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THE KLAMATH

THE Klamath Indians of southeastern Oregon are the larger of two divisions of the Lutuami, the other being their neighbors, the Modoc. The language of the two divisions shows only dialectic differences. The origin of the name Klamath is uncertain. The proposed derivation from *máklaks,* their word for "people," is not convincing. Some other tribes know them by variations of the word Klamath, but it is not certain that these appellations are not simply adopted names. The word has a Chinookan sound, and it is not improbable that if its ultimate origin is not Chinookan, at least its present form is derived from that language. Lutuami is the Achomawi name for the Klamath, and is of true Achomawi origin, meaning "Lake Dwellers" (*alútwam,* lake). Modoc is from the Klamath Móata-kni, (*móat,* south; *Móatak,* Tule lake; *-kni*, dwellers). The Klamath have no name descriptive of themselves except *máklaks,* people, but they have geographical names for the six groups into which they fall.

The territory of the Klamath was bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, which form the divide between the Klamath River basin and Rogue river and other streams flowing westward into the Pacific. Northward it extended to the vicinity of Bend, in latitude 44°, thus including, in the headwaters of Deschutes river, a portion of the Columbia River drainage. On the east it took in the drainage of Sycan marsh, and a portion of the drainage of Goose lake, which lies partly in Oregon and partly in California. The southerly boundary was approximately identical with the Oregon-California line. With the exception of small areas in Crook and Lake counties, Klamath territory almost coincided with what is now Klamath county. South of the Klamath were the Modoc, who held the country from the Oregon-California line to the divide between Klamath river and Pit river, where they adjoined Achomawi territory. Roughly, then, the Klamath held the country tributary to Klamath marsh, Upper Klamath lake, the northern part of Lower Klamath lake, and the northern part of Goose lake, while Modoc territory was the region tributary to Tule lake and the southern part of Lower Klamath and Goose lakes. The western portion of this region is heavily forested, the central basin is dotted with lakes and marshes fed by the melting snows of the Cascade mountains percolating the porous volcanic soil, and on the eastern border sage-

brush plains are characteristic. It is the lakes and marshes that are responsible for the specialized features of Klamath life.

The westerly neighbors of the Lutuami tribes were the Athapascans of Rogue river in the northwest and the Shasta in the southwest. On the north were the Shoshonean bands known as Warm Springs Indians. Eastward were the Shoshonean Paviotso (Paiute), and southward the Achomawi. With all these the Lutuami made war, and indeed the Klamath and the Modoc themselves were frequently involved in hostilities.

In the early days of white traders on the Columbia, but before they had penetrated the Klamath country, there was a war with the Wálams-kni[1] of Rogue river. These people killed two Klamath beaver-trappers in the mountains, a young man and his father. A boy escaped. He built a fire in the mountains as a signal that something had gone amiss, then hurried to the valley and told what had occurred. Warriors from all the Klamath bands were assembled, and a scout was sent into the Rogue River country. He reported that the enemy were engaged in a dance in a locality favor. able for attack, and the Klamath warriors timed their march so as to arrive on the last night of the dance. Just before dawn they surrounded the camp, dividing into two parties. It was agreed that when the advance of these two divisions met on the other side of the camp they should give a coyote howl as a signal for attack. With knives, traders' tomahawks, and bows they slaughtered the entire party, except a few women and children, whom they took captive.

The Klamath annually sent slave-making expeditions into the Pit River country. A few years before the treaty of 1864 the informant as a youth accompanied in the capacity of horse-herder what was probably the last of these forays. They attacked the Achomawi near Fall river. Many of the captives were taken to Warm Springs, Oregon, and exchanged for horses, and. others were kept by the Klamath. This party included some Modoc.

The Paiute were wont to invade Klamath territory. Before the

1 "Wálams Dwellers." This appears to be a loan-word from Wálamt, the aboriginal name of Willamette river.

informant's time a party from the direction of Fort Bidwell, California, came to Chiloquin. The people were all absent, and the Paiute loaded themselves with dried fish and fled. About fifteen miles from Chiloquin they stopped. Some said: "We had better go on. Those people will follow us." Others jeered: "Those people wear tule moccasins. They are like frogs. They cannot run." They settled down for a feast. But some went on. While the loiterers ate, the Klamath crept up and surrounded them. The attack was made in daylight. The Paiute chief was a man who had only one sound leg, the other being shrivelled. He sat there and said, "After I have eaten I will fight." He continued his meal, while the others took to shelter to repel the attack. The chief's son himself was filled with arrows. On the following day those who remained alive were all killed, including the crippled chief. The Klamath for a joke cut off his shrivelled leg and laid it across a brook, like a bridge. This was the last invasion by Paiute.

Some years before the days of the traders the Dókoan-kni, a Klamath group at the mouth of Williamson river, began to harass the bands that occupied the upper part of that stream and Sprague river. The only reason was their desire to fight. After a time the up-river people combined and came down to attack their tormentors. About a mile below the present bridge they attacked the Dókoan-kni at very close quarters. The informant, then a youth, stood near watching. At last they succeeded in killing the principal fighting-man[2] of the Dókoan-kni.

