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CONTENTS

	Page
1. Growth of Japanese Children Born in America and in Japan, Leslie Spier.....	1-30
2. Mythology of Southern Puget Sound, Arthur C. Ballard	31-150
3. Wishram Ethnography, Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir.	151-300
Index	301-304



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS
IN
ANTHROPOLOGY

I

Vol. 3, No. 1, Pp 1-30

July, 1929

GROWTH OF JAPANESE CHILDREN
BORN IN AMERICA AND
IN JAPAN

By

LESLIE SPIER



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
1929

CONTENTS

	Page
I. Introduction	1
II. The Data	2
III. Observations on Body Characters	4
IV. Homogeneity of the Hiroshima Series	9
V. Homogeneity of the Seattle Series	11
VI. Observations on Dentition	16
VII. Discussion of Results	20
VIII. Summary	23

TABLES

1. Age of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States	4
2. Stature of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States	5
3. Stature of Other American-born and Japan-born Children	5
4. Reach of Japanese Children Born in the United States	6
5. Length of Head of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States	7
6. Width of Head of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States	7
7. Cephalic Index of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States	8
8. Width of Face of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States	9
9. Number of Cases of Midorii and Kawauchi Children	9
10. Comparison of Midorii and Kawauchi Children	10
11. Comparison of Children Born to Mothers arriving before 1909 with those of Arrivals of 1909 and Later	11
12. Birth Place of Mothers of Seven and Nine Year Old Boys and Eight Year Old Girls	13
13. Comparison of Statures of Older and Younger Siblings in Terms of Standard Deviations—Brothers	14
14. Comparison of Statures and Older and Younger Siblings in Terms of Standard Deviation—Sisters	15
15. Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Deciduous Teeth Present—Boys	16
16. Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Deciduous Teeth Present—Girls	16
17. Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Permanent Teeth Present—Boys	17
18. Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Permanent Teeth Present—Girls	17
19. Average Ages and Variabilities of the Loss of Deciduous teeth and the Eruption of Permanent Teeth in American-born Japanese Children	18
20. American-born Boys Reduced to Adult Norms Compared with Averages of Provincial Types in Japan	21

21. Comparison of Children Born Within Six Years of Mothers' Arrival with Those Born Later	21
22. Comparison of Children Born Within Six Years of their Mothers' Arrival in 1905 and 1906 with those Born Later.....	23
Appendix A. Years of Arrival of the Parents of American-born Japanese Children.....	26
Appendix B. Relation of Years of Mother's Arrival to Number of Years Elapsing Before Birth of Child.....	27
Appendix C. Birthplaces of the Parents of American-born Children Distributed According to Province	28

FIGURE

Map Showing the Distribution of Parents' Birthplaces in Japan.....	29
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THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CHILDREN
BORN IN AMERICA AND
IN JAPAN

THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CHILDREN BORN IN AMERICA AND IN JAPAN

I. INTRODUCTION

It has been established that an appreciable change in physical type results when children are born and reared in an environment different from that of their parents. This has been shown for European immigrants to eastern United States by Boas, Guthe, and others.¹ So far as I know these observations have been restricted to Caucasian types. That they occur in Mongoloid groups has been suggested but not conclusively demonstrated. There is, of course, no inherent probability against it.

"K. S. Inui has pointed out that both Japanese boys and girls in America are taller and heavier than those in Japan."² Iyenaga and Sato report that "the Japanese Educational Association [of San Francisco] once conducted an extensive physical examination of Japanese children in twenty different grammar schools in California" with the finding that children of seven to sixteen years were appreciably larger than children of the same ages in Japan.³ The difficulty with accepting these findings as conclusive is that we do not know that the groups are of comparable physical derivation. "On the basis of a limited number of measurements, Doctor Romanzo Adams, of the University of Hawaii, has found that the sons of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii are taller than their fathers."⁴

In this paper I will trace the course of growth of Japanese children born in the United States and of those born in that section of southern Japan from which most of our immigrants are derived, and will attempt to show that changes analogous to those of European immigrants are suggested.

¹ Boas, Franz, *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants* (Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 38, Washington, 1911); Guthe, C.E., *Notes on the Cephalic Index of Russian Jews in Boston* (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, vol. 1, 1918, 213-223).

² *The Unsolved Problem of the Pacific*, pp. 210-213 (cited by Smith, William C., *Changing Personality Traits of Second Generation Orientals in America*, American Journal of Sociology, vol. 33, 1928, p. 923).

³ T. Iyenaga and Kenoske Sato, *Japan and the California Problem* (New York and London, 1911), p. 165, Appendix A.

⁴ Smith, William C., *loc. cit.*

II. THE DATA⁵

The groups examined were 320 Japanese school children of Seattle, Washington, and its vicinity, and 521 others of Hiroshima prefecture in southern Japan. The Seattle children included here were all born in the United States; the overwhelming majority in Seattle. The opportunity to measure these children of the Japanese Language School of Seattle in 1921-23 was obtained through the kindness of Mr. N. Nakashima and Mr. K. Takabataka, principal. A few other American-born children were measured at a language school at Orillia, a farming community a short distance south of Seattle. Inasmuch as the number of Japanese children in the Seattle public schools at this time was 922, we have reached a third of the total.

This third of the school population is presumably representative. So far as I am aware there is no selection involved at the school. The Japanese population of Seattle, one of tradesmen, is socially homogeneous. The desire is general to send their children to the language school, where sessions are after public school hours and not compulsory. The school has an asymmetrical distribution of class population, most pupils being in the lower grades. I do not believe that any appreciable physical selection is involved in this diminution. On the one hand, poorer families may withdraw their larger children to help at home; on the other, well-to-do families may keep their children, who are better nourished, longer at school.

The series of Japan-born children was obtained in 1923 at the common schools of Kawauchi and Midorii, small places about nine miles north of Hiroshima City, in Aki province, Hiroshima prefecture. For this I am greatly indebted to Mr. Matsutaro Harada, one of my students at the University of Washington, and the local school officials. Hiroshima was chosen for comparison with the Seattle series because the Seattle group is commonly said to come from that prefecture; this is however only partly true. I do not know what the character of the Kawauchi-Midorii population is. Mr. Harada did not measure all classes in each place, hence gaps appear in his series.

The method of examination in Seattle consisted in recording the place of birth of each child, age at his last birthday,⁶ date of birth, place of birth of each parent and date of parents' immigration, names and ages of brothers and sisters. Blanks were sent home with the children to be filled in by their parents to supply the same data. This information was then checked by comparison with the

⁵ The original records have been deposited in the Museum of Anthropology, University of California, San Francisco.

⁶ It is customary in Japan to count age from January of the year of birth, not from the actual birthday (Chamberlain, Basil Hall, *Things Japanese*, 5th ed., London, 1905, pp. 12-13, 63). So far as I know Mr. Harada obtained ages from birth, in the same manner as the Seattle series. If the ages of the Japan-born children were reckoned in the conventional Japanese manner, they would average a half year younger than the recorded ages. This would render the discrepancy between the measurements of American-born and Japan-born children, to be noted below, somewhat less than indicated.

Language School records. In Hiroshima the data were obtained from the children alone.

The characters measured were stature, reach, head length, head breadth, face breadth, and the dentition was observed. In Hiroshima reach and dental observations were omitted. These measurements were chosen merely as the most convenient. The method of taking them was as follows:

Stature, standing height without shoes. In a few cases the stature was obtained with shoes, the height of the heels measured and subtracted. Stature was measured with the subject standing erect, free of support; the two-meter measuring bar held vertical behind the subject by the observer, and read to the nearest millimeter.

Reach, the span from the tip of the middle finger of one hand to that of the other, the arms being extended horizontally sideways, with palms facing forward. The subject was instructed to extend the arms in this position and then move to the left until the finger tip touched a wall. The measuring rod was then placed horizontally back of his shoulders with its butt against the wall, and the sliding arm brought in contact with the right middle finger tip.

Head Length, the maximum glabello-occipital diameter. *Head breadth*, the maximum transverse diameter of the vault. Measured with spreading calipers manufactured by Kny-Scherer Company in millimeters.

Face width, the maximum bizygomatic width. Measured with the same calipers. I believe this measurement was taken from landmarks too far forward, hence these data should not be used in comparison with other series. But as the Seattle and Hiroshima series were made in exactly the same way, the results are comparable.

Dentition, the presence of each deciduous and permanent tooth was recorded. Any fragment of a deciduous tooth and any partially erupted permanent tooth was recorded as present. As the examination was made rapidly a source of confusion of the two sets was present. This appears in the irregular values shown in the tables of occurrence.

The observations were made by the writer and several students of the University of Washington to whom he is indebted, Miss Lillian Hocking, Mr. Matsutaro Harada, and Mr. William Pool. The greater number of observations on the American-born children were made by the writer, especially the head-and face-diameters, and all dental observations. I am also indebted to Mr. Henry Tatsumi and Mrs. Sara Schenck for identifying the birthplaces of the parents in Japan, and to Mr. Eldon Griffin for assistance. Mr. Sidney Adams also volunteered assistance with the calculations.

The comparability of the measurements by the several observers was tested by having Spier repeat the head measurements of a limited number of children

measured by the three others. The average departures of the latter from Spier's measurements are as follows:

	Cases	Head Length	Head Width	Face Width
Harada	10	-0.8 mm.	-1.4 mm.	+0.2 mm.
Bocking	15	+2.7	+0.9	-0.1
Pool	27	+1.4	+1.1	+0.7

The range of variation of each of these departures is quite small. The differences are on the whole so small as to be negligible.

III. OBSERVATIONS ON BODY CHARACTERS

The age distribution of the American-born and Japan-born series is given in Table 1 in the form of the average age in months in each year group. Taken as a whole the averages hover about five months, somewhat under the midyear interval (6 months). Their distribution about this point in both series is random. The differences between the averages of the two series are small and not always in one direction. Hence we may consider the series directly comparable from the standpoint of age.

TABLE 1. *Age of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States (in years and months)*
(number of cases in parentheses)

Age	Boys			GIRLS		
	Japan	United States	Difference	Japan	United States	Difference
6 and	4.3 (31)	...	...	5.3 (33)	...	...
7 and	6.0 (34)	4.7 (37)	-1.3	5.6 (31)	6.3 (39)	0.7
8 and	3.7 (35)	5.1 (28)	1.4	4.7 (27)	5.9 (27)	1.2
9 and	4.8 (59)	5.4 (34)	0.6	4.9 (19)	3.9 (25)	-1.0
10 and	4.2 (30)	5.0 (22)	0.8	3.8 (31)	5.0 (16)	1.2
11 and	5.2 (27)	5.8 (12)	0.6	4.9 (29)	4.3 (25)	-0.6
12 and	5.1 (43)	4.5 (8)	-0.6	3.7 (32)	5.3 (15)	1.6
13 and	4.5 (33)	6.6 (9)	2.1	5.4 (27)	2.6 (12)	-2.8
14 and	...	...	...	...	5.2 (11)	...

The average statures and standard deviations for each age group of both series are given in Table 2. The standard deviations of the series obtained in Japan exhibit the familiar phenomenon of a regular increase in variability with age. The values of the smaller American series are fluctuating.

The statures of the American-born children are greater in every age class than the corresponding Japan-born children. The differences are given in the fourth and seventh columns together with the probable error of each difference. The differences increase slightly in the later years among both boys and girls. The certainty of the differences is attested by the order of size of the probable errors. In all cases except 8, 9, and 11 year old girls the difference is more than twice the probable error; in five cases randomly distributed (7, 10, 13 year old boys;

7, 12 year old girls) the difference is more than three times the probable error; and in only one case (9 year old girls) is the difference less than its probable error. It is thus reasonably certain that the differences between the series are real.

TABLE 2. *Stature of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States (millimeters).*

Age	Boys			GIRLS		
	Japan	United States	Difference	Japan	United States	Difference
6	1076.3±49.1	.....	.....	1063.9±38.6	.....	.....
7	1110.2±34.2	1154.9±36.4	44.7± 8.5	1113.7±51.2	1163.7±48.0	50.0±12.4
8	1173.2±43.4	1201.0±55.6	27.7±13.0	1151.0±43.1	1169.9±42.1	18.9±11.6
9	1227.2±62.4	1256.6±55.9	29.5±12.6	1219.9±58.1	1233.5±53.2	13.6±17.1
10	1256.1±38.6	1299.5±44.0	43.4±12.1	1251.9±63.8	1295.9±50.6	44.0±17.1
11	1310.4±38.5	1350.8±52.0	40.5±16.7	1334.0±70.0	1366.0±71.8	31.9±19.4
12	1350.4±51.7	1382.3±37.6	31.9±15.4	1360.9±61.4	1442.3±39.5	81.4±14.9
13	1375.7±69.7	1477.0±91.4	101.3±32.9	1401.4±62.8	1447.9±49.3	46.5±18.7
14	.....	.....	.....	.....	1495.4±53.6	.....

These series may be compared with values of American-born Japanese children of California⁷ and of children in Japan given by Misawa.⁸ The latter consists of two series, those of M. Mishima of 9609 boys and 7466 girls, which Misawa suggests were made in Tokyo City and exclude lower classes of society, and those of the Japanese Department of Education (Report for 1901) of 869,014 children possibly from elementary schools in the country at large.

TABLE 3. *Stature of Other American-born and Japan-born Children (millimeters).*

Age	Boys				GIRLS		
	California	Japan— Mishima	Japan— Educ. Dept.	Japan— Cadet Schools	California	Japan— Mishima	Japan— Educ. Dept.
5	.....	974	.....	.....	.....	965	.....
6	.....	1028	.....	.....	.....	1024	.....
7	1077	1083	1065	.....	1077	1072	1053
8	1145	1138	1110	.....	1145	1120	1095
9	1204	1183	1156	.....	1199	1162	1142
10	1250	1228	1200	.....	1265	1204	1185
11	1295	1270	1248	.....	1305	1259	1232
12	1334	1308	1287	.....	1326	1323	1282
13	1362	1352	1334	1470	1326	1390	1333
14	1425	1415	1376	1522	1466	1432	1377
15	1471	1463	1421	1567	1478	1447	1416
16	1550	.....	1461	1590	1483	.....	1437
17	.....	.....	.....	1600	.....	.....	.....

⁷ Made by the Japanese Educational Association, quoted by Iyenaga and Sato, *loc. cit.* I have transformed the values from English units to their metric equivalents.

⁸ Misawa, Tadasu, *A Few Statistical Facts from Japan* (Pedagogical Seminary, vol. 16, 1909, pp. 104-112).

The Hiroshima children are taller than those of Tokyo and of the country at large in every group. The sole exception is that of the 13 year old boys of the Cadet Schools, presumably a selected group, who are taller than Hiroshima boys by 95 mm.

Excess of Hiroshima boys over Mishima series ranges from 23 to 48 mm.

Excess of Hiroshima boys over Education Dept. series, 41-71 mm.

Excess of Hiroshima girls over Mishima series, 11-75 mm.

Excess of Hiroshima girls over Education Dept. series, 56-102 mm.

The American-born children of Seattle are taller in every age group than those of California. The excess ranges in boys from 44 to 115 mm., in girls from 24 to 121 mm. For our purpose it is significant that the American-born children of Seattle are taller in every age group than those of Tokyo and Japan at large.

Excess of Seattle boys over Mishima series ranges from 63 to 125 mm.

Excess of Seattle boys over Education Dept. series, 90-143 mm.

Excess of Seattle boys over Cadet School series, 7 mm.

Excess of Seattle girls over Mishima series, 50-119 mm.

Excess of Seattle girls over Education Dept. series, 75-134 mm.

These differences are greater than those between the Seattle Japanese and the Hiroshima children.

The reach or arm span of children born in the United States is given in Table 4. Measurement of this character was not made in Japan. The reach is in all cases (save 13 year old boys) less than the corresponding stature, but the difference is less among older boys and girls (12, 13 year old boys; 12, 13, 14 year old girls) than among the younger children.

TABLE 4. *Reach of Japanese Children Born in the United States (millimeters).*

Age	Boys	Girls
7	1137.2±43.7	1114.1±60.6
8	1175.3±60.5	1139.4±41.5
9	1233.4±60.8	1222.4±51.6
10	1284.4±55.6	1263.9±62.4
11	1330.3±57.5	1338.8±73.4
12	1381.0±61.8	1437.5±41.0
13	1478.2±88.6	1438.2±58.1
14	.....	1491.9±61.9

A comparison of length of head is given in Table 5. The standard deviation of each series is fairly uniform, unlike the series for statures. In absolute values the American-born children are longer headed than the Japan-born children of the same age. The differences in most cases are appreciable; in only two cases (8 year old boys and 9 year old girls) is a deficiency noted. The difference is greater than its probable error in half the cases and approximately equal in two others; in the remaining cases the difference is half the probable error. This

case is not so decisive as that of stature but the differences taken as a whole seem real.

TABLE 5. Length of Head of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States (millimeters).

Age	Boys			GIRLS		
	Japan	United States	Difference	Japan	United States	Difference
6.....	170.7±4.7	.....	.....	165.7±5.3	.....	.....
7.....	169.0±4.9	171.0±5.7	2.1±1.2	165.7±5.7	167.7±5.3	2.0±1.3
8.....	172.8±4.9	171.0±4.6	-1.8±1.2	167.8±4.0	169.1±6.1	1.3±1.4
9.....	173.3±5.6	175.2±5.3	1.9±1.2	172.6±4.7	169.9±5.7	-2.7±1.6
10.....	174.4±5.5	175.1±5.3	0.6±1.5	171.7±4.6	172.6±7.6	0.9±2.3
11.....	176.0±4.1	177.3±6.9	1.4±2.7	172.6±4.2	173.3±6.7	0.7±1.6
12.....	175.9±4.6	178.5±8.0	2.6±2.9	171.8±4.4	175.7±4.9	3.9±1.5
13.....	177.6±7.1	181.0±5.3	3.4±2.2	175.0±4.5	176.2±6.4	1.1±2.3
14.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	178.1±8.8	.....

A comparison of width of head of Japan-born and American-born children is given in Table 6. The standard deviations of the four series are somewhat less uniform than those of head length; variations in them are randomly distributed. The American-born children are appreciably wider headed than the Japan-born, by an amount absolutely and relatively greater than the differences in head length. The differences in this measurement are clear and marked. In every case (save one) the difference is three or more times its probable error; in the case of 7 year old girls it is more than twice its error. From the standpoint of statistical reliability this is the most certain case yet considered.

TABLE 6. Width of Head of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States (millimeters).

Age	Boys			GIRLS		
	Japan	United States	Difference	Japan	United States	Difference
6.....	140.1±5.2	.....	.....	137.2±4.2	.....	.....
7.....	140.8±4.6	148.0±4.3	7.2±1.0	139.8±4.5	144.5±4.5	4.7±1.9
8.....	142.0±4.9	149.5±4.0	7.6±1.1	139.4±3.8	144.2±4.3	4.8±1.1
9.....	143.3±5.3	149.1±5.3	5.8±1.1	140.2±3.3	144.0±5.1	3.8±1.3
10.....	142.8±4.1	150.8±5.3	8.1±1.4	141.2±4.1	146.8±4.0	5.6±1.2
11.....	143.9±3.6	152.1±5.1	8.2±1.6	141.4±5.4	146.0±5.5	4.6±1.5
12.....	144.2±4.9	150.4±3.8	6.1±1.6	141.1±3.4	146.7±5.4	5.7±1.5
13.....	143.5±4.6	154.8±4.7	11.3±1.8	142.5±3.9	149.5±4.5	7.0±1.5
14.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	154.9±6.1	.....

The cephalic index of Japan-born and American-born children is compared in Table 7. In the preparation of this table the cephalic indexes of individuals were combined; it is not based on the averages of head width and length. The

distribution of the values of the standard deviation is again not wholly uniform, but is random in its variations. The American-born children are throughout rounder headed than the Japan-born children by an appreciable amount. The statistical certainty of this is indicated by the fact that in the majority of cases the difference is three or more times its probable error; in the cases of 8, 10, and 11 year old girls it is more than twice the error, and in the cases of 12 year old boys and girls it is greater than the error. It is thus reasonably certain that the series as wholes are distinct. The rounder headedness of the American group is obviously due to the head width being disproportionately greater than the head length.

TABLE 7. *Cephalic Index of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States.*

Age	Boys			GIRLS		
	Japan	United States	Difference	Japan	United States	Difference
6.....	83.6±3.8	.....	.....	82.9±4.4	.....	.....
7.....	83.4±4.0	86.7±4.3	3.3±1.0	83.5±3.7	86.4±3.8	2.8±0.9
8.....	82.1±4.2	87.6±3.1	5.5±0.9	83.2±3.4	85.6±3.4	2.3±0.9
9.....	82.8±3.5	85.3±4.1	2.5±0.8	81.0±2.5	85.2±3.3	4.2±0.9
10.....	82.0±3.8	86.2±3.4	4.3±1.0	82.3±3.1	85.3±5.0	3.0±1.4
11.....	81.9±3.0	85.9±4.2	4.0±1.3	82.0±3.2	84.4±4.6	2.4±1.1
12.....	82.2±3.4	84.5±5.1	2.2±1.9	82.1±2.4	83.6±3.2	1.5±0.9
13.....	80.7±3.9	85.6±3.4	4.8±1.3	81.3±3.1	85.0±3.0	3.7±1.1
14.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	87.3±5.0	.....

The comparative widths of face of these series are given in Table 8. The standard deviations are somewhat variable but the values are randomly distributed. The American-born series have standard deviations slightly in excess of the Japan-born, that is, are more variable. I do not think this is due to a difference in the manner of taking the measurement; it will be observed in the table of comparisons of the several observers' results (p. 4) that they differ only slightly among themselves with respect to this measurement. The averages show a consistent and appreciable difference in favor of the American-born children. The certainty of this is expressed in the fact that the differences are more than three times their probable error; the exceptions are in 8 year olds where the differences are twice their errors, in 7 year old girls where the difference is again greater than the error, and in 9 year old girls where there is no difference. The absolute value of the differences is even greater than in the case of head width, a transverse measurement with which it usually corresponds. I repeat that I place no great faith in the absolute values given in Table 8, but do insist that the observations on American-born and Japan-born are directly comparable.

To summarize these observations: Measurements on American-born Japanese children, when compared with those of children of the same ages in a district of southern Japan (Hiroshima) from which a considerable proportion of their par-

TABLE 8. *Width of Face of Japanese Children Born in Japan and in the United States (millimeters).*

Age	Boys			GIRLS		
	Japan	United States	Difference	Japan	United States	Difference
6.....	110.5±5.1	.....	.....	109.0±3.2	.....	.....
7.....	111.0±4.0	116.1±6.3	5.1±1.2	111.9±4.8	114.2±6.6	2.3±1.4
8.....	115.0±3.6	118.7±9.4	3.7±1.9	113.9±4.1	117.1±6.0	3.2±1.4
9.....	114.9±5.2	124.9±5.9	10.0±1.2	117.3±3.7	117.3±6.2	0.0±1.5
10.....	113.9±3.8	124.7±5.2	10.8±1.3	115.6±3.9	125.5±5.5	9.9±1.5
11.....	119.4±4.9	129.2±5.6	9.8±1.8	119.0±4.2	126.1±5.3	7.1±1.3
12.....	119.4±4.6	131.6±4.7	12.2±1.8	118.9±5.0	127.1±4.6	8.2±1.5
13.....	120.9±3.2	136.9±5.6	16.0±2.0	120.8±4.4	129.2±7.9	8.4±2.4
14.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	133.8±8.6	.....

ents emigrated, show that the former are of larger build at every age. The American-born are distinctly taller, have longer heads, distinctly wider heads, and much wider faces. The American-born have higher cephalic indexes due to the fact that their head widths are disproportionately greater than their greater head lengths. The higher cephalic index and the greater face width indicate a type with an even more wide and rounded skull than the Japan-born children with whom they have been compared.

IV. HOMOGENEITY OF THE HIROSHIMA SERIES

In the foregoing discussion I have assumed that the Hiroshima group is homogeneous. The data were gathered, however, in two adjacent places, Midorii and Kawauchi. For some reason, Mr. Harada did not always measure the same classes in each place; presumably for lack of time. In order to test the homogeneity of the Midorii and Kawauchi series, comparisons are made in Tables 9 and 10. With but few exceptions these children were born in the villages where they were measured.

TABLE 9. *Number of Cases of Midorii and Kawauchi Children.*

		Age							
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Boys	Midorii.....	0	0	28	32	23	21	22	17
	Kawauchi.....	31	33	5	22	5	1	22	11
Girls	Midorii.....	0	0	24	17	28	26	11	11
	Kawauchi.....	33	27	3	0	0	0	16	15

There are sufficient cases to compare only 9, 12, and 13 year old boys, and 12 and 13 year old girls. The averages, standard deviations, differences, and probable errors of the differences are given in Table 10.⁹ The average ages, in months in excess of the given year, are randomly distributed and directly comparable. Kawauchi boys are throughout taller; Kawauchi girls incline also to be taller. Differences in head width, head length, and face width are small and not consistently in one direction. The differences in cephalic index are also small and random in either direction. Comparing the differences with their probable errors, there are no cases of significant difference. In the majority of instances the error is many times the value of the difference; in only one case (stature, 13 year old boys) is the difference twice the error; in seven cases (stature, 12 year girls; head width and length, 13 year boys; cephalic index, 13 year girls; face width, 12 and 13 year boys, 12 year girls) it is greater than the error; in two cases (cephalic index and face width, 9 year boys) it equals the error. These cases are randomly distributed. The conclusion is that the Midorii and Kawauchi series are justifiably consolidated as one.

TABLE 10. Comparison of Midorii and Kawauchi Children.

Age	BOYS			GIRLS	
	9	12	13	12	13
Age (months)					
Midorii.....	4.4	4.3	3.9	2.4	5.8
Kawauchi.....	5.7	3.7	5.5	3.9	5.1
Stature (mm.)					
Midorii.....	1222.0±51.8	1343.3±60.0	1359.2±76.0	1336.5±61.1	1399.6±63.1
Kawauchi.....	1228.4±69.7	1356.0±44.9	1404.8±46.9	1372.1±58.2	1398.4±61.7
Difference.....	+6.4±33.4	+12.7±16.5	+45.6±23.2	+35.6±23.5	-1.2±24.8
Head Width (mm.)					
Midorii.....	143.8±4.1	144.1±6.0	141.9±3.8	140.2±2.7	141.6±3.6
Kawauchi.....	142.5±6.2	144.5±4.8	144.7±5.2	140.2±2.9	142.9±4.1
Difference.....	-1.3±1.5	+0.4±1.7	+2.8±1.8	±0.0±1.1	+1.3±1.5
Head Length (mm.)					
Midorii.....	173.1±6.2	175.9±3.9	176.3±8.6	171.5±4.5	175.0±2.8
Kawauchi.....	174.1±4.9	176.4±5.0	179.2±4.3	172.1±3.7	174.7±5.4
Difference.....	+1.0±1.5	+0.5±1.4	+2.9±2.5	+0.6±1.6	-0.3±1.6
Cephalic Index					
Midorii.....	83.1±3.6	82.0±3.7	80.8±5.4	81.9±2.1	80.0±4.0
Kawauchi.....	82.2±3.3	82.4±3.1	80.9±3.7	81.6±1.8	81.9±2.8
Difference.....	-0.9±0.9	+0.4±1.1	+0.1±1.7	-0.3±0.8	+1.9±1.4
Face Width (mm.)					
Midorii.....	114.7±4.2	120.6±4.9	120.6±3.7	116.4±5.2	120.0±3.1
Kawauchi.....	113.5±5.0	118.2±4.2	122.3±3.2	119.4±4.2	120.6±4.3
Difference.....	-1.2±1.3	-2.4±1.4	+1.7±1.4	+3.0±1.9	+0.6±1.5

⁹ Discrepancies between combined values which may be derived from this table and Tables 1-8 are due to the fact that a few Japan-born children measured at Seattle have been included in the latter by mistake.

V. HOMOGENEITY OF THE SEATTLE SERIES

The question arises whether the American-born material is homogeneous, i. e., whether the children born to earlier immigrants are similar to those of the later immigration. I have tested this for the only age groups for which sufficient material is available (males, 7 and 9 years; females, 8 years). Again attention must be called to the small number of cases. The average year of arrival of all mothers is 1909 (see Appendix A). Hence these age groups have been divided according to whether the mothers arrived before 1909 or in 1909 and later years.

TABLE 11. *Comparison of Children Born to Mothers Arriving Before 1909 with those of Arrivals of 1909 and Later (Averages and Variabilities).*

	Before 1909	1909 and Later	Differences
BOYS, 7 YEARS OF AGE:			
Stature.....	1170.1±23.8	1150.7±41.2	-19.5±12.5
Reach.....	1158.6±39.1	1138.9±38.6	-19.7±15.7
Head Width.....	147.9± 4.9	147.1± 3.6	-0.8± 1.8
Head Length.....	170.2± 5.0	171.8± 5.2	+1.6± 2.0
Cephalic Index.....	87.0± 4.9	85.8± 3.7	-1.3± 1.8
Face Width.....	117.7± 7.3	115.1± 6.1	-2.6± 2.7
Age (in months).....	5.9	5.3	.....
Avg. Year of Arrival of Mothers	1904.9	1912.1	.....
Cases.....	10	18	.....
BOYS, 9 YEARS OF AGE:			
Stature.....	1276.5±54.5	1241.5±65.1	-35.1±25.2
Reach.....	1251.1±57.1	1209.5±73.8	-41.6±21.6
Head Width.....	148.5± 6.3	149.9± 5.0	+1.4± 2.4
Head Length.....	176.4± 5.4	174.1± 5.4	-2.3± 2.2
Cephalic Index.....	84.6± 4.0	86.2± 4.6	+1.5± 1.8
Face Width.....	127.0± 5.9	121.3± 5.1	-5.7± 2.3
Age (in months).....	6.9	5.4	.....
Avg. Year of Arrival of Mothers	1906.6	1910.6	.....
Cases.....	12	11	.....
GIRLS, 8 YEARS OF AGE:			
Stature.....	1173.0±29.3	1170.9±54.6	-2.2±18.3
Reach.....	1136.6±33.3	1140.2±51.1	+3.6±18.4
Head Width.....	145.8± 3.9	141.8± 4.1	-4.0± 1.8
Head Length.....	171.4± 3.3	165.8± 6.8	-5.5± 2.2
Cephalic Index.....	85.1± 2.4	85.7± 4.3	+0.7± 1.5
Face Width.....	114.3± 6.5	117.1± 5.7	+2.8± 2.8
Age (in months).....	3.3	5.0	.....
Avg. Year of Arrival of Mothers	1905.5	1911.2	.....
Cases.....	8	13	.....

These results (Table 11) show that the boys of the later immigration in both age groups have smaller values for all absolute measurements, with the exception of certain head diameters. The differences in stature and reach are considerable; the face width difference of 9 year old boys is also marked; while the differences in head diameters is less marked. The decrease of cephalic index in 7 year olds and the increase in 9 year olds is consonant with the increased head length of the first group and the increased head width and decreased head length of the second age group. The differences between the daughters of earlier and

later immigrants are not so clear. Marked decreases of both head diameters suggest, however, that the children of later mothers are smaller. On the other hand, there are no appreciable differences in stature and reach. The significance of the difference between children of the earlier and later immigrations attaches not only to the absolute size of the differences, but also to the consistency of the sign. At the same time, not one of these differences between average values is statistically significant. That is, the error of the difference is large in comparison with the absolute value of the difference. The only cases that even approximate a certain difference are reach and face width of 9 year old boys, and head width and length of the girls. From a statistical point of view it is thus valid to use the material derived from earlier and later immigrations as though it were completely homogeneous.

The question arises as to what reasons may be assigned to account for the observed differences between the children of the two groups of immigrants. The following reasons suggest themselves. It may be (1) that the mothers of the two periods differ in type; (2) that the children were born to mothers differing in age; (3) that social selection has left only the smaller children of the later immigrants in school; (4) that the later children are junior members of sibling groups as compared with the earlier children.

A discussion of these points follows:

(1) Without data on the mothers it is impossible to investigate their types. Assuming that the types are distinct, this may be due to several causes. The mothers may have been derived from different regions of Japan; social selection among the emigrants may account for the distinct types; the average interval of immigration may correspond to a change in type in Japan during the childhood of the mothers.

The birthplaces of the mothers are tabulated in Table 12 so far as they can be identified. The provinces are arranged in this table roughly in order from south to north. The distribution of the earlier and later immigrant groups seem to be much the same. Thus there appears to have been no geographic selection of type.

I have not been able to discover in the published reports that there has been any appreciable social selection among the immigrants who contributed to the resident population of Seattle during the years represented by the entry of the mothers considered in this study. If such existed it might account for some difference in physical type of earlier and later immigrants.

Data collected by the Educational Department of Japan on the stature of female students, aged 18-30, as recalculated by Matsumura,¹⁰ show a steady increase over the period of 1909-1918 amounting to 1.06 cm. in mean stature. He does not suggest that this process continued from an earlier period, but it is quite

¹⁰ Matsumura, Akira, *On the Cephalic Index and Stature of the Japanese and their Local Differences* (Journal of the Faculty of Science, Imperial University of Tokyo, Section V-Anthropology, vol. 1, part 1, Tokyo, 1925), p. 87.

TABLE 12. *Birthplace of Mothers of Seven and Nine-year old Boys and Eight-year old Girls.*

Matsumura's Province No.	Province	Number of Mothers Arriving	
		Before 1909	1909 and Later
3	Hyuga.....	1	4
4	Higo.....	3	3
7	Chikuzen.....	3	—
13	Iyo.....	—	1
17	Suwo.....	1	3
18	Aki.....	—	4
19	Bingo.....	—	1
18, 19	Aki or Bingo.....	2	2
20, 21, 22	Bitchu or Bizen or Mimasaka.....	1	—
21	Bizen.....	1	—
36	Yamato.....	—	1
37	Kii.....	1	1
41	Omi.....	1	3
42, 43	Owari or Mikawa.....	1	—
43	Mikawa.....	1	—
44, 45, 46	Totomi or Suruga or Izu.....	1	—
45	Suruga.....	1	—
48	Musashi.....	—	1
55, 56	Mino or Hida.....	—	1
57	Shinano.....	2	—
63	Etchu.....	—	1
	Hokkaido.....	—	1
	Honolulu.....	1	1

possible. However, it will be observed (Appendix B) that the children considered here were born within a few years of the arrival of the mother, where she arrived in 1909 or later. This suggests that all these mothers were adult before 1909, that is before the period of marked change in Japan. There is also nothing at present to show that a change in type of the parents will affect their offspring.

(2) There is no direct data on the age of the mothers at the time of the birth of these children. On the whole, one would expect that the mothers who arrived before 1909 were older than those who arrived after that date who had children of the same age.

(3) There is no direct evidence that social selection has left only the smaller children of later immigrants in school. There is this possibility, however. The later immigrants are perhaps poorer members of the community, hence inclined to withdraw their larger children to help at home. On the other hand, the later immigrants, tending to preserve their native customs longer, might be inclined to continue their children in the language school longer than their predecessors.

(4) If the children of the later immigrants were junior members of their family groups in comparison with those of the earlier immigrants, then we might expect them to be less developed. Boas¹¹ has shown that in Toronto and Oak-

¹¹ Boas, Franz, *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*, p. 79.

land, children of small families are taller than those in families of larger size. That is, children in families having only one, two, or three children exceed the norm of their age mates in the population at large, while those of families of five or more children are deficient in stature. These observations may be interpreted in another fashion; that a first-born child exceeds the average of second, third, and fourth children, etc.; a second-born child exceeds the average of those whose order of birth is later than his own, and so on. This should hold true at least during their earlier childhood.

Does size of family have a similar effect on these Japanese-American children? While data were obtained on the order of birth of the subjects of my investigation, the information is of doubtful value. I am therefore unable to compare directly the effect of size of families by tabulating the material according to order of birth. I did establish, however, which among my subjects were siblings (brothers and sisters) and their relative order of birth. We may there-

TABLE 13. *Comparison of Statures of Older and Younger Siblings in Terms of Standard Deviations—Brothers.*

Age of older brother	Excess of older brother over average	Age of younger brother	Excess of younger brother over average	Excesses of younger over older brother	Averages of last column
13	+1.26	7	+1.52	+0.26	+0.41
	+1.26	11	+1.39	+0.13	
	-0.50	12	-0.11	+0.39	
	-0.71	9	-0.26	+0.45	
	-1.51	11	-0.69	+0.82	
12	+2.02	7	+0.47	-1.55	-0.64
	+2.02	9	-0.39	-2.41	
	+2.02	10	+0.35	-1.67	
	+0.19	7	+1.71	+1.52	
	+0.19	10	+0.10	-0.09	
	-0.51	9	-0.17	+0.34	
11	+1.39	7	+1.52	+0.13	+0.16
	+0.32	9	+1.03	+0.71	
	-0.09	9	-1.62	-1.53	
	-1.05	8	+0.27	+1.32	
10	+1.74	9	+0.07	-1.67	+0.09
	+0.35	7	+0.47	+0.12	
	+0.35	9	-0.39	-0.74	
	+0.10	7	+1.71	+1.61	
	-1.42	7	-0.30	+1.12	
9	+1.03	7	+1.60	+0.57	+0.35
	+0.45	7	+0.91	+0.46	
	+0.33	8	-0.27	-0.60	
	+0.19	8	+0.75	+0.56	
	+0.08	8	+0.38	+0.30	
	-0.39	7	+0.47	+0.86	
	-0.41	7	+0.11	+0.52	
	-1.37	8	-1.28	+0.09	
8	+1.44	7	+1.16	-0.28	-0.58
	+0.63	7	-0.24	-0.87	

fore compare each of these siblings with the average of his age. If the effect of the size of family observed in Toronto and Oakland holds true here, then the younger siblings should be deficient in comparison with the older when each is compared with his age mates.

Tables 13 and 14 show the excess or deficiency of the younger sibling as compared with his older sibling in the Seattle families. The values are given as departures of each individual from the average of his age mates, reduced to proportions of the standard deviation of his age.

TABLE 14. *Comparison of Statures of Older and Younger Siblings in Terms of Standard Deviations—Sisters.*

Age of older sister	Excess of older sister over average	Age of younger sister	Excess of younger sister over average	Excess of younger over older sister	Averages of last column
14	+0.55	7	+0.32	-0.23	+0.68
	+0.55	10	+0.71	+0.16	
	+0.12	10	+0.79	+0.67	
	-0.90	10	+1.21	+2.10	
13	+1.83	9	+0.87	-0.96	+0.01
	+0.37	11	-0.01	-0.38	
	-0.12	11	-1.02	-0.90	
	-1.09	9	+0.31	+1.40	
	-1.72	10	-0.81	+0.91	
12	+1.26	8	+3.20	+1.94	+0.45
	+1.20	9	-0.35	-1.55	
	-0.44	8	+0.52	+0.96	
11	+0.18	7	+1.28	+1.10	+0.49
	+0.18	9	+0.29	+0.11	
	+0.03	7	-0.62	-0.65	
	+0.03	9	-0.03	-0.06	
	±0.00	9	-0.18	-0.18	
	-2.47	8	+0.17	+2.64	
10	+0.71	7	+0.32	-0.39	+0.12
	-0.26	8	+0.36	+0.62	
9	+2.04	8	-0.09	-2.13	-1.40
	+1.91	7	-1.43	-3.34	
	+0.29	7	+1.28	+0.99	
	+0.10	7	-1.83	-1.93	
	-0.03	7	-0.62	-0.59	

The average excess of all younger brothers over their older brothers is $+0.03\sigma$; of all younger sisters over their older sisters is $+0.01\sigma$; the average of these combined is $+0.02\sigma$. That is, there is no significant difference between the younger sibling in relation to his age mates and the older sibling in relation to his. I have considered it unnecessary to calculate the values for brothers and their sisters.

The conclusion is that size of family has no effect on the development of these children. If this were so, we should expect to find evidence also in the yearly

averages. Among the older children (age groups 14, 13, 12), the interval between the age of the older and younger members of a fraternity is greater than that in the younger age groups. We should therefore expect to find a greater deficiency of younger siblings when contrasted with their oldest siblings. This does not appear; the values of age-group averages are quite random. The contrast of these observations with those of Toronto and Oakland may be explained as due to a rapid improvement of social conditions among the Seattle Japanese which offsets the deficiency of development ordinarily produced by large families.

The suggestion that the children of the later immigrants are smaller because they are junior members of their fraternities is not borne out by these data.

VI. OBSERVATIONS ON DENTITION

The presence of each deciduous tooth and of each permanent tooth in the Seattle children was noted. The data are given in the form of percentages of each tooth present in the total of all possible cases of teeth of each kind; teeth, not individuals, are the units (Tables 15-18). It will be observed that the values are somewhat irregular. This is inevitable in a rapid examination, where it is not always possible to differentiate between a fragment of a deciduous tooth and a cusp of the following permanent tooth, and where further the loss of a tooth by mechanical means cannot be readily checked.

TABLE 15. *Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Deciduous Teeth Present—Boys.*

Age	No. of cases (teeth, not individuals)	UPPER					LOWER				
		I I	O I	C	1 M	2 M	I I	O I	C	1 M	2 M
6	8	38	63	100	88	100	75	50	100	100	100
7	48	19	67	100	100	94	31	38	75	71	50
8	50	4	30	74	48	64	16	16	50	56	48
9	60	0	7	65	45	60	0	0	42	47	38
10	34	3	6	47	32	59	6	6	32	21	29
11	22	0	0	9	18	18	0	0	9	27	36
12	16	0	0	13	6	19	0	0	0	0	0
13	18	0	0	6	6	11	0	0	6	6	6

TABLE 16. *Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Deciduous Teeth Present—Girls.*

Age	Cases	UPPER					LOWER				
		I I	O I	C	1 M	2 M	I I	O I	C	1 M	2 M
8	42	31	59	86	79	90	52	50	86	81	79
9	48	8	23	71	62	81	8	8	37	46	29
10	48	8	19	60	42	69	0	0	35	50	21
11	30	0	10	23	37	46	0	0	7	23	37
12	50	2	4	8	0	14	0	0	0	20	24
13	28	3	7	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
14	22	0	9	5	0	5	0	0	0	14	18
15	22	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	14

TABLE 17. Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Permanent Teeth Present—Boys.

Age	Cases	Upper						Lower									
		I I	O I	C	1 B	2 B	1 M	2 M	3 M	I I	O I	C	1 B	2 B	1 M	2 M	3 M
7	48	60	12	8	6	0	96	2	0	69	51	23	8	0	98	0	0
8	50	98	58	16	36	12	94	4	0	84	80	48	18	4	98	0	0
9	60	100	87	25	43	35	98	7	0	100	100	52	42	15	97	5	2
10	34	94	94	41	71	47	94	0	0	94	91	59	62	50	94	3	0
11	22	100	100	86	82	77	100	9	0	100	100	91	54	41	100	41	0
12	16	100	100	87	94	81	100	75	0	100	100	100	100	87	100	94	0
13	18	100	100	83	94	89	94	59	0	100	100	94	94	78	94	78	0

TABLE 18. Teeth of American-born Japanese Children—Percentages of Permanent Teeth Present—Girls.

Age	Cases	Upper						Lower									
		I I	O I	C	1 B	2 B	1 M	2 M	3 M	I I	O I	C	1 B	2 B	1 M	2 M	3 M
7	42	64	21	12	7	0	81	0	0	48	45	12	2	2	95	0	0
8	48	90	69	12	21	10	92	0	0	92	92	48	17	6	100	0	0
9	48	92	77	29	46	29	98	6	0	100	96	69	35	21	96	8	0
10	30	100	97	63	70	33	100	0	0	100	100	93	60	20	100	13	0
11	50	98	96	90	100	88	100	14	0	100	100	100	82	68	94	56	0
12	28	96	89	96	100	86	100	50	0	100	100	100	96	82	96	93	0
13	22	100	100	91	100	86	100	50	0	100	100	100	86	77	100	73	0
14	22	100	100	100	100	100	100	64	0	100	100	100	100	91	100	73	0

The average ages of the loss of each deciduous tooth and the eruption of each permanent tooth, together with their variabilities, have been calculated from these data by a modified form of Pearson's curve-fitting method¹² (Table 19). The series of observations runs only from 7 to 13 years for boys and 8 to 15 years for girls. Where the averages obtained are less than seven, they are extrapolated and hence uncertain. Values near the upper and lower limit of these series are also open to doubt; the most certain values are those of nine to twelve years. An inspection of the distribution tables (Tables 15-18) will show that some of these values are quite doubtful.

TABLE 19. *Average Ages and Variabilities of the Loss of Deciduous Teeth and the Eruption of Permanent Teeth in American-born Japanese Children.*

Teeth	Deciduous		Permanent	
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower
Boys—				
Incisors, Inner.....	5.4±1.6	6.4±1.7	6.5±1.3	5.8±2.3
Outer.....	7.3±1.2	6.3±2.0	8.1±0.9	7.2±1.2
Canines.....	10.0±1.2	8.6±2.2	10.0±1.7	8.9±1.9
Bicuspid, First.....	.....	.....	9.3±1.2	10.2±2.3
Second.....	.....	.....	10.3±1.8	10.7±1.4
Molars, First.....	8.5±2.5	8.5±2.4	.....	.....
Second.....	9.6±1.9	7.6±3.1	12.3±1.9	11.1±1.0
Girls—				
Incisors, Inner.....	7.3±1.5	.....	5.9±2.7	.....
Outer.....	8.3±2.1	.....	7.9±1.5	7.1±0.8
Canines.....	10.0±1.5	9.4±1.2	9.6±1.4	8.2±1.2
Bicuspid, First.....	.....	.....	9.3±1.5	9.8±1.6
Second.....	.....	.....	10.0±0.9	11.6±1.9
Molars, First.....	9.8±2.2	9.6±2.8	.....	.....
Second.....	11.0±1.7	9.9±1.5	13.3±2.3	11.5±1.5

These average ages exhibit the familiar phenomenon that the lower deciduous teeth are lost and the lower permanent teeth erupted in advance of the corresponding upper teeth. The sole exception is in the case of boys' deciduous inner incisors, an extrapolated case. I have pointed out elsewhere¹³ in my study of the dentition of Porto Rican boys that the bicuspid form an exception to this rule. The upper bicuspid are erupted earlier than the corresponding lowers. This is confirmed in the present case. The precedence of loss and eruption of all lower teeth is about one year, as has been observed in other cases.

While girls are usually in advance of boys in the development of corresponding physiological status, this does not appear in the present case. The deciduous dentition of the girls is in every case lost later than that of the boys, on the average by a little more than one year. On the other hand, in most cases the girls erupted their permanent teeth slightly in advance of the boys.

¹² Boas, Franz, and Clark Wissler, *Statistics of Growth* (Report of the [United States] Commissioner of Education for 1904, ch. 2, Washington, 1905), p. 32.

¹³ Spier, Leslie, *The Growth of Boys: Dentition and Stature* (American Anthropologist, n.s., vol. 20, 1918, pp. 37-48), p. 40.

These Japanese children have development of dentition earlier than several groups of Boston, New York, and Saxon children for whom data are available, but are quite similar to a group of Porto Rican boys.¹⁴ In comparison with the Porto Rican boys, examined by Spier, the Japanese boys correspond quite closely; the differences in average age in tooth development are for the most part a small fraction of a year and as frequently positive as negative. The greatest discrepancy occurs in deciduous second molars where the Japanese boys are a year behind the Porto Rican boys. The Boston school children observed by Channing and Wissler consistently erupted their upper permanent teeth about a year later than the Japanese children. The exception to this is with second molars, where the Japanese girls are a half year later than those of Boston. In comparison with another (feeble-minded) group of Boston children, the Japanese children erupt their upper canines slightly in advance, their second molars a year and a half later. I think these several divergences in second molars indicate that the present (Japanese) series is not overly reliable with respect to the deciduous and permanent second molars. The Japanese boys, like those of Porto Rico, also erupt their upper canines, first and second bicuspids, considerably in advance of both well-to-do and poor New York boys observed by Hellman, and their upper canines in advance of boys in Saxony observed by Röse. An inspection of these data compiled by Boas indicates that the interval is approximately one year.

It then appears that the Japanese children attain the physiological status represented by the appearance of these teeth at about the same time as the Porto Rican boys and the feeble-minded Boston children. All three groups are approximately a year in advance of normal Boston children, New York and Saxon boys. Boas also found that the poor New York children, here referred to, were approximately eight months in advance of the well-to-do.

It is doubtful that this earlier development of the Japanese children can be ascribed to a more rapid inherent physiological development. Boas observes of the other cases here noted: "I expected that, if there should be physical retardation, we should find among the children of the well-to-do an early development of the permanent teeth and among children of the poor, a later development. However, just the reverse was found. The eruption of permanent teeth among institutionalized children showed an acceleration of approximately eight months. I think this puzzling phenomenon may be explained by the fact that in dental care of institutional children there is a strong tendency to remove deciduous teeth as soon as they show decay, and that the removal of the teeth acts as a stimulus upon the development of the permanent teeth. Possibly the conditions in Porto Rico where we also find an unusually early eruption of permanent teeth combined with a marked retardation in the development of stature, may be explained in a similar way; namely, by early decay of deciduous teeth which brings about an

¹⁴ Channing, Walter, and Clark Wissler, *The Hard Palate in Normal and Feeble-Minded Individuals* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 1, 1908, pp. 316-319). Boas, Franz, *The Anthropometry of Porto Rico* (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, vol. 3, 1920, pp. 247-253). Spier, *loc. cit.*

early loss of the teeth."¹⁵ I am inclined to believe that this explanation is also adequate to account for the early development of the Seattle Japanese children. While I can lay no claim to any expertness of judgment, I was impressed at the time of observation with the shockingly bad condition of the children's teeth. It must be borne in mind that the Seattle Japanese are a relatively poor, struggling population.

VII. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The bodily measurements indicate that the American-born Japanese children are taller, have greater head diameters and face width, and are more round headed than those of Hiroshima. This suggests that there is a change of type accompanying their birth and rearing in the United States. This is contingent on the assumption that the Hiroshima children are representative of the type of the parents of the Seattle children.

To establish this suggested change of type conclusively the Seattle children should be compared with their own parents. It is a matter of great regret that I was unable in 1921-22 and again in 1927 to establish contacts with the adult Japanese population of Seattle, so that I might at least have measured a random sample of adults including some of the parents.

An indirect way of making such a comparison is by calculating averages for the Seattle children as adults and comparing these with averages based on the values for the provinces of Japan, given by Matsumura,¹⁶ weighted according to the number of parents derived from each province.

The values for Seattle boys reduced to adult status were obtained by extrapolation from the series given in Tables 2, 5-7. I have assumed for this purpose that the distribution of each of these series is rectilinear and that growth terminates in stature at 18 years, in head diameters at 20 years. Neither of these assumptions is quite correct.

The values for the type representing the fathers were obtained by weighting the averages for the provinces according to the number of fathers from each province. In doing this I am assuming that the Seattle parents represent a random sample from each of the provinces in which they were born. The distribution of their birthplaces is given in Appendix C. Not all parents are represented in this tabulation and where a group of siblings occurs among the children their parents are counted as many times as there are siblings.

The values for the Seattle boys reduced to adult norms are compared with the values representing the type of the parents in Table 20.

These results are in harmony with those obtained by a comparison of Seattle and Hiroshima children. The adult type representing the Seattle boy is taller, has greater head diameters, and is more round-headed than the type representing their fathers. If these values may be taken as representative, we have as great a

¹⁵ Boas, Franz, *The Influence of Environment Upon Development* (Proceedings, National Academy of Sciences, vol. 6, no. 8, 1920, pp. 489-493), p. 492.

¹⁶ Matsumura, *loc. cit.*

TABLE 20. *American-born Boys Reduced to Adult Norms Compared with Averages of Provincial Types in Japan.*

	Stature (mm.)	Head Length (mm.)	Head Width (mm.)	Cephalic Index
American-born boys reduced to adult males.....	1707.7	192.4	159.7	82.0
Average of provincial types in Japan, males.....	1618.1	188.7	152.2	80.7
Differences.....	+89.6	+3.7	+7.5	+1.3

difference between American-born and Japan-born adults as between the tallest and shortest groups of Europe. The difference is probably even greater than indicated. Matsumura summarizes earlier data indicating an increase in stature of Japanese men and women in the period 1909-1921, amounting in the case of male students (aged 21-40) to 2.69 cm. over the period 1909-1918.¹⁷ Since the average year of arrival of fathers in Seattle is 1904, they presumably belong to a type existing in Japan prior to the general increase in stature there. Matsumura's own data relate to the years 1911-1917. Our Seattle fathers probably have an average stature of less than the indicated 1618.1 mm.

The effect of the length of residence of the mother on the type of the children may be inquired into, following the suggestive results of Boas' inquiry among children of European immigrants. A comparison of children born within six years of the mother's arrival with those born six years and more after her arrival is given in Table 21. The only years for which a sufficiently large number of cases are available are seven and nine year old boys and eight year old girls.

TABLE 21. *Comparison of Children Born within Six Years of Their Mothers' Arrival with Those Born Later.*

(Departures from the averages of the age groups in terms of standard deviations)

Sex	Age	Cases		Stature		Cephalic Index		Face Width	
		Interval elapsing between the arrival of the mother and birth of the child							
		Less than 6 years	6 years and more	Less than 6 years	6 years and more	Less than 6 years	6 years and more	Less than 6 years	6 years and more
Boys	7	18	10	-0.12	+0.42	-0.21	+0.07	-0.16	+0.25
	9	19	3	-0.08	+0.62	-0.10	+0.76	-0.34	+0.64
	All others	37	15	-0.14	+0.79	-0.04	+0.30	+0.15	+0.49
	All ages	74	28	-0.12	+0.64	-0.10	+0.27	-0.05	+0.42
Girls	8	12	8	+0.02	+0.07	+0.03	-0.15	±0.00	-0.47
	All others	62	20	-0.01	+0.05	+0.34	-0.32	+0.04	-0.20
	All ages	74	28	-0.01	+0.06	+0.29	-0.27	+0.03	-0.28
All children		148	56	-0.07	+0.35	+0.10	±0.00	-0.01	+0.07

¹⁷ Matsumura, *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-87.

Other year groups are treated collectively. Interval groups were chosen as six years or less and six years and more because it was found that children of mothers who arrived in 1909, the average year of all mothers' arrival, and those whose arrival was subsequent to that date were born within six years of the mother's arrival (Appendix B).

The effect of the length of the mother's residence prior to the birth of child is clear in the case of the boys. Boys born less than six years after the arrival of their mothers are below the average of their age mates in stature, longer headed, and narrower of face; those born six or more years after their mothers' arrival differ in the opposite direction. The case for girls is inconclusive. There is a slight suggestion of higher stature in the later born girls, but the values for cephalic index and face width show differences in the opposite direction from the boys. The later born are longer headed and narrower of face. I do not understand why there should be this difference between boys and girls. It is conceivable that among the children of the older immigrants the taller, more developed girls are selected out to remain at home more frequently than the boys. I have no evidence to substantiate this. Taking the children as a whole some slight influence of the length of residence of the mothers appears.

The difficulty with accepting this conclusion at face value is that this division of the children coincides with a difference in the time of arrival of the mothers. I have discussed this above. It may be, as suggested there, that the children are descendants of different types. I have no evidence on the point.

The question of the effect of the length of mothers' residence may be met in another way. By comparing children whose mothers all arrived in the same year we eliminate the possible effects of differences of type of earlier and later immigrant mothers. For this purpose I have selected children whose mothers arrived in 1905 and 1906, these being the only years offering a sufficient number of cases. The age distribution of these cases is quite random (Table 22).

The combined values for both years indicate that the later born children (those born six or more years after their mothers' arrival) are proportionately taller than the earlier born in comparison with their age mates. The later born are also rounder headed, but they are narrower of face. The same proportionate relations hold true for the years 1905 and 1906 taken separately. There is some variation in the values for the three characters, notably in face width. The face width of 1905 boys shows an increase, for 1906 a decrease, with the opposite relation for girls of these year groups. Taken as a whole these values suggest a positive influence of the length of mother's residence on the bodily form of the child. It need not be assumed that this is a prenatal influence; it is more likely that a change in social conditions surrounding the growing child is involved.

It seems strange that there should be a decrease of face width corresponding to increased length of the mothers' residence, since this is at odds with the observed difference between Japan-born and American-born children in general. The American-born children are consistently wider faced in every age group. On the other hand, the increased stature and cephalic index is consonant with the differences observed in these characters.

TABLE 22. *Comparison of Children Born Within Six Years of Their Mothers' Arrival in 1905 and 1906 with those Born Later.*

(Departures from the averages of the age groups in terms of standard deviations)

Year of mothers' arrival	Sex	Interval between arrival of mother and birth of child	Cases	Stature	Cephalic index	Face width
1905	Boys	Less than 6 years	2	-0.81	+0.01	+0.10
		6 years and more	5	+0.55	+0.43	+0.71
	Girls	Less than 6 years	8	-0.22	+0.06	+0.65
6 years and more		8	-0.11	+0.08	+0.07	
	Combined	Less than 6 years	10	-0.34	+0.05	+0.54
		6 years and more	13	+0.14	+0.22	+0.32
1906	Boys	Less than 6 years	4	+0.11	+0.25	+0.65
		6 years and more	8	+0.86	+0.44	-0.09
	Girls	Less than 6 years	6	-0.05	+0.14	+0.41
6 years and more		2	-0.11	+0.54	+0.53	
	Combined	Less than 6 years	10	+0.01	+0.18	+0.51
		6 years and more	10	+0.66	+0.46	+0.18
1905 and 1906	Combined	Less than 6 years	20	-0.16	+0.12	+0.52
		6 years and more	23	+0.37	+0.32	+0.26

VIII. SUMMARY

1. The parents of the American-born Japanese children of Seattle are drawn primarily from southern Japan (Kumamoto, Yamaguchi, and Hiroshima prefectures) and from the vicinity of Osaka and Tokyo in central Japan.

2. The American-born children are larger and more round headed than children of the same ages born in Hiroshima. The American-born are distinctly taller, have longer heads, distinctly wider heads, and much wider faces. They therefore have higher cephalic indexes.

The Seattle children are also taller than American-born Japanese of California and those of Tokyo and of Japan at large.

3. The adult type deduced from Seattle boys is taller, longer and wider headed, and more brachycephalic than the type of their fathers deduced from provincial averages in Japan.

4. The children of later immigrants to Seattle are slightly smaller than those of earlier immigrants with respect to stature, reach, and face width, while head diameters show differences in various directions. The differences between the two groups are, however, not statistically significant.

These differences do not seem to be due to differences in the type of the mothers. The mothers are derived from much the same parts of Japan and presumably had all arrived in the United States prior to the general increase in

stature in Japan. The effect of the age of the mothers and possible influences of selection in the school population of Seattle are unknown.

It might be supposed that the children of later immigrants are junior members of their families, hence smaller (as in Toronto and Oakland). There is here however no difference in the relation of junior children with respect to their age mates as compared with their elder brothers and sisters.

5. The children measured in two villages of Hiroshima are not significantly different, although Kawauchi children are taller than those of Midorii. The differences in head and face diameters and in cephalic index are small and random.

6. The effect of the length of residence of the mother in the United States is suggested by differences between later born children with those born less than six years after her arrival. The later born children are taller and more round headed. This may be due to better nutritional conditions surrounding the later born children rather than to any effect on the mothers.

7. The American-born children lose their deciduous teeth and erupt their permanent teeth at about the same average ages as Porto Rican boys and certain Boston children. They are, however, approximately a year in advance of normal Boston children, New York and Saxon boys. Boas' suggestion that this seeming precocity results from mechanical causes (early decay or removal of the deciduous dentition) appears to be adequate in the present case.

The results are suggestive but not conclusive. They suggest that American-born Japanese children are physically different from children of the parental type in Japan. At least they are taller, have longer and wider heads, wider faces, and are more brachycephalic than children born in Japan. The inference is that the observed differences are due to environmental influences, that is, to influences during the course of growth affecting the American-born in a manner different from those born in Japan.

These results and this suggestion are in harmony with the findings for children of European immigrants to the United States. The frequently expressed resistance to accepting the earlier findings, which to my mind are conclusive, is difficult to understand. It is generally agreed that such features as stature, which show a considerable increase during the period of growth, are materially affected by nutritional and other influences. It is therefore but logical to hold that any physical character which is subject to change by growth will be similarly affected. The extent of the influence will necessarily be limited by the amount of absolute increase. It will also be more strictly limited by the length of the growing period. Thus, the head diameters increase with some rapidity after birth but approach their maxima more slowly in later years; the facial skeleton has its period of rapid growth somewhat later and growth extends over a longer interval; stature and weight continue to increase much longer than the cranium and facial skeleton. It is obvious that influences may show greater effect in stature and less in face and skull, but the possibility of such effects on the latter cannot be denied. It seems to me that the resistance to accepting these results is dic-

tated by a desire to maintain that head form is fixed by heredity alone. The data of race classification are to a considerable extent observations on head form. Only by assuming that head form is stable and thus a reliable criterion of racial identity can much of the current method of race classification be justified.

APPENDIX A. Year of Arrival of the Parents of American-born Japanese Children.

Year of Arrival of Father	Number of Years Elapsed Before Arrival of Mother																Number of Parents Arriving in Each year								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Fathers	Mothers
	1887					1																			1
88																									-
89								1																-	
90																								-	
91							1																1	-	
92																								1	
93																								-	
94					1																			1	
95											1													-	
96										1														-	
97						1				1				1										-	
98											1		1											3	
99			2			2	1	1			1													3	
1900		1			1	3	2	1	1	1	2	2												1	
01	1	1			1	2				1														4	
02				1	1	1			1	2	1	1	3			1								2	
03	2		2	5	2	1	3	5	1	1	1													3	
04	2		2	1	2	1	3	2	2	2														2	
05	7		4	2	1	2	1	1	2															15	
06	4	1	2			1	7	1	2															18	
07	6	2	2	2	4	3	3	3		2														27	
08	3	1																						18	
09	2				1	1																		5	
10		2				1	1		1															4	
																								5	
																								10	
11	2																							2	
12	1																							1	
13	2																							2	
14	1					1																		2	
15																								2	
16																								-	
17																								-	
18			2																					3	
19																								2	
20																								-	
Totals	34	8	16	11	12	14	27	14	16	10	4	7	5	2	1	1								183	
Averages																									1904.024
																									(1904-1st mo.)(1909-1st mo.)

APPENDIX C. *Birthplaces of the Parents of American-born Children
Distributed According to Province.*

Matsumura's Province No.	Province	Number of Fathers	Number of Mothers
1	Satsuma.....	1	1
3	Hyuga.....	2	1
4	Higo.....	18	17
5	Hizen.....	2	2
6	Chikugo.....	1	2
7	Chikuzen.....	2	2
11	Tosa.....	2	3
12	Awa.....	2	3
13	Iyo.....	9	5
16	Nagato.....	—	2
17	Suwo.....	15	14
18	Aki.....	12	21
19	Bingo.....	2	2
20	Bitchu.....	2	1
21	Bizen.....	5	1
23	Harima.....	1	—
24	Iwami.....	2	1
28	Inaba.....	1	—
32	Settsu.....	1	2
36	Yamato.....	4	2
37	Kii.....	4	5
38	Shima.....	1	—
41	Omi.....	12	9
42	Owari.....	2	—
43	Mikawa.....	1	1
45	Suruga.....	5	3
46	Izu.....	1	1
47	Sagami.....	2	4
48	Musashi.....	12	8
51	Shimosa.....	—	1
52	Hitachi.....	1	—
54	Shimotsuke.....	—	1
55	Mino.....	1	2
57	Shinano.....	8	9
58	Kai.....	8	5
60	Echizen.....	1	1
63	Etchu.....	4	4
67	Iwashiro.....	1	—
68	Rikuzen.....	1	1
70	Uzen.....	1	1
—	Hokkaido.....	—	2



Map showing the distribution of parents' birth places in Japan, by provinces. (Provinces designated by italic numerals; number of cases designated by bold face numerals).

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS
IN
ANTHROPOLOGY

Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 31-150

December, 1929

MYTHOLOGY OF
SOUTHERN PUGET SOUND

by

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UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
1929

PREFACE

The narratives which follow were obtained chiefly from Indians of King and Pierce counties in the State of Washington, and recorded for the most part during and since the year 1916.

The work of recording these tales was undertaken by me independently of any institution as part of a general study of the aboriginal culture of this region in the hope of preserving some of its elements from oblivion before the opportunity for research should pass.

Most of these tales were recorded in the native tongue. An effort has been made to render the translation as literally as is consistent with smooth reading.

Acknowledgments are due Dr. T. T. Waterman, formerly, and Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Erna Gunther, now of the University of Washington for their aid and suggestions in compiling and editing the greater part of the material here assembled.

ARTHUR C. BALLARD

Auburn, Washington
July 26, 1929

INTRODUCTION

On the islands and shores of Puget Sound and along the rivers of the interior there were numerous village groups, each singly or in conjunction with one or more neighboring groups constituting a separate social entity, politically independent. Marriage outside the group was the common if not universal practice.

The "salt water" people and those living a short distance inland all spoke one language, Puget Sound Salish, with dialectic variations according to locality.

All the groups on southern Puget Sound bore traces of relationship with the Sahaptin tribes to the east. This relationship was more noticeable the farther a given group was found living eastward and up river from the "Bay." Beyond a certain point upstream to the east and even beyond the summit of the Cascades the people spoke two languages, the Puget Sound Salish and the language of the northern Sahaptin people to the east, popularly called Klickitat. The Snuqualmi, the Green River, and the Tuwakwabc living at the junction of the Carbon River and the Puyallup South Fork, were all two-language peoples.

In consequence of the loose political organization and the common practice of exogamy, with the free intermingling of the population in this region, there is little divergence in the mythologies of the various groups. Even myths about places are known far and wide. On the other hand there may be found current two or more versions of a myth pertaining to a single locality. Another interesting feature is the extent to which the mythology of this region has been affected not only by the Sahaptin penetration but also by communication with the tribes of the more northerly coast region.

