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THE WIYOT

THE Wiyot inhabited the country immediately surrounding Humboldt bay. The northern limit was the southern watershed of Little river, a few miles south of Trinidad; the southern boundary the Bear River mountains south of Eel river. The eastern line crossed Eel river at the mouth of Van Doosen fork, and Mad river just above Blue Lake, between these points following the ridge of the Humboldt bay watershed. The length of coastline involved is thirty-five to forty miles, and the greatest width about fourteen.

This is a region of excessive rainfall, and dense redwood forests prevail. The settlements therefore were without exception either on the riverbanks or near the beach. Eel river had a comparatively dense population from the sea to the head of tidewater at the site of Fortuna, this stream being very favorable for salmon-fishing; and there were populous communities too on the bay, where shell-fish were abundant. Five or six houses constituted a village of fair size, and none exceeded perhaps a dozen; but as each average house was the abode of about ten persons, such a settlement was of no mean size for an Indian village.

There are three districts recognized by the Wiyot. Patuwát is the Mad River country, less than ten miles in length. Wíyat is the territory on Eel river, of very little greater extent. The largest district, Wikí, is coextensive with the drainage of Humboldt bay. In no sense were these divisions political. It is true that there is a collective name for the inhabitants of any particular district, as for example, Wíyat-taretáhihl; nevertheless, each village is, or was, a separate unit, and the only political division.

Although the Wiyot have a word descriptive of their language, Suláteluk, they have never had a distinctive name for themselves as a people. Wiyot, the name of one of their districts and that by which they are known to most of their neighbors, is now generally used in preference to the formerly favored Wishosk, which, being their own term designating the Athapascans (female), was erroneously applied to them by Gibbs. They speak a uniform language, which, until Sapir recently showed its relation to Algonquian, was

regarded as comprising the so-called Wishoskan stock.[1]

The northern neighbors of the Wiyot were the Coast Yurok, another Algonquian group; and on the northeast, east, and south were various Athapascan hill-dwellers — Chilula, Whilkut, Nongatl, Mattole — with whom hostilities of a petty nature were not infrequent. The commonest cause of these affrays is said to have been the killing of Wiyot women harvesting tan-bark acorns in the mountains: for the Athapascans regarded the oak groves as their own particular property. Then the Wiyot from the bay and the rivers would unite in a war-party, and just before dawn would attack some Athapascan village, endeavoring to set fire to the houses and shoot the inhabitants as they fled. Scalps were not taken, and the Wiyot slain were brought home for burial if possible. The Wiyot at the mouth of Eel river were sometimes attacked by those at Van Doosen creek, because of their following the salmon up-stream into their neighbors' territory. Generally speaking, hostilities between the people of different Wiyot settlements were in no wise different from the family feuds that occurred even within the limits of a village. Any war was ended by a peace which provided for the payment of money for each person killed — a system that penalized the victor.

The Wiyot knew of the existence of the white race as early as 1775, when the Spaniard Bodega anchored in Trinidad bay, just north of Wiyot territory. In 1806 Captain Jonathan Winship, an American, conveying a party of Aleut hunters from Sitka to California to hunt sea-otters for Russian interests, entered Humboldt bay, but quickly departed southward. It was on the strength of the favorable report made by this expedition that the Russians established themselves temporarily at Bodega bay in 1809, and more permanently in 1811 at Fort Ross, eight miles north of the mouth of Russian river. Winship's vessel is remembered in Wiyot tradition,

1 Dixon and Kroeber had proved the genetic unity of Wiyot and Yurok before the appearance of Sapir's paper, The Algonkin Affinity of Yurok and Wiyot Kinship Terms, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris,* N.S. XV, 1923, PP. 36—74.

and apparently was the only one within the bay prior to 1850.

The following account of the early contact with the white race is by Jerry James, son of the former chief at Indian island in Humboldt bay.

The first white men were seen at the mouth of Little river south of Trinidad, five men with seven horses. They came southward and passed out of our country at Eel river. In-the following year [December, 1841, the people at Kutsuwáhlik [on the site of Bucks port, a suburb of Eureka] thought they saw some elk on the spit across the bay at the deserted village Hiyughútkuk, and some men got into canoes with the intention of crossing over and driving the animals down the spit and into the water. As they neared the shore, one said, "It seems that those elk have tails!" They came a little closer, and another said, "Oh, those are what the white men have!" They landed and found a party of white men, who had been down the narrow peninsula, but, finding their passage stopped by the harbor entrance, had turned back. They treated the Indians kindly and gave them tobacco. After a few days the white men returned up Mad river and down the east side of the bay. One of my father's sons guided them from Kutsuwáhlik some distance below the village, and then left them. [This was a party of eight miners from Trinity river.[2] They made their way to Sonoma, and in April, 1850, returned, about thirty strong, to Humboldt bay, where they found a vessel at anchor. The ship's party had already taken possession of Humboldt point and laid out Humboldt city, and the overland travellers proceeded to stake out Bucksport and Arcata. Several other vessels and overland parties arrived the same season, and the Wiyot suddenly found themselves almost overwhelmed and partially dispossessed of their village-sites.]

In a short time several vessels appeared outside. Two of them were wrecked on the spit in trying to enter the bay, but three came in. There were women in the party, and the men put up tents on shore. From that time people began to come in rapidly, some by ship and some over the mountains with horses and mules and oxen.