This internal war lasted about ten years. People in those days could not sleep nor travel alone in safety.

Klamath men frequently went to Yreka, California, to trade deerskins to the settlers. More than once the Shasta killed one or more of these visitors. The father of George Gray was killed by a Shasta bullet, and his brother, Link River Jack, led six men to Yreka and killed a Shasta to even the score.

The Modoc once came to fight the Klamath, but were persuaded of the folly of such a course. Later they returned, and a fight ensued in

2 The father of a man (Charley Stokes) still living in 1916. Chíhwi was another good warrior. He died not many years prior to 1916. It is said that Stokes' father killed forty men at one time!

which none was killed.

Before setting out to fight, warriors participated in a dance. Led by a man with a long spear, they danced in single file in a circle, carrying their bows and arrows, and making vigorous, warlike gestures. The leader harangued them vehemently, exhorting them to be brave and begging for good luck. The victory-dance was celebrated when a successful party returned. One behind another they danced violently around a pole on which were displayed the scalp, heart, hands, and pieces of the feet of the principal man killed by them in the battle. Some wore head-bands and baldrics of eagle-feathers.

The Klamath and the Modoc, especially the latter, had their share of difficulties with immigrants and soldiers. In 1852 the Modoc slaughtered an entire party en route to California, and volunteers from Yreka, California, and from Jacksonville, Oregon, hastened to Tule lake. At the approach of the Californians the Modoc abandoned their siege of another wagon-train and took refuge on islands in the lake. Later in the summer Captain Ben Wright, commanding the California company, induced the Modoc to attend a feast for the purpose of making peace, and during the discussion that followed the meal, Wright and his men suddenly opened fire and killed thirty-six of their unsuspecting guests.

In 1864 a treaty was negotiated between the United States and the Klamath, the Modoc, and certain Shoshoneans of Oregon, establishing the present Klamath reservation. As this lay entirely within their former boundaries, the Klamath were inclined to lord it over the Modoc, who were therefore removed to a sub-agency in another part of the reservation. Still discontented, a large part of the tribe under Captain Jack returned in 1870 to their old home on Lost river, which flows into Tule lake. Complaints of cattle-killing and petty thieving began to come in, and in 1872 a military detachment was ordered to bring them back to the reservation. Instead of trying conciliation, the officer in command surrounded the camp at dawn and demanded surrender and disarmament. The Indians, doubtless abashed by this sudden turn of affairs, refused, and finally opened fire, to which the soldiers replied. There were casualties on both sides. The Modoc scattered, perpetrated a series of murderous raids on the settlers, and retreated to the lava beds, an incredibly rugged region of broken volcanic rock. Here, about fifty strong and encumbered with women and children, they repulsed attack and inflicted severe losses. Commis-

sioners were then named to negotiate terms of peace, but at a meeting with the Modoc leaders they were attacked, and General E.R.S. Canby and Reverend E. Thomas were killed and another of the commissioners was severely wounded. After that there was no hope of amicable settlement. The cave in the lava beds was shelled, the Indians were at last driven out and captured when they scattered and fled. They had put up a stubborn fight against great odds, having killed sixty-five and wounded sixty-seven, not including the settlers, as compared with their own loss of about a dozen warriors and some women and children. After conviction by a court-martial, Captain Jack and five others were hanged at Fort Klamath in October, 1873, two were sentenced to life imprisonment on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco bay, and the rest of the band were sent east, most of them to Indian Territory.

The clothing of Klamath men and women consisted of a robe, moccasins, short leggings, and loin-cloth. According to a man's means and to the season of the year, clothing was made of skin, usually that of a deer, or of woven tules, which sometimes were intermixed with feathers held in place by pine pitch.[3] When the day became warm all these garments were discarded except a narrow strip about the loins. Skin moccasins were of the usual type, covering the entire foot up to the ankle, but those of tules were sometimes mere sandals protecting the sole and the toes. In summer the Klamath used deerskin moccasins, in winter tule or fur. Tule footwear was well stuffed with dry grass, and fur moccasins were never permitted to dry on the feet. The difficulty of keeping skin in good condition when it is subjected to frequent wetting probably accounts for the use of tule footwear in winter. The snowshoe was a wooden hoop about fifteen inches in diameter with irregularly crossed strips of untanned fur. Devices of similar pattern were worn in travelling over swampy ground. Women wore bowl-shape caps of twined tules with black ornamentation of fibre from tule root-stocks, and men had for winter use fur caps with rawhide vizor at the front and at the back, and for summer, crownless,

3 An informant tells a queer tale of people so poor that they protected themselves from cold by smearing pitch on the skin and sticking feathers to it. In a region where tules were so abundant, and the art of weaving known, this could scarcely have been actual practice, even if physically possible.

vizored hats of tules or of aspen-bark turned inside out and painted red.