The data so far assembled seem to reveal in this area a hybrid culture. It is not possible readily to determine how much of the myth material is purely Salishan and how much Sahaptin or otherwise in origin. To do so by comparing this with other mythologies would be an interesting study.

To illustrate local conditions, the names of the principal informants and their genealogies, so far as known, are here given.

1 John Xot—Lower Puyallup. Born about 1845.

1a Xot—Father of this informant. Lived at Clear Creek near the mouth of the Puyallup.

1b tɕəda'ckət—Paternal grandfather of the informant. Was from Kittitas County, of a predominantly Sahaptin group, but where a Salishan language also was spoken. A full brother of Patkanim, the well known Snuqualmi chieftain.

1c lɛ'cXai'—Father of the informant's paternal grandfather.

1d be'tsdu't—Informant's paternal grandmother. Puyallup.

1e sAXto'litə—Informant's mother.

1f ko'iAlk^W—Informant's maternal grandfather. Lived at sdAgwalut on Quartermaster Harbor, a village of the sxwobabc ("swiftwater people").

1g Xwutxwa'tkub—Father of the informant's maternal grandfather. He was of the sXwobabc and in part from the Skokomish.

1h sisa'ha'l—Informant's maternal grandmother. She was from the Skagit region.

This informant spent his time on or near the salt water and acquired his mythology chiefly from that region.

2 John Simon (Xwatqe'd)—Upper Puyallup. Born about 1840.

2a Xwatqe'd—Father of this informant. Lived at tuwaq^W, a village near the junction of the Puyallup South Fork, and Carbon River.

2b kwatsa'lkau—Informant's mother. She was from the Snuqualmi region.

3 Tom Milroy (stea'ba^L)—Upper Puyallup. Born about 1845. He was a tuwa'qwabc.

3a yawadi'tcäd—Father of the informant.

3b amau'tinicö ("Fighter")—Paternal grandfather of the informant. One parent was from taitidapab, home of the Klickitat tribe in eastern Lewis County, and one parent was from "beyond."

This informant's maternal grandfather was said to have been from the Skykomish River, but to have come originally from a group up river from Yakima, known as the tco'kwabc. A grandmother of this informant was said to have been of the skulo'cubc, a mythical "wild people."

4 Dick suwatub (tlaxia'lkut)—Lower Puyallup. Born about 1840.

4a suwa'tub—Father of Dick. He was born on Green River and was of Sahaptin origin.

This informant's mother was said to be of the Chehalis group. One ancestor was said to have been of Chinookan origin but this information is not verified.

5 Jack Smohallah (smo'xlə)—Suise Creek. Born about 1850.

5a we'tsitsas—Father of the informant, lived at Suise Creek, a tributary of Green River. The name is Sahaptin.

5b tcuco'do'l—Mother of the informant.

The informant received the name, smo'xlə, when a boy, from Smohallah, the noted shaman, at a feast held at Lake Keechelus in the Cascade Mountains.

- 6 Jonah Jack, a son of the preceding informant. Born about 1880. He heard myths related by his grandfather on Suise Creek. His mother was from the Nisqually region and was said to be descended in part from a mythical "wild people."
- 7 Big John (sukwa'lasxt)—Green River. Born about 1840.
- 7a we'ltabc—Father of the informant. Lived at Suise Creek, also called kala'tci, "left handed."
- 7b tia'tkolitsə—Mother of the informant. She was from Cedar River, a tributary of the Duwamish and known by the same name in the Indian tongue.
- This informant lived both on White River and on Green River. It is not known if any ancestors were of Sahapin stock.
- 8 Mary Jerry (Mrs. Jerry Dominick) (yabe'itsə)—Green River-White River. Born about 1860. A daughter of the preceding informant.
- 8a tu'aa'tqolitsə—Her mother. She was from the village of sta'q' on the lower White River and was a sister of Stuck Jack.
- 9 August James (yo'yuxtəd)—White River. Born about 1885.
- 9a katakwi'itsə—Mother of informant. She was from the Snuqualmi region and married into the staqabc group. She resided on White River by sufferance of the white people long after the rest of the group were dispersed.
- 10 Major Hamilton—Duwamish. Born about 1870. Informant stated that he had no Indian name. It is said, however, that he had a nickname in the Indian tongue. This would indicate that in his case no formal potlatch was held for the bestowal of a name.
- 10a saləxe'bal—Father of the informant was from Cedar River, a tributary of the Duwamish.
- 10b ce'btəlo (ce'bt:lut)—Mother of the informant. She was from the mouth of Dogfish Bay.
- 11 Sampson (tseu'l)—Born on Green River about 1845. When very young he was taken captive with his mother by a Snuqualmi group under the leadership of xotik'e'dib after an attack upon ilalqo at the forks of Green River and White River, in which his father and an uncle were killed. Most of his life was spent about Lake Washington. In his old age he was brought back to the Green River-Muckleshoot region.
- 11a e'lsbid—Father of informant.
- 11b sita'mut—Mother of informant.

- 12 Lucy Sampson (dagul'tsə)—Duwamish. Born about 1850. Wife of preceding informant. Was from the village of kətr'lbə on Lake Washington.
- 12a sxwila'tub—Father of informant.
- 12b ya'txub—Paternal grandfather of informant.
- 12c yaa'lpublə (or yaa'lpublut)—Paternal grandmother of informant.
- 13 Dan (stle'luc)—Lake Washington. Born about 1845.
- 13a kwai'əxəb—Father of informant. He was a Duwamish from the village of dxixzila'luc at the foot of Yesler Way, Seattle.
- 13b t'a'ctəibəlo (t'a'ctəibəlut)—Mother of the informant. She was a Snuqualmi from Falls City; a stepdaughter of Patkanim, the well known Snuqualmi chieftain.
- 13c Xa'Xcidai—Maternal grandmother of the informant was a wife of Patkanim.
- 14 Susie (Xwai'kwoltsə)—Lake Washington. Born about 1850.
- 14a xoxwe'tcub—Father of informant. He was a Snuqualmi. The informant's mother was a Duwamish.
- The Lake Washington people were intermediate between the Duwamish and the Snuqualmi. They were called xa'tcoabc or "Lake people." Lake Washington was called xatco, "the big lake."
- 15 Christine Smith (ts'a'lsibəlo, ts'a'lsibəlut)—Green River. Born about 1840. It is said that she was taken and held captive in early life by a distant group.
- 15a suwa'lkop—Father of the informant was from upper Green River and probably also from Kittitas County. Some of the people east of the Cascades used to spend their winters on Green River where the climate was milder.
- 15b tla'kcəibəlo (tla'kcəibəlut)—Mother of informant. She was from the village of staq! on lower White River.
- 15c wɪdai'uɪ.—The informant's former husband, long ago deceased. He was commissioned chief by the Government. Her last husband was a white man.
- 16 Ann Jack (twa'itidoltsə)—Green River. Born about 1840.
- 16a take'l—Father of informant. He was of the Yakima or some other Sahaptin group. It is said that in early life he was taken prisoner

and lived several years with the Umatilla people, and later introduced on Green River a phallic ceremony which he had learned during his captivity.

16b xolo'p—Mother of the informant was from Green River.

16c tuxsa'lted—Maternal uncle of the informant.

16d dəXa'lkut—Maternal uncle of the informant.

These two brothers and their sister, mother of this informant, were said to have been noted shamans on Green River. The informant herself is said to have had shamanistic power.

17 Annie Jack (xolo'p)—Green River. Born about 1880. She was a daughter of the preceding informant and named for her paternal grandmother.

17a Stuck Jack (tika'kɫt, ka'kɫɛd)—Father of this informant was born about 1845. He was from the village of staq! on White River.

18 Charles Sotiakum (sotai'əkub)—White River. Born about 1835. The White River people were a subdivision of, or at any rate closely affiliated with the larger Duwamish group. The mother of informant was a sister of kala'ktsut, a Duwamish chieftain living at or near the site of the present city of Renton.

19 Joe Bill (le'lkaibA'l.)—Duwamish. Born about 1860. This informant was Lake Washington and Snuqualmi on his father's side; Suquamish and Klallam on his mother's side. His stepfather was from the Duwamish and White River.

20 Snuqualmi Charlie (sia'txtəɛd)—Snuqualmi. Born about 1850. Informant was one of the to'ltxwabc, a branch of the Snuqualmi people living at Tolt.

20a tsowiəla's—Father of the informant, lived at toltXV. This informant's mother was from the Snoqualmie valley. His father and mother were probably of predominantly Sahaptin stock.

20b xo'si—Wife of the informant was from the Skykomish River.

This informant was exceptionally well versed in the folk lore and culture of his people.

21 Jack Stillman (ackanipa'm)—Snuqualmi. Born about 1878.

21a tciɫqe'dib—Father of the informant.

21b leqa'lqedib—Paternal grandfather of the informant. He was from toltXV. His sister was mother of preceding informant.

- 21c ackanipa'm—Maternal grandfather of the informant, was from the vicinity of Cle Elum in Kittitas County, and of Sahaptin stock.

This informant gained his knowledge of folk lore chiefly from his older relative, Snuqualmi Charlie.

- 22 Joe Young (wɪlək'e'dɪb)—Puyallup. Born 1863.

22a wɪl'ksxwɪ—Mother of this informant; her father was of Snuqualmi and Yakima parentage.

22b aie'dɪxwɪb—Maternal grandmother of the informant; was from the Snohomish region.

22c q'ai'adXW—Mother of the informant's maternal grandmother.

A distant ancestor of this informant lived on Green River. The informant's father was a white man, probably Scotch, employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. With the exception of three years on Green River, most of informant's early life was spent on or near the salt water in Pierce, Thurston and Mason Counties.

- 23 James Goudy—Skagit. Born about 1865. This informant is related also to the Snohomish and probably to the Puyallup group, with whom he has been much associated.

- 24 Charley Ashue (cia:dk'e'dɪb—Yakima-Puyallup. Born about 1855. Informant was born on the lower Puyallup, where his mother made her home. He is named for a noted chief who once lived near the mouth of the Snohomish River, who was an ancestor on his mother's side. His mother was also partly of Sahaptin ancestry.

The father of the informant was of the silapam, from Selah, near the present city of Yakima. He was descended from the Naches River people, of whom, according to tradition, the greater part migrated to the head of the Cowlitz valley, becoming the tairnapam, or "Klickitat" tribe.

- 25 Burnt Charlie (sxula'ctsut)—Puyallup. He was taken as a scout for the soldiers in the campaign of 1855-56. Born about 1835.

25a tuxwe'lxubxɔd—Father of informant.

25b ya'dubɔlut—Mother of informant.

- 26 Lucy Bill—Snuqualmi. Born about 1870. A sister of Jack Stillman and niece of Snuqualmi Charlie.

- 27 Nancy Big John (tkwia'tdublut or tkwia'tdublo)—Duwamish. Born about 1840. Informant spent most of her lifetime on Cedar River

near the south end of Lake Washington. Cedar River, Black River and Duwamish River were all designated by the one name, txwədə'o, and the people of that region were called txwədoa'bc. Both parents of informant were said to have resided on Cedar River.

- 27a wita'l—Father of Nancy.
- 27b sisa'bulcɪd—Mother of Nancy.
- 27c ke'kulkt—Sister of Nancy.
- 27d tsa'lxtud—Sister of Nancy.

Both sisters resided at tola'ltxw ("home of herring"), a village near the mouth of the Duwamish.

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	33
Introduction	35
Phonetic Key	47
The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face (First Version) [Snuqualmi]..	49
The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face (Second Version) [Green River]	50
The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face (Third Version) [Green River]	50
The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face (Fourth Version) [Puyallup]..	50
How Muskrat Got the Land [Puyallup].....	51
The Theft of Fire (First Version) [Green River].....	51
The Theft of Fire (Second Version) [Puyallup-Green River].....	52
The Theft of Fire (Third Version) [Yakima-Puyallup].....	53
Ant and Bear (First Version) [Green River].....	54
Ant and Bear (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	55
The Contest for Daylight [White River].....	55
North Wind and Storm Wind (First Version) [Green River].....	55
North Wind and Storm Wind (Second Version) [Duwamish].....	57
North Wind and Storm Wind (Third Version) [Green River].....	59
North Wind and Storm Wind (Fourth Version) [Duwamish].....	60
North Wind and Storm Wind (Fifth Version) [Green River-Lake Washington].....	62
North Wind and Storm Wind (Sixth Version) [Lake Washington].....	62
North Wind and Storm Wind (Seventh Version) [Puyallup].....	63
The Contest in the North (First Version) [Upper Puyallup].....	64
The Contest in the North (Second Version) [Puyallup or Suquamish].....	65
The Contest in the North (Third Version) [Puyallup].....	66
Beaver and Muskrat.....	68
The War Against Chinook Wind [Puyallup].....	69
Moon, the Transformer [Snuqualmi].....	69
Note on the Story of Moon, the Transformer [Puyallup].....	80
Dokwebal and Beaver [Puyallup].....	80
Transformer and Wren [Puyallup].....	81
Transformer and Deer [Puyallup].....	81
House Fly [Puyallup].....	81
Xode and the Woman Who Spoke Improperities [Puyallup].....	82
Transformer and Raven [Snuqualmi].....	82
Thunderbird and the Puyallup People [Puyallup].....	82
Blanket Rock (First Version) [Green River].....	82
Blanket Rock (Second Version) [Duwamish].....	83
Blanket Rock (Third Version) [Puyallup].....	83
Blanket Rock (Fourth Version) [Upper Puyallup].....	83
Blanket Rock (Fifth Version) [Green River].....	84

	Page
How Xode Turned People to Stone (First Version) [Upper Puyallup]....	85
How Xode Turned People to Stone (Second Version) [Upper Puyallup]..	85
The Attack of the Snakes (First Version) [Green River].....	85
The Attack of the Snakes (Second Version) [Duwamish].....	86
The Young Man Who Blocked Up Steel's Lake [Duwamish].....	87
How the Whales Reached the Sea (First Version) [Puyallup].....	87
How the Whales Reached the Sea (Second Version) [Green River].....	88
How the Whales Reached the Sea (Third Version) [Puyallup].....	88
How the Whales Reached the Sea (Fourth Version) [Upper Puyallup]...	88
How the Whales Reached the Sea (Fifth Version) [Upper Puyallup]....	88
Mother and Father of Whales [Green River].....	89
Elk Woman and the Flea People [White River-Green River].....	89
The Girl Who Married the Sea Being [Puyallup].....	90
The Origin of the Tolt River [Snuqualmi].....	90
The Man Beheaded While Diving (First Version) [White River].....	91
The Man Beheaded While Diving (Second Version) [Duwamish].....	91
The Man Beheaded While Diving (Third Version) [Skagit].....	92
The Man Beheaded While Diving (Fourth Version) [Puyallup].....	92
How Raven Lost His Venison (First Version) [Green River].....	92
How Raven Lost His Venison (Second Version) [Snuqualmi].....	94
How Raven Tried to Get Dried Salmon [Green River].....	96
How Raven Trapped Beaver (First Version) [Green River].....	96
How Raven Trapped Beaver (Second Version) [Snuqualmi].....	97
Raven and Bear (First Version) [Puyallup].....	98
Raven and Bear (Second Version) [Green River].....	99
Raven and Water Ousel [Green River].....	99
Raven and Pheasant Go Fishing [Snuqualmi].....	99
Elk and Bear, His Wife [Green River].....	100
Loon's Son and the Monster Woman (First Version) [Puyallup].....	101
Loon's Son and the Monster Woman (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	101
Loon's Son and the Monster Woman (Third Version) [Green River]....	101
Humpback Boy and the Ogress (First Version) [Green River].....	103
Humpback Boy and the Ogress (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	104
Origin of the Crows [Green River].....	106
Crow Woman [Skagit].....	106
Coyote and the Snail Women (First Version) [Snuqualmi].....	106
Coyote and the Snail Women (Second Version) [Upper Puyallup].....	108
Crane Bridge [Upper Puyallup].....	109
Chipmunk and Snail Woman (First Version) [Green River].....	109
Chipmunk and Snail Woman (Second Version) [Green River].....	110
Chipmunk and Snail Woman (Third Version) [Snuqualmi].....	111
Lynx and Grizzly [Upper Puyallup].....	113
Bufflehead and Squalé [Puyallup].....	113
The Menstruating Rock (First Version) [Green River].....	113

	Page
The Menstruating Rock (Second Version) [Skagit-Puyallup].....	114
The Brothers Killed by a Monster (First Version) [Upper Puyallup]....	114
The Brothers Killed by a Monster (Second Version) [Green River].....	114
The Brothers Killed by a Monster (Third Version) [Lake Washington]..	115
The Sucking Monster (First Version) [Snuqualmi-Lake Washington]....	117
The Sucking Monster (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	118
Transformer and the Mountain (First Version) [Upper Puyallup].....	120
Transformer and the Mountain (Second Version) [Upper Puyallup]....	121
The Five Brothers and the Beaver (First Version) [Upper Puyallup]....	121
The Five Brothers and the Beaver (Second Version) [Lake Washington].	122
How DATCAP Killed the Bear [Upper Puyallup].....	122
Mink and His Grandmother (First Version) [Green River].....	122
Mink and His Grandmother (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	123
Mink Traps a Monster (First Version) [Puyallup].....	124
Mink Traps a Monster (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	125
Mink Kills Slowat [Snuqualmi].....	126
Frog Woman and Her Husband [Green River].....	127
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (First Version) [Snuqualmi]....	128
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (Second Version) [Puyallup]....	129
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (Third Version) [Green River]..	129
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (Fourth Version) [Green River]..	130
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (Fifth Version) [Upper Puyallup]	131
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (Sixth Version) [Green River]..	131
Pheasant Goes to the Land of the Dead (Seventh Version) [Green River].	132
Note on the Pheasant Myth [Puyallup].....	133
Spring Salmon and Steelhead Salmon (First Version) [Puyallup].....	133
Spring Salmon and Steelhead Salmon (Second Version) [Snuqualmi]....	134
Spring Salmon and Steelhead Salmon (Third Version) [Upper Puyallup].	134
Humpback Salmon [Snuqualmi].....	134
The Rash Youth and the Salmon [Skokomish].....	135
Rabbit and Grizzly Have a Contest (First Version) [Puyallup].....	135
Rabbit and Grizzly Have a Contest (Second Version) [Green River]....	136
Wren, Mouse and Water Ousel (First Version) [Snuqualmi].....	137
Wren, Mouse and Water Ousel (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	137
Barn Owl and Redtail Hawk [Puyallup].....	137
The Girl Who Was Seeking a Guardian Spirit [Green River].....	138
The Blind Hunter and His Wife (First Version) [Green River].....	138
The Blind Hunter and His Wife (Second Version) [Snohomish].....	139
How a Boy Saved His Village (First Version) [Puyallup].....	140
How a Boy Saved His Village (Second Version) [Puyallup].....	141
How a Man Conquered the Rollers of the Sea in Deception Pass [Puyallup]	142
The Young Man's Ascent of Mount Rainier (First Version) [Upper Puyallup].....	142
The Young Man's Ascent of Mount Rainier (Second Version) [Puyallup]..	143
Coyote Gets Salmon for the Naches People (First Version) [Green River].	144
Coyote Gets Salmon for the Naches People (Second Version) [Yakima- Puyallup].....	144

PHONETIC KEY

o	o long as in mole.
u	oo long as in cool.
U	oo short as in foot.
a	a as in star.
A	u short as in run.
e	e long as in they.
E	e short as in fence.
i	i long as in ravine.
I	i short as in sin.
ə	indeterminate in unaccented syllables (in accented syllables as u in run.
ɹ	surd l.
x	forward spirant.
X	back spirant.
k	forward stop.
κ or q	back stop.
'	glottal stop.
!	fortis.

Whispered stops are sometimes capitalized. Final whispered breathing is represented variously by XW, xw, or w. Other consonants as in English, but b and m, also d and n, are recorded interchangeably for the same sound.

c	sh as in fish.
j	zh as in azure.

MYTHOLOGY OF SOUTHERN PUGET SOUND

THE MAN WHO WOULD NOT WASH HIS FACE (First Version)¹

Spetsx² was married to one of five sisters; he had four brothers-in-law. He came from the country in the direction of the rain-wind.

From a burned cedar tree, hollow and charred, Spetsx was wont to go out and get wood for the house. The brothers-in-law did not seem to give him any help, so he had the work to do alone. Every day he would gather firewood. Always his face was blackened by the charred wood, and always he left it unwashed. Once when Spetsx was out working the brothers-in-law said to his wife, "What is wrong? Why does your husband not wash his face? He is getting so dirty from not washing that his face is quite black." The brothers-in-law kept asking till the wife became angry at both them and him. "It cannot be helped," she said, "what is the use of talking about his face? We cannot indeed tell how he really looks." She reproached her husband when he came home. "Your brothers," she said, "tease me and ask me why you do not wash your face." To the reproof Spetsx gave no answer. "If they wish me to wash," he thought, "I shall wash some time." He went out for more wood.

His wife continued to scold him. "Your brothers-in-law would have you wash your face; you must do so." Spetsx grew angry. "Very well, if they will have me do it, I shall wash my face."

In the morning Spetsx said to his wife, "I shall go and wash my face today, as your brothers wish." Down to the river he went to where some boulders lay along the water's edge, back from the stream. On one of the boulders he stood facing the southwest. He addressed Rain-wind. Thus he addressed him: "Greatuncle, I am about to wash my face now."

He began to wash. The clouds began to gather. He sang:
ad tsa'akosib ad tsa'akosib yilyila'b
adxiwiya' kakaya' ko'sibtæd i yelyela'b
e—i

While he thus spoke there came a fine misty rain, and the river began to rise. Spetsx stepped back upon another rock and kept washing. Still it kept raining, and the river kept rising, and Spetsx kept hopping back.

His wife told her brothers: "Your brother-in-law is washing his face now." This she said to reproach them. The river kept rising and flooded all the valley. The storm and rain and rising of waters continued until all was flooded between the hills. Then Spetsx flew to the home of his greatuncle, Southwest Wind. All the people were drowned.

¹ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

² Spetsx is the myth name of a bird similar to the Oregon junco, the common name of which, according to Jonah Jack the interpreter, is xwa'xwai or xwaxwe.

THE MAN WHO WOULD NOT WASH HIS FACE (Second Version)³

Spetsx was building a boat. His face and hands were very dirty and he did not wash. The relatives of the wife said to her, "Tell your husband to wash once in a while, anyhow." But the wife was afraid to tell him. Finally, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law told him. Five times they told him. Then he began to wash at the water's edge and as he washed he sang:

bo'lə bo'lə sxe' otso'təbtcid

kya'kəkwiə ko'sib

sxo'lgwad xwe'

As the water rose he moved back, cleaning his nails.

His father-in-law said, "Tell your man to cease washing!" The daughter said, "This is what you wished for, to see him clean."

He kept washing till the rising river drowned every one. Then he took his little canoe and went down river to the country of the sunset, the home of his ancestor, Rain-wind.

THE MAN WHO WOULD NOT WASH HIS FACE (Third Version)⁴

The little gray bird, Spetsx, did not wash his eyes. They had dark rings about them like wood charred by the fire-drill.

His neighbors said, "You had better wash your face; you had better wash your eyes." Finally he washed his face and eyes. He went to the river to do it. "Now," said he, "I'll wash my eyes." Then the rain began to come.

Water covered all the country. It washed away the country. Many people were drifting about. There was no land. All were drowned. Muskrat was on a stick very sad. Many people dove down to bring up land, but could not get any. Muskrat went down, and brought up some earth in a skin. He made the country as it is now. Therefore Muskrat should be chief of the land.⁵

THE MAN WHO WOULD NOT WASH HIS FACE (Fourth Version)⁶

Groundsparrow got his face dirty gathering wood from old burned cedar stumps. He never did really wash his face. He was just dipping his hands and calling his uncles. After he touched his face he felt so bad!

He called the whole family of Chinook Wind. He sang:

syelyəla'b əd kwi'akako'sib tci'cub tci'cub

"Uncles, I am washing my face; rain in long drops,
rain in long drops!"

We call that bird spetsxu. He is groundsparrow or swamp sparrow, not junco. If Groundsparrow is taking a bath on a sunny day and looking south, look out; it will rain.

³ Related by Christine Smith (Green River).

⁴ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

⁵ If this story is told it will bring rain (Tom Milroy, Puyallup).

This bird is found about ponds and sloughs. When it utters its cry he who hears it knows that a rainstorm is coming (James Goudy, Skagit).

⁶ An abstract by Joe Young.

HOW MUSKRAT GOT THE LAND⁷

It was raining. The little birds, Beaver, Land-otter and the fishes, all the people, wished to get land from below. Beaver went down. He could not get land.

Muskrat was a short distance away. The friends of Muskrat said, "You go and get the land; your brothers want you to do so." Muskrat came. His big friends said, "You try; if you find land below you get it." "Very well," said Muskrat. Muskrat went down.

He was gone a long time. Now! He gets the land. He brings the land up and puts it on the raft. Now, he goes down; he gets land again. He comes back. He spreads the land out upon the raft.

Well! He made this country, all this country, he made it. He was elder brother because he was an important man. "This will be good for the after people," he said.

THE THEFT OF FIRE (First Version)⁸

Old-woman Fire had two daughters. The elder was married to Beaver, and the younger to Land-otter. They all lived in an "old-man-house"⁹ together. Beaver, for his subsistence, always ate willow wood, and his wife was ill for lack of salmon, which she continually craved. The other son-in-law, Land-otter, was a fisherman and knew how to trap salmon. Many salmon he brought home. The large ones he gave his mother-in-law. Fire would say, "I am nearly dead; I am nearly dead." Always and ever Land-otter's wife poked the fire. The fire kept getting black, and getting black, and at last went out. The Land-otter said, "Now you have what you wanted." Now the fire was gone. Now the people complained.

There was no fire in existence, except in one house. The people of the house had a fish-trap in the river. Beaver went out for a walk and fell into the trap. He was taken for dead and carried to the house of the trap-owners. There the people began to skin him. His friends were hiding near by in the woods. Beaver was skinned, all but a little portion, and at that time he thought to himself, "Pretty soon they will cut me open." As they were peeling the back of his hand it tickled him, and he gave a smile. The people disputed. Some said, "He is alive." Others said, "He is dead." And then others said again, "He is alive; he seemed to smile." He said to himself, "Why do not my friends come to rescue me?" The fire-people had peeled off all the skin but a little on his hand, when his friends began to shoot into the crowd. There was sudden confusion. At this point Beaver leaped up and seized the fire. He also took his skin. Then he ran to the forest while the people pursued him. But Beaver escaped.

He placed the fire in the roots of all the trees: cedar, maple, willow, alder, cottonwood, and especially the pussywillow. So that now one may work the fire drill and obtain fire from wood.

⁷ Told by Tom Milroy (Puyallup). This is apparently a sequel to the preceding tale.

⁸ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

⁹ A potlatch house.

THE THEFT OF FIRE (Second Version)¹⁰

Land Otter was a great fisherman. A young woman heard of him and wanted to marry him. She went to Land Otter's house and lived with him. He went fishing and brought home many salmon.

One day Land Otter told his wife: "You must not poke that fire." The fire was burning day and night and did not go out. It was not necessary to lay on wood. Land Otter's wife did not know that Fire was his mother.

One day Land Otter's wife thought, "I wonder what is the reason Land Otter does not want me to poke the fire." She would keep thinking about that. That morning Land Otter went away; it was the fifth day. His wife was a little angry and she kept poking the fire. The fire went out. Then there was a person lying there dead. Land Otter came back. His mother was dead. He said to his wife, "Did I not tell you not to poke that fire?"

All the families used to have fires when that fire was burning, without getting wood or anything. When that fire went out all the fires in the world went out.

The people all had a hard time. They could get fire in no way. They had a meeting and talked about how they might get fire. All the people were there. Even Raven was in the group. One of them said, "It is best for us to go up into the sky country and get fire, but how are we going to get there?" Another said, "We'll shoot up in the air anyhow and try." They got their arrows together and shot but just missed it.

It was Winter Bird, tsitses who had said, "Shoot arrows." When they missed Raven said, "Call that boy;¹¹ he might be a good shot." The boy came and shot. The arrows connected; it reached nearly to earth. Others came and shot. Raven climbed up, up and made steps so people could climb.

Rabbit in the Sky-country found out that Rabbit from Earth was coming up to kill him. He said, "I dreamed Rabbit from Earth killed me and strung my entrails all around."

The people chose the one who should take the fire. It must be one who would not laugh or be tickled. They tried, all. All laughed but Beaver.

Beaver said, "You folks will be nearby in the morning. Early in the morning I shall be as dead (siokwəd) above the fish weir (cetstüd cetsaxtuahgwəd)." Beaver floated down the river. In the morning the people in heaven were awake. One of them went down to the trap. He found a beaver. He went back and told the people, "I have found a beaver in the trap." The people got Beaver and took him home.

Beaver thought, "I wish they would lay me by the fire." They took him in and laid him by the fire as they would any game. The people talked about how they would butcher him and Beaver heard what they were saying. They started to butcher him. They began to skin him. They were getting around

¹⁰ Related by Jonah Jack (Puyallup-Green River).

¹¹ Apparently a different individual from tsitses (cf. Haeberlin and Gunther, *Ethnographische Notizen*, läl'qucid).

towards the back where it was difficult to remove the hide. Then Beaver thought, "I wish my people would come now."

He feared his people would not come in time. The sky people were just about finishing him. "They will kill me surely, if my people do not come," thought Beaver. Finally the earth people came in a rush. "Uuuuuu," they cried.

Beaver jumped on the fire and took up some fire in his nail. (His claws are split.) While the earth people were killing the sky people he got some of the fire although they blew it out as quickly as they could. While the people were fighting Beaver ran out.

He ran to the alder tree and stuck a piece of fire in the alder. He ran to the cedar tree and stuck a piece of fire in the cedar. He ran to the willow and stuck a piece of fire in the willow. He said, "You, Roots, shall serve for the fire drill of the future people."

tLu colə'ktcɔptcɔXw əq twila'q atcɪL ta'lbyuX

Shalt fire drill be thou for the from now on Indians.

The earth people killed all the sky people.

All returned from the war. Beaver and all got home. All but Rattlesnake and Garter Snake, who were still up there when the ladder from the sky broke. Old Toad was related to the snakes. She began to cry because they were up in the air. She cried,

oya'kək ia'kəkəlo'sɪb ɪdalalɔalk ɔəqsuwa'tɪxtɔd

How my dear brothers are looking around in the heaven!

The snakes heard her cry and felt insulted. They said, "Wait till I get down, I'll fix you." That is why a snake can eat a toad today. The snakes were lost. They bunched up and dropped. The rattlesnakes fell in the Yakima country and the garter snakes in the Puget Sound country. Now Rattlesnake is supposed to be a Puget Sounder and Garter Snake is supposed to be a Klickitat.

Years ago the Puget Sound Indians had more poison weapons than other people. They would heat something in the fire and each time they turned it they would give it a magic word.

The rattlesnakes made their teeth from the tips of the arrows. If an Indian from Puget Sound speaks his own language when near a rattlesnake it will not molest him, but a Klickitat or other Indian is in danger.

THE THEFT OF FIRE (Third Version)¹²

Tsitses is the smallest bird of all. He sings, tsetesadXW. He is a little brown bird with white stripes on his head. He skips up and down the trees and hangs by his toes, head down. He is called, in the Yakima language, natnat. He it was who fastened the sky ladder. When the bridge of arrows from sky to earth was first made it was not yet safe for the larger birds and animals. Tsitses went up and wound it about with stedəgwad. That is Indian rope made from withes of cedar.

¹² Charlie Ashue (Yakima-Puyallup).

All the animals climbed up except Bear and Mountain Lioness. Mountain Lioness went first of the two. Bear laughed and said, "Oh partner, I could see your heart." Mountain Lioness got angry and said, "Go up yourself and I'll follow after." Bear went up. Mountain Lioness laughed and said, "O partner, I could see your heart." Bear got angry and came down.

Raven was chief. Crow and Magpie were his younger brothers. After all the animals had grabbed for the fire and run away, Raven said, "Now you will open your hands." One, two, three: all opened their hands. There was no fire, just ashes. Sbiau came, he was last. He said, "I got the fire." "He lies," said Raven. All had now shown their hands except Beaver. Chief Raven sent a message, "You had better come." Beaver was lying over there, groaning. "ha' ha' ha'." "I'll go and try," he said. "You people are strong but you did not get fire."

Sbiau (Coyote) said, "What are you coming for, Big Belly? I opened my hand last." Beaver said, "Don't talk like that." Beaver opened his hand. There was a little fire. Sbiau got something and made fire (?). Beaver opened the other hand: Fire came out. Beaver swam up the river. He placed fire in the dry roots of the cottonwood logs. Beaver said, "The people of the generation about to come shall have fire. This shall be their matches."

The Indian matches were the fire drill. We call that *cola'ktcupi*.

The real people at that time were those living in the sky country. They came down to earth then. The people from here became animals and birds. Sbiau announced that it would be that way. They got rid of the ogres and everything was all good, as it now is.

ANT AND BEAR (First Version)¹⁸

The ant and the bear talked much with each other. Ant got a rope and with it laced herself tightly. The bear was singing:

saladu'b xgwəlbəlo'xi

Ant sang:

bəlo'xid bəlo'xid

Bear slept. It became warm, and Bear awakened and got up. Then said Ant, "Will you get me if I go down into the earth?" "I shall get you and eat you," said Bear. "If I go into old wood, will you get me?" "Yes," said Bear, "I shall scratch and dig you out with my claws." "If I go up, will you get me?" "Yes, I shall climb up after you," said Bear. "If I fly will you get me?" said she, lacing herself up to run the faster. Then Bear put his hands over his eyes, for he was beaten. If it were not for the ant, we should all be compelled to sleep all winter.

¹⁸ Related by Big John (Green River).

ANT AND BEAR (Second Version)¹⁴

Ant and Blackbear were having a contest to determine how long day and night should be. Ant danced and sang,

gwe'gwauX bəla'xi
Brief shall be daylight;
gwe'gwauX bəla'xi
brief shall be darkness.

Blackbear danced and sang,

zaləda'b bəla'xi
Long shall be daylight;
zaləda'b bəla'xi
Long shall be darkness.

Blackbear sprang after Ant. She crept beneath a rock. He did not know that Ant was beneath the rock.

Ant came out again and danced. She tightened her belt and sang,

gwe'gwauX bəla'xi
Brief shall be daylight;
gwe'gwauX bəla'xi
brief shall be darkness.

In reply Blackbear sang,

zaləda'b bəla'xi
Long shall be daylight;
zaləda'b bəla'xi
Long shall be darkness.

That is why Blackbear eats the ants today. That is why he sleeps all winter.

Ant said: "From now on there shall be modern people; the younger generation is at hand. There shall be day and there shall be night. No one shall sleep all winter."

THE CONTEST FOR DAYLIGHT¹⁵

Daylight is five. Raven made five knots in a string for daylight. Skəl made daylight short. Raven made his in summer, five fingers long; he made it long so that he could have a good time. He tied the day in a box. Skəl said, "You have yours; I shall let mine go. I shall give you that chief's daughter and settle up." They had been fighting. Skəl said, "I want a long night and a short day; I want the winter so that I may sleep long."

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (First Version)¹⁶

A stone mountain down on the Duwamish River used to belong to an old, old woman. Her name was sqwəlatš. Her house was there. It was afterwards

¹⁴ Told by Jonah Jack (Puyallup).

¹⁵ Told by August James (White River).

¹⁶ Told by Big John (Green River). This is arranged from three accounts and some explanatory material given by this informant and his interpreters.

transformed into part of the mountain. That old woman was living alone. She was the only one of her people left alive. They were the rain wind people. Cold Wind had killed them. There was a war between the rain wind people and the cold wind people.

It happened this way. Rain Wind (stəgwauX or stəgwau'q^w,¹⁷) the son of that old lady, was married to a daughter of Cold Wind (stoblə), who lived further down the Duwamish valley toward the north. That young woman was Mountain Beaver Woman (caw'l).¹⁸

The people of the cold wind village did not like the man and they killed him. They killed all the rain wind people. Rain Wind was killed by Cold Wind and Mountain Beaver Woman was taken as a slave to the land of the Cold Wind people. She was held there as a slave for a long time under the power of Cold Wind. There a boy child was born to her; Rain Wind was his father. That little boy was called Little Mountain Beaver (cicu'l). Old Mountain Beaver Woman raised that orphan child. When that boy grew strong his name was sXatsa'latci. That means, "Wind-that-tears-the-trees-up," that boy was Storm Wind.

Cold Wind held the land under his power. All the land was covered with ice and snow. He stretched a fish-weir of ice across the Duwamish River. No fish could get up the river past this trap. Further up the valley the people starved. They could get no fish to eat. The land was desolate.

Storm Wind was growing up. Mountain Beaver, his grandfather, gave him a bow and arrow to play with. "Do you see that mountain, yonder?" he said to him. "There is something dangerous there!" The old, old woman, last of his father's race, was living there. "Something taboo is there," they told the boy. It was his own greataunt that was dangerous for him. They knew that she would tell him how his people were killed by Cold Wind.

The boy grew big. He was going away to that mountain. His grandfather said, "Do not go." "Why not?" he asked; "I am going to get my grandmother." The boy's grandfather had taught him, "After so many years you may go." He went to the mountain. He came to a mat house on top of the mountain. Inside that mat house there was an old lady, making baskets. She made baskets of different kinds, coarsely woven and finely woven baskets: many, many! That old lady was his grandmother, sqwəłats.

No one else was there. All the people were killed. For her fire the old lady had only some tops of the cat-tail rush. When she laid these on the fire it would blaze up quickly and then die down just as quickly. She could not keep warm. She was crying for her dead son.

That boy talked to her. He found out about her. He went and pulled up big fir trees by the roots. He laid them at her door for fuel. He asked how and when they should fight the cold people. The old lady said, "Wait until I get my baskets all finished, then we shall settle that. I will fill the baskets up

¹⁷ This is the Chinook Wind, a warm southwesterly breeze, which melts the snow and causes freshets.

¹⁸ Mountain Beaver (*Haplodon rufus*).

with rain and then those cold wind people will be killed by the fish trap." Storm Wind went away.

Storm Wind went up to his grandmother again. This time she had the baskets ready. Out of the coarse ones she poured big splashes of rain; out of the fine ones she poured a fine misty rain. When this came the flood raised the trap and broke it apart. All of the cold wind people were killed, all but the young man's mother. She had been warned to flee.

Cold Wind ran away, down the valley he ran, the land flooding behind him. Everything was melting. From Elliott Bay he ran across the Sound. He could not stop anywhere.

He ran across the Sound on top of the water.¹⁹ He came to land again on Bainbridge Island on the far side of the Sound. At a place called Yeomalt he landed. He could not stop. Away north he ran. That place where he landed used to be called, before the whites came and changed it somewhat, *tl̄boá'tl̄XW*. The meaning of that word is Spirit House. If Cold Wind had not been chased away we should all be cold and hungry all the time. As it is we have a little ice and snow, but not for long.

After Cold Wind left the country the fish weir which he built across the Duwamish River was turned to stone, what was left of it. It stretches across the river there now. Anybody can see it. At low tide the water runs between the stones.

Before the country was all torn up by the whites, people who wanted ram would go in their canoes to the foot of that mountain, which we call *sq̄wəłats*, on the west bank of the river just above Allentown. There they would splash the water. Then it would rain.

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (Second Version)²⁰

North Wind overcame Chinook Wind. He established himself on the Duwamish River. That little mountain where he lived is called by us, *sto'tobl̄a*. He covered the earth with winter, with ice and snow, and desolation, up to the point marked by the old barrier which extends across the river.

When Chinook Wind was killed, his wife escaped. She went up the Duwamish River to a place of safety. Here she gave birth to a boy. As the boy grew up, his grandfather said, "Never go over yonder!" When he became a grown young man, he went down to the river. There he heard his grandmother crying. He went over to her house. She said, "Come in. The ice is melting from my nose." The ravens, who were slaves belonging to North Wind, had been dropping filth on her. This had frozen into ice on her face. She was a mountain named *sq̄wəłá'ts*.²¹ That mountain used to be marked as with paint. That mark was left by the ravens.

"Is it you, my grandson?" "Yes, it is I." His grandmother had no wood for her fire. He pulled a tree up and placed it upon her fire. "Be easy to

¹⁹ From this point explanatory material supplied by Dr. T. T. Waterman.

²⁰ Related by Charles Sotaiakum (Duwamish).

²¹ *Sq̄wəłats* means "the face is marked" (James Goudy).

move for grandmother. Do not be heavy when she wants to place you on the fire," was his command to the trees. Taking a bone pointed arrow from his quiver, he gave it to the mother. "When the ravens come, kill them," he said.

Then the son of Chinook Wind went down to the river bank where North Wind had his fish-weir. Uprooting a cottonwood tree, he cast it in the river. It floated down and lodged upon the fish-weir. North Wind called all his people to help remove it. They tried. They could not move it.

They saw a man reclining upon the farther bank. "It must be the grown son of Chinook Wind, whom we destroyed." Then North-wind called to him, "Stranger! Chieftain! I would thank you for your help in removing the drift from my weir." Then the young man lifted the log with his foot as though it were but a bundle of feathers. He tossed it over the trap. It floated away.

On the second day the youth again uprooted a tree which floated against the weir. This weir was made of ice. Again North Wind saw the young man. Again he asked his help to remove the tree.

Then North Wind was alarmed at the strength shown by the youth. He offered his daughter in marriage. All bedecked with beads and earrings of ice was the daughter of North Wind. She set out for the young man's house. But before she arrived the ornaments had melted.

The next day bedecked as before she again essayed the journey and again her attire melted away. Again she returned home. A third time she set out for the home of the young man. But as she drew near the house her finery again melted. Her husband-to-be said, "Let her depart, she is causing our house to be swallowed up in the flood." And so he never took the daughter of North Wind into his house.

Storm Wind returned home to his grandfather, Mountain Beaver. On the way he killed a screech owl.²² This he gave to the old man for food. But the bird came to life and attacked the old man, pecking at his breast so that he died.

Dying, the grandfather reproached the youth, saying, "Grandson, I did not wish you to go to the forbidden spot." The youth replied, "Grandfather, you should have told me that there had been a war, that that was the reason for your command."

After this the young man and his mother packed all their belongings and moved to the mountain, the home of the old woman, their greataunt.

The young man blew upon the earth and brought his parents back to life. He blew again, blew and blew, and many people came back to life and lived there.

His grandmother was weaving baskets. These she was preparing in order to fight North Wind. The first were large and coarsely woven to hold coarse rain-drops. The next in size and weave were for the steady rain. The smallest were tightly woven and were to hold the fine mist.

"What day shall we fight Stobla?"

"Tomorrow is the day upon which we may fight."

²² Some informants say it was a pheasant that was killed by the young man, and killed his grandfather in turn.

So on the morrow they began the contest. The young man blew. His grandmother began pouring out the rains; first the coarse drops, then the steady rain, and lastly the mist. He blew and uprooted the trees. They beat North Wind. They chased him away. They melted the ice and blew it north. If the young man had not been born we should still have the ice here now.

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (Third Version)²³

North Wind (stoblə) wished to marry the daughter of Mountain Beaver. North Wind was cold and brought no food. Chinook Wind (stəgwauX) also wanted the girl. He brought gifts of food. The old people refused North Wind and gave the girl to Chinook Wind.

North Wind raged. He killed all of the chinook wind people except one old, old woman. That old lady was sqwəla'ts; her home was on a hill from which the white people have since quarried stone, west of the Duwamish.

That old lady was left all alone, with her two slaves, Short-tailed Rat and Mole.²⁴ They used to steal food for the old lady.

North Wind built a fish-weir of ice, which reached across the river and stopped the salmon from running. The remains of that fish-weir became stone and it can be seen today.

When North Wind came destroying and killing everything, the young wife of Chinook Wind, who was killed, escaped and ran home by an underground road to her people. At home a child was born to her. That child was a boy: he was Storm Wind (sXatsa'latici). As the boy was getting big enough to travel his grandmother would say to him, "Do not go to that good place." But day by day he would go a little farther in the direction of the forbidden place.

Now one day, west of the river, where he had been warned not to go, that boy found an old, old lady, his great grandmother. She was singing and making baskets; of all sizes she was making them. She had only cat-tail rushes to burn in her fire, so that the blaze would flame up quickly and as quickly die down again. As she worked she sang:

tul a'li lax da'l stu'xtca'XW co'wali
kulie'bac kwa'dax gwe'a kwa'dax tlo'batsxs i'—i²⁵

"There must be someone saved from among the people who perished. Someone of them is walking about, he is coming near. That is the reason I am getting so warm." The ice was now melting from her face. She sang, "I am growing warm, my young relative comes." She went to the door. Storm Wind was standing there. "I suppose you are the child of the one who was killed."

Raven was slave to North Wind. He used to perch above the old woman

²³ Related by Ann Jack (Green River). This is arranged from two narrations by this informant.

²⁴ Their names are skaad and peya'lkteid.

²⁵ Mrs. James Goudy, a Skagit, gives this song as follows:

tula'laX dal ti'də' a'lalc
qwi'la i'bac Xa'liti laha'dhadqW
qwit'qwa'l gwəla"adi

and drop filth upon her. It froze on her face. Her face was covered with her frozen tears and the filth of Raven. "Look at me, see how Raven has used me," she said. The young man gave her an "iron" (a bone pointed arrow) to punch Raven with.

That young man was sorry for his great grandmother because she had only dry rushes to burn. He tore up big fir trees (tcibe'dəts; plu. tcibcibe'dəts) and laid them at her door for fuel. Addressing the fir trees he said, "If Grandmother moves you to place you on the fire you shall be light in weight and easy to handle." He said to the old lady, "Do not perform any work outside the house while I am gone. I shall come back and restore everything in good condition." So he went away.

Raven came again to annoy the old woman. She prodded him with the "iron" the young man had given her. Raven said, "Her grandson must have come to see her."

The young man found the fish-weir North Wind had stretched across the river. He found yew wood. He hurled it against the fish-weir. North Wind was there. The yew logs were floating against that trap. North Wind tried to pick them out; he was not able. Storm Wind was sitting on the opposite bank of the river. He threw the logs over the fish-weir. North Wind said, "The son of Chinook Wind whom we destroyed must have come to his grandmother." Storm Wind said to North Wind, [not recorded].

Storm Wind went back up the hill to his great grandmother. He blew and many people came to life. He blew again; they were all in a big house. He blew again; they all rose. (These were the chinook wind people.)

The old lady had finished her baskets. She left those baskets outside where they caught the rain. She emptied all those baskets of rain and flooded the valley.

Storm Wind went down to the river. He blew down one tree, a white fir (tlaq'tciəts). North Wind kept putting his daughter there. Every time he placed the woman there the river would come up. That was from her icy ornaments melting. Storm Wind tore up more trees and threw them in the river until they broke the trap. Now the people could have food. North Wind fled down the valley.

In the days before the whites came if people told this story to [of?] Chinook Wind it would soon begin to rain.²⁶

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (Fourth Version)²⁷

Sqwəla'ts is the home of stəgwauq' (Chinook Wind). That mountain is his grandmother. Chinook Wind used to live there. North Wind (stoblə) came right to them, the people living in that place. He killed all but one. He did not kill the old lady and the boy. When the boy was little he began to make

²⁶ If a woman wished to bring rain she would pour water against the side of that mountain (Jack Stillman, Snuqualmi).

²⁷ Related by Major Hamilton (Duwamish).

bows and arrows. He killed pheasants. He was out from daylight to late at night; then he would come home.

This is what the old people told him:

Xa'Xa quatso' o'Xəd tua'Łxad

Forbidden to go down-river,

diŁ, tucobəd tiŁta'dad yƏlab

They killed your ancestors.

daie't t'qe'ux qwa'dxu e'bac

Only go up-river walking, Grandson.

That young man grew bigger and bigger, and he made bigger and bigger arrows. He killed bigger and bigger animals. Then he got to be a man and went to his grandmother. He was becoming Chinook Wind, too.

The old lady was making baskets to hold rain. She said to this young fellow: "When you are old enough you shall go down and see a lot of people, the North Wind people, who killed your father."

The young man said, "All right, I shall go down and see." He just went down to look. All the young people [of the North Wind] who had been playing ran home inside their house squealing. They were beginning to melt.

The young man went back home. He said to the old lady: "When you get ready let me know. I shall go down and see what I can do to those people." The old lady said: "I am ready, I have four baskets full of rain."

The young man said: "Well, I will go down tomorrow morning. When I get there you pour one basketful of rain into the river."

He threw some trees into the river; the water began to rise. The old lady found out that the river was beginning to rise. She emptied two more baskets into the river. The young man threw some trees into the river; they drifted into the fish trap.

The stout fellows down there were trying to throw the driftwood over; they could not lift it. He asked, "What are you doing?" They said, "We are trying to throw the trees over; we cannot do it." He said, "Wait, while I throw it over." He went down and threw it over.

The old lady poured down the last basket of rain; the river rose pretty high. The young man fought the North Wind people. All those people were melted; they were all killed but one. That one Storm Wind chased down river to the Sound, clear to the Sound.

North Wind said, "I will stay down the Sound and you stay up this way" (Łoa ha'tcid Łoa'Łxad Łoaha'tcu Liue'Xw).

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (Fifth Version)²⁸

There was war between Stoblə and Sqwəłats. All the relatives of Sqwəłats were killed but one girl. She was under the power of Stoblə. Her father was Mountain Beaver (CAWL).

The son of that girl was warned by Mountain Beaver, his grandfather, not to go to that mountain. The boy killed pheasants and ate them. He said, "I shall go to that good place." Sqwəłats, the old lady living on that mountain, cried much. The young man came to her house. The old lady rubbed her eyes. She asked, "From what place do you come? Are you my sister's child?" "I am," he said. He was now a full-grown man.

The eyes of the old lady were bad; they were dim from the filth which the ravens, the slaves of Stoblə, had dropped upon her. The young man took a cudgel and drove the ravens away, back to the north to Stoblə, their master. They said to Stoblə, "He nearly killed us."

The old lady said to the young man, "Do not [attempt to] stop the old man [Stoblə]. I am the only one of my people left." The young man went to Stoblə.

The young man took some pheasants to Mountain Beaver. The pheasants attacked the old man and killed him.

The young man said, "I shall go home." He pulled up some trees and threw them in the river above the barrier, which Stoblə had laid across the river. Stoblə said, "Your timbers are interfering with my trap!" Raven said, "I am strong; I will get the tree out." After Raven tried, he said, "I cannot raise it." Then the young man kicked the timber over the trap.

The young man went again to his grandmother. The grandmother said to the youth, "There shall be much rain. You will come; your father was killed by Stoblə." Both the grandmother and the young man worked. The grandmother brought rain so that the river rose and the young man threw timbers into the river [and so broke the barrier]. Stoblə went far away. The ravens were big. They also went north.

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (Sixth Version)²⁹

There was war between Chinook Wind and North Wind. North Wind wanted to be boss. Nearly all of the Chinook Wind people were killed. Only one old woman³⁰ was left with her grandson, the child of Chinook Wind and Mountain Beaver. The old woman cried all the time. She told the little boy, "Do not go away, something will happen to you."

When the boy grew large enough he went away towards the mountains and stayed away till he became a man. When he had grown up he returned to see his grandmother. She was crying. The young man asked, "Why do you cry all the time? It sounds just as if my father had died."

²⁸ Told by Sampson and Lucy (Green River—Lake Washington).

²⁹ Told by Dan Silelus (Lake Washington).

³⁰ The name of that woman, a mountain, sqwəł'ats, means "fine rain" (Jack Stillman, Snuqualmi).

The grandmother said, "Do not go down there. You will get killed."

The young man thought, "My father must be down there." He brought wood and started a fire for the old woman. Her face was covered with frost and filth from Raven. Raven was slave of North Wind, and used to come and perch in the house, and drop filth on the face of the old woman. The young man sharpened a stick and said, "When Raven comes poke him with this stick." He told the grandmother when he would come back. The fire was blazing now. "Do not wash your face till I come back," he said. The young man went away.

Raven came to the house of the old woman. The old woman took the stick and prodded Raven. Raven went back home. He was ashamed; he did not tell Stoblə (North Wind). Raven went to bed and groaned. North Wind heard. He asked, "What is wrong?" Raven said, "I'm sick." He was ashamed to tell.

The young man, sXatsalatci, returned to his grandmother. He came stronger this time [that is, the wind was blowing harder now]. He did not tell that he had gone down to North Wind anyhow.

The young man left his grandmother again. As he was leaving he said, "You may wash your face now." She washed and the fine rain began to come. The young man went to the river. The river flooded, and logs floated down and took out half the fish weir [of ice] that North Wind had laid across the river.

Chinook Wind (stogwau'q') said, "It will not always be cold like this any more. There will come warm wind and blow it away."³¹

NORTH WIND AND STORM WIND (Seventh Version)³²

The underground woman, CAWL, escaped from North Wind and went to her people while pregnant. Beaver and Land-otter stole food for her. She made a bow and arrow for her boy child. When he grew big he made his own. When he was large enough to go out, everything was at peace.

The boy went to his grandmother. She was the only one of the Chinook Wind people that was not killed by North Wind. When he looked in at the old woman she raised her head and sang, "From my generation where I came from is the breath that struck my face." The boy ordered baskets. Spetsx^w was a nephew. People duck him.³³

Stoblə had taken the daughter of Chinook Wind for a wife.

The boy said to the snags that drifted over the barrier, "Drift as far north as you can."

³¹ *Calling for Rain*—In former times, when it was cold and the snow lay deep upon the ground the people used to do certain things to drive the snow away and bring them rain.

They made a board and painted one side black, like the face of the old woman covered with filth from Raven. Cords were fastened to the boards. These bull-rouers were given to the boys, who swung them in the air in such a way as to make a noise and bring Chinook Wind. The name of that board was Xo'IXwalb.

The people would catch spetsX, paint his face black and turn him loose. So that he would go to the river, wash his face and call Chinook Wind. We call that practice, tiu te'wudx. A certain kind of ceremonial rattle is called ti'wud.

³² An abstract from Joe Young (Puyallup).

³³ If the spetsx people are angry rain will come (Big John).

We call that stone mountain sq'wula'ts,³⁴ that means, "weeping color." The gray streaks running down the sides of that mountain are the tears of the old woman.

That mountain, sba'batil, was the home of North Wind on the Duwamish. That was where the Ancients lived to make the four divisions of the world. The North controlled everything.

If anyone trespassed beyond the barrier laid across the Duwamish River the people of the North caused him to prepare a cord of hazel wood (to hang himself with). He would be compelled to meet his fate anyhow.

THE CONTEST IN THE NORTH (First Version)³⁵

In the ancient time Bluejay [Steller's Jay] was a smart man. At that time the people were suffering from ice and cold weather. Chinook Wind (stəgwau'xw) and his servants set out on a journey to the north to visit North Wind (stoblə) and there carry on a contest with him by means of games. Bluejay, Beaver and Raven went along; these were slaves of Chinook Wind.

It was cold at the home of North Wind. All the people sat down. North Wind said, "Well, friends, you may celebrate with my slaves. There shall be a diving contest. If my slaves die you shall have won from me. If your slaves die I shall have beaten you." North Wind called his slaves; these were sea-otter. They came.

Then Raven said, "I shall dive under the water." Bluejay said [to Chinook Wind], "No, I shall go. Your [champion] would be killed; I shall go." Soon Bluejay came in his canoe. He had many sticks and much sea-weed. He dove and came up [under the seaweed]. Sea otter dove and stayed under the water a long time. He failed to come up. After a long time the people said, "Bluejay is coming now." North Wind had lost this contest. One of his slaves died this time.

Another game was started. This time a pole was set up. Raven wished to climb up the pole. Bluejay said, "No." Bluejay climbed up the pole. Sapsucker (tittle'kctd) went up half way and fell down. Bluejay beat him. The people had said, "Bluejay will fall down."

North Wind said, "Oh! you have beaten me!" Chinook Wind addressed North Wind thus: "In the future you shall not kill people with cold." If North Wind had won this contest all the people would now be freezing.

³⁴ The stone mountain in this story is situated north of Riverton near the west bank of the Duwamish about a half mile south of where the highway bridge crosses the river. About a quarter of a mile below the bridge the ruins of the salmon weir are visible at low water. That place is known as kəla'xad, "the barrier." To the west an elevation on the hillside is known as stə'toblə, the mountain from which North Wind used to set out against the Chinook Wind people.

³⁵ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

THE CONTEST IN THE NORTH (Second Version)⁸⁶

Eagle (stl'tse'd) lived on Puget Sound. His sister was a large white sea-bird (skA'lkabc) who was married to Sea-Otter (daXa'l), and lived far off in another world where was much ice and snow. Sapsucker (title'kcid), who was from Puget Sound, was Sea-Otter's slave in that distant country. Sea-Otter was a large and powerful man, who was greatly to be feared.

Now Eagle became lonesome and said to himself, "I shall go North and make my sister a visit." So he left the Puget Sound region and all the bird-people went along with him. Bluejay went along. They traveled and traveled for a long time. Now they had arrived at the home of Sea-Otter.

When they arrived, Eagle's sister said, "Why did you come here? Your brother-in-law will kill you. He will snare you, beat you, kill you."

Sea-Otter had many dogs, the hair-seals. Some of these he killed and made a feast of them for the visitors. At the same time, this feast was to be a contest. If the visitors should lose, they would be killed. Before eating, Bluejay took a walk. He got a hollow stick and placed it in his mouth. At the feast he ate and ate, but never got full. So he won the contest.

On the second day, Sea-Otter told Eagle, "We shall have another game." They went to the bay and got their canoes. Sea-Otter said to Eagle, "I shall choose a man from my people to dive." Said Bluejay, "I will do the diving for my party." Sea-Otter said, "Who first comes up out of the water shall be killed." A hair-seal was to dive for the village. [Now in the bottom of every canoe is kept an arrangement of cedar twigs, woven together and covered with a mat. The hunter kneels upon this to paddle. It keeps his knees dry. This device of cedar twigs is called tla'bul. Bluejay, when no one was looking, took this material from the canoe and made a little pile upon the water. Then Bluejay was ready to dive.]

The match was now begun. Hair-seal dove and dove. Jay dove and dove. The people could see but a little ripple. In the morning they dove. Seal came out about two o'clock. Bluejay's beak meantime was under the sticks. After Hair-seal came out Bluejay dropped under water, and in a few moments came out where the people could see him. Bluejay carried with him a club of bone. When he had come out of the water he drew his club and killed Hair-seal. So Bluejay won.

On the third day, Sea-Otter said, "We shall have another game tomorrow, of a different kind." Meanwhile his wife was standing in water making a rope. She stood so long that her legs were red with cold. For five days was she weaving rope.

Sea-Otter erected a pole of ice, ever so tall. He told Eagle, his brother-in-law, to point out a man from his company who should climb. But all were afraid. Said Bluejay, "I will climb." Sea-Otter appointed his slave, Sapsucker, to climb. So Bluejay started up and Sapsucker started up, both began to climb. Now they

⁸⁶ Told by John Xot (Puyallup) as a Suquamish story. Material inserted by Dr. T. T. Waterman is enclosed in square brackets.

are climbing. Now Bluejay is ahead; now Sapsucker. Bluejay looked down from time to time and saw the people. Then he started climbing afresh. He went and went till he could not see the people any more. Then he waited for Sapsucker. When Sapsucker overtook him, Jay drew his club and killed him. The people saw Sapsucker falling and said, "Bluejay is falling." But when he struck the ground, they saw it was their companion, Sapsucker. After this Bluejay came down. When Bluejay had come close, he drew his club and started clubbing the dead Sapsucker. This was the end of the bird contest.

Sea-Otter had lost. He said, "You may start home tomorrow." Eagle and his people started homeward. When he embarked, his sister, the white bird, tied one end of her rope to his canoe. This was to learn if Eagle should get through safely on his way homeward. At a certain point on the journey the sky lifts up like a door, and he who passes through may be crushed by it. But Eagle became crafty. He had his men secure two big timbers and when they arrived at the place, the men placed the timbers beneath the edge of the sky as it lifted, that they might not be crushed, and all passed safely through. When through, Eagle gave the rope a pull as a signal to his sister; then he untied the rope and his sister pulled it back. The opening, supported by two pillars, remains to this day.

If this story is told, it will bring frost.

THE CONTEST IN THE NORTH (Third Version)⁸⁷

When the people went north both Land-otter and Beaver went along.

A girl lived with her parents in the village at a point of land, possibly Dash Point. That girl, instead of going far away to cleanse herself to get magic power, used to bathe and bathe daily in the salt water in front of her home. She was having intercourse with the spirit of the son of North Wind. Each time a wave lapped against her body it was he. She loved him. She was to go with him to his home.

The father of the girl was Chinook Wind.

All the people were camping [on the beach]. It was good weather where they were. Chinook Wind said, "I want all who will be of use to come with me; we shall go north to get my daughter back." Chinook Wind sang for magic power.

Bluejay wanted to sing. He said, "I am next." Bluejay's sister said, "When did they ever take boats?" [?]. Bluejay sang in a different language, the Cow-litz. He sang thus so that the people would not understand. At the same time his sister danced. He sang as follows:

itsna'wL itsna'wL ta!əlwe'nam
 If uncovered it goes like this
 tutsA'tcitab tutsA'tcitab
 It was pulled
 (That was Bluejay's crest).

⁸⁷ Related by Joe Young (Puyallup).

The people went north. They sailed and sailed. They arrived at the mouth of a river. It was frozen across. They stayed one day. Bluejay was angry. He said, "I shall break it." His sister said, "Keep still, you are not leading." Bluejay replied, "I shall lead right now." He fell on his crest and died. His sister said, "Get him, somebody; give him to me." She stuck him in her breast. He got warm and kicked. He was put in his place. "You were dead," they told him. "No, I was sleeping," said he.

Chinook Wind said, "Give me the pole." He struck the ice with the pole. It thawed and the river began to rise in front of the house of North Wind. The people waited for an invitation to the house of North Wind. None came. No one came out from the house.

Bluejay said, "I shall sneak in; I know where my sister lives." Bluejay found his sister; she was alone. He got instructions what to do, and went back to his people and reported.

The Chinook Wind people were asked to come in. Bluejay was told, "The first trial will be to blow powder in your face. You must dig holes in the ground. In the air you cannot breathe."

All came inside. Some one cried, "Powder horn, powder horn, turn her loose." The air filled with smoke. It was so for a long time. Again someone cried, "Powder horn, powder horn, suck in the smoke." The smoke all went back. Bluejay said, "Do you think I am dead now?" This was the first game.

At this time they did not know how many were in the village of North Wind. Bluejay went to his sister, the wife of North Wind. She advised him, "You shall be fed on one big fish and must eat all of it. Learn how not to eat everything. Gather sticks of elderberry wood and take the pith out." They put them far in their mouths. They let the whale meat and the oil fall, and soak away in the gravel. They ate and ate. All had finished. They looked in every corner for more fish. Bluejay had fixed it. This was the second game.

Bluejay went to his sister. She gave him a warning. "My master is going to hunt beaver at the beaver dam." "I shall go along," said Bluejay. So he went. Then he saw North Wind. They took men to drive the beaver in a slough. "There is a big one; kill it for us for our food," said North Wind. The big beaver was an *aia'Xos*, a monster. The girl had warned Bluejay, "Spear the little beaver; never molest the big ones; they are giants."

Chinook Wind, the son-in-law of North Wind, was the chief driver. He said, "Father-in-law, it is going." Bluejay said, "We have not seen a big one yet." There came a little beaver. North Wind said, "Do not kill it." But Chinook Wind speared the little beaver. When he pulled up the beaver it was larger than any they had ever seen before. North Wind said, "You ought to have got the big one."

This was the third game.

Bluejay went to his sister. Said she, "The next game is the diving game to see who can stay under water the longest." (Land-otter and Beaver wanted to dive.) Bluejay said, "I shall dive." It was early in the morning and very cold.

They gave Bluejay his way. Seal dove for the North. Afterwards Bluejay went in a canoe and threw brush overboard. He swam out to where the pole was. Pulling under he pretended to reach bottom. "Oh, I shall swim back," he said (to himself). His nose was sticking out. The people saw that he was cheating. He arrived at the brush and got under. He got a foot-hold in the bank and raised the brush to his chin. The people said, "Look at Bluejay; he is growling." He was a seal so long, he said, "I am cold." He was planning to kill Seal. From that place he swam out; he arrived at the pole sticking straight down in the water. Seal was hanging on the pole at the bottom, with his face down. Bluejay carried a club of black stone. He knocked Seal on the head. Seal came up to the surface. The people of North Wind said, "Bluejay is coming out" (*skaikai tocai*).

Bluejay came up on the pole. "Have you another man? Why not send a man that can dive like me?" This was the fourth game.

All this time the woman was making a string. It was piling and piling up. The last end was still being made.

Bluejay went to his sister. The next game was to be target shooting. Bluejay said, "I'll be the target. The other one will be killed." The other target was Loon. The breast of the target was to be turned towards the arrow. Bluejay placed a stone upon his breast. Chinook Wind shot Loon. Loon lay on his back. North Wind shot Bluejay. The arrow broke in pieces. Bluejay said, "Have you another man willing to die? Why not place a real man like me on the target?" This was the fifth game. All this time Bluejay was turning to a man.

Bluejay's sister, the wife of North Wind, said, "Tomorrow will be the last game, climbing the ice pole to heaven." Bluejay said, "I shall go up that pole." Squirrel started up the pole for the North Wind. Bluejay said, "I'll fix him." Bluejay flew; he could not climb. Around the ice pole he flew. "I'll pass him and kill him," he said. Squirrel was going slowly; he was tired. Bluejay was ahead. He lay in wait for Squirrel. He struck Squirrel on the head with his club. Squirrel dropped and Bluejay followed. He flew down to the bottom in a spiral, in the reverse direction from that in which he had ascended. When Squirrel struck, the people of the North said, "Hurrah! Bluejay has struck the ground."

Bluejay went to his sister. She said, "Tomorrow they will send you home." Bluejay said, "I shall hold the string; anyone else might lose it." (No one knew what it was). "If we reach home I shall pull five times. Some of my quills will be tied to the end, none but mine."

When they were out at sea, Bluejay said, "Otter, steady the boat for your brothers; Beaver, steady, but at the stern." All took their places.