2 See The Discovery of Humboldt Bay, from a newspaper account by L.K. Wood quoted in W.W. Elliot & Co., History of Humboldt County, San Francisco, 1881. Wood was a member of the original and of the second party.

Sometimes cattle were missed, and the owners blamed the Indians; but the white people of the coast knew that it was the fault of the mountain Indians. A white man was killed in the mountains, and his friends thought the guilty man was my father, Captain Jim of Tuluwát on Indian island. But the bay settlers stood by their neighbors, and the hill settlers attacked some mountain Athapascans and killed about twenty.[3] The white people began to hate the Athapascans, and those at Eureka warned Captain Jim never to invite the mountain Indians down to his dances.

In 1860 he held a big dance and invited all the people around the bay and those from Mad river and Eel river. There was a man from Blue Lake who could speak the Athapascan language, and in the course of the dance he jokingly used that language and was overheard by the white men who were looking on. These were spies for the conspirators. They at once left the house. Before daylight [February 26, 1860] the village was attacked by white men with guns and axes. Most of the women and children were killed, and the houses burned. I was one year old. My mother was killed, and when I was picked up by a friendly settler I was covered with my mother's blood. That same night a village at Eel river and another at Mad river were treated in the same way.[4]

This horrible massacre, wholly without extenuating circumstances, was perpetrated by six or seven desperadoes, manfully wielding their hatchets on women, children, and decrepit old men. Most of the

3 This may refer to the slaughter of the Chilula, which was manfully accomplished by inviting them to a friendly council at the house of a settler whom they trusted. The settler, let it be recorded as a bright spot in a sordid record, was not implicated in the plot; but he was afterward killed by the Indians, who of course could not have been aware of his innocence. The narrator almost passes over in silence the difficulties between the Athapascans and the lawless element among the settlers and adventurers. As a matter of fact several hundred mountain Indians were killed between 1858 and 1864, and a large number of these affrays occurred before the Wiyot massacres of 1860. The Wiyot were always friendly and practically blameless.

4 The narrator was so affected by the recollection of this unmerited massacre that for some time he was unable to speak.

able-bodied men fled without resistance. Such were the foes of these valiant knights. The number killed is not certainly known, but appears to have been about sixty. Unfortunately a large number of the visitors had departed from the island at the conclusion of the festivities, else the crusade had been even more successful. The statement that other Wiyot villages were attacked on the same night stands unverified, and may be only a repetition of reports that gained some currency at the time. On the other hand, it seems likely that such may have been the case, in view of the fact that when, in April, 1860, all the Wiyot were removed to Klamath reservation, they numbered only four hundred and fifty. A few soon returned surreptitiously to their homes. The others were shunted hither and thither to various reservations, which were all abandoned in a few years, and those who survived starvation and disease returned to their old homes.

The population of the Wiyot was estimated in 1853 at about 800; and considering that settlers had been crowding them for three years, that diseases had undoubtedly preceded the newcomers, and that there had been a notable slaughter at Blue Lake by the Chilula, we may conclude that in 1840, a decade before the white occupancy., there were well over a thousand Wiyot. Inspection of the list of villages leaves no definite conclusion, but convinces one that these estimates are probably not too large. The survivors, who live at Blue Lake, the mouth of Mad river, Indianola, and Bucksport, comprise about fourteen family groups. According to the census of 1910 they numbered 152.

Wiyot houses were like those of the Klamath river tribes, with plank walls and gabled roof, and a deep excavation occupying the greater part of the enclosed square. They varied in size from about ten to fifteen feet. Boards ten to fifteen feet long and two to five feet wide were split from sections of wind-fallen redwood trees, or from redwood drift logs. In cross-cutting a tree, two parallel grooves were made by means of an elk-horn chisel and a maul of the same material, and the wood between the two cuts was knocked off in the form of short slabs, or large chips. In riving boards the workman, with elk-horn wedges and maul, first took off a slab of double thickness, and if it were of equal thickness throughout its length he knew that he could safely split it again and secure two boards from it. Planks were smoothed with an adz, the primitive blade of which was musselshell or of elk-horn. The first iron for this purpose was obtained from

wreckage, and later from sealing schooners which came annually to Trinidad.

Canoes were of the same type as the Yurok craft.[5] Three fathoms (fifteen feet as the Indians measure a fathom) was the greatest length, and the maximum depth was measured on the leg, the gunwale coming to a level, several inches above the knee of the workman as he stood in the craft. Prow and stern were modelled alike. At the bow a strong spruce withe passed through a pair of holes in the sides and was drawn together across the prow in order to strengthen the craft and prevent splitting in case it ran on a rock. In these rude, log-like, but stable canoes the Wiyot navigated bay and river, and in calm weather sometimes fished outside the heads. In the stern on a raised portion of the hull sat the steersman, while the other paddlers stood, and passengers sat on the bottom. The paddles were long and narrow, scarcely more than poles. Passing through breakers, two men steered.

The clothing of a man was a deerskin about the loins. In cold weather there was a fur robe, preferably deer or raccoon, for the shoulders, and for hunting or travelling through the woods there were moccasins and hip-length leggings. Women wore a deerskin skirt belted about the waist and extending below the knees. It was open in front, and the space was filled, as if by a panel, by an apron of deerskin fringe ornamented with pendent pine-nut and viburnum-seed beads. This costume was everywhere used on Klamath river and the adjacent coast. Hemispherical basketry caps were worn by women and girls.