The hair of men was arranged in two braids, which were wrapped with strips of otter-fur and either doubled up short or allowed to hang at full length. Women either wore similar braids or tied the hair in a bunch at the back of the head, where it was covered by the basketry cap. The comb was either a toothed strip of wood or a porcupine-tail. Most adults of both sexes had in the nasal septum a perforation, in which on special occasions they wore a pair of dentalia, or, lacking these valuable articles, a blackened bit of cornel shoot. The septum was pierced by means of a bone awl, and not until the individual had attained maturity. The ears of most girls and of a few boys were pierced, and the ear-ornaments worn in later years were usually dentalia. Tattooing was not common, but a few women had perpendicular lines on the chin. The heads of all infants were flattened by means of a deerskin pad placed on the forehead and lashed firmly to the sides of the cradle-basket. The practice was abandoned before 1864, but evidence of its former prevalence is still to be seen in the peaked heads of the older individuals.

The winter house of the Klamath was merely a conical roof thatched with round tules, grass, and earth, and covering a circular excavation about three feet deep. The framework consisted of a heavy central post and numerous rafters extending from its forked top to the edge of the pit, where they were supported by the ground. All were unhewn timbers. Entrance was through the smoke-hole at the peak, and the descent was made by means of a ladder, which was merely a post, sometimes the central post itself, with foot-holes cut into it. Structures of this kind sometimes exceeded forty feet in diameter.

For public assemblies, such as a dance, there was an elliptical structure consisting of two tall forked tamaracks, a long ridge-pole connecting them, and rafters extending from the ground to the ridge-pole. The sides were covered with stabs of bark, and the top was open.

The summer house is of the type seen among the Salish tribes of eastern Washington. Roughly elliptical or rectangular, it consists of a willow frame covered with grass and with tule mats. Willow poles thrust into the ground and slightly bent down at the top, where they are lashed to the ridge-pole, serve the purpose of both rafters and studding. In other words, there is practically no break between wall and

roof, the structure being much like an elongated tipi. The thatching, which is laid on horizontal poles lashed to the rafters and is held in place by other poles similarly attached, consists of three layers of matting: the first, of a kind of coarse grass; the second, of the triangular-stemmed tule, *Scirpus robustus;* the third, of the round-stemmed tule, *S. lacustris*. The matting of the first two layers is woven; that of the last course is made by stringing the stems on parallel transverse cords, a process that produces a better watershed than can be obtained by weaving. The doorway is an opening at one end, and the smoke-vent is along the ridge-pole. Summer houses vary in dimensions from five by ten feet to ten by about twenty-five feet, and are usually about six feet in height at the ridge. Structures of this type are still in use.

A small, well-thatched hut used to be built overhanging the edge of a river for the protection of a fisherman, who sat inside with his spear, watching for prey.

The sweat-house was constructed over a shallow, circular excavation. Near the front of the pit was a short, forked post, which supported one end of a sloping ridge-timber, the other end resting on the ground at the rear. On this timber rested the upper ends of numerous rafters, which extended laterally to the ground at the edges of the excavation. Battens were laid across the rafters, and the thatch of tules and grass was covered with earth. The entrance was a low opening at the front, almost a tunnel, between the two rafters with the steepest slope. The eccentric placing of the supporting post gave almost the effect of a gable in the front, and it was in this gable that the entrance was made. Within recent years this permanent sweat-house has been supplanted by the Plains type, a small framework of willows, almost hemispherical, covered with a sheet of canvas or with blankets.

In the sudatory steam was generated by means of heated stones. When the water was poured on the stones, one of the four or five men present began to pray, apparently addressing the stones but in thought appealing to Palaitálk-kni ("far-above dweller"),[4] asking for strength, health, and success in hunting. When he had finished, another contin-

4 This character does not appear in any myth collected in this investigation, and it appears probable that the conception of a powerful spirit in celestial regions has been lately acquired from outside sources.

ued in the same strain. The bath became a test of endurance, the one who poured the water endeavoring to drive the others out by raising the temperature to an excessive degree. The sweat was followed by a plunge. Men bathed nearly every day, but women only rarely and then either by themselves or only with their husbands.