The people of the North put their breath on them to kill them, but they reached home. There was plenty of string left. Bluejay pulled five times to signal safety.

BEAVER AND MUSKRAT

Beaver traded Muskrat out of his tail. It was too big for so small a man. Muskrat was chief of the swamps.

The last beaver was killed at Tacoma.

THE WAR AGAINST CHINOOK WIND³⁸

It blew and blew and blew. The people did not know how to get rid of the wind. So Flounder, Skate, Bluejay and all the people held a council to devise some means of relieving the country. They resolved to go in the direction where Stogwaukh, Chinook Wind, lived and kill him. All their boldest warriors went. Bluejay thought Skate was too clumsy to be of any value in a fight. They traveled for a long distance till they reached a spot which was calm. Here they discovered that the wind came from a high hill near them. At camp they fell into a controversy. Having gathered about the fire they tried to decide on one to lead the attack upon South Wind. The person highest in favor was Skate. Bluejay became angry. Said he to Skate, "The enemy would never miss you, having once aimed at you. You are too ungainly. You are sure to be struck. I myself could shoot a hole right through you." "You could not," said Skate. "I could," said Jay. "Try it, then," said Skate, "Go over there and shoot." "I'd kill you the first shot," said Jay. Skate marched away, and said, "Now shoot." Bluejay shot, but missed. Skate said, "It's my turn," So Bluejay took his place as a target, while Skate aimed and shot. Bluejay dodged, but was struck in the side and lay prostrate there. Skate removed the arrow and Bluejay recovered.

Then the people chose Skate to lead them against South [Chinook] Wind. Among themselves the people wondered, "What shall we do with South Wind when we get him?" "Shall we kill him?" "No, that would not be right." So they went to the hill and there they found South Wind lying upon his side.

"If you had killed me," said he, "things would be different; there would be disease and bad odor. Stand me up, so that wind will not blow." So they stood him up upon his feet. Said South Wind, "Hereafter when it blows from the south it will be for only a few days at a time."

That is why South Wind does not blow all the time.

MOON, THE TRANSFORMER³⁹

The grandfather of Moon was named Suwa'blko; the grandmother's name was Tupa'ltxw. Their two daughters were Tukwiye', the elder and Ya'sltbc, the younger. Those people lived at toltxw. The two sisters went to dig fern roots (tadi)⁴⁰ on the prairie above the Falls. When night came, clear and starry, the two remained on the prairie for the night. They lay down. As they lay there the younger sister looked up and saw the stars shining brightly. Looking up, Ya'sltbc saw the stars looking down and wished that the one shining white were her husband, and that the one shining red were her elder sister's husband.

While the two sisters were sleeping they were taken up to the sky (sXo'-lgwad). When they awoke in the morning they were in the Sky Country, lying

³⁸ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

³⁹ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

⁴⁰ This is the bracken fern (*pteridium aquilinum pubescens*), a staple food of the Indians.

by the side of the men they had wanted. The sisters did not know where they were. There was no wind there, only a calm.

The younger sister learned that her husband, the one with the white eye was an old man, but the one with a red eye was a young man in the prime of life. About them were many people; these were star people, relatives of these two men. Life went on in the Sky Country the same as on earth: the women had to go out and dig fern roots, and the men would go and hunt game. So the two sisters said, "Let us go out and dig fern roots too."

They went out and dug fern roots, and brought many home that same day. They prepared their store of fern roots and cooked it, and the people ate it all for them. This was the first day.

The next day the two sisters went out and dug many fern roots and brought them home. They prepared their store and cooked it, and the people ate it all for them, as they had done on the first day.

On the third day the sisters went out. Their men had warned them in this wise, "When you find the roots with your digging sticks do not follow those that go straight down but dig the roots that spread out."

About this time the elder sister became pregnant. The younger sister grieved after she found this out. She would sit where the smoke would blow in her face in order that the people might not know the tears were from weeping and that she grieved at having an old man for a husband.

Every day the sisters would go out and dig fern roots. While out they would ask each other, "Why is it that our men do not wish us to follow the roots that go straight down?" After they had talked of this, they said, "We shall try it."

At this time a boy-child was born to the elder sister. When the child was born the sisters did not go out to dig, but waited until the child should get strong. After the baby had become strong, they said, "Let us go out and dig more fern roots." So they went out and took the baby along.

The men would go out to hunt game every day. The women went out with the child a second time to dig.

A third time they went out with the child to dig. Between themselves they said, "We shall follow the roots down this time and see how far they go." They dug; they followed the roots down till they reached the sky. When they had dug through, the wind came up through the hole thus made. Then the women knew where they were; they knew that this was the Sky Country.

As the wind came up through, the hunters knew that something was wrong. They came running to the spot where the women were digging and asked what was wrong. But the women had stopped up the hole through which the wind had been blowing and they answered, "Nothing is wrong." Then the men went back to the hunt. After this circumstance the women did not feel right and they soon went home.

The next day they went out and dug fern roots. In the morning they gathered many cedar boughs and laid them at the place where the hole in the sky had been. In the afternoon they gathered fern roots, very few.

The second day after they had dug through, the two sisters went out to dig. In the morning they gathered cedar boughs and laid them at the appointed spot; in the afternoon they dug a few fern roots, just as on the first day.

The third day they went out and did the same.

The fourth day they went out and did the same. This time the hunters became suspicious. The husband of the elder sister asked her, "What is the reason you do not gather enough fern roots?" The wife replied, "The baby cries, and I have to dig alone while my sister looks after the baby."

The fifth day they went out. Instead of cutting, the sisters twisted the branches into a rope (ste'dəgwəð). This work took them all day and they dug very few roots. The sixth day, they went out and twisted rope. Very few roots were brought home. The seventh day they went out and did the same as on the fifth and sixth. The eighth day they went out. They made a ladder (səkwa'lətc) of the twisted limbs. The ninth day they went out. They continued to make the rope ladder.

The tenth day they went out. Instead of making the ladder they dug the hole through and passed the ladder down through it, thinking to find if it would reach down to Earth. They shook the ladder and found it was not long enough. They drew it back again.

The next day the two sisters went out and gathered some more cedar limbs; all this unknown to their husbands. Each day they would bring back a very few roots.

The twelfth day they went out. Instead of cutting boughs they twisted some more rope. The thirteenth day they went out again. They added the newly cut branches, now twisted into rope, to the ladder, thus making the ladder longer.

The fourteenth day they went out again. Immediately they hung the ladder down from the sky and found that it reached to earth. The younger sister stepped through the hole in the sky to the ladder. The elder sister handed the baby to the younger, then closed the hole in the sky and caused a forest to grow where the prairie had been, so that the hunters, searching, might not be able to find them. Then, when all was ready, the two sisters with the baby descended the ladder to earth, their former home.

Now the two sisters had gone out to dig roots upon the prairie and there they had been taken up into the sky. Their parents did not know where they had gone and were grieving for them all this time. All the while they had been gathering the various bird people, the best doctors they could find. These continued to dance and sing: Bluejay, Squirrel and others, trying with their spirit power to find the sisters, but none could find them because their spirit helpers were not strong enough. Most of the doctors had given up the task and gone home, but a few were left, dancing and singing, when the women reached the ground.

Then the news spread that the two sisters, daughters of Suwa'blko and Tupa'ltxw, had come from the sky. As the news was spread the people gathered. The two sisters made the ladder into a swing (yado'ad) and caused it to swing back and forth. Suwa'blko called the people back that they might have sport and

enjoy themselves swinging on the ladder his daughters had made. So the people gathered to celebrate the homecoming of the two women and have sport on the swing.

From Da'xɛdibc to Kəlbts (Footprint to Camping Place), a half day's journey, they swung. At Da'xɛdibc one would spring and at Kəlbts he would alight. The latter place is north of the river and from there one can see the bay. The white people call it Mount Si. The former place is south of the river. It is called Rattlesnake Mountain by the white people.

Now while the sisters were enjoying themselves with the people swinging, their blind old grandmother, Toad (tsəlo'ya), was caring for the baby. She was swinging the baby on the swing, putting it to sleep, as it was tied to the baby-board. (The ancient name of the baby swing is sidza'dus.)

After a time, while Grandmother Toad was singing, the baby ceased crying and became quiet. The grandmother began to sing, "This feels like rotten wood instead of a baby."

Lte'ha xwəb ayo'yo qwa'i
ti tca'tc əb yux
i—i
u—u

While old grandmother Toad was singing thus Dog Salmon had come and stolen the baby; he had unwrapped it from the cradle-board and put in a stick of rotten wood, wrapping it up in place of the baby.

While swinging on the sky ladder the mother of Moon passed by and heard the old lady singing. "This feels like rotten wood instead of a baby." She came over to the place and found it was indeed so, rotten wood instead of a baby. When the people found out the baby was gone all the swinging and sport came to a stop. The people wondered which way the baby had gone and who had taken him.

Again all the people gathered, the greatest doctors who could be summoned, to look for the baby and find who had taken him. "Which one will guess aright?" they wondered.

While the two sisters were weeping for the baby they took the diaper (tsiyə'qw) woven of cedar bark, dipped it in the water and wrung it out. Five times they did so. The fifth time they did so there was the cry of a baby. It was a big sturdy child, a boy, who had come to console the people for their sorrow in losing the other. This boy was Sun (Lokwa'L), the younger brother of Moon (sLokwa'ləb).

The doctors were all gathered. They danced and sang. Bluejay was the one to find and reveal who had taken the baby and where it was.

Yellowhammer was the first bird to go in search of the baby after Bluejay had told. Yellowhammer came to a place where the earth was going apart and striking together. The name of this place is oq'eq'aq'əgwa's. The baby was on the other side of this place. When Yellowhammer came to this place he could not go through; he was not quick enough. Yellowhammer came back and said, "The baby is where we thought, truly, but beyond a difficult place."

Then Woodpecker⁴¹ (qə'tqətc) went, but he could not get through and he came back.

Raven (skwakw) was the third man to undertake the journey. He went half way to the place, but became hungry and came back without ever having reached his goal. He said, "The baby is over there but I could not do anything."

Then Osprey (tse'xtsi'x), the fourth man to go, set out. He only got as far as the open-and-shut place and came back.

Then Bluejay (skai'kai), the fifth man, set out. He was the one who knew where the baby was. When Bluejay started he did not go straight, but sailed up and down, singing,

ka'tsa ka'tsa
a'tsati co'badid

When Bluejay reached the difficult place he sat and watched it to see how fast it was going up and down. He thought he could go through the place safely; he thought he would try it. When he tried the passage he went through, but the earth caught his head and made it flat. But once through, he sang for gladness.

kai kai kai

After this Bluejay flew over to the place where the baby had been taken. The baby was young Moon, now a man grown, and had boys of his own. Bluejay passed close by that man. The man was making flint arrowheads (ya'xwəd). As Bluejay passed the man picked up some flakings (zaxəbid) and threw them in Bluejay's eye, saying, "What are you flying here for? I do not feel right; I am sorrowing every day."

Bluejay replied to Moon, "Grandchild, what I came here for is you." Then the young man turned about and cleaned the eyes of Bluejay. "I come for you," Bluejay continued, "your mother and aunt and all your people are sorrowing for you." Young Moon replied, "I shall not go at once. After a time I shall go, but not with you, Bluejay."

"I'm afraid of that place," said Bluejay; "I'm afraid to go back." But Moon gave him a staff, sharp on both ends, and told him to pry the place apart and thus get through without further hurt.

When Bluejay returned he did as Moon instructed him and got through the dangerous place safely. He arrived home flying as before, singing and exulting, "kai kai kai kai." The people thought, "Bluejay has got the baby now." When he was once home he told the father and mother of Moon, "Moon will come after a time, but slowly. He is a big man now, full grown and has boys of his own."

The people noticed Bluejay's head, that it was flat.

The people at the place where Moon lived were Dog Salmon (tl'xwə'i), and they were the ones who had taken him thither. There he had taken a wife of the Dog Salmon people.

After Bluejay had come this man wondered, "What shall I do with these

⁴¹ Northern pileated woodpecker (*Phlaeotomus pileatus albeticola*).

people I'm staying with?" It concerned him, what he should do with the boy when he should leave. He pondered the matter till he concluded, "Well, I shall leave my boy here," and made ready to leave. The people were making merry and Moon was about to bid them good-bye, saying "hu—u."

Moon turned about and caressed his boy saying, "Son, I am going to leave you now." But when Moon started the boy called, "Father." A second time Moon caressed the boy and started away. He went a little farther this time, when the boy called, "Father," and his father went back to him.

Moon did not know what to do to get away from the boy. He pondered a while, then started a third time. This time he went a little farther than before. Again the boy called, "Father," and Moon went back to him. A fourth time Moon started. This time he went a little farther yet.

A fifth time the boy called as before. Moon cut from the right side of his head a lock of his own hair, then he went back to the boy and caused him to hold the hair in his right hand. When Moon had left and was at a distance the boy called again, "Father," and the lock of hair in his right hand answered him. When Moon heard, he said, "That plan has availed, truly."

Moon started up the river. He drove the dog salmon ahead of him saying, "The new generation is coming now and you shall be food for the people, O Dog Salmon." Thus Moon began his work of changing things upon the Earth.

At this time Moon had first said, "Dog Salmon, go down." Afterwards Moon wondered if he had made a mistake, then said, "Dog Salmon, go up stream." Then they became dog salmon and ran up stream. This was Moon's first work. If Moon had not made that mistake first the dog salmon would have run up stream all the time and never have gone down to the bay as they do now.

The first group of people to whom Moon came were fighting. "What are you doing?" he asked. "Fighting," they said. "Why?" he asked them. "You must not fight each other." Then he changed them into birds or stones, at any rate transformed them.

At the next place Moon came to a multitude of little slaves, who would scatter out and then come together. "What are you doing?" he asked, and turned them into sandpipers (tʷi'ləwɪl; ci'ɪltc).

At the third place Moon found people fishing. "What are you doing?" he asked. "We are fishing to get food," they said. "Very well," said Moon and turned them into sawbill ducks (səwɪ'hɪc).

At the fourth place to which he came Moon found people in a swamp looking for food. "What are you doing?" he asked. "We are working, trying to get food," they said. Moon called them to him and seized them. He gathered them together and let them go. They became mallard ducks (Xa'tXat).

At the fifth place Moon came upon a people gathered upon a sandy beach. "What are you doing?" he asked. "This is our land, our abiding place," they said. Moon took them up and put them back as clams (sa'Xo). Moon said, "You shall be good for food for the people about to come.

The people heard about Moon coming and changing things. They were afraid and made weapons to defend themselves and kill him.

Moon came next to people arguing about the length of day and night. One said, "We shall have daylight every year." The other said, "We shall have daylight every day." The latter was Ant (bətcló'lə) and even as she was talking she was drawing her belt tighter, so that now she has a tiny waist. The other one, who thought that a day and a night should last a year was Bear (tɛt'xwut), and so he now sleeps every winter but is out in summer.

At the next place Moon came upon Deer making spear points of bone and singing, "This is what I am making to kill the Transformer."

aia'q aia'q
Xode'ha'dki
doqweba'l
tits aia'q aia'q

While he was yet singing Deer looked up and saw the Transformer standing there before him. "What are you doing?" Moon asked him. "Making a weapon to kill the Transformer," said Deer. "What is it? Let me see it," said Moon. Deer gave it to Moon. Moon placed the spear point upon the wrist of Deer and turned him into a deer, saying, "You shall be something good to eat."

Moon next came to Mink (smə'lXkɪd). "What are you doing?" Moon asked, "Are you strong?" Then he turned Mink to stone (tɛtɛlə). As soon as Moon left him Mink recovered himself and gave a cry as he does now and said, "Moon can not turn me to anything." Moon came back and said, "I shall make something out of you." Then he took Mink to a lake and turned him into a stick leaning out of the water.

After this, Moon left him. Mink rose up again and cried, "hu—u, you could not turn me into anything." Moon went back again and studied a long time, asking himself, "What shall I do with Mink to get the better of him?" Then he took Mink, and slicing him up in small pieces threw him in all directions. Thus he turned him into a small animal, such as Mink now is. Mink would have overcome Moon if Moon had not cut him up. Thus Moon overcame Mink.

Moon went on and came to a place where four women were fighting, pulling each other's hair. They were preparing themselves to contend with Moon when he should come to change them. Moon came and stood looking at them; they did not know him for Moon. Moon asked, "What are you doing?" The four women said, "We are practising so that we may know how to contend with the Transformer when he comes." Moon cast them into the mud, saying, "You shall grow and be something good to eat." Then the women became what they are now. They are maidenhair fern (tsa'kwi), skunk cabbage (q'elt), wild artichoke (sXa'lX), and sand rush (sba'qəbaq).

Afterwards Moon came to a man who was working, making a lake. That man was Beaver (stikə'wx). Moon asked, "What are you working at?" Beaver said, "I am making this so that the water will come and soak up the little trees, and I shall be able to eat the bark." Moon summoned the man and turned him into a beaver. Moon said, "You shall be some good for the people to eat; stay in the lake the rest of your life."

Afterwards Moon found a man dragging a great many salmon. That man was Land-otter (*ska'a'L*). Moon asked, "How do you catch the salmon?" "Oh, I catch them after my own fashion," said Land-otter. Moon called the man to him, saying, "You shall catch salmon as you have been wont to catch them before." Wherefore Land-otter now seizes the salmon in his teeth, catching them after his own fashion.

By this time Moon had become very hungry. He went along and came to a place where Wildcat (*potcə'b*) was roasting a salmon by the fire. While the salmon was roasting Wildcat turned it over and all at once became sleepy. He thought, "I shall sleep while the salmon is roasting." It was Moon that had made him sleepy. When Wildcat had fallen asleep Moon came and took the roast salmon. He ate the salmon, nearly all. Then he took a portion of the salmon, went to Wildcat, and rubbed a little on his teeth, cheeks, and forehead. The marks now show as stripes on his face.

When Wildcat awoke he looked over to where the salmon had been, not knowing he had been asleep, and wondered what had become of his salmon. He felt about and felt of his teeth. "I must have eaten it," he said, but he was not sure. He became thirsty and went down to the river for a drink. Each time he stooped down for a drink he saw his image in the water and threw himself back, frightened, not knowing he had been turned into a wildcat while asleep. He soon became wild and ran away.

Moon came to five brothers playing. Their game was to sing, "Fire, fire (*səd səd*);" then fire would start from the eldest and spread all about, threatening everything with destruction. Moon asked the men, "What are you doing?" "Just playing," they said. "Sing that song," said Moon. "No," they answered, "It would not be good for you if we should; harm might come to you." But they sang, and when the five sang, "Fire, fire," flames of fire spread all about and caught every object. The rocks became hot; the water boiled; the world was on fire.

Moon was frightened and did not know which way to go. Finally he heard a voice shouting, "This way, my grandson." It was the voice of Trail; fire goes over, but does not burn Trail. Moon hastened to the safe keeping of Trail and saved his life. The escape of Moon was narrow, for his wolfskin quiver hanging from his back was singed a little.

Then Moon said to the five brothers, "You shall be set in separate places so that if fire starts it may be put out." Wherefore fire is not now so violent. A fire such as the five brothers could start would destroy the world.

Moon went on and came to a river. He saw an old man on the other side, sitting in front of his house. Echo (*XwiXwiXw*) was the man's name. Moon called to Echo, "Bring the canoe across (*to'lecubc tl'ai*)." Echo would tease Moon, repeating the same words, "Bring the canoe across; bring the canoe across!"

Again Moon called, "Bring the canoe across!" and again Echo mocked him.

A third time Moon called to the man and a third time the man mockingly repeated the words. Then Moon swam across the river. As soon as the old man

saw Moon coming his belly became swollen with fear and he crept with difficulty into the house.

As Moon drew near and entered the house, he asked the old man, "Why did you not bring the canoe across for me?" and Echo repeated the same words. Both became angry.

Moon asked, "Which way did your relatives go?" "Which way did your relatives go?" answered Echo. Five times Moon asked the question and five times Echo replied. Moon thought Echo had relatives, but he had none at all. Only his entrails hanging from racks (qwe'aqwəX) in baskets about the wall were his relatives (sia'ia). Becoming angry, Moon cried out, "I'll kill you!" "I'll kill you!" answered Echo.

Five times Moon spoke thus and five times Echo thus replied. Then they fought. Echo almost overpowered Moon. The creatures (dzi'dzwə; ke'aublīcəp) in the baskets wound themselves all about Moon and bound him so that he could scarcely move.

Then a bird appeared and told Moon to tip over the baskets hanging there. Moon tipped over the baskets, five of them, and then he transformed Echo to echo as we know it now. Moon wished good fortune to the bird that had helped him and went on his way.

Moon journeyed far. He came to a place where he heard some one pounding. It was Crane,⁴² using his head for a hammer. As Crane pounded he sang this song:

tsəla's tsəla's sxwīla'lədi

Pounding, pounding, with the side of my head.

The stones, sticks and trees were alive, so Crane could not use them. If he took up a stick, the stick struck him. If he picked up a stone, the stone pelted him. So he was compelled to use his head to hammer with.

Moon came up close to Crane. Moon asked, "What are you doing?" Crane said, "Grandchild, I am trying my best to work. The salmon in the river I cannot catch. If I try to make a fishing spear from a stick, the stick will just whip me, and as for the stones they will spring at me."

Moon said, "Pick up those stones." Crane picked up the stones. They pelted him all over and he cried out. Moon took the stones and struck them together, then gave them to Crane. The stones did not hurt Crane any more. Then Moon said to Stone, "Hereafter you shall be just a stone. People will cast you into the stream to scare salmon; you shall not be hurtful to anyone."

Moon asked Crane, "Why do you not gather those poles for fishing spears and use them?" Crane said, "No, they will whip me." Crane gathered poles; they whipped him and he cried out. Moon took a pole, broke it in twain, and struck the pieces together. He gave the pieces to Crane and said to Pole, "Hereafter people will use you to spear salmon, you cannot of yourself give harm to anyone."

⁴² Crane is the popular name of the blue heron.

Then Moon addressed Crane: "Come hither and I shall make you over in better form." Moon took Crane by his bill and it became long. He stretched out Crane's legs and they became long. "Go out now, and fish," said Moon. Crane waded out in the water and found that he was perfected; he could spear salmon with his bill. Then said Moon, "From now on there shall be a generation of human beings and you shall be a crane." And so it is to this day.

Moon came to the place where Snqualmi Falls now are, near the place where he was stolen as a child. It was then a fish weir of wood, closed so that the salmon could not go up the stream. Most of the people who owned the trap lived on the prairie above. Moon turned the fish weir into a waterfall.

Moon addressed the waterfall thus: "You, Waterfall, shall be a lofty cataract. Birds flying over you will fall and people shall gather them up and eat them. Deer coming down the stream will perish and the people shall have them for food. Game of every kind shall be found by the people for their subsistence."

After making the falls, Moon passed on to the prairie, the home of his father and mother. All the grown people were away digging roots. Entering a house Moon saw a small boy. The boy went to a shelf (*calka'təd*) whereon stood a basket (*kwe'lotc*) full of dried salmon. The boy reached for a piece of the dried salmon, Moon being present. Now, in the olden days it was not permitted to a boy to eat unless his parents were at home. All the fish came to life, basket and all rolled into the river. Moon appearing, asked, "What is wrong?" The boy answered, "I went for dried salmon in the basket, it escaped me and rolled into the river."

So Moon bethought himself, "It were best to have fish above the falls." Moon attempted to turn the dried fish to living salmon but they crumbled to pieces. So there were no fish above the falls.

After his failure, Moon said, "As for the people of the new generation, if a man see a female dog salmon above the falls leap from the water, his wife or daughter will die. If a woman see a male dog salmon above the falls leap from the water her husband or son will die. If any person see a salmon, male or female, leap from the water, some relative will die." And thus it is that misfortune is in store for him who sees the dog salmon.

The people came back from digging roots: Moon's father, mother and all his relatives. Moon said, "I have come back. Take notice from this time on: I shall make you over and perfect you."

Moon also said: "We must have light on the earth; a moon to give us light at night and a sun by day.

So Moon gathered people from everywhere to display their powers and see who should act as sun by day and who should act as moon by night. Moon and Sun, his younger brother were holding back so as to see who of the people would attempt to give light.

Yellowhammer (*tsə'dzəx*) thought he should be the one to give light by day (*tue'bacəx liłqwa'lalix*). Yellowhammer travelled during the day as sun. He gave very little light; he did not do well; he did not satisfy the people.

Raven tried out as moon; he went up at night. It became so dark that no one could see; he threw a shadow upon the earth.

Coyote (sbiau) tried out as moon. He went up in the air slowly, looking about. He was a failure; he only looked around at the people.

Woodpecker (qəṭqəṭc), the elder brother of Yellowhammer, tried out as sun. He was a failure and gave up. He gave no sunshine.

Then Humming Bird (tite'əd or titeiəd) tried out as sun. He gave some light, but he travelled too fast and the day was too short.

By this time the two brothers, Moon and Sun, came to be looked upon as leaders. Sun said to Moon, his elder brother, "You had best be sun and travel in the daytime." Moon began his journey by day. As soon as he rose in the morning everything became hot. The water boiled and fire started everywhere.

The people were not satisfied. Meeting next day they took counsel and said, "It is too hot. If Moon travels every day he will destroy everything." Moon said to his younger brother, "I think you will be suitable; you will satisfy the people better if you travel in the daytime."

Sun made his trial, therefore, and travelled in the daytime. He gave good bright sunshine and everything was pleasing. He satisfied the people.

At this time Sun said to Moon, "You had best make trial at night and see how it will be." Moon made his trial by night. He rose in the early evening, and as he shone he gave a cool frosty light and the people were well satisfied.

Thus when Sun gave light by day and Moon gave light by night all were satisfied. But the world changed: the people changed to birds and animals of all kinds. Grandmother Toad can now be seen in the moon at night.

After Moon had returned home, and before the trial to see who should give light, Moon had said, "The swing will be there forever and if people wish to go up to the sky they can get whatever they want." But Rat (ka'deyu) gnawed the rope and the swing fell to the ground, so the people could not climb. At the close of the trial the swing fell and Rat fell with it. Moon then said, "The people shall now have a swing to have sport upon but it will no longer be so high." Moon pronounced a curse upon Rat, saying, "You shall be nothing but a rat; you will gnaw and steal what people want and destroy whatever is good."

The name of the place where the women used to start upon the swing is Footprint. The footprints are on the hill yet, four of them, which the people made in starting themselves on the swing. The other place, Kəlbts, is named for a person living at that time. Kəlbts was chief of a people in the mountains and Moon made him a mountain. His two wives were Snail (sXwaio'qw) and Chipmunk (Xwə'tstl!). The former kicked the latter and she fell. She is a little mountain off by herself. Everything his mother had prepared Moon turned to stone.

The people all sitting around, looking, were at that time turned to stone. They are all there yet on the mountain. The stones are like people, breaking all the time. When a stone breaks off it is a sign of ill-luck and portends the death of a chief.

After he had changed everything, and before he entered upon his work of giving light, Moon created the various peoples and all the rivers as they are now.

He made the Puyallup, the Nisqually and the other rivers. A man and wife he placed upon one river; another couple he placed upon another river, a people on each. Each people had a name, as Skagit, Yakima, Lummi, Puyallup, and others.

Moon said, "Fish shall run up these rivers; they shall belong to each people on its own river. You shall make your own living from the fish, deer and other wild game."

These couples increased until many people were on these rivers. This is why the Indians have multiplied. It is all the work of Moon and no one else but Moon.

I am an Indian today. Moon has given us fish and game. The white people have come and overwhelmed us. We may not kill a deer nor catch a fish forbidden by white men to be taken. I should like any of these lawmakers to tell me if Moon or Sun has set him here to forbid our people to kill game given to us by Moon and Sun. Though white people overwhelm us, it is Moon that placed us here, and the laws we are bound to obey are those established by Moon in the ancient time.

Myself and my people are related to the grandfather and grandmother of Moon, and some are named for them. All peoples here are related to Moon and speak the same language.

*Note on the Story of Moon, the Transformer*⁴³

Moon was supposed to rule the day. When he ran his course everything was scorched, so he turned back. He said to Sun, "Brother, if I go and never return we shall meet once or twice a year." So they meet but not to talk or argue. When they meet there is an eclipse.

Sun became a child from the strength of Moon.

One of the ancestors of Moon was named tupaltXW, which means "to clean up," "leave without speck or blemish." That is, nothing is left lying about inside the house; all is ready to take something inside. The whole house is renovated outside and inside. The people used to renew the floor by sweeping out and cleaning with salt water, then spreading about three inches of gravel on it."

DOKWEBAL AND BEAVER⁴⁴

Big Beaver (Xwiye'lts) lived with his family in a lake. One day as his daughter was out in the woods gathering berries, Dokwebal, came to camp. Beaver did not know who the stranger was, but secretly planned to kill him.

"You shall be my son-in-law," he said. As the stranger's back was turned, Big Beaver cut out a slice of flesh from his legs and placed it in the basket

⁴³ Told by Joe Young (Puyallup).

⁴⁴ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

to cook. "This is the last game that I killed," said he. "Daughter, you must feed your husband," he said. So the stranger was fed, and he slept, or seemed to sleep. Big Beaver took the stranger's spear, for he knew his own spear could not harm the beaver, and said, "I shall go to the lake to kill beaver." So he went. But Dokwebat, took his own weapons, and killed Big Beaver and his wife, and turned the children into beavers. These he drove down the creek. This Dokwebat did in order that beaver should not be able to kill human beings.

TRANSFORMER AND WREN⁴⁵

On his travels Transformer found Wren (scatcl) butting his head against a tree. "What are you doing that for?" asked Transformer. "Oh, I am trying to get firewood," said Wren. "Why do you not use sticks and stones?" asked Transformer. "When I pick up the sticks they whip me and when I pick up the stones they pelt me," answered Wren.

Transformer picked up a stone and threw it down; he picked up a stick and threw it down. They became gentle. After that Wren picked up wood and stone without hurt. Transformer taught him the use of wedge and maul, and thereafter he used the wedge and maul to split bark for fuel.

TRANSFORMER AND DEER⁴⁶

Deer heard that Transformer was coming and changing the people. Deer did not wish to be changed.

Deer was sharpening bone. A stranger approached. It was Transformer. He asked, "What are you sharpening those bones for?" "Oh, to spear the Transformer," Deer answered. "Let me have your hands," said Transformer. Deer reached out his hands. Transformer laid the bones upon his wrists and gave him a slap. He jumped into the brush and became a deer, such as we see today. Transformer said, "In the future you will kill nobody. You shall merely be food for the people."

HOUSE FLY⁴⁷

Long ago a man who was a dzegwa and had power met House Fly who was a person. Fly addressed him thus, "Make for me a spear that I may kill whale, elk, deer and other game, and bows to kill people with, for I also would feed upon people." The stranger said, "Yes, come with me. I will give you power to make yourself strong." Fly said, "We would have our homes high up." The stranger said, "Very well." Then he took Fly, saying, "I shall fix you up as you wish." Then he took ashes and coals from the fire, and rolled Fly in them and cast him away, saying, "You will be nothing but a common fly, and will go round picking up offal."

⁴⁵ Narrated by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁴⁶ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁴⁷ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

XODE AND THE WOMAN WHO SPOKE IMPROPRIETIES⁴⁸

Xode came to a woman who was a dirty talker. He said, "You are a dirty talker, are you?" While speaking thus, he took hold of her and held her mouth open. Then he said, "I will hold your mouth open from this day forever."

The woman, with her mouth open, turned to stone, and thus she still remains. She can be seen at Brown's Point, south of Jerry Meeker's house.

Anyone who wishes to have it rain, takes a stick and rattles it about in the mouth of the stone woman, and afterward there will come storm and rain.

TRANSFORMER AND RAVEN⁴⁹

Star Child changed everything. Blind Raven was making an a'aqal, something that is used in a fish weir. Star Child came. "What are you doing?" he asked. Raven answered, "I am making this fish weir. I cannot see whether it is good or not; I am blind."

Star Child laid a stone or similar object on both Raven's eyes and caused him to see. Raven now could see the fish weir.

Star Child placed the fish weir in the river as you see it now.

THUNDERBIRD AND THE PUYALLUP PEOPLE⁵⁰

Thunder used to come to Kelly's Marsh (lia'lp), east of Sumner, where the women were digging fern roots. Thunder would seize the women, kill them and eat them.

Five brothers resolved, "We will watch for him." The five brothers took bow and arrow and spear. They fought with Thunder for five days; the eldest brother on the first day, the next brother on the second day and so on until all five brothers had fought.

Thunder became so sick that he said, "Leave me alone and let me live. You shall be my children. You shall go into war and not be killed."

Thunder went away and the people of that place were turned to human beings.

BLANKET ROCK (First Version)⁵¹

The young wife of a member of the Taitida'pabc, a tribe near Squally, became homesick and wished to go back to her parents, who lived on the shore of Puget Sound near Three Tree Point. When she got there, her people had set off with their camp equipment in a canoe. The young woman hastened along the shore, until she caught sight of the boat in the distance. Crying to her mother, "Wait for me," she sank down exhausted. There she is to this day in

⁴⁸ Related by Burnt Charlie (Puyallup).

⁴⁹ Related by Lucy Bill (Snuqualmi).

⁵⁰ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁵¹ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

the form of a white rock. Her husband was dressed in a blanket of whistling-marmot skins. He was turned into another boulder, down the beach. The surface of that boulder looks like a wrinkled blanket. The white people call it Blanket Rock (*qoiqwi'tsə* or *qoqoi'tsə*, derived from *sqoiqoi*, marmot). It now stands on the beach near Buenna. The boat and cargo were turned to stone and the poles to trees. Crow, who was the slave of the old people, was carrying water in a basket. This she hid. It turned into a spring on the south slope of Three Tree Point. That spring is hard to find and brings bad luck to those who drink it. We call Three Tree Point, *Sqe'leb*, which means "loading things into a canoe."

BLANKET ROCK (Second Version)⁵²

The father and mother were going out in the Sound with a big raft made of two canoes and a platform between the two loaded with provisions and utensils.

The father heard the young woman on the shore call, and the wife said, "Your daughter calls." The man turned the raft about and went back.

The rock, called *tca'kagwas*, (near Woodmont) is the woman. It still stands on the beach. Her husband was turned into a big rock called *kwa'sdolitsa* (blanket), one mile south.⁵³

BLANKET ROCK (Third Version)⁵⁴

A man of the *Tcilpa'bc* group, at Big Bottom, married a certain girl from the salt-water. While this man was home on a visit, the old people and his young wife, their daughter, broke camp and started for a trip down the Sound. On their boat they carried all their luggage so that the boat was well weighted down. They had gone but a few miles, however, when the girl's husband returned. Finding the camp deserted, he began to shout and call for his wife. Some echo of his outcry reached them, for the young wife heard, and said, "Pull ashore, that is my husband calling." They did so, but no sooner had they directed their course to shore than the great change of the world from the Past to the Present took place, and the boat and all it contained became the point of land known nowadays as Three Tree Point. The masts of the boat became the trees, the load became boulders, and the water they carried became a little spring. The Indian name for that place means "a load."

BLANKET ROCK (Fourth Version)⁵⁵

The woman down at the bay cried for her mother. The mother said, "Your daughter cries, back the boat."

⁵² Related by Joe Bill (Duwamish).

⁵³ Christine Smith said the blanket woman near Des Moines ran from her husband, *kwasdolitsa*; she was on her way home to her people.

⁵⁴ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁵⁵ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup), January 30, 1921, evidently as a sequel to his second version of the following tale.

The young husband who pursued the wife is called Qoqoi'Itsə (marmot robe).

The people were changed. We Indians came. One was going to her father, but turned to stone just the same.

BLANKET ROCK (Fifth Version)⁶⁶

A woman of the White River people⁶⁷ from the village of staq' was married in the old legal Indian way to a man of the teelpab living where the town of Morton is now. That man was a hunter; he was a chief, as all hunters are.

One day the woman said, "I am lonesome for mother, I shall go home." She did not tell her husband. When ready, she left. Having arrived at the salt water she followed the beach towards home. She was past Des Moines when the change came.

As she was sitting down to rest she saw her people ready to set out on a camping trip. "Wait for me," she shouted. The mother said, "Your daughter calls." "We'll wait for her," said the father. They did wait. They shoved the boat stern foremost towards the shore. The old people had been setting out for the northern end of Vashon Island, the place which is called taxks. They had a raft made by lashing two canoes together. It carried a load of luggage. That raft and its luggage were turned into land. It is the place the white people call Three Tree Point. We call the place sx'elab, which means "a load." Another name is t'aleyAqW, which means "two canoes bound together."

Crow was the slave of the old people. She had a little basket of water near the stern of the raft. All who find that water die. That spring is called kaka'alqo, "Crow's Water."⁶⁸

The young woman, who had a pack on her shoulders, was turned to a big white marble rock. That rock stands between Des Moines and Three Tree Point. We call it q'aweils, which means "glistening white."⁶⁹

The stone into which the man was turned is called qwiqwils. It is named for the whistling jack. The man's blanket was made from the skin of that animal. The white people call it Blanket Rock. Near Blanket Rock is a stream which we call k'ak'aXwats, because crabapple trees grow there.

⁶⁶ Related by Annie Jack (Green River), daughter of Ann Jack.

⁶⁷ Some informants say the young woman was from sdagwalul, a village of the sXwobac on Quartermaster Harbor.

⁶⁸ The interpreter states that Johnny Adams and eight others, who drank of that water died. Even one white child died the next day after drinking of it. He himself once made a search for the spring for a prize of five hundred dollars. It was his intention to plant a flag above it. This place is also called ka'ka'adi.

⁶⁹ The interpreter states there are four other similar stones known by the same name: one at Quartermaster Harbor, another on the east shore of Vashon Island, another one mile south of Gig Harbor, and a fourth on the east shore of the Narrows, three or four miles north of Day Island.

HOW XODE TURNED PEOPLE TO STONE (First Version)⁶⁰

The Klickitats came and sat down. The Puyallups came and sat down. They met to trade women. They had many articles with them for trade.

Xode was giving names to everything. He took a stick and made himself a fire drill. He put a rope through and carried his pack. He made the pack small by magic.

The women sat down. Everyone wished to begin trading. Xode said, "Why-ee! those women have children in their bellies! Now they shall bear children; thereafter turn to stone."

He put down the wood. It became stone. The people sat down. They became stone.

This happened near a mountain above the Nisqually River this side of D'qobid.

HOW XODE TURNED PEOPLE TO STONE (Second Version)⁶¹

The people from Puyallup went toward the mountain a little way. The Klickitats came and wanted to trade women. There were many, many! One woman had a Klickitat husband.

Xode caused forests to spring up. Xode had a bundle of sticks bound together with rope. He tied the bundle of wood and pushed it. It travelled before him.

Xode said, "Oh! you have children in your belly!" All the children were delivered. All the children and the women turned to stone.

The people were changed; we Indians came. One woman was going to her father but turned to stone just the same.

Xode only transformed; he did not create.

THE ATTACK OF THE SNAKES (First Version)⁶²

A young man of the Sxwababc lived at Kwilu't on what is now known as Quartermaster Harbor in the southern part of Vashon Island. Once he sought a wife. To the village of Staq on White River he came and there he passed many days, but no wife did he find. At last, giving up the search, he returned to his home across the Sound.

Now while on his visit to White River the young man had killed a very handsome garter snake. It so happened that this snake was the son of the chief of the snake people and the snake chief was angry. So the snake chief gathered his people together in council and said, "Let us go to the village of the Sxwababc and there destroy them; let us make war upon them."

It was agreed. All of the snake people began the journey. At White Rock near the prairie they came to the bay, near the present site of Des Moines.

⁶⁰ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

⁶¹ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

⁶² Related by Big John (Green River).

Out in the bay they spied a fisherman in a boat. They hailed him and bade him carry them across in his boat. But the boat was too small for so many people. So the fisherman let trail in the water a long rope which was attached to the stern of the canoe, and all the snake-people laid hold on the rope until it was full for the entire length, and the boatman towed them across to the place where a cliff overhangs the water.

Early in the morning they approached the young man's village. A lone woman dipping water in a basket espied the attacking party and ran to all the houses crying, "The snake people are coming! They are numerous!" Then the snake people attacked all the people wherever they found them and in whatever manner they could reach them. "Hadedá! ha-ada-a-a-da!" (There is another one), the snakes would cry, as they saw the people in their houses.

Thus they continued till all their enemies were destroyed and they were avenged for the death of the chief's son.

THE ATTACK OF THE SNAKES (Second Version)⁶³

The people of White River in former days would call snakes and give them something to eat. I have seen it myself. The snakes would come into my father's home. They could understand the people. My people were related to the snakes. They tell a story about that.

A man from Vashon Island formerly married a woman of the people living at Stáq, on White River. He went to live with that Stáq tribe. The snake people were living near by. One day the man went outside his house. He saw a pretty snake. He cut it with his stone knife, not enough to kill it, but severely, so that it was uncertain of movement. The snake people came to that sick snake. They worked over the sick one in various ways. They could not cure him. At last he died. Then they all disappeared. This snake was the son of the snake head-man. The people of Stáq reproached the Vashon Island man. "You should not behave that way. That was the son of the snake chief and they are our relatives." Saying this, they drove the man away from the village, but the wife stayed there as before. The man went home, back to the bay where his own village was. His people were the Swiftwater tribe.

The snake people held counsel and resolved to attack the Swiftwater people. Arriving at White Rock they espied a boat propelled by fishermen hunting porpoises. From White Rock, upon which she sat, Lizard-woman shouted, "Pull ashore and take us across." When the canoe came close to shore, she called out, "Stern first." As the stern backed upon the beach the canoe became filled with snakes. But Lizard-woman did not go with them. The snakes asked the fisherman, "Where do you live?" He answered, "Across the bay. My mother is weeping over there because she heard that your son was killed." The party crossed over to the foot of the high bluff on Maury Island. They went up over the hill to the bay on the other side. Those snakes killed all the people.

⁶³ Related by Charles Sotai'akum (Duwamish).

coming last of all to a woman weaving a basket by the water's edge; they killed her last. They heard the fisherman's mother crying for the slain one, so they never molested her nor those about her. Returning by the same trail, and finding no boat in sight, they swam back to the mainland near White Rock. Lizard-woman never went across and therefore lizards are plentiful there today. This is the place where the white people have the town of Des Moines.

THE YOUNG MAN WHO BLOCKED UP STEEL'S LAKE⁶⁴

It was formerly the custom for a young man to go out alone to seek supernatural power. Such a young man would plant a stake in the ground that his father might see it in the morning, and thus know where his boy had been.

Once a boy from this side of the Puyallup river set out on such a journey. He said, "I am going to that lake yonder to find whales." He searched for Steel's Lake and finally found it. "There is the lake," he said. So he stayed by the lake a while and watched, and soon he saw the whales come. There seemed to be an undertow. If the youth cast a stick in the water, the undertow would carry it away.

"I shall go and close up the place," thought the youth, "and whales shall no more come up to this place."

So the youth got cedar bark and poles. With the cedar bark he tied the poles tightly together in the form of a raft. Then taking a piece of wood for a paddle he propelled the raft to the desired place. After this he took a stone from the shore and leaping with it upon the raft he went down, down till, with a sound as of a peal of thunder, the raft struck the underground gateway and closed it up forever. Thus the channel was closed and the whales came no more to that lake in the hills.

Redondo Creek (*too'lqobtd*, underground stream), is so called because in former days it drained out of the lake through an underground channel.

HOW THE WHALES REACHED THE SEA (First Version)⁶⁵

A long time ago the valley between what is now Sumner and Renton Junction was a vast lake; the course of the Puyallup River followed what is now known as Wapato Creek. In the lake there used to be two whales; there they made their home. Upon the point of the hill, northwest of Sumner, now blasted away to give room for the Tacoma highway, there used to stand a huge boulder. To this spot the people would go to get a view of the country above the impenetrable forest. From this point they could see the whales disporting themselves in the lake. One day, however, children from the village noticed the whales acting strangely, and reported the strange actions to their elders. The whales had become tired of their restricted range in the inland lake and were thrashing

⁶⁴ Told by Joe Bill (Duwamish) who learned it from his step-father.

⁶⁵ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

about and churning the waters mightily in their effort to make their way out. Finally on the fourth day they plowed into the land and forced their way through, opening a way through the plain out to the Sound.

The water followed them down the channel, and thus a new river came into being. We call that river *Stax*, which means "plowed through." The Whites call it *Stuck* River. Most of the water in the lake drained out through the new channel. What used to be the main river now became just a small creek, *Wapato* Creek (*Xto'lōwa'li*, river channel). Where the lake used to be is now a level valley.

HOW THE WHALES REACHED THE SEA (Second Version)⁶⁶

One young man was travelling by jumping on the logs and brush in *Stuck* River. They were really whales. The whales said, [not recorded].

The youth ran away and the whales went to the salt water.

HOW THE WHALES REACHED THE SEA (Third Version)⁶⁷

A lake was there. Big whales went up into the lake from the bay. They made a hole through the ground to the lake not seen by anyone.

It rose until four whales got there. They came up there. After one of the whales stayed there a certain length of time a big spruce tree grew on his head.

When he was very old he went out to the bay and turned north. He came out in British Columbia and there the Indians shot him.

After he was dead they drew him out and cut him to pieces. The fat was about a foot thick. The Indians cut a piece about four inches by six inches and traded it for one blanket. The Indians from all the other tribes came and bought the whale fat until the chief of that place was rich.

This is the end.

HOW THE WHALES REACHED THE SEA (Fourth Version)⁶⁸

At the time *Stuck* River was being formed, a shark which had been living in *Stony* Creek⁶⁹ went down to the bay along with the whales.

HOW THE WHALES REACHED THE SEA (Fifth Version)⁷⁰

The valley was all salt water. The country dried and [the valley] became a lake. It was worthless *spa'lkad* (swamp) and whales stayed there. It grew cold and there came a high wind. The whales kept boring until they reached

⁶⁶ Related by John *Smo'xlə* (Green River).

⁶⁷ Related by Dick *Suwa'təb* (Puyallup).

⁶⁸ Related by John Simon (Upper Puyallup).

⁶⁹ *Stoney* Creek drains *Kelley's* Marsh and joins *Puyallup* River southeast of *Sumner*.

⁷⁰ Narrated by Tom *Milroy* (Upper Puyallup) in Chinook jargon.

the point where the town of Sumner now is. They were glad when they reached the bay. They ate seeds of trees. It rained and the river rose. Beaver came. Now White River and Green River came. The river broke through.

MOTHER AND FATHER OF WHALES⁷¹

At or near Point Defiance there are two rocks. Those two rocks are Mother and Father of Whales.

They were left when the rest had gone. That was when the world was changed.

ELK WOMAN AND THE FLEA PEOPLE⁷²

There is a place on White River known as Tcutapa'ltx^w (Flea's house). This was an important Indian village before the whites came. Long ago in mythical times the people who lived here were very dangerous. They were the Flea-people, they say. They used to kill people. They were very large, as big as cougars are.

Elk had a daughter. She grew up and married. She was married to one of the Flea-people, they say. She went to live at that village which belonged to the Fleas, on White River. She lived in the big house there; they received her. But they meant to murder her.

When it was evening, the Flea-people kindled the fire. When it was burning well, they put on different material instead of the wood they had been burning. They laid on the fire a lot of bones. These bones were green. They made much smoke. The Flea-people intended to smother Elk-woman. That was their way of killing people.

Elk-woman was alone. None of her friends were there. She was among the Fleas, without anyone to help her. She began to realize that she had supernatural power. She became angry. She began to breathe in the smoke. Into her lungs she drew it. Deep down in her lungs she swallowed it. She blew it out again. It did her no harm. The Flea-people began to be afraid of her. They saw her breathing in the thick smoke and breathing it out again. She became more and more angry. She seized a stick of wood and began to club the people. She fought also with her teeth. She bit, and fell into a fury. Those Flea-people were soon all killed. Their blood was spattered about.

They were tough people, those Flea-people. The drops of blood came back to life. The Fleas revived but they were small. That is why we have fleas now. If those drops of blood had not come back to life there would be no fleas today. But fleas are small, because only the drops of blood came back to life. If the fleas were as large now as they were before Elk-woman fought them, one flea bite would kill us. We would have blood-poison every time a flea bit us.

It was Elk-woman who did that, they say.

⁷¹ Narrated by Big John (Green River).

⁷² Related by Mrs. Jerry Dominick (Mary Jerry) (White River-Green River).

THE GIRL WHO MARRIED THE SEA-BEING⁷³

At the west end of Fox Island (bati'l, merman) the waves wash the pebbles up in the shape of birds, fishes and animals. This is because the daughter of BETIL used to play in the sand there. She would in her play mold the mud into all sorts of queer shapes. By and by she would get tired of play and then she would wash her hands in the waters of a brook. As she did so the water in the brook and the incoming tide became muddy, and thus this place acquired the name of Tcekwila'lqo (muddy water).

As she grew up, young men from many places sought to marry her. Though many thought to get her, the daughter did not consent. At last one evening, a young man came. Again the next night he came, and the next, till the fourth night. Each morning he departed as mysteriously as he came.

Then the girl resolved to discover the path which her suitor followed on his return to his home. So observing him upon the fourth morning, she saw him reach the shore and disappear beneath the waters of the bay. Then she walked to her accustomed place of play and made the figures of sand which she had dreamed about making.

As the parents talked of this strange event, they became alarmed. The Old Man under the sea, the boy's father, might, they thought, dry up the springs on the island unless his suit were granted. So indeed it proved. Then the old people consented to let their daughter go, and the water became abundant again.

The young man came on a raft, and claimed his wife, and both disappeared under the water. Three times she returned to visit her parents and a fourth. But the fourth time she came with kelp growing upon her face, and she was different, having the nature of the sea-creatures. Her parents grieved at this change; told her it were better she did not return. She left for good, to live with her husband under the water. A floating buoy midway between Fox Island and the town of Steilacoom marks the spot under which they made their home.

THE ORIGIN OF TOLT RIVER⁷⁴

The Wolf people lived on the slopes of Daqo'bit, the great snow mountain. They were famous hunters and every time one went out for game he brought in an elk. A pair of Wolf people turned to human-kind. They begat children, five sons, who grew up to be hunters like their fathers.

The young men, grown up and become persons, went out to hunt, but they did not kill so many elk as before. The eldest brother reflected and asked himself, "What shall we do now?" Then he thought, "We must move now." So he said to the brothers, "We shall move; we shall go this way as I direct, and when we find a good mountain we shall stay there."

They moved and made a new camp, but the place was not a good one, they found no elk. On the next day the eldest brother said, "There is nothing here; we shall move and seek another place."

⁷³ Told by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁷⁴ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

They found another place to camp. Said they, "If this place is good we shall remain here." On the next day they hunted. They found a few elk, but not enough to meet their desires. The eldest brother again said, "We shall move again."

So the five brothers moved. This time they made their camp at Kalbts, where the ladder once reached from the sky. They hunted from Kalbts to the valley where the Tolt River now flows. They were pleased with the place.

Next day they hunted. They found nothing but elk. "This is a good place to stay," they thought. "We find many elk." Next day they hunted. They killed great numbers of elk, all they wanted. They thought this place would make a good home.

The parents of the hunters were now old and growing blind. The eldest son said, "This is a good place for the old people; there is food for them." "We shall live here now. Let us build something," said the others. Said the eldest, "I think we shall make a river from elk's tallow."

So they began to melt tallow of elk to make the river. The eldest brother said, "Let us pour this and see if it will flow down the ravine and turn to water."

Now they began to look and see what manner of work they had wrought. It was a river and they thought it good. Now they gave it a name; they called it T'xwoda'tctlib, elk's tallow. But later they gave to the river the name, Toltxw, which it bears now.

THE MAN BEHEADED WHILE DIVING (First Version)⁷⁵

A young man had relations with his brother's wife. The brother made him swim in Bow Lake. The brother's wife was digging roots on the farther shore of the lake, and the young man tried to swim to her. He sank in the middle of the lake and did not come up.

The old people, parents of the young man, were digging clams at Three Tree Point. They saw a corpse. The corpse was headless but there was a tattoo mark on the left shoulder. The old lady said, "It looks to me like the body of my son." [The outlet of Bow Lake is midway between Three Tree Point and Maury Island.]

They went up to the husband of the young woman and said, "What is the matter with your brother?" "I do not know." Afterwards they became angry and killed the young woman.

THE MAN BEHEADED WHILE DIVING (Second Version)⁷⁶

One time three young men were on a journey from the White River-Duwamish valley to the bay. One of these, who had stolen a woman, wished to swim in a lake. His companions tried to dissuade him, but it was of no avail. "I shall go," he said. "Do as you like, then," they said. So he began to swim.

⁷⁵ Told by August James (White River).

⁷⁶ Related by Nancy (Duwamish).

Further and further in the lake he swam until he reached the middle. Then the two saw him whirl around and disappear.

Beyond Three Tree Point at low tide they saw the head of the young man. They recognized it, because the young man had had his face painted. They took the head and brought it home to the boy's parents. The Lake had taken off his head.

Many swim now in the lake, but none go out to the center.

THE MAN BEHEADED WHILE DIVING (Third Version)⁷⁷

Once two men were hunting among the lakes and marshes. One was a salt water Indian and the other was a forest Indian from Green River. The Green River man was brother to the wife of the salt water man.

The forest Indian told his brother-in-law from the beach about a pool so deep and having such an undertow that no man could dive to the bottom and return to the surface; all who dove to the bottom were carried out to sea.

"I do not believe it; I am not afraid to try it. My spirit helper is Loon," said the salt water man. "My spirit helper is Land-otter. Let us dive and see whose spirit helper is the stronger," said the Green River man. Then they both dove down, down to the hole in the bottom of the pool.

The salt water man, whose helper was Loon, was carried on down and out to the salt water, where he was afterwards found, dead. The Green River man, whose helper was Land-otter, saw a snag down in the pool and seized it. He afterwards came to the surface and so saved his life.

THE MAN BEHEADED WHILE DIVING (Fourth Version)⁷⁸

I have heard of a pool in the Snuqualmi country, three or four poles deep. Two men tried to dive to the bottom of that pool. One man tied a stone to a rope and the rope to his body, and then dove. That man was carried out to sea. His lung was afterwards seen in the bay. The other man took the stone and rope but did not tie them to his body. He came back.

HOW RAVEN LOST HIS VENISON (First Version)⁷⁹

Pheasant⁸⁰ (sgwa'lob) was at his house with his wife and five children. They were suffering from hunger for there was no food in the house. He worked late in the night making arrows that he might go out and hunt.

In the morning Pheasant rose early and taking his dog, went out to hunt. The dog ran and barked as day was breaking. Pheasant concealed himself, took aim and shot an elk.

⁷⁷ Told by James Goudy (Skagit).

⁷⁸ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁷⁹ Told by Jack Smohallah (Green River).

⁸⁰ Properly grouse (*Bonasa umbellus sabini*), but commonly called pheasant.

A stranger appeared. "Why do you hide?" he said. "Come and cut up the game." Pheasant came and began to cut up the elk with his knife of bone, but the stranger pushed him aside saying, "You must not cut the game. I will do the cutting."

Soon the elk was cut up and skinned, and the stranger said, "Kindle a fire and we will cook some of the game." Pheasant did so, the dog lay down by the fire, and all were soon fed.

When they had finished, Pheasant packed up his game and equipment, the stranger having first made the pack small and easy to carry. The stranger also warned him that he should not look back.

Pheasant set out for home. He became tired and sat down on a log with his pack, but kept his face straight in front, for he remembered the warning of the stranger. When he arrived at home he observed the same caution and kept from looking in the direction from which he had come.

He said to his wife, "Spread a mat whereon I may lay the game." He laid the game down. Immediately it became large as before. He gave some of the game to his wife and she cooked it in a wooden box.

Raven lived near by. The children of Raven came and looked upon the pheasant people, and saw them feasting. Then they ran home and cried, "Father, there is much food in that house; they are eating much elk." So their father, old Raven, went to Pheasant's house and saw what his children had told him.

"How did you kill the elk?" Raven inquired of Pheasant. "I made arrows for myself and early in the morning I went out and killed him," said Pheasant.

So Raven sat up late that night making arrows and slept little. Early he rose and went out to shoot the elk, as Pheasant had done. Raven hid in the same place; there also appeared the stranger and his dog. The stranger had known of Raven's coming.

The stranger skinned and cut up the elk. Raven kindled a fire, cooked, and they ate. Then Raven set out for home. The stranger by his power made the elk small. He warned Raven not to look behind him. "If you become fatigued, lie down, but do not look back," he said.

Raven started home. On the way he became tired and sat down. "Why should I not look back?" he thought as he sat there, so he looked back, and even as he did so the game and cords that held it became rotten wood.

Raven entered his house. He said to his wife, "Go and fetch my pack." Raven's wife went and looked, and saw nothing at all but a rotten log tied up with leaves. She went back to the house and asked him, "Where is the elk?" "Lying right there," said Raven. Then she went back to look for the game. Five times she did this but found nothing except the rotten log. All this happened because Raven looked back instead of following the advice of the stranger.

HOW RAVEN LOST HIS VENISON (Second Version)⁸¹

Pheasant went out one day and looked for material to make a bow and arrows. A branch of the yew, straight and without knots, he chose for the bow. For the arrows he chose little sticks smooth and straight. Of ironwood he chose them. Late into the night he worked, making the arrows and the bow.

Next morning he rose early and journeyed forth to hunt. Of Siowia'wəd, the famous hunter, whom no people of the present time have seen, Pheasant had heard. "I shall get near where Siowia'wəd is hunting," he thought, "and perhaps I shall obtain some game."

He traveled until he heard the dogs of Siowia'wəd barking. He ran to a place toward which the dogs were running, and waited. Soon he saw a bull-elk coming. He drew his bow. With his arrow he killed the elk.

The dogs belonging to the great hunter came upon Pheasant and attacked him so that he was forced to hide. While he was hiding, he heard the noise of the yellowhammers hanging from Siowia'wəd's belt,

ka'tə ka'tə ka'tə
tsa'dzok tsa'dzok

Siowia'wəd came upon the dead elk and knew that Pheasant had killed it. "I smell Pheasant," he said, "Come out, Pheasant!" Pheasant came out of his hiding place.

"Call your dogs by their names," demanded Siowia'wəd. "The dogs are not mine, Nobleman; it is your game; you hunted it. I merely killed it so that I might obtain a little food. Cut up the elk yourself, for it is your game."

"Pheasant talks in a civil manner," thought the hunter. "He is a decent fellow." Then he said, "You had best gather wood," and he kindled a fire by blowing into flame the smoldering ember within. Then he made a spit and prepared to roast the meat.

"Sit down here while I cut up the game," commanded the hunter. Pheasant obeyed, while the stranger cut up and skinned the game. When the game was cut open Siowia'wəd took out the fat. As he removed it he gave it to Pheasant. A portion of it Pheasant ate, but the rest he hid.

Then they roasted some meat and ate. Then said Siowia'wəd, "Fortify yourself, for you shall carry all this meat home. I will prepare the burden for you."

Then the hunter gathered up all the meat into one bundle and squeezed it small into a size and shape suitable for Pheasant to carry. "Make yourself strong," said he. Placing the headband on Pheasant he said, "When you become weary, do not look back at the bundle, but sit down with the bundle resting upon a log, while you keep your eyes straight before you. Do not let the bundle down, no matter how tired you may be, nor how heavy the bundle may seem. By all means take it into your house." "Nobleman, I shall try to do the best I can," answered Pheasant. "How is the bundle? Is it properly adjusted?" "Yes, the

⁸¹ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

bundle is properly adjusted, and seems light." So saying, Pheasant quitted the stranger, who kept nothing of the game for his share but the hide.

The stranger had placed upon the burden a small parcel for a lunch. When he got weary, Pheasant rested the load upon a log and ate, but he did not look about.

As he neared home Pheasant was getting very tired, and could walk but a few steps without stopping to rest. With difficulty he made his way to the house and dropped the bundle inside the door. Immediately it became a large bundle. He untied it and fed his children, who were laughing and shouting.

Raven, neighbor of Pheasant, heard the shouting, and sent Kwilia'iaeks and the other young ravens to see the family. Kwilia'iaeks and his brothers looked in and saw the family eating. The Pheasant people gave them some fat, and the ravens ate and ate and ate. Then they went home and told their father. "Ha!" said he, "I must get ready and go to visit Pheasant."

So Raven fixed his clothing and went to visit Pheasant. He sat down as they bade him, and ate to satiety. When he had finished he asked, "How did you kill the elk?" "I made ready," said Pheasant, "and knowing there was a hunter following the game, I went out to meet him. Hearing the dogs baying, I placed myself in their path. I shot the elk and killed it." Said Raven, "I am glad you have told me how to get the game." So Raven went and prepared, making arrows and bow as Pheasant had done.

Next morning Raven went and came upon the line followed by the elk and his pursuers. He heard the dogs; he shot and killed the elk. He hid himself as the dogs came up. Siowia'wæd came up. Said he, "Raven, I can smell you; you are here. You will cause my game to smell of raven. Call your dogs by name." "TAbəl'c!" called Raven, but the dogs only attacked him the more fiercely.

"Where did you get the feathers for your arrows?" asked the hunter. "From the dzigdzigwada'l," answered Raven falsely. No one ever heard of that bird before.

"Raven, you had best butcher your elk, yonder," said the hunter. Raven tried to do so, but Siowia'wæd crowded him aside saying, "You give an offensive odor. You will spoil the game. Gather wood," he commanded. "Yes, I shall do so," answered Raven. "Make a fire," commanded the hunter. "Yes, I shall do so," answered Raven. To Raven the hunter said, "Sit down!" So Raven did. Siowia'wæd began to cut up the game. To Raven he threw the fat. As fast as he removed the fat and threw it to Raven, Raven consumed it. The hunter thought, "Raven is not like Pheasant. He saved some of the fat, this one eats it all."

When they had roasted the meat and eaten, the bundle was made up and Siowia'wæd made it small. He placed a small lunch upon it, helping Raven load it upon his back. "When you go," he commanded, "You must not look back. Is your pack fitted properly to your back?" "Yes, it is," answered Raven. "Do not look back when you rest, look forward."

Raven went on. He became tired but did not look back. He talked to himself saying, "There shall be a people created hereafter who shall pack burdens, and if they wish, they may look back at their bundle." "Hereafter," said he, "every hunter who shall have a bundle may look if he wills." Then Raven looked back at his bundle.

He went on. As he neared home he became very tired. Said he, "The people who follow will be hunters. If one of them becomes tired he may leave his pack, as I shall leave mine. My wife shall carry it home." "Koko'lowitc," he called to his wife, "you had best get my pack."

Going out from the house Koko'lowitc searched for the game but found only rotten wood. "There is no meat here; nothing but rotten wood," she answered. "Go again and bring the pack," Raven bade her. Again she went and found no game. And so it was until she was made to carry a bundle of rotten wood to the house.

That is all.

HOW RAVEN TRIED TO GET DRIED SALMON⁸²

Pheasant rose in the morning and looked toward the dry timber and wished for dried salmon.

He took his stone hammer and wedge to the fir trees. He drove in the wedge, and as he drove he sang, "Təlo'p, təlo'p" (dried salmon), and each time he drove in the wedge out would come a dried salmon. He took them home and gave much food to his children.

"The Pheasants are doing much talking," said Raven, and he sent his boy to see about it. Raven's son went and saw them eating. He went back and told his father. Raven went and asked of Pheasant, "How do you get the salmon?" "Oh! I use my hammer on the dry timber," he said.

Next morning Raven set out to hunt for dry salmon in the timber. Raven took his wedge, struck it with the hammer and said, "Təlo'p, təlo'p," and a big salmon came forth. Raven took the salmon and ate it in the woods. Raven said, "I am hungry for more salmon, I shall get more from the tree."

Raven drove the wedge and said, "Təlo'p," but no salmon. Thus he took much bark. This he carried home, and said to his wife, "That is salmon." But it remained nothing but bark.

HOW RAVEN TRAPPED BEAVER (First Version)⁸³

Pheasant went to the river to trap beaver. He had said to his wife, "I shall go in the morning to set a cidalko (a stone trap for beaver)." So Pheasant made a beaver trap.

He went into the house where Beaver lived. He struck Beaver with a stick.

⁸² Related by Smo'xlə (Green River).

⁸³ Related by Jack Smo'xlə (Green River).

He wished Beaver to follow him. Beaver leaped up and chased him. Pheasant ran over the trap. Beaver followed and ran into the trap and was killed. Pheasant carried the quarry to his house.

Raven heard that Pheasant had killed Beaver in a stone trap. "I will do the same," said Raven. "How do you kill the beaver?" he inquired. "I will show you," said Pheasant. So he showed Raven how he had trapped the beaver.

Next morning Raven went to the same place. He made a trap. He went into the beaver house. He struck Beaver with a stick. Beaver pursued him. Raven ran toward the trap. He blundered into his own trap and brought it down on himself. "He has killed himself in the trap!" Raven took his own entrails to the house, had them cooked, and fed them to his children. "These entrails smell the same as our father smells," said they.

HOW RAVEN TRAPPED BEAVER (Second Version)⁸⁴

Pheasant lay down to sleep at night and planned what he should do on the morrow. Next morning he woke and took his stone adze with him through the forest. He came to a swampy place and there saw signs of beaver. "Here I shall do something," he thought. "Here I shall make a deadfall for beavers."

He cut many sticks with his stone adze. With rope of split cedar limbs he fastened the sticks in place between two logs. Upon the top large stones were placed. Within the trap a trigger was set, and the deadfall was now complete.

He went to the house of Beaver as though for a visit. Beaver took a bundle of willow sticks which he had cut and offered them to Pheasant for food. Pheasant took the largest one of the sticks and looked about wondering which beaver he should strike. He suddenly struck King-beaver himself. Then Beaver became angry and gave chase, crying to his fellows, "This is Pheasant!" All ran out. They all pursued Pheasant.

Pheasant ran along and when he came to the hidden trap he leaped over it, but Beaver did not see the trap and essayed to pass between the logs. The trap was thus sprung and Beaver was crushed beneath the deadfall.