The hair of women hung in two twists in front of the shoulders, or, sometimes, these ropes were doubled up and tied in a bunch below the ears. Men tied their hair in a bunch at the nape of the neck, or occasionally on the top of the head. The hair was combed with an instrument of baleen.

All girls had three to seven perpendicular lines tattooed on the chin, and men were tattooed on the body. The work was done by scraping the skin with a bit of obsidian or flint, and rubbing into the wound the carbon deposited by burning pitch-wood. Bead neck-

5 In 1915 during investigation about Humboldt bay, Hoopa valley, and Klamath river from Orleans to the ocean, a few canoes were found on the Klamath, but none elsewhere

laces of clam-shell, and ear-pendants of dentalia and bits of abalone-shell were used by both sexes.

Dentalia and clam-shell beads were the bases of valuation. The former were measured by lines tattooed on the left forearm at certain distances from the end of the thumb; clam-shell beads, which were less valuable, were measured by the fathom.

The occupation of men, in addition to the construction of houses and canoes, was the making and use of implements for hunting and fishing.

For hunting there were sinew-backed yew bows; arrows pointed with obsidian or flint; quivers made of the pelts of raccoons, foxes, or otters; horn-pointed sealing harpoons; iris-fibre rope snares for deer; deadfalls and fowling-nets.

Not all men were hunters, only a few who from boyhood had been trained to the profession. In preparation for an elk-hunt, a man lived apart from his wife for as long as two months; but there was no abstention from food. Then he went out with his "coyote dogs," two, three, four, or more of them, and on finding elk-tracks of large size, even though they were two days old, he took up the chase. All day he followed with his dogs running ahead. Sometimes two days were required to trail the elk down, and during that time the hunter ate nothing, but only smoked. When finally the dogs brought the elk at bay, the hunter shot it, and after cutting up the carcass hung up the meat, while uttering a wish that no predatory animal might disturb it. He then returned to the village and sent out enough men to bring in the flesh, hide, and antlers. The meat was divided among the people without price, and some was eaten fresh while the remainder was smoked. This kind of hunting was called *raqhlii*^{ra}, which also describes the pursuit of deer and elk by bands of wolves.

Deer and elk were taken in rope snares, which were set in the edge of the timber at a clearing where the animals were known to be in the habit of feeding. At dawn the next morning the hunters took their dogs to the clearing and set them on the feeding animals, which dashed madly for cover. Sometimes an elk succeeded in breaking the rope, but this seldom occurred because it was made

fast to the middle of a strong pole, which dragged behind and prevented the captive from exerting a breaking strain.

Black bear were trapped in deadfalls, which apparently were somewhat complicated in their construction. When a hibernating bear was found in a hollow log, it was suffocated by smoke after strong stakes had been driven into the ground in front of the opening. Then a man crawled in and slipped a noose over the bear's head, and thus the carcass was dragged out. Small animals, such as raccoons, foxes, otters, rabbits, and skunks, were taken in deadfalls. Rabbits were also snared.

A seal sleeping on the water was warily approached by two men in a canoe, who remained quiet while the animal's nose was above water and paddled when it was submerged. When the canoe was a few yards distant, the man in the bow launched a harpoon. This implement was a fathom in length and had a detachable point of elk-antler with two barbs on one side and none on the other. At the upper end the shaft broadened out into a flat blade provided with undulate finger-holds, which portion also served the purpose of steadying the missile in flight. The rope attached to the harpoon-head was wound spirally about the shaft, to the middle of which it was made fast. The seal, dragging the shaft crosswise through the water, was so greatly impeded that the canoe could easily follow it.

Sea-lions were harpooned as they lay on the rocks. The victim plunged into the water, carrying the harpoon along, and the hunter then rejoined his men in the canoe and gave chase. Other small harpoons were planted in the animal as opportunity was offered, and at last when it was somewhat exhausted the line was drawn in while one of the men stood ready with a heavy club and another with an additional harpoon. The largest sea-lions were dangerous, and would attempt to seize the canoe with their teeth.

From a blind constructed where fresh water ran into the bay a hunter with thirty to forty wooden-pointed arrows would succeed in killing perhaps six or eight waterfowl out of a flock. A few arrows were carried off by wounded birds. Small noose snares were set where ducks fed in the salt grass at the water's edge.

A very effective method of taking wild fowl, especially the larger species, was by means of a light and a net. In the bow of a canoe on

a clay hearth was built a hood of clay mixed with grass, the form being designed so as to throw the light straight ahead on the water at a point about five yards distant. The net was spread on a pair of stout, divergent sticks. At a distance of about five yards from the flock, the man in the bow cast the net forward, and the heads of the birds were caught in the meshes. Before starting out for this kind of hunting the hunter announced his intention publicly, and said: "Now, as soon as I am gone, my wife will go to bed. Let no one enter my house tonight, or I will be unable to approach the fowl." While the belief that a wife's misconduct would prevent successful hunting was widespread, one can hardly help thinking that in such a case as this the hunter was not altogether blind to the opportunity of insuring the sanctity of his mate.

Nets were set at night in places frequented by diving fowl, the lower edge being staked to the bottom, so that some of the birds, rising to the surface, would become entangled.