The staple article of food was the seed of the yellow waterlily, *Nymphæa polysepala*. It is still used as a delicacy. The extensive marshes of the region are in many places covered solidly to the extent of hundreds and thousands of acres with the spreading leaves of this plant. *Wókas,* as the plant and the seed are called, is gathered in the latter part of August and through the whole of September. Poling a canoe through the masses of leaves and trailing stems, the harvester, always a woman, pulls the nearly ripe pods from their stems and drops them in the canoe. The mature pods, having burst open, are too sticky to be taken in the hand, and are scooped up in a tule ladle and deposited in a canoe-shaped basket. At the end of the day the contents of the basket are poured into a pit about two feet in diameter and of equal depth, and from day to day the harvest of ripe pods is added. The whole is covered with a mat. At the end of the season the contents of the pits, now by fermentation a viscous mass, is transferred to a canoe, and after the admixture of water it is thoroughly stirred so as to separate the seeds, which drop to the bottom. The gluey liquid and refuse are skimmed off, and the seeds are drained on mats. After more thoroughly drying and partially cooking the seeds by shaking them in a tray with a few embers,[5] the woman cracks the hulls with muller and metate, and separates the kernels from the hulls in a winnowing tray, which is operated with much the same motions as a gold-miner's pan. The finished product is now ready to be thoroughly dried on mats and stored, formerly in pits, now in bags. The seeds are prepared for eating by parching them with embers in a basketry tray (the frying-pan is used at present), a process which causes them to swell and burst. It may be eaten so, a food of excellent flavor, or covered with cold water. The immature *wókas* pods, which constitute by far the greater part of the daily harvest, are spread on the ground to a depth of six to eight inches, and in about ten days those exposed to the sun are dry

5 The modern practice is to dry the seeds in a frying-pan.

enough to be crushed on a mat with a stone pestle, after which the seeds are winnowed in a tray and stored. The pods that have not been exposed to the sun have partly decomposed, and the sticky mass is crushed where it lies and spread more thinly to facilitate drying. Later the seeds are winnowed in the usual manner. The seeds derived from immature pods are prepared for eating by parching, removing the hulls on the metate, and boiling into a mush in a cooking basket by means of heated stones. This method of cooking has of course been superseded by more modern processes. In order to avoid waiting for the sun to dry them, the pods gathered near the end of the season are roasted in a fire, crushed into a gluey mass, and dried by admixing pulverized decayed wood or ashes, after which the seeds are separated by screening and winnowing.

Other vegetal foods of the Klamath were numerous: Camas (*Camassia*), ipos (*Calochortus*), roots of *Scirpus robustus* and cattail (*Typha*), and a diversity of other roots not identified; the seeds of sunflowers, sage, tumbleweeds, wild rye, and "redtop"; choke-cherries, grapes, huckleberries, plums, service-berries, and "swamp-berries"; tender shoots of *Scirpus lacustris,* and the outside of the matured seed-stalks of cattails; pine lichens and pine bast; hazelnuts and pine-nuts.

Fish and waterfowl were abundant. Antelope, deer, elk, and mountain-sheep, black bears and grizzly-bears, beaver, mink, porcupines, and rabbits, foxes, badgers, wildcats, raccoons, and skunks, squirrels, gophers, and woodrats, even mountain-lions and coyotes — all were good for food. Bats, buzzards, and turtles were not disdained.

Fish were taken with hooks, in nets, or by spearing. There were two kinds of hooks: a straight, double-pointed bit of teal- or deer-bone, to the middle of which the line was attached by means of sinew and pitch; and a double-barbed hook, the shank and the barbs of bone, and all three fastened together with sinew and pitch. The barbed hook was baited with small fish and was used in trolling for salmon and trout from the shore or in a canoe, as well as on short lines attached to a set-line stretched between two stakes and left over night.

The commonest form of fish-spear resembles the implement so widely used in northern California. The long shaft has a secondary foreshaft lashed to it at an acute angle, so that the spear-shaft is like a Y with a greatly elongated stem, with the difference that one of the foreshafts does not make an angle with the shaft, but is simply an exten-

sion of ii in a straight line, being in fact an actual part of the main shaft itself. On the tip of each prong is fitted the socket of a barbless bone point. Each point is attached to a cord at its middle, and the two cords unite in one line, which extends up the shaft. When either point is driven through a fish, it is jerked free of the shaft and turns toggle-wise at a right angle to the wound, holding the fish in spite of its struggles. Another fish-spear has a head consisting of about a dozen hardwood points held apart in the form of a cone by a hoop lashed inside of them. This is used to pin to the bottom fish of a sluggish nature, and another spear with double-pointed barbed head of steel is employed to transfix it and bring it to the surface.

The dip-net called *téwas* is a very large, bag-like net hung on a frame consisting of a pair of long, divergent poles, a strengthening cross-bar near their intersection, and a stout cord connecting their tips. It is manipulated by a man in the prow of a stationary canoe. Two other canoes propelled by women approach in converging lines, and in the bow of each is a man who beats on the sides of the craft in order to frighten fish into the net.[6] The net is raised by using the intersection of the poles as a pivotal point against the under side of the prow. As the tips emerge from the water, the cross-bar is hooked over the prow, and there the net rests, with the cross-bar over the prow, the intersection of the poles beneath it, and the poles themselves extending forward, outward, and upward from the canoe, the mouth of the net in the air and the bottom of the bag in the water. The fish are then removed and deposited in the canoe, and another cast is made.