Pheasant took the deadfall apart, took out Beaver and butchered him. Then he gathered sticks, stones and leaves, scooped a hollow in the ground and began to bake the game in the place thus prepared. He sat and waited. When he thought the meat was cooked, he uncovered it. Then he made the meat into a bundle, loaded it upon his back, supporting it by a strap across his chest, and bore it home.

He arrived home. He unpacked the bundle. His many children were fed and all were happy, eating beaver meat.

Raven was neighbor to Pheasant. He heard the noise and sent his children to learn what was happening. One of them, Kwilia'ia'ks, looked in and saw them eating. He called the others. The young pheasants threw pieces of meat to the young ravens, who ate them as they were thrown to them. They went home and

⁸⁴ Related by Charles Siatkhton (Snuqualmi).

Kwilia'aks told his father, "Pheasant has much meat and the children are eating. That is why they are so happy and noisy."

Raven put on his clothes and said, "I am going to visit Pheasant." He entered the house and sat down. Pheasant got a wooden platter and spoon and set the platter before him with meat upon it. So they fed him.

Raven ate. When he had finished, he asked, "Where did you get the game, and how did you set about killing it?" "I went to the place where beaver signs were to be seen. I made a deadfall. I went into Beaver's house and clubbed him. He chased me and was caught in the trap, but I ran through the trap without springing it." Thus said Pheasant.

Raven went home. Next morning he set out with his stone adze as Pheasant had done. He went through the swamp and looked for signs of beaver. He made a deadfall just as Pheasant had done. He set up two sharp sticks in the ground and left the trap, having built it well and set it.

Then he went into the beaver house. He sat down and looked about. The beavers gave him a bundle of willow sticks to eat. Doing as Pheasant had told him, Raven took a stick and struck the largest beaver. Then he ran, being pursued. Then instead of jumping over the trap, Raven ran into it. He was caught, pierced by the two sharp sticks.

Beaver came up and saw Raven in the trap. Beaver kicked him about and laughed, then he went home. Raven came to his senses and worked hard to free himself. After a time Raven got out and went home very sick and dejected. So Raven had nothing to tell, except that he had been caught in a trap.

RAVEN AND BEAR (First Version)⁸⁶

Bear had a pretty daughter. The daughter of Bear was married to the son of Skwakw, the Raven. They were living at the home of Bear. Thinking it was time that he should see his son, Raven made a call at the home where the young man was living. When he arrived he found that the food consisted only of salmon, fresh and dry. There was a big fire. Bear washed his hands clean and stood by the fire. There were empty clam shells lying on the ground before him. As Bear stood there holding his hands out before the fire they became warm and fat dripped into the shells. The shells were filled with Bear's own fat. This he dished up for Raven.

While eating, Raven said, "I am going back home and will take my son and daughter. I wish you to return the visit." So Raven went home. Raven thought to do the same as Bear. When Bear came to call, Raven washed his hands and held them by the fire. As they became warm he sucked them and said, "That won't be the only fat." His hands became still warmer and cracked, but no more fat dripped from them into the shells placed beneath.

Bear became ashamed for Raven. So he washed his own hands, held them before the fire till they dripped the shells full of fat. Then he left. This is why Raven's claws are all scaly and cracked.

⁸⁶ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

RAVEN AND BEAR (Second Version)⁸⁶

Raven went to Bear. Bear asked, "Why did you come?" "Oh, I just wanted to see you," said Raven.

Bear washed his hands clean after having built the fire. He got a little basin of wood. He toasted his hands by the fire and the grease fell from his hands into the basin (la'wkwat).

Raven went home. (Bear came to see Raven). Raven did the same as Bear had done. His hands dried up and became scaly.

RAVEN AND WATER OUSEL⁸⁷

Raven went to visit Water Ousel (swaxtxts or swatxsw), the little bird that jumps about in the river and dives to catch salmon eggs. Raven went into the house. Water Ousel would get eggs in winter time. Raven called him, qwe'lax (kinsman by marriage). He so addressed him because the son of one was married to the daughter of the other.

There was a little basket. Water Ousel took it and jumped into the water. He took salmon eggs from under a rock. He carried the eggs to the house and cooked them. Raven ate. Raven said, "Come to my house tomorrow."

Water Ousel went to Raven's house. Raven made a fire, took a little basket, and went to the river. He jumped into the water and got one salmon egg. He ate it himself saying, "I shall get some more." Then he jumped in the water again. He found nothing.

It was winter time and cold. Raven became chilled. He was nearly dead but did not get any more salmon eggs. Water Ousel came and got him and took him to the house nearly dead with cold.

Water Ousel went to the river with a basket, and got it full of salmon eggs. He took a basket full to Raven and said to him, "Good-bye, I am going home."

RAVEN AND PHEASANT GO FISHING⁸⁸

Raven and Pheasant were relatives by marriage and lived in neighboring houses.

As autumn was merging into winter and the steelhead salmon were running rather plentifully, Raven said, "Let us go out to spear steelheads." So Pheasant made ready the shaft and toggles of his fish-spear and launched his canoe. Then both went up the river, Raven making himself steersman.

So they reached the riffles. Raven braced the pole against the rocky bottom and held the boat at rest while he looked about for salmon. Spying a salmon Pheasant cast his spear, threw the fish into the boat and despatched it with the salmon club. He looked about and saw another in the same riffle. He speared

⁸⁶ Narrated by Jack Smo'xlə (Green River).

⁸⁷ Related by Jack Smo'xlə (Green River).

⁸⁸ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

it and killed it. Another he saw and killed, another and still another. Thus he did until the boat was half full of fish, Raven all the while steadying the boat in the rapids with his pole.

Then said Pheasant, "We have sufficient fish; let us return home." So they started down the river. Now it is the custom of the people that the members of a fishing party choose one of the older men for leader, to allot the fish in equal numbers to each man. So Pheasant pondered to himself all the way home how the fish should be divided. To himself he thought, "Across the boat shall be the division line. To save counting the fish, those in this end of the boat shall be mine and the others Raven's!" Still pondering, he got out of the boat. Raven said, "Why do you look at those fish? I worked hard to get them. They are mine."

Without replying Pheasant took his spear and started up the bank towards his home. He was a little angry but said nothing. Nevertheless he thought, "I wish the salmon would turn to herring."

Raven went up to his home. To his wife he said, "You had best go down there and bring up the boat load of salmon." *Kokwo'lowitc*, the wife of Raven, went down to the canoe and there found naught but herring. Turning, she called to Raven, "There are no salmon here; there are only herring!" "Do you not see the salmon?" shouted Raven. "They are in the canoe there." But the salmon had turned to herring. Then said Raven to himself, "I suppose Pheasant must be angry with me, for he has turned the salmon to herring." So Raven's woman had to take the little herrings home and that was the end of the fishing trip.

ELK AND BEAR, HIS WIFE⁸⁹

Elk (*kwagwi'tcid*) married Bear (*tcɛ'tXwəd*). After a certain time he commanded her to go to the swamp and gather skunk cabbage for food. When Bear arrived she was acting queerly. She knew what she was after but did not know how to handle it.

While trying to get food the woman did not take the bulb entire. Instead of that she was just ripping, ripping, till she ripped it in pieces. After many trials she wondered which part was the real food. She thought the skunk cabbage was just grass growing in the mud. She sang,

stabL kədo'yə də'yə də'yə
kisa'ləd tusəqwa'ts skwagwi'tcid kədo'yədo'yədo'yə
akisa'ləd kədo'yədo'yədo'yə

When the day was pretty well advanced Elk thought something had happened to the woman. He was troubled in heart. He returned home early. He trailed her. A long way off he heard her singing. She mentioned his name. He sneaked up to her. He said, "Why don't you like what I eat? That's the only food you'll get this time of the year hereafter." He gave her a slap and she

⁸⁹ Related by Annie Jack (Green River).

ran off bear style. She became a bear. The man turned back. He became an elk.

Bear gets that food now. She eats it the first time she is out in the spring.

LOON'S SON AND THE MONSTER WOMAN (First Version)⁹⁰

Loon (*suwo'Xwəd*) is a big bird who spends the winter on the lakes. Thunder's daughter became the wife of Loon's son.

A woman who was a monster woman, a *za'gwə*, was waiting for Loon's son. She ran away with him; she took him up to the mountains and married him.

She had him a while and made him bathe in the lake. While bathing he started to run away. While running he found a number of old people along the road digging. Those people were Mountain Beaver (*CAWL*), Mole (*pe'ltqcid*) and others. The young man said, "A woman is chasing me." The old people said, "Go on, we shall make this ground soft." So the young man went on. When the woman arrived at that place she mired in the soft ground and travelled slowly.

The young man passed on, running. All at once he saw a woman sitting outside her house. When he was close the woman seized him and took him in the house, saying, "I take you in; you are my husband." She was another monster woman, a daughter of Thunder.

Soon the first monster woman came and said to the second, "I am chasing my husband. Open the door!" She said this five times. Then at once the woman inside said, "Come inside backwards; no one comes in face first." The woman outside replied, "All right, I will come in backwards." As she was getting inside, the other woman closed the door and pinched her head right off. Then the other woman took her head and threw it to the north.

That is why the northern Indians cut off the heads of their enemies. The Indians from this region do not cut off the heads of their slain enemies but leave their bodies untouched.

The daughter of Thunder squeezed the man and got out of him all that the other woman had fed him. Thunder's daughter then became his wife.

LOON'S SON AND THE MONSTER WOMAN (Second Version)⁹¹

Loon was chief bird in the bay. Loon's son was travelling to the mountain-side. On the fifth day he saw a woman sitting there. She was watching for him, wanting him for a husband. Now she kept him and would not let him go. She took him away and brought him to her home.

There she kept him prisoner. She got the food. All she got for his living was mice, lizards, frogs, water dogs and the like. She had him a long time. Then she tried him. She pinched him to see if he was good meat for her to eat. When it was time for her to go out he went to another house where lived Bear, who was a slave.

⁹⁰ Narrated by John Xot (Puyallup).

⁹¹ Narrated by John Xot (Puyallup), January 23, 1917.

Loon's son said to Bear, "Grandfather, she pinches me when she comes home." Bear told him what she was doing that for, trying to see if he were getting fat enough. Bear gave him a little knife and said, "When she pinches you, cut her, too, and when she cries out say that your finger nails are growing too long."

When the woman next came home to the young man she told him, "We are going out swimming together in the big lake tomorrow." The young man was willing. So next day they went out in the lake and started swimming. The young man dove and went out to the middle. He came up and gave the cry of the loon.

The monster woman was bathing too, but she could not get out to Loon's son. The last time he went out to the middle of the lake he told her he was going to stay under the water a long time.

The last time he dove he made his escape to the prairie. There were mice and other animals in it, his grandparents. He called on them for help. He told them the monster woman was following him. They said, "We shall fix the ground so that she cannot catch you."

The woman was excited and could not find the young man. She followed his tracks until she came upon the old people digging roots. "Did you see my husband?" she asked the old people. "No," they said. They made the ground soft so that she would sink in the holes and get tired. They helped the man.

Loon's son kept running until he saw a woman sitting watching for him. She was not a za'gwə. She heard his noise, "Ho-o-o!" The noise of Loon is called lekwa'IXAB in our language. That woman was the daughter of Thunder. She went to meet Loon's son and took him into her house, which was a big rock. She hid him in her house.

She heard the za'gwə coming. The za'gwə came and called to her, "Open the door and let me in. I want to see if my husband is in there. I have lost him and am looking for him." Thunder's daughter said nothing until the za'gwə had called five times. Then she answered, "Open the door, but come in backwards; come in the other way."

The za'gwə said, "All right." Then they let her come in that way. When she got in the house far enough they closed the door on her and cut off her head.

Thunder's daughter threw the head to the north and the rest of the body this way. The northern Indians cut off the head when they kill. The people down here throw the body away.

Afterwards Thunder's daughter took out of the man the food which the other woman had given him. All his food came out alive. After he was cleaned out she gave him real food such as venison. They lived there together. She bore him a little son. Then she took him home to his people.

The first wife of Loon's son was Louse (ba'ctad), a pretty woman, by whom he had had a child. When her husband got back home, Louse was blind from weeping. Thunder's daughter felt sorry for her, and restored her features and her eyes so that she could see and was just as pretty as ever.

Now Thunder is Loon's grandfather. When it storms Loon goes on the lakes where it is calm. In April he comes down to salt water. Loon is chief of the salt water people.

LOON'S SON AND THE MONSTER WOMAN (Third Version)⁹²

Loon had many female relatives. He did not care for women. All the loons would swim to their house. Loon's blanket was there and swam in the water. The women saw the blankets. They said, "Grandmother, that is my blanket. I want my blanket. Oh, Grandmother, I want my blanket."

Now the ogress (sweyoqW) travelled a long distance. She took the blanket of Loon and she took Loon by the hand to her house. Loon slept with the ogress. She had long nails and scratched Loon so that he became sore. She used to take her basket along with her and do mischief. She would make fire on the stones in a cooking pit and cook people.

The ogress had a slave, Bear. Bear stayed in the other side of the house. Loon said to him, "Old Man, I am nearly dead; see my skin. I am wretched and tired, Old Man." Bear gave Loon a little knife. Bear caught salmon and roasted it so that Loon could eat it and get strong. Loon said, "I am tired." Bear said, "There is a big lake near. If you are tired, go and swim there."

Loon went away. The ogress came back. Everyone said, "Loon is swimming." The people muddied the water and the ogress did not see Loon. Loon ran away. Short-tailed Rat (ska'að) and Mole (peya'lqtcí) were women. They helped Loon.

Loon kept running. He saw a noblewoman in a house of stone. He wanted a safe place. The noblewoman said, "Come." Loon said, "I will die now." The noblewoman said, "You shall not die; I am a good woman. Do not be afraid; I will be your wife. You shall see your father and mother." She gathered camas and fed Loon.

The ogress came. "Have you seen my man?" she asked. "Oh, he is in my house," the noblewoman answered. The house was of stone. She shut the door and cut off the head of the ogress and so killed her.

That noblewoman made a fire and melted the ogress. If she had not done so the ogress would be here now.

HUMPBACK BOY AND THE OGRESS (First Version)⁹³

Some children were on a picnic. One of their number was a humpbacked boy. In giving out the pieces of salmon for the lunch his sister gave this boy the piece near the tail. He complained; he wanted the large part near the neck. So his sister said, "I'll eat the part near the tail, but I shall call the ogress!" So Snail Woman (sweyoqW) came. She was glad when she saw the children. "I shall eat them," she said.

⁹² Narrated by Sampson (Green River).

⁹³ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

Snail Woman took all the children in the basket on her back and started home. Humpback Boy climbed up on the shoulders of the rest, and seizing a limb on the road, made his escape. Running home, he gave the alarm and said, "The Snail woman has carried off all your children."

"You hold to me and I shall take you home," the ogress said to the children. She made a fire on some stones in a pit. The children she ordered to stand in two rows, the large ones upon one side and the small ones upon the other side. Then she began to sing.

kwELe'IsOX tuwe'əXSO
The rocks are getting hot.

But the children took a pole and pushed her into the fire. Then the children turned to little black birds, finches.

HUMPBACK BOY AND THE OGRESS (Second Version)⁹⁴

Away back in the past Snail was a powerful woman who used to carry people off, putting them in a basket on her back. She cooked them for her food. [This witch had a certain basket in which she put children. It was an openwork basket of cedar root, made of twining on crossed warps. She kept the inside of this basket well pitched, so that whatever was put inside, could not climb out of it. Baskets just like the one she had are still used. We employ them in gathering clams. We call such a basket, made in this weave, sqaleoltc, "witch basket." The name of the ogress in myth times was Sxwaiyekw. We call her now-a-days sla'kat or sqale' (snail).] The basket which she used to carry on her back has become the snail shell.⁹⁵

It came to pass that, as was her custom, she picked up a number of children and had them in her basket, carrying them home to cook. After she had reached home with her load, she put a great pile of stones in a pit, built a fire upon them, and prepared to bake the children as we bake clams on hot rocks. [This happened on the west shore of Sinclair Inlet, just south of the Navy Yard at Bremerton. This place is still called by us, Sqa'le, "witch."] ⁹⁵ As she prepared the fire, and thought of the children she was going to eat she began to circle around the fire and sing:

Luqwa'lcitcid tuwe'uXSO
I am going to eat the children.

But there was one among the children whose cunning was a match for the ogress. This was a hunchback, whom the ogress had carried off, thinking him a child. He studied the matter and as a result he said to the children, "Wait until the fire gets good and hot, then we shall push her in."

So as the fire became hot and she circled about chanting, they joined together and with one effort pushed the ogress into the flames. Then it was

⁹⁴ Related by John Xot (Puyallup). The portions enclosed in square brackets were added by Dr. T. T. Waterman from information he collected.

⁹⁵ Explanatory material by Dr. Waterman.

her turn to beg. "Help me out; help me out." So they picked up a rotten stick and reached it to her. It broke as she seized it and she reproached them. They replied, "The stick is rotten; we can't help it." So the ogress cooked until she burst. [The pieces flew all about. They fell into the water. They turned into the jellyfish which are so numerous at the head of Sinclair Inlet. In August and September the bottom at the head of that inlet is full of jellyfish. You can hardly put an oar down without touching one.]⁹⁵ Since that time snails have done no harm to people. They used to be dangerous.

After this the children went home. But when they had reached the village, they found that one of their number, a girl, had become a monster, an ogress. All the children and others feared her.

Now a man of the crow people reflected upon this circumstance a great deal. One day a number of the crow people went cruising in a canoe. As they paddled along, many people viewed them from the banks. And as they travelled they sought the place where the monster and her mother were digging fern root (tca'di).⁹⁶ They were thinking out some means to make away with the evil child. So as they paddled in their search of the place they sang:

le tca'd tcadi tcai'ya
Fern roots, grandchild;

lo kwēctai tcai'ya
The fog settles, grandchild;

le tca'd tcadi tca'L
Fern roots, grandchild;

tcaya' ya-ya-a-a!
It settles.

As they approached the place where the little ogress lived, the mother heard their song. She was there digging fern roots. So she hailed the crow people. They took the girl and put out to sea. And in order that she might be taken utterly from their ken and never find her way back, they began to sing for the fog to settle, thus:

le kwac tcab ti swati'utid
Fog and cloud over the world;

le kwac tcab ti swati'utid
Fog and cloud over the world;

le kwac ti stcaiya
Fog settles, grandchild.

So they paddled away out in the bay and the fog settled. When all was ready, the crow people became crows and flew away from the canoe. The canoe

⁹⁶ Not identified.

became a tree and the little ogress was perched upon the tree crying. Finally, she came to land, restored to her natural self.

At the place where she landed was a woman digging fern roots. This woman was no other than Scarface, or Raccoon woman, a slave of Thunder bird and his house mate, Skunk. Now these men were away hunting and Raccoon woman brought the guest into the house and fed her. She cautioned her, "When Skunk comes home, he will be jesting and singing, 'Kata kata kata kata,' but you must not laugh. If you laugh Skunk will make you his wife." Soon Skunk came home bearing the quarry, a fawn, which he had taken in the hunt. As he came he jested and sang. But the guest did not laugh, and all was well. But Raccoon said, "You wait till you hear *Sio'wawēd*. He is the husband for you. You will hear the sound of his belt. It is made of live red-crested woodpeckers." *Sio'wawēd* soon came home and laid down his game, and Raccoon woman took it. When *Sio'wawēd* sat down, Raccoon brought the woman in and placed her beside him. So the girl became the wife of Master Hunter.

ORIGIN OF THE CROWS⁹⁷

Five crows got in a canoe. Some one on shore asked, "Where are you going?" "Oh, we are going to dig *tca'di*, dig *tca'di*, dig *tca'di*," they said. The woman on shore said, "We wish to go along."

But the crow men just sang, and paddled with their paddles turned so as not to propel the boat. Also they laughed much. Someone passed wind: suddenly the boat became a stick and they all turned to crows.

CROW WOMAN⁹⁸

One time the crow-woman, *Ka'ka*, was digging clams. Five trout boys came to the house of *Ka'ka*. "*Ka'ka*," they cried, "the trout are destroying your home." But she did not listen. Again and again they cried, "*Ka'ka*, the trout are destroying your home." Finally she came and looked, turning her head from side to side. "*Ka'ka* is not my name," said she. "My name is *Kwolkwe'lbulo*." From that time she flew and became a crow.

COYOTE AND THE SNAIL WOMEN (First Version)⁹⁹

The people were dwelling, as we used to dwell, in a winter house. The children, many of them, were running about and playing outside.

Of the dreaded snail-women there were five sisters, ogresses all. Each of these bore upon her back a huge basket into which she would put any children she could capture.

⁹⁷ Related by Jack Smohalla (Green River).

⁹⁸ Related by James Goudy (Skagit).

⁹⁹ Related by Snuqualmi Charley (Snuqualmi).

One of the snail-women approached the big house at nightfall, seized one of the children, placed him in her basket, and ran home, where she devoured him. Next night she did the same.

When anyone left a child inside a house alone, crying for food, the snail-woman would come and call, "Come outside, here is something for you to eat." Then when the child came out she would put it in her basket and make her departure with all speed. Always Snail Woman watched for the children.

Sbiau, the coyote, heard of the deeds of the snail-woman and said to himself, "I shall make myself into a child and the snail-woman will take me." He went into the house among the people while they were all asleep. He sat by the door and cried for food.

Snail Woman heard the child, as she thought, crying for food. She went near and called. When Coyote came outside, she offered him some bark. "Nephew, this is salmon, come and eat it," she said. Coyote knew it was bark but took it nevertheless.

The snail-woman attempted to seize the child and put him in her basket but Coyote seized Snail Woman at the same time and in the struggle tore her arm from her body. She went home lacking one arm.

Coyote studied within himself, "What may I do with this arm so as to kill the ogress?" He decided upon building a house. He began to build it. He began to build it of nothing but pitch. He finished the house. Then he sent a messenger to Snail Woman with the word, "Tell Snail Woman to come for her arm, I will give it back to her."

The five snail-sisters came to Coyote's house. All came inside except the youngest one. He desired all to come inside, but the youngest refused. He told her to stick her tongue out. She did so and Sbiau bit her tongue off. Then she could not tell her sisters anything.

Coyote came back into the house. He began a medicine dance inside. The four snail-sisters also started to dance. When they saw the arm they were beside themselves in the dance. They went mad as they danced. Coyote placed the arm back on Snail Woman. He put it on the wrong place. Snail Woman went crazy, jumping about.

When Coyote found that they were beside themselves with dancing he went to the doorway and kindled a fire. The house began to burn.

All this time the youngest snail-sister was trying to warn the others, but she could not speak. The house burned and the four snail-sisters perished. Coyote had killed them.

The youngest snail-woman, having lost her tongue, ran home. Coyote pursued her. He overtook her at her home and killed her. So the last of the snail-sisters was killed.

There were five snail-children at the home of the snail-sisters. Coyote tried to kill them but they began to eat him. They ate him a piece at a time. They ate all the flesh from his body; he was all bones. He went out to fill his body with flesh and came in again. He asked his brother what he should do but his brother would not tell him.

The last time Sbiau went outside his brother told him, "As you enter the house you will see five objects hanging from the rafters. Knock those all down and you will kill all the young snail-people." Coyote went in and did as he had been told. As he knocked down one of the hanging objects one of the snails died. Thus he continued until all were dead.

Then Coyote said, "The generation of real people is about to appear and there shall be no snail-woman to prey upon the people." Had it not been for the labors of Coyote we should have had Snail Woman with us yet. As it is, she is only a harmless little snail creeping along the ground.

COYOTE AND THE SNAIL WOMEN (Second Version)¹⁰⁰

A child was crying. His parents said, "If you cry the ogress will come." The child did not stop crying. The parents left him and went to another house.

The ogress (sweyoqw) came. She said, "Ah, take this dried salmon and eat it. Don't cry or the ogress will get you." "You are the ogress," said the child. "Eat this or the ogress will get you!" said the woman. Now the child takes the ogress by the wrist. He drags her. Now she cries, "Ah, Grandson, you're breaking my arm." He pulls her arm off. Now she goes away.

The boy runs to his parents. "I pulled the ogress' arm loose," he said. "Don't lie!" said the parents. "Oh, I did," the boy answered. "You're just lying," they answered. Then they saw the arm. It was twitching; the hand opened and closed.

On the next morning Xode came. The people said to him, "O Chieftain, the ogress will eat us." Xode replied, "It will be well if you get pitch." They got pitch. They split it and bound it in bundles.

They went at night to the house of the ogresses. There were many of them inside. The ogress whose arm was torn off said, "O kinsman (sbalotsid), your child did this!" Xode answered, "I shall restore you."

It became dusk. Xode said, "Well, dance now; you will get warm and sweat. Then I shall put back your arm and it will be good again, and solid. When you dance you must sing.

oyo'L tce'L ati sbalotsid tce'L
Come dance (?); kinsman dance (?)."

While they were dancing Xode got pitch and made a fire against the house. One woman was at the door. Xode said, "What is that in your mouth? Stick out your tongue." She stuck out her tongue and Xode bit it off.

The one whose tongue was bitten off could not tell her sisters about the fire. All the women were burned up, but the young woman and her tongue were gone. That was the end of them.

¹⁰⁰ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

CRANE BRIDGE¹⁰¹

Crane once killed a snail-woman.

A man once said to his brother, "Don't go to yonder place, the snail-women are there." The brother went a short distance and came back. He went a little farther and came back. He went a little farther. He saw smoke. "There are people there; my brother is crazy," he thought.

He saw people. "Oh, be seated, kinsman," they said. He thought, "I guess they are snail-women." He sat down. They said, "Sit down, the snail-woman may get you." Then they went out with their baskets.

The man jumped up and ran from the house. He saw Crane with a canoe. He cried, "Oh, take me; the snail-women are after me." Crane took him across the river in a boat.

The snail women returned to the house. They followed the man's tracks to the river. They saw Crane on the farther bank building a canoe. Said the snail-women, "Oh kinsman, did you see the young man whom we are following?" Crane said, "Yes, I took him across." "Oh friend, take us across; we are following him," they cried.

Crane came down to the river. He sat down, stretched his leg across the river, and said, "Come across the river on my leg." "Oh, I will fall," said Snail Woman. "No, you must do as I direct," said Crane. Snail Woman started across. When she was half way across Crane moved his leg and Snail Woman fell off into the river and drowned.

Crane said, "It shall not be as now with the people that shall come after. There shall be no ogress to kill the people that shall come after."

CHIPMUNK AND SNAIL WOMAN (First Version)¹⁰²

In the old times Chipmunk was a little boy. He lived with his grandmother. Her name was XəXai'əXalkɪd.

Snail-woman was eating bugs near by.

The little boy went out to gather blackcaps for his grandmother. As he picked the berries, thus he sang:

xodetca'aa· tsakaiya'aa· Atəxe'ts tola'kwaltɪd toke' təkwa'1
I save; I take to Grandmother the red ones; I eat the black ones.

The little boy was sitting by a big bush while he sang. Snail Woman heard him singing. She wanted to eat the little boy. She was a witch. She carried a basket on her back with hot rocks inside it. She used to put children in the basket and cook them.

That old witch called and said, "Come, Grandchild." Snail Woman had painted stripes on herself and she said, "See! you are my grandchild." But the little boy said, "No, my grandmother is in the house."

¹⁰¹ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

¹⁰² Narrated by Ann Jack (Green River).

He jumped on an old log to get away. Snail Woman threw rotten sticks at him and tried to seize him. He jumped and got away, crying, pats pats pats. Snail Woman scratched him with her black fingers and left his body striped with black. The little boy turned to a chipmunk. He was Chipmunk when he got home.

When Chipmunk got home his grandmother hid him under a pile of fresh water mussel shells (Xoled). Those mussels are found in a creek this side of Black Diamond.

The old lady had tattoo marks on her body. Snail Woman came up looking for Chipmunk. "Kinswoman (sbalotsid)," she said, "how do you tattoo yourself?" "You must smear pitch over your body and roll on the hot stones in the fire as I do," the old woman said. "It will make your flesh soft."

Snail Woman tried to jump in the fire. She was afraid and held back. On the fifth trial she jumped in the fire in the cooking pit. "I'm burning; I'm burning!" she said. She turned about and tried to get out of the cooking pit but could not. Chipmunk's grandmother took a forked stick (asiaks) and held Snail Woman down on the hot rocks until she died. Then she took the mussel shells off Chipmunk and he came out of hiding.

Snail Woman turned into a little snail such as she is today. She is harmless now and does not eat people.

They covered Snail Woman with leaves and moss. The next day Snail Woman's four sisters came looking for her. Chipmunk killed them with stones and they turned to swallows.

CHIPMUNK AND SNAIL WOMAN (Second Version)¹⁰³

The four younger sisters of Snail Woman were out looking for her. They said, "Perhaps our sister sat down here looking for bugs." The younger sisters took off their cedar bark skirts and broke the cedar bark in the ground and made a dust. They were very lousy.

They came to the place where the elder sister had been roasted in the cooking pit. They had heard Chipmunk say, "We have left some good food in the cooking pit." The sisters ate what was cooked. The youngest sister said, "I do not eat," but she did eat.

They all became thirsty. They went to the river and drank. "My sister's eyes! My sister's teeth!" they said. They saw their own reflection in the water.

"I told you not to eat it," said the youngest sister. All four cried and ran. They vomited and as they vomited, they said, "It tastes like my elder sister."

Two men rolled stones down hill upon the women. One snail-woman was killed. Her sister said, "Where are you?" but there was no answer. Then the men heaved a stone and killed another sister.

¹⁰³ Narrated by Ann Jack (Green River). Alternative to the last sentence of the first version, which was probably an invention of the interpreter.

Note: A place on Green River, where the snail-women are supposed to have slid is called sweyuctsauio or sikwiaqtsauio.

There were two sisters left now. They went to the river. They saw two fishermen in a boat. They said to the fishermen, "Take us across." The men filled the snail-women's baskets with stones till the canoe shook and overturned the women. Thus they sank.

CHIPMUNK AND SNAIL WOMAN (Third Version)¹⁰⁴

Snail Woman had four sisters, younger than herself. Snail Woman made ready and said, "I am leaving the house to hunt for food. If I do not return by night you may look for me." Then she left on her search for children to eat.

There were people living along the banks of the river and she used to prey upon these. Among them lived an old woman and her grandson. These were the chipmunk people.

The little boy was wishing to go and pick black-cap raspberries but his grandmother would not consent. The grandmother feared Snail Woman, but the boy said, "She will not eat me; I will not make any noise." At last the grandmother gave the boy a basket and sent him out to pick berries, warning him, "Do not make a noise; something may catch you."

That little boy was Chipmunk. Chipmunk went out and sat by a bush and picked berries. As he picked the black-cap raspberries this is what he sang: "The ripe ones I shall eat; the red ones I shall put in the basket for Grandma."

diL ki kə kwə'lə lel'kwəd tɔd
diL ki xə xetsəla kixə dedso kaia

Chipmunk kept on singing. Snail Woman at last heard him and came. "I did not tell you to sing that song; I told you to be still," she growled. Chipmunk leaped out of her reach to the top of an old rotten stump.

"You will get hurt up there on that place, grandson; come down," she called. "No, you are not my grandmother; I shall not come down," he answered. Chipmunk was planning how he might escape. He took a piece of rotten wood or bark and threw it down. Thinking it was he, the old snail-woman sprang for it. "Now I know you are not my grandmother," said Chipmunk. "I wished to keep you from getting hurt," said Snail Woman.

Snail Woman kept on calling the little boy grandson and asking him to come down. "My grandmother looks different from you," said the little boy, "She is tattooed on the face; you have no tattoo mark on the face."

Again he threw down a piece of rotten wood and again Snail Woman sprang after it, thinking it was Chipmunk. Chipmunk said again, "I know you are not Grandma," and again Snail Woman said, "I thought you might get hurt."

Chipmunk studied. "This time," he thought, "I shall jump." He threw another chip a great distance away. As the ogress leaped after the stick Chipmunk jumped. Snail Woman looked up and missed him, then saw him running along the ground. She chased him. As he was on a log and her fingers were

¹⁰⁴ Narrated by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

closing upon him he escaped with deep scratches on his back. These are the stripes on the chipmunk's back.

Chipmunk reached home and found his grandmother weaving baskets. He told the story of his adventure with Snail Woman. His grandmother hid him under the shell of a fresh-water clam. (The name of that is Xolaid. The name of Chipmunk's grandmother was XəXaiəXa'lkid.)

Snail Woman came. She said, "I was following a child and I missed him. Did you see one?" "No, I did not see anyone." "The boy had a grandmother, who looked just like you, tattooed on the face. Are you his grandmother?" "There are many people living across the river who are tattooed. Chipmunk must live across the river." "How did you tattoo your face?" "Do you not see that cooking pit? I merely got in the fire there and rolled about and came out, then pressed my face with my fingers."

Snail Woman was eager to be tattooed. Chipmunk Woman gathered wood and kindled a fire. When all was ready and the fire was removed from the stones, Snail Woman began to go round the fire singing, "I am afraid: it is too hot. I am afraid: it is too hot."

a'lə ba'dlə a'lə ba'dlə

While Snail Woman was singing Chipmunk Woman pushed her into the fire. Writhing she screamed, "Pull me out; I am burning." Grandmother called to Chipmunk, "Get a forked stick." Chipmunk did so and they pinned Snail Woman to the baking stones and held her there till she perished. Grandmother covered Snail Woman with leaves and boughs to cook her. Then Grandmother and Chipmunk fled across the river.

Snail Woman had said to her sisters, "If I kill anything I shall save it for you." The sisters now came and found meat roasted on the stones. The two elder sisters ate of it and vomited. They died. The two younger sisters did not eat of it.

These two younger sisters came to a bluff overlooking the river. They sat down. While they were sitting there a man in a canoe (his name was StəpXW) took a sling (xətiyastid) and threw at them until he struck the elder of these two sisters in the head. She slid and rolled down towards the river.

The younger sister thought that one (the man) was sliding and she called out, "How is the sliding down there?" "Pretty good." Then the younger sister slid down the hill calling, "Sbalotsid, come after me! Sbalotsid, come after me!"

The man paddled across for her and called to her, "Sbalotsid, keep your eyes closed in my canoe. It is easily tipped; it may tip over. If you open them you will shake the canoe." As soon as she entered the canoe, she closed her eyes.

The man said, "As soon as the canoe strikes you must jump out." The canoe entered the riffles and struck a boulder. The snail-woman jumped out and was drowned, and that was the last of the snail-women.

LYNX AND GRIZZLY¹⁰⁵

Lynx (tca'tcəb) was in the Klickitat country. He got Grizzly (tca'tt.kəb) for a wife. She knew how to kill deer and elk. Grizzly said to her man, "Do not go to that place yonder; if you go you will come to evil." Lynx thought, "What harm is in that place yonder?" Now he goes thither. He saw a house with much smoke and people inside. He saw five women; they were pretty.

One of the women said, "Why not stay with me to live? Let us get married." Lynx said to the woman, "My wife is an ogress; she will eat me if she learns where I am." The woman said, "I am not an ogress; let us go to Puyallup." They started on the road to Puyallup.

Grizzly missed her husband. He did not come back and she knew. She said, "Oh, he has got a new wife." She followed them. The new wife, Sqwatad by name, grew tired. Lynx said, "Oh, the ogress is coming after us." But Sqwatad sat down and embraced him. Pretty soon he said, "Oh, do you know she is coming?"

Grizzly came. She seized the new wife by the head, tore the head in two and cast it apart. She seized the man, tore his head in two and cast it apart. Then she cried, "Oh! I am mad; I have killed my man. If I had killed the woman alone it would have been all right, but I have killed my man. I shall go back."

BUFFLEHEAD AND SQALE¹⁰⁶

Bufflehead was named sbəbai'kəxəd when he killed the giant woman at the Bremerton Narrows. That place is north of Colby, between that place and the narrows.

There are many jellyfish at that place. They are the menstrual discharge from sqaie; that is why they are called ka'lalil talbyux, "filthy people."

Having set his basket of water on shore, Bufflehead took Giant Woman with him in a little boat (sde'txwil). He told her, "When you are in the boat keep your eyes shut; if you open them you will drown."

Out they go. Bufflehead jarred the boat. He blamed Giant Woman, "I told you never to look; keep your eyes shut!" So he killed her. The water is rough at that point.

(I drank in 1897 from the basin of water that Bufflehead carried at that time. My companion also dipped a bucketful of water from it but the spring remained just as full as before. In 1917, when I returned to that place I found that somebody had chipped off the stone of the hillside and the water was gone.)

THE MENSTRUATING ROCK (First Version)¹⁰⁷

The point west of Sumner is called tla'ləwitsk. That is where Sxode turned a woman to stone. She was a wild woman; she was sxweyoqW. Xode killed her with a hammer. The same thing happened at Brown's Point, also at Yakima. Now there is much blood and water coming from that stone.

¹⁰⁵ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

¹⁰⁶ Narrated by Joe Young (Puyallup).

¹⁰⁷ Narrated by Jack Smo'xlb (Green River).

THE MENSTRUATING ROCK (Second Version)¹⁰⁸

The big split rock at the point of the hill west of Sumner is known as *tlá'lowúłks* (or *tlá'lowúłks*). There Transformer killed the ogress by splitting her head open with a stone hammer. She used to call and entice the passers-by, and then kill them. Transformer pretended to be deceived by her and then killed her.

It is a menstruating rock. There are five such rocks. One of them is in Lewis County.

THE BROTHERS KILLED BY A MONSTER (First Version)¹⁰⁹

In the ancient times a big beaver of the kind known as *Xwi ye'ldz* lived in the swamp (Kelly's Marsh, east of Sumner). It was his practice to kill the people and eat their hearts.

At last one of five brothers went to kill the monster. The monster killed him and ate his heart. The second brother went to kill the monster. He, too, was killed and his heart eaten. The third, also, met the same fate. The fourth was killed, but his heart was not taken out.

Then the fifth and youngest brother went and killed the monster beaver. Then he turned to the last brother who had been slain, and stepping over the body again and again brought the dead brother to life.

Then he said, "The generation of beings about to be brought on the earth shall be mortal. Of each family some shall die, but not all; some shall be left."

THE BROTHERS KILLED BY A MONSTER (Second Version)¹¹⁰

There were five brothers, hunters, who lived in the same house. They were all wealthy. The oldest said, "I shall go to seek a wife tomorrow."

Next morning he went to seek a wife. He traveled all day. There came a heavy rain. Near night the man saw a deer, but failed to kill it. The deer ran. There was much rain. He could hear some women singing, "*Ya' ya ya'*" There were ogresses. The man ran in that direction. "I shall get a woman," he thought, but it rained only the harder.

It became dark, while much rain fell. The man found a fir tree and under it a dry place to sleep. "I shall sleep here," he thought. He made a fire. He lay down.

Late at night he fell asleep. A voice called, "How are you? Do you sleep?" "Yes, I sleep," was the answer. Five times the voice called. Finally the man fell asleep. Then the monster came down the tree and killed him; then hid him behind logs. This happened also with the next three brothers.

The youngest brother cried, "All my brothers are dead!" He set out, as the others had. He heard a woman singing. It was the ogress. The young

¹⁰⁸ Narrated by James Goudy (Skagit-Puyallup).

¹⁰⁹ Related by John Simon (Upper Puyallup, Tuwakwabc).

¹¹⁰ Related by Jack Smo'xlá (Green River).

man laid down his quiver and covered it. The ogress came down the tree in the form of a bear and tried to kill the quiver. The young man kept shooting arrows from one side and killed the ogress. He brought his brothers to life.

One of the brothers said, "I have slept a long time." "Yes, you have slept; you were dead, killed by a bear." The first brother had been dead so long he could not stand. Nowadays it is not dangerous for people in heavy shadow, but only in the dead dry timber. Formerly the shadow would kill people. It used to be a woman, that shadow.

THE BROTHERS KILLED BY A MONSTER (Third Version)¹¹¹

There were five brothers of whom the four elder were wolves. The youngest was called Siso'bcid. There was news one evening of a feast at a distance and the oldest wolf brother prepared for a journey to that place. Early in the morning he set forth, taking with him a bow, arrows, and quiver.

He journeyed along and every bird he found he killed and hung upon a bush. Toward evening he heard a woman, as he thought, singing, so he went in search of her. He went along; he found Bluejay. He aimed and shot an arrow at Bluejay, but missed, and the bird flew away singing "Ka'tsa, ka'tsa, ka'tsa," in mockery.

Next the wolf brother found Deer standing in his path. He drew his bow and shot, but the arrow missed and Deer escaped. The wolf brother passed on. It was getting late now and night was settling on the land.

The wolf brother came to a place of shadow. "Here is a good place to camp for the night," he thought, "Here I shall be dry and rest safely." So he built himself a fire, having kindled it from his bundle of dry cedar bark. Then he lay down to rest.

Darkness soon had covered all the earth. Lying there, Wolf brother heard a voice from the shadow asking, "Are you still awake?" and to this he replied, "Yes, I am still awake." Again the voice asked, "Are you still awake?" and again he answered drowsily, "Yes, I am still awake." Again the voice asked and again the man answered still more drowsily. The fifth time the voice asked there was no reply. This time the man had fallen into a deep sleep.

Immediately the monster of the shade came down and slew the man. It cut out his heart and devoured it, then cast the body behind the tree where none could see, and ascended the tree again.

When the oldest wolf brother had set out he had said, "If I find a big celebration I shall be gone all day tomorrow." At the close of the morrow the oldest brother had not returned and the second oldest said, "If my elder brother has found a big celebration I shall go likewise." So he set out the next morning.

He traveled along. He found a bird hanging from a bush. "This is what my brother killed," he said. He did the same as the oldest brother. He heard a woman singing where his older brother had heard her the day before. "The

¹¹¹ Related by Susie (Lake Washington).

place where that singing is, is where I shall find my brother," he thought. "There are many people where that singing is."

The second wolf brother found Bluejay in the same place as the oldest, aimed and missed, and the bird flew away mocking. He found a deer, aimed, missed, and the deer ran away. This happened at the same place as on the former occasion.

Wolf brother came to a place of shadow. "This is a good place to camp," he thought. "Here is the fire my brother had." So the second wolf brother kindled a fire and lay down. The supernatural being of the shade called down to him, "Are you awake yet?" "Yes, I am still awake," he answered. So it went until the fifth time when there was no answer from the man. Then the supernatural being came down and cut out his heart and cast the body behind the tree.

The third wolf brother said, "My brothers are having a good time and I shall join them." So on the third morning he set out upon the journey. He found a bird in the same place his brothers had found one and he killed it. He hung it upon a tree. In the same place as his brothers he found a bluejay and a deer, and like his brothers he drew his bow, shot his arrow and missed.

Like them he found the place of the shadow. Like them he kindled a fire and lay down to sleep. The voice called and the brother answered till the fifth time, when the being came down the tree, cut out his heart, devoured it and cast the body away.

The fourth wolf brother said to Siso'bcid, the fifth and youngest, "My elder brothers are having a good time and they are among a great concourse of people. I shall set out to meet them tomorrow." So he set out and did as his older brothers, and came to the same end.

Then Siso'bcid, the fifth brother, made ready to set out on the same journey the fifth day. He got everything ready, his bow, arrows, and quiver. He went a little distance away from his quiver and called to it. The quiver did not answer as it should; it was not modeled right. So he worked upon the quiver to make it talk more plainly, and put it back in its place. Then he went off a little distance and talked. This time the quiver answered properly and the man said, "You are perfected now."

Next morning he started out upon a journey to find his brothers. On the way he found hanging in the tree the birds which his elder brothers had killed. The one first killed was now half decayed. He went on. He killed no birds. He went on till he found a bluejay. He killed it. He went on and found a deer. He killed it. He came up to the shadow place. He addressed his brothers thus:

tiLa'xwsol, tul dzegwa
 ——— (?) from the monster.

He kindled a fire in the same place as his elder brothers had kindled it. He laid the quiver down by the fire, then went on the other side of the tree and stood watching for the monster. The spirit of the shadow called, "Are

you awake yet?" The quiver answered, "Yes." The fifth time there was no answer and the spirit thought, "He is asleep." Then the shadow came down to kill this man as he had the others. He went to the quiver and attempted to cut him open, as he had cut the others, but Siso'bcid shot him with his arrows and killed him.

Siso'bcid then took the dead bodies of his four elder brothers and laid them side by side a half step apart. He cut open the shadow, took out the hearts it had eaten, and placed them back in the bodies of his brothers. In the body of the brother next older than himself he first placed the heart, then stepped over the body five times and the brother rose. To the next elder brother he did the same and the same with the next. But the eldest he could not raise because the heart was now rotten. Many times Siso'bcid tried to raise him, but the oldest brother could move only a little. Siso'bcid gave up the attempt because the heart was rotten.

He said, "The generation of human beings is coming soon." The oldest is now the first to die.

He cut up the cəba'lop¹¹² and threw the pieces in all directions. He said, "There will be no shadow-monster. Where there is shade, it will be a good place to camp, now that people are coming into existence."

THE SUCKING MONSTER (First Version)¹¹³

Siso'bcid went on with his three living brothers. They killed many deer. When they had killed two or three, Siso'bcid would hold them till they became small and easy for his brothers to carry, and thus they would bring them to camp without great effort.

The brothers went on till they found an old man sitting. He was a monster of the kind that would draw to him and eat anything that came by, bird, beast, or anything. Siso'bcid recognized the monster before they had come near him. This monster was named Batks. He was of the kind that is called so'totsid; the kind that would draw anyone to him in spite of one's self.

Siso'bcid and his elder brothers came to where Batks was sitting. Batks thus addressed them, "I am full now, but I shall eat you tomorrow." The brothers camped at this place until next day. The next morning, Batks was hungry. Siso'bcid said to him, "We have plenty of meat for your breakfast, which you may eat to appease your hunger." Having thrown down the game Siso'bcid made the carcasses big again and very fat. He cooked the meat and gave meat and soup to Batks, who ate it all.

The monster said to Siso'bcid, "I shall eat you today, sometime when I am again hungry." Batks was full and sleepy. He said, "I had better sleep awhile. There are plenty of lice on my head; you had better look for them." Batks fell

¹¹² The site of Old Tacoma is cəba'lep, Shadow Monster. It is probable that this myth was localized there.

¹¹³ Related by Jack Stillman (Snuqualmi) and Susie (Lake Washington).

asleep. Siso'bcid sat down and looked for lice on his head. He addressed his brothers, "Go on! Don't stop! Run as hard as you can."

Siso'bcid stayed; his brothers were gone. Soon they had passed four rivers. He arose. He said, "What shall I do now? I shall make a little dog." He made a dog and told him to look for lice. The dog looked for lice. Siso'bcid said, "You are perfected now."

He was now about to follow his brothers. He had five arrows. In five directions he shot them. He told the dog, "If Batks wakens and asks where we have gone, bark in this direction the first time." The monster soon awakened, and asked where the brothers were. The dog barked in the direction pointed out. Then Batks drew everything from the direction indicated until he drew in the arrow and found that Siso'bcid had not gone that way.

Batks again asked of the dog where the men had gone. The dog barked in another direction. Batks drew in everything from that direction until he drew in the arrow and found that Siso'bcid had not gone that way. Thus did Batks until the fifth time. The fifth time, after he had gotten four arrows, Batks drew in from the direction in which Siso'bcid had gone.

First he drew in the dog. Siso'bcid had told the dog, "If Batks draws you in, eat out his heart." So after Batks had drawn in four arrows, he drew in the dog. The dog began eating the monster's heart.

Batks was now drawing the brothers. Siso'bcid now asked his brothers, "Have you a supernatural helper?" Each answered. The oldest told what his helper was. His was the snow. Batks drew in the snow. He asked of the second brother what his power was. "The supernatural helper of our elder brother was worthless," he said, "The monster sucked it in." "The sand is mine," said the second brother. Batks drew in the sand, but the dog was still eating at his heart. Siso'bcid asked the third brother what was his power. "Mine is the dry brush," said he. This also was drawn into the maw of the monster. By this time the monster was getting weak.

Now Siso'bcid called on his power. His was the down of the cottonwood tree. All this down was sucked in by the monster. By this time the dog had eaten all the heart and the monster was dead.

Then Siso'bcid and his brothers went back to the monster. They opened the monster and got out the dog. It ran about. They cut up the monster and threw the pieces in all directions, throwing the head to the north.

To the monster they said, "The generation of people is coming and there shall be no monsters; the people will kill them." So the monster was destroyed.¹¹⁴

THE SUCKING MONSTER (Second Version)¹¹⁵

Wildcat had four brothers, two of them wolves and two of them cougars. They were famous hunters and would bring deer, bear and all manner of game

¹¹⁴ There is a third story about the five brothers but we do not remember it (Susie and interpreter).

¹¹⁵ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

home to camp. Wildcat, their little brother, was not their equal in the hunt, and they were accustomed to leave him at camp to keep the pot a-boiling. So he was always cooling and eating the savory venison and bear meat.

Upon leaving camp his brothers, the wolves and cougars, would caution him, "Stay at camp and do not let the fire go out." On one of these occasions, however, Wildcat became forgetful of his brother's instructions, and while his attention was directed elsewhere, the juice of the meat kept boiling over and spilling upon the fire till the embers were utterly quenched.

Now across the valley there lived a monster, Batks by name. Batks would kill anyone who ventured near him and the brothers were all fearful of him. At this time the old man was sleeping, with his back to the fire. Wildcat thought, "There is my chance; I will take an ember from that fire while Batks is sleeping." So he made his way to the camp of the old man, and while the old man seemed to sleep he took the fire and made his way back to camp.

By this time his brothers had returned from the hunt. Wildcat told them, "Brothers, while the meat was cooking the juice boiled over and quenched the embers. Nevertheless, I have snatched a coal from the fire of our neighbor and he did not know it." "Oh! Be sure he did know it," said the brothers. "We shall fall into misfortune."

Hardly had they composed themselves when Batks, himself, appeared. "My grandson came and invited me to your camp," he said. Much as they feared him, the brothers made the best of it and offered the old man food. They fed him, and they fed him and they fed him. He ate and ate and ate. He ate all the meat in the basket and then he drank all the juice. Then he said, "Well, my grandchildren, I am going to sleep. When I wake up I will eat some more." And he went to sleep.

As soon as the old man had gone to sleep, Wildcat and his brothers left camp and did not stop till they reached a hill. Then they took counsel among themselves. "He will merely draw in his breath and draw us toward him whether we will or not, for whatever he will he draws to him and it is destroyed." The elder brothers, the wolves and cougars each named his helper. "That is my helper," each one said. "With this I shall save myself." Thus all the brothers spoke. At last they said to the youngest, "What is your supernatural power?" "Oh! I have none," he at first replied, diffidently. "Have you no power?" "The cotton that blows from the cottonwood and willow in seed time is my power. That is the only thing that I have received."

Now the old man drew in his breath. He drew in and drew in. The wolves and cougars could not withstand his power. As they were about to lose their hold, the little one called upon the cottonwood down and willow down for help. When Batks continued drawing in, the down filled his nostrils and his lungs, like a storm of snow and he burst open.

Then the five older brothers said to Wildcat, "We are going to leave you. We shall hunt and feed upon the deer and larger game. If a portion of the carcass is left you may consume it. At other times you shall follow up the creeks and feed upon the salmon." After saying this they became wild.

TRANSFORMER AND THE MOUNTAIN (First Version)¹¹⁶

Long ago T'qobəd was a person. She always knew when anyone was traveling near and used to suck in her breath and devour such a one. She drew in cougars and all kinds of animals.

Xode found out about it. He thought, "It will be bad if she keeps on devouring people in the future age; it will not do for her to eat people. I shall kill her and turn her to harmless rock." Xode made three ropes.

He crept up to the mountain (and fastened himself with the three ropes). He tied one (to a tree) to the right of him, one to his left and one straight behind him. He sat up so that T'qobəd could see him.

T'qobəd said, "Oh, a man is sitting there. He must be the zəgwə stəb (Transformer)." She asked, "What do you want?" Xode said, "Oh, I am coming to draw breath (with you and see which is the stronger). But first let us vomit and see what each one of us ate."

T'qobəd said, "[Very well], I shall vomit first, you afterwards." Xode said, "Very well, we shall have our eyes closed. When we are through we shall both open our eyes and see what each one has eaten and thrown up."

T'qobəd vomited first. She threw up the bones of the people she had eaten, nothing but bones. Xode drew the bones toward his side. Xode vomited a handful of the red seed pods of the little wild rose and shoved it toward T'qobəd. "Now open your eyes and you will see," said Xode. T'qobəd opened her eyes. "When was I eating these things?" she wondered. "Oh, that man is a zəgwə (ogre)."

"Now we shall draw each other; get ready. I shall be the first to draw," said Xode. Xode drew; he raised T'qobəd a little from the ground.

T'qobəd drew. One of Xode's ropes broke.

Xode drew a second time. He raised T'qobəd a little higher this time. She was frightened.

T'qobəd drew a second time. Another rope broke. Xode had only one rope left.

Xode drew a third time. He raised T'qobəd still higher than before.

T'qobəd drew a third and last time. She drew and drew him inside and smothered him. Xode was inside the mountain among the cougars. He said, "Get away; give me room to start a fire." Xode got his fire drill ready and made a fire.

When the fire got good and hot the grease began to drip and drip. As the grease dripped on the fire it got warm and smoky inside. As the fire grew hotter the ogress began to squirm about and ache. After a time she ceased to move. Xode thought, "She is dead now." Then he walked out and looked at her. "She is dead."

[Xode pronounced judgment], "You shall not do thus any more. You shall not suck the people in. You shall be a [mere] rock. There shall be water running out from you; there shall be water inside you. People shall step over your legs and you shall not molest them."

¹¹⁶ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

TRANSFORMER AND THE MOUNTAIN (Second Version)¹¹⁷

T'qobid was a woman in the ancient time. She was bad; she ate people. Her feet were everywhere. She killed one, two, three. She ate Grizzly, everything.

Xode thought, "It is not good for the mountain to eat people, not good for the later people. I'll kill her." He killed her.

Xode crept up; the mountain did not see him. Now he is near. He fastened three ropes to his body and tied them to three trees behind him. He wanted to learn if that mountain were stronger than he. T'qobid saw him. She asked, "What do you come for?" Xode answered, "I came for you; who is the stronger, you or I?" The mountain said, "What do you want to do?" Xode said, "To learn who is the stronger, let me see what you eat." The mountain said, "Very well." Xode said, "You vomit first." The mountain said, "Very well." The mountain belched, and out came the bones of Indians. Xode raked in the bones. Xode vomited berries and pushed them towards the mountain, saying, "See my food."

The mountain saw the red berries and thought, "Where did I eat them? I do not know what those berries are. That Indian is strong." Afterwards she said, "Now! sototogwəla'xtcił (let us begin to draw our breath)." Xode said, "I first." He drew. The mountain was afraid; she rose up. The mountain drew and Xode rose. He broke one rope, only two were left.

Xode said, "Well, I shall do the same as you." He drew a second time. The mountain rose straight up. The mountain drew and Xode rose up. He broke another rope. Only one rope was now left.

Well! Xode drew a third time. Then the mountain drew a third time. Xode broke the last rope and was drawn inside the mountain. He found bear and other animals inside of the mountain. He said to them, "Go away, I shall kindle a fire." He kindled a fire and caused much smoke and a great heat so as to melt all the fat from her body. She shuddered. Now she is dead. Xode got out. Then he pronounced judgment upon her.

"Well! In the future you shall be harmless rock. You shall not eat people. People will walk upon you and you shall not eat them."

THE FIVE BROTHERS AND THE BEAVER (First Version)¹¹⁸

At the end of Kelly's Swamp, east of Sumner, known as kwə'xtci there lived a beaver. He was a king-beaver, but not of the kind known as zaḡwə.

Some brothers were discussing among themselves what should be done. No one had been able to kill the beaver. One of the brothers, who was named Xwia'tcap, said, "I can kill the beaver." "No, he will kill you," said his brothers.

However, Xwia'tcap made himself a spear pointed with elk-horn, with a cord of elk-hide attached to the shaft. Coming within range of the beaver, Xwia'tcap secured the free end of the thong to a sapling and cast the spear straight at the beaver.

¹¹⁷ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

¹¹⁸ Related by John Simon (Upper Puyallup).

As soon as the spear was thrown the hunter ran. The tree held the beaver impaled by the spear. Struggle and bite as he might, the beaver was not able to free himself nor to injure the man. Finally Xwia'tcap called his brothers and they quickly killed the beaver.

THE FIVE BROTHERS AND THE BEAVER (Second Version)¹¹⁹

There is a big rock on the right bank of the Duwamish. The name of that rock is "Beaver House." There is a story about that.¹²⁰

Five brothers lived in one house together. The eldest brother heard about the monster beaver that used to live in the swamp. He wanted to kill and eat that beaver. He went out to kill the beaver. He came home at night, tired out. The big beaver had almost killed him.

The youngest brother slept all the time, day and night. The elder brothers said to him, "Get up and help us." The youngest brother replied, "I cannot do anything," and went back to sleep.

The youngest brother was dreaming of Thunder. Thunder said to him, "I and you will kill Big Beaver." The boy was getting power from Thunder, while asleep.

The elder brother went out and fought, but again Big Beaver nearly killed him. This was the fourth time.

On the fifth time the youngest brother said, "Do not go. I am getting ready, prepare my weapons." He had power from Thunder. It was getting near noon. He said to his elder brothers, "Stand there and watch him."

Thunder came down. That lightning broke the rock in two. Big Beaver got out. The elder brothers ran away.

HOW DATCAP KILLED THE BEAR¹²¹

Some men were saying, "Who is strong enough to kill the bear?"

One of them, DA'tcap by name, said, "I am stronger than any of you. I can kill him." Thereupon they searched for the bear's sleeping place. They found him under a log.

"Here he is; let's get him out," they said. The bear began to creep out.

DA'tcap had brought a stone with him. Seizing the bear by the ear, DA'tcap struck him five times with the stone and killed him.

MINK AND HIS GRANDMOTHER (First Version)¹²²

Mink said to his grandmother, "I want to go and fish." He went fishing. Other fishermen got a great many fish. He made a slrdo'p. Mink said, "Grand-

¹¹⁹ Narrated by Dan Silelus (Lake Washington).

¹²⁰ A rocky knoll on the right bank of the Duwamish, east of the interurban railway bridge is called by other informants, skia'kw, which is said to mean "Beaver House." Dan calls this place t'pa'ltXW; cf. the name of the grandmother of Moon.

¹²¹ Related by John Simon (Upper Puyallup).

¹²² Related by Jack Smohalla (Green River).

mother, I want your *tsowil* to put on the hook." Mink's grandmother cut and gave it to Mink. He put it on the hook. He fished and caught one fish.

Mink went home and took the fish to his grandmother. "Take the fish." She took one fish. "Why are you so slow?" (she said). "I have many fish in the boat but they will steal them."

Mink rubbed and many fish came. He had lied to her. He said, "You are very slow; I am losing many fish."

MINK AND HIS GRANDMOTHER (Second Version)¹²³

The people were trolling for Dolly Vardens (*p'A'satc*); everyone was getting fish. There were two men in one canoe. Each time Mink met them he asked, "What kind of bait?" No answer. Finally the man in the bow said in derision, "*titsowila'lotc titsowila'lotc*," and nothing more. Mink went straight home.

Mink asked his grandmother, "Cut a little piece for bait; everyone is having luck with it."

As Mink started out everyone was going home. He went in their place counting on luck. "If I were a whale I should draw in air, swallow canoe and all," he sang. A whale came up each time he sang. It drew near. It drew in Mink, canoe and all.

Mink was inside the whale. While inside the whale Mink thought, "I did wrong asking Whale to take me." His canoe had a broken bow; it was called *tsəbA'lks*, "broken bow." The canoe was the kind we call *sdəA'kwil*. Mink said, "I know I shall get out." He took some slivers from the broken bow and drilled for fire. After the fire started he went to the stern and crept under it to escape from the smoke. Mink got his whale. The whale moves, moves, moves, stops. Mink knows it is dead.

Mink held his ear against the wall. Soon he heard someone knocking. He listened; he understood; someone was working. Mink sang,

tul tcaa-' tul tcaa-' tulatctcaid
From whence the sound?
tula'tcigwA'dtciɪ atɪ kwa'dic kwa'dic
I am sounding from inside the whale.

The old man was building a canoe. The fifth time Mink sang, the old man, listening, saw a big whale. He ran home to report. They got a man skilled in butchering. He cut a hole in the whale large enough for one person. He asked anyone present to try the hole to see if it were large enough. A big woman in the crowd said, "I'll try." She went in. Mink reached his hand up to seize her. The woman retreated. She said, "You have a man in there."

Mink said, "What's the matter? Can't you let my game be? That's my outfit; my canoe and fishing utensils are in there."

Mink told his grandmother he had caught a whale with the bait she had given him.

¹²³ Narrated by Joe Young (Puyallup).

MINK TRAPS A MONSTER (First Version)¹²⁴

Mink and his brother were camping by a creek just before the break of spring in late February, at the time the salmon were going back down stream after laying their eggs.

Mink made a trap of cedar limbs rounding at the top, the small end down stream and the open portion up stream. Mink's brother thought, "Mink has made this trap for trout." He did not know that Mink had made it for something else. Night came and they slept. Next morning Mink called his brother, "Wake up, go and see the trap; it might have a salmon." The boy went down to see. He saw a trout in the trap. He hallooed, "Come down, we have a trout in the trap." Mink went down. When he got down, he told his little brother, "You are calling me for nothing; that trout is nothing, not worth hallooing for." So Mink untied the end of the trap and let the trout go.

Next night they slept. On the third morning Mink said to the boy, "Go down and see the trap." The boy went down and hallooed, "Come down! There is something in the trap." Mink went down. He saw he had caught a land otter. Mink killed the land otter for he wanted it. He took it to camp and flayed the carcass. When Mink was through flaying it, he put sticks inside the pelt, stretched it, and put it away high up in the house. Mink called the land otter his nephew. The land otter had been floating downstream looking for supernatural power and had got caught in the trap. At noon Mink heard people say, "Young Land Otter has been lost." Then he started crying. When crying he said, "Probably my nephew got caught in a trap." But Mink himself was the only one who had a trap.

On the fourth night they slept. In the morning Mink woke his little brother. "Go down and see the trap," he said, "we may have something in that trap." Mink's brother found something in the trap, a big tyee salmon. When Mink came down he said, "That is nothing to halloo about; untie the trap and let him go."

The fifth night passed and in the morning as before Mink's brother went down to see the trap. He shouted. "We've got something." When Mink came they had something, sure enough. Mink's brother was all twisted up and about to die. Mink saw the monster caught in the trap. They had caught aia'xos, one of the strongest of the supernatural powers. The aia'xos is a monster having the head and forequarters of a deer and the body of a snake; it is the most powerful living thing.

Mink stepped back and forth over the prostrate form of his brother and sang,

otla'tcid bes salwa't tisu'suqwa

I am just as powerful as anyone, my little brother.

Mink truly was just as powerful as any of them. When his brother became strong, Mink killed the aia'xos.

Mink had camped there because he had heard that all kinds of salmon go

¹²⁴ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

down the creek in the early spring. He had made the trap in order to find supernatural power.

People learned that Mink had trapped young Land Otter. When this became known Mink took flight and went to hide in the swamp with his sisters, the frogs. People lost sight of him and could not find which way he had gone. Later they found he had gone to his sisters, the frogs. Land Otter set his people to watch for Mink, "Kill him when he comes out." Mink heard their plan and sent word, "I am not afraid; I shall come ashore some day." By one man he sent word, "Tell Land Otter I am going ashore tomorrow. I do not care if I am killed, but I am going ashore tomorrow."

As Mink was about to go ashore, his sisters, the frogs were crying, "Do not go ashore, you will be killed. Stay in the boat." "No, I am going ashore. All I ask you to do is to put pitch all over my body." So when Mink started for shore he started to dance and sing,

hóləle' kwisupa'l səlɣwa'
 hóləle' kwisupa'l səlɣwa'
 They are blaming someone else.

Mink tried by singing this song to bring it about that they really would blame somebody else.

All Mink's sisters, the frogs, sang with him. They made a big noise, as they do now. They sang,

wəxe'e' wəxe'e'

In the early springtime now it is customary for us to say, Mink is coming ashore. We call the month of February waq waq o's, Frog's face.

Mink jumped ashore from the boat and went into the house of the land-otter people. The pitch on him caught fire when he passed the fire. The people inside cried, "Oh, he is a great man. It is no use trying to kill him." So they jumped out and ran away, and some of them were turned to birds.

MINK TRAPS A MONSTER (Second Version)¹²⁵

Mink heard of Slowat, a great man, a monster. Mink started, he and his younger brother, Lɛ'tcəb. They came to a place and camped over night. Mink made a trap for salmon going down stream. The name of that trap is sXwɛ'əp. In the morning Mink sent his brother to look into the trap. On the fifth morning his brother found a monster in the trap. It was Aia'Xos. When Mink's brother saw it, he got all twisted up.

Mink thought, "I had better go and see what has happened to my brother." He went and found his brother all twisted up. Mink said, "What are you doing here?" Lɛ'tcəb could say nothing. Mink said, "What is wrong with you, that you should get like that? I am an aia'Xos too."

¹²⁵ Told by Jonah Jack (Puyallup).

Mink doctored and sang:

kwapo'tsutwəti tla'lcid aia'Xos.
Get straight; I am aia'Xos.

They took Aia'Xos and killed it. They went on. Mink said to his brother, "You had better get under the sand. See if I can hit you spearing a flounder." Mink's brother got under the sand. Mink speared him. Mink got him out almost dead. Mink cried:

zaa·q zaa·q sko'pkopats
Fall, fall! hemlocks
oa'təbəd tɪsɪa'b tso'so'kwa
Died, my dear little brother!

They went on. Mink tried different tricks by which he might get Slowat. He would put pitch on himself and dance by the fire till the pitch burned out.

They kept on a few nights [day's journey] till they landed. They had a few dry clams. Mink left his brother under a canoe with five clams to eat. "I shall go and see if Slowat is about," he said.

Mink came to Slowat in the house. They practised. Slowat asked, "What do you eat?" Mink said, "Oh, I am as great as you are. I eat almost anything." Slowat said, "Let us dance." They built a big fire and danced about. Mink grappled with Slowat and sang:

tla'lcid stɪlwat
I am stɪlwat.