Fishing implements included hooks made by lashing a pointed bone to a tough, wooden shaft; lines of iris-fibre; spears with single, detachable bone points; and fish-weirs and nets of several types. The nets of the Wiyot were made of iris-fibres twisted into cords between hand and thigh, and took the form of gill-nets as well as the more common dip-nets.

Salmon were caught in gill-nets twenty to twenty-five Indian fathoms long, which were stretched across the channel on a rope between two stakes. The nets were anchored with stone sinkers, and never extended from bank to bank. Each net was attended by two men in a canoe, who sometimes waited on the river in their boat, and sometimes sat on the bank beside a fire. In the latter case they hung the dry carapace of a crab on the top of the channel net-pole, and when a school of fish struck the net, the pole was shaken and the rattling carapace gave warning. The fishermen then launched their craft and removed the catch. On an earthen hearth in the canoe was a small fire, at which they warmed their hands.

Two wings of pole-and-brush fence, converging down-stream to an opening of about thirty inches in mid-channel, formed the fish-weir called *hlíkuvu*. In the opening was placed a net-bag held open on a pair of divergent poles and a bottom cross-piece. This was identical with the Klamath river dip-net. On the ebb tide the fisherman sat on a platform, holding the net-poles and the signal-line that extended across the

mouth of the net. When the line twitched, he drew up the net.

Tapawówuhl was a fish-weir extending across the stream with a number of short perpendicular wings protecting down-stream. The weir was made with closely set redwood saplings, which were held together by means of three courses of willow-bark twined work. Above each of the short wings was a platform, on which sat a fisherman holding a net against the end of the wing with its opening upstream. When a salmon, swimming against the current, struck the weir, it turned aside, and coming to the wing, followed it down and passed into the net. On the upper side of the weir were several enclosures about ten feet square. When the fishermen became weary, they drew enough stakes in the weir to expose a funnel-shaped opening into each enclosure, and in the morning would dip out the fish that had found entrance easier than escape.

Salmon were speared in the riffles on moonlight nights, or in the autumn by a crew of three men, one using the spear, another holding a pitchy torch, the third managing the canoe.

In the spring, when steelhead trout were running down to the sea, the Wiyot used *tupughúpsaswuhl,* a weir roughly made of saplings and poles with leaves and twigs in place, and without bark twining. In midstream the fence bowed out down-stream, and on each side of this part there was a downward depression leading into an opening where a net was held by a man on a platform.

Aracháqhli was a slender, conical basket, which was placed in a riffle at the angle of diverging wings extending up-stream to both banks. The lower edge of the mouth was underneath a substantial stake, which was weighted down with stones. Crosswise under the middle of the basket was a thick billet, which raised the floor of the trap above the water. The lower end of the basket was bent down into the water and covered with brush to hold it down as well as to keep the sunlight off the captive fish in case the trap should not be emptied before the day became warm. The trout, swimming rapidly with the current, struck the inclined floor, shot over the part that stood out of the water, and found themselves prisoners in the end of the trap.

The surf-net, a bag suspended on two diverging sticks, was used for smelt. At the bottom of the surf-net proper was a restricted opening into a long net-bag, which dragged in the water behind the fisherman. Standing in the waist-deep water, bending his head to meet the

higher waves, he dipped and raised his net, allowing the smelt to fall down into the bag, where they were securely held until he had enough to justify him in going ashore and emptying it.

The hook and line were used for rock-cod and in trolling for salmon, and flounders were speared from canoes.

Fish, shell-fish, marine mammals, including an occasional stranded whale, waterfowl, deer, elk, and small land animals such as rabbits, gophers, and skunks, yielded a bountiful supply of food, and somewhat compensated for the difficulty of securing adequate quantities of acorns and grass seeds, which were mostly to be found in or dangerously near Athapascan territory. In any event harvesting acorns required an arduous journey through the forests, and the great staple of the Indians of central and northern California was of less importance to the Wiyot and other north coast tribes than to any others, with the exception of the Klamath and the Washo, neither of which is typically or wholly geographically Californian. Even so, acorn mush was regularly used, and its comparative scarcity was supplemented by seaweed, various bulbs, berries, and green shoots.

Tobacco was rudely cultivated. The ground was broken with a dibble, ashes were mixed with the soil, and after strewing the seed and erecting a brush fence around the plot, the gardener gave it no further attention until harvest time.

A few herb remedies of actual worth, most of them laxatives, were known to the Wiyot. The steam rising from a basket containing hot water and fennel was found efficacious for reducing swellings, but probably the results would have been equally good without the fennel. The decoction of fennel was taken internally to produce abortion.

Besides her ordinary household duties of preparing food, making clothing, and caring for her children, the woman wove the numerous baskets required by a culture that knew neither pottery nor wooden vessels. The art of basketry has not yet become obsolete (although many of the old forms are no longer made), and the product is like that of the Hupa and the Klamath River people. Only twined basketry is made, and the warp is always hazel shoots (*luuhlíswuhl*), the weft hazel shoots, spruce-root (*tâp*), or willow-root (*lághapitk*). White designs are produced by overlaying the weft with Xerophyllum grass (*hémanuwuhl*), black with the bark of maidenhair fern (*siswâqi*) and reddish with the two flat fibres (*tiqamútsawuhla*) drawn from the pounded

stems of a Woodwardia fern and dyed with alder-bark juice by drawing them between the lips, the basket-maker chewing a small quantity of bark.