Lutéas is a conical net hung on a hoop, which is attached to a pole. It is used from the bank, from a canoe, or by one who wades the stream. *Spíwas* is a gill-net equipped with sinkers of elliptical, grooved stones. and with tule floats. It is stretched across small streams, or in larger waters is operated by making one end fast to a post ashore while the other end is carried around a circle by men in a very large canoe.

6 Barrett, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn.,* vol. 5, no. 4, 1910, page 249, says that the canoe carrying the net is paddled forward by a man in the stem, who makes as much noise as possible in order to frighten fish forward into the net. It is difficult to see how this can be accomplished when the canoe is being paddled "quite rapidly along," with the opening of the net away from the stern.

Others in a small craft inside the enclosed space make a commotion in the water and beat on the sides of the canoe, so as to frighten the fish, which become entangled in their efforts to escape. *Wechólas* is a very wide-mouthed bag-like seine held across a stream by two men while others drive the fish into it. Practically all nets are made of nettle-bark, but in rare cases *Asclepias* is the source of the fibre.

Nets of three kinds are used in taking waterfowl. *Spénsis,* a long, narrow net, is drawn taut over the water between two poles. When a flock of birds flies into the net and becomes entangled like fish in a gill-net, watchers lower the rope on which the upper edge is stretched, and others paddle out to remove the captives. *Kéudels* is suspended in the water at openings in the ice, the lower edge weighted with stone sinkers, the upper edge stretched between two stakes set into holes in the ice. In this fashion is taken a waterfowl called *chákunus,* which dives in the open spaces for minnows. The dip-net *téwas* is poised at the prow of a canoe at night, and waterfowl, dazzled by the light of a fire burning on a hearth amidships, fly into it.

Ducks are sometimes caught on baited fish-hooks.

Deer were killed with arrows, either by lying in wait at a place where their trail crossed a stream, or by stalking. For the latter purpose the hunter might tie a bunch of white-leaved plants to his hair and creep toward the animals, which would not only stand, but even approach, out of curiosity; or he might wear a disguise, the skin of a deer's head with small natural antlers. To attract antelope within range, Klamath hunters sometimes fastened a strip of white weasel-skin to each heel and then lay on the back waving the feet. Both deer and bear were taken in pitfalls, and the former were sometimes snared in nooses suspended in their runways. The deadfall is said to have been invented by a Kómbat-kni (Pelican Bay Klamath) man. This means, of course, that he was the first of his people to adopt the device. Just prior to the Modoc war the soldiers arrested a Modoc man, who, escaping, took to the woods and was found dead in one of the "inventor's" traps.

Klamath implements of war were bows and arrows, and javelins. The bow was made of yew from the Cascade mountains, reinforced with sinew glued along its back, and recurved at the ends. Arrow-shafts were of cane or the straight shoots of service-berry or rose, with foreshafts of hard wood, preferably mountain mahogany. The shafts

were straightened by inserting them in a perforated block of wood and bending in the necessary direction, and were smoothed by rubbing with a grooved stone. The points were flint or obsidian. Hunting arrows had shafts of cane, and the mahogany foreshaft served also as the point. Arrows to be used for waterfowl had near the point a slightly raised ring, either of the wood itself or of sinew and pitch applied to the wood, for the purpose of deflecting the missile upward when it struck the water and causing it to skim along the surface, thus greatly increasing the likelihood of its striking a bird. The quiver was either the entire skin of a small mammal, as raccoon or fox, or a tule bag. The spear used in warfare had a shaft of hard wood, and an obsidian blade several inches long. For defense the Klamath warrior had a corselet of upright wooden slats with nettle-cord twining.

The character of the Klamath habitat, studded with lakes and marshes which provided their principal food, made the canoe an object of great importance. The Klamath canoe is simply the thin shell of a log — pine, cedar, or Douglas spruce — undercut at both ends at an angle of about forty-five degrees, but less at the bow than at the stern. Both ends are shovel-nosed, that is, they are not pointed but are practically as wide as the beam of the craft. The hollowing of the log was formerly done by means of fire and the elk-horn adz, and surplus wood on the outside was removed with the adz, after which the surface was rubbed down with a stone. Some of the modern canoes are so slightly touched on the outside that, but for the undercut ends, an overturned craft might almost be mistaken for a drift log. Klamath canoes show no attempt to model the lines so as to produce a swift or a seaworthy craft; a cross-section would resemble the cross-section of a log with a couple of slabs removed from the upper side. The largest canoe observed in this investigation was twenty-two feet long, seventeen inches wide at the gunwale, and twenty-three inches deep. Others, which seemed to be of average size, were about eighteen feet long and varied little in width from end to end. On streams and lakes the canoe is propelled by means of cedar paddles from three to five feet in length, with long, thin blades. On the marshes the paddle is displaced by a long pole, split at the base, with the two prongs held wide apart by a bone or a wooden bar. Such a device is made necessary by the character of the bottom of these swamps, a mass of oozy silt and interlaced roots of tules and water-lilies. The forked pole quickly

finds a firm support, where a straight one would sink so deeply as to be withdrawn only by great effort.

Besides net-sinkers, arrow-smoothers, and points for arrows and war-spears, all of which have been mentioned, stone artifacts of the Klamath include metates and mullers, mortars and pestles, mauls, tobacco-pipes, and knives. The metate, which is still used in grinding seeds, is simply a flat piece of lava rock worn smooth in actual service. The muller, or upper stone of the primitive mill, is roughly the frustum of a cone with two cusps at the top for hand-holds. In grinding, it is pushed forward on the metate and drawn back, pressure being applied on the forward stroke. A smaller, hemispherical muller is operated with a circular movement in grinding pinole, the meal of parched seeds of grasses, sage, and tumbleweed. The mortar was formerly used in pounding dried fish, dried meat, and seeds. It was rudely bowl-shaped, and the pestle, which was worked to shape by pecking with a stone, was either roughly cylindrical or a long, slender cone with a rounded base and, in some instances, a knob at the upper end. Some of these utensils are still in use. The maul was conical and about six inches in height. It was used for driving wedges of elk-horn or of mountain mahogany in splitting logs for canoes. Pipes, usually angular, sometimes rudely spheroidal, are of tufa, with stems of wood or of wild grass. They are still used. The knife was a broad celt of obsidian or of flint set in a split wooden handle with sinew wrapping.

In addition to fish-hooks and harpoon-points, objects of bone and horn were adzes, wedges, and awls. The adz, a blade of elkhorn lashed to a trapeziform wooden handle, was used in making canoes and in cutting firewood. Large stocks of fuel were provided for the winter, the favorite kind being the top branches of pines, which were cut off the standing trees.[7] The elk-horn wedge was the instrument for cutting and splitting logs. In making a cross-cut it was used as a chisel for the two transverse cuts and as a wedge to remove in large chips the waste material between the cuts. The awl was a pointed sliver of deer-bone. Elk-horn spoons were purchased from the mountain tribes to the west.

7 The informant knew a man who was thrown to his death by a falling limb.

Cordage and textiles were, and are, among the most important products of the Klamath. Nettle-bark cord, always two-ply, is used principally in nets. Basketry is wholly of the twined variety. In contradistinction to California practice, pliable basketry here predominates. The warp of these flexible baskets of the finer weave is the twisted outer fibres of *mai,* the round tule, and the weft is the shredded and twisted leaves of *pópas,* cattail, or the skin of the round tule. The long, fibrous roots of the latter plant furnish material for dark-brown designs, and dead black ornamentation is produced by the use of the stalk-fibres dyed in a mixture of blue mud and water-lily seed-husks. Of this class of basketry are the caps of women, parching baskets, platters, and bowl-shaped receptacles of various sizes. Loosely woven objects of tule material include the canoe-shaped, floating basket for harvesting water-lily seeds, the bag for the same purpose, the straight-sided burden- and storage-basket with tump-line laced through eyelets around the edge, food-trays of varying shapes, and the cradle-basket. A rigid, conical burden-basket, with an opening of about twenty-four inches, is made of willow, and a basket for cooking, as well as one for winnowing, of willow-roots. Sieves of willow and of split juniper-roots with cord twining are used for separating dry water-lily seeds from the pods and as graters for removing the skins of tubers.

Mats of the triangular tule, with twining of the same material, or, better, of nettle-bark cord, were formerly used in making leggings, shirts, and robes. Round tules, never woven, but strung together on a series of transverse cords, formed the mats used as house walls, as mattresses, and as lining and cover for the circular storage-pits in which dried fish, roots, and seeds were kept.

In an emergency a raft was made by tying together several long bundles of tules. Two or more men, lying prone, propelled the craft by paddling with their hands.

The Klamath drum was a hollow cross-section of juniper with a deerskin head, the flute a hollow piece of grapevine, the shaman's rattle a cluster of deer's dewclaws attached by strings to a wooden handle.

Fire was kindled with a drill operated between the palms, the shaft being of any convenient wood pointed with a bit of sage- or willow-root, and the hearth the lower part of the handle of the cedar canoe-paddle. It was preserved and transported by means of tightly twisted and wrapped sage-bark.

The Klamath had several methods of gambling, two of which, *sakáls* and *naíatias,* are still in vogue. In the game called *sakáls,* two pairs of sticks are concealed under a mat, and the opposing side guesses what the arrangement is. With two short or two long sticks side by side in the middle *(skátsas),* the winning gesture is with the first two fingers extended. With the short and the long sticks alternating (*wâis*), the gesture is a motion to the right with thumb extended. If *skátsas* is missed, the side having its inning counts two points, but if*wâis* is missed, it takes only one. When the guess is correct, the inning passes to the guessers. The wagers are won by the side that secures the entire twelve tally-sticks.

Naíatias is the widespread so-called hand-game, in which a marked and an unmarked bit of bone are interchanged by the leader from hand to hand, with great rapidity and with many confusing movements and swayings of the body, while his fellows sing vehemently. The leader of the opposition must guess which hand contains the marked bone.

In the game *seknáas* two contestants, usually representing different bands, stood about forty feet apart, each beside a stake surmounted by a large ball of tules, which his opponent tried to impale with a long willow javelin. The one who first succeeded, while the corresponding cast of his opponent failed, won the wagers for his backers.

Foot-races, archery, and wrestling were favorite sports.

Women played *chimáas,* hurling toward opposite goals by means of long sticks a pair of billets joined by a thong, and their gambling game was *skósas,* in which beaver-tooth dice were used.

There were six geographical divisions of the Klamath, each of which had its head-man. That they were much farther advanced toward a tribal organization than any California Indians is shown by the fact that when the treaty was negotiated in 1864, and for some years previously, Líliks, head of the Klamath Marsh band, was recognized as chief by all the others. At that time, having foreseen possibilities of trouble with the encroaching settlers, he had already enlisted the coöperation of the other five head-men: Chéloqan (Chilokin), Páma, Kikátketk (a Modoc), Nótas (Link River Jack), and Poskéu. They selected a number of peace officers, of whom the present informant was one, with orders to disarm the young men from whom trouble with the immigrants might be expected.

From time to time they made arrests, both of men and of women, for quarrelsomeness, drunkenness, and adultery, confining the prisoners in two adjoining underground cells, the men segregated from the women. The prison was north of Williamson river near the present Agency road. Punishment was by flogging at the hands of two strong men wielding service-berry switches. A very few floggings produced such a state of the public mind that the services of the whippers were rarely required.[8]

The position of chief was not inherited: the man best fitted for it gradually assumed it.

At the beginning of spring the people left their winter houses and assembled in large camps in favorable open places to hold athletic sports, gambling games, dances, and feasts. Later the various bands broke up into smaller groups and moved from place to place to gather food. The country was not divided into districts held for the exclusive use of the several bands, for any Klamath family had the right to seek food in any part of the Klamath territory. The approach of cold weather sent them back to their winter residence, where they either moved into the houses occupied during the previous winter or with the help of friends built new ones. The houses were not so much grouped together in villages as they were scattered here and there in favorable locations, either singly or in pairs. Generally several families, usually those of brothers, occupied a house.

The only unit of society was the family group, comprising usually the parents and their sons, unmarried daughters, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren.

Blood relationship, even though so remote as second cousins, was a strict bar to marriage. Some men refrained from conversation with their mothers-in-law on account of their wives' jealousy.

Prisoners of war were not enslaved, but were forcibly adopted and treated as members of the family, suffering no abuse and contracting as favorable marriages as the native Klamath.

A proposal of marriage was reported by the girl to her parents,

8 A similar institution was in effect among the Kalispel.

and if they approved her choice each family made preparations to give the other a certain amount of property. After this exchange of gifts of equal value, the couple lived together, sometimes with the family of the wife, but more commonly with that of the husband. Virginity in a bride was rare, and a deal of trouble was caused by adultery. Not infrequently the husband of an adulteress would assassinate her paramour, and even after the lapse of ten or fifteen years the relatives of the slain man would try to avenge him. Sometimes the woman herself was beaten by her husband. In the time of the chief Líliks both men and women adulterers were whipped and confined.

Children were named from some peculiar or noticeable feature or characteristic, and the names of infancy were kept throughout life. Examples of masculine names are Nónam ("sore throat"), Akáwat ("big mouth"), Nóchoks ("burnt [that is, kinky] hair"); and of feminine names, Iks, abbreviated from Ikas ("lazy"), Yámkas ("lazy"), Síwals ("talkative").

Both girls and women during menstruation abstained from fish, but not from meat, and from drinking cold water. If the act was attended with difficulty, the girl was made to sit on a heap of juniper-leaves piled on a layer of hot stones in a pit.

At the time of a girl's first menstruation a dance called *yókal* was held in the open air on five successive nights, and while the people sang and shook rattles consisting of deers' dewclaws hung on sticks, she and her woman attendant danced. At the end of the ceremony the girl was bathed. This custom has long been obsolete.

The social dance, *yékal,* is still performed by men and women, who join hands and dance slowly in a circle.

Boys and girls at the age of fifteen to eighteen were sent to spend a night, or even two or three nights if they could endure it, in the woods and on the mountains, seeking help from supernatural beings. During the day they would build piles of stones here and there, in order to secure the strength of the rocks, and they would pull small trees from the ground and embrace the larger ones with a similar purpose. After returning, they would practically fast during four or five days; for eating a normal amount during that time would have destroyed the good effect of the vigil. This custom is called *spóto*. Not even after many years had passed would an individual tell what had happened during this vigil in the lonely places. By*spóto* some became shamans, others

received power to become good gamblers, and others rich men with many horses.