Mink got Slowat on the fire and Slowat burned to death. Mink went back and found his brother dead.

MINK KILLS SLOWAT¹²⁶

Slo'wat was a chief who lived back up the Snoqualmie River at a place called XeXo'lgwad. He possessed much wealth, many articles of metal; even his hat and other garments were of metal, shining like the sun.

The people down the river here wished and longed to get the articles of shining metal away from him. So they made up a party and went to the house of Slo'wat with the purpose of killing him and getting the shining metal. The party arrived and demanded admittance. The door closed and pinched off the head, leaving the body outside. Slo'wat picked up the head and hung it up within the house. Thus the door did the work and Slo'wat merely picked up the heads until all were killed.

Another group set out to attack Slo'wat and met with a like fate. Another group also was destroyed in like manner, and another and another until five war parties perished.

¹²⁶ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

Finally Mink heard of Slo'wat and how he was killing all who went against him. Then Mink talking to himself said, "I shall go to see Slo'wat." Making ready his canoe, Mink said to his brother, "We shall get ready and go to see Slo'wat." So Mink got the canoe ready and they started up the river. They landed and drew the canoe up on the bank. Then Mink gave the word to his brother, "Stay here until I return." He placed the canoe over him for shelter. Mink gave him one clam for food and left him.

Mink journeyed up the river till he came to a village. Of them he asked, "How far is it to Slo'wat now?" The people did not answer. Mink went on. Of the next village he asked the same question and they replied, "What do you wish to see Slo'wat for?" Mink went on. He was getting close to Slo'wat now. He saw some pitch. Said he, "Pitch is my grandmother. I shall wear you for my dress."

Mink went on again with the pitch on him. He got to the house of Slo'wat. He looked at the door and at the pile of heads on the shelves high above. He watched the door. The door opened. He made a spring and alighted within the house. Crying, "Why did you come in?", Slo'wat seized him. Slo'wat tried to force Mink out from the house, but Mink kept working toward the fire. Mink caught fire; Slo'wat also caught fire. Mink kept repeating within himself, "I am Slo'wat, myself. I am Slo'wat, myself." This he repeated and held Slo'wat until he died.

Mink took all the articles of shining metal, which had belonged to Slo'wat, loaded them upon his back and started for home. All the tribes along the river heard that he had killed Slo'wat. Going to the riverside to get his canoe, he found his brother dead. "I left sufficient food for you, my brother," he said.

FROG WOMAN AND HER HUSBAND¹²⁷

Frog Woman heard about two good men who were hunters. She picked the best man for her husband. She stayed at home all the time. She missed her husband; she wished for him.

She became pregnant. She fell sick. She went to the lake where her mother was. She left her baby in the lake; she hid it with her mother.

The man went out hunting. He was near the lake. In the lake the baby called, "Papa!" It did this four times. The man fed the baby deer gristle. Then he knew the child for his own.

The man went home feeling sad. He dried meat. He talked to his wife. He said, "Why did you take the child to the water and not keep it at home? It is hungry." The wife did not answer; she would never talk. She just sat down. Another woman asked her, "Why do you not talk?" But she would not talk; she just sat still.

¹²⁷ Narrated by Ann Jack (Green River).

At last she leaped and sang:

to'Xod si a'd ad to'Xodsia'dad
 to'X tcid is e's tã to'Xtcidise'stã
 I am just the same; I am just the same.
 I am just that way; I am just that way.

The woman went to the lake and became a frog. Now she talks half the year.

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (First Version)¹²⁸

Pheasant had a family of five children. Wildcat was a hunter. He wished to marry Pheasant's daughter but she did not like him. The daughter went out for cranberries. She began to sing, mockingly, about Wildcat. She went to pick the berries, leaving Wildcat at the house.

Wildcat missed Pheasant Woman, and wondered, "Where is she?" He went out and sought her. He found her in the bushes picking berries. Wildcat heard her singing and calling him names. He grew angry and went home for bow and arrow. He shot Pheasant Woman and she went home wounded.

Arrived home, she called her children out. "Bring out my hat," she said. Her father brought the hat. "It is not the one I want," she said. She died. The father desired to go with her to the World of the Dead. He put the children in a basket and carried them on his back. Thus he moved out. Then he went with her.

His daughter closed her eyes. Pheasant thought, "I shall do the same thing and go with my daughter." So he did. When he opened his eyes he kept within the right trail on the journey to the spirit land.

They kept going. They arrived at the river. They heard noises, sounds of life, on the other side. The woman told him to shout. He shouted but no answer came from the other side. Pheasant kept shouting until he became weary. He was shouting for a canoe as was the custom when a traveler came to a river with people on the opposite side. But nobody seemed to hear him. His daughter then shouted. Then they could see people coming out of the houses for them. The people came with canoe and ferried them across to the village of the dead.

The dead people ferried the Pheasant people across. They made their home in the village and Pheasant married there, becoming one of the group. When the old man opened his eyes he would step upon the dead people, but if he remembered and kept his eyes closed he would see the people and not offend by jostling them. By reason of this annoyance the people grew to dislike his presence there and wish him away.

So at last the daughter said to her father, "You had best go back now to your former home, for here you harm many of the people." Said Old Man Pheasant, "Very well, I will go back and take the young of our family with me." So he put the young pheasants into his basket and took them over with him.

¹²⁸ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

On the way home Old Man Pheasant tripped and fell. The young pheasants spilled from the basket and scattered. He caught but one; the remaining four went back to their mother.

He arrived home. He had with him one young one only. The remaining ones went back to the village of the dead. If Old Man Pheasant had brought all the children back, we should now have many pheasants with us.

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (Second Version)¹²⁹

The daughter of Pheasant died and he grieved, "Wherever you go, my daughter, I shall make my journey thither." So he began to go with her to the land of the dead. "If you come," said she, "close your eyes, then you will find the way. If your eyes are open you will not see." So Pheasant closed his eyes and he could see his way clearly, but whenever he opened them he would lose the road. Finally, below the earth, they reached the land of the dead (*sdia' bats*). At a distance they saw the village but before them was a stream. Pheasant shouted to the people of the village to come with the boat to fetch them across. But he was of the living people and they were of the dead, so his cry did not reach their ears. But his daughter gaped (as the dead will), and the dead heard and came with the boat. As they stepped into the boat, Pheasant forgot himself and opened his eyes. Then the dead people became nothing but bones, which he stepped upon unwittingly. They threw him out of the boat. In the village, too, he failed to see the dead, so that he jostled the people and trampled them. So much was this to their displeasure that they sent him back to earth.

Pheasant did not return permanently, however, for at a certain season of the year, he is missing. He then goes on his yearly visit to the dead.

There is another similar story about owl and his wife, but I do not remember it.

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (Third Version)¹³⁰

Wildcat wanted Pheasant's daughter for a wife. He came to her house to visit her. As he sat by the fire his skin grew red and became offensive to her. She did not like Wildcat and did not want him for a husband.

The father of Pheasant was *Spetxs* (the man who would not wash his face). Pheasant (*sgwa'lob*) had many children.

Pheasant's daughter went out to pick crab-apples as she had always done. She sang:

kwalkwala'btciɔp pətca'b

acXe'boctɔ pətcaɔ

Wildcat sits by the fire and cooks his skin, Wildcat. . . .

¹²⁹ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

¹³⁰ Narrated by Ann Jack (Green River).

Wildcat drew his bow and shot Pheasant's daughter. He came to the house and said to the children, "Children, you are wasting the crab-apples." "Why?"

Pheasant's daughter came home to die, but she was getting better. She told the children, "Give me my basket. If he shoots my crop, (yele'pas), then I shall die."

Pheasant's daughter had five hearts [hats?]. She told the children, "Bring me another heart." The children brought one. "Oh, I want my new one; this heart is old," she said. But the children had brought the old heart and she died.

She said to her father, "Sleep and follow me." At the lake she said to him, "Sleep and you shall see the people come." She became angry and said, "Do not step on the people."

In the place where the dead people were there was much activity and celebration. The dead people swung, gambled with bones, and amused themselves in other ways.

Spetxs was the father of Pheasant [woman]. Stumbling, he stepped on and killed many children. The dead people had to take him across the lake to his home.

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (Fourth Version)²⁸¹

Pheasant had five children. He did not want Wildcat for a son-in-law.

Pheasant Child was eating crab apples. Wildcat said, "Do not laugh, your mother has many —, you will break the trees." She was singing. Wildcat wondered, "What is that she is saying?" She was singing,

kwilkwila'btciδōbdab pətca'b

Wildcat understood. He said, "What are you saying?" "Oh, that your skin is rotten," she answered. "I'll shoot you," he said, but he did not shoot. "Shoot my crop," she said. Wildcat shot her heart; he shot her basket. She was dead, seemingly.

Young Pheasant recovered her breath and went home. "Where is my heart? Oh, I want my heart, my newest heart." They brought five hearts. Her child brought an old heart. She died.

She went to the land of the dead and called. They laughed. The old man came and called; they laughed. She called again and they knew. They came and got her.

She said to her father, "Close your eyes and see the people."

The old man got dry wood for fire. It was no good; it was wet. The dead people told the old man to go from their country. That is the reason Pheasant does not die.

One man whom I know was afraid to eat pheasant. He did not want to go to the land of the dead.

²⁸¹ Narrated by Ann Jack (Green River).

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (Fifth Version)¹²²

Transformer (Xode) was father of Pheasant (sgwalob). Pheasant was in the crab-apple tree, singing:

kwalkwala'btciðəb dase'yəptcab
altsigtsud to'los gwa'des

Wildcat was near. She was singing to taunt him about his red skin. He said, "I will kill you!" Pheasant said, "If you hit me in the crop, quickly I will die." Wildcat shot her. She went home.

When she got home she sang for magic power. She sang:

we o'tlək tçetslə'yəcið we'wepa'l
opatso,tcið wusXe'leltc
Give me my cap. I am trying to get up.

Pheasant's child brought her the new cap. Pheasant said, "No, I do not want that; I want the new one." The children then brought the old cap and asked, "Is that the new one?" Pheasant answered, "Yes, that is the new one." She put the old cap on her head; then she died.

Pheasant went to the ghost land (skaiu). Soon after, Xode followed. They conversed, "Father, have you come?" "Yes, I wished to see you." "Well, if you go home bring back two children with you. There are no children here now."

Xode went back. He brought two children. Pheasant had said, "If the children laugh while on your back, do not say, 'Stop'." Xode was bringing them. They laughed. He said, "Oh, stop!" The children became nothing. Five times this happened. He then said, "Only one, I shall take one." He took one to the house. "Well, that is good," said he, "if I take one at a time." For the future people it shall not be well to have two children at one time. There shall be one child each time."¹²³

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (Sixth Version)¹²⁴

Owl lost his wife by death. He followed her to the land of the dead. His wife gaped and called the ferryman. If one gapes, he is said to be calling the dead. (That is, if he gapes after nightfall.) In the land of the dead one can see people if his eyes are closed. Day below is night above. The owl is below at night when it is daylight in the graves. When the Indian doctor closes his eyes he can see into the spirit world beyond. The dead waken at night. Owl found out all these things.

¹²² Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup) in Chinook jargon.

¹²³ Twins were thought to be monstrosities. There is some evidence to show that it was at one time customary to put twins to death.

¹²⁴ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

PHEASANT GOES TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD (Seventh Version)¹³⁵

Groundsparrow (spetsXW) was the grandfather of five children. His daughter, Pheasant (sgwa'lob), was their mother.

Bobcat (pətca'b) lived with his old, old grandfather in the next house. He took a liking for the widow. He did not win her favor, for he was ugly, dirty-faced and lean. One day he made himself big with moss; he wrapped moss about his legs in order that he might appear to be fat.

It was autumn. Every day Pheasant used to be off picking crabapples. Wildcat knew she went away. He thought, "I shall find out what she is doing." He trailed her. He drew near and caught her singing. She sang:

tuXe'bosib pətca'b pətca'b Alksəxwa's
 Makes an ugly face Wildcat, Wildcat, at his place.
 kwulkwala'btciɔɔbaXW pətca'b pətca'b Alksəxwa's
 Sits so close to the fire he gets burnt Wildcat, Wildcat, at his place.

Wildcat planned to shoot Pheasant. He said, "I'm going to shoot you." She said, "Shoot away." Wildcat shot. Pheasant dodged twice each way. When Wildcat had shot four times, Pheasant said, "What makes you miss me so? Hit me in the crop and you'll get me." The fifth time Wildcat shot, he shot her through the crop.

Wildcat pulled the arrow out and went home. When he arrived at home the children of Pheasant were playing, throwing crabapples about. Wildcat advised them to save food as their mother might die or get hurt.

Pheasant revived and came home at nightfall. She asked for her best yelepas'. That was a food basket, sometimes used for a hat, such as the Yakima people wear. People used to prepare food by pounding it up in a yelepas. Pheasant had five of them. The children brought her a very new one. She said, "I want the good one." They gave her the next best and the next, until they got the one used every day. It was worn through. "That is the best one," Pheasant said. She put it on her head. That is how she died.

As Pheasant was dying she sang:

a'tL tcitsLi a'ciɔ yelepas
 Bring-ye, children, [my] hat;
 owo'Xtciɔ txul ela'bats
 I go to the Unknown (Unseen).

Groundsparrow said, "If [not recorded] I shall follow my daughter." He loaded the young in a basket and started with his eyes shut. He traveled with his eyes shut, trailing his daughter. On the way the little ones slipped away, one by one. They did not wish to go to the land of the dead.

The old man caught up with his daughter. They arrived at the bank of the river. The old man, keeping his eyes shut, saw people on the other side having a good time, playing the old Indian games. The daughter said, "You

¹³⁵ Related by Annie Jack (Green River), daughter of Ann Jack from whom earlier versions were obtained.

yell." He yelled the best he could. The daughter said, "If you don't yell, I'll kill you." The old man called out five times:

to'lecubs tɪ,ai
Bring the canoe across.

He could get no answer. The daughter yelled as one gapes for sleep. Two young people came over in a canoe. Groundsparrow opened his eyes and said, "There is nothing but bones in the canoe." Pheasant said, "Shut your eyes or I'll kill you." Groundsparrow shut his eyes and saw two nice looking young people. The two young people took them across.

On the other side Groundsparrow opened his eyes; he saw nothing but bones. "Shut your eyes or I'll kill you," said his daughter. He was four days with the dead. Meantime he used to steal a sight with his eyes open. He saw that they were dead. He used to walk over the dead people, trampling upon their bones.

The dead people found fault with Groundsparrow and took him back across in the canoe. When he landed that was the end of the journey.

*Note on the Pheasant Myth*¹³⁶

Pheasant's daughter is blind in one eye. She looks with her blind eye, talking to the spirits. An Indian never eats the head of a pheasant because half of it is dead. When she looks to the right she is talking to the living. The head was ske'yə' (ghostly).

One was held a prisoner on Vancouver Island. She had asked the dead, "How is this person to go back?" [They answered], "Wait till the footlog is made; go right on the footlog."

SPRING SALMON AND STEELHEAD SALMON (First Version)¹³⁷

Long ago both the steelheads and spring salmon used to run in the South Fork of Puyallup River, but they fell into a dispute and a fight over which should have the river to himself in the future. In the outcome Spring Salmon was victor and he took from Steelhead all his possessions: his canoe, his paddles, his pole and even his clothes. Steelhead was left without anything at all with which to make his way back to his home in the Sound. Spring Salmon had even taken his bones.

So Steelhead turned to and made for himself bones of yew wood. From yew he also made his clothes. This is why the skin of the steelhead is so tough. Then from the same wood he made a canoe and paddles, and started back to the bay. But before going he thus addressed Spring Salmon, "You have vanquished me and you may now toss your big head all you please as you make your way up the river."

¹³⁶ Recorded from Joe Young (Puyallup).

¹³⁷ Related by Jonah Jack (Puyallup).

Therefore only the spring salmon run in this river and what dress they wear is taken from Steelhead. He is handsomely arrayed but still bears his own head.

SPRING SALMON AND STEELHEAD SALMON (Second Version)¹³⁸

Steelhead Salmon came up the river. Spring Salmon also came up river after a while. Steelhead had made ready and was going home by that time. As he went down he met Spring Salmon who was coming up. "How is the river?" asked Spring Salmon, "Is it good?" Steelhead replied, "I suppose this river is good for a salmon like you, with your big head and big belly, going up the river." Spring salmon grew angry. He said to his companion, "Let us attack this Steelhead!" They attacked him. They took his things, paddle, pole, all other utensils that he had. The latter went down river without his paddle. He just drifted down. Spring Salmon acquired them all, put them on himself and went on up the river.

Steelhead floated half way down to the bay and drifted against a snag. "What shall I get?" he said to himself. He picked out the yew wood and made a paddle and other equipment of it. Therefore, he is called Skwa'wul, because his tools were taken from him.

SPRING SALMON AND STEELHEAD SALMON (Third Version)¹³⁹

Tyee Salmon (tsa'tsəp) was going up the Puyallup River in a canoe with Trout. These two met Steelhead (skwawul) and a little salmon (tciwa'), coming down. Tciwa' has a big mouth.

Tyee Salmon asked, "How is the river up above?" Steelhead answered, "It is good for a man with a big head." Tyee Salmon grew angry, for he had a big head. Tyee Salmon and Steelhead fell to fighting. The two smaller salmon also fell to fighting.

Now Tyee Salmon does not go up the South Fork any more; he goes up the North Fork. Only Red Salmon (sko'Xwits) goes there.

HUMPBACK SALMON¹⁴⁰

If Hado, the humpback salmon, is angry as he comes up the river, he brings a sickness, smallpox or something, upon the people. Hado at his first coming was somewhat afraid of the Indians. He did not wish to meet with ridicule from anyone. In coming up the river he did not wish anyone to catch him and throw him on the bank carelessly. He wanted to be dried and kept for food.

Hado came up the river singing, "I do not want the young people to make sport of me." Coming up he sang, "The Snuqualmi young people are going to

¹³⁸ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

¹³⁹ Narrated by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup) in Chinook jargon.

¹⁴⁰ Related by Snuqualmi Charlie (Snuqualmi).

laugh at me, coming up the river. They laugh at me because I have a hump back, coming up the river."

Hado came up the river to die. He likes that, lying along the bank. His soul always goes back home. He goes down-river, saying, "Good-bye," to the people of Snuqualmi. "It will be another year before I come up the river again," he says.

THE RASH YOUTH AND THE SALMON¹⁴¹

Although the salmon's body is broken and decays at the end of the spawning season, the salmon only seems to die. Its soul goes back to its home in the ocean and returns every spawning season.

Once there was a young man at Shelton Creek who said, "What is this story the old men tell us about the salmon never dying? I shall make a trial and see whether the salmon really lives again." The name of the salmon of which he spoke was *toa'Lət*.

One day, when the salmon were running strong, the young man speared a salmon and cast it upon the shore. The young man had with him some cord woven from cedar bark (*slagwats*). He fastened this about the salmon in three places; about the gills, before the middle fin and about the tail. The salmon died. Soon it decayed and passed from sight.

Again it was the season of the salmon run. The salmon were running thickly; they filled the stream from bank to bank. The young man and all the other people of the village were gathered on the bank to watch them.

At once a king salmon, bound with three cords of cedar bark, came to the surface and approached the shore. As he had done before, the young man speared the salmon and cast it upon the shore.

Immediately the young man fell in a faint and expired. The people called a doctor, who worked over the young man. The doctor learned from his spirit helper, and told the people, that the salmon had taken the soul of the young man and borne it to the distant ocean to take the place of his own.

That is why the bow and arrow are hung up and not used during the time of the king salmon run, which recurs each alternate year. If those weapons were carried about, a stray arrow might strike and injure the king salmon.¹⁴²

RABBIT AND GRIZZLY HAVE A CONTEST (First Version)¹⁴³

Grizzly asked Rabbit to go to the Yakima country to play *slahal*, in a match game with the Yakima. Rabbit consented and they set forth upon their journey. When they reached Lake Keechelus, they stopped and made camp. Said Rabbit,

¹⁴¹ Abstract of a story related by George Leslie (Skokomish).

¹⁴² George Leslie referred to this salmon as dog salmon, but the term *toa'Lət* means king salmon. This salmon is known by several other names in English. The Snuqualmi call it *iyA'k'W*. Leslie also said this salmon runs every second year, not every year, as the others do.

¹⁴³ Related by John Xot (Puyallup).

"Let us practice before we get to Yakima." "Very well," said Grizzly. So they began to play. Now Grizzly wanted to eat Rabbit and each time a play was made Grizzly made as if to seize Rabbit. But Rabbit would leap from under his hand and the play would proceed.

Failing, Grizzly began singing for rain. He sang, *tcab tcab tcab*, so that the Rabbit's fur would become heavy and Rabbit would be unable to move quickly. But Rabbit sang for the blue sky and frost. Rabbit sang:

saxsaxala'ia,
kwe'εx̄ kweεx̄elai'a
Clear sky! Clear sky!

Rabbit prevailed, for next morning there was ice and the lake was frozen over. They ate breakfast. After breakfast Rabbit ran out upon the ice and back. Then he sat by himself. Picking up a portion of his dung, he said, "I have a rock," and flung it across the ice. "It is solid, see?" said he. Then he ran off and back, and Grizzly was convinced that the ice was safe.

So Grizzly fared forth with Rabbit to cross the lake. All went well till they reached the middle, when Grizzly broke through. "Get me a stick," he called. Rabbit took a stick and held it out to him. But the stick was rotten and broke with the weight of Grizzly. Again Grizzly called for a stick and Rabbit got a stick, but the stick was rotten and broke with Grizzly's weight. Finally Grizzly became so cold and benumbed that he sank and drowned. Then Rabbit jumped into the woods and became the creature we see today.

RABBIT AND GRIZZLY HAVE A CONTEST (Second Version)¹⁴⁴

There is a big stone mountain at Lake Keechelus. The white people have built a railroad past the foot of it. That is the place where Rabbit and Grizzly had the gambling match, and Rabbit killed Grizzly. Grizzly turned to stone and became the mountain we see today.¹⁴⁵

Grizzly was rich. He had many blankets and other articles. Rabbit and Grizzly gambled all night, and Rabbit won all Grizzly's possessions. In the morning the lake was frozen and Rabbit ran out on the ice. Grizzly tried to follow but he was tired, going on his haunches. The ice began to crack. "The ice is not strong," said Grizzly. "Oh, yes it is," said Rabbit. Five times Grizzly started. The fifth time he started he went out to the middle of the lake and broke through the ice. Grizzly was drowned.

Rabbit took all of Grizzly's articles; his blankets, his gloves and his leggings. He went to the Yakima valley.

That is why the rabbits east of the mountains now have long fur on their legs. When the Yakima see a rabbit they say, "Those are Grizzly's things. Rabbit has Grizzly's gloves and leggings."

¹⁴⁴ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

¹⁴⁵ *Wiyε'lyεtsas* is the place where Rabbit killed Grizzly.

WREN, MOUSE AND WATER OUSEL (First Version)¹⁴⁶

Wren was living in a house with Mouse, his grandmother. Water Ousel was going up the river in a canoe. Wren, in the house, heard the noise.

Wren said to Mouse, his grandmother, "Dig a hole in the hot ashes and we shall bury Water Ousel when he comes to fight."

Wren and Water Ousel wrestled and fought. Water Ousel was the stronger; he threw Wren in the hole in the ashes. Water Ousel left the house and went on up the river in his canoe.

Grandmother Mouse dug Wren out of the ashes. He was dead. Mouse sang a medicine song to bring him to life and she did bring him to life.

That is all.

WREN, MOUSE AND WATER OUSEL (Second Version)¹⁴⁷

Wren was living with Mouse, his grandmother. He asked Mouse for sexual intercourse. She said, "Patch up the house." Wren looked outside. No one was coming, it seemed. White Sawbill [American merganser] and Water Ousel were coming down the river in a boat. They landed the boat. Sawbill, who was boss, said, "Go and get the news."

Water Ousel went up to the house and opened the door. He saw what they were doing. He went back to the boat. Sawbill asked, "What news?" "Nothing," said Water Ousel, "only Wren and his grandmother are at it."

Sawbill struck his paddle against the boat. Wren heard the noise and looked out. He saw the boatmen and asked, "Any news?" "Yes," answered Water Ousel, "Wren and his grandmother were at it only a short time ago." Wren, insulted, challenged Water Ousel to a wrestle.

Wren had said to his grandmother, "Dig a hole in the ashes of the fireplace. When I kill him, we shall cover him; we shall cut his nose out." They wrestled and Sawbill killed Wren. Mouse covered her grandson instead of Sawbill with hot ashes. All was silent. She wondered, "What news of my grandson since he won the battle?"

She afterwards did something to bring him to life.

BARN OWL AND REDTAIL HAWK¹⁴⁸

Barn Owl (q!Apq!əp)¹⁴⁹ had a wife stolen by Redtail Hawk (sia'tc!). Barn Owl was out hunting. The redtail hawks came for the woman and told her to get ready. So many were the hawks that she had to go.

They took her. They were gone all that day; they were gone five days. Barn Owl caught them one at a time. He prayed for a drizzling rain and fog that would make them scatter. One redtail hawk and then another became cold

¹⁴⁶ Related by Jack Stillman (Snuqualmi).

¹⁴⁷ Related by Joe Young (Puyallup).

¹⁴⁸ Narrated by Joe Young (Puyallup).

¹⁴⁹ The name, q!Apq!əp signifies "champer," an epithet employed because of its habit of champing the bill when disturbed. This is not the eastern barn owl but another species not identified by me.

and fell behind, while the rest passed on ahead. Thus they went on, each one a day apart from the other.

Barn Owl overtook and killed four of the redtail hawks singly. He overtook the last one. They fought from the ground up, up, till they disappeared in the heavens. Barn Owl fought until only his head was left. Nevertheless he claimed his wife and took her back home. Before he got home his body grew back.

Nowadays if anyone's head is severed from the body it results in death; the body will not grow back. If that man had served himself right, used the right magic, his descendants would be the same way now.

THE GIRL WHO WAS SEEKING A GUARDIAN SPIRIT¹⁵⁰

Owl wished to marry a certain young woman. The young woman did not want him. That young woman was always swimming in order that she might obtain a guardian spirit. Owl followed her as she swam. Owl sang:

tlAX tlAX gəlō'b
towe'yəXso towe'yəXso

Owl did that to scare the young woman. But when she heard him sing she thought, "I have got a guardian spirit now; I know how to get a guardian spirit."

The young woman went home. She said to her parents, "I wish to sing for a guardian spirit." They cleaned up the house and spread out mats to sit upon. They sang,

tlAX tlAX gəlō'b
towe'yəXso towe'yəXso

Owl came. He sang,

Xte' ba'aX til, ta'lbyux
"Looks like an Indian, that guardian spirit."

The young woman became ashamed and frightened. Owl sat down and stopped singing.

THE BLIND HUNTER AND HIS WIFE (First Version)¹⁵¹

There was an old man who was getting blind. He had a wife and five children. They all used to go out to look for food. Their food was skunk-cabbage. The youngest child was a girl. She would lead the old man. The older children would pick the skunk cabbage. They would make a fire and bake the skunk cabbage on the hot stones. The outside leaves were bad but the inside leaves were good to eat. The woman would give the outside leaves to the old man for

¹⁵⁰ Narrated by Ann Jack (Green River).

¹⁵¹ Related by Ann Jack (Green River).

his portion. The old man would complain of his food. She would tell him, "That is good food."

One day the children saw an elk. They ran home and told the old man that an elk was eating skunk cabbage. The old man took his bow and made it taut. His little girl led him to the place where the elk was feeding. "How are you going to shoot?" she asked him. "Oh, the same as I used to shoot a long time ago," he answered. He had the girl point the arrow straight at the elk. "Oh, yes! Now shoot it!" the girl said. The old man measured and took aim. He shot and killed the elk. The girl led him home. His woman got skunk cabbage and fed him the good part. The girl surreptitiously gave him a little elk meat with it.

(The girl had supernatural power). She made a rope. It was soft and pliable. She coiled it up in a boat. She tied a stone to one end of it. "I will take you in the boat," she said to the old man. They crossed the bay in a boat at a place called To'dc, beyond the mouth of the Snohomish River.

There was a passage opening under the surface of the bay. An underground channel, which we call sbadaX, came into the bay at that point.

"The rope will take me to the bottom," said the old man. "Do not cry, my child." He took the stone. She tipped the boat and lowered him into the water. He did not come up again. She went home crying, "My father killed himself."

The old man found a supernatural being under the bay. The being¹⁶² said, "O great blind chief, welcome." The dog of that supernatural being licked the eyes of the old man. He became able to see; he grew young. He came up from the bottom of the bay to earth.

The old man now had supernatural power. He built a house; elk came through that house and they would die; salmon came through that house and they would die; every kind of game was taken in that way.

People came to his house to get supernatural power, and to dry meat and fish for themselves from the game which he took. They brought the man gifts and wives. He would say, "Why do you bring me so many wives? It was my child that made me the way I am now; go and get her." But the girl hid herself.

The man became known as a chief. He hired people and made a big boat. He went to the north, to British Columbia. He never came back.

THE BLIND HUNTER AND HIS WIFE (Second Version)¹⁶³

A man was dwelling with his wife and children. That man was blind. That wife saw an elk. He asked, "Is it far?" She answered, "It is near." He took his bow and arrow. She led him out. "Now you cause me to train my arrow," he said. He shot. He sensed that he hit the elk. "Undoubtedly you hit the elk. We shall eat of it," she said tauntingly. She went to dress it. She took the liver home. Now she cooked it. "It sounds as though liver were cooking," he said. "That is what it is; it is liver," she jibed.

¹⁶² The name of this power is *ti'o'libax*. By some it is said to be the greatest of all.

¹⁶³ Translation of a text by a Snohomish woman.

She deserted the old man. She made camp where that elk was. She dried the elk meat. She would not feed her husband. The little girl went to see him. She fed him elk meat. He took the little girl on his lap. He petted her hair. Now she told him to eat a little piece of meat. She told him that he did kill the elk. [She went to him four times. The fourth time] he told that little girl not to come back again.

He crept away. He arrived at a lake. He felt about him. He found young cedar limbs. He twisted a rope. Now he tied them end to end. [He made a raft.] He went out to the middle of the lake. He tied the rope to a stone. He dove. He touched the bottom of the lake. He reached a house where people were dwelling. The chief asked, "Who has arrived?" A slave told him, "It is a person who is blind." "Bring him in," the chief said.

The chief began to rub the man's eyes. He began to see. The chief caused him to look upstream. He caused him to see this pile of goods. He turned him around, downstream. He showed him this pile of goods.

He floated up. He fell asleep; he awakened on land. He could see. He went home. He dwelt there, killing the elk. That little girl came. She went back there where her mother was. She went to her father four times. She told her father that her mother wanted him to come back. Her father said to her, "If she comes, she shall dwell out there."

HOW A BOY SAVED HIS VILLAGE (First Version)¹⁵⁴

Two men (from a village on Commencement Bay) were getting ready to go scouting. The grandson of one said, "I am going along." The grandfather whipped him. "You are always crowding yourself in," said he. The boy replied, "I am going." The other man said, "Let him go; he has a heart."

The boy went along. They arrived at Adams Prairie where they met thousands of the enemy. The boy killed more people than the two old men. He would seize the arrows of the enemy and throw them back. The old man, his grandfather, was nearly dead. "Get up," the boy told him, "you've been asleep long enough."

The old man got up. They all shot their arrows towards the west and the people gave way. The old men and the boy traveled westward to the bay, and followed the beach around past Day Island and Point Defiance to their home at the head of Commencement Bay near the mouth of De Lynn Creek. The boy had saved his people.

The blood of the prairie people was washed down the gully and gave the modern name to that stream. The name was changed from its former name to dux wa'dabcəb, which means "pertaining to the prairie people." The white people call it De Lynn Creek.

¹⁵⁴ Related by Joe Young (Puyallup).

HOW A BOY SAVED HIS VILLAGE (Second Version)¹⁵⁵

One day Si'tuwalXW and another old man and their granchild, Tawa'stəd, were planning and getting ready for battle with the prairie Indians. "Let us meet them or they will kill our people," they said.

The old men and the boy took a short cut to the prairie, coming out by Dr. Spinning's road to a point east of the race track. (The Indian name for that short cut is saxba'kwab, which means "to eat clams without water.") Not having eaten breakfast previously, they now upon arriving at this place sat down and ate dry clams without water.

It had been told the little fellow, "So-and-so is coming, go back! You will fall by the way." "So much the better," said the orphan boy. When they arrived one man said, "Leave him alone, he must have had a good dream." The boy now took the lead.

At Rigney Hill they took the middle of the prairie. The boy practised shooting the arrows up, running under and catching them. The men said, "You are a nuisance." He was practising for the battle, but they did not know it.

They crossed Clover Creek (sast ku). On the top of the prairie the boy fell behind. The old men talked. The boy saw foreigners by the thousand. They lagged. They came after him. "What shall you do?" "Go straight ahead," he answered.

They fought from the forenoon and killed a number. The boy got in front of his elders. Whatever arrows came he caught and reversed on the other fellow. They fought until one of the old men was shot in the stomach. The boy pulled out the arrow. "Get up: don't sleep; that is not what you came for. Get up and fight." The man confessed that he had been asleep. The second man had the same thing happen to him. He came to his senses and told the boy, "Shoot to the west." The boy shot above the people to the west, then began to kill them outright. The enemy parted and left an opening; they disappeared from sight.

The old men and the boy returned northwest toward Lake Steilacoom. They soaked themselves in the cold springs at the head of the lake. It began to thunder and rain.

Instead of returning directly home they went to the village of the Steilacoom people. There the people gave them a big dinner. They never told about the foreigners. After the storm the foreigners followed their tracks to their source.

After dinner the men and the boy went home by following the beach around past Day Island and Point Defiance. They arrived at their village two days ahead of the foreigners.

The foreigners came. The New Addition villagers destroyed them all, killing all but one woman. They held her a few days, then gave her beads, all she could carry. [It was told her] she must tell the truth about how she was saved. It was customary after a victory to spare one or more of the enemy.

The name of the foreigners was To'bcided (prairie people).

¹⁵⁵ Related by Joe Young (Puyallup).

HOW A MAN CONQUERED THE ROLLERS OF THE SEA IN DECEPTION PASS¹⁵⁶

There were people living at Big House on Gull Harbor, north of Olympia. That was the king of houses, known as *tca'a'etXw* because it has a sunken floor. The people at that place were called *tei tca'c abc*.

Something was wrong. A man left his home and family and went to Point Deffelmeyer. There he fasted and cleansed himself. After certain days he floated home [and was seen at the village]. He swam out in the bay and returned home ill [because he was not able to dive to the bottom of the bay].

The man swam back to Deffelmeyer Point. There he scoured himself by scraping his skin clean with twigs. He looked to see if he were perfectly clean. At last he found what was wrong; there was yet a little soil under his finger nails. He scraped them with a shell; several times he scraped them. Each time after scraping his nails the man dove down.

On the last day he dove, the spirit house at the bottom of the bay drew him down and his body floated to shore. Down under the water the spirit of the house showed him mysteries. The spirit of the house commanded the man to go and conquer the Rollers of the Sea. The Rollers of the Sea were creatures that would ride the waves and roll down upon and destroy boats and people. They attacked boats and people somewhere about Deception Pass.

The man had to take a certain number of canoes and men to follow him. He placed ten double prongs of yew upon the canoes, on stern and prow, to catch the Rollers. They arrived at the place of the Rollers. As soon as a Roller descended upon his boat he commanded, "Throw it out!" and the prongs threw the Roller into the deep water. If one of the prongs broke he replaced it.

When he had conquered five Rollers he commanded the men, "Take the covering from the stern! Take the covering from the prow!" Before that time all who did not cover the prows and sterns of their canoes were killed, but all who had good minds lived.

Three times the man conquered the Rollers of the Sea where they used to kill people. Then he pronounced judgment upon them, "You shall be naught but sea-biscuits (*tetc ta'djlrtc*)."

After that the man became "wild." He took the best of his crew in a canoe to the place above the spirit house and commanded the canoe to go down. Slowly, as he commanded, the canoe with owner and crew drifted down to the spirit house at the bottom of the bay.

THE YOUNG MAN'S ASCENT OF MOUNT RAINIER (First Version)¹⁵⁷

This story is not a *sXwiya''b* (myth). The man in this story was a real person. He was out looking for *stl' a'litu'd* (magic power). He made five wedges of elkhorn.

He went to the mountain, *T'qo'bəd*, and began to climb up over the snow. He

¹⁵⁶ Narrated by Joe Young (Puyallup).

¹⁵⁷ Related by Tom Milroy (Upper Puyallup).

used the elkhorn wedges to chisel steps in the snow and ice. One wedge wore out and the man threw it away. He used another and another. The wedges lasted until he reached the top of the mountain.

At the top of the mountain the man looked about and found a lake. He stayed one night on the mountain top. He swam and washed himself in the lake. He gained *stL'a'litu'd* (magic power) there.

T'qo'bəd said, "You have come to stay one night, so I can talk. You shall grow to be an old, old man. Moss will grow on the joints of both your arms and on both knees. Your hair will fall out and your scalp will be as moss, and then in time you will die of old age. At the time of your death, when you are very old, my head will burst open and the water which you now see [in the lake] shall flow down the hillsides."

The man picked up two, five pearl shells, of the kind called *asXai'txs*. Now! he starts back. Oh! it is snowing! "The mountain does not wish me to take these shells," he said. He threw down one, then another and another until he had thrown down all five. Then it ceased to snow.

The young man grew old; his hair fell out. He grew very old. Moss grew upon his head, his knees and his elbows. He said to the people, "When I die look at T'qo'bəd. Her head will be broken and the little lake will burst forth."

The man died and it was so. The head of T'qo'bəd burst open and the water rushed down the hillsides and swept the trees from the valley. The prairie about the town of Orting was called by us, *swe'kW*, which means "open," because the flood cleaned it and left it covered with porous stones.

The white people do not now see the lake on the mountain top; it has been spilled out.

THE YOUNG MAN'S ASCENT OF MOUNT RAINIER (Second Version)¹⁶⁸

The grandfather of my grandmother went up to the summit of Mt. Rainier. That was because his spirit helper told him to go. He should make twenty arrows with copper points. These were to help him in climbing. He used two arrows at a time. He was to begin from the west side and circle around to the east. That was because there was a roaring wind between the high peak and a smaller one on the other [southeastern] side. The young man made three rounds to see if he could locate it. Finally he arrived at the top.

There was a little lake more than half way to the east side. The young man went to the right and to the left. He discovered some pearl shells close to the trail. He also discovered a litter of pups, as he thought. They looked at him and he looked at them. "My! they are tame!" he thought. He petted them. They were perfectly still. They were marked like caterpillars. Indeed caterpillars are called "dogs of the Sun." He picked out two of the pups. One was spotted and the other was white. When ready to start down the mountain the young man stuck the two pups inside his vest (*suX laxw*).

¹⁶⁸ Narrated by Joe Young (Puyallup).

He started down. There came a blizzard. He thought, "Taking these shells has caused the blizzard. I cannot travel." He recalled the saying, "You should never take any curiosities." He threw one down. The air began to clear. He left the shell right there. He said, "I take that shell to prove where I have been." He was longer going down than climbing the mountain. In places he lost his footing and went under the crust.

All this time the dogs were eating him and he did not know it. They were sucking his blood and flesh. He thought, "I shall take them out and see how they are getting on." Then he felt the garments touch his raw flesh and he saw where the pups had been devouring him. Right there on the trail he left them.

The young man brought home a single shell. When his granddaughter died and was laid away that shell was placed over her head. The name of his granddaughter was Kaya'dXW. She was buried at *tl'wa'iat*s, the same place where the young man who climbed the mountain had lived. [This is the name of a stream near Orting or a tributary of Green River.]

Creatures like those the young man took for dogs are found at Granite Mountain near the summit of the Snoqualmie Pass and also at *tsaqw*. People dare not camp there.

The name of my great grandfather, son of the woman who was buried with a shell on her head, was *wilak'e'dab* and I bear the same name. He lived at Orting.

COYOTE GETS SALMON FOR THE NACHES PEOPLE (First Version)¹⁵⁹

Sbiau (Coyote) had one son. The son had two sisters, his wives, and again two sisters, his wives; four in all. The first two wives were ring doves (*sq'u':-qwau*) [*bebeb* in the Yakima language]. The second two wives were sawbill ducks (*swe'hitc*). The elder of the first two wives had a baby boy.

One day, in the evening, Sbiau complained that his arrows were getting short of feathers. The next day he got dry cedar wood. This was a scheme to trick his son out of his wives.

Sbiau asked his sisters what he should do. These two sisters lived in his stomach in the form of berries. The sisters answered that they did not know. Sbiau threatened them with a storm of hail. Then they told him what to do. They said, "Make a false golden eagle, which will fly up far and then drop."

Sbiau did so. He commanded the bird to fly up, then drop down. In the evening when his son returned from the hunt Sbiau had already made the bird from his own dung. He said, "I found a big bird while out looking for wood." The son answered, "Don't trick me; take me in the morning the first thing."

In the morning they went out. Sbiau said, "There it is," and the bird began to fly. Sbiau said, "Take off your moccasins; in order to succeed, take off everything from your feet up, even to your earrings."

¹⁵⁹ Related by Annie Jack (Green River).

The boy went up on a rock to get the wings of the bird for his arrows. When he was atop of the rock he was marooned. All the rock below him was smooth.

Meantime the old man put on his son's clothes. He yelled and said, "My father has found the best of birds. Instead of me your father-in-law went and died at once." The women mourned for their husband. Old Sbiau said, "When did you hear of anyone mourning for her father-in-law and saying he was her husband?"

On the next day the old man said, "Get ready; we leave the place where your father-in-law lived." While they were getting ready the first two wives hid food that it might be obtainable if their husband should return. When they made camp that night Sbiau said to the elder of the first two wives, the one with the baby, "You camp over there; you are too noisy mourning your old, old father-in-law, now dead." The old man camped with the other two wives.

In time the wife with the baby had a long cord twisted and was dragging it along the trail.

The son of Sbiau was still up on the rock. On the fourth day, while Spider was passing along the young man said to him, "Grandfather, if you will get me down I will pay you in Yakima string." Spider said, "I will try, although my netting is getting rather weak." Spider helped the young man get down. The young man went to camp. He found some food, all cooked. Afterwards he found his clothes and put them on.

Spider said, "In this direction." The young man followed the marks of the cord his wife was dragging. He saw the remains of the camp fires. He said, "My son has camped there." He noticed that his two elder wives and the son camped apart from the others.

On the morning of the fifth day he was getting close. The fire of the last camp was still burning. He kept on going. On the fifth day he reached the dragging cord. The baby was singing, "Father, Father, Father." The women pulled the cord. The mother said, "Don't say that; your father is dead." The fifth time this happened the young man stepped on the rope and held it. The baby now stopped crying. The woman looked back. It was her husband. She said to her sister, "Wait, here is your husband; he has come up to us."

They ate dinner. Afterwards the women took an ointment and used it on him. After this they told the whole story to him. She said, "You'll hear it to-night." He said, "No, you'll camp right by the fire."

Coyote's son made himself small. He was hidden in the luggage and carried by the women. He said, "In camp you must not make fire, but throw your luggage on the opposite side."

All was ready. They spread their blankets. The younger woman slowly sat her husband up. The old man said, "Son, Son, my pretty son, my dear son, I'm not doing anything to your wives." "Here, take off my clothes, you are making them stink," said the young man. The old man took them off.

On the next morning the young man said to his father, "We shall go no further." "Which way?" asked the old man. "We shall stay right here," said the young man.

The young man went out and killed a big buck near the river bank. He grew powerful. He made five streams. He crossed them. He butchered and packed up the first deer he killed. He made a cord of deer gut in the fashion of a belt. The old man also made a cord of deer gut. His cord broke. "I do not know what is the matter," the old man said. He was losing his power.

The young man made it rain and raise the river so that the old man could not get back in time. The old man asked his sisters what he should do to be saved. "Make a little ark and go with the tide in safety," they answered.

The old man's wives were caught in the water during the rain. They are in the water yet, today. We call them sawbill ducks.

Since the old man could not return to his wives he floated, floated down. He caught on a salmon weir. That was a place where five sisters kept a barrier to prevent the salmon from ascending the river. They were wɪ'tsowits, a little noisy sandpiper.

Towards sundown a woman out getting camas looked and saw him there. She said, "Sbiau is turning to a baby now." The next woman found him. She said, "I suppose a baby boy floated down. I shall try to save the boy." She touched her face to his lips. He was very hungry. She gave him a salmon ear to suck. "Oh, he is going to live," she said.

On the first day he lay there with food tied to his wrists. The woman came back. He had sucked all the food but the part tied to the string. On the second day Sbiau went to the river to get salmon. He cooked it in his own style. The girl said, "He must be full; he does not eat what is tied to his hands."

Sbiau planned: "I could tear this dam open." On the first day he made a plate [platter] and a bar [digging stick] out of hardwood. In all he made five plates and five bars.

Sbiau put the plates on his head [to protect himself]. He pried and pried at the dam. The women were out digging roots. The digging stick of one woman began to break. (They knew something was wrong). The youngest sister said, "No, you have got what you need. After this (you will) get all you want to eat. If you see anything you will always want to rear it."

They went down to the river. Sbiau was at work. (The women began to club him.) At each blow Sbiau lost a plate. To the fifth plate he whispered, "Do not give way until I have won." All this time he was prying, prying. When he [they?] saw the water running free they hit him one blow. The last plate broke. Sbiau ran yelling, "A wonderful child."

Sbiau sang,

e'tuta'ge' e'tuta'ge'

Upstream we're going; upstream we're going!

Sbiau traveled upstream until he was very hungry. After a time it came to him in spirit that he could yell and the salmon would jump ashore. He said, "My works, come ashore!" They came, but in the wrong place. He worked, trying to get them out. He became disheveled and covered with fish scales, and was all tired out.

He consulted his sisters. They said, "You get the fish in the right way but in the wrong place. Next time start to call from a sandy bank; you are sure to get it." Four times he called and he got the salmon.

Sbiau dressed and cooked the salmon he had gotten in this way. He did thus many times. The last few times he cooked the salmon drowsiness overcame him. The five wolf brothers followed him, and when he was asleep, they devoured the salmon and smeared his mouth with grease and remains of the fish. Sbiau was getting thin, eating so much fish and yet not getting full.

These wolf brothers camping had all kinds of eggs in reserve. They were about to cook them at their camp. Sbiau retaliated. He made the wolf brothers sleepy. He ate all that they had roasted. He painted their lips. He went back to his own camp. There he cooked fish and ate that too.

Sbiau took his revenge four times. The fourth time this happened the eldest wolf brother complained, "We are getting thin." The youngest brother said, "I told you so; we are playing a game against a great man. Let us go into the wilderness. This way!" And so they left.¹⁶⁰

COYOTE GETS SALMON FOR THE NACHES PEOPLE (Second Version)¹⁶¹

There is a place on the upper Naches River where Sbiau (Coyote, Spilyai) is to be seen in the form of a large rock, near the last waterfall he made. The salmon can get no farther up. There is a story about that.

The son of Sbiau had four wives. Two were mourning doves (sgwu':qwau) and two were pa'da, spawn of the male salmon. Old Sbiau loved the latter because they were white. He did not like the former because they were dark.

The son of Sbiau was getting eagle feathers. The old man said, "I am getting feathers now." In a good place they built a rock; old Sbiau raised it up. He put bird's nests there and created birds. Those birds were eagles, of a kind that we never see now. He made the birds out of the nests; the nests were his dung. These birds were nearly old enough to fly. "Oh, I have found birds that I think we can get. They will be ready to fly tomorrow morning. It is a good place to get them."

The young man could see; "Oh, there they are." "Well, you can climb for them; put your best clothes on." The young man did so. When he came to the rock the old man said, "You had better take your clothes off." "Very well," said

¹⁶⁰ There is an image of xode in stone at a high elevation in the mountains (Joe Young). This is a myth of the Naches River people (naxtce'spam), commonly called Klickitat, handed down among their descendants on Green River.

¹⁶¹ Related by Charlie Ashue (Yakima-Puyallup).

the young man and he did so. "Now, my son, you go up." He did so. As soon as he arrived at the top the rock began to rise higher and higher. The birds changed back to manure. "Oh," he cried, "he has imprisoned me." He could not come down. He had to stay up there four or five days.

The old man put on his son's clothes for a disguise. "Now my wives will have to move from here: I sent my father up on a rock and he died," he said.

Old Sbiau went to live with the white girls. The dark girls knew; it came to them in spirit what had happened. They camped apart. They all left camp and traveled on. The dark girls left some of their carrots baked in the ashes for food for their husband if he should come along.

Up on the rock the young man was wondering how he should get down. Suddenly he saw old man Spider. "Grandchild, what are you doing here?" "My father put me here; I am up here forever (astlaltala'tcid)."

"Well, Grandchild, I'll try to get you off. See how my rope will serve you." He tied one end in a good place. "Now get on my back." Down they went; they touched ground. The young man went home. He uncovered the ashes and ate the food.

The next day he traveled; he found the same thing. Every day the two dark wives left food for him in the ashes and he found it. At last he came up with them; he heard the two wives crying, as mourning doves do today. Every day they had cried. Old Sbiau, hearing them, would come over and scold them, "What is the matter with you, crying for your husband?" On the last day the baby of one of these cried louder and louder, "ba ba bad (dear dead father); he died long ago." They looked back. "He is coming!" They told young Sbiau how their father-in-law was treating them.

He made himself small and they hid him in a basket. Old Sbiau came over. At once the son came out and thrashed the old man with a stick. "O Son, I'll be a slave now. I was just taking your wives away. I thought that you had died." "You wanted me to die," said the young man. The young man got his wives together and left the old man crying alone.

The next day the young man killed a deer. He made a pack of the kill, making a rope of the entrails. He thought, "I am going to get even with my father." He said, "I have a pack over yonder." The old man went after the pack. The young man made little rivers between camp and the place where the pack was. The old man took the pack and started. The water rose and he could not get across. The rope of entrails broke and the pack fell apart. Logs were floating down the flooded streams.

Sbiau asked his sisters what he should do, "Change yourself into a baby; wrap yourself on a board, and drift down stream." "I'll do so," he said. He drifted down the river; away down he drifted to a place among the tules. That place where Sbiau stopped is called ta'ptac; the white people call it Prosser. It used to be a great fishing place for the Indians.

Five sisters lived there. They were wi'tsowits, sandpiper. They had a barrier across the river and held the salmon from going up any farther.

Early the next morning the eldest sister went down to the river for water and salmon. She heard a child crying. "Its parents must have drowned," she thought. "If we adopt and bring up this child it will be good for us; the child will bring us water and wood." "I've found a baby," she called out. All the sisters came down to the river. "We could raise him," she said, "we had better take him home." Only the youngest sister was suspicious.

The next day the sisters went to dig camas (in the Puget Sound language, *sxa'dzub*). "We'll tie him," they said. They gave him a salmon ear [?] to suck; they fastened it to a cord within reach. "We'll raise him all right."

The day after, Sbiau was making plates to put on his head. He was going to have revenge. On the fifth day all was ready; he had five plates finished. "We'll open the dam," he said. He put all the plates on his head and went down to the dam. He worked and worked.

The girls came home and found Sbiau working. He was almost through. The first girl clubbed one plate off his head. The next girl clubbed another plate off. All this time Sbiau was working. The fifth girl clubbed the last plate off his head. Sbiau was all through; the work was all done. The dam was broken down and salmon could go up stream.

Sbiau leaped and cried, "O they found a baby, weo, weo, weo!"

Sbiau followed the salmon up river. He became hungry. He wondered how he could get salmon. He thought, "I shall call them." He danced and called the salmon. The salmon leaped from the water. Sbiau seized them. They floundered and got away. He was in a rocky place. He went to a sandy place. He danced and sang for the salmon again. They leaped from the water and fell upon the sand. He seized them and killed them.

Sbiau went a little way and made a fire. He prepared the salmon for cooking and set them before the fire to bake.

Nearby there were five wolf brothers living on grouse eggs. The wolf brothers threw a medicine that made Sbiau drowsy. He lay on his back and slept. The five brothers came and ate. They rubbed some of the juice of the salmon on the hands and lips of Sbiau. Sbiau awoke. "I must have eaten," he said. He was hungry yet. He touched his tongue to his lips. "O, it is delicious," he said. This happened five times. At last, on the fifth day, Sbiau got really hungry. This was away above the forks of Yakima and Tieton rivers.

Sbiau began to ask his sisters what was wrong. They answered, "When your salmon is nearly cooked the five wolf brothers trick you: they eat the salmon and leave you." Sbiau asked, "What could I do?" The sisters said, "Stay back and watch them. Let them go ahead. They live on grouse eggs. When they make a fire put medicine on [bewitch] them."

The five brothers put grouse eggs in the ashes in five places. Sbiau watched; he thought, "The eggs are nearly cooked." He threw the medicine. The five brothers became sleepy; they lay on their backs and slept. Sbiau came. He got all the eggs in a big pole. He ate all the eggs and smeared the faces and hands of the five wolf brothers with the remains. The wolf brothers awoke. They thought,

"Oh, we must have been eating long ago." This happened for five days. Sbiau got even with them.

Sbiau traveled on. At last he got to the waterfall. "I have gone far enough now," he said. He built the waterfall, a high one, away up the Naches River in the mountains.

Sbiau made a place for himself; he made a resting place of stone. He made himself into a stone and there he sits by the waterfall. That is as far as the salmon go. We call that in the Yakima language, spilyai koWpX, which means the waterfall of Spilyai. That is the place where the white people are going to build a tunnel for the Naches Pass Highway.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PUBLICATIONS
IN
ANTHROPOLOGY

Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 151-300

May, 1930

WISHRAM ETHNOGRAPHY

by

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UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

1930

PREFACE

The Wishram were one of the earliest groups known to explorers of the Columbia River basin, and their trading establishment at the Dalles was of great importance to the development of the Northwest; yet it is curious that we remain to this day in ignorance of their mode of life. Even the many travellers and traders of the early nineteenth century who left accounts made no adequate mention of a tribe whose mere presence on the middle Columbia seriously circumscribed their own actions. Perhaps the reason is that the truculence of the Wishram, and their resentment of the efforts of white traders to compete by establishing trading posts on the Columbia, prevented any sojourn among them.

Only a few Wishram still remain. Some still occupy their original home at Spedis, Washington, opposite The Dalles, especially during the fishing season. Others are on the Yakima reservation in central Washington, to which they were induced to move about 1860-5. Our information was obtained at the latter place.

The purpose of Sapir's visit in 1905 was primarily linguistic; ethnographic information was somewhat of an aside. Expenses of the investigation were borne chiefly by the Bureau of American Ethnology, with some assistance from Mr. George G. Heye and the American Museum of Natural History. The University of Pennsylvania Museum also provided the services of Miss M. W. Bonsall as draughtsman. The linguistic material, and some of the ethnographic, was published in part as a "Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook" (1907), "Wishram Texts" (1909), and in Franz Boas' grammatical sketch of Chinook (1911).

The ethnographic investigations of Spier in 1924 and 1925 were financed by the University of Washington. In the former year assistance was had under a grant as Fellow in the Biological Sciences, National Research Council.

Our data partly overlap but are largely supplementary. It was thought advisable to combine these groups of limited material. It must be understood, however, that this sketch is woefully incomplete. This is due in part to the loss of native culture among the few survivors, to unwillingness on the part of some of our informants, but primarily to the brevity of our visits. New data on the Wasco, Cascades, and other Upper Chinook are included here. Undoubtedly much can still be gotten from the Wishram remnant and other Upper Chinook still on the Columbia.

We are indebted to the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) for supplying illustrations of specimens. Mr. William H. Holmes has also provided an illustration of a canoe carving. Dr. Erna Gunther furnished Wasco kinship terms, and Dr. W. D. Strong and Mr. W. Egbert Schenck other information.

Sapir's informants were principally Pete McGuff and Louis Simpson. McGuff, a half-blood, furnished much additional material during the years 1905-1908 by correspondence in answer to specific questions. His information may have been influenced by a long residence in early years among the Cascade Indians. Spier's informants were Mrs. Mabel Teio, an elderly Wishram, and Frank Gunyer, a middle aged Wasco, who also acted as interpreter. Mrs. Teio was not disposed to volunteer information.

The phonetic system for native words has been explained in Sapir's "Wishram Texts" (p. xiv). Spier's renderings are much less satisfactory; no attempt has been made to reduce them to Sapir's orthography.

LESLIE SPIER
EDWARD SAPIR

May, 1929.

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	153
Linguistic Relationship and Territory	159
Material Culture	174
Fishing	174
Hunting	180
Vegetal Foods	182
Cooking and Meals	185
Canoes	186
Tools and Manufactured Articles	188
Adzes, chisels, wedges, and knives	188
Awls and needles	188
Pestles and mortars	189
Bowls, spoons, and ladles	189
Blankets	190
Mats	191
Packstrap	191
Baskets and bags	192
Parfleches	197
Bows and arrows	199
Tanning	200
Musical Instruments	201
Houses	202
Dress and Personal Adornment	205
Calendar, Colors, Directions, and Gestures	208
Calendar	208
Colors	209
Directions	210
Gestures	210
Social Organization	211
Caste	211
Chiefs and Councils	211
Murder	213
Adultery	216
Marriage	217
Residence and House-Composition	221
Slaves	221
Trade	224
Warfare	228
A Paiute Raid	232
Another Paiute Raid	233
A Meeting with the Bannock and Paiute	233
Religious Practises and Beliefs	236
Spirits	236
Acquiring Power	238
The Shaman's Inaugural Dance	240
Shamans' Performances	241
Curing Practise and Witchcraft	244
First Salmon Rite	248

	Page
Omens	249
Visions	250
The Smohallah Cult	251
The Individual	255
Infancy	255
Childhood	256
Names	258
Ear Piercing	261
Feasts of Rejoicing	261
Kinship Terms	262
Games	266
Sweating	268
Smoking	269
Burial Customs	270
Wishram Tales	273
Salmon Myth	273
The Cannibal Woman	274
The Deserted Boy	274
Star Husband	276
Wasco Tales	277
Sky Rope	277
Chipmunk's Stripes	277
Origin of Death	277
Raccoon	279
Food Smellers	279
Abstracts	280
Wishram Tales	280
Wasco Tales	280
Bibliography	282

FIGURES

	Page
1. Map of the Columbia River showing the location of Wishram and other villages	165
2. Outline of a net-gauge	177
3. A wooden spoon	190
4. Design patterns named by the Wishram	195
5. Wishram design units	196
6. Wishram beaded bags	197
7. Wishram parfleche designs	198
8. Cradles	256
9. Gambling bones for the hand game	267

PLATES

1. Mortars and spoons	287
2. Wishram twined baskets	288
3. Wishram and Paiute twined baskets	289
4. Wishram twined baskets	290
5. Wishram twined bags	291
6. Wasco twined baskets and bag	292
7. Wishram bag in coarse open-twine	293
8. Wishram coiled baskets	294
9. Parfleche used by the Wishram	295
10. Parfleches used by the Wishram	296
11. Parfleche used by the Wishram	297
12. Parfleches used by the Wishram	298
13. Carved side-piece of a burial canoe	299

WISHRAM ETHNOGRAPHY

LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP AND TERRITORY

The Wishram are a small tribe originally occupying the north bank of the Columbia River about the Dalles,¹ that is, at the upper end of the passage of the Columbia through the Cascade Range. These Indians, most of whom are now on the Yakima Reservation, Washington, called themselves *ila'xluit*, the first person singular of which (*i'tcxluit*, "I am an *ila'xluit*") is in all probability the "Echeloot" of Lewis and Clark. They are known by their Yakima and Klickitat neighbors (tribes of the Sahaptin stock) as *Wu'cxam*, which, in its anglicized form of Wishram, or Wishham, is their common appellation today.

Together with the allied Wasco, occupying the opposite bank of the Columbia, they were the easternmost Chinookan tribe on the river. Their tongue, the Upper Chinook dialect, "was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas, which are spoken on the lower course of the Columbia River and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram, which were spoken in the region of 'The Dalles.'" Boas gives Kathlamet as the westernmost Upper Chinook tribe, living from Gray's Harbor and Astoria up to Kalama. "Linguistically Clackamas seems to be very close to Kathlamet, if not identical with it."² *Kiket* is a term used by these Indians to embrace the various probably mutually intelligible dialects of Upper Chinook: Wishram, Wasco, White Salmon, Hood River, Cascades, Clackamas, and Kathlamet.³

Wishram belongs to the uppermost dialectic subdivision. "The language spoken by them is, to all intents and purposes, the same as that of the Wasco on the other side of the river and of the White Salmon and Hood (or Dog) River Indians farther down the stream. More prominent dialectic differences appear when we get as far down as the Cascades; the dialect of this locality may be considered transitional between the Wishram and the Clackamas of the Willamette region."⁴

It is exceedingly difficult at this late date to determine the linguistic and tribal groupings of the Wishram and their neighbors. Dislocation of the tribes in this quarter began at the end of the eighteenth century, even before the coming of the earliest white explorers, and a series of terrible epidemics early in the following century decimated the population. Add to this that our notes are confused, due to our lack of detailed knowledge of the river territory, neither

¹ Attention should be drawn to the distinction between The Dalles, the present town of that name on the Columbia, and the Dalles or Five Mile Rapids, several miles above that town. We have tried consistently to differentiate these, but in our notes and other sources they are often confused. The latter is also the Long Narrows of Lewis and Clark.

² Boas, *Chinook*, 563; *Kathlamet Texts*, 6; Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 234.

³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 192.

⁴ Sapir, *Preliminary Report*, 533.

of us having had an opportunity of visiting it. What follows must be regarded as tentative, until someone goes over the district with other informants.

The Wishram lived on the north bank of the river, roughly from White Salmon River to Ten-Mile Rapids above the Dalles. Their permanent settlements were directly on the river, but they hunted and sought plants on the higher country directly back from the river to the watershed, that is, on the southern slopes of Mount Adams and the so-called Klickitat Mountains. It is possible that the White Salmon people, who occupied the vicinity of the river of that name, and who spoke the Wishram language, may not be properly classed as Wishram. The same is true of the *la'daxat* group, who had several villages about the Klickitat River. The difficulty is the one that confronts us throughout the length of the Pacific Coast; that political and territorial units are not sharply defined. In a more restricted sense, then, the Wishram were the people of the Dalles, whose principal settlement was *niḵlu'idix* at Spedis, and whose other villages clustered from Crates Point below to Ten-Mile Rapids above. Their river frontage may thus have been only the brief span of fifteen miles; from White Salmon River to Ten-Mile Rapids is only thirty-five miles.

The neighbors of the Wishram prior to 1800 were not the same as those of the historic period. This was because of the movement of Sahaptin speaking peoples to the northern side of the Columbia, pushed out of the upper Deschutes drainage, as Teit has shown,⁵ by Snake attacks from the south and east. At least as late as 1750 both banks of the Columbia above the Dalles were occupied by Salish speaking people, whose remnants are still to be found in the Moses-Columbia band and Wenatchi. The northward migration which dispossessed these Salish ultimately deposited the Sahaptin Tenino, Tyighpam, or Deschutes on the south bank about the mouth of the Deschutes River, and the Klickitat on the north bank. The latter held the territory on the river above Ten-Mile Rapids, and had several villages interdigitated with those of the White Salmon group, or occupied jointly with them. Beyond the appearance of these Klickitat among the White Salmon and elsewhere lower on the river, there may have been little shifting of the tribes below the Dalles.

The Wasco were located on the south bank directly opposite the Wishram at the Dalles. They probably also had villages on the south side of Ten-Mile Rapids, at Celilo Falls, and as far upstream as the mouth of the Deschutes. They also laid claim to the country as far east as the John Day River, but never occupied it.⁶

Downstream from the Wasco on the Oregon side, and nearly opposite the White Salmon group, were the Hood (or Dog) River people. The Chilluck-quittequaw, a Chinookan division mentioned in 1804-6 as ten miles below the Dalles and extending nearly or quite to the Cascades, were probably White Salmon or Hood River Indians. The Cascades group (*iṭaṭa'la*) were located on both sides of the Cascades, and at least on the north side downstream to Skamania and perhaps to Cape Horn. These were the *Watlala* (*waṭa'la*) men-

⁵ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 98 f.

⁶ Teit, *loc. cit.*, 107.

tioned by Lewis and Clark. Ross mentions the Cathleyacheyachs at the head of the Cascades in 1811-14.⁷ The north bank may have had no settlements, or at least no permanent villages, for some distance between the White Salmon and the Cascades. Below the Cascades people, roughly from Troutdale to Kalama, and in the lower Willamette valley, were the Clackamas groups, whose territory was undoubtedly subdivided. Our information, relating to the occupancy of the Columbia from the Wishram to the Cascades, is of the period *circa* 1850, and shows no appreciable change from what was found by Lewis and Clark in 1804-6.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the Columbia valley above the Wishram and Wasco was occupied by Salish tribes. Teit's evidence⁸ is that at the Dalles or immediately east of it were the NĒKĒMĒ'UX (.nkuteme'x"), who were reckoned by the Moses-Columbia as a distinct tribe. They were "popularly considered to be related to the Thompson Indians, or at least to have spoken a language similar to theirs." "Opinions differ a great deal as to the exact location of the tribe, but all agree that they lived near or above The Dalles. I obtained the following locations from three or more informants: (1) around The Dalles or east of The Dalles; (2) in the Wishram country or near the Wishram; (3) in the Wishram or the Wasco country, or near one or both of these tribes; (4) on both sides of the Columbia, a little distance or some distance above The Dalles, but chiefly on the north side some little distance back from the river; (5) chiefly or entirely on the south side of the river, somewhere between the mouth of the Deschutes and The Dalles. Perhaps they had more than one settlement (it is thought two main settlements), and may have occupied a considerable extent of country along the river. Current tradition says that the tribe was originally in two camps about fifteen or twenty miles apart. Some think the remnants of the tribe remaining on the Columbia settled among The Dalles Indians and Wasco. One informant said that this tribe was the same as the Wishram, or formerly lived with the Wishram, but that their name was the same as that of the Thompson Indians. Another informant stated that the place they once inhabited was called .sko'pa or qō'pa (Wasco?), and later a few of them (probably a remnant) went to Na'p̄xwa (Lapwai?) or Nā'p.a. .sq̄a'pa means 'sandy' in the Thompson language, and there is a place of that name in the Thompson tribe generally written Skuppa."