The conical, open-meshed burden-basket was used for carrying on the back, by means of a strap across the head, fuel, fish, and other bulky objects; and a tightly woven one was for acorns and seeds, which were stored in a very large, broad-bottomed storage-basket with a small opening closed by a lid. Dried fish and meat were kept in similar receptacles. For use with the flat stone mortar and cylindrical pestle there was a funnel-shaped, but bottomless, basketry hopper, which prevented the acorns or seeds from scattering under the blows of the pestle. For two inches at the bottom the weft of the hopper was hazel for strength, but above that Xerophyllum for tightness. Near the top and also near the bottom were two courses of hazel laid on the outside of the warp and wrapped with spruce-root, and inside at the top was a coil or two of strong hazel to stiffen the basket. At the top the warp rods were bent over and braided under one another. The tray, *pasháchach,* for sifting meal, was eight to twelve inches in diameter and three or four inches deep. It was held in one hand while the fingers of the other tapped the bottom, causing the fine meal to be shaken over the edge. The coarse meal remained to be pounded again in the mortar. Seeds were parched by shaking them with a few glowing coals in a tray about twenty-two inches in diameter and eight inches deep, and baskets of the same kind were employed as receptacles for food in preparation, as fish after it had been cleaned. Water-tight baskets for boiling with hot stones were round, and straight-sided, and smaller ones of the same form, about nine inches high and six in diameter, served for individual mush receptacles. Dry food, such as fish and meat, was served in open-mesh trays.

Women also used to make tule or cattail mats, which served as mattresses and were a staple article of commerce with the interior people. The stalks were laid parallel and strung on iris cords by means of a very long crane-bone needle.

The best spoons were of elk-horn and were ladle-shaped with handles decorated with incised geometric figures, especially on the edges. Common persons, and most women, used mussel-shells.

Fire was produced by a spindle revolved between the palms with the point pressed on a piece of dry wood. The fine dust resulting from

friction rolled down a notch in the edge and fell on the cedar-bark tinder. Tobacco was smoked in tubular stone or wooden pipes. Wiyot dandies used the elder flute common to the entire state.

Although all games were attended by gambling, they fell into two classes: contests in which luck or skill in guessing was the feature, and those of an athletic nature.

Halútskanila, or vakílla, the so-called grass game, required half-adozen sticks about six inches long (sometimes elk-horn was used), five of them having a black line around the middle. Two players faced each other, each with a bunch of fine, dry grass and his sticks. In the space between them lay two lots of ten tally-sticks each. A player wrapped the six rods in a bunch of grass, divided them into threes, and his opponent indicated which hand he believed to contain three marked rods. The other threw out one by one the rods in the other hand, and if the three were marked, he won a point and took a tally-stick. If, however, one of the rods was unmarked, he lost his inning. When all the tally-sticks had been taken from the centre, a winning player was rewarded with a stick from his opponent's store, and the wager was decided only when either player had the entire twenty in his possession. Rarely was there any singing with this game, but if a player had been winning several times in succession he might burst into an exuberant song. The wagers were large, including shell money, canoes, skins, or weapons. Spectators stood behind the contestants, and if a player felt unlucky he might have one of these onlookers make the guess for him.

Taqúpluwúnu was the dice game of women. Two large discs of mussel-shell and two small ones were held in one hand, and the two hands were then clapped together and quickly thrown apart above a basketry tray, which was covered like a drum with a piece of deer-skin. If the two large ones were matched, that is, if both showed the inside or both the outside of the shell, and the two small ones likewise matched, one point was made. The tally-sticks numbered fifty, and a single game sometimes lasted for several days. Many women looked on and posted wagers with one another, but only two played. When the players became weary, they would have two of the spectators try their luck. Between women of wealthy families the stakes were large.

Ráqhlaiyúwuk, the so-called stick game, was played between representatives of different villages. On each side were three play-

ers armed with sticks (*ráqhlaiyúwuhl,* thrower) with a crooked end. Two pieces of heavy wood about three inches long were tied together near one end with a short piece of deerskin thong. In the middle of a twohundred-yard course two opposing players stood with their sticks. One held the missile (*rakíhl*) between his teeth. At the word of the umpire (*luwílisihl*) he dropped it, and each tried to toss it toward his opponent's goal. The other players stood in opposing pairs about halfway from the middle point to the goals, and each grasped the wrist of his opponent and held his stick between his teeth. As soon as the missile was dropped, and tossed, the pair in the centre began to wrestle, and each man of the other two pairs grasped his stick in both hands, placed it behind his opponent's back, and endeavored to bend him backward to the ground so that he himself might escape and throw the missile toward the opposite goal. Any hold was allowed, but the stick could not be grasped by an opponent. When at last some one broke away from his antagonist and raced toward the missile and hurled it, his opponent leaped up and pursued him, and, if he succeeded in catching him, seized him by the waist or the leg or the neck and hurled him to the ground with all possible violence. Heavy wagers were laid.

Hicháchhárawanu was played by boys and youths. A well-balanced stick about two feet long, pointed at both ends, was tossed into the air with the object of causing it to implant itself in the ground.

Among archery contests was *halúthaluwilu,* in which a heavy bit of wood was thrown about forty paces and each of two men shot an arrow at it. He who first struck it took all the arrows that had been shot. Wagers were laid on shooting for distance (*hlawís-válu*) and at a target (*találaku*). The mark was a small circular hole in the ground, in which a stick was set as a guide, and the distance was about forty yards. Foot-racing and wrestling were greatly enjoyed.

Each village had as its chief the richest man in the community. His principal duty apparently was to act as mediator between disputants; for every injury, whether to property, person, or name, must be made good by a payment of damages. Thus, if a number of youths should throw stones against a house, and the owner, coming out, should say, "Why are you doing this to me?" and one of the youths should answer him with jibes and revilements, that man would send word to the youth's family that he had been abused and insulted, and the injury must be requited. The head of the family would probably answer by a

messenger that he was willing to pay a certain sum. When the amount of the indemnity had been agreed on, the money or property was sent and the two families resumed friendly relations. But if the family of the offender were too poor to pay, the head would go to the chief and say: "I have abused a man, and must pay. If I do not pay him, I am afraid he will kill me some time." The chief would then either pay the debt, or would call upon the people for contributions. In either case the offender was not expected to repay the chief.

The head-man was the dispenser of village hospitality. Any visitors or passing travellers went to his house for food and lodging as a matter of course, and they gave neither pay nor presents. He was able to play this role because he was a good trader and because the hunters kept him supplied with meat and fish. Also, when any of his people saw him after a long absence, they usually made him gifts.

The principal duty of the second chief was to investigate disputes and brawls between villagers, to fix the blame, and to endeavor to have the injury compensated by payment of money, in order to avoid disastrous feuds. Not infrequently the chief of another village was called in to make peace. Thus the local chief might say to himself when approached by a man who had suffered injury: "Well, that man is always doing wrong. Let him be killed. I will keep my hands off and let them kill him." Then if the injured man still preferred peace and payment to bloodshed and revenge, he himself might send for the chief of another village to act as mediator.

A deceased chief was succeeded by his son or his brother, or some other relative; or if there were no male relative fit for the place, by the assistant chief. If a new head-man showed a tendency to be niggardly or an inability to gain enough wealth to keep open house, the people soon became dissatisfied and talked to one another about selecting a new chief. Some would stand by the chief, and would take it upon themselves to speak to him. If he heeded their advice and conformed to the expectations of the public, all might be well. If he did not, the entire populace gradually came to favor some other rich man, and finally public opinion made him chief.

Like all other people of northwestern California the Wiyot had neither tribal organization nor clans. Descent was patrilineal, and only blood-relations were prevented from marrying. There was no restriction of ordinary intercourse between a man and his mother-in-law.

The Mad River Wiyot observed a puberty ceremony called *takawúwuk*. For five nights the people assembled and sang all night, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting, and each one striking two wooden batons together. A woman attendant sat or stood behind the girl with her hands on the girl's shoulders, and swayed her from side to side in rhythm with the songs. The girl fasted during the ceremony, and each evening she was led outside to run a certain distance from the house and back. Her head and face were constantly covered with a piece of deerskin.

The Humboldt Bay Wiyot had no singing on such occasions. The girl remained in seclusion with her head and face covered, and fasted five days. Each morning and evening for a period as long as six months she took a bath before eating. A girl in this condition was called *qrats-víwask*. She ate only twice daily, and never ate nor drank outside the house without first building a fire to protect herself from sickness.

There were no puberty rites for boys.

The marriage of two people in the same village was sometimes preceded by secret courtship, and when they had exchanged their vows they simply informed their parents that they were married. Then the girl's father sent word to the other family that he must have money for his daughter, and the young man's father brought the required amount. The girl lived in her husband's house. Among rich families weddings were more often between persons of different villages. Hearing reports of a certain girl in another village, and thinking her to be the kind of girl he desired, a young man opened the subject with his father. If the elder man agreed to the plan, he called his family together, raised the means to buy her, and sent a messenger with the shell money. But the girl's father, after talking the matter over with his wife and his brothers, invariably replied: "I am sorry, my friend, but we shall have to refuse this money. It is not enough. My daughter is a good worker and a virtuous maiden." With this answer the messenger returned, to be sent back with a slightly increased amount. This offer too was refused, and again the amount was increased, and this time it was generally accepted. Then on a certain appointed day the girl's people came to the bridegroom's village. She was arrayed in her very best, with a profusion of shell ornaments, and the people brought presents of shell beads and other valuable objects. The bride remained there with her husband, and a few days later his family visited her people for two or

three days, carrying gifts to them.

A poor youth, unable to purchase a wife, might win one by frequently visiting the family of the girl he was wooing, and thus be coming friendly with her father and working for him. Then after a time the father would urge his daughter to marry this industrious young man. He would say: "I am not looking for money. This is a good young man. He works well. He will come to live with us, and work for me and provide me with wood and food." When the girl's consent was secured, her husband became a permanent member of her family. This kind of marriage was called *katawáhlui*.

The dead were buried lying at full length in boxes, and the heads of those who died a natural death were placed to the east, of those who had been killed, to the southwest. For though the former went *to sirawáta*^{na}, which was under the earth, the latter departed to a place about which those who had never been wounded were not told. The body was washed, dressed in its best garments, and wrapped in a skin, and the personal trinkets were buried; but no food nor weapons nor implements were placed in the grave. The burial place of a prominent man or a greatly loved relative was surrounded with a fence and was kept in order for some years. Excavations on Indian island in 1913 by Loud[6] yielded unmistakable evidence that at one time cremation of prominent men was practised by the inhabitants. The modern Wiyot know nothing of this former custom. As tokens of mourning, men and women cut the hair short and wore a ring of Xerophyllum grass about the neck until the braid wore out and fell off. There was no mourning ceremony.

The name of a deceased person was not mentioned for many years, and even words incorporated in the name were taboo. Thus, the informant's father bore a name that contained the word *hólu* ("water"), and after his death this was replaced for years by *burachí* ("drinkable"). This custom is probably responsible for the remarkable abundance of long, descriptive names in the Wiyot vocabulary.

The religion of the Wiyot differs from the northwestern Cali-

6 Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn., vol. 14, no. 3, 1918.

fornia type, as seen on Klamath and Trinity rivers, in lacking the well-developed ceremonial cult of the Deerskin and jumping dances and the excessive use of myth-formulas, and in ascribing to their principal myth character the creation of the world. Many of their myths are parallelled on Klamath and Trinity rivers, but not a few are distinctive.

The four principal mythological characters are identical, except in name, with those of the Hupa (see page 26). Kudiqtát-kaqíhl, or Kutáthidikaqíhl (both names mean "above old-man"), created earth, vegetation, and people, in a time when there was nothing but water. How he accomplished this is not told. Because the people were quarrelsome, he caused a flood, which destroyed all except Condor and his sister, who were the ancestors of a new population. Children were taught that this deity beheld their acts and heard their words, no matter how secret.

Adak-sorá-hlúkihl ("down-toward ocean he-went") travelled about the country changing the character of the earth and demanding for reward the favors of pretty maidens. In addition to these beneficent deeds some purely mischievous amours are ascribed to him.

Puchúri-ghúrru ("pointed buttock") is the transformer hero, who destroyed numerous creatures hostile to human life.

Wítkâhl, Coyote, is the familiar buffoon.

The ebbing tide is believed to run westward until the ocean in that quarter is full, when it returns on the flood to this side and fills up the eastern ocean.

Far away at the eastern edge of the world the sun is kept red-hot by a fire of Olivella shells. At evening it goes down just over the edge of the world and passes around the north along the edge until it comes again to the east, to be reheated. The Wiyot claim as an aboriginal invention a "sun stick" for determining noon. A stick was thrust into the ground, and two small pegs were set close together on the north side. When the shadow of the stick fell between the two pegs, it was noon, *shapáyaq*. The phases of the moon were carefully noted, but apparently the Wiyot had no explanation of the phenomenon.

Eclipses *(ta"m-piwi'lu,* sun they-eat) of the sun and of the moon are believed to be caused by the dogs of the sky trying to eat the

luminary because, as the dogs think, the sun and the moon talk too much. When an eclipse occurred, the people used to go outside and shout and pull the dogs' ears in order to force the dogs in the sky to stop eating the orb.

Kuwúlli is a being who lives under the earth far away in the southwest. He never goes about, but lies there in the same place, and when he moves his eyebrows the earth quakes.

Thunder is made by Tâkâk, who rolls heavy wooden cylinders or throws them upon the floor of his house. His assistant, the son of Above Old-man, stands ready with a receptacle containing fire, and before the thunder is made, the vessel is dropped to the earth and bursts, causing lightning. Sometimes his assistant is shaken off his feet and tumbles to the earth, and grasping for support at the top of a tree, he strips off its branches, and we say that the tree was struck by lightning.

In summer the dry clouds sail southward to soak themselves in the ocean until winter. At the beginning of the rainy season they come out and move northward; but the first ones, not having soaked as long as those that come later, do not precipitate so much rain as the latter. Above Old-man shakes his hoary head and then we see snow fall.

Lúghu[na], lives in the west. There once was a girl at a village on the southern peninsula of Humboldt bay, who every day sat on a sand dune weaving baskets and singing to herself, and every day a flock of small gulls would circle about overhead. She wondered why they never flew away to find food. Her song was always the same, "I wish I could see Lúghu[na]." And the gulls would listen to the song and then at night fly out to tell Lúghu[na] that a girl was wishing to see him. And one day he came. He said: "If you wish to be my wife, you will have to pound ice to make hail. For that is my business, to make hail." But she thought that would be too hard, and did not go with him. So Lúghu[na] left her and found a wife elsewhere. She spends all her time breaking up ice for her husband.

Qidiq-só'ri ("outward ocean") wears a white head-band. When he removes it and casts it forward, it becomes a white cloud. With a stick he goes behind and drives it landward, and it spreads out and

covers the land up to the ridge of the hills in a blanket of fog. In the east is a person who prevents it from going farther. When he thinks it has been foggy long enough, he comes out of his house and raises his bow, *wikcháchha'sva't,* and Qidiq-só'ri retreats to the west and puts on his head-band.

The north wind is cold because as a baby he was washed in cold water, and for a similar reason the east wind is warm. The south wind's house was once full of dead people, and he dragged some of them outside. Now when the south wind blows the people become sleepy, because it passes over those dead bodies. The winds are not the breath of supernatural beings who control them; rather these beings simply wish that wind may blow, and it happens as they desire.

A man or a woman became a shaman by dreaming of Wishítiiqa, who is said to be quite black. When the dreamer woke, he began to sing the songs he had heard in the dream, and the people knew that he was to become a shaman. Then all the medicine-men from the neighboring villages assembled in the dance-house and instructed the novice in the methods to be followed in treating disease. No other person was present.

When a shaman was called to the house of a sick person, he went first to the edge of the water, either salt or fresh, laid a board there, and knelt on it. This represented the raft of Avíluk, or Táhanalákuk, the first shaman, who took his sick son north on a raft, fleeing from the sorcery of Avákirask. Kneeling on the board, he prayed: "Board, you must help me. Water, you must help me. I hope you will do the best you can for me, and help me cure this sick person." Then he went into the water and bathed, still praying to the water. He went to the house where the sick person lay on the side farthest from the ocean, for the ocean is conceived to be the abode of dangerous things. He smoked ceremonially, offering the usual appeal for help, and danced with his back to the ocean, singing the songs learned of Wishítiiqa. A basket containing water was placed beside the patient. The shaman looked closely at his body, and professed to discern the exact location of the trouble. If he was a novice, he said: "I have not the power to cure this. You

had better call in another shaman. If there were two, they could the better see how to cure this person."

So they asked another to help him. Having seen the sickness, the shaman knelt beside the patient and sucked the place where it lay. He then rose and tickled his own throat with a condor-feather, and spat into a basket. After expectorating several times, he ejected something into his hands, and this he showed to the people, declaring it to be the poison that was making their friend sick. He might defer the capture of the poison until near the end of his two nights of treatment, and if the patient were desperately ill, he would perhaps make no pretense of securing it. In any event he always applied the sucking treatment five times, even if he succeeded the first time, or if he failed completely.

After bringing out the poison, he explained under what circumstances it had come into the patient's body, and how long it had been there, as, for example: "This man has been sick for a month, though he did not know it. Still he was sick all that time. He went into the mountains, and the sickness got into him there. He drank water in a dangerous place in the mountains, and the sickness went into him while he was drinking."

Then the shaman stood with his back to the ocean, holding the poison in his hands, and said: "Perhaps this came from the sun. Perhaps it came from the mountains. Perhaps it came from some gorge. Perhaps it came from the ocean. Perhaps it came from Wíyat [Eel river country]. Perhaps it came from Patuwát [Mad river country]. Perhaps it came from the low-lying fog." Thus he named all the dangerous places known to him, until at last he guessed the locality from which the disease actually had come, and then suddenly he would open his hands and show that the object was no longer there. All the people in concert then expelled their breath with a shout: "*Psha. . . !* Go out of this house, and never return! We do not want you! Go!"

Although the Wiyot did not perform the Deerskin dance, one of their myths declares that it originated in one of their Eel River villages, but was soon given up and passed on to the Yurok. They call the ceremony Tapúhluruwoï. The Jumping dance, Tutkálik, was performed only by the Mad River division, and was an occasion for wishing for good luck.

There seems to have been but one public ceremony common to

all the Wiyot. This was Wishiyúluwui, a dance held for the purpose of insuring good luck, so that the shell money, hides, rope, and other articles of value in the possession of neighboring tribes would come to the Wiyot; that the people might have good fortune in hunting; or that the pestilence which some man believed imminent might be averted.

The people assembled in the ceremonial house, and a woman shaman, called in this instance *víloï*, stood beside the fire, holding the wing-feather of a condor. Men and unmarried girls stood in a circle around the walls, and while the woman led the singing, they danced by flexing the knees without moving from their places. At the end of the song, the leader gave a signal with her feather, and the dancing ceased. After a few minutes for resting, she stood up again and started another song, and the people danced as before. This continued the greater part of the night for several nights, the leader being relieved at frequent intervals by other female shamans. Each led the singing for about two songs before yielding to another. On the last night the dancing continued until daylight, and was concluded by a feast, all the people having brought food to the dance-house.

Black paint, *siswá-wíghurunihl,* a mixture of carbon obtained from burning pitch-wood and elk-tallow, and red paint, *hiktín-talutkuk* (Hiktí[na], the Klamath River country), a mixture of tallow and probably iron oxide, were used on the faces of dancers. Men wore headbands of light-colored fur, such as that from the breast of a raccoon or a fox, or from the belly of a deer; and the wealthy had head-dresses made by sewing the scalps of red-headed woodpeckers on a broad band of deerskin. An ornament made of the scalps of the small woodpecker is called *patsákunáqihl;* and one made of the scalps of the large woodpecker is *adatáyúna*. Dancing women wore basketry caps, and fringed skirts and aprons of the everyday type but much ornamented with shells. Very rich men sometimes owned large obsidian blades, and danced with them, holding them up in the hands. Black blades, *siswá-ghurúlu* ("black —"), were somewhat less valuable than*saghá-wila* ("red — "), the reddish ones.

Several times in the course of a night of dancing the head-man stood behind the woman leader, filled his pipe, and lighted it. Then blowing the smoke out with upraised face, he said: "*Psha!* I hope we

will have good luck from this dance. I hope there will be many from the Klamath River country and from the north who will bring rope. I hope you boys when you go hunting will get good elk and deer. I hope we will have good luck from this dance. We want no sickness. I hope everybody will be well." Then he put a piece of angelica root (*tsúmir*) on the fire. In wishing for rope, he meant that visitors should bring their valuable iris-fibre ropes, used in snaring deer, and lose them in gambling.

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