The finding of an obsidian celt portends good luck. Gamblers keep these objects concealed in secret places, either buried in the earth or submerged in water, and when they are about to play they secure the charms and keep them on their person during the game.

A warrior charmed his arrows by talking to them at night. He then placed the points among a swarm of red ants, which were believed to poison them, or dipped them in the decoction of an unidentified organ of a rattlesnake while repeating some formula, such as, I am going to die, I want something to eat!" Similar formulas were addressed to them at night, in order to secure for them some mysterious power. The rattlesnake poison was obtained from the Achomawi.

A man became a shaman by bathing in streams or lakes at night and fasting on mountaintops, until he had a dream in which some animal spoke to him and told him how to cure disease. Crater lake was held to be very potent for this purpose. Not infrequently the vigil was undertaken as the result of grieving over the death of a relative. When the services of a medicine-man were needed, a messenger was sent who understood the speech of shamans. In answer to his summons, the medicine-man replied, "You had better call my *suwis* [a shaman's tutelary, also his song] from the east, the north, the west, the south, from above and from below." Then the messenger, using a pronunciation in which the words were so lengthened by the addition of meaningless syllables that the common people could not understand, called upon the birds, and the reptiles and other animals living close to the ground. The medicine-man promised to visit the sick person at a certain time that night, and the family then began to prepare the house. The patient was laid in the middle of the floor, and those who were to assist or wished to observe the procedure sat around the sides of the room. When the shaman arrived, the fire was extinguished. There was a song-leader, who was assisted by several female singers. Whatever the medicine-man said in his work, the man who had acted as messenger repeated it to the people in the ordinary language. The treatment consisted of singing the shaman's *suwis* and sucking out the disease, which he exhibited as a small black object or as an expectoration of blood. In some instances he announced that the sickness was caused by the power of some other medicine-man, who must be hired

to remove it; whereupon they sent for the shaman indicated and engaged him to remove the sickness. If he failed, the sick man's relatives might threaten him, which resulted in renewed efforts; and if in spite of everything the patient died, his relatives killed the medicine-man supposed to have bewitched him. A probable explanation of the question, why a man would announce himself as a medicine-man among a people where he certainly would be killed if suspected of using malign power, is that the hope of gain from apparently saving the life of persons not seriously ill outweighed the sense of danger. Many medicine-men died natural deaths, and doubtless each novice felt that it would be anyone but himself who would meet an untimely end. The Indian is a good deal of a fatalist.

Shamans had various feats of magic. One was to place burning embers in the mouth, another to swallow from ten to twenty short sticks or obsidian celts tied together on a string. Or, while men held his arms and legs, another man would bring a string of obsidian celts close to the shaman's fundament, which would swallow them. Then the shaman would wrap a tule blanket about himself and dance, and the spectators would hear the points striking against the blanket as they worked their way through his flesh. He would throw off the blanket and show the celts sticking among the tule fibres. Again, he would wrap himself in a tule blanket, on which pitch was smeared, and others would thrust a great many small sticks among the tules. These were then ignited, and flames shot up to the roof. But when the fire burned out, the blanket was not harmed. These feats were performed at night, when deception was not too difficult.

The native practice was to burn the dead. In pre-treaty times the chief Líliks, travelling to Jacksonville, Yreka, and The Dalles, observed that the white people buried the dead, and he instituted this custom among the Klamath. He himself was buried. A dead person's possessions were burned; but only in rare instances, when the bereaved family was especially grief-stricken, was the house so treated. The ashes were then heaped up and left where they lay. Women mourners, and rarely men, cut the hair short and smeared pitch on the head, face, and hands, and widows placed rings of sage about the neck, wrists, and ankles. Women still sometimes cut the hair and defile themselves with pitch. Widows and widowers are said usually to have waited two or three years before remarrying, and in some cases widows refused to re-

marry at all. After the cremation those who had been in close contact with the corpse took a purifying sweat-bath together, and if a widow were involved she removed and burned the sage rings. The name of a dead person was taboo for several years. The spirit was believed to seek its future abode in the west.

Ideas and practices of a strictly religious nature were few. The sweat-house prayer, the addressing of war-arrows, the vigil for good luck, shamanism, the belief in charms for luck in gambling, have all been mentioned. There was no ceremonial dance or ritual. The myth character Kamúkam'ts ("old man ancient"), with the assistance of Pocket-gopher, created the land, placed the natural features and named them, changed the inhabitants into animals in their present forms, and finally created the Indian tribes and assigned them their respective territories. Wás-kamus ("coyote old-man") played his customary role, now mischievous, now benevolent. Thunder was held to be a personage who required placating. He was imagined as a diminutive individual with very long hair and claws. At the approach of a storm a worn-out burden-basket was placed on the top of a pole by a girl who in her observance of the puberty customs, or by a woman who in her fast of several days and nights after childbirth, had dreamed of thunder, or of anything that could be so interpreted, such as something beating on the side of a canoe, or a dry deerskin flapping in a breeze.

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