Above them were the Middle Columbia Salish (Tskowāxtsenux or .nkeūs), now known as the Moses-Columbia band of Eastern Washington, who at that time extended upward on both sides of the river from near the Dalles to below the mouth of the Wenatchee River. "North of the river, a little distance back, the Columbia Salish claim to have extended west of the Dalles to the mountains, probably the spurs of the Cascades, in Skamania County, south of Mount Adams." This may well have been hunting territory for these river people, held jointly with Wishram and White Salmon, which later became the heart of the Klickitat possessions.

⁷ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 123, 257.

⁸ Teit, *loc. cit.*, 92-109.

This was the section of the Columbia most affected by the Sahaptin and Waiilatpuan migrations. These began about 1750 or even earlier, under pressure of Snake raids, or at least accelerated by them. The Sahaptins seem to have been living in the neighborhood of the upper Deschutes River; the Waiilatpuan Molala-Cayuse in a band of territory north of them and south of the Middle Columbia Salish on the Columbia. The series of movements brought the Sahaptins north of the Columbia; the Molala were displaced west of the Cascades and the Cayuse to the northeast. The first of these migrations into Washington was that of the people later known as Yakima. They were followed by other Sahaptins (the Klickitat) who "remained in the intermediate country, ranging between the White Salmon River on the west and Horse Heaven in the east, with headquarters at one time around Glenwood and the central Klickitat River." This was back of the White Salmon and Wishram on the river. Later "those who remained on the Klickitat River and neighborhood now began to occupy parts of the north bank of the Columbia (Chinook territory) in the salmon-fishing season and in the winter, during the rest of the year living back in the mountains." "It seems that on the heels of the Klickitat, if not part of the same migration, came some of the same kind of people as those who occupied the Columbia on both sides of the river, from The Dalles east to John Day River. Some of them actually settled among the Wishram and Wasco, or occupied places between villages of those tribes. These people were not so numerous as the Yakima and Klickitat, and became known as Tenino or TENAI'NU. By some people they were reckoned as part of the Klickitat, and by others as part of the Tyighpam (tai'xpam). These migrations seem to have taken place by way of Deschutes River, from Tyighpam country or perhaps from farther south. . . . A movement of Tyighpam or Tenino, or both, who lived on the south side of the Columbia, east of The Dalles, and most of those who lived in the country back of there as far south as Tygh, Warm Springs, and Shaniko [carried them] into the country to the west, along the boundaries of the upper Chinook, across Hood River, and extending as far as Oregon City, probably in the early part of the last century." This division of Sahaptins at the Dalles became known as wai'yämpäm. They were mentioned by Ross as at the head of the Long Narrows in 1811-13.⁹ The northwesterly movement of the Snake appears to have been at its height about 1800-30. "At this time, it is said, for fear of the Snake, hardly any people lived on the south side of the Columbia between The Dalles and the Umatilla, or possibly nearly to the Wallawalla." Lewis and Clark also observed that in 1804-6 the Indian establishments were on the north bank alone, for fear of the Snake.¹⁰ Klamath contacts with the Wishram date from this time, with the clearing of the whole country on the Deschutes drainage.

There is a tradition of the Wishram, recorded by Mooney and obtained independently by us, that part of their number migrated northward to the upper Columbia. While the form in which the accounts were recorded is purely

⁹ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129, 195, 240.

¹⁰ Hosmer II, 31.

mythical, it is possible that such a migration actually took place, perhaps caught up in the Sahaptin movement. Sapir recorded at length the tale referred to by Mooney:¹¹ the Wishram quarreled over how the duck made a certain noise, until some of their number seceded, and travelled up the Columbia to the Wenatchee River and beyond. Mooney gives their final location as the headwaters of the Spokane, while Mrs. Teio, one of our informants, placed them in British Columbia. All informants agreed that they are still in the north, although no living Wishram has ever seen them.

This has something of an authentic ring, despite the folkloristic element of the quarrel, until we realize that the Moses-Columbia tell a similar story of the little Salish tribe *Neketeme'ux*, the neighbors of the Wishram at the Dalles. As the following quotation from Teit indicates, the Moses-Columbia believe that the Thompson also split over a quarrel, and the Thompson have a tale to the same effect. "According to tradition, a long time ago the tribe had a quarrel, and divided, part of them migrating north (following Columbia River, according to some). According to some stories, these emigrants again divided somewhere in the middle of the Columbia country, part of them crossing the Cascades to the Coast country, where they settled, and finally disappeared as a tribe. Those who remained near The Dalles dwindled away, and also finally disappeared as a tribe. It is thought that most of them were killed off by plagues or epidemics which seem to have visited the river about the end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century, when the Columbia tribe was first decimated. Most Columbia and Sanpoil people believe, however, that a few individuals of them still survive, and may occasionally be met with in the Wasco country and also further north in the interior, and again west of the Cascades. Some informants seem to believe that the Thompson Indians of British Columbia are descendants of the part of this tribe that went north. Others, again, think that the original home of all the Thompson was in the central part of the country; and that after the quarrel, one part went north and became the Thompson Indians, and the other part went south and became the tribe near The Dalles. It is also reported by the Columbia that there remains a band, now numbering about twenty individuals, who speak the Thompson language or a dialect nearly the same (they also speak Columbia), who live somewhere in the country to the north, not far from Columbia River, and within twenty-five miles of a place called Prairo (? possibly Pateros). Some Thompson claim that the last-named people are probably descendants of a band of Indians from *nkai'a*, near Lytton, who left their country as the result of a quarrel, and finally located near the Columbia about a hundred and fifty or more years ago, and therefore are not connected with any Dalles tribe."¹² If the *Neketeme'ux* Salish are not wholly legendary, it may be that they are identical with the dissident Wishram group. On the other hand, while we may well believe that the *Neketeme'ux* actually existed, it seems wholly probable that these stories are pure myth, Wishram, Moses-Columbia, and Thompson alike. Similar tales of separation of tribes

¹¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 200; Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 740.

¹² Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 96.

after quarreling, having all the ring of authenticity, have been recorded elsewhere in the Basin-Plateau area; for example, from the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) and the Havasupai.¹³

The locations of the Wishram villages and those of some of their neighbors are shown on the accompanying map (Fig. 1). There were probably more settlements than shown. The information refers to the period of 1850 and before. Our data are confused and indefinite; hence the locations may be considered merely approximate in most instances. No information was obtained about villages on the Oregon side save for Wasco and Deschutes. All names are recorded in Wishram phonetics, except as noted in the list below.

WISHRAM VILLAGES

1. atlatla'fia itcagi'tkxoq, the roasting-pit of the ogress Atlatla'fia (see p. 274), was located on a small island "near the Falls or 'Tumwater'."¹⁴ This may be Celilo Falls but is probably Ten-Mile Rapids. This is reckoned the extreme eastern point of Wishram occupancy.
2. wa'yagwa (marikca'xaliḡ), a little below the last.
3. wa'q!emap, a short distance above niḡlu'idix, hence perhaps but a quarter mile above Spedis railroad station, where is a mound known by this name.
4. niḡlu'idix, the chief Wishram village, was directly at the Dalles close to Spedis.¹⁵ This was a summer and winter settlement, containing about 400. The name "contains the same stem element (-ḡluid-) seen in the generic name Ila'ḡluit, by which the Wishram call themselves. The first person singular of this, itcḡlu'it ('I am a Wishram'), is probably the 'Echeloot' of Lewis and Clark. The etymology of Niḡlu'idix is uncertain. Louis Simpson suggested that it was connected with diglu'idix (they [i.e., the people] are heading for it [i.e., the village]'), in reference to the coming-together of many different tribes of Indians at the Falls for trading-purposes. This is probably folk-etymology, as ni— is a common local prefix in place-names."¹⁶ McGuff contributed another etymology: "An old lady tells why the Wishram are called iḡluit. I never heard this explanation before. Once there were lots of people at this village. There came a monster of a woman, called Akxa'qusa (for whom an arrow was later named), who ate all the people of the village. Soon after East Wind's daughter came with the wind blowing over the village and saw it was destroyed. There were only pieces of clothing and small bits of bodies lying around. She gathered the pieces together in five piles and sprinkled them with paint. She stepped over these piles east and west, north and south, five times.

¹³ Loud and Harrington, *Lovclock Cave*, 162, 165, 167; cf. Lowie, *Shoshonean Tales*, 200-9, 242; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, 98.

¹⁴ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 36.

¹⁵ See Biddle, *Wishram*.

¹⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 38.

Then the piles formed into five people. Now she named them *idaḡa'luit*. She said to them

<i>imca'lq</i>	<i>iḡlu'it</i>	<i>imca'lḡam</i>	<i>iya'xliu</i>
your flesh	coming together	your land	(his) name pertaining to
<i>nixlu'ia</i>	drew together.		

The name *nixlu'idiḡ* means 'at once it (your flesh) came together.'

5. *ciq!E'ldaptiḡ*, about a half mile below *nixlu'idiḡ*, contained about 400 people. (It should be noted with all references to distances given by our informants that they seem very inexact.)
6. *caba'nkckc*, a village a little below the last and about a mile from *Spedis*.
7. *sku'ksḡat*, means "round eel or sucker mouth," had a population of about twenty-five. (This place may have been above the following.)
8. *wasna'niks*, a half-mile downstream from *caba'nkckc*.
9. *niu'ḡtac*, the river current in Big Eddy encircles the village. Big Eddy is an embayment in the north bank at the lower end of the Dalles. The village was a quarter-mile from *wasna'niks*. Lots of sturgeon were taken here.
10. *ḡ'lusełtsḡiḡ*, means "the place where it (water) keeps going down" (probably referring to some hollow place which fills and empties as the water swells into it); about two miles from *nixlu'idiḡ*.
11. *ca'urecila*, a quarter-mile below, was occupied for fishing only when the water was high at this place.
12. *ca'wilaptck*, a winter village a mile below the station Grand Dalles. It takes its name from the fact that this is a famous place for finding things; here is slack water in which canoes and other drifting objects collect (cf. *idwi'ptck*, driftwood; *idla'ptck*, drift, driftwood [in Cascades and Clackamas]; *gawi* always denotes a place which is great for something).
13. *nayakḡa'tciḡ*, means "tooth" or "row of pointed rocks," a winter village a mile below the last.
14. *tsapḡa'didlit*, about a mile below, was a wintering place. Driftwood was gotten there.
15. *cq'ónana*, about a mile on, that is, about four miles from The Dalles across Crates Point. Sometimes about fifty people lived there, where sturgeon were caught.
16. *cka'gEtc*, meaning "her (their) nostrils or nose," named from a rock of this shape.
17. *ḡa'daḡat*, was a short distance below the mouth of Klickitat River and about a mile above Memaloose Island, that is, perhaps ten miles below The Dalles. This was a winter village of 100 to 200 people. Many suckers were caught there in winter.¹⁷ The next village in order downstream, *cgwa'licc* (18), belonged to the Klickitat.

¹⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 298.

19. waci'nḡak, or cau'amuitk, was a half-mile below this Klickitat village, that is, perhaps a mile below Memaloose Island, an Indian burial ground.¹⁸ This was the last settlement downstream of the Wishram proper.

WHITE SALMON AND KLICKITAT VILLAGES

18. cwaw'like had a population of fifty Klickitat (ʔi'xadat). It was not far below Memaloose Island.
20. tgasgu'tcu, meaning "their (her) bones," was said to be about a half-mile west of idwó'tca, a long, high mountain opposite Mosier, Oregon, and at the same time about a mile above White Salmon Landing. If the Landing is near the modern town of White Salmon, these distances are incompatible. This was jointly a town of White Salmon people (more properly "dried salmon people," itk!a'uanbam' ide'lḡam) and Klickitat, 300 in number.¹⁹
21. ʔmié'qsôq or ʔmuyaqšô'q", was a half-mile from the last, in 1905 the site of the Burket Ranch. It contained perhaps 100 White Salmon.
22. itk!i'lak or itk'i'lak, meaning "dried pulverized salmon," was at White Salmon Landing, a half-mile downstream. This was inhabited by White Salmon people and Klickitat. The White Salmon group, who derived their name from this place, spoke with probably only slight variations, the same dialect as the Wishram and Wasco.
23. na'ncuit is now Underwood, Washington, about a half-mile below, at the mouth of White Salmon River. The village was well populated.

CASCADES VILLAGES

The villages of the Cascades Indians were separated by an interval from the lowest of the White Salmon villages. The first location mentioned for them, wala'la, was some ten miles below Wind River, which would place it near the Cascades of the Columbia. There must have been other settlements about the Cascades of which we do not know. All mentioned below, like all the foregoing, were on the Washington side of the Columbia.

24. wala'la, now Slide (?), is doubtfully a village. The word means "lake" (?) and gives its name to the Cascades people, wala'lide'lḡam.²⁰
25. sk!ema'niak held a population of the Cascades. It was a little below wala'la and is indicated on the map near the present town of Skamania.
26. ʔaxwaw'lukl was perhaps two miles below sk!ema'niak. It had a population of 1000 (?). The name means "they are running by her continually."

¹⁸ The island was noted by Lewis and Clark in 1805 (Hosmer, II, 51).

¹⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 30.

²⁰ Lewis and Clark mention a village at the head of the Cascades in 1805, behind which were ponds (Hosmer, II, 53-4).

27. *nimčexa'ya* was a Cascades village about half a mile below a high rock (ik!a'lamat) now known as Castle Rock and about two miles above Cape Horn. (These are not to be confused with the Castle Rock and Cape Horn on the lower Columbia). The population was in the neighborhood of 400.²¹

WASCO VILLAGES

The Wasco villages were on the south side of the Columbia directly opposite those of the Wishram at the Dalles. They presumably extended at least from The Dalles to Ten-Mile Rapids even after the settlement of the Sahaptin Deschutes beside them, but we have a record of only three villages.

29. *wa'sq!o* was the chief village. It was five or six miles above The Dalles, (at Wasco, Oregon?), opposite *niḵlu'idix*, the chief village of the Wishram. The name is derived from *wa'cq!o* ("small bowl" or "cup"), the reference being to a cup-shaped rock near the village, into which a spring bubbled up. The spring is now obliterated by the highway. The Wasco tribal name *gaḷasq!o'* simply means "those who have the cup."²²
28. *wikxo't* was a Wasco village located a mile above The Dalles on the Oregon shore, hence below *wa'sq!o*.
30. *wōtsaqs*, "lone pine," is doubtfully a village. This was said to be a few miles above the Dalles on the south bank, but it may well be the last, lone tree east of the Dalles mentioned by early travellers.²³ The timbered country of the Cascade Range extends as far eastward as The Dalles; any tree standing on the barren south side to the east would be distinctly noticeable.

WAIYĀ'MPĀM OR DESCHUTES VILLAGES

The Sahaptins living immediately above the Wishram and Wasco were known by several alternative names: *Waiyā'mpām*, *Tyighpam*, *Tenino*, and *Deschutes*. Possibly these names referred to subdivisions. Teit gives the impression that this local group, which acquired a specific name, *Tenino* or *Tēnai'nu*, were part of the *Klickitat* or of the *Tyighpam*. The proper home of the latter was higher on the *Deschutes*.²⁴ It may well be that this was a mixed group. They were said to differ dialectically from *Klickitat* to a slight degree. The *Wishram* and *Wasco* called these people collectively *ik'ai'mamt*. This included the people of *sk!in* on the north side of the river, and the *Deschutes* Indians (*Wayam* and *Tenino*) on the south. *Sk!in* was the country immediately north of the Columbia and east of the Falls or "Tumwater." Mooney states that the *Sk!in* people had a village on the north bank opposite *Celilo Falls*;

²¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 22.

²² *Ibid.*, 240.

²³ "Ogden's Tree," e.g., is shown in this position on the map of the Wilkes expedition (reproduced by Biddle, *Wishram*, opp. p. 9).

²⁴ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 100.

another group (tapänä'sh or eneeshur) was located opposite the mouth of the Deschutes, and a third (uchi'chol or ochechotes) lived on the north bank of the Columbia in Klickitat county, Washington.²⁵ Lewis and Clark stated that there was not more than six miles between the nearest villages of Echeloots (Wishram) and Eneeshurs. They mention the Wahhowpum (waiyă'mpăm) as on the north shore near Rock Creek, twenty-four miles above the mouth of the Deschutes River.²⁶

31. tí'nainō was a wa'yam village nearly five miles above The Dalles, being the first Sahaptin village on the south side east of Chinookan territory.
32. sí'lailō, at the present Celilo, Oregon, was another wa'yam village eleven or twelve miles above The Dalles.²⁷ Other settlements must have been somewhat to the east about the mouth of the Deschutes. The country beyond is a sandy, unattractive waste, and without doubt lacked any population to speak of.

We have no precise knowledge of the numbers of the Wishram. One reason is that we are not certain just which villages were reckoned as properly Wishram. It is our impression, however, that they formed only a small tribe, whose numbers were of the order of 1000 to 1500, probably nearer the lower limit.

Lewis and Clark offer an estimate of 1000 in 1804-6. But if the number of houses or lodges they recorded, twenty-one, is correct, this is too high, because it yields the incredible average of forty-eight people to a house. Assuming twenty-one to be correct for Niḵlu'idiḵ alone, that is, the principal village, and assuming an average of two families or ten persons per household, we have 210 for the population of the village. This is not impossible. Yet the number given, 1000, may represent the total for the tribe.

Their estimates for other tribes of the vicinity are no more certain.²⁸ We list these from east to west:

	Houses	Persons	Number per house
Wahowpam (waiyă'mpăm), from Rock Creek to twenty-three miles below.....	33	700	21
Eneeshure (Sahaptin), on both sides at Ten-Mile Rapids	41	1200	29
Eskeloot (Wishram), at the upper end of the Dalles	21	1000	48
Chilluckkittequaw (White Salmon or Hood River), from the Dalles to river Labiche (Hood River?)	32	1400	44
Smockshop band of Chilluckkittequaw (Imi'e'qsôq, White Salmon), r. Labiche to the Cascades	24	800	33

²⁵ Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 740.

²⁶ Hosmer, II, 46 (cf. 263), 266.

²⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 39, 40, 242, 244.

²⁸ Hosmer, II, 502.

If we knew the number of houses in each village we might estimate the population by assuming the average size of a household. We have no valid information on this. This can be approached by obtaining an average number of houses per village from the records of Lewis and Clark. We list below those villages in this district for which they make mention of the number of houses or persons (from east to west).

Wahhowpum (waiyă'mpăm), mouth of Rock Creek, north side (266) ²⁹	12 temp. mat huts
A little below, north side (266)	5 huts
Eneeshurs (Sahaptin), 4 miles above the following, north side (265).....	4
Eneeshurs, more than 8 miles above a point a little below the mouth of the Deschutes River, north side (265)	6
Lower end of Miller's Island (32).....	8
One mile below, north bank (32).....	16
One mile below the last, opposite the end of the island (32)	6
Eneeshurs, a little below the mouth of the Deschutes (263)	9 mat houses
At the head of Celilo Falls (33).....	17
At the foot of Celilo Falls, north bank (33).....	5 large houses
Two and a half miles below Celilo Falls (38).....	3
Ten-Mile Rapids (39).....	1
Nixlu'idix, at the head of the Dalles, north side (39)..	21 (large village)
About nine miles below The Dalles, right bank (47)...	8
Six miles below the last, right bank ("houses contain 30 souls") (49).....	7
Somewhat more than four miles below and three miles above Memaloose Island (50).....	11
A short distance below Memaloose Island, right bank (51)	2
Three miles below, right bank (51).....	2
From a point a mile below, for six miles downstream, were scattered	14
Smackshop (İmié'qsôq, White Salmon), about six to seven miles above White Salmon River (254)....	100 warriors
Just above Labiche River (Hood River?); the first village on the south bank (51).....	4
Five miles below Canoe River (White Salmon River?), left bank (51).....	4
Three miles below the last (i.e., 32+ miles below The Dalles), north side (51).....	3
At the head of the Cascades, north side (53).....	8 large houses
At the head of the Cascades, south side (253).....	11 crowded; 60 warriors

²⁹ Page references to Hosmer, vol. II, are given in parentheses.

Three miles above the foot of the Cascades, north (?)	
side (56)	4
At the foot of the Cascades, south (?) side (247).....	6
Wahclellah (Cascades) village, one mile below Beacon	
(Castle) Rock, north side.....	23

The houses in villages on the Cascades seem to have been much larger than those upstream. Those of an old village on the north bank, midway of the Cascades, were uncommonly large: one measured 160 by 40 feet.³⁰

This yields a total of 220 houses in twenty-seven settlements; an average of 8.15 houses per village. If we assume an average of two families or ten persons to a house, this means an average of eighty or more persons per village. This is not an unreasonable number for an average household: the only specific instance we have, a rather haphazard group of relatives at Nixlu'idix, does actually number ten (see p. 221). At the time (1860-70) the town held nine or ten houses. The number of towns pertaining to the Wishram proper as given by our informants, that is, from at!at!a'lia itcaci'tkxok, at Ten-Mile Rapids, down to wagi'nçak, opposite Mosier, totals eighteen. Eighteen villages with eighty or more persons each yield a total Wishram population of 1440-1500. We need not assume that all these places were occupied at one time; some may have been solely or largely fishing stations. If this be so, the number might be reduced to about 1000. This agrees with Lewis and Clark's figure, but, of course, is no real check to it.

The number may be approached in yet another way. Ross (1811) states that "the main camp of the Indians is situated at the head of the narrows [Ten-Mile Rapids or the Dalles?], and may contain, during the salmon season, 3,000 souls, or more; but the constant inhabitants of the place do not exceed 100 persons, and are called Wy-am-pams."³¹ He may have meant that the whole concourse who congregated above the Dalles for trading was 3000. If we assume at least two-thirds of them belonged to local villages, we have 2000 to apportion among the Sahaptins, Wasco, and Wishram. This means perhaps 700 Wishram.

Mooney maintains that the population was even higher before Lewis and Clark's day than is indicated by their estimates. Epidemics had already reached them, even as early as 1782-3, and destroyed one-third to one-half of their number. He lists the Wishram at about 1500 before that time, i.e., in 1780. Mooney's tribal discriminations in this area are somewhat chaotic, so that too much faith must not be placed in his estimates.³²

The impression remains, however, that the number at the opening of the last century was about 1000. An upper limit is certainly 1500. Of their villages, Nixlu'idix, the principal, may have held several hundred persons, perhaps 400 as our informant had it.

³⁰ Hosmer, II, 251.

³¹ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129.

³² Mooney, *Aboriginal Population of America*, 13 f.

An attempt was also made to identify Chinookan tribal and village names gleaned from the *Handbook of American Indians*. These are listed below with Wishram equivalents following. We have included in the present list only names referring to tribes or localities upstream from the Clackamas; others on the lower river and among the coastal Chinook were also obtained.

- Cathlassis Tribe on or near the Dalles.
gaʔasq!o', inhabitants of wa'sq!o; the tribal name of the Wasco.
- Cath-lath-la-las Tribe or village (?) on the Columbia at the Cascades.
iʔaʔa'la, gaʔaʔa'la, "lake people," Cascade Indians (waʔa'la, "lake country, small lake").
- Chilluckquittequaw A division of the Chinook ten miles below the Dalles and extending near or quite to the Cascades in 1804.
Probably White Salmon or Hood (Dog) River Indians.
- Chippanchikchiks Chinookan (?) tribe on north side of the Columbia, a little below the falls in the Long Narrows.
caba'nkckc, a Wishram village a little below Spedis.
- Clahcillah Considered by Lewis and Clark to be a branch of the "Shahala" nation. Located at the Cascades of the Columbia in 1804.
gaʔaʔa'la, "lake dwellers," lived at the lake; Cascade Indians.
- Cow-e-laps Village six miles below the Dalles and three miles from the mission.
ca'wilaptck, a Wishram village below The Dalles on the Washington side.
- Des Chutes Collective term applied to Indians on and about the Deschutes River, Oregon. Identified by Gibbs with the Eneeshurs of Lewis and Clark.
Designates the iʔk!a'imamt, Sahaptins.
- Echeloot Tribe on the Columbia at the Dalles in 1804.
Probably i'tcʔliuit, "I am a Wishram," one of the iʔa'xliuit.
- Itte-Kai-Mamits On or near the Dalles. Perhaps Chinookan; perhaps Sahaptin tribe.
iʔk!a'imamt, the Sahaptin people above the Dalles.
- Ithkyemamits On the north side of the Columbia near the Cathlathlas or Wascos. May have been identical with the Eche-loots, Eneeshurs or others. Morse places them opposite the entrance of the Deschutes River into the Columbia.
(same as the preceding.)
- Kle-mak-sac A village 25 miles down the Columbia from the Dalles in 1844.
ʔmié'qsôq, a village of the White Salmon across from Mosier, Oregon.

- Ne-nooth-lect A village in 1844, 28 miles from the Dalles on the Columbia.
ni'nuldidix.
- Niculuita Village on Columbia River opposite the Dalles.
niɣlu'idix, the principal Wishram village at the Dalles (see text above).
- Smaksop In 1804 lived on each side of the mouth of the Labiche not far from and above the Cascades.
ɣmié'qsôq, a White Salmon village (see Kle-mak-sac, above).
- Scal-taepe (or Scal-tolpe) Village at head of Cascades, Columbia River.
sq!ɛ'ldlpl̩, known also as skaɣɛ'ɛmax (a village?).
- Tcipan-Tchick-Tcick Tribe of 100 at the Dalles on the Columbia.
caba'nkckc, a Wishram village a little below Spedis.
- Wasco Formerly occupied the neighborhood of a spring some ten miles east of the Dalles.
wa'sq!o, the principal Wasco village (see text above).
- Watlala Chinookan division located in 1804 below the Cascades of the Columbia.
waɣa'la, the Cascades Indians.
- Weocksockwillacum Chinookan division located in 1804 on Canoe Creek on north side of the Columbia just above Crusattes River not far above the Cascades. Occupied several villages.
ɣmié'qsôq wi'lɣam (?), the White Salmon Indians.
- Wey-eh-hoo Tribe on south side of Columbia River, near Crusattes River.
wa'iax·ix·.
- Wisham Village formerly at the "Long Narrows," north side of the Columbia, three miles above the Dalles.
wu'cxam, the Yakima-Klickitat name for the iɣa'ɣluit, the Wishram.

MATERIAL CULTURE

FISHING

While we have no explicit statements, it is probable that the Wishram depended primarily on fishing for subsistence, secondarily on root and seed gathering, with hunting in distinctly subordinate place. So we judge from a few direct references, the location of these people on the banks of the Columbia, and by comparison with the habits of other tribes of this general region. The Columbia, the largest river of the Pacific Coast, contains fish at all times of the year and at certain seasons the fish ascending the stream run in prodigious numbers.

The Columbia is somewhat south of the best salmon area, yet five species of salmon (*Oncorhynchus*) ascend the river, and with them the steelhead trout (*Salmo*), confused with the salmons by Indian and white fishermen alike. Cobb³³ states that the largest of the salmon, variously called chinook, spring, tye, or king salmon, come to the Columbia in "three runs, the first entering during January, February, and March, and spawning mainly in the Clackamas and neighboring streams. The second, which is the best run, enters during May, June, and part of July, spawning mainly in the headwaters. The third run occurs during late July, August, September, and part of October, and spawns in the tributaries of the lower Columbia." The blueback (red or sockeye) salmon enters with the spring run of chinooks. The silver (coho or white) species "usually appears in July, and runs as late as November." Only few of the humpback or pink salmon occur as far south as the Columbia. The run of dog or chum salmon is at about the same time as that of silver salmon; "from about the middle of August till late in November." The principal center of abundance of the steelhead trout on the Pacific coast is the Columbia River, where it is found during the greater part of the year. The size of these species varies considerably: in this stream their average weights are respectively about 22, 5, 6, 4, 8 and 8-15 pounds. So far as the salmon and steelheads are concerned, the most plentiful supply on the middle Columbia would seem to be in summer (May to October), especially its earlier half. Midwinter and again April seem to be the periods of ebb. Lewis and Clark observed April 19, 1806, that the first salmon arrived in the vicinity of the Dalles.³⁴

Statements of our informants confirm this. The water in the river is so variable, however, that locally supplies of fish were sometimes not available. Salmon were caught at Celilo on the south bank even at its lowest stage, in October, but at Spedis on the north bank, where the Wishram villages were located, it became too dry long before this.

A wide variety of other fish were taken, among them pike, sturgeon, sucker, chub, trout, smelt, and lamprey eel. Shell fish were also used. Chub and suckers were caught in the spring: they are fat in April, but not considered good later. Lampreys were caught at Celilo in winter. They were not taken

³³ Cobb, *Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, 8-11.

³⁴ Hosmer, II, 261, cf. 257.

in winter at Spedis, but from April to June old fish of the previous year were caught. Franchère states that the sturgeon enters the lower river in August-September, and "a small fish about the size of a sardine," probably the so-called "smelt" (olachen), in February.³⁵

In the immediate vicinity of the principal Wishram villages the Columbia River is a maze of narrow channels, whirlpools, and eddies between the precipitous shores and the rocks jutting up in the stream. Fishing stations were highly prized and passed by inheritance into the possession of a group of relatives in each generation. It was assumed by the informants that these were descendants of the original discoverer of the site. No one else was allowed to fish at a particular station without permission of its owners. Six to ten related old men might own a station in common at which their families fished. Any one among them might preëempt the best place at the station temporarily. Each station had its overseer who was usually a chief or head man.

It is probable that each group of this sort had a station for spearing fish and another where they netted. At least there were stations appropriate to each of these methods and they were not used at the same time. Fish were speared in the fall; caught with the dip net in summer. McGuff stated that one could not use the spearing station for dip-netting nor the netting station for spearing with any success. It is doubtful that this has any esoteric significance; rather that the stations were chosen with respect to the stages at which the river flood stood, varying from one season to another.

The Columbia varies surprisingly in its stages for a river carrying such a volume of water. The river is low during the late summer, reaching its ebb in October, but rises forty-five feet in flood stage.³⁶

The fish that were caught belonged exclusively to the fisherman, but custom permitted old men (presumably anyone) to take fish for each of their two meals a day. If the fisherman lifted his net to the fishing-stage and let it lie with the one or two fish it contained, some one among the old men squatting on the staging would club the fish and appropriate it for his own. If, however, the fisherman brought up several fish which he wanted to retain, he slapped himself on the buttocks as a sign of his intention.³⁷ While the station and the staging erected there was common property to the group of owners, each man fished with his own spear or net.

Preparation for erecting the fishing-stages was made in summer when the water was low. Holes were made in the river bed at some distance from the shore to receive the posts on which the staging was to be supported. When the water has reached the proper level during the summer, a strong man familiar with the task was chosen to set the posts. A fir sapling, pushed out from the bank, was sat on by others to hold it firm while he walked out on it. He fastened a rope around his waist, the other end of which was tied above, to keep him from being carried away should he slip off. Carrying a staging-pole,

³⁵ Franchère, *Narrative*, 322-3.

³⁶ Strong and Schenck, *Petroglyphs*, 77.

³⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 187.

he watched until the swirling water brought the hole to light, quickly inserted it in place, and immediately tied it to the fir sapling on which he stood. Those on shore at once piled rocks on their end. A second post was similarly set and cross-bars tied between the saplings with hazel ropes. When the water reached its proper level at another station the staging was similarly set.³⁸

All stations did not require staging. One man owned a spot beside a whirlpool at the foot of an upright rock. He slid down to it on a pole. There he had a plank wedged in place for a footing. His catch was hauled up with a rope.

Netting seems to have been by far the commonest mode of fishing, spearing being restricted to fishing in the autumn. We may presume that like most professional fishermen they looked on line fishing as too unproductive.

The common dip-net had its net attached to a wooden ring to which a long handle was fitted. This ring was formed of a maple sapling, one to two inches thick, bent into a hoop two feet in diameter, its ends inserted into a segment of oxhorn. The handle, a long pole two inches in diameter, was fastened to this. McGuff's sketch of the implement shows, however, the handle extending within the hoop where it was fastened to a transverse bar. The net was a pouch four feet in length fastened tightly on the hoop and woven of fibers from a tree resembling the willow. McGuff states that a double strand of selected flax fibers was used for large salmon nets, any common grade of flax for those used to take eels, chub, and suckers. A long rope was tied to the hoop, probably at the point of attachment to the handle, the free end of which was fastened to a convenient rock so as to steady the net. This was used in a whirlpool. When a salmon entered the pool it was dipped up and clubbed.

A similar dip net had its net loosely threaded on the hoop and fastened to the cross-bar by a slip-knot. When a fish was caught the jerk of its weight caused the knot to slip so that the net mouth sliding closed on the hoop caught the fish as in a purse.

Nets for eels (lampreys) and smelt were similar to those described above, but smaller. The hoop was eighteen inches in diameter and the mesh of the net quite close. They were used at night; when the fisherman felt the eel in the net he dumped it into a hollow in the rock beside him.

The seine net was made of a size appropriate to the place where it was to be used. The Wishram seining place was midway between the Wishram village at Spedis and Sk!i'n (perhaps six miles above). At this place a seine twelve feet deep and 100 feet long was used. It was made of selected flax fiber with a mesh of three or four inches. Ropes of an inch thickness were fastened along top and bottom margins to take the floats and sinkers. The floats were of wood, the size and shape of a bottle, fastened ten feet apart. Directly below each float was a sinker, a stone of three pounds weight, either flat and pierced to take the attachment, or ovate and grooved. To set the seine, two men paddled out on a crescent course while a third tossed it overboard. A rope seventy-five to 100 feet long attached to the net was used to haul it in (ashore?).

³⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 185.

Gauges were used in fabricating all nets. These were flat slabs of elk-horn, a quarter inch or more in thickness, three to four inches long, and of various widths. A width of a half inch was suitable for the mesh of eel nets, two and a half to three inches for steelhead, blueback and silver salmon, three to four inches for chinook salmon and sturgeon. The shape of the gauge is shown in outline in Fig. 2, reproduced from McGuff's sketch. It bore various decorations on its faces; human faces, salmon, sturgeon, seal, and the heads of various birds.

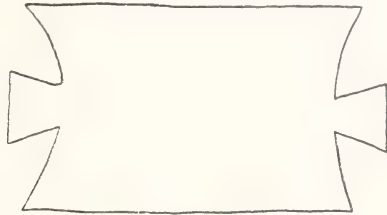


FIG. 2. Outline of a net gauge redrawn from a native sketch.

Fish traps seem to have been of two varieties, basket traps and weirs. These were used more in the creeks than in the open river. The basket trap was made in two sizes, differently named, but not certainly different in construction. The smaller trap, called *ik!a'lat*, for small fish, like trout and chub, was a cylindrical basket tapering to a closed end. In the open end was a series of rods arranged funnel-wise and perhaps terminating in a ring. The fish attempting to jump the falls, drifts back through the funnel and is unable to find its way back through the small opening. The larger trap (*ak!a'lat*) for salmon was identical, but may have had an additional construction inside. McGuff's sketch suggests that the funnel in the mouth gave on the small end of a second funnel facing toward the rear of the trap. This would provide an inner chamber in which the fish would remain, but it does not appear to add to the efficiency of the device, if it really existed. Such basket traps were made of hazel or willow twigs fastened together in open twine construction. They were set in a creek below a low fall; a foot or two was sufficient for the purpose. Two posts were thrust into the bed or bank slanting toward each other. The basket trap was suspended from a rope connecting their upper ends.³⁹ Weir-like obstructions may have been placed to direct the fish toward its mouth.

The weir was placed in larger creeks at points where there were a series of shallow falls. This was formed of a series of posts supporting horizontal poles lashed together and forming a pen with its opening upstream. At night fish sometimes drift downstream backward. They swim excitedly on the first bench, more quietly on the second, and rest at ease in the enclosure surrounding the lowest fall. A gaff hook was used to take the fish out.

³⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 26.

The club for killing salmon, sturgeon, etc., was a straight wooden billet fifteen inches long, tapering from a diameter of three and a half to one or two inches. It was not decorated.

Fish spears were generally the two-pronged variety common on the Northwest Coast. Two long divergent prongs were lashed to the end of a pole, each bearing a detachable point. Each point was fastened with sinew and pitch to one end of a cord four feet long. The other end of each cord was then tied to the spear shaft in such fashion that when the point was set on its prong, the cord was somewhat slack. When the fish was struck the detachable point came free, holding the fish attached to the shaft by the cord. The points were of flint or deerhorn. We may presume the deerhorn points were like those of other tribes in the vicinity; they presumably had a socket hollowed in the base into which the foreshaft of the spear fitted. The flint points would have to have been set into a wooden or horn piece (as McGuff's obscure statement suggests) in order to furnish a socket. McGuff's sketch shows the points furnished with barbs. The shaft varied in length depending on the height of the fishing stage above the water; generally they were about sixteen feet long. The wooden foreshafts or prongs were presumably lashed to the shaft with thin strips of wild cherry bark as elsewhere on the coast.⁴⁰

Fish was dried by hanging it where it was protected from the sunlight, and smoked incidentally, in the summer mat-lodge. A large section at the rear of the house was given over to the drying racks. The desire was to have the fish dry as long and thoroughly as possible. They were, however, not deliberately smoked as by the tribes of Puget Sound.

Clark observed in October, 1805, that "on these rocks [at the Dalles] the Indians are accustomed to dry fish, and as the season for that purpose is now over, the poles which they use are tied up very securely in bundles and placed on the scaffolds."⁴¹

Salmon was often dried, pulverized, and preserved in baskets, for use in winter, and to be traded to other tribes who came regularly to the Dalles for barter.⁴² The dried salmon has a sweetish taste and was often used by pinches as a condiment on other foodstuffs. It was stored in twined circular baskets lined with dried salmon skin and covered with more of the same. It was said that it would then keep indefinitely. The salmon skin was prepared for this purpose by repeated drying and stretching. A sack of dried salmon was called *itci'nqu'ix*, and may have been of a standard size.

Lewis and Clark observed (October 1805, presumably at Celilo Falls) the "Indians engaged in drying fish and preparing it for the market. The manner of doing this is by first opening the fish and exposing it to the sun on their scaffolds. When it is sufficiently dried it is pounded fine between two stones until it is pulverized, and is then placed in a basket about two feet long and one in diameter, neatly made of grass and rushes, and lined with the skin of

⁴⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 29.

⁴¹ Hosmer, II, 39.

⁴² Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 30.

a salmon stretched and dried for the purpose. Here they are pressed down as hard as possible and the top covered with skins of fish, which are secured by cords through the holes of the basket. These baskets are then placed in some dry situation, the corded part upwards, seven being usually placed as close as they can be put together, and five on the top of them. The whole is then wrapped up in mats, and made fast by cords, over which mats are again thrown. Twelve of these baskets, each of which contains from ninety to a hundred pounds, forms a stack, which is now left exposed till it is sent to market; the fish thus preserved are kept sound and sweet for several years, and great quantities of it, they inform us, are sent to the Indians who live below the falls, whence it finds its way to the whites who visit the mouth of the Columbia. We observe, both near the lodges and on the rocks in the river, great numbers of stacks of those pounded fish."⁴³ At the Dalles "the stock of fish dried and pounded was so abundant that he [Clark] counted one hundred and seven of them [bundles], making more than ten thousand pounds of that provision."⁴⁴

Such pounded fish was dried on a grass mat which was placed on top of a grid of poles supported on posts, like that used for drying meat. The grid was just the size of the mat and had its cross pieces spaced somewhat further apart than in the meat drier. This was considered the most effective way of drying ground fish since air could reach it through the mat as well as from above. It dried much more rapidly and thoroughly in this fashion than in any other, and never decayed.

Lewis and Clark also observed the storage of fish in the ground for winter food (at Celilo Falls?, October, 1805). "A hole of any size being dug, the sides and bottom are lined with straw, over which skins are laid; on these the fish, after being well dried, is laid, covered with other skins, and the hole closed with a layer of earth twelve or fifteen inches deep."⁴⁵

Fresh (?) fish was prepared by steaming it and splitting off the flanks.⁴⁶

Ats!E'pts!Ep was a mixture of dried fish and pieces of flesh mashed up fine and kept in fish-oil.⁴⁷

A fish-soup (itu'luck) is mentioned as given to a convalescent man. It was made of heads of various varieties of salmon.⁴⁸ This use of soup may be akin to the common view of Indians that soup is fit food only for invalids.

The eels (lampreys) are small. These were split and cleaned, but the head, tail and backbone left in place. They were cut into four or five segments, about five inches long. To roast them, a stick was thrust through from the inside, and then stuck into the ground so as to lean obliquely over the fire. They were roasted until brown. The wood chosen for this purpose is a variety growing in the mountains which imparts no taste to the cooked eel.

⁴³ Hosmer, II, 33.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 40.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 36.

⁴⁶ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 29.

⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*, 141.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 182.

HUNTING

Hunting presumably took a secondary place in Wishram activities. Most hunting was in the forests clothing the southern spurs of the Mount Adams mass, the locally-styled White Salmon and Klickitat Mountains. Deer and elk were taken with the bow and club by still-hunting, or driven along their runs to waiting hunters, or taken in pit falls. Fences, decoys, and the surround were unknown. Predatory animals, or any that could be caught with bait, were usually taken in deadfall traps, although they were also stalked.

Deer were seldom killed in summer when the bow was the chief reliance. As these were short ranged, still hunting was not very fruitful. To be sure, stronger men, who wielded more powerful bows, were more successful. In winter the deer could be readily followed over crusted snow or driven into snow covered pits.

The organization of a hunting party was described by McGuff as follows. Men who wanted to hunt would gather and decide among themselves where they will hunt, whether snow shoes will be needed, the number of days they intend to stay, how much food must be taken along, and so on. Their hunting food was usually dried salmon eggs, which were far lighter to carry and contained more oil than anything else of equal weight. They appointed one of their company to conduct the hunt, to make plans concerning their route and where they were to meet. Before they left this man would build a sweatlodge in which he sweated for five mornings before the sun rose. All the while he was sweating he talked to the steaming rocks asking for good luck, that he and his party might kill much game. He addressed the sweatlodge as great grand-parent (*alxt!ma'x*). (Why it was so called, McGuff's informant could not say). At the same time his companions were also sweating. When they went everything was left to this man: his method was used. Sometimes he was a shaman; if so, he was more to be relied on, for he would then have dreamed where to find the deer or elk next day. If this leader should fail, the next party of which he was a member would pass him by in their selection by reason of his poor judgment. When their time limit was up they stopped hunting. If they had more meat than they could carry, it was hung on tree limbs to be left until someone in need of meat passed by.

A hunting party divided the game equally. The one who killed a deer was entitled to the hide and horns; he might prefer to give them to another. Deer were rarely cut into pieces unless there was but a single deer, for example, to divide among them. The carcass was always eviscerated, the legs were tied, those on the same side by a cord eighteen inches long, and the deer slung on the packer's back so that a leg rested on each of his shoulders. Some preferred a packstrap, in which case the legs of the deer were tied to its body and the strap attached to the carcass above the hips and behind the shoulders. The strap rested on the packer's head or across his chest and shoulders. A strong man could transport two big bucks, a weight of some 300 pounds.

Deer were also taken on their natural runways. The hunters would select

points where it was known that deer habitually passed at certain times during the day or when disturbed by hunters. Such a point was a mile and a half above the mouth of the Klickitat River, where eight or ten men might take their stand. Others went upstream half a dozen miles to drive them down. Above this on the river was a point where the deer always crossed; hunters also waited on either side there. Despite all the confusion of shouting and shooting, the deer would invariably turn into the runways past the waiting bowmen.

Elk were found much further back in the mountains. They were hunted in much the same manner as deer, but an attempt was always made to kill the leading stag first. If this was successful, five or six of the herd could be dispatched before they took alarm. Should only an outlying animal be hit, the herd would almost certainly flee following their leader.

Deer were much easier to take in winter when they floundered in the snow drifts. A snow fall of two or three feet crusted by following sleet or hail made success quite certain. The deer were then found in large herds taking shelter from the storm in some grove of heavy timber. Snowshoes used in the pursuit brought them within easy bowshot. The deer breaking through the crust, cut their legs and soon ceased struggling to escape. They were then clubbed rather than shot. (The form of the club is unknown.)

Deer were also taken in winter in pitfall traps. These were trenches dug in the regular deer trails, six feet wide, fifteen or twenty long, and quite deep. Poles were laid across this, covered with a little light brush. After a light snow its existence was quite concealed. The game was then driven toward the pits with the aid of dogs. Some would fall through; those that did not would remain with their feet hanging between the poles. Those that fell through could never jump out and were there dispatched with clubs.

Dogs are described as woolly and all of a single type.

In fawn time a deer caller was used. A grass blade was held between the thumbs when the hands were clasped, leaving an opening on each side. Putting the hands to the mouth and blowing on the edge of the grass blade created a bleating sound imitating the cry of a fawn and causing a deer to answer or approach. This will also attract a cougar or wolf who might mistake it for a fawn.

Bears were hunted only in the mountains where huckleberries, blackberries, and hazel nuts abound, that is in late summer and fall. Bears are much more approachable at this time when they are occupied only with gorging themselves. The hunter crept within close shooting range. Bear flesh was not much esteemed. It was eaten but little; the majority of Wishram would not eat it under any circumstances. One of their strongest beliefs was that the bear was a human at one time and his flesh is like a man's. The fur was rather desired. It was used for bed mattresses and for a kind of breech clout having a wide seat.

Bear, cougar, wolf, fox, and other animals attracted by bait were caught in deadfall traps. Large logs were required in a deadfall for bear, cougar, and

wolf. Lewis and Clark mention seeing snares set for wolves near the Dalles.⁴⁹

Timber wolves are like elk, in that once the leader is killed, others may be shot and will not ordinarily turn on their pursuer. Wolf hunting was very dangerous before the introduction of guns. Yet the fur was greatly desired and valuable. Shamans, war chiefs, and chiefs of tribes were the only ones who had it and only exceptional hunters pursued them.

How far contribution was levied on the animal world we do not know. A number of animals and birds were cited as eaten: tree squirrel (considered excellent food), ground squirrel, mountain goat, ducks, grouse. They did not eat, among others, grizzly bear, badger, rock squirrel, turtle, eagle, magpie, redwing-blackbird, dove, and *igwai'gwai* (a small grey bird).

Meat was sundried to preserve it. Sometimes it was cured more thoroughly by roasting and smoking it on a special form of scaffold. This was a low affair consisting of four posts driven into the ground at the corners of a rectangle three by six feet, supporting a grid of small poles about three feet above the ground. The meat was sliced in small pieces of one-half to one and a half pounds in weight, and thin, one-half to an inch thick. These were laid singly side by side on the grid. A fire was laid under the grid and maintained as uniform as possible to roast all the meat evenly.

Ducks were boiled.

VEGETAL FOODS

The gathering of roots and berries, in fact of all vegetal products whether intended for food or as basket materials, etc., was primarily a feminine task.

Women went in the spring to the prairies on the mountain slopes to dig roots. They carried a basket tied to the waist at the right side. The digging stick was oak, eighteen inches to two feet in length, had a curved point and bore a short cross-grip at the top. Berries and nuts were also obtained on the mountains, but in the fall. Like roots, these were stored for winter use. It is somewhat doubtful that seeds of composite plants were used. At least the common practise of beating them into a basket was unknown to Mrs. Teio.

Seeds of the water lily were traded from the Klamath. They were not gathered by the Wishram and may not grow in their country. These seeds are called *ig'e'lük*, which is not a Klamath word.

A partial list of plant foods was obtained.

ROOTS

camas, the familiar staple of the whole region. Plentiful on higher ground near the mountains. Dug in May. Pit-roasted for two days; not boiled.

wild onion (*iq!la'uwaitk*), an elongated root. Roasted.

wild onion (*ak!u'stxulal* and *ak!a'lakia*), two other roots mentioned; the latter is the larger.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Hosmer, II, 44.

⁵⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 95.

another variety of wild onion (ĩtkõ'kcti), very small and round. Roasted two days.

wild potato (wakxa't), twice as big as an acorn; known generally as "wap-patoo."⁵¹

wild dwarf potato (kecla'xen), globular, an inch or more in diameter (identical with the last?). The proper time to dig it was after it lost its flowers in May or June. Roasted, or rather steamed, in a pit for a short time.

wild potato (itq!wõ't), one of the foregoing?: said to be similar to the following (amu'mal), but of finer grade and grain.⁵² The skin is black; mashed fine and boiled in a stew.

bitter wild potato (amu'mal), very small. These were cleaned and pounded fine in a mortar, squeezed into balls, and dried. They were then made into a loaf, ten inches long, between two sticks which were tied together at the ends.⁵³ Pairs of these connected by short cords were slung over convenient poles and hung away to dry. This might either be eaten dry or made into a mush.

wild carrot (adwõ'q), a sweet root. Boiled, but could be eaten raw. A stew called idai'next was made of this root with bitter wild potatoes, to which dried fish was sometimes added.⁵⁴

another wild carrot (ĩmts!ona, in Yakima), a finger-length root resembling the carrot of a plant bearing yellow flowers. Roasted.

abia'xi (or peyahee), a little macaroni-like root dug in the mountains; each plant has a little bunch of these rootlets, four or more together, and about five inches long. The jacket was scraped off the rootlets to the white flesh. Boiled.

akapi'lili, a plant with leaves like grass, the tiny root of which is carrot-shaped. Washed and eaten raw.⁵⁵

ĩk!a'lak!iã, a flat root bulb (three-quarters to an inch in diameter) of a plant with long grass-like leaves and small grayish flowers. Roasted, but could be boiled.

ĩx!ũmk!aimax, a flat root of a large flat-leaved water plant (not the water-lily) found in a lake on the south side of Mount Adams. Gathered in the fall with the aid of a flat stick or by feeling about with the foot. Roasted like camas.

large sunflower (wapictx), the roots were dug in the spring. Roasted.

⁵¹ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 140.

⁵² Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 94.

⁵³ Described for the lower Columbia Indians by Franchère (*Narrative*, 321).

⁵⁴ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 78.

⁵⁵ Franchère mentions a food called chapaleel in the form of "square biscuits, very well worked, and printed with different figures. These are made of a white root, pounded, reduced to paste, and dried in the sun" (*Narrative*, 322).

LEAVES AND STEMS

large sunflower, the early leaves of this were eaten fresh.

wi'pik, a plant with a sheaf of flat leaves, a foot high, bearing yellow flowers.

In the spring the stems were gathered, peeled, and eaten like celery.

wi'pän, like the last but smaller. Used in the same way.

iñkwa'hac, the leaves (of the preceding?) when they first appear were eaten fresh like lettuce.

BERRIES AND NUTS

hazel nuts, gathered in the fall and eaten without further preparation.

acorns (see below).

äslau'a.itk, a thorny tree as large as a willow bearing black berries.

añwälai'ñwälai, similar but with red berries.

huckleberries, ripe in the fall.

blueberries (emi'tck!an), on bushes twelve to eighteen inches tall. These and huckleberries were pounded somewhat, and put away for the winter in tall, narrow baskets.

aga'kwäl, berries having the bluish color of eels (hence the name); grow on low bushes like blueberries.

cranberries, gathered in the fall on the southern slope of Mount Adams; smaller than the cultivated variety and not hollow. Boiled.

MOSS

ik!u'nüc, a black hair-like moss found on fir trees in the mountains. Gathered at any season but especially in the fall. Cleaned with the fingers, soaked for a long time and washed very clean. This was mixed with wild onions (iñq!la'uwaitk) and pit-roasted. It was placed in the pit, which contained hot stones, between dry pine needles which were first wetted. A fire was built over the pit as well. It was allowed to roast for two days. This was then formed into cakes.

While the only full account of food preparation was that of acorns, we do not wish to imply that the Wishram made any considerable use of acorns in the manner of Californian tribes. Ripe acorns intended for winter use were gathered in November after they had fallen from the trees. They were pit-roasted, sacked, and carried home to the river villages for storage. A shallow pit, three feet in diameter, was dug, and filled with fire wood on which stones were laid. When the wood was consumed, the stones were poked about to form a flat surface. These were then covered with a layer of mixed dry oak leaves and dry fir needles.

which were sprinkled to form steam. The acorns were placed on this, covered with leaves and then with dirt. A heap of logs was built over this and allowed to burn for two days, by which time the acorns were thoroughly roasted. Five to eight large bagsful were cooked at one time.

When the roasted acorns were sacked, they were carried to the villages. Nearby at the river brink were pot-holes in the rocks. These, which served as storage pits, were individually owned. One belonging to Mrs. Teio's mother, for example, was three feet in diameter by six feet deep. Blue mud, which has a pleasant odor, was brought from the river and dumped into the hole. The acorns were thrown in, together with the aromatic seeds of the k'ladodo'na plant (a non-edible plant resembling wild mustard), and mixed with the mud. The mass was covered with a clean mat and sticks, and rocks so firmly piled over it that no animal could dig in.⁵⁶

When the acorns were wanted, the mud and seeds were washed away. The shells were soft so that they could be picked open with the fingers. They needed no further preparation. The nuts were not a staple but were eaten at leisure moments, not at meals.

Dried huckleberries, hazel-nuts, and acorns were made up into packages of standard size which were given special designations, as follows: respectively iuna'yexix, ak'u'lalix, agu'lulix. These are similar to the sacks of dried salmon, which seem to have been of standard size. It may well be that this standardization was the result of the extensive trade carried on by these people.

COOKING AND MEALS

Various methods of cooking have already been described. The principal method employed for vegetable products at least seems to have been pit-roasting, probably because roots formed the largest single element. Boiling seems to have had a decidedly second place.

Stone-boiling was the single form employed. Granite bowls were used for the purpose, the hot stones being dropped into the food. While the large wooden bowls were not described as cooking utensils, it is possible that they too were used in this fashion. Apparently baskets were not used for the purpose.

Fir bark was extensively used in the hearths. In a Wasco tale collected by Curtin it is explained that a large log was customarily put on the fire with bark on top of it. The wood was called the "husband of the bark."⁵⁷ Lewis and Clark note "their chief fuel is straw, southern-wood, and small willows."⁵⁸ The fire-drill was the simple palm drill, probably of a single piece of wood. Tinder was used.

Food was served at meals in bowls of wood and horn, and presumably in baskets. Horn and wooden ladles and spoons were used with these.

⁵⁶ The Yakima were said to bury them in a hole in the earth near a spring, mixing them with k'ladodo'na seeds and k'launina'ak, a fragrant plant with leaves like those of the willow. This resembles the procedure on Puget Sound.

⁵⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 312.

⁵⁸ Hosmer, II, 261.

Meals were served twice a day, morning and evening. Visitors of both sexes were fed first, then the family. Men of the household might eat with the guests. One point is clear, that men did not eat first.

CANOES

The Wishram were essentially a river people, their primary interests centering in fishing and movements on the Columbia. It must be remembered that in their immediate neighborhood the broad river is narrowed to a turbulent stream rushing among rocks and quite dangerous to navigate.

Of the three types of canoe made on the Northwest Coast, as differentiated by Olson,⁵⁹ the Northern, the Nootka or Chinook, and the shovel-nose canoes, the Wishram made only the shovel-nose to our certain knowledge. They also used the Chinook canoe and may have manufactured it. They discriminated between two types of canoe, in addition to the Chinook, but it does not appear from McGuff's sketches that these differed in any appreciable way save in size.

The canoe (called *ikni'm?*)⁶⁰ was, according to Mrs. Teio's description, a modified form of the usual shovel-nose. The prow was pointed and sometimes rose above the level of the gunwales, when it might be carved or painted. But the prow was flat underneath like typical shovel-nose examples, not with the sharp vertical cutwater of the Nootka-Chinook form. The stern was brought to a point as well but apparently was not vertical. No mention was made of separate prow and stern pieces set on the gunwales, as in the Nootka-Chinook variety, although it is possible that a separable prow-piece was provided. Two varieties of the Wishram canoe were distinguished by McGuff: *tc!gwa'man*, used on the river where the water is relatively quiet (in contrast to the Chinook canoe as a sea-going craft), measuring twelve to twenty feet in length, with a beam of two to three feet, and *t!a'ma*, (*it!a'na?*), a knock-about craft used on the river and lakes, more slender than the former, large enough for four or five people, yet so small that two persons could carry it.

Canoes of this type were seen by Lewis and Clark in 1805 in the vicinity of Celilo Falls and the Dalles. "On the beach near the Indian huts we observed two canoes of a different shape and size from any we had hitherto seen [i.e., the ordinary shovel-nose of the interior]; one of these we got in exchange for our smallest canoe, giving a hatchet and a few trinkets to the owner, who said he had purchased it from a white man below the falls, by giving him a horse. These canoes are very beautifully made; they are wide in the middle and tapering toward each end, with curious figures carved on the bow. They are thin, but being strengthened by cross bars about an inch in diameter, which are tied with strong pieces of bark through holes in the sides, are able to bear very heavy burdens, and seem calculated to live in the roughest water. . . . The canoes used by these people are, like those already described, built of white cedar or pine, very light, wide in the middle, and tapering towards the ends, the bow being raised and

⁵⁹ Olson, *Adze, Canoe, and House Types*, 18.

⁶⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 39.

ornamented with carvings of the heads of animals." On another occasion Lewis and Clark differentiated the several types of canoe on the lower river, and state of this type, "the canoes most used by the Columbia Indians, from the Chilluckitt-equaws [just below the Dalles, i.e., White Salmon or Hood River Indians] to the ocean, are about thirty or thirty-five feet long. The bow, which looks more like the stern of our boats, is higher than the other end, and is ornamented with a sort of comb, an inch in thickness, cut out of the same log which forms the canoe, and extending nine or eleven inches from the bowsprit to the bottom of the boat. The stern is nearly rounded off, and gradually ascends to a point. This canoe is very light and convenient, for though it will contain ten or twelve persons, it may be carried with great ease by four."⁶¹

The Nootka-Chinook canoe was used by the Wishram, and possibly even manufactured by them, to judge from McGuff's manner of reference. On the other hand Mrs. Teio insisted that this was used only below the Dalles, although as far upstream as the Cascades and Hood River. Lewis and Clark state that they did not see it above tide-water, that is, below the Cascades.⁶² Inasmuch as McGuff stated that this was used more on the sea, it may have had little or no use in Wishram territory. The Nootka canoe (t^uwi'yē) was described as thirty to fifty feet in length and from four to six feet in breadth.

All types of canoe were hewn from cedar logs, obtained some distance below the Dalles. Mrs. Teio tentatively suggested fir and pine as materials.⁶³ So far as pine (sugar pine?) is concerned, Klamath informants stated that it makes too heavy a canoe. Bark canoes were not made.

They were hewn inside and out with flint "hatchets," according to McGuff who probably meant adzes, then burned smooth over the entire surface. Fir pitch was smeared by some over the canoes so that they would burn evenly. In earlier times canoes were not painted, according to Mrs. Teio; later they were painted black and red inside (like the Nootka canoe), black or blue outside. Some had carved figures of men and animals on the stern and bow, and probably on the sides. A carving of a canoe side, presumably an extra piece attached to the gunwale, is illustrated in Plate 13. This is a portion of a cedar burial canoe picked up on Memaloose Island, the burial place of the Wishram above The Dalles. This portion is eight feet long.⁶⁴

Paddles were ordinarily made of ash (Mrs. Teio said maple) but infrequently of oak wood. They differed in size according to the canoes with which they were used; lengths varied from four to six feet. The width of the blade was uniformly five to eight inches. McGuff's sketch shows the upper end of the handle enlarged transversely to afford a grip, and the tip of the paddle blade deeply notched, like those observed elsewhere on the lower Columbia, as among the Kathlamet.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Hosmer, II, 36, 48, 134.

⁶² Hosmer, II, 134.

⁶³ But on points of this nature, she consistently showed uncertainty and ignorance.

⁶⁴ Found by Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Filloon of The Dalles, Oregon; the illustration was kindly provided by Mr. W. H. Holmes.

⁶⁵ T. N. Strong, *Cathlamet on the Columbia*; Franchère, *Narrative*, 328.

Canoe bailers were made in several sizes of maple, ash, and oak wood. In shape they were said to resemble spoons, probably in that they were provided with handles. Various decorations were carved on them.

Canoes were made by those with special skill, but they needed no supernatural power. As with finishing any big task, a man would feel happy in its completion and give a general feast.

The leader of a canoe party sat in the stern as steersman. Three paddlers had places before him.

TOOLS AND MANUFACTURED ARTICLES

Adzes, Chisels, Wedges, and Knives. The art of woodworking was perhaps developed to the same degree as on Puget Sound, a decidedly second place in comparison with the typical Northwest Coast peoples of British Columbia. We judge that Wishram woodworking could not compare with them either in quantity, finish, or variety of wooden articles. Yet they were undoubtedly superior to all nearby peoples in woodwork. Wishram manufactured dugout canoes, paddles, bailers, wooden bowls, mortars, troughs, ladles, spoons, bows, and cradle-boards. Plank houses were not in common use. On the other hand they did not manufacture a typical utensil of the Northwest Coast, the wooden box.

Adzes, at least small ones, were used in the preliminary roughing out of the object. The Wasco also used small adzes.⁶⁶ If an inference is permissible from the distribution of adzes in northwestern America as Olson has defined it,⁶⁷ we should suspect that the Wishram used the straight adze. "What is evidently an adze of this form is mentioned by Lewis and Clark as occurring in the Lower Columbia region where it seems to have been the only pattern known." This was also the sole type of northwestern California. (There is no data for Oregon). The straight adze has a stone blade in the line of the handle, a straight or slightly curved piece of wood, bone, or horn, where it is lashed against a flattened section at one end. Flint "hatchets" were mentioned by McGuff in describing how canoes were made, but he surely meant adzes.

A flint bladed chisel with a wooden handle was used in gouging and engraving designs. The wooden object was then further finished by scraping with the sharp edge of a flint.

Tree trunks were split with elk antler wedges.⁶⁸

Knives were flints set in deerhorn handles and both single and double edged. These were probably used for skinning, butchering, and as weapons, rather than for wood-working.

Awls and Needles. Awls were used in all sewing on skins and coiled baskets. Sinews were not usually directly inserted in the manner of our cobblers, but a needle was employed. Awls were fashioned of bone or deerhorn, and of flint for basketry. Needles were made of various sizes. The common sewing needle

⁶⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 295.

⁶⁷ Olson, *Adze, Canoe, and House Types*, 13-14.

⁶⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

was three to eight inches long, provided with a long, sharp point. It was described as similar in shape to the common grainsack needle, hence may have been somewhat curved. A longer needle of the same shape had a diameter of one quarter inch and a length of twelve inches. Somewhat larger needles of this sort were used in sewing reeds together for mats. Thick needles (one quarter to an inch and a quarter [?] in diameter and from four [?] to ten inches long) were used for rough work such as sewing thongs in fish-baskets for handles, to take packstrap ropes, or to lace the basket or bag closed. Needles were made of hard wood (ironwood, dogwood, or oak), dressed by scraping with a sharp flint, and finished by oiling (fish or animal oil), and then being laid away to dry before being used. The informant did not know whether needles were ever made of bone.

Threads for sewing were flax fibers and sinew. Moccasins for winter use were sewn with flax, for summer with sinew, since flax is better able to withstand a wetting. The flax or hemp is *Apocynum cannabinum*.⁶⁹ The sinew was that lying along the spine of a deer and, we may presume, the long leg tendons. Flax fibers and sinews were rolled and twisted to make threads. String or rope was also made of hazel withes.

Pestles and Mortars. Stone pestles were most common, being used for pulverizing dry fish, roots, and berries; wooden pestles were used only for mashing fresh berries. The mortars were solely of wood, although stone bowls cracked by the heat of cooking might be used.

Stone pestles were twelve to fourteen inches long, round in section, tapering from a three inch diameter at the bottom to half that at the top. The lower face was somewhat convex. The upper end was sometimes ornamented by shaping it to resemble a nose, for example. These were made of common or black granite (gabro?), the latter being better material. The stone was placed on a layer of dry dirt, four or five inches thick, to serve as a cushion and prevent it breaking during the pecking process. It was lightly tapped with a sharp-edged fragment of granite, turning it the while to give it cylindrical form. Hollows were fashioned by continuous pecking at one spot.

Mortars were fashioned from the tough roots of the oak. A block was hewn in bucket shape, sixteen inches or less in diameter at the top, tapering to little more than half that diameter at the base, and somewhat less high than broad. The walls were relatively thin. At two points on the rim, opposite each other, handles projected above its general level. These sometimes project beyond the exterior surface of the mortar as squarish bosses. Ornamentation may encircle the mortar near the rim or be confined to the boss-like handles. On one mortar illustrated the ornamentation is the familiar "kerb-schnitt" type of the southern Northwest Coast area (Plate 1).⁷⁰

Bowls, Spoons, and Ladles. All of these were made of wood or horn, but large bowls for cooking were made of stone. Wooden spoons and ladles were

⁶⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

⁷⁰ Boas, *Primitive Art*, 284. Identical mortars from the Wasco are in the Field Museum of Natural History (nos. 88704, 5, 7, 10, 11).

hard wood; ash, maple, oak, and the root of the crab-apple. Their form is shown in Plate 1 and Fig. 3. The bowl was more round than elliptical but sometimes pointed, and quite deep. The handle was curved and usually rose above the level of the spoon. It was carved, with some intention at least of providing a better grip. Others were made of mountain sheep and mountain goat (?) horn. Moun-

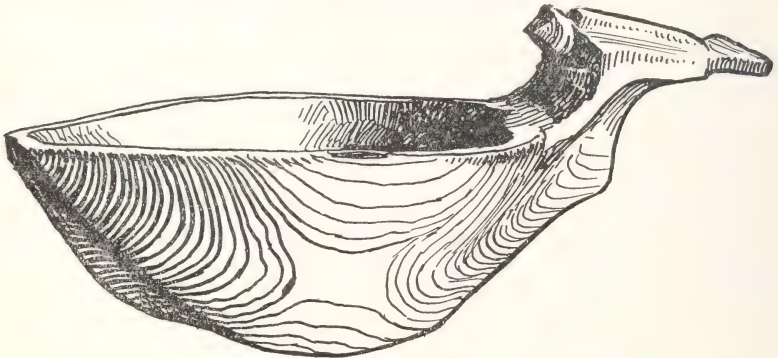


FIG. 3. A Wooden Spoon (specimen in the University of Pennsylvania Museum).

tain sheep horn spoons were not plentiful among the Wishram as the animal lived on Mount Adams well back of their territory. They searched for shed horns on the sheep ranges while gathering huckleberries and considered themselves very lucky if they stumbled on one.⁷¹ Mountain goat horn spoons were described as with elongated bowls and short straight handles, which would conform to their natural shape.

The horns were boiled until soft, the handle bent to shape, and the bowl formed over a spherical or oval stone to take shape as it cooled. When it was set to shape, carved ornament was added. Horn bowls could not, of course, be used with hot foods, but it was stated that horn spoons could be so used.

Stone bowls were made of granite. The hollow was made first since the stone would withstand hard pecking while still a solid block. When the hollow was completed the exterior was dressed. Large bowls of this type were used for cooking by the familiar process of dropping hot stones into the food.

Blankets. Rabbit-skin blankets may have been used for robes as well as bedding. Long strips were cut spirally from dried (?) rabbit skins to furnish warps. These were wefted (presumably twined) with cords made of a grass which grows three feet high, rolled into string on the thigh. The Wishram did not weave blankets of mountain goat or other wool, and our informant did not know whether such articles were ever made of sagebrush or cedar bark.

⁷¹ Strong states that the mountain sheep, now extinct in this area, must once have been found there, since it was described from Mount Adams in 1829. Lewis and Clark describe the mountain goat in the area but not the sheep. It does not seem to have been common in the region. (Strong and Schenck, *Petroglyphs*, 80).

Mats. These were made of tule (and other reeds?) and of a grass mentioned below. Tule mats formed the covering of mat lodges and the under layer of the roofing on earthlodges. Smaller mats were spread over the floor of the house and on the benches as mattresses. The lodge coverings were long tule mats, having the width of the tule, three to six feet, and lengths from six to twenty feet. These were sewn with long curved wooden needles carrying flax cords. McGuff stated that only flax was used in sewing mats. Nettle cord was not mentioned by our informants, but it is conceivable that it was used in twined mats.

A grass mat, called itcxic or watcxte, was used for drying fish. This was made of waqenec, a grass resembling elk grass but growing in bunches on the edges of bodies of still water. (It is one to two feet in height, with sharp edges, and stiff when dried).

Packstrap. Prior to the acquisition of horses, most carrying of loads was performed by women. Dogs were not used for packing nor with a travois. In fact the travois is still unknown. Of recent years poles were tied on each side of a gentle horse to be dragged to a summer camp, e.g.

Loads were carried on the back by a packstrap passing over the forehead or in front of the shoulders. The load rested rather high on the small of the back, so distributed that two-thirds of the weight was borne by the back, the balance by the forehead band. The use of a basket hat by women alone, who were the packers, confirms Kroeber's suggestion of a functional relationship between the hat and the packstrap.⁷² Fish, e.g., were carried in soft baskets of two hundred pounds capacity to which the strap was tied, from the river bank up the steep slope to the drying house. Wood and other articles were carried in the same fashion. Women of relatively slight build (130 to 150 pounds weight) are known to have carried in this way some forty to fifty blueback salmon. As these average about five pounds apiece, the total load was 200 to 250 pounds. A man might pack from 150 to 300 pounds, a strong individual being able to carry two big bucks on his shoulders.

Packstraps were formerly braided cords or deerskin straps. More recently a woven strap displaced these. The cord affair was made of twisted or rolled wild flax fibers, three strands of which were so braided together as to be wider at the midpoint of its length. This wider portion rested on the forehead. In a packstrap of deerskin the central wide segment was a piece separate from the thongs, which were sewed to it. Such straps might be fifteen feet long, with a central section a foot to eighteen inches long.

The woven packstrap was introduced in Mrs. Teio's girlhood, about 1875. She does not know where the new style came from; it was adopted by all the residents of the Yakima Reservation. One specimen seen had a total length of five feet; the central portion, fourteen inches long and nearly two inches wide, was continuous with the warps of the tie cords. These warps were eleven strands of commercial cord. The warps were simply braided for two feet at each end; then for an inch or so the warps were divided into two bundles which were

⁷² Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 807.

braided separately; the central section was wefted with commercial yarn. This was woven by twining two yarns continuously from right to left, the whole warp being turned over at the beginning of each new pick in order that the directions of twining remain the same. A decorative effect was introduced by using varied colored yarns in narrow bands across the warps, the intervening spaces being neutral colored yarn. These colored bands were in order, brown, red, black, black, red, brown.

Baskets and Bags. These must have been the most numerous articles of a household, used for a variety of purposes in transporting and storing food and other articles. The list of the several kinds we have at hand may not exhaust the varieties. Further, the twined baskets are so flexible and so closely resemble the flat twined bags, and are at the same time so variable in size and shape, that it is not easy to separate the forms as given in our notes.

The baskets collected by Sapir are both twined and coiled, the bags twined. McGuff separated these as (1) ak!wa'tq, a small twined basket with circular base, so flexible that the sides may meet like a wallet; (2) sik!anxat, a twined wallet-like bag; (3) il!u'nepac, a bag like the last but in coarse open-twine, and perhaps always larger; (+) at!u'ksai, a coiled circular basket with a coiled base; (5) ick!a'le, possibly the same technique as the small twined basket (1) but certainly larger. A word for a small basket, apq!wexx, was also recorded by Sapir. Mrs. Teio named only two varieties (or forms) of baskets: ixk!a'banox, a flat bag in coarse open-twine used for carrying loads of fish, probably the same as il!u'nepac (3), and islai'pas, a circular twined basket for storing pulverized salmon, possibly ak!wa'tq (1). How far these names refer to technical differences and differences of use, we do not know. In addition a conical basket hat ats!a'xelai'a was worn by women. This was twined of white mountain grass. The Wishram were said to be among the chief producers of these hats in the Plateau.⁷³ Water buckets were tightly woven of cedar roots, probably twined.

All these were made by the Wishram with the possible exception of the coiled baskets (4). This was uniformly referred to as "a Klickitat berry basket," which may mean that it was traded from the Klickitat or was made in imitation of a similar Klickitat form. The type of basket was common throughout coastal and interior Washington. The Klickitat also state that neither Wishram nor Wasco made coiled baskets.⁷⁴

All of these types served indifferently for transportation and storage. There was some differentiation, however. Smaller twined circular baskets of capacities of one-half to two gallons were used in the mountains when picking acorns, pine nuts, or digging roots. Larger baskets of this sort of two and a half gallons and more were primarily storage baskets. Provisions for which they had more concern, such as dried camas and peyahi (a bitter macaroni-like root dug in the mountains), were preserved in the twined wallets. A basket called islai'pas, possibly only the common twined circular basket, a foot in diameter and two deep,

⁷³ Haerberlin, *et al.*, *Coiled Basketry*, 139.

⁷⁴ Haerberlin *et al.*, *loc. cit.*, 136.

was used to store pulverized dried salmon. The basket was lined with dried salmon skin and its contents covered with more of the same. Coarsely woven open-twine baskets, quite flat and provided with handles, some two feet deep, were the primary carrying baskets. Salmon were carried in these, as many as seven at a time, with their tails protruding from the top.

The twined circular baskets were sometimes made and used in pairs (with identical decoration?). This may be a transfer from *partleches* which were usually made in pairs (but we must remark, not by the *Wishram* at all).

Both twined circular baskets (1) and twined wallets (2) were made in simple twine. An examination of the photographs of specimens available fails to show any use of diagonal twine or any certain use of three-strand twine stitches on the sides of the fabrics. The twined baskets, however, were begun at the base with crossed warps twined in bundles, the number of warps in each bundle being reduced at intervals, using diagonal twine (crossing two warps) which sometimes extended as far as the edge of the base (see Plate 4). The wallets were presumably made as among the *Klamath*, by twining weft strands through the warps at their midpoints, then continuing these across one half the warps and then the other half continuously. This produces a flat bag closed on three sides (Plate 5).

Both twined fabrics were made of strips of the bark of willow, cedar, and bearberry; sometimes of a tall grass growing in the mountain lakes. Modern examples have warps of unraveled commercial rope. The process of their manufacture was considered a slow one: an expert could make an undecorated basket of the size of a five pound pail in a minimum of two days, but if it required decoration, this was increased to four. A wallet was even slower in its manufacture since it was twined more finely, tightly, and regularly. Such baskets ranged in size from one-half gallon capacity to five, most commonly near the lower limit. The wallets measured ten by twelve inches, fourteen by twenty-four, for example.

The edge of such baskets and bags is provided with a binding of buckskin or cloth in a majority of the specimens. This is furnished with thong loops for handles in the case of the basket, and with a draw-string, or loops to take a draw-string, in the bags.

The *ick!a'le* was a large circular basket, known to us only from McGuff's sketches. Since it was rather elaborately decorated and said to be woven evenly and tightly, we surmise that was in twine weave. The size was given as a bushel and a half and again as of five and a half gallons capacity. These were made of cedar roots and elk grass.

Coarse open-twine bags were used for burden baskets. To judge by the single photograph at hand (Plate 7) they were made in essentially the same way as the smaller twined wallets. Mrs. Teio described such burden baskets (called *ixk!a'banõx* by her) as having a rope inserted in the sides, in some fashion not clear, terminating at the rim in handles to which the pack-strap was fastened. (Possibly a rope was turned through the warps, or caught in the twining, when the bag was begun and its ends caught in the twining on the sides as extra warps).

The coiled basket had a cedar root foundation sewn with elk grass and, for decorative purposes, with the sap bark of the cedar. The cedar roots were dug up and dried in the sun for five or six days. They were then soaked in warm water for a day and split with the aid of a sharp flint. They were careful to split and scrape the pieces to a uniform width. These were then sorted according to width, the various widths being suited to the several sizes of basket. A pointed flint was used as an awl for inserting the sewing strand. We do not know whether the baskets had a single or multiple rod foundation. Each segment of foundation material tapered so that the next bit added might be lapped with it. The cedar sap bark was variously dyed and used almost solely for design figures. The specimens at hand show imbricated decoration but the manner of its application was not described. Coiled baskets were made even more slowly than the wallets, a small one of the size mentioned above requiring six days to complete.⁷⁵ In size these had capacities of one-half gallon to three times that amount.

In order to obtain design pattern names, Sapir took with him to the field a series of photographs of Klickitat, Lillooet, and Thompson baskets in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History. Those among them named by the Wishram are listed below and shown in Fig. 4, drawn by Miss M. W. Bonsall of Philadelphia, an expense kindly assumed by the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

a, hide of a spotted fawn; b, laq!esq!es (a very old pattern); c, deer and birds or butterflies (the Klickitat interpretation of the figures was horses); d, steps; e, loose fitting dovetailing (an aboriginal concept?); f, salmon stomach; g, steps (the Lillooet interpretation was doubtfully fungus); h, sturgeon roe (before spawning); i, steps; j, hazel withes; k, eyes.

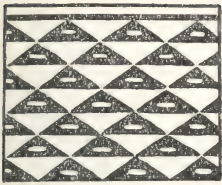
Several other design names were obtained for which we have no illustrations at hand: curlew, frogs, birds, salmon, fish gills, teeth.

Several other design units were redrawn by Miss Bonsall from sketches furnished by McGuff (Fig. 5). His interpretations follow; a, willow or hazel withes; b, eyes and teeth; c, fish teeth; d, (human?) teeth; e, rattle snake fangs and jaws; f, none given.

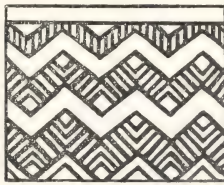
A resumé of this limited series of designs shows,⁷⁶ first, that single units, not complex designs, are named; second, that their representative value is stressed by a literal interpretation; third, that they bear the names of real objects and living forms, not of ideas; fourth, that the association of name and form is not very variable. To be explicit, a realistic figure of a fish is a salmon or generically a fish (Pl. 2, a, b), of a quadruped with horns, an elk or deer (Pl. 2, c; Fig. 4, c), of winged figures, eagles, birds, or butterflies (Pl. 2, c, e, h; Fig. 4, c), and those of humans show arms, legs, trunk, head and features (Fig. 4, c, f, g). The series of teeth are quite realistic. Obtuse spurs opposed from parallel base lines

⁷⁵ A description of the method of their manufacture by the Klickitat is given by Mason, *Aboriginal American Basketry*, 427; for illustrations, see pp. 429-430 and Pls. 159-161.

⁷⁶ See also Haerberlin *et al.*, *Coiled Basketry*, 357.



a



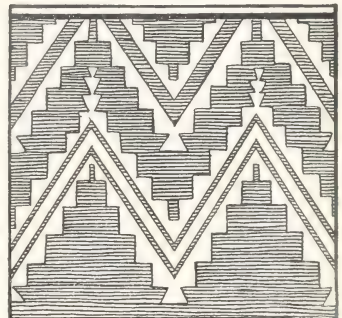
b



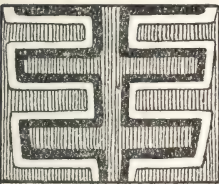
c



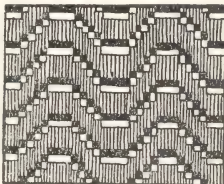
d



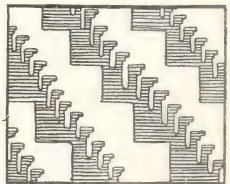
e



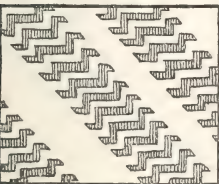
f



g



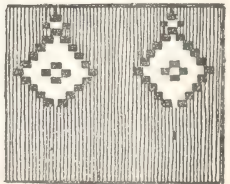
h



i



j



k

FIG. 4. Design patterns named by the Wishram from Klickitat, Lillooet, and Thompson baskets (American Museum of Natural History, a-e, h, i, Klickitat; f, g, k, Lillooet; j, Thompson).

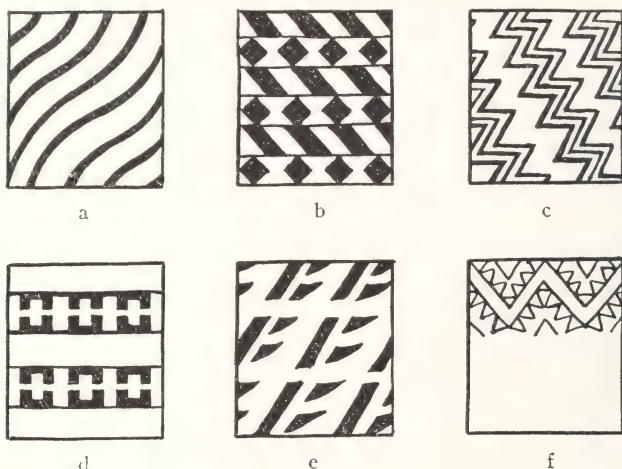


FIG. 5. Wishram design units redrawn from native sketches (a-d, twined baskets; e, flat bag; f, coiled basket).

or a single line are human teeth (Fig. 5, d; Pl. 3, c); a series of oblique angles are fish teeth (Fig. 5, c); oblique lines with two recurving triangles represent the (open?) jaw of a rattler with its protruding fangs (Fig. 5, e). The other cases of teeth are less obvious, but may be related conceptually to these fish and snake teeth by reason of their oblique parallel lines (Fig. 5, b; Pl. 3, d). Hazel withes are shown by long parallel oblique lines (Pl. 2, d; Fig. 5, a) which may represent the parted fibers of the twisted withes, and by parallel zigzags crossing others (Fig. 4, j) which may be interpreted as twisted withes. Perhaps inevitably because of its importance in their life, parts of fish appear in several designs; fish teeth (Fig. 5, c); zigzag lines as fish gills (Pl. 3, a); an elaborate enclosure as a salmon stomach (Fig. 4, f); and a stepped diagonal with pendants as sturgeon roe before spawning (Fig. 4, h) which, for all we know, it may resemble. A series of large spots are those of a fawn skin (Fig. 4, a). Small lozenges and lozenges containing crosses (as pupils?) are eyes (Fig. 5, b; Fig. 4, k). A quite different design (Pl. 3, b), also called eyes, is difficult to understand unless we hazard that the lids are shown with eyelashes above and below. The most variable set of designs are those known as steps (Fig. 4, d, g, i), yet the representation is clear. The design unit in all three cases seems to be a brief stepped line. A series of steps called a loose fitting dovetail joint (Fig. 4, e) does indeed look like the kerfs of such a joint partly separated, yet this might also have been called "steps."

It will be observed that the habit of naming small design units is identical with the case of the parfleche decorations. Their names for the complex forms on the exterior of the bags were avoided and only the simple disconnected elements on the side flaps named.

It may be noted that a single word *idak'li'nu'amax*, is used indifferently of painted and basket designs.⁷⁷

Beaded bags are a modern innovation in imitation of Plains beadwork. These are small handbags made largely for tourist traffic. Two with decoration resembling that of the twined baskets and wallets are shown in Figure 6. More recently even these have been displaced by floral designs, ultimately derived from the Great Lakes region, and animal forms in lurid colors.

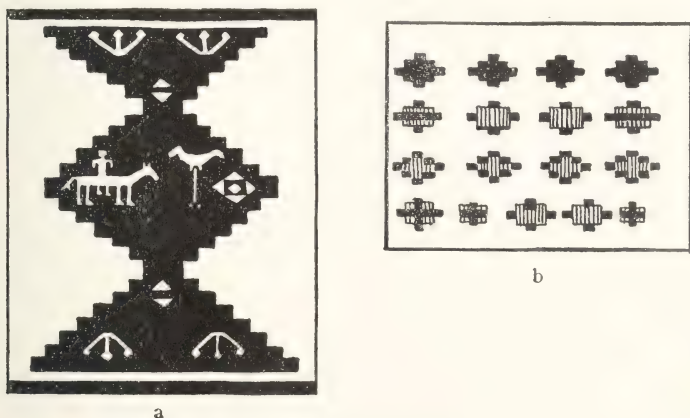


FIG. 6. Wishram beaded bags with old-style decoration (American Museum of Natural History).

Parfleches. These folded envelope-like rawhide cases were used for storage and as pack-bags on horses as by the Plains Indians. They were not manufactured by the Wishram nor by other peoples now on the Yakima Reservation (Yakima, Klickitat, etc.) but were traded from the Nez Percé.⁷⁸ There is no information as to whether the Wishram purposely selected among the Nez Percé patterns.

Designs elements were named. In addition to the interpretations to be given directly, McGuff stated that some elements were called buffalo eyes and elk eyes. We do not know if the names were the invention of the Wishram or derived, like the parfleches, from other sources.

⁷⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 142.

⁷⁸ McGuff's statement to this effect confirms our information recorded elsewhere (Spier, *Parfleche Decoration*, 95). Farrand also noted of certain specimens in the American Museum of Natural History, "Yakima, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture." The Klickitat and Yakima sometimes made them according to Haeberlin *et al.* (*Coiled Basketry*, 357, 360).

Plate 9 shows the exterior of a parfleche when folded and the interior revealing the decoration on the side flaps. The colors of the exterior are red, green, blue, and yellow; of the interior green and yellow. The figures on the side flaps were interpreted as people. Both parfleches of Plate 10 have the same color scheme as that of Plate 9. Both bear decoration on the side flaps; that on b consists of pairs of parallel lines transverse to the flap including a series of diagonal lines. This was said also to represent people. It will be observed then that there was consistency in the use of the design name. The parfleche of Plate 11 is a very old and faded specimen of buffalo calf skin. The original colors now appear as red, green (black?), and yellow. This was said to have been painted with native color-stuffs, not with commercial pigments like the other specimens figured. The black paint was made of buffalo blood mixed with pitch and "other stuff" (charcoal?), and either burned in or applied while hot. The side flaps are decorated with figures representing fishes. From McGuff's sketch of this, these are lozenges with serrated edges. A series of other parfleches are shown in Plate 12. Figure 7 shows a series of parfleche designs redrawn by Miss Bonsall from sketches by McGuff. Only three of these show decorated side flaps

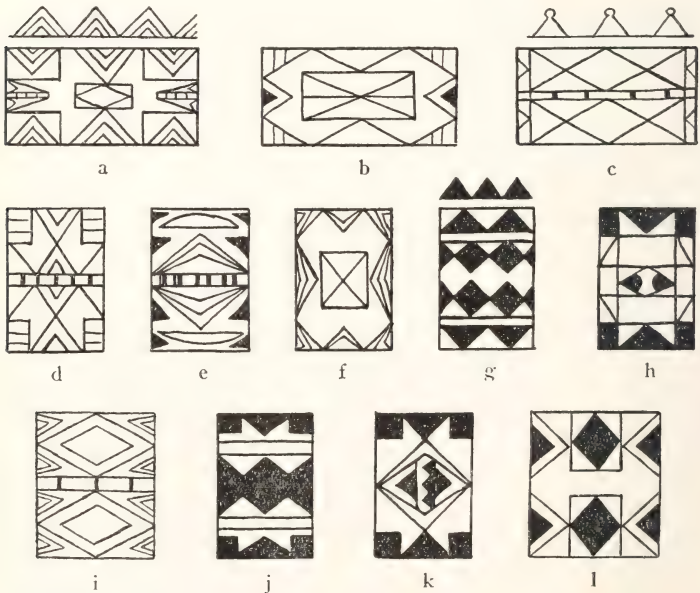


FIG. 7. Wishram parfleche designs, redrawn from native sketches (The decoration of only one flap is shown; decoration of the side flaps is shown above, where it occurs).

in the original sketches. Again it was only the isolated designs on the side flaps that were named: those of a were called arrowpoints; c, people (as in Plate 9); g, mountains.⁷⁹

Bows and Arrows. These were used for small game as late as 1870 but only meagre descriptions are now available. McGuff observed that ordinarily bows had so little range that they were of no great value in still hunting, dependence being placed rather on clubbing deer floundering in deep snow, yet that strong men wielded bows of greater range. This suggests the possibility that both self and sinewbacked bows were used.

The direct information at hand is that bows were sinewbacked (sinew-lined, in Mason's terminology). These were made of oak or dogwood, with a length of about four feet. They were straight, a third broader at the middle than at the tips, and lacked the constricted grip of the Northwest Coast types. The backing of layers of fresh sinew was applied over the outside of the bow to within six inches of each end. When dry it became taut and added materially to the bow's strength. The bowstring was released from one end until wanted for use, so that the bow-stave would remain straight.

Bows were held either horizontally or perpendicularly when shooting.

Arrows were made of any hard wood. They had diameters of three-eighths to a half-inch, lengths from fourteen inches to two feet. Stone heads were inserted deeply in the split shaft, fastened with sinew, and the wrappings smoothed over with pitch. Arrows for small game and birds lacked heads. The feathering consisted of three vanes. These were halves of large split feathers, ordinarily those of the mountain hawk, for war arrows eagle feathers. The head of a war arrow was poisoned with the contents of a rattlesnake poison sac. The outlines of a few stone heads were sketched by McGuff, presumably some found on the old village site. They ranged in length from three-quarters to two inches. All are tanged and, with a single exception having acute barbs, have rounded barb shoulders.

A peculiar type of war arrow was described by McGuff. This had a multiple barbed point, which he described as composed of two to four barbed flint heads, each one set into the barb of the preceding. The binding was of fresh or moistened sinew, which on drying would become very taut, coated with pitch. Yet the binding need not be very rigid since the purpose of the jointed head was to have segments of it remain in the wound. Such is his description as he understood it from an old woman, but his sketch suggests rather a multiple barbed bone head or a stone head set in a barbed bone foreshaft. Such forms have been described by Mason from western Washington, the Columbia River region, and northwestern California.⁸⁰ It is quite conceivable that this barbed bone head or foreshaft was so deeply notched that it was indeed easily snapped off. This type of arrow was usually used by war chiefs, and never for game. It is called *aqxa'qusa* after a huge cannibal woman *Akxa'qusa* who descended on the Wishram village and ate all its inhabitants.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of parfleche decoration in this area see Spier, *Parfleche Decoration*.

⁸⁰ Mason, *North American Bows*, pl. XLIX, fig. 5; pl. L, figs. 5-7.

Tanning. Hides of large animals were valuable. These included deer and elk skins, and the pelts of bear, timber wolf, coyote, mountain goat, and raccoon.

A deer skin was cut free of the carcass back of the ears and at the knees, leaving the tail attached to the hide.

The hair could be scraped off immediately if the hide was fresh. Otherwise it had to be soaked in water for one or more days depending on how long it had been dry. It was bundled up and weighted down with stones in the creek. It was then slung over a smoothed slanting pole, perhaps five feet long and six to twelve inches in diameter, which rested against a convenient tree. The hide was caught between the edge of the pole and the tree. The scraper was a deer or bear rib rubbed to a smooth edge on a stone. Both hair and pigmented layer were removed. A stone scraper held directly in the hand was used to remove excess tissue and fat from the flesh side.

The hide was then immersed in a solution of warm water and deer brains, contained in a wooden trough, long enough (overnight) to become soft and pliable. This trough was made from a maple or ash log, and was two to four feet long, eight to fourteen inches wide at the top, six to twelve inches deep. Only sufficient brain was put in the water to make it slightly soapy. Brain that had been prepared was much better for the purpose than the fresh article. Deer brain was set aside to rot a little, when it became quite oily. It was sometimes placed in a small flat bag between sticks placed cribwise and hung close to the fire to hasten the extraction of the oil. When the hide was well soaked it was rubbed between the hands, wrung out, and hung in the sun to dry for a day. It was soaked a second night in the same solution, rubbed, and again wrung dry. To wring a skin, the legs, neck and tail were tucked in, the whole placed around a post, and the ends twisted together with the hands. (A stick was not used as a lever to twist it, as elsewhere.)

A frame was constructed on which to stretch and rub the hide. This consisted of two poles set upright, bearing two crosspieces tied to them. Holes were punched along the edges of the hide with a bone awl and a strip of skin or rawhide thong was threaded through them. Another thong passing through this one was used to lace the hide in the frame. It was then rubbed vigorously in all directions with a special instrument. This was a beveled stick, or more commonly a stone scraper or deer-horn wedge set in the end of a stick. The flat flint scraper had a blunt, smooth edge; the angle of the horn wedge was quite acute. The wooden handle was two to three feet long, two inches or more in diameter; the blade, projecting four to six inches, was fastened with a sinew lashing and pitch. It was held in the hands, not under the arm. As the hide was worked on it grew slack and the lacing was drawn up. Of course, the more the hide was worked the larger and thinner it got. By this means it could be worked to the thickness desired.

Small skins could be tanned just as well in another fashion dispensing with the frame. The rubbing stick was set vertically near a fire, and the skin stretched and rubbed over the end bearing the scraper blade.

Smoke tanning seems generally to have been added to this process. A well

smoked skin would not spoil if wet; it could be wrung out and rubbed soft. Skins intended for moccasins were especially well smoked. A hole of a foot diameter and as deep as the arm was filled with well rotted wood of indifferent varieties which would produce a dense slow smoke. McGuff states that the edges of the hide were pinned down around the hole with small sticks which were then brought together and tied above so as to support the hide. Mrs. Teio had it that the skin was sewed down the side and tied about the neck to form a bag, which was then hung from a tripod, the edges being weighted down. It was first smoked with the flesh side in so that the carbon would strike well into the pores until the hide was yellow. It was then turned inside out and the process repeated. McGuff set the time for smoking at about two hours. The tripod appears to be a recent device substituted for the dome-shaped frame after Mrs. Teio was grown, perhaps about 1880. This frame was made of willow twigs and over it the hide was flung. Any small holes appearing in the finished hide were sewn with sinew from the back of a deer.

Musical Instruments. These were only moderately developed among the Wishram, in which they were one with other North American tribes. Drums of three varieties, the notched rasp or rattle, a deer hoof rattle, and possibly the flute (or flageolet) constituted the total.

The commonest drum was a plank laid before a row of drummers on which they beat with billets, some eighteen inches long. This thumping device was used in a shaman's curing practise and in the hand game.

The drumming accompaniment to the songs of spirit dances was furnished by a horizontal pole slung from the rafters by a rope at each end. This could then be thumped against a plank set upright in the earthen floor before it.

The only true drum known to the Wishram was the hand drum of tambourine type. Longer two-headed drums were not known. It may be that the hand drum is of relatively recent introduction among these people since it figured largely in the dances of the Smohallah cult. It was also used, to be sure, as a signal to call a meeting of the council of chiefs, and again to beat out the rhythm of war dances, although here the notched rasp seems to have been the proper instrument.

The hand drum was a hoop formed of a flat oak stick, two to six inches in width and one to three feet in diameter. It was provided with one or two skin heads; the latter being, of course, a more valuable article. The head was of deer or bear skin, and in later days horsehide, soaked before it was stretched over the frame so that on shrinking it would be drawn taut. It was fastened on by three thongs which crossed the open face, providing a grip. The head was sometimes decorated with a star (?), etc.; perhaps only those used in Smohallah dances bore decorations. The drumstick was a straight piece of dry wood, wound about at one end with cloth. Small drums were held in the hand; larger ones were set on the ground, where several drummers crowded around.

The notched rasp or rattle was the familiar instrument of the Basin tribes, a hardwood stick along which a series of semicircular notches were cut. It was rasped with another stick rubbed up and down along the notches.

The deer hoof rattle was used by shamans in curing and in the war dance. Deer feet were soaked in boiling water for a few minutes, when the hoofs could be readily detached. Holes were punched anywhere in them; they were threaded on a cord and set away to dry. When twenty-five or thirty had been collected, they were threaded on a sinew cord and attached to one end of a six-inch wooden handle. The name of the rattle, *aq'la'nalala*, was also the word for deer hoof. This was used by the Wasco in the war dance.

HOUSES

Houses took two forms; a semisubterranean earth lodge primarily for winter use, and a mat lodge. In addition, Mrs. Teio described a plank house, but McGuff stated that only two forms were used. Besides these dwellings there were small sweatlodges.

Generically houses are *itq'li*; a winter house is *it-tca'xulkxt*, whether above or below ground. The earth lodge is specifically *watce'lx* (also a root cellar) and the mat lodge *ittcagwa'yakxut*.

The semisubterranean earth lodge was a hemispherical superstructure built over a circular pit. The size varied with the number of inmates, from one to half a dozen families. Gunyer mentioned a pit sixteen or more feet in diameter, dug out to a depth of four feet. McGuff set the depth at six or more feet. The framework of the superstructure was of poles, covered with tule mats, grass, and dirt, or with cedar bark. Egress was by a hole in the roof reached by a ladder. (The frame was not described. We may assume that, like the Klamath, Middle Columbia Salish, and Thompson houses to the south and north, it consisted of four or two central posts bearing ridge poles on which rested others extending from the margins of the pit, rather than a series of poles extending directly from the margins to meet in an apex.) Low bed platforms extended around the walls, under which dried foodstuffs were stored. The floor and sides of the pit were lined with mats. There is no suggestion of the use of such lodges as men's club houses as in California.

The semisubterranean lodge was seen by Lewis and Clark in April, 1806, among the Weocksockwillacums (? *imië'qsôq wi'lxam*, White Salmon Indians) at Canoe River just below the Dalles. "Those [houses] which are inhabited are on the surface of the earth, and built in the same shape as those near the rapids [the Cascades]; but there are others, at present evacuated, which are completely under ground. They are sunk about eight feet deep, and covered with strong timbers, and several feet of earth in a conical form. On descending by means of a ladder through a hole in the top, which answers the double purpose of a door and a chimney, we found that the house consisted of a single room, nearly circular and about sixteen feet in diameter."⁸¹

The mat lodge was wholly above ground. It was rectangular in plan and provided with a gable roof. A sketch by McGuff suggests that one slope of the gable was quite short and abrupt; the other slope occupied nearly the entire width of the roof. Or he may have meant that the roof had only one pitch

⁸¹ Hosmer, II, 253.

in the manner of the shed-like houses of Puget Sound. The house was rounded at each end, the poles at these places presumably leaning inward to the apex of the gable. Small fir poles were tied together in fashioning the frame. The entire frame was covered with long tule mats or cedar bark, both inside and out on the walls, but outside only on the roof. Openings were left for smoke holes above each fireplace and for doorways. The mats were laid so as to overlap and shed the rain. They were so arranged that the tules stood vertically. Sometimes poles were laid on the mat covering to hold it in place. Such houses measured up to forty feet in length, having one to four fireplaces, with a width of twelve feet, and stood ten feet high at the ridge, five feet at the eaves.⁸²

Lewis and Clark mention seeing such mat lodges at the village of the Skilloot (iġa'xluit, Wishram) at the Dalles (April 19, 1806): "Since we left them last autumn they have removed their village a few hundred yards lower down the river, and have exchanged the cellars in which we then found them for more pleasant dwellings on the surface of the ground. These are formed by sticks, and covered with mats and straw, and so large that each is the residence of several families."⁸³

If the house was small, containing a single family, the entrance was in the end, and according to McGuff's sketch, at one side of the end. A long house had a doorway on the side for each family. By way of a door, a mat with cross-sticks sewed top and bottom was tied in place above the opening. It was not fastened at the bottom. Windbreaks (mats?) were sometimes placed to windward of the smoke holes to prevent the wind blowing in.

A large section at the rear of the mat lodge was given over to the racks on which fish were hung to dry. The house was tightly covered so that no sunlight could reach the fish. This portion had no smoke holes as it was desired to confine the smoke there to hasten the drying, although another informant said that fish were not deliberately smoked.

Such houses had bed platforms, three feet or more above the ground, extending around all four walls save as interrupted by the doorway. Or a single large sleeping platform, six feet above the ground, occupied one end. They never slept on the ground within doors. The desire was to have the fire between the doorway and the bed, which could be conveniently arranged in a small house with a single entrance, but how the several parts were arranged when a section of the house was given over to fish drying was not outlined to us.

Small mats covered the floor except at the fireplaces. These were swept off as necessity demanded. The fire was confined in a shallow pit, not rimmed in with stones. Every morning the fireplace was cleaned out and water sprinkled there. Beds were made of mats or other soft articles such as bear skins, or buffalo skins obtained from the Nez Percé in exchange for salmon. The covering was of blankets. The whole was cleaned, rolled up, and stowed away in the morning. Bedding may have been placed in a tent outside.

⁸² For an illustration of a similar house see McWhorter, *The Crime Against the Yakimas*.

⁸³ Hosmer, II, 260.

The mats covering the lodge had the width of the tule length, three to six feet, and lengths varying from six to fifteen or twenty feet. The tules were sewn together side by side with grass (flax?) cords piercing them at intervals of a hand's breadth. The cords were two-strand, rolled together on the thigh.

At the end of the fish drying season in August, the covering of the mat houses was rolled up and stored away until they returned from hunting and berry picking in the mountains.

The plank house described by Mrs. Teio was presumably rectangular and gable or shed roofed like those of the coast. The frame may have been like that of the mat lodge. The broad planks were tied vertically to the frame. The roof was probably of mats, not planks. For the planks, they went down river to the vicinity of Mount Adams where broad slabs, a foot or even two across, could be riven from the cedar trees. Such houses were described as warmer than the mat lodges, which suggests that they had some use in winter.

Lewis and Clark describe plank houses as though they were the only type in the Wishram village (undoubtedly, from the description of its location, Nixlu'idix at Spedis) which they saw in October, 1805, yet the following year they mention "cellars" at this place. "The houses, which are the first wooden buildings we have seen since leaving the Illinois country, are nearly equal in size, and exhibit a very singular appearance. A large hole twenty feet wide and thirty in length, is dug to the depth of six feet. The sides are then lined with split pieces of timber, rising just above the surface of the ground, which are smoothed to the same width by burning, or shaved with small iron axes. These timbers are secured in their erect position by a pole stretched along the side of the building near the eaves, and supported on a strong post fixed at each corner. The timbers at the gable ends rise gradually higher [to an apex], the middle pieces being the broadest. At the top of these [at the apex] is a sort of semi-circle, made to receive a ridge-pole the whole length of the house, propped by an additional post in the middle, and forming the top of the roof. From this ridge-pole to the eaves of the house are placed a number of small poles or rafters, secured at each end by fibres of the cedar. On these poles, which are connected by small transverse bars of wood, is laid a covering of the white cedar, or arbor vitae [bark?], kept on by the strands of the cedar fibres; but a small distance along the whole length of the ridge-pole is left uncovered, for the purpose of light and permitting the smoke to pass through. The roof thus formed has a descent about equal to that common amongst us, and near the eaves is perforated with a number of small holes, made most probably to discharge their arrows in case of an attack. The only entrance is by a small door at the gable end, cut out of the middle piece of timber, twenty-nine and a half inches high above the earth. Before this hole is hung a mat, and on pushing it aside and crawling through, the descent is by a small wooden ladder, made in the form of those used amongst us. One half of the inside is used as a place of deposit for their dried fish, of which there are large quantities stored away, and which with a few baskets of berries form the only family provisions; the other half adjoining the door remains for the accommodation of the family. On each

side are arranged near the walls small beds of mats placed on little scaffolds or bedsteads, raised from eighteen inches to three feet from the ground, and in the middle of the vacant space is the fire, or sometimes two or three fires, when, as is indeed usually the case, the house contains three families." At a village a few miles below they saw "there were figures of men, birds, and different animals, which were cut and painted on the boards which form the sides of the room, and though the workmanship of these uncouth figures was very rough, they were as highly esteemed by the Indians as the finest frescoes of more civilized people."⁸⁴

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Our information on clothing does not reach back to clearly aboriginal days. While men were credited with simply a breech-clout, a sleeveless vest, and fur robes, which are aboriginal enough, the woman's costume was given as a long skin dress, leggings, and moccasins, that is, full Plains costume. But it seems unlikely that Plains dress was introduced among them prior to that strong infiltration of Plains traits in the whole area which began subsequent to 1750. If we are to hazard what the costume may have been in earlier times, judging by what is known of neighbors north and south, women's garb was as scanty as men's, consisting solely of a kilt or apron of fringes or fibers, or a skin, pendant from a belt, possibly in the form of a breech-clout, plus upper garments like those of men.

Lewis and Clark describe the dress of the people above the Cascades as similar to that seen in the vicinity of the Dalles. "Their dress, also, consisting of robes or skins of wolves, deer, elk, and wild-cat, is made nearly after the same model; their hair is worn in plaits down each shoulder, and round their neck is put a strip of some skin with the tail of the animal hanging down over the breast." They noted of the Weocksockwillacum (probably White Salmon Indians) at Canoe River just below the Dalles, that they differed from the Indian of the Cascades in dress: "the chief distinction in dress being a few leggings and moccasins, which we find here like those worn by the Chopunnish [Nez Percé]." At the Skilloot iŕa'xluit, Wishram) village at the Dalles they remarked in April, 1806: "They are also much better clad than any of the natives below, or than they were themselves last autumn;⁸⁵ the dress of the men consists generally of leggings, moccasins, and large robes, and many of them wear shirts in the same form used by the Chopunnish [Nez Percé] and Shoshonees, highly ornamented, as well as the leggings and moccasins, with porcupine quills. Their modesty is protected by the skin of a fox or some other animal drawn under a girdle and hanging in front like a narrow apron. The dress of the women differs but little from that worn near the rapids [the Cascades], and both sexes wear the hair over the forehead as low as the eyebrows, with large locks cut

⁸⁴ Hosmer, II, 40, 47.

⁸⁵ A. B. Lewis interprets this as evidence of the introduction of Plains clothing at this date, but it is just as likely to represent seasonal variation (*Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, 188).

square at the ears, and the rest hanging in two queues in front of the body. The robes are made principally of the skins of deer, elk, bighorn, some wolf and buffalo, while the children use the skins of the large gray squirrel. The buffalo is procured from the nations higher up the river, who occasionally visit the Missouri; indeed, the greater portion of their apparel is brought by the nations to the northwest, who come to trade for pounded fish, copper, and beads."⁸⁶

Pelts of various animals were used in winter; bear, raccoon, deer, wolf, coyote, and mountain goat, all deemed valuable. Summer costumes were of tanned hides, such as deer and mountain goat. Moccasins were primarily for winter use; very few made use of them in summer.

Breech-clouts were made of fur, such as raccoon, and were of small size.⁸⁷ Winter garments of this nature, made of bear skin, were broad in the seat. A mat-like affair of tules, fashioned in (open?) twine, was worn in the snow for warmth. Having a broad seat it added considerable protection in slipping and sliding over the snow-clad hills. Leggings of fur and dressed hide were fastened to the breech-clout. The sleeveless shirt or vest was made of coyote or raccoon skins. This was described explicitly only as a man's garment. Shirts of the Plains type were not known originally. A recorded word (*wa'cēmχ*) for a beaded ornament of buffalo-skin tied to the middle of the blanket used as a robe suggests that the robes were decorated in the familiar Plains style. This ornament was attached to the blanket so as to lie on the middle of the back. This was presumably the band bearing circular bosses attached to or painted on Plains robes and known to occur in this area at least among the Klamath and Nez Percé.⁸⁸

Caps were made of fur (for winter use alone?); for example, from two head skins of coyotes. Mittens were made of coyote pelt and mufflers for the neck of the same.

The women's dress was the characteristic long garment of Plains women, but showing those local features typical of the northwesterly tribes. It hung to midcalf from the shoulders, with cape-like extensions to the elbow open below, and the body of the dress itself open under the arms as far as the midribs. Two buckskins were used in its manufacture, one before and another behind, sewn together along the shoulders and down the arms, leaving only a brief hole for the neck. Little gores were inserted near the bottom in each side in order to make the dress flare. (In answer to a leading question, the informant stated that the skins were probably hung with the tail end at the top, which is the Plains method). The sleeves were slit into heavy fringes which hung below the arms. The lower margin of the dress was probably also fringed a little. Little thongs were inserted in rows on the lower part of the skirt as further fringes; sometimes these had each a bead strung on them. A heavy beaded yoke was added crossing the

⁸⁶ Hosmer, II, 52, 254, 260.

⁸⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

⁸⁸ Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians*, 218. Klamath specimens, skin bands bearing circular areas of beadwork, are in the collection of the Field Museum (nos. 61985, 6).

shoulders and extending down on breast and back. The dress was gathered in with a beaded belt.

Conical metal jingles were attached to the dance costumes of both men and women. It was said that in earlier times these were made of horn or bone.

Women's leggings were also of Plains type. They reached from below the ankles to the knees and were beaded over their entire surface.

A basket hat was worn by women alone. This had the form of a truncated cone; its upper flat face was four inches in diameter, and the height eight to ten inches. It was twined of white mountain grass and decorated.⁸⁹

Moccasins of a single type were worn by both men and women. These were not of the type in common use on the Yakima Reservation today (1924), a one-piece affair,⁹⁰ but had a seam up the toe meeting a U-shaped piece on the instep. In back it conformed to the modern type, with a seam up the back and a little tab extending at the heel (a single tab, whereas the modern moccasins have two). It lacked the ankle flaps of the modern form.⁹¹ Beading extended along the toe and over the instep to hide the sewing. Summer foot-gear were sewn with sinew, winter ones with flax which would not soften in the wet. Well smoked deer-hides were chosen for moccasin material, as these would not harden when wetted and dried.⁹² Moccasins were mostly worn in winter, when they might be stuffed with dry grass for warmth.

Some sort of "socks" were made of a wild grass; perhaps a short legging or grass stuffing for moccasins in winter was meant.

Snowshoes may be conveniently described here, although not properly clothing. These were of the elliptical type; a hoop of hazel, dogwood, or oak, two feet long by eighteen inches broad, netted with deer or bear rawhide strips, an inch wide and with the hair on.⁹³ They were used primarily in hunting.

The hair of both sexes was parted straight up the crown and hung in a braid in front of each shoulder. Each braid was formed of three strands and hung full length. Women alone wrapped the lower end of their braids with a broad band decorated with trade beads and long white beads (dentalium shells?). Jingles such as Chinese cash were hung at the ends. Men also wore their hair in a single queue at the back. In a third style men cut off the front hair on a level with the tip of the nose or mouth, brought this back as a pompadour, and braided the side hair on both sides. This is the general fashion on the reservation today. The braids were sometimes tied together to lie on the breast.

⁸⁹ The Nez Percé hats figured by Spinden (*The Nez Percé Indians*, Pl. VI) conform admirably to the description, as well as those from Nez Percé, Walla Walla, and Cascades figured by Mason (*Aboriginal American Basketry*, 439, pl. 167). See also Haeberlin *et al.*, *Coiled Basketry*, 139, 354.

⁹⁰ Moccasins of a single type are used by all the modern inhabitants of this reservation, the Kalispel of the Idaho-Washington boundary, and the Nez Percé (cf. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians*, 216).

⁹¹ Assuming that this was a one-piece moccasin, the upper and sole being a single piece, it approximates Wissler's pattern no. 11 (*Material Culture of the Blackfoot*, 144).

⁹² The people of Warm Springs Reservation use alder bark to dye moccasins yellow; those of the Yakima reserve were beginning to imitate this in 1924.

⁹³ Oval snowshoes with a somewhat elaborate netting were collected on the Columbia River (?) by the Wilkes expedition (Mason, *Primitive Travel*, 408).

Face paints were undoubtedly used for decoration as well as in war, but it is noteworthy that all our informants mentioned their use primarily as cosmetics. A dark red paint was used in this fashion. Lumps of a certain warty fungus were gathered where they had fallen from fir trees, wrapped in leaves, buried in the earth, and roasted until red by a fire kindled over them. The product was cleaned, then scraped with a knife to secure it in a powdered form. This was thoroughly mixed with deer tallow and kneaded with the fingers until the mass was no longer greasy. This was intended as a cosmetic, not as a decoration; women used it on their faces when they worked out-of-doors to prevent sunburn and wind-cracking. A brighter red was obtained from a clay found in mountain creeks. A lump was roasted in a fire. Yellow paint was a fungus (?) found under the bark of an oak log that had lain for some time; it was simply scraped off. McGuff also stated that yellow paint was made of "mud and other ingredients, of liquids gotten from saps of different woods," e.g. alder bark (?). Black paint was simply charcoal. Paints were used in dry powdered form as well as with tallow as a vehicle. Blue and green paints were unknown.

Ear pendants were hung from holes in the ear lobe and its periphery. Both sexes had these, as many as five holes in each ear; the number gave prestige. These were pierced with some ceremony in early childhood (see p. 261). Each pendant was formed of a dentalium shell through the central longitudinal hole of which a short length of rolled deer sinew had been passed. Two or three little beads were strung on above this. Two pendants were hung from each hole. There was then a little cluster of pendants at each ear.

The Wishram did not make beads, either of shell nor bone, although they were very fond of them. Dentalium shell beads were obtained from the Pit River Indians of California; so we were told, but this must have been the ultimate source so far as the Wishram knew, with the Klamath as intermediaries. A dentalium bead was called *tcí'nmax*; those of highest value, that is long dentalia marked with zigzag lines, *kawig'e'tlít*.

CALENDAR, COLORS, DIRECTIONS, AND GESTURES

Calendar. The Wishram have long discontinued the use of the native terms for the months. In 1905 there was barely one who knew them. The following fragments are all that could be secured. A month corresponding to a late summer month (July-August) was termed *itackti'lit a'k'łmin*, literally "her-rotting moon," i.e., "the rotting month" ("moon" or "month" is feminine in gender, as is also "sun"). This probably refers to the rotting of salmon after spawning. Another month, apparently following this, was called *itax^uda'malal a'k'łmin*, "her-attacking moon," "the attacking month," August-September, from the series of attacks of schools of sturgeon and salmon at this time. Then (about September) came *itgaxała'gwax a'k'łmin*, "her-huckleberry-patch moon," i.e. "the month for huckleberrying." Another month, presumably October or November, *itcagu'lulix*, meant "her-acorn gathering (moon)," "the month for gathering acorns."

Three of the months bore ordinal numerals; "seventh," "eighth," and "ninth," e.g. alak'wis, "the (fem.) ninth," i.e. "the ninth month."

Three terms refer to the weather, but it is doubtful if these are true month names. They seem rather to be descriptive terms that might be applied to any of their appropriate months. They are: itca'lixtcak a'k'ɫmin, "her-frost moon"; itca'tcatcaq a'k'ɫmin, "her-cold moon"; and itca.la'iumit, "her-warmth (moon)", referring to the spring. The Wishram sometimes call "Christmas time" k'lik'liɫa, which is borrowed from Klickitat.

A new moon is called acu'max a'k'ɫmin, which cannot be further analyzed. One can also say utxui'lal a'k'ɫmin, "the moon is standing."

A Clackamas calendar, obtained through Pete McGuff from an old Clackamas woman living with the Wishram on Yakima Reservation, is interesting in that not one of the twelve terms has a known Wishram correspondent. The Clackamas term for "month," xaiɛ'm, is not known in Wishram. The list follows:

watca'gun	January	waqxu'li	July
giaxlk'lululxɫ	February	wa'p'ɫli	August
witcala'myxun	March	wak'nu'wi	September
wali'cnan	April	watca'mal	October
gitiga'lgui	May	wakma'ladix	November
witcaka'ctilit	June	gugwa'lx	December

These names have a decidedly archaic ring to them, with the feminine wa-prefix and witca- "her" (corresponding respectively to normal Wishram a- and itca-). Their meaning is not at all apparent, but wa-tca'gun, "January," is probably related to Wishram—tcatcaq (reduplicated), "cold weather." Apparently this is a well formalized calendar of obscure etymology, comparable for fixity and lack of clear terminological significance to our own. This is noteworthy because most Indian calendars are easily interpreted and it jibes with the stubborn etymological obscurity of Chinookan personal names.

The appearance of ordinal names in the Wishram calendar aligns it with others of the Northwest, from Yurok to the Eskimo of southern Alaska, and like them ordinals are not consistently used throughout. There is a possibility that our Clackamas series beginning with January represents an aboriginal count unmodified by white influences. If that be so, then the time of beginning may have been the winter solstice or the winter sacred period, both known in the Northwest.⁹⁴

Colors. A list of colors was requested of Mrs. Teio, on two occasions, who gave:

ta'pa'l	red	datgu'p	white
da'la'lmax	black	töpt'saix	blue
daga'cmax,	yellow	ata'k'a'nöpsolgiw'ilit	like foliage
dag'c	brown		

⁹⁴ Cope, *Calendars*, 142, maps 2 and 3.

The absence of a specific term for green is interesting in view of the commonly observed confusion of green and blue in the nomenclature of many primitive peoples. Mrs. Teio hesitated long before giving the term here recorded for green.

Directions. The extraordinary feature in connection with Mrs. Teio's response to a request for directional terms is that she named the winds and gave only two of these. The west (Chinook) wind is *ikxa'lá*; the east wind, *wi'k'ók*. She knew of no names for north and south winds. It is true that the prevailing winds blow very strongly up and down the Columbia through the gorge it cuts through the Cascade range.

Gestures. A few observations were made on gestures. Women beckon with all four fingers, the hand held palm up. They point with the face, the lips only slightly protruded. The length of an object was indicated on the extended hand by grasping the proper point on the wrist with the other. Both in casual conversation and telling stories the action of running was indicated by flexing the arms and working the elbows to and fro.

The proper hand to take in greeting, i.e. shaking (?) hands, is the right.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CASTE

Class feeling was strongly marked as elsewhere on the Northwest Coast. Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. The highest class was presumably that of hereditary chiefs and their families. It may also have included war chiefs and shamans. How the middle and lowest classes were distinguished is unknown. We may suggest that the middle class were those with some distant affiliation with chiefs. A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else. It seems unlikely that the divisions were sharply set off. This would, however, not change the estimation in which most members of a class were held.

A chief was called *ičta'mx*; his children, adult or immature, were so styled, but never his wife. This is a departure from the prevailing Northwest Coast habit, known at least as far south as Puget Sound, whereby all the members of a ranking family were known by a distinctive term.

CHIEFS AND COUNCILS

Several men were simultaneously chiefs. For example, about 1875 two men were chiefs of the remnant of the *Wishram* population; *K!a'lwac* and *Sla'kic*. Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. A woman could not be chief. The son of a chief married the daughter of a chief (of another tribe?) and their children were of high rank, the rank of the family never becoming less. If the family died out the people proceeded to the selection of a new chief.⁹⁵

A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen. "He is respected and called a chief." He then marries the daughter of a chief, and as his sons and grandsons do likewise, the rank of the family increases.

Nevertheless being a chief did not imply necessarily being a particularly wealthy man. It often happened that the wealthiest people did not belong to the highest rank, the chief's class. The separation in the *Wishram* mind of chiefs and the wealthy is intelligible not only because of the hereditary basis of chieftainship, but because the possibility of acquiring wealth was open to anybody. All the early travelers describe the population of the Dalles as essentially a trading people.

⁹⁵ For the burials of chiefs, see page 271.

As an instance of these observations we may cite the situation among the handful of Wishram remaining. Dick (?) Sla'k'ic, a middle aged man, living among the few Wishram still on the old village site on the Columbia, is recognized as chief. He is a paternal grandson of the chief of that name mentioned above, for whom he was named, and whose successor he is. While these people are under the jurisdiction of the Yakima Reservation and normally return there in winter, those who are settled permanently on the reservation recognize another, Frank Siletsi, as a local chief, perhaps only to represent them in dealings with the government agent. This man holds his position by reason of his wife, who is a niece on the fraternal side of the former Sla'k'ic. Our informant did not know whether a husband would have been substituted in this fashion in earlier days. The people chose him, because a woman could never be chief.

On coastal Oregon there existed a system of dual chieftainship: the Tillamook and Alsea had two chiefs for every river, the Coos for each small village. In each case one out-ranked the other.⁹⁶ It is just possible that a dual chieftainship is reflected in the circumstance that the Wishram had two chiefs in 1875. This is doubtful, however; it is more likely that several preëminent individuals were simultaneously recognized. At least our informants gave no hint that the number was confined to two, either in the group at large or in a single village.

War chiefs were distinguished from the generality of chiefs. We do not know how they were chosen nor the tenure of their office. The suggestion of our information is that they were not chosen solely when conflicts were imminent, but continued to be recognized in the interim. They were apparently men with powerful guardian spirits and personally aggressive, to judge by the remarks below on the subject of murder. We suggest tentatively that they were distinguished from other chiefs in that they obtained their position by personal qualifications rather than by heredity.

Common men did not fight with war chiefs. In a fight between two of this rank one or both might die of severe wounds, depending on the strength of their guardian spirits. The Indians of this neighborhood held that a war chief with a sturgeon spirit was powerful. A sturgeon can survive being stabbed in several places as long as the heart is not hit. A man with such a spirit could similarly withstand being severely wounded. Similarly, other war chiefs had rocks or trees for guardians; they might be hit by arrows but the missiles could not penetrate.

Chieftainship here meant something more than office and rank. Chiefs seem to have had considerable power: their word was implicitly obeyed. Acting in concert the chiefs decided on the fines or death penalty for a murderer or adulterer. If there was trouble within the tribe, it was the function of the chief to declare what should be done. Whatever the decision, it must be obeyed. The chief was "the head of the tribe." If a man killed another and the chief ordered that he was not to be brought to account, so it was. If then the murderer was

⁹⁶ Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, 4; St. Clair and Frachtenberg, *Traditions of the Coos*, 25.

avenged and the avenger known, the chief might decree that this man should be killed, and he was killed. All cases were carried to the chiefs for decision.

There was another side to this possession of apparently unlimited power: a chief was at least partly responsible for the behavior of his followers and it was certainly his obligation to make good a fine imposed on one of them, which the man was unable to pay.

The composition of councils is not quite clear. Where a formal meeting between the chiefs of two tribes was concerned, it is possible that membership was confined to chiefs. On the other hand, it is probable that in a council of Wishram alone, prominent men and perhaps all men took part with the chiefs, since spectators were mentioned to us. Chiefs were provided with spokesmen (doubtfully, one for each), who repeated to the gathering in a loud voice what their principals said. This type of repetition is called *kixwau' ūlulix*. The spokesman might be any man; it is not clear that there was any specialization of function here. It is well to note that this is a pattern of Wishram procedure; a shaman also had his spokesman who repeated aloud what the spirit communicated to the shaman. The characteristic functionary of Northwest Coast chiefs will be recognized here.

The feathered war headdress was worn at formal meetings, at least by important individuals. The hand drum was used to call members to a meeting. When a council was protracted, there were intervals of rest, the chief who called the meeting providing tobacco. He started a pipe around the group, each chief taking a puff or two and passing it on. In the meanwhile spectators were privileged to go out. In this will be recognized the formal smoking of the calumet, characteristic of the Plains and the southern Plateau, and presumably not ancient among the Wishram.

No one was allowed to enter or leave when an important council was in progress, such as those that dealt with war, plans against other tribes, or with murder cases. Nor was any friend or relative of a defendant allowed to be present. Important councils were held at night and guards posted, not that the chiefs were in personal danger, but rather to prevent information being carried to their opponents.

In an intertribal dispute, it was the duty of the chiefs to meet in council to investigate the case or to meet with the foreign chiefs. Should the matter not be settled at this conference, they argued no longer but declared war. Councils of both types are noted in the account of the meeting with the Bannock (p. 233), one of the noteworthy features of which is the truculent speeches and dissimulation of the chiefs.

MURDER

Murders were not uncommon. Their origin was usually the jealousy of a man over attentions to his wife or, where a death was laid to witchcraft, killings followed in attempts at vengeance. The relations of men to women not their relatives were distinctly circumscribed and a misstep which might be construed

as constructive adultery was resented and punished. The evident purpose of bringing a murderer before the chief or council was not so much to fasten responsibility on the murderer nor to punish his act as anti-social, as to prevent the hazards of a blood-feud.

The circumstance that affected the penalty imposed by the council was in the first instance the evidence, which in the nature of the case was almost always circumstantial, as it was necessarily in cases of witchcraft. The second consideration was the rank of the murdered or rather the relative ranks of murderer and murdered. The third was a settlement satisfactory to all the principals in order that the matter should rest with this solution. There was little legal subtlety in these considerations; confession would not mitigate the penalty, and no other pleas were effective, unless we except those of justification and accident, which were doubtless considerations. Inasmuch as the offender and his partisans were excluded from the discussion, there could be no effective argument on these counts. In short, the simplest of personal relations existed between the chiefs, the murderer, and the family of the murdered. This threw the disposal of the problem fully on the chiefs, whose dictates must nevertheless have been limited by public knowledge and sentiment.

Cases always rested on circumstantial evidence and public knowledge. An eye witness never testified, for his life was in danger if he did. It was more than likely that he next would die at the hands of the defendant's kinsmen.

The penalty imposed, and in fact the question whether one would be imposed at all, depended largely on who was murdered and to what family he belonged. It made a material difference whether he was of poor family or rich, himself a shaman, a war chief, a member of their families, or a man with many children, etc. If the murdered man was a shaman and was known for witchcraft, usually nothing was done about it. Since a shaman was never killed for anything but bewitching someone, his death was taken as *prima facie* evidence that there was real cause and the killing fully justified. A war chief was thought to be murdered only by another war chief, since a common man would never think of quarreling with one. People were too much in fear of war chiefs. If a shaman's kinsman was killed, the case was at once investigated by the council of chiefs and the murderer was compelled to give whatever the shaman demanded. Shamans and war chiefs alone had this privilege. A chief was afraid of a shaman, not that he was apt to "poison" the chief himself, but for fear that he might cause the death of some near relative. A shaman's family was not molested; one rarely heard of one being killed. Similarly the murder of a war chief or some member of his family was very rare, for a war chief might refuse proffered blood money and take immediate revenge, or do so at once without allowing the council time for meditation.

When a homicide was held to be without sufficient justification, the murderer was fined a large amount of property in canoes, furs, slaves, etc. If he was unable to meet the demand he was condemned to death by bowshot, the nearest of kin of the murdered being his executioner. The fine is blood money, fixed here

by the dictates of the chiefs, save in the case of shamans and war chiefs as noted above, not by direct negotiation of the principals as elsewhere. It does not seem that the chief or chiefs shared in any part of the fine paid. When a murdered man left several children, the compensation was fixed in proportion to their number. The widow was then entitled to it for their support. The desire was to achieve a settlement satisfactory to the feelings of the aggrieved who was then supposed to be content. Yet at times a bitter feeling remained, their promises to consider the matter closed were broken, and taking vengeance into their own hands, they retaliated by killing the murderer or one of his family.

Much depended on the rank of the murdered. A murder among people of the lowest class was not the concern of the chiefs; the solution was usually blood vengeance. Those of the middle class were protected by the chiefs; the fine was of middle value and there was not much chance of their being condemned to death. A chief was in duty bound to make good the blood money of a follower unable to pay, at least where it was owed a member of another tribe (or group?). But a murder in the high class was attended by a heavy imposition or by certain death. At times the amount demanded was so great that five or six families were involved in producing it.

The set of circumstances in a case of witchcraft may be outlined as follows. When two Indians had a serious difficulty and one wanted to dispose of the other, he hired a shaman to bewitch him. In eight or ten days this man died after but a brief illness. As he expired he repeated the very words used by the shaman in defining the manner of his death and stated who had planned the deed. The one who had hired the shaman was taken before the chiefs(?). They found him guilty and set the compensation. If he failed to bring the required amount, he was shot. The shaman was not culpable; the one who had planned the crime alone was guilty. Some would not wait on the chiefs' decision but ambushed the suspected man; this might lead to a series of reprisals. Five or six might be killed in this manner before a murderer was seen and known with certainty, when the case was brought before the chief. In this event the fine was very heavy, five or ten slaves, depending on the caste involved.

Circumstances were necessarily different when the murderer was one of another tribe. Unless the chiefs of the two peoples could agree, war was inevitable. It was very rare for them to agree on a death penalty, since feeling would run high. If the offender was unable to meet the demand for blood money, his chief would call a council for the purpose of getting together the sum. Chiefs showed in this manner how much they cared for their people.

A quite obscure statement was obtained from Mrs. Teio: that a murderer left immediately in the early morning for the mountains, where he remained fasting for four or five days. She did not know whether this held for women as well. It is conceivable that purpose was one of purification and the renewal of spirit power by a new quest.

ADULTERY

The relations between an unrelated man and woman were regulated by a formal code, the purpose of which was to enforce circumspection in their dealings. Girls were closely watched. It was a very difficult thing for a man to find opportunity to meet or speak to a young girl. It is said that illicit relations between young people were very rare. A girl who had transgressed was no longer worth anything; no one would care to buy her. Her parents too lost prestige by their carelessness. We must assume that this concern varied with the status of the family, that poor people with little to lose were far less vigilant. This is, in fact, borne out by the statement that they would deliberately arrange compromising situations in order to levy a species of blackmail.

There was equal concern over the conduct of a wife; so much so that constructive adultery was a punishable offense, perhaps to the degree of adultery itself. This circumspection surrounded as well relations with the wife-to-be of an infant betrothal, whether an immature girl or a woman affianced to a boy.

An unmarried man must take great care not to come too close to any unrelated woman. For example, should he meet one on the trail, he must step aside, perhaps ten feet, in order to avoid touching her. This, even if wholly accidental, was construed as an improper advance, and the husband was considered mortally offended, and derided by others. The offense could be compounded by a heavy property fine, varying in value with the rank of the husband, or if the husband considered himself insulted beyond redress by payment, the offender might even be punished by death. If the husband desired to keep the affair secret, he might lie in ambush for the offender and kill him without further ado. It is said to have been a trick of an impoverished man to get wealth for himself by causing some wealthy man unwittingly to touch his wife or daughter, whereupon the offended person could demand heavy payment for the affront. An unmarried man was forbidden by the possibility of misinterpretation ever to offer anything to a married woman; for example, should she express a desire for a drink of water, the young man was not supposed to get it for her. The notion of implied adultery was pushed so far that an unmarried man who fetched water never drank first of it himself under any circumstances. Should he do so, it was a certain sign that after marriage he would commit adultery with his mother-in-law.

Adultery and actions construed as such were heavily punished, by death to the adulterer or a heavy fine. Such statements as we have limit punishment to the adulterer alone; what action, if any, was taken against the adulteress is unknown. Should a low class Wishram commit adultery with the daughter or other close relative of a chief, he was very apt to be ordered killed by the chief's council. When a man discovered illicit relations with his wife, he killed the adulterer and paid but a small sum to the latter's family by way of recompense. Or he might spare the man's life but demand such damages as he thought reasonable, though the offender was then warned that if he was again found by this man talking to the wife, the husband would be at liberty to kill him. It mattered not

what they talked about; they were not to talk together out of earshot of other people.

We can hardly doubt that this account is somewhat over-formulated. It is doubtful that the reactions to every chance encounter could have been so severe as implied. Yet the possibility that certain actions could have been construed as moral breaches seems to have been in Wishram consciousness, and hence furnished a limitation to casual social contacts.⁹⁷

MARRIAGE

Marriage in all classes of Wishram society was legalized by a set procedure involving primarily the exchange of gifts. While this is described by the Wishram themselves as the buying of a wife, it is not bride-purchase in the sense of acquiring a chattel. The purchase was simply a customary procedure to be followed regularly for the sake of the social approval it gave to the union. There can be no doubt that at the same time the size of the gifts exchanged was a measurable criterion of the social pretensions of the participant families, and gave status to the newly formed union. We have recorded no expression that the purchase sum was given as compensation for the loss of the bride's services to her family. The primary notion was that unions not sanctioned by purchase were not legitimate, not permanent, and the offspring illegitimate. Such children were called *ixkixtu'mxöñ*, or *ługa'mitçgixt*, something picked up.

A second general feature was that marriages were commonly outside of the tribe. While we were not told so, we infer that this held primarily for high class and middle class unions, or for the former alone. Chiefs and their sons, as noted above, married the daughters of chiefs, who must frequently have been of other tribes in view of the limited number of chiefs with which we can credit the Wishram. It seems likely that the attitude of the Indians of western Washington was duplicated here. "Generally speaking, these Indians seek their wives from among other tribes than their own. . . . It seems to be a matter of pride, in fact, to unite the blood of several different ones in their own persons. . . . With the chiefs this is almost always the case."⁹⁸ At any rate, we have recorded the statement that chiefs and well-to-do men married women of tribes from the Cascades to the mouth of the Columbia River, as well as the Klickitat. Conversely Wishram women married into these groups also, specifically with the Kathlamet and Clackamas. It will be observed that, with the exception of the Klickitat, these were marriages with peoples of Upper Chinook speech, differing hardly at all from Wishram. Tribal exogamy of this sort was characteristic of the whole southern Northwest Coast area.

⁹⁷ Incidentally there is a lesson here for the theoretical ethnologist. If the avoidance of man and woman here were known only objectively it would present a situation resembling that, say, in Melanesia. One might suppose then the explanation to be that women were set apart from the man's social fabric because of the low esteem in which they were held, or that men avoided them because of their periodic impure state. Either guess would be a shot far wide of the mark. The moral is that it is as necessary to discover what the native sentiment is as well as to record the behavior.

⁹⁸ Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington*, 197.

On the other hand endogamous marriages were not prohibited. People within one Wishram village could marry unless they were blood relations.

Plural marriages occurred. Some had two, three, or four wives, or as another informant put it, a wealthy man, owning many canoes, slaves, and other valuables, had from two to eight or ten wives. It was a matter of indifference whether plural wives were sisters or not. The marriage ceremony followed exactly the same form in every case, it was said; that is, each wife had to be purchased. Otherwise children born to the union were "as nothing," that is, not legitimate.

Infant betrothals were arranged when the principals were as young as two years.⁹⁹ A regular wedding feast was held, with the exchange of gifts. The bride was purchased for the groom by his parents with canoes, pelts of various animals, buckskins, and feathers. They remained in their parents' homes until babyhood was at an end ("until they could talk plainly"), before being allowed to live together. (Presumably the girl then joined the boy at his home). Sometimes they remained separate until they were grown. Similarly a man bought a baby as his wife; when she was old enough they lived together. He regarded her parents as his parents-in-law and they reciprocated in their regard. Or a woman might be bought as the bride of an infant boy: she was then known as married to so-and-so's son. Circumspection attended relations with the brides of infant marriages as fully as in normal cases. Should one of the parties to an infant marriage die before they began living together, the survivor adopted full mourning. He or she must remain single for five years and during that time must never dress his hair, for example. At the expiration the deceased was replaced by another, the nearest relative, a sister or brother. That is, the levirate and sororate were adhered to as rigidly in these cases as in normal marriages.

When a young man wanted to marry his parents selected a good worker whom they favored. (Sapir's informant however phrased the choice as that of the groom).¹⁰⁰ They sent an old man, not necessarily a relative, to her parents to offer so much property, money or horses, as a purchase price. The young woman's father might reply; "Wait; I want to consult my relatives." If he favored the youth he would send a man to tell the suitor's people. Then the latter's father would send word that they would arrive at a certain time. (In Sapir's brief account the original emissary took the purchase articles to the bride's father and returned with the counter present).

The suitor and his father then dressed in their finest and proceeded with their relatives to the girl's home. Meanwhile her family had prepared a feast. The visitors sat down near the house. Then a man of their party brought forward the horses, crying "Wa+"; saying that so many were given by the father, so many by the aunt, etc. The girl's father called out the names of his own relatives who were to be the recipients. Spokesmen on the bride's side similarly went forward and called out gifts for the other party. Spokesmen of this sort were each paid a blanket for their services by the father of the contractant for whom they acted.

⁹⁹ These statements apply to the people of the Cascades as well.

¹⁰⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 175.

Women relatives of the girl then brought baskets tied together with beads, beaded bags, and other fine handiwork, and called the names of recipients. Men of the groom's party spread blankets to receive them. The women took the blankets back with them. The groom's mother gave the girl's mother a shawl. A whole trunkful of clothing was exchanged in this fashion.

The bride's people then spread a blanket or tanned skin on which the bride seated herself. She was dressed in all her finery. A woman sat on each side of her, her mother-in-law and another. They took off her finery and gave it to the groom's people. Then they dressed her hair with deer tallow and each inserted a comb, of which each had several. Then the girl's feminine relatives removed these. Others were put in her hair and removed again, and so on.

Meanwhile the girl's relatives prepared food. When the groom's party was dressed they went to the others. Men went first, then the groom, and finally the women with packs of blankets. The bride's party spread nice mats and placed blankets for the youth and his close relatives to sit on. They were then served, and the platters, etc., were presented to them.

This concluded the initial part of the ceremony, by which the groom was taken to his wife's home. Throughout the whole affair the young couple never addressed a word to each other.

The gifts were approximately equal, unless one side was too poor. In the account published by Sapir the groom's gifts consisted of three slaves and two race horses, the return present of a tanned elk-skin, an ox-hide blanket, and two woven blankets. When it was questioned whether this was really a purchase, since the gifts on both sides were equal in amount, Mrs. Teio replied: "Quite so, but the purpose of the gifts was that people should not gossip later and that the union should be permanent. Nowadays the girls elope and that is not legitimate."

The youth now remained with his bride's family. After a few weeks they took baskets, food, horses, etc., and with the girl's relations went to the groom's former home. The bride's mother spread a blanket for the girl to stand on. They then poured baskets of beads, pouches, etc., over the girl as she stood before the house. The groom's family appropriated these. She sat down and her mother-in-law removed her finery. In its stead she draped blankets, shawls, and lengths of cloth over the bride, which the latter's female relatives then removed.

Then food was placed for the visitors to eat. The groom's family gave presents to the bride's to carry away with them. The bride's people went out to where they had left their packs and made a pile of things for the groom's relatives. The bride's relatives then returned home, leaving the couple in residence with the groom's family.

After an appointed interval, only a week if they wished to hurry the affair, the couple and the groom's relatives again visited the bride's. Again there was the exchange of presents and feasting. Finally, after a brief time the couple were taken in the same fashion to the groom's home, which was to be their permanent residence.

Etiquette demanded two visits apiece by each family before the marriage ceremony was ended.

Formal visiting of this sort did not end, however, with marriage. The effort of the two families was directed toward maintaining friendly relations by visiting, feasting, and exchanging gifts in this manner. Thus, a few months after the birth of a child of either sex, the husband's people set a time at which they would visit the bride's relatives. The baby was decked out. The husband's people made gifts to the wife's. The latter then reciprocated by a gift-bearing visit. There was only one such visit by each family to celebrate a birth, but they repeated this on the birth of every child as an expression of their pleasure.

Divorce did not call for the return of the presents.

The levirate and sororate were usual but not obligatory, at least not so regular for adult unions as the informant's statements concerning infant marriages would imply. If a man already had a family he did not of necessity have to take his brother's widow to wife. There was no preference expressed for junior or senior levirate. The widow might marry a cousin, or for that matter anyone. Leviratical rights were expressed, however, by the fact that an outsider had to make a present of a horse or whatever to the dead husband's people so that they would look on him as one of themselves. It is significant that the gift was not made to the wife's family. The sororate, in the form of a substitute for a dead wife, was also practised but by no means in every case. We have already noted that the polygamous sororate did not occur as a regular form. Obviously the formal nature of these institutions was modified by the circumstances of compatibility, residence, etc.

On the relations between relatives by marriage we have little data. It is known at least that there were no tabus between mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law, between fathers-in-law and their son's wives. The following tale illustrates the relations of men to their mothers-in-law.

There was a man who abused his wife. When his mother-in-law interfered, he spoke to her angrily. She said: "Perhaps he is going to give me the skin of a certain animal [a white furred beast living in the sea]." That man had a little supernatural power; he could go under water and kill for her. He made up his mind: "I am going to get that for my mother-in-law." He told one little fellow: "If you know how to go under the water, we will go together." The little fellow said: "Yes, I know how to do that." He too had a little power. So they made big sharp stone knives which they fastened to sticks [lances?]. They then went in a canoe, but I do not know how far.

They went under the water. They killed that white animal and brought it out. They took it ashore and skinned it. They tanned the skin until it was soft. They brought it home with them.

The old woman was lying down, so they spread the skin over her. She was surprised: "Oh, I said that, but I did not think they would get it. My son-in-law has a strong mind; no one else could get it."

So from that time men tell their sons: "No matter what your mother-in-law tells you, do not answer; do not abuse her." They tell their daughters too: "Do not get angry with your mother-in-law." If they quarrel with her, they give her something to make her feel better.¹⁰¹

Something has already been said of sex relations outside of marriage. Prostitution was at any rate not institutionalized.

Of abnormal sex situations it is known that two or three transvestites, possi-

¹⁰¹ Told by Mrs. Teio.

bly real hermaphrodites, existed. They were called *iklé'laskait*. None of them were shamans.¹⁰²

Marriage as outlined for the Wishram smacks strongly of typical Northwest Coast ideas and procedure. There too marriage for the upper class was intertribal, and the union legitimized by purchase, its amount fixing the social status of all concerned. The very procedure of ceremonious visits, with gifts presented by spokesmen, the feasting and carrying away of the feast utensils, the rivalry in lavish giving are all reminiscent of the potlatch. Even the transfer of valuables by the person of the bride is analogous to Kwakiutl practise.

RESIDENCE AND HOUSE-COMPOSITION

As indicated in the description of the marriage ceremony above, a couple took up permanent residence with the husband's relatives. But while patrilineal residence was usual, conditions might warrant a man living with his wife's relatives. A newly married couple did not build a separate house for themselves, but took up residence in the house of the man's father, brother, or other male relative.

All the people in a house were related. Sometimes an unrelated person with no other home joined them. Beyond the circumstance that a son with his bride joined his father, there was no intentional stressing of paternal or maternal relationships in household composition. Once a household group was established helpful relations prevailed. Thus, women would freely give food to other families in the house should they need it.

We have knowledge of the composition of only one specific household. That in which Mrs. Teio lived as a girl in *Nixlo'idix*, the sole Wishram town of that day (1860-70), held her maternal grandmother, her mother's maternal aunt's daughter and her daughter, her father (who died in her infancy), mother, brother, and self; her sister and her husband; and a half-brother. The house had two fireplaces; at one cooking was done for her mother, grandmother, sister, brother, and herself. Sometimes a visiting woman lived with them, helping to dry fish.

At this time the town *Nixlo'idix* held perhaps nine or ten houses.

SLAVES

Slaves as non-Wishram stood apart in the social structure, ranking below the lowest class, whose material conditions could not, however, have differed much from theirs. They were captives of war, never Wishram, for no such institution as debt-slavery, e.g., existed. They were not, however, always captives made by the Wishram but frequently had been bought from other peoples, the trade in slaves being heavier at the Dalles than probably any other place in the northwest. The number owned by Wishram and Wasco was considerable.

Teit's information obtained among the interior Salish was that "slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles long ago. They were

¹⁰² Among the Klamath Spier found a man who, as a youth, had lived among the Wishram. There he changed to girls' dress and habits to escape bewitching by a Wishram shaman.

boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. Of the slaves who reached The Dalles, a few were Snake, some were from the Coast, and others from California. Some were from Rogue River and the Shasta, by way of the Klamath and Kalapuya, who bought them from other tribes or captured them in war. Probably nearly all were captives of war in the first place, but some were slaves' children and grandchildren. There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at The Dalles or elsewhere.¹⁰³ Partial confirmation of this was obtained by Spier among the Klamath. These people were in the habit of making extensive slave-taking raids, the majority of their captives being carried to the Dalles for trade. Considerable numbers were taken in this fashion; there is a record that in 1857 they captured fifty-six Pit River women and children, who were sold at the Dalles. Their slave raids were primarily against the Achomawi and Atsugewi of Pit River in northern California, to a lesser extent against Northern Paiute (or Snake) of eastern Oregon and the Shasta of adjacent California, with a few captured among the Upland Takelma of the upper Rogue River. It is probable that the Klamath contribution to the Wishram-Wasco slave market was negligible until after the coming of the horse, about 1800-40, and perhaps wholly absent prior to the opening of direct contact with the Columbia tribes at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ The following autobiographical account of a slave indicates that slaves were also traded from the Klickitat who obtained them on raids into southwestern Oregon and adjacent California.¹⁰⁵

I and my brother were captured in a war between the Klickitat and my tribe, the Shasta [but see below]. I am half Shasta and half Molala. With the Klickitat were Indians from several villages on the Columbia. In those days my people did nothing but prepare for war with Indians from the Columbia, who were in a habit of raiding our people to capture women and children as slaves. My tribe and others of Oregon and [north] eastern California prepared by making arrows, bows, and other implements of war. I was then a boy of about four years, while my brother was about six. [This fixes the date at about 1842]¹⁰⁶

I well remember the day the "fish-eaters," as we called them, charged on us at a river where we were living by fishing for salmon. We had lots of dried salmon prepared for winter use. It was about noon of a summer day when I and my brother by the river heard the Columbia Indians give their war-cry on the opposite bank. The river was deep and swift but quite narrow.

My father pulled his clothes off and painted his face. Several other men of our party were ready at once. Immediately my father was hit in the eye by a Columbia River arrow. The enemy crossed to the side we were on. My father saw we were outnumbered and were being beaten. Our people scattered, fighting all the time. My brother and I hid between some big boulders. The last I saw of my mother was when she ran by our hiding place with my father following with his eye out. They plunged into the river and swam down to a landing some distance below. I heard my father call out loud: "My dear sons, wherever you are hidden, if you are found you must remember the route you take so that you will know how to get back when you can get away. My eye is wholly out." All the rest of the women and men got away, but I and my brother were found right away, as we were seen by a spy who stood on the other side of the river.

We were taken to Sketcu'txat, now Vancouver, Washington. I was kept by one family while my brother stayed with another. After a long while I was given to a Wishram fam-

¹⁰³ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 122.

¹⁰⁴ Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*.

¹⁰⁵ Told by Johnny Bullhart, circa 1908.

¹⁰⁶ On Klickitat raids into this area, see Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 99.

ily with whom I remained until I was freed [about 1855-60, on passing into federal jurisdiction by being moved to the Yakima Reservation]. We were so well cared for that my brother and I never had any idea of running away after we became grown boys. My brother died at Walla Walla thirty years ago. We both forgot our own language. I now talk Wishram and Klickitat, and am seventy years old. I do not know any of my relatives. I have twice been back to my tribe [presumably Molala] but failed to find any of them. I was not remembered by anyone. My father was a Shasta, but I never went to them to see if I could find any relatives.

In war special efforts were always made to capture near relatives of the enemy chiefs; a captive son of the brother of the enemy's chief was considered a greater triumph than the capture of almost any number of ordinary people. Hence a large proportion of the slaves among the Wishram were of high birth; being a slave by no manner of means implied low rank by birth. The Siletz Indians, that is those of western Oregon at large, were contemptuously termed "slaves" because, being poor fighters, more of them were captured than of any other tribe.

Slaves were expected to wait on their masters and to do all the work of the household. When travelling, they were taken along to do the packing, gather wood, establish camp, etc. In a meeting with the Bannock which ended in a fight (see p. 233), the slave of the above autobiographical account, then a lad of sixteen, was taken along to pack the equipment from the canoes to the encampment and to ride home such horses as were gotten in trade. As the affair turned out, he took an active part on the Wishram side in recapturing stolen horses.

On the whole it is likely that their life was materially like that of the poor among the Wishram. They were ordinarily well treated by their masters; the account above makes that clear. The treatment depended largely on their own behavior, we were told; a mean spirited slave was treated accordingly. A runaway was punished by applying a torch to the soles of his feet until they were raw; if he ran away again this was done even more severely.

Perhaps the largest single element of their lives that distinguished them from poor Wishram was uncertainty. We have no statement that a slave was ordinarily killed with his master, but this was true at least of chief's personal slaves. This was also the custom of neighboring peoples. Thus, in 1844 a slave boy was bound to the body of the dead chief of the Wasco (Wascopams) in the grave house preparatory to burial, and among the Chinook, it was recorded that a slave was bound to that of a chief's daughter and exposed in a canoe.¹⁰⁷ There was the further uncertainty of how long a master would keep his slave.

Wealth was also measured in slaves. Mrs. Teio stated that her father had a great many—two! But considering the large number held by the relatively small number of Wishram implied in general statements, it would seem that wealthy men owned a far larger number of slaves. It may be assumed that the poor owned few or none. In one marriage account three slaves were cited as part of the bride purchase. A notion of their value may be gotten from the fact that the Klamath set the exchange price of two slave children taken to the Dalles

¹⁰⁷ Minto, *Condition*, 300, note 4; Schoolcraft, *Archives*, 2, 71, quoted in Bancroft, I, 249.

at five horses, several buffalo skins, and some beads. In 1859 Taylor noted the value of one woman as worth five or six horses, a boy one horse.¹⁰⁸

TRADE

If there was any one outstanding aspect of Wishram life it was trading. They were famous as the possessors of a trade market among tribes for a vast distance around and were inordinately proud of their reputation. In fact, they commonly render the name of their principal settlement, Niḵlu'idix (now Spedis, Washington), as "trading place," although the word is perhaps not capable of being etymologized. The vicinity of the Dalles was probably the most considerable trading establishment of the whole northwest, marking the meeting place of the interior and coastal groups in the bottle-neck of the gorge of the Columbia as it cuts through the Cascade range.

The rôle of the Wishram as traders was entirely that of stay-at-homes; there is no evidence that they ever went abroad to trade. They were wholly middlemen. It must not be assumed that the trade at the Dalles was wholly in their hands; the Wasco on the opposite, south, side of the river, and the adjacent bands of Sahaptins, shared in it equally. In earlier days, perhaps prior to 1750, the Salish groups who occupied the banks of the Columbia immediately above them to the east participated in this middleman's rôle.

Teit furnishes an excellent summary of trading at the Dalles.

"The Columbia and Wenatchi [of east central Washington] were the principal traders of the Salish people in the west, and large numbers of them went annually to The Dalles, where they traded with the Wishram, Wasco, and other tribes. It seems that long after the tribe was pushed out of the country near The Dalles and farther north, their trading-parties still claimed and maintained right of way through every part of the country to The Dalles. It is said that large, well-armed, and well-equipped parties of Wenatchi and Moses-Columbia annually passed through the Yakima country to The Dalles; and some other of their parties, in conjunction with Spokane, went south on the opposite side of the river, through the Wallawalla and Cayuse countries. The common route, however, was on the west side of the river, through the Yakima country. . . .

Trading at The Dalles was in skins, fur, fish, oil, roots, pemmican, feathers, robes, clothing, shells, slaves, and horses. On the whole, products of the lower Columbia, the Coast, and the southern or Oregon country, were exchanged for products of the interior east and north.

Many of the products obtained by the Columbia Salish at The Dalles and west of the Cascades were carried across country and sold to the Sanpoil, Okanagon, and others, at a profit. . . . Products from as far south as the Modoc, Rogue River, and Shasta reached The Dalles, also from a considerable distance north and south on the coast, and from the Plains.

Revais said that the greatest intertribal trading-place was at The Dalles. The people there lived entirely by fishing and trading. They bought almost anything brought to them, and resold it again. Grande Ronde, in eastern Oregon, was an important trading-place. Other places were the mouth of the Cowlitz, near Scappoose or about opposite the mouth of the Lewis, near Oregon City, the western Grande Ronde, the middle Nisqually, the upper Puyallup, near the mouth of the Okanagon, near Colville, and near the mouth of the Snake; but there were other minor trading-places in the territories of most tribes. Considerable trade from the west and southwest of Oregon and from the Klamath [River?] passed through the Kalapuya to Oregon City and thence to The Dalles. . . . Things traded, say, at the Grande Ronde and Okanagon were retraded at The Dalles. Products from the coasts of Washington and Oregon, Puget Sound, the plateaus of the interior to the north and east, the Plains, the interior of Oregon and northern California, reached The Dalles.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians*, I, 1x).

Slaves were very numerous on the lower Columbia and at The Dalles long ago. They were boys and girls and some adults. All the Oregon tribes dealt more or less in slaves, and so did the Coast people. The Dalles people always bought slaves and resold them. . . .

Shells, beads, Hudson Bay blankets, robes, clothes, horses, and fish were probably the principal things traded, also slaves, canoes, dressed skins, furs, and the like. Furs sold by The Dalles people to the Hudson Bay Company were all procured from other tribes. In later days they had few for sale, as the trapping-tribes traded directly with various posts. Some people of the following tribes came to The Dalles in the trading season: Columbia, Spokane, Yakima, Klickitat, Tyighpam, Wallawalla, Umatilla, Cayuse, and sometimes Palous, Nez Percé, Klamath, Molala, and Kalapuya. On the whole, the exchange of products at The Dalles was south and southwest versus north and northeast. The Wishram and Dalles people generally, and the Kalapuya, were always more or less hostile to the white traders. They resented the direct trade with neighboring tribes, considering that they should by rights act as middlemen.¹⁰⁹

In addition to the tribes who visited The Dalles for trade cited by Teit, our informant listed Toppenish, Wenatchi, and Nespelem. People came from everywhere to the east in the spring, from as far as the Spokane. Elsewhere food was scarce by spring but the Wishram had plenty, especially dried salmon. They brought a variety of wild products, such as wild potatoes, to exchange for salmon. On the other hand, the lower Columbia people came only rarely to The Dalles and then only members of the higher classes, such as chiefs and important shamans. They came with canoes which they traded for buffalo robes.

The trade on the river was described by Lewis and Clark in 1806 in the following terms. "Of that trade, however, the great emporium is the falls [the Dalles to Celilo Falls], where all the neighbouring nations assemble. The inhabitants of the Columbia plains [i.e., between the falls and the Snake River], after having passed the winter near the mountains, come down as soon as the snow has left the valleys, and are occupied in collecting and drying roots till about the month of May. They then crowd to the river, and fixing themselves on its north side, to avoid the incursions of the Snake Indians, continue fishing till about the first of September, when the salmon are no longer fit for use. They then bury their fish and return to the plains, where they remain gathering quamash till the snow obliges them to desist. They come back to the Columbia, and taking their store of fish retire to the foot of the mountains, and along the creeks which supply timber for houses, and pass the winter in hunting deer or elk, which, with the aid of their fish, enables them to subsist till in the spring they resume the circle of their employments. During their residence on the river, from May to September, or rather before they begin the regular fishery, they go down to the falls, carrying with them skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chappel bread. They are here overtaken by the Chopunnish [Nez Percé] and other tribes of the Rocky mountains, who descend the Kooskooskee and Lewis's River for the purpose of selling bear-grass, horses, quamash, and a few skins which they have obtained by hunting, or in exchange for horses with the Tushepaws.

"At the falls they find the Chilluckittequaws [White Salmon?], Eneeshurs [local Sahaptins], Echeloots [Wishram], and Skilloots [Wishram?], which last serve as intermediate traders or carriers between the inhabitants above and below the falls. These tribes prepare pounded fish for the market, and the nations

¹⁰⁹ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 121-2.

below bring wappatoo roots, the fish of the seacoast, berries, and a variety of trinkets and small articles which they have procured from the whites.

"The trade then begins. The Chopunnish and Indians of the Rocky mountains exchange the articles which they have brought for wappatoo, pounded fish, and beads. The Indians of the plains, being their own fishermen, take only wappatoo, horses, beads, and other articles procured from Europeans. The Indians, however, from Lewis's river to the falls consume as food or fuel all the fish which they take; so that the whole stock for exportation is prepared by the nations between the Towahnahooks [John Day River?] and the falls, and amounts, as nearly as we could estimate, to about thirty thousand weight, chiefly salmon, above the quantity which they use themselves or barter with the more eastern Indians. This is now carried down the river by the Indians, at the falls, and is consumed among the nations at the mouth of the Columbia, who in return give the fish of the seacoast and the articles which they obtain from the whites. The neighbouring people [i.e. at the mouth] catch large quantities of salmon and dry them, but they do not understand or practice the art of drying and pounding it in the manner used at the falls, and being very fond of it, are forced to purchase it at high prices. This article, indeed, and the wappatoo form the principal subjects of trade with the people of our immediate vicinity. The traffic is wholly carried on by water; there are even no roads or paths through the country, except across the portages which connect the creeks.

"Many Indians from the villages above passed us [Lewis and Clark, at the Cascades] in the course of the day, on their return from trading with the natives of the [lower] valley, and among others we recognized an Eloot [Echeloot, Wishram] who with ten or twelve of his nation were on their way home to the long narrows of the Columbia. These people do not, as we are compelled to do, drag their canoes up the rapids, but leave them at the head, as they descended, and carrying their goods across the portage, hire or borrow others from the people below. When the trade is over they return to the foot of the rapids, where they leave these boats and resume their own at the head of the portage. The labour of carrying the goods across is equally shared by the men and women, and we were struck by the contrast between the decent conduct of all the natives from above and the profligate and ill manners of the Wahccllellahs."¹¹⁰

Ross writes of the trade in the Wishram-Deschutes country five years later: "The main camp of the Indians is situated at the head of the narrows, and may contain, during the salmon season, 3,000 souls, or more; but the constant inhabitants of the place do not exceed 100 persons, and are called Wy-am-pams [Deschutes]; the rest are all foreigners from different tribes throughout the country, who resort hither, not for the purpose of catching salmon, but chiefly for gambling and speculation; for trade and traffic, not in fish, but in other articles; for the Indians of the plains seldom eat fish, and those of the sea-coast sell, but never buy fish. Fish is their own staple commodity. The articles of traffic brought to this place by the Indians of the interior are generally horses, buffalo-ropes, and

¹¹⁰ Hosmer, II, 149-151, 249.

native tobacco, which they exchange with the natives of the sea-coast and other tribes, for the higua [dentalium] beads and other trinkets. But the natives of the coast seldom come up thus far. Now all these articles generally change hands through gambling, which alone draws so many vagabonds together at this place; because they are always sure to live well here, whereas no other place on the Columbia could support so many people together. The long narrows, therefore, is the great emporium or mart of the Columbia, and the general theatre of gambling and roguery.

"We saw great quantities of fish everywhere; but what were they among so many: we could scarcely get a score of salmon to buy. For every fisherman there are fifty idlers, and all the fish caught are generally devoured on the spot; so that the natives of the place can seldom lay up their winter stock until the gambling season is over, and their troublesome visitors gone. All the gamblers, horse-stealers, and other outcasts throughout the country, for hundreds of miles round, make this place their great rendezvous during summer."¹¹¹

The trade was by no means always direct with the Wishram. The Nez Percé sometimes brought buffalo robes to trade with the Klickitat for their baskets. They in turn took them to the Wishram to exchange for cured fish (salmon, sturgeon, and eels). Nez Percé parfleches among the Yakima, Klickitat, and Wishram—and practically all of these were of Nez Percé manufacture—at test to another article of trade. The Wenatchi journeyed westward across the Cascades to trade with the tribes of Puget Sound and southward. Doubtless articles from the coast, such as shells, found their way in this fashion to the Wishram.

The Wishram also traded with the Wasco for dried elk and deer meat. The Wasco had direct trading relations with the Umatilla, more extensive than those of Wishram with the latter, by which they acquired buffalo robes. The direct contact of Umatilla with Wasco was presumably due to the former coming on horseback, hence keeping to the south side of the Columbia. Occasionally the Umatilla brought a horse or two for the Wasco, which further changed hands until it came into possession of the Klickitat, who became horse breeders. Before 1825-30 these Indians had no horses or few which were then confined to the Nez Percé and Umatilla. The coming of the horse doubtless gave great impetus to trading.

The Klamath may not have had much direct contact with the Wishram. Klamath informants were indefinite as to the exact locality they visited on the Columbia; it was vaguely The Dalles. It is most probable that they traded rather with Wasco, since the objectives of their trading expeditions were Warm Springs as well as The Dalles. Slaves, Pit River bows and beads, and lily seed were taken there to exchange for horses, blankets, buffalo skins, parfleches, beads (probably dentalium shells), dried salmon, and lamprey eels. Occasionally they stayed the winter on the Columbia, sometimes for a number of years.

There is at least one observation on the comparative wealth of the tribes in the general vicinity of The Dalles. Our informant stated that the Toppenish and

¹¹¹ Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers*, 129-130.

Wenatchi were very poor, even among "the supposed first class." They drifted about, managing a trade now and then, but had no status until absorbed by the Klickitat. These statements must be interpreted as relative to the substantial wealth implied for the Wishram.

Special friendships with foreign Indians were sometimes the result of these trade contracts. "When one has a friend in another country (i.e. among another tribe), he comes to see you, or you go to see him. Both are glad to meet each other; one gives the other a horse or something valuable, the other gives something in return. Such are each other's ié'lpet, trading-friend."¹¹²

WARFARE

It is difficult at this late date to define the intertribal relations of the Wishram under aboriginal conditions. It is at least clear that in the middle of the last century and for some time earlier they carried on continued though intermittent warfare against the Northern Paiute of Eastern Oregon and their cogeners the Bannock-Snake to the east. In fact the specific name for the Paiute was *it'lua'nxayukc*, enemies. With the neighboring Sahaptin tribes they were on reasonably friendly terms, and were closely linked in friendship with the Wasco, dwelling opposite on the Oregon side of the Columbia, and with other Upper Chinookan peoples.

The explanation of their enmity for the Northern Paiute and Bannock-Snake is to be found in the evidence newly discovered by Teit, that the movement of Sahaptin and Waiilatpuan tribes from the south bank of the Columbia exposed the Upper Chinookan peoples to direct attack by these Shoshoneans.¹¹³ At the opening of the eighteenth century, Salish speaking peoples occupied Eastern Washington south to the Columbia and west to the Dalles. On the south side of the river dwelt the Waiilatpuan peoples, Molala and Cayuse. South of them again on the upper Deschutes River were the Sahaptin peoples known later as Yakima, Klickitat, and allied groups. Beginning in 1750 a series of attacks by Snake and Paiute on the Sahaptins led them to withdraw north of the Columbia, led the Cayuse to move northeastward, and the Molala to cross the Cascades to the west. The pressure of Snake raids reached its height in the period of 1800-30. This left the southern bank of the Columbia empty of people save for the Wasco and the allied Sahaptin Tyighpam and Tenino near the Dalles and in the Warm Springs country. The ability of the Shoshoneans to carry on these raids was presumably due to their acquisition of the horse (about 1750) before it reached the more northern peoples.¹¹⁴

Most of their conflicts must have been in the nature of retaliatory measures between villages of their own or with their neighbors. This is suggested by the accounts given above of the manner in which murders, abductions, and other wrongs were handled. Franchère draws a picture of such conflicts, which while

¹¹² Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 104.

¹¹³ Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, 98 f.

¹¹⁴ Compare Wissler, *The Influence of the Horse*, 13.

referring to the lower Columbia peoples, must also give the flavor of conflict among the Wishram.¹¹⁵

"As all the villages form so many independent sovereignties, differences sometimes arise, whether between the chiefs or the tribes. Ordinarily, these terminate by compensations equivalent to the injury. But when the latter is of a grave character, like murder (which is rare), or the abduction of a woman (which is very common), the parties, having made sure of a number of young braves to aid them, prepare for war. Before commencing hostilities, however, they give notice of the day when they will proceed to attack the hostile village; not following in that respect the custom of almost all other American Indians, who are wont to burst upon their enemy unawares, and to massacre or carry off men, women and children; these people, on the contrary, embark in their canoes, which on these occasions are paddled by the women, repair to the hostile village, enter into parley, and do all they can to terminate the affair amicably; sometimes a third party becomes mediator between the first two, and of course observes an exact neutrality. If those who seek justice do not obtain it to their satisfaction, they retire to some distance, and the combat begins, and is continued for some time with fury on both sides; but as soon as one or two men are killed, the party which has lost these, owns itself beaten and the battle ceases. If it is the people of the village attacked who are worsted, the others do not retire without receiving presents. When the conflict is postponed till the next day (for they never fight but in open daylight, as if to render nature witness of their exploits), they keep up frightful cries all night long, and, when they are sufficiently near to understand each other, defy one another by menaces, raileries, and sarcasms, like the heroes of Homer and Virgil. The women and children are always removed from the village before the action."

The Wishram really had no wars of their own, according to McGuff's testimony, but sometimes joined the Wasco in battle with the Paiute. This might well apply to the period of the Shoshonean attacks, since the broad Columbia furnished a bulwark to the Wishram on the north bank. They did indeed sometimes live among the Wasco and were identified with them in practically every activity.

Some of the habits of the Wishram-Wasco in warfare can be gleaned from Simpson's account of two raids in which he participated in 1866-68 against the Paiute of the Malheur-Harney district.¹¹⁶

A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of iqta't-sticks [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang, rubbing

¹¹⁵ Franchère, *Narrative*, 330.

¹¹⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 204 f.

the iqta't-sticks together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop: wä+ and mä+.' Later Simpson observed that the chief's dream was fulfilled; it did indeed rain. The rasp referred to is the familiar notched rattle of the Basin tribes, a hardwood stick in which a series of semicircular notches have been cut and on which another stick is rubbed up and down.¹¹⁷ Sapir's information was that at this time they danced to the accompaniment of this instrument while singing.¹¹⁸ McGuff stated that the hand drum was also used in the war dance. The war whoop was appropriate not only to this preliminary but in the charge. It was uttered as in the Plains; a high pitched shrill cry while beating the palm against the open mouth. The first of these sounds was given with full voice, the latter whispered.

Enemy camps were located by watching for their fires during the night. Scouts set off in pairs, one of them returning to inform the main body when the camps were located. The attacking force gathered before dawn and charged on the befuddled sleepers with the first show of daylight. Simpson observed that among their preparations for the charge one horse was decked with feathers. If resistance was met they might engage in battle through the whole day until sundown. The war party of Simpson's first raid numbered one hundred men.

A species of bravado was displayed. When the Simpson party had to cross a bridge defended by the Paiute, the chief arranged the main body in front two by two, set the pack horses in the middle of the cavalcade, and designated ten strong brave warriors for a rear guard. "The captain said to us: 'You shall not go back, you shall go ahead to the other side. If the guns will be shot at us, just go ahead. You shall not be afraid. Now that is how we are travelling; the command has been given us. Now we can only die,' he said to us. 'What do you think? Now will you do thus? Are you willing to die? (If so), lift up your hands!' And then we showed our hands. Again he turned round and said to the (others): 'Now this day we shall die. What do you think? Now will you do thus? Are you willing to die?' They said: 'Yes! We all think it well that we should die this day.'" The feat was hazardous to the extreme, but they were at one in agreeing that it was far better to die in battle than to turn back.

A different turn was given to the taunts flung at the enemy. Repeatedly they shouted, "We give you this bullet for nothing" as an accompaniment of a random shot. For instance, the chief delivered himself in this fashion: "I shall tell them that the Great Chief (the President) has made up his mind that we fight for fifty years or one hundred years, so that you had better not be shooting. (Sarcastic: "Don't waste your powder.") You must first see us before you shoot at us; maybe you will run out of ammunition. This one bullet I shall give you just for fun. Do you Paiutes listen, listen to me! And then he shot off his gun."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Wasco specimens in the Field Museum, nos. 60494, 87636.

¹¹⁸ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 206.

¹¹⁹ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 211, 219.

Nevertheless they did not disparage the enemy. "Thus the Indians have strong hearts; not thus are white people. Indians could pass five days and eat nothing [note the pattern number], nor would they drink any water. So strong are the Wascos, they are not cowards. So also they too, the Paiutes, are not cowards," although elsewhere, "The Paiutes are bad people, they are thieves."¹²⁰

Despite their avowed determination to do or die, the affair terminated in the manner of all Indian affrays. When they met an impasse, a breastwork in an impregnable position defended by the Paiute, and found that one of their number was wounded, one in one hundred, they decided to turn back. To be sure, they had to their credit more than forty scalps, many other slain enemies, a number of prisoners, and some horses and guns.

The characteristic mode of mutilating the enemy dead was to rip open the belly, cut off the head and set it down ten paces distant, and take the scalp. This is repeatedly cited in Simpson's account. To this we can now add that by way of trophies the Wishram took the scalp, hands, feet, and sometimes penis and testes, but not the head. The scalp was of generous size, the whole head skin above ears and eyes, not the mere vortex on the crown taken by Plains tribes.

Women and children were taken prisoners, though slave-taking was not the primary purpose of the Simpson party. On this occasion (1866-68) they were taken to Walla Walla (and released to the mission there?). The Wishram did not ordinarily make slave raids, obtaining their slaves by trade. The treatment of the aged and decrepit, of no value as slaves, is instanced by their mauling the head of an old blind woman with a gun butt.

Armament for war consisted of bow and arrow, shield, and lance. Arrows were provided with stone heads dipped in rattlesnake poison. Dr. W. D. Strong was told that ants were also used to poison arrows. Others had segmented points which snapped off, remaining in the wound (see p. 199). A round hand shield was used (material unknown), painted red and blue. The informant did not know whether stick armor was used. The lance was not made by the Wishram but obtained from the Wasco, who took them from the Paiute in battle. The last were admitted to be very skillful in throwing them. We may suspect however that these were not missiles but short stabbing lances as elsewhere in the west. Such lances had hardwood shafts and flint heads. McGuff sketched a triangular blade, three and a quarter inches long, presumably found on the old Wishram village site, as one of these.¹²¹

War paint was usually red, sometimes yellow. This aligns the Wishram with the Basin tribes. On the other hand the Klamath and Takelma used white.¹²²

A feather headdress was worn in war. This seems to have been the circular crown of the Idaho-Montana tribes, not the full headdress of the Plains.

¹²⁰ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 223, 225.

¹²¹ We received no mention of the flat, round, chipped stones, called "throwing stones" by Steward, found on archaeological sites near The Dalles (*A Peculiar Type of Stone Implements*).

¹²² Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, 207, *Klamath Ethnography*; Sapir, *Notes on the Takelma*, 264.

The feathers were sewn on a buckskin band of two inch width with sinew or buckskin thongs. These were usually uniform in length, although some men mixed long and short feathers. Headdresses of tail feathers were quite highly valued. Eagle feathers were more commonly chosen by chiefs and principal warriors, others using those of various large birds. Such headdresses were also worn at important meetings.

Presumably the Wishram went to war fully clad, for Simpson remarks repeatedly on the nakedness of the Paiute in the account cited above.

Both Wishram and Wasco held a scalp dance for a victorious party immediately on their return. It took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge. "Now then a certain Paiute boy [newly captive] was taken and enclosed in a sack. We went right there up to the fire. Then he was taken out, there he ran about near the fire, and the Paiute boy was captured [as though in war]."¹²³

Several war narratives follow:

*A Paiute Raid.*¹²⁴ One time they went to gather food. The Paiute came on foot. A young woman had a little boy of six. The women ran away but the Paiute caught these two. They took them far south of the Dalles, over the hills in the direction of Warm Springs. When they camped the two were put in the center while the Paiute slept all around to guard them. She told them by signs not to kill her but to take them along. There were a great many Paiute, who were almost entirely naked. The Paiute were very tired because they had travelled far. That woman could not sleep; she watched them. They were sound asleep; she woke her boy. The Paiute lay like dead. She stood up and took her boy on her back. She stepped carefully between their legs and arms; they were sleeping close together. Then she ran homeward.

She went a long way before daylight. Then she said, "I guess they are coming. We will have to hide now." The boy said, "Well, we will hide." There were logs lying near the ground. The boy dug under them and they lay in the hollow with their faces covered. Soon they heard the rumble of the Paiute coming. She warned her boy to keep quiet. Soon they arrived and searched. They were standing on top of the logs, but they left. She told her boy not to get tired; "We will hide all day. One of them will sit down somewhere to watch." They stayed all day.

Over there her relatives were weeping and fasting for their dead. One young girl had been killed with an arrow because she resisted. She had many beads.

Toward evening they fled again. The boy was hungry but he made his

¹²³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 221.

¹²⁴ Told by Mrs. Teio.

mind strong; he had a little power. When they reached the river she shouted loud, "Waaa." They heard across the river and fetched them in a canoe. The husband clasped his boy and they celebrated. She told how they had been saved. Everyone came and they had a feast.

*Another Paiute Raid.*¹²⁵ Two women had a low underground house. The doorway was just big enough to crawl through. A Paiute scout saw them in there. He was naked except for a buckskin breechclout. One woman said to the other, "We must not be ashamed if he has his will of us." He probably wanted to do this and then kill them. That is why he did not go back to tell the other Paiute. One woman talked by signs to him to distract his attention from the other. He seized the first. The other woman seized his privates; he jerked back and expired instantly. They cut off his scalp and buried him under the house. This happened three or four miles below the Dalles on the Oregon side. The woman tied the scalp to the end of a long stick, and all the people danced and sang because they were glad. The women all painted with red earth.

*A Meeting with the Bannock and Paiute.*¹²⁶ In 1856 I was about sixteen years old. Of course I remember things of importance as though it was yesterday. I was then [a slave] with a Wishram family. News came to the Wasco on the side of the Columbia opposite the Wishram village, that a band of Bannock with their chiefs were coming to Wallula to meet the Columbia River tribes; that they had buffalo robes, dried buffalo meat, and a few horses to trade for dried salmon, Klickitat baskets, etc. The principal object of the Bannock was to make the acquaintance of the Columbia tribes, especially of the medicine men and chiefs. Of course the Indians on the river knew that the Paiute were nearby, and for this reason were a little afraid that they were being invited into a trap. For the Paiute and the river Indians were bitter enemies. Yet the news was spread among the Klickitat, Cascade, and Hood River Indians, in all the villages, between Cascades and Sk'lin [a Sahaptin tribe opposite the Deschutes] and from Wai'am to Waiya'xix [the Deschutes villages to Cascade Locks].

A general council was held at Wishram to decide whether to meet the Bannock. People came in canoes from all along the Columbia to this meeting. After several days' consideration a decision was rendered in favor of the Bannock's request. Chiefs from Sk'lin, Wai'am, Wasco, and Nixlut'idix [the Wishram village] advised their people to take their arms with them concealed. Strong men were asked to come from all the villages. Canoes were carried over the falls at the Dalles and Celilo in which to carry these people and their belongings to Wallula. Several young men were chosen to go along, so that if horses were given them these lads could bring them down by land along the river. I went with the man I stayed with [whose slave he was] as one to care for our things and help carry them from the river to our camp when we arrived. We heard that the Bannock were already there. Among the Wai'am [Sahaptins] there were perhaps three men who understood the Paiute and Bannock language, and

¹²⁵ Told by Mrs. Teio.

¹²⁶ Told by Johnny Bullhart, a Shasta-Molala slave.

who also talked it fairly well. We took dried salmon and other things to trade for buffalo robes and horses. I should judge that about one hundred or more went with us; men from all around, in good health and strong. In two days we arrived early in the afternoon; about eight chiefs were with us. We stayed at the river that night, early next morning leaving for what is now Wallula Junction [on the Walla Walla River, not far above its mouth]. We arrived at noon and found a band of Bannock with a few Paiute.

We built our camps a hundred yards from theirs while the river chiefs and prairie chiefs met, talking through an interpreter. The prairie chief (Bannock) spoke first, as follows: "Very well, you river chiefs and your children, we are glad to meet you and hope that we will meet as long as we are here in good faith with one another. We people from the sunrise come here to meet you and make your acquaintance as trading friends (iê'lpET).¹²⁷ We did not come here to have any trouble. We have told our young men to treat you well and avoid trouble; to trade whatever we have brought, buffalo robes and meat, costumes for the chiefs, and some horses. We want to meet with you here for several days and hold dances of all kinds. You dance your fashion and we will show you our styles." When he closed his speech all answered ā-xi (very well). Cxima'wic, a supreme chief of the Sk!in spoke: "Very well, my prairie friends, we hope that what you have said is all true. For our part we simply came at your request with the intention of meeting you in honor as you have said. We also have told our children (meaning those who had accompanied them) not to disturb anything you have nor yourselves. My children are obedient in whatever we tell them. We brought you dried fish flesh; we brought you robes of various kinds made from the fur of the animals we kill near the river. We want in exchange especially horses and buffalo robes. We will stay with you five days at the longest [note the pattern number]. We will let you dance first tonight while we look on." The prairie people agreed to this. The meeting was held out in a big open space [to avoid a surprise attack], no timber nearby, but sage brush and sand hills. Our chiefs told us not to expose any of our weapons unless they started trouble.

It seemed to me that everything was going nicely. That night they danced war[?] dances and others. Our chiefs looked on with their chiefs and some of our men. Others of our men guarded our camp and kept a watch posted. Next night we entertained them, showing our several dances. Everything went nicely up to the last day when we began trading. The chiefs and medicine men traded; our people got horses, about nine of them, and other things. The Bannock brought tobacco in great quantities. Trading went on all day.

That night we had nine horses to look after. I and four others watched until midnight, when we went to bed. Next morning we found our horses missing and that half of the Bannock were gone. Our chiefs asked the prairie chiefs what had become of the horses they had given us. They did not know, were surprised to learn the horses were missing. Our boys tracked the horses where they had been driven over the hills. We discovered the horses had been

¹²⁷ See Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 104, and p. 228 of the present paper.

stolen back. Then we got busy and started afoot taking short-cuts which the Wai'am knew, being well acquainted with that country. We had not gone very far when we found our horses herded by four men in a deep canyon. When they saw us they fled over the hills. They were chased. One man was overtaken, thrashed, and then allowed to go when badly cut up. They had been resting the horses, waiting until night came when they would travel again. Some of the older Paiute and Bannock had gone on to get a start. When we returned with the horses and they found that one of their men was cut up and pretty badly hurt, they began to be hostile. Of course, our men were ready.

Immediately a fight started. We got in a creek bed and fought from behind the bank, keeping them in the open as much as we could. We got orders from the war chief to leave our positions that night after it was quite dark and to make for the landing, so that if we were followed we would have a chance of getting away. We who had the horses left before the others. Of course, we had struck camp before we began fighting. We did not lose a man in that fight as we fought carefully, close together, and keeping well under the protecting bank. Several of the other side were hit. We swam the horses across the river to the Washington side.

Next morning we waited and found that they had broken camp and were getting away as fast as they could over the hills. The chiefs of the Bannock did not even apologize [!]; it seemed that they wanted to start trouble. Their intention had been to get us there, trade with us, and afterward take the things back, driving us off or killing us if we fought back. But they saw the numbers were about equal and that we showed ourselves brave, so they could do no better than to try to steal the horses alone from us. We reached home safely.

About four or five years afterward they called us again to meet at the same place. The Bannock chiefs sent us word that they would have their children behave and treat us nicely, that they had more horses and many nice buffalo robes. But we decided to pay no attention to their invitation unless we should go for war. The river chiefs held their council at Wasco this time and decided that if they went again it would mean a bloody war, so we, or the chiefs, decided not to go. Word was sent upriver to them that while they were as near as Wallula they might as well come down to Wasco or to Wai'am. Across the river from Wallula was a village to which they signalled and told what they wanted, and through whom we received their invitations.

RELIGIOUS PRACTISES AND BELIEFS

SPIRITS

Practises center almost wholly in shamanism. Furthermore, this was of a relatively simple sort, with a gloss of more typical ceremonialism of the Northwest Coast. There were no ceremonials not connected with shamanistic rites. Beyond this the doctrinal background is relatively unknown to us, but seems to have been but weakly developed.

Secret societies did not exist among the Wishram, nor were there shamans' organizations. The shaman was assisted by a speaker, but clownishness was not part of his activities, nor did buffoonery occur in other connections. Masks were not used, with the sole exception of one to frighten children.

Prayers were directed to the earth, the rivers, the clouds, to the whole category of natural phenomena. The impression derived is that the Wishram thought of themselves as among the earth's creatures, one class of things among the elements of the universe, and on a parity with them, no different from them. The prayers and declarations to the rivers, mountains, and whatever, seem to imply only that the individual wished to fix, to indicate his place among them. It is clear that the natural phenomena played only a passive rôle; they were not spirits from which power could be obtained. The exception was thunder, which figured as a spiritual entity, and as such, as a guardian. Their function appears in the naming rites: "We want the mountains, the rivers, the creeks, the bluffs, the timber to know that this man or woman is now named so and so. We want to let the fishes, the birds, the winds, snow, and rain, the sun, moon, and stars know that so and so has become as alive again. His name will be heard again when this man is called." In an account of the Smohallah rites, which certainly incorporate the ancient views, the sun was more frequently appealed to in prayer, the moon and stars less often.

The spirits from which power was obtained were animals, birds, reptiles, insects, and fish, that is, inhabitants of the physical world, not the physical world itself. Their number was large; there were mentioned, grizzly and common bear, buffalo, wolf, coyote, cougar, wild cat, deer, mountain animals generally; eagle, raven, birds of the mountains, lakes and rivers generally, both large and small; rattlesnake, mountain lizard, turtle; sturgeon; insects; thunder. The list is not complete.

There was at least one anthropomorphic spirit who figures as a guardian, Itc'ixyan, mentioned in a Wasco tale. She dwelt in the waters of the Columbia, and figured as a protector of fishermen and hunters of water animals.¹²⁸ A water-monster (itc'i'un), living in the big whirlpools and eddies of the Columbia was also a guardian. Thunder was a large bird which caused lightning when it spat.

¹²⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 260-263. The Chinook equivalent is Iqamiä'itx (Boas, *Chinook Texts*, 230).

These guardian spirits (iayulmax, itca'yulmax [f.]) were by no means of the same potency. A shaman could not cure any one who had been bewitched unless his own spirit was more powerful than the spirit intrusive in the patient. Hopeless cases were those bewitched by the spirits of the grizzly, water-monster, mountain lizard, eagle, sturgeon, cougar, and turtle. Of these the grizzly and water-monster bewitchings were most fateful. Even the most powerful shamans would not attempt to cure these.

Those who had sturgeon spirits were exceptionally brave; no matter what wounds they might have received they would not succumb, just as a sturgeon's vitality is great. It may be deeply cut without being killed. War chiefs almost always had for spirits, sturgeons, rocks, or trees. Some of them might be struck by arrows but they could not be wounded, and if they did penetrate, these men would not die. Only those who had weak spirits or none at all were killed.

Certain spirits gave one the power to move stealthily, to hide readily, and be hard to shoot. Such were mountain lizards, snakes, small insects, and small birds. Only those with more powerful spirits could spy them out and shoot them.

One who had a deer spirit became a good hunter of deer. He dreamed of where they were to be found. The deer talked to [told?] him. Such a man never ate deer meat, save when sick and about to die, he would ask for the flesh, eat a small piece and in a few days be well again.

A man with a rattlesnake spirit would not be bitten by them. He could safely pick them up. He skinned them, dried the skin, and mixed it with his tobacco. Only such a man could smoke this. He could also send his snake (spirit) to bite someone.

There were other mythical beings who were not guardian spirits. Of these we know of gaiaba'xam, a land monster. This was described as resembling an alligator, provided with a rattle like a rattlesnake, and which left a big track as it crawled.¹²⁹ They were plentiful in holes on the north bank of the Columbia, it was said, "but blasting for the road must have driven them out!" The following tales were told of this:

Two boys killed one and got its spirit. During a war they split its hide, put it on, and did wonderful things.

A Spokane girl of ten or thereabouts was swallowed by one. They found the hole it was in, built a fire in the mouth of the cave, and smothered the monster. A lone Spokane man crawled in and brought it out. When they cut him open, they found the girl whole inside.

Cannibal women figure in the folk-tales. It cannot be said that these were entities of the same sort as the spirits, but inasmuch as they are spoken of in everyday life, they were something more tangible than mere actors of the myths. At!at!a'lia was a huge stupid ogress, represented in a mask used to frighten children as having an ugly face, big eyes and ears, and said to have been striped like her children. She stole human children which she devoured; her children were fed snakes, frogs, toads and the like. Her husband of the tales was (Horned?) Owl. Akxa'qusa was another cannibal woman. She may have been

¹²⁹ Cf. Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 117.

only a creation of the tales, but she was associated in everyday life with a wicked multiple-barbed arrowpoint, named for her. She was said to have once descended on the Wishram village and eaten all its inhabitants.

It is clear that a burden was imposed on the recipient of power not to abuse it. Thus a Wasco tale turns on such a case. A youth who has been given power by the elk is induced by his evil father to kill them needlessly. The elk takes him to task and withdraws his influence.¹³⁰

On the subject of the personal soul, we have nothing save a recorded word, *wa'u'tk*, meaning life, spirit, wind, breath.

ACQUIRING POWER

The acquisition of power was open to everyone; sex was no bar to it. Success in life was contingent on acquiring some power from the spirits, yet some never acquired any. Since the measure of success was held to be directly dependent on the extent of power, and this was held to vary from one individual to another, we cannot but conclude that the actual causal sequence was the reverse: those who were successful credited themselves with unusual spirit power. It does not seem possible that anyone would maintain failure in his quest for power. The very secrecy maintained about one's spirit experiences offered opportunity to keep that fact concealed until occasion should arise when some success was achieved to hint at the possession of power. It does not seem clear that the lad who returned from his quest admitted anything more than that he had an experience, without revealing its content. Again, at spirit dances those with power hinted at their spirits by their actions, but no more. The full revelation came only at the point of death when all the details were recited. Under such conditions the stage was set to assume a very close causal relationship between spirit power and material success.

The revelation at death or in dire need had a form quite stereotyped. The dying man called for some article connected with his spirit, told how he came by his power, and recited that as an omen it would storm. Thus, a man who had a wolf as a guardian had its backbone set on a pole, one with a deer spirit then ate deer meat for the first time; in a Wasco tale a man whose guardian was an elk asked for five elkskins.¹³¹

Certain individual tabus also revealed the nature of the spirit guardian. Thus, the fact that a man refrained from deer meat actually revealed that the deer was one of his spirits. Others would not eat fish, or certain kinds of berries, and so on. (We surmise that this does not imply that the berry was itself a guardian spirit.)

This reticence about spirit experiences is strikingly dissimilar from the attitude of the Klamath, e.g., who do not hesitate to make theirs known explicitly on proper occasion. On the other hand it conforms to the practise of such groups as Ojibway.¹³² It may be that in this the Klamath follow the Californian

¹³⁰ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 257-259.

¹³¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 221-223, 258.

¹³² Compare Radin, *Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting Among the Ojibwa*.

tradition, where religion rests lightly and in fact guardian spirits were almost wholly unknown, while the Wishram conform to the more general American view. Again, it does not appear that a Wishram loses spirit power while mourning, as among the Klamath.

The guardianship of a spirit or individual protector could be gained only when one was young. After a certain period the power to acquire it vanished and if one had not by that time been fortunate enough to gain the protection of a spirit he would remain so unprotected ever after. The protection of a spirit was gained in some solitary place, generally in the mountains. After a period of "training" for a spirit one would appear to the young man in a dream or vision. He would assure him of his protection, and would give him some sign by which his protecting presence would be made known, or some means by which wounds inflicted by a spirit could be healed. The power was granted also of being able to interpret the language of the spirits. For instance, one who had gained the protection of Coyote could tell, on hearing a coyote's howl, what person was going to die. One that had the Rattlesnake as his guardian spirit could heal all wounds inflicted by a rattlesnake. Supposing one had the Thunder as his spirit; if he were severely wounded and expected to die, he would sing his spirit song, calling upon the protection of the thunder. If the thunder heard the call, it would rain and thunder at a particular time of the day, even if the sky were cloudless and the weather absolutely clear, and the wounded man was sure to recover; if it did not rain, he would die. No one ever revealed how he came by his spirit; only at the hour of death he disclosed all the mysteries pertaining to it. The belief in these spirit powers is still very strong and many Indians who seem to be thoroughly civilized and sophisticated have spirits secretly.

A child began to "train" (αἰχλα'γ', literally, moves himself), that is, prepare for a spirit experience, when still quite young, six to twelve years old ("when he can talk plainly"). He was sent out at night to some distant lonely place, to a lake, the mountains, the river, a large grove of big trees, or some big rock pile. This was always at a considerable distance¹³³ from home, in a place which was usually quite unfrequented. He was bidden to travel about and finish an appointed task at the designated spot. This was always stereotyped; piling up rocks, pulling up young oak or fir trees, or making withes of the saplings. The task was accommodated to the child's strength; at first small rocks, e.g., were piled, larger ones later. This was looked upon as physical preparation for life as well as opening the way to acquiring a spirit.¹³⁴ When the assignment was to some inaccessible and distant place, the lad was ordered to leave some sign that he had been there. He was given a carved piece of wood or a peculiarly shaped stone to leave; something that a person (one was always sent to investigate) would recognize without doubt. Such carved images represented bear, deer, birds, or fish. Or he might be instructed to return with a branch or plant to be gotten only in this particular place. The rock piles and the withes

¹³³ McGuff gives a curious instance of the application of the pattern number in his notes: "more than five miles."

¹³⁴ The Thompson looked on training during the vision quest in the same light (Teit, *The Thompson Indians*, 317 f).

that he made were proof in themselves. Should the inspector find he had slighted his task, he was sent back next night to complete it.¹³⁵

One such place was a cave, called tca'mogi, a half mile below Nixlu'idix on the Columbia bank. At high water this is under water. Boys were sent at night to dive into its entrance; it seemed to draw them in as they entered. There were a number of such places nearby.

One man sent five brothers to stay in this cave. Something threw snakes or bugs on one of them. He started to run out but was cut in two before he got away. The others tried successively; some stayed through two or three experiences, the fourth stayed through four. But all of them were killed. Then this man sent the fifth, his last son. This one knew how to stay; he was the last. He stayed there through five nights and got great shamanistic power.

At waca'k'ukc, about three-quarters of a mile below the village cq'ô'nana, was a big rock in the water, at which boys sought spirits.

The lad was sent at irregular intervals to spend a night at each of several lonely spots. He continued until he received an experience. The child knew nothing of what he was to expect, nor did the one who sent him on the quest. While he was sitting awaiting it, the spirit animal approached with a great roaring sound, accompanied by flashes of fire, a high wind, hail and rain. The child was frightened helpless, or fell into a trance ("a kind of sleep") in which he seemed to dream the words spoken by this animal. He dreamt that the power spoke like a human: "When some one is sick, you will cure him; you must then follow me singing." The acquisition was looked upon as more or less involuntary.

In a Wasco tale, a boy was visited by an elk, who said: "If you will serve me and hear what I say, I will be your master and will help you in every necessity. You must not be proud. You must not kill too many of any kind of animal. I will be your guardian spirit."¹³⁶

The lad was sick, helpless and frightened. A shaman was employed to relieve and to restore him. Many of them got more than one spirit at a time; this made them especially ill and unstrung. But they were accordingly stronger in the future, and correspondingly greater shamans. A shaman was respected according to the number of spirits he had, and paid in proportion. Some had as many as five or six familiars, either all mountain birds and animals, or a variety of river and lake fishes, river and lake birds.

THE SHAMAN'S INAUGURAL DANCE

A more elaborate mode of relieving the visionary was adopted when an older lad or young woman went out with the deliberate intention of seeking spirit power of sufficient potency to establish himself as a shaman. Its primary purpose was to provide occasion for the inauguration of his career.

When he returned he told his relatives, his parents primarily. They prepared a nicely tanned elkskin as a dance platform, stretching it on a rectangular frame of boards set on edge so that it lay a foot from the ground. This was placed in the house with a painted post, as thick as one's wrist, set upright beside it.

¹³⁵ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 187.

¹³⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 257.

Everyone gathered in the house at night. The lad took his position on the stretched elkhide, dancing on it that he might not touch the ground, holding on to the pole as he danced. He sang five songs. Others sang with him, keeping time by rapidly beating with short sticks (a foot long) on a long board laid before them. One drummer was provided with a long pole (one of fourteen feet in length) swung in a horizontal position from the roof beams by a rope tied to each end. This was at a convenient height so that a man could swing it end-on against a plank set up for the purpose. The one who used this drum had to be thoroughly familiar with the songs; he was well paid by all the singers. (Yet a Klamath informant told Spier that in his youth he had worked one of these drums for the Dalles people.)

When he finished, his father and other relatives danced on the elkhide, one after another, singing their spirit songs. They danced to help him. While he was dancing his mother went about giving things away. When a man of strong power danced to help the youth, she made him a gift. Those who sang (relatives alone?) also gave things away. These were slung over a cord stretched across the house; some things placed among them symbolized horses to be given away.

When the lad had gotten power, they appealed to a shaman to treat him. The shaman danced and gave presents away; he danced for a long time. Then they helped the lad onto the shaman's back, who then danced with him and sang to make him strong. The boy became unconscious and stiff as a board. He was laid beside the elkskin, where the shaman blew over him until the boy began to sing. Then he rose again, reascended the elkskin platform, and danced once more. Now he was strong.

Then the boy tried his power. He called out: "Who is sick?" Someone came forward and lay down. He sucked the spot, singing; others were dancing and singing, too, to help him. He took out the sickness, held it in his hand; black matter ran from it. He swallowed it to feed his spirit.

The performance lasted for five successive nights. On the last morning his parents gave away quantities of gifts. Just when the shaman gave his aid and the neophyte first tried his powers is not clear in our account, but it was probably during the last of the five nights.

SHAMANS' PERFORMANCES

Spirit dances were held only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. These were occasions when those with spirit power met together to sing their spirit songs and to dance. There can be no doubt that the circumscription of such performances to midwinter aligns this with the "sacred period" of the typical Northwest Coast tribes, among whom spirit power returned to the performers at this time and when alone they could dance.

Each person, men and women, sang but once during the night, but they might repeat the song for as many nights as the affair continued. They never sang in this fashion by day. The dance form consisted in part of alternately

flinging the body forward with arms outstretched and then leaning as far back as possible.¹³⁷ The swinging pole-drum was also used at these performances. They gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practise, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.

Since a person would never speak of his spirit until his death, the only way in which the people generally knew of it was at such performances. Then the singer referred to his spirit in his songs. He also wore a symbol; the feathers of the bird, a strip of skin or a pelt, a necklace of snake skin or of fish vertebrae. Since these were peculiar to the visionaries, they never borrowed parts of such costumes from one another. They also showed what their spirits were by their actions. One with a wolf spirit wore a hat and belt of wolf skin; if he had both wolf and eagle he imitated them, spreading his fingers and waving his arms in imitation of an eagle's flight, e.g. Others imitated the cries of their spirits; as wagwā'li gwā'li for the raven, and Lā'zi La'zi for a rattlesnake. They did not always wear appropriate costume but contented themselves with these imitative performances.¹³⁸

A probable element of these dances of which we were not told is the custom of dancing as close to the fire as one could bear. This was not only the habit of the Klamath in one direction, but characteristic of the Northwest Coast proper as well. Its presence in this region is attested at least by the references in a Wasco tale. This describes just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals, wherein the singers carry others on their backs as they dance over the fire; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.¹³⁹

The reaction of a person not at the moment a dancer took a definite form. When a man or woman heard his own song being sung, he "became like fire inside; wild." He called on some one to cut his flesh so that he could eat it. This one pinched up the flesh of the arm of the one requesting it, cut off a bit, and gave it to him to eat. He also wiped away his own blood with his hand and licked it. "That was his spirit doing that." Next morning he bathed the wound with cold water. This was done only once during any one dance. He did not have to make a present to the one who cut his flesh for him. A man who went to dances all winter would have a row of scars along each arm. Only the arms were cut in this fashion. It is not quite clear what was meant by "hearing his own song." It may mean that a man was not always the leader when his song was sung, or that it continued after he had ceased. Or as is more likely, once a man

¹³⁷ The round or squaw dance form was unknown to the Wishram in any of their rites; it was, however, used by the Yakima.

¹³⁸ This performance closely parallels the guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé (Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians*, 262-264).

¹³⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 311-312; see also 95-99 and compare 129-131.

had sung during the dance, his song was repeated from time to time although he did not dance again. Another possibility is that he heard someone who had the same spirit singing, although it is not likely that any two individuals had identical songs.

This type of activity had its analog among the Blackfoot, where bits of flesh were cut in rows from the arms, legs, and trunk as offerings to the sun.¹⁴⁰ Specific inquiry among the Wishram failed to reveal the presence of the rites of the Kwakiutl and Nootka, wherein skewered flesh was torn loose, nor the biting practises of their cannibal dancers.¹⁴¹

An account of a more ambitious performance (or perhaps of two) was contributed by Mrs. Teio. Sa'lmin (or Wa'kätca ?) was a shaman who did not practise curing. He had a daughter who had a little power. When she danced she wore a frontlet of beaded pendants on her forehead, which hung down to cover her eyes, so that no one could see them. He built a large dance house with a bench running along all its sides. It was a plank house perhaps forty feet long, with a single fireplace. He also provided the usual elkskin dance platform in the center of the house, near which was an upright post to hold to. People from everywhere were invited to his dance, for which he had a feast prepared. The house was so crowded that they sat not only on the bench but on the ground in front of it.

Five young men assisted him. Each had a blanket over his shoulders which was tied about his waist. They knelt in a row in front of a long board with their heads bowed. Each was provided with a short billet of wood which he thumped vertically on the plank in time to the song. These billets were the length and thickness of the forearm, and were held one hand above the other.

The shaman had some (seal?) oil which he poured back and forth in his cupped hands and rubbed over his face. He never got sore eyes. As he sang he danced to and fro in front of the boys. He stood before the five throwing (duck?) feathers into the air. One of the boys' sticks began to sway, pulling him about. He could not let go. It pulled him to his feet; he had a little spirit power. The shaman told some strong men to watch the boy, to grasp him from behind by the blanket which was firmly tied about him. They were to hold him back and make him stay in his place. The boy lay stiff and lifeless but still held the stick upright on his chest, clenched in his hands. Two or four boys lay thus. Then someone with a little power blew on the boy's stick to loosen his grip, so that the spirit would not draw his hands tight and kill him.

My [Mrs. Teio's] two brothers did this: the elder one called the younger to his side. They sat side by side. My younger brother began to sway. The elder one also did a little, but he stopped and began to thump again. The elder then blew on the other's hands, "made it cold," and saved him. "He did not want him singing in that big crowd."

¹⁴⁰ Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, 265; see also Spier, *Plains Indian Sun Dance*, 475, 493.

¹⁴¹ Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl*, 495, 635.

All this time Sa'lmin was singing; all the people too. From time to time he threw grease on the fire and drank a little of it. Soon the boy (*sic*) who lay stiff called out and began to sing. They made him sit up and loosened his blanket. Then he went over onto the elkskin and sang. After he began his family gave presents away so that he might sing well. If they had not given things away, he would have gotten sick.

I [Mrs. Teio] saw two boys sing; they had never sung before. One was my cousin. My grandmother gