw a small stone into the heat. It burst, and the women said, "That must be Jay's heart that burst." Eagle threw another stone, and another, while the women counted until five explosions had been heard, when they said, "That makes five, and they are all dead. Let us take them out." They called to those outside, and the stones were removed from the entrance. Jay sat at the front, beside the doorway, and when the last stone was taken away he leaped out, holding his topknot in his hand. Two of the women had strings of human bones in their ears, and these two Jay pursued and killed.

Then in five days Duck woman announced a diving contest. Eagle said they did not know much about diving, but they would go, and his brother, Jay, would try and see what he could do. Eagle took the coarse grass from the bottom of their canoe and spread it over the drift-logs at the landing. First Duck dived to show how it was done. Then both Jay and Duck dived together, but Jay swam to the driftwood and put his beak up through the grass so that he could breathe. At last, when Duck could remain under no longer, she came to the surface, and Eagle and his brothers laughed at her for giving up so soon. By that Jay knew he could come up, so he swam out and came to the surface and with his topknot killed Duck, then came ashore and killed two more women, who were wearing necklaces of human bones taken from men whom they had devoured.

Five days later a person from another village announced a contest of pole-climbing. Eagle made medicine and caused a crack to wind

spirally up the pole. Woodpecker woman climbed first. Jay began to go up, holding his topknot, and as Woodpecker climbed higher and higher, Jay tried to catch up with her and kill her, but he found that when he went to one side she climbed to the other. After a while, however, she had to stop to rest, and Jay went on, holding to the crack, and killed her. Woodpecker fell, and Jay came down, jumped to the ground, and set out in pursuit of the women, of whom he killed two.

The next day there came another messenger, who said, "There is a young girl with some dogs, and she wishes you to come." Eagle replied, "We do not like these gatherings where there are dogs, for we might be bitten, but anyway we will come." The next morning they went, and at the place they found a number of grizzly-bears in a circle, fighting among themselves. When Eagle came close, they forgot to harm him and his friends, and his power made them quiet as dogs. He went among the grizzly-bears, picked up a cub and carried it round, and each of his brothers did the same. They carried them to the house of the girl who owned the grizzly-bears, and dropped them inside. As soon as they left, the animals resumed their fighting, and the five stepped aside and waited to see what the people would do. Soon some one came out and asked them to take the cubs back again. "That is what you said you wanted, and we brought them to you," replied Eagle. "Yes, but we do not want them any more, so you had better carry them back," was the answer. Eagle then took the lead and the five carried the cubs back. The people now began to be astonished and to think that these five must possess great supernatural power.

Next day they were invited to a bone-gambling game. Eagle said, "We do not like to play that game, but we can go." There were two great gamblers in this village, Jack-rabbit and Crawfish. The five went to the game and found a great gathering of people. The playing began. Jackrabbit was holding the bones and swaying from side to side as be threw them up into his nose. Eagle sat watching him and made the motion to the side which he guessed had the bones, and Jack-rabbit's nose spread open and the bones fell out. When Crawfish had the bones and Eagle guessed, all but two of the claws flew off, and the bones could not be kept concealed. Now the five had the advantage, and they soon won the game.

But soon another messenger came, saying that on the morrow there would be another game, and Eagle said they would go and play.

The game was to throw a great cottonwood tree into the air and let it fall on the belly of the contestant, the winner to be he who was not crushed. Eagle asked his companions, "Which of you is capable of playing this game?" Beaver said that he was good for it, and when Eagle demanded proof of his skill, Beaver outlined his plan, and Eagle consented to let him represent the party. When they reached the place on the next day, there was a still larger crowd assembled. Grizzly-bear lay down on her back, and the tree was thrown into the air, roots and all, and when it descended it crushed her flat. Then Beaver lay down. He had prepared himself by eating a quantity of sticks. Their opponents threw a large cedar into the air; it struck Beaver's belly, bounded back into the air, and fell on its side some distance away, splintered into a thousand pieces. And once, more Jay gave his war-cry and killed two of the women.

Five days later there was to be a wood-eating contest. Each side was to take half of the island. Beaver said this also was his game, and the women had Muskrat try to win the contest for them. Just before sunset it began. About the middle of the night Muskrat, having eaten about half, of her portion, burst, but Beaver continued until he had eaten all of his part. At sunrise the friends of Muskrat, having lost, were pursued by Jay, and two of them were killed.

Next they received a challenge to a contest of walking on a rope. The five went down to the river at the place where the rope was stretched from bank to bank, over rapids, so that it hung down into the rough water and swung as the waves struck it. During the night Eagle had asked which would walk the rope, and Jay had said that he was capable of doing it. They found two of their enemies on the rope practising. Eagle said to Jay: "This is hard. What is your plan?" One contestant was to start from each bank, the two meeting in the middle. Jay said, "When we get to the middle, I shall have this topknot ready and knock her into the river." "Good!" said Eagle. Jay and the other started out, one from each end, and when both reached the middle, one was seen by the watchers to tumble off into the river and go drifting down. The other remained on the rope dancing and hopping about, but the people did not know which one it was. When the winner returned to the shore, he was seen to be Jay, and he chased the people with his topknot, but he could not catch any of them.

The five brothers from up the river were invited to wrestle with Mountain-lion. Eagle asked which one was good for that contest, but it seemed that no one felt strong for that kind of game, and Eagle said that he himself would undertake it. He told his companions that he would try to carry Mountain-lion into the air, and if he did so and pieces of his flesh dropped, they should put them into cold water. He commanded Hawk and Kite to watch the contest and to listen closely. Borrowing the claws of Hawk and Kite, he tied them to his legs, and dressed himself in an armor of five mountain-sheep horns. Mountain-lion weighted herself down with five stone mortars. The contest began at the top of a bluff. Mountain-lion was getting the better, when Eagle carried her into the air, going higher and higher until they were out of sight. When, after a long time, neither reappeared, it was assumed that Eagle was beaten, and the daughter of Mountain-lion made a slave of Jay. In the meantime Eagle was carrying Mountain-lion upward to his own people, where he could get help. For three nights they went upward. Two Ravens, two Owls, two Vultures, two Buzzards, a Hawk, and a Ground-owl, lived above. Mountain-lion and Eagle were worn by fighting and hunger. Hawk sat at night holding a torch; his hair was tied in front in a long bang. Eagle, down below, was calling to his friends, but they did not hear. The second call Hawk heard faintly, and the third a little more plainly; the fourth time the voice was recognized, and the fifth time the words were distinguished: "I am nearly dead, Hawk!" This so shocked Hawk that he dropped the torch, and the others, left in darkness, cried, "What is the matter?" There was no answer, and a new torch was lighted. By this time Hawk had recovered his senses, and said, "Our chief is coming from below, and he is nearly dead." They dressed for fighting and dropped down to meet their brother, and when they came to the fighters, still struggling, they killed Mountain-lion. The two Ravens put their wings together and on them carried Eagle upward to their home. He was very thin. Raven set about curing him. A small platform was made, a pole raised, and they sang until Eagle was as well as ever. This required ten nights.

Beaver, Hawk, and Kite had gone, as soon as the wrestlers disappeared in the air, to that half of the people who were good, and among whom Eagle had taken a wife immediately after the contest of smoke. After Eagle had fully recovered he went down and sat on a rock near the village. Jay was still working as a slave and had become blind. Car-

rying water, he would run into a tree or a house or a rock. When Eagle saw this, he stopped Jay and asked, "In what house are you a prisoner, brother" "Oh," cried Jay, "I have had enough of this teasing,. I have heard long ago that my brother Eagle is dead, and you are mocking me with his voice." "No, I am really Eagle," and he took a feather from his head, wet it, and drew it across jay's eyes, and instantly they were opened again. "When you take this water to the house, what do they usually say to you?" he inquired. "Before I walk in I ask them to take the water from me and set it where it should be," replied Jay. Said Eagle: "Go in Just as you have been doing, but order them to take the water from your hands." Jay added: "Sometimes they make me bring it in and set it down." "If they do so this time, take the vessel and throw it upon your masters. Tell them that Eagle is back and alive." All this was done, and Jay took his top-knot and killed many of the people. Then the five companions, having, proved the superiority of their power, got into their canoe and returned to Hládahut, the place which they had left so long before.

TSAGIGLÁLAL, THE ROCK WOMAN

A woman had a house where the village of Nihhlúidih was later built. She was chief of all who lived in this region. That was long ago, before Coyote came up the river and changed things, and people were not yet real people. After a time Coyote in his travels came to this place and asked the inhabitants if they were living well or ill. They sent him to their chief, who lived up in the rocks, where she could look down on the village and know all that was going on. Coyote climbed up to her home and asked: "What kind of living do you give these people? Do you treat them well, or are you one of those evil women?" "I am teaching them bow to live well and to build good houses," she said. "Soon the world is going to change," he told her, "and women will no longer be chiefs. You will be stopped from being a chief." Then he changed her into a rock, with the command, "You shall stay here and watch over the people who will live at this place, which shall be called Nihhlúidih."

All the people know that Tsagiglálal sees all things, for whenever

they are looking up at her those large eyes are watching them.[21]

THE STAR STONE

In the old days when many people lived down the river, but before any dwelt up the stream, a man with his five daughters started in a canoe up the river to dig roots. These girls were all young, the tallest being, but fifteen years of age, and the smallest only ten. As they travelled up the river they passed many attractive places, but did not stop until they came near to where Nihhlúidih is. At that place grew many fine roots, so they stopped at sunset and made their camp. After a while the girls all lay down side by side to sleep, and as they looked up they talked of the glittering stars. The eldest asked, "Sisters, do you think the stars are people?" "Yes, sister," answered another, "I think they are men." The eldest pointed to a large one, saying, "I think that is a man, and perhaps he will come down and marry me." Each of the girls in her turn pointed out the star she would marry, and even the smallest chose a very faint star that she would have as a husband. "Hush, sister, you are too small to talk of husbands," chid the eldest, and with thoughts of wonder of the stars they fell asleep.

21 A remarkable petroglyph covers the face of a large block of volcanic rock detached from the cliff above the site of the winter village Kôidáshkáni. (See Frontispiece.) Apparently the surface of the block was first worked smooth, and then the design pecked or ground in, and color rubbed into the grain of the stone. It must be of considerable antiquity, as all informants insist that long ago the oldest of the old knew of it only as something done by Coyote. In the last few generations, at least, it has been customary to invoke its aid in securing supernatural assistance. Offerings of baskets, mats, weapons, beads, and feathers were placed before it, the suppliant asking perhaps for health, for long life, or for wealth. Women gave it presents and begged that they might have children, or that children soon to be born might have health and be of the sex desired. Maidens slyly made offerings to it and asked that the young men of their desire might love them. Or, a man, wishing to kill some evil medicine-man or other person who had injured him, would place a present there and pray: "Make my medicine good and let me kill him and nobody know it." The mind wanders far afield into the realms of romance of the silent, unrecorded ages when an effort is made to grasp life's drama enacted before this never-ending, all-seeing Woman of the Rock.

In the morning there lay by the side of each one a man, but they were not of ages similar to the girls, for a small boy was the companion of the eldest girl, and a wrinkled, decrepit, gray-haired man was with the youngest. When the sisters awoke, one of the Star Men cried, "All go up now!" and they all rose in the air carrying the five girls with them, except the old man, who was so feeble that he could not rise. He remained lying on the ground and turned into a bright stone. The five sisters were carried up above the sky, where the stars are, and they saw that the world there was just like this, with grass and flowers.

When the up-river country became populated, the people in Ni-hhlúidih saw this bright stone on the ground, shining so brilliantly that it could be seen from afar. In the darkness it glittered like a star. The possession of this wonderful stone seemed to make the people of the village very lucky, and their neighbors grew jealous. Some of those across the river, in the absence of the Wishham, brought an elk-skin, wrapped the stone in it, and threw it into the river. When the people came back from their berry-picking, there was no star stone to be seen, but later, when the water reached its lowest level, some one, looking into the depths of the stream, saw it shining on the bottom. They secured it and restored it to its former position on the shore.

Some three years after this the same people from Wasco, on a day when the guard was relaxed and the people were all away, stole the stone once more. They wrapped it in a deerskin, and from a high place threw it again into the water. When the absence of the star stone was discovered, the people knew that the Wasco had taken it, and in a desire for revenge they fought against those who had robbed them of it. But the good fortune of the Wishham fled.[22]

THE MAIDEN SACRIFICED TO WINTER

There came a winter colder and harder than any other. The snow was deep, as deep as half a man's height. The old men had counted the moons, and it was time for spring, but the snow did not melt. Ice was

22 This myth evidently accounts for the origin of some bright-colored stone which was possessed as a tribal palladium, the mythic portion being the widely distributed star story.

coming down the river in huge masses, grinding and crashing through the rapids. Every night snow fell and filled up the places that had been swept clean during the day. Snowbirds were everywhere about.

One day some people noticed a bird with something red in its bill, and they frightened it so that it dropped the red object, which was found to be a ripe strawberry. This told them that somewhere it was summer, but at Nihhlúidih the earth was frozen, and it was still winter. Something was wrong, and a meeting of all the people was called in the house of the chief. The old men talked long over the question of why the winter did not end, and what they could do to change this unfortunate condition. At length the oldest man present arose and said he had heard from his fathers that if a bird had been hit with a stone the snow would never stop.[23] The order was given to call the children, that they might be questioned to learn if any were guilty, and as they spoke for themselves, one by one, every mother was in fear lest her child be the unfortunate one. All denied having struck any bird, except a small girl, whom some others accused. The child's parents were bidden to ask her if it were true, and she, in terror, acknowledged it.

The chief men deliberated for a very long time, and then said to the parents: "Give us your child, and instead of killing her, as we first thought of doing, we will give her to Winter. Then he will cease to be angry, and Summer will come." Many presents were collected to give to the old people in payment for their daughter, but they were sad, as this was their only child, and while the chiefs were taking her away, they cried aloud as though mourning for the dead. Men sent to the river to secure a huge block of ice on which to place the child found a large piece in an eddy and drew it close to the shore. While they were doing this, all the people were dressing in their fine clothes, as though for a dance, and the little girl was dressed best of all. Then all went toward the river, the chiefs leading the child. When they came to the water's edge they spread a thick layer of straw on the ice, and a final covering of many mats. Then they carefully placed the girl on the floe, and pushed it out into the swift current. It drifted down, swirling, and lifting and settling with the rise and fall of the water, and, blending

23 Compare the Hidatsa myth in Volume IV, in which the mutilation of a bird by a child causes a deluge.

with the roar of the rapids, could be heard the crying of the child and the wild wailing of the parents. When the people could no longer see the drifting ice and its human sacrifice, they returned chanting to the village.

Very soon a warm wind was felt, and before many days the snow bad disappeared, and the people knew that the words of the old men were true words of long ago. With the coming of spring the people moved to the fishing places, gathered their usual supply of salmon, and in the autumn returned to the wintering village. Winter came again. Some old men were standing on the river bank watching the ice drift by. Far down the stream, as far as eye could see, they detected a black spot on a cake of ice, which was swirling round and round in an eddy. A young man was sent, and the report was brought that it seemed to be a human being. Long poles were procured, and the ice-floe was drawn to the shore. On it was a young girl whom some immediately recognized as the child who had been sent adrift as an offering to Winter. She was lifted ashore and carried to the house of her parents, where the warmth of the fire at once caused her to fall asleep. Always after this she was able to walk barefoot on the ice or snow. The people thought she must have mysterious power, and they called her Wakáhni [She Drifts].

Tamkésa [Never Smiles], an *itóhiul,* lived alone in the village at this time. It was his habit, whenever he saw a young girl whom he desired, to send a messenger to the home of her parents and demand her for his wife, and because he was greatly feared, being an *itóhiul,* he was never refused, although invariably, after living with a new wife five days, he would take her to the top of a high cliff, at the foot of which were masses of sharp rocks, and cast her over the edge. The mangled body he would then carry home. After covering every aperture, and leaving only a very small crack at the smoke-hole, he would build a fire and place the body on it. Then, mounting to the roof, he would remain there inhaling the smoke. This he had been doing many years.

When Wakáhni arrived at the marriageable age, she was taken by this *itóhiul* be his wife. Five days after she had been given to him he took her to the top of the bluff and pushed her over. Looking down to see her strike the rocks, he was astonished to notice that when she had fallen almost to the bottom she suddenly stopped, turned, and flew upward until she stood on the top beside him. He threw her down

again, but she returned in the same way. A third time he pushed her off, and a fourth time, and a fifth. But each time she turned farther from the bottom, and came back to him. "Wakáhni," he said, "you have beaten me. You shall be my wife forever," and he embraced her.

In time a girl baby was born to Wakáhni. When this child reached the age of nine or ten years, it was discovered that she had *yúhlmah,* which caused her to die frequently for a short time, and blood would run from her mouth. So her father made the platform of five cedar boards, erected the cedar pole in front of it, and spread the elk-skin on the boards. At each end of the platform he placed, in a row, five small stone cups, and at the back, behind the pole, he stood two *kisklál* (cedar boards three or four feet high, carved with the features - and generally the outline of the body - of a man). All things being now ready for the medicine-singing, Tamkésa sat down at the corner of the platform, wrapped in an elk-skin and holding a flint knife in each hand, watching his daughter dance on the platform. The house was filled with people, singing to aid the girl. Three nights they danced and sang, and in the middle of the third night the girl spoke the words "black flint arrow-points" in her song. This caused Tamkésa to smile. Seeing this, the people shouted: "Look at Tamkésa! He is smiling!" Immediately he fell backward, and the men leaped upon him and killed him.

Now his daughter began to cry in mourning, and the thunder began to peal, lightning to flash, and rain and hall to fall. Said the girl: "There is a cave in a certain place near by" - and she described the place; - "take this platform to the cave, and we will bury my father there."[24] So the body of Tamkésa, who had given up his *itóhiul yúhlmah* by smiling, was taken to the cave and laid on the platform. For a long time after this the people used to go to this place in their search for *yúhlmah.* Any man who knew the location of the cave in later times was much sought by the fathers of boys to guide them to it, in order that they might seek spirit-power in a favorable place.

24 This cave is near the village of Nihhlúidih, but for a long time nobody has been able to find it, though the old people of long ago knew where it was.

KIHLKTÁGWAH, THE ITÓHIUL[25]

In the old times many men were killed because of trouble over women. There was an *itóhiul* who could walk across the river on the water. He had strong *yúhlmah,* and, being greatly feared, he took many girls and made them his wives. He once crossed to the southern side of the river at the Cascades, where lived a widow with a daughter of about fourteen years, and, although he had a very large house with two fires, and so many women that they occupied all the space around the walls, this girl, whose name was Nadaíat, he took also, and carried her back with him. In due time she had a child.

Now it was the custom of Kihlktágwah to kill his male children, but to permit the others to live. When this child was born, he came to its mother and asked roughly, "What kind of baby have you?" She said, "A girl," although it was a boy, and thus she retained her son. She immediately wound a fringed sash of the hair of the mountain-goat around the baby, the usual dress for women and girls. Kihlktágwah now started out again on a trip in search of women, and the Cascade girl crossed the river in a canoe, and returned to her people. In a few years the child began to talk, and his grandmother informed him what kind of father he had, and that he would have been killed had his sex been known. Soon the boy began his trips into the mountains in his search for *yúhlmah,* and at about ten years of age he found something, the same power his father had, which was given by a kind of water-skipper.

He was just coming into manhood when one day he crossed the river, walking on the water, and went to his father's house a little distance below the Cascades. Arriving there about dark, he entered and saw a tall man sleeping beside a woman in the corner near the door. Daylight came, the woman awoke, and the boy said, "Do you know me?" "No," she answered. "My name is Wakísu [Hair Girdle]," he said, and he told her how he had received the name. "Now you are my wife," he informed her. He was planning to kill his father. Kihlktágwah always had his women carry soft sand from the river and smooth it around the house, so that nobody could pass in or out without leav-

25 Related by Támlaitk, a man of Námnit village.

ing proof of his movement. "Watch what I am going to do," said the boy. The woman stood in the door and looked while he walked boldly about in the sand; then she went back inside, and the boy returned to his home.

When Kihlktágwah awoke and stepped outside, he saw his own track, apparently, but he was sure he had not previously been out. He examined it carefully, and put one foot into the first print, but it did not quite fill the track.

After sleeping all day the boy returned to the northern side of the river, walked over the smooth sand, and found his father sleeping beside the next woman. This one also he called to the door and told to watch while he walked across the sand. In the morning the *itóhiul* again saw what seemed to be his own footprints, but again he found that his foot did not fill them. He cut a stick, measured the footprints, gave the stick to two slaves, and told them to search for a man with a foot of that size. They went looking far down the river and back on the northern side, but never found one whose foot approached that size. They were gone six days. The next morning they started eastward on the northern side, measuring the foot of every man; then they crossed to the south and came back to the Cascades. One of the slaves proposed that they go to the house of that wife of their master who had run away with her baby, and see how large her daughter had grown to be. They entered and saw Wakísu lying on the bed asleep, with one foot on top of the other, so that the two nearly reached the roof, and they thought that their master must have come over to visit his former wife. The woman gave them food, and while they ate, Wakísu awoke, and, seeing that one of the slaves had a stick, he said, "Bring that stick, and measure my foot." From toe to heel his foot was found to be exactly as long as the stick. The slaves spent the night there, and in the morning Wakísu told them to say to their master, his father, that he would come over to see him. They went back and reported how they had found the man with the long foot. Kihlktágwah made no comment, but soon he told them to cross again, and to summon all the people to that place, as there was going to be a great battle with Wakísu.

The people came hurrying up the river in great numbers, so that the stream was full of canoes. Some were in favor of Wakísu, and those he sent into the woods with orders to strike every branch, in order to

see if they could not thus kill his father's *yúhlmah*. At nightfall the crowd came home unsuccessful. Behind them walked two boys, one of whom stopped, while the other waited for him on the side of an elderberry bush. The one who was resting began opposite to shake, seized his hatchet, struck the bush, and cried: "*Yúhlmah* for which everybody is looking, this is it!" Immediately there was a roll of thunder above, and hail fell, as Wakísu had predicted would be the case when the *yúhlmah* was found. At the same time Wakísu knew that the *yúhlmah* had been discovered. People were sent to ascertain who had found it, and they came upon two young men prone on the ground, one on each side of an elderberry bush. Wakísu made medicine, and they recovered. Then a stalk about three feet long was cut from the bush, and formed into the shape of a baby, with features, and, painted red, it was brought to Wakísu, who said, "No, I do not want this red paint; wash it off." So the red paint was washed off, and it was painted just a little around the mouth and on its fingers and feet. Now Wakísu was ready to fight.

He wrapped the effigy in a piece of cattail matting and began to sing his songs. A dog was brought in and slit open, and a man scooped up a handful of blood and drank it, five times in all. Each man did this, and many dogs were killed. It was now nearly daylight, and Kihlktágwah was about to start across to make war on his son. Wakísu led to the river five girls, each about seven years of age, and made them stand on the edge of the bluff, while he himself went down to the water's edge. His father was already on his way, walking across, and his followers came on behind in canoes. Wakísu beheld his father coming, and when the latter was close he gave a signal to the girls and began to sing, while the girls threw the image of the baby, wrapped in matting, down the bluff. It rattled and tumbled down, and at once there was a sound of thunder, and hail fell, and a great storm rising destroyed the boats and the people.[26] The *itóhiul* turned back and made hastily for his own shore, while Wakísu stood looking at his father; but still the storm raged. He went to his house and despatched a slave to bring the

26 The making of wooden images for use in conjurations, especially against another medicine-man, was practised within two or three generations. It was believed that death could thus be caused.

image from the river bank, where it had been thrown, and he wrapped it up and stood it beside the fire. When this was done, he sang and placed his hands on the top of the stick, which sank down into the ground. The two young boys who had made the stick "opened their hearts and sang."[27]

The next morning Wakísu crossed the river, intending to kill his father, but he found that Kihlktágwah had run away, although the women were still there. He released all except the two whom he had spoken to, and these he took for his own wives.

Wakísu was recognized as a chief from Hood river down to Washougal, on both sides of the river, but he was not *itóhiul,* only a great man.

A WATER CREATURE CAUSES A DELUGE[28]

A chief, weary of hunting, sat on a hill overlooking the river, and as he idly sighted along an arrow to observe if it was perfectly straight, he saw that it pointed toward a black object lying on a rock which projected from the rushing water. He went closer, until he could discern that it was a person holding one baby on a shoulder and another under an arm. This person had very long nails on fingers and toes, and at the approach of the man it slipped into the water, leaving the babies on the rock. The chief waded out, took them in his arms, and started for the shore. But the water was suddenly much deeper than before, and at his third step he abandoned one of the infants, which immediately disappeared beneath the surface. At the same time the water fell, and his fifth step brought him to land. He reached home safely, and submerged the tiny creature in a bowl of water outside the house.

One day the water bubbled. The next morning the ground about the bowl was damp, and on the third day the chief awoke to find a large area wet. On the fourth morning traces of foam were seen high up on the wall of the house, and during the following night the man heard a loud bubbling and saw water rushing violently into the house. With

27 The expression used of one who first sings his medicine-songs.

28 Related by Támlaitk, of Námnit.

his motherless child he hurriedly made his escape through the roof, and wading through the water which covered the ground he seized the bowl and made for the hills. Water continued to bubble forth from it, and the man decided to release the little creature, which immediately went into Deschutes river near Warm Springs. This was the male. The female, which had been dropped into the Columbia, had gone up that river searching for her father, and failing to find him had passed down to the sea and there remained. The male went down into the Columbia and then up Hood river, at the head of which he took up his abode. There the bubbling noise is still sometimes heard, and it is always followed by a disturbance of the atmosphere.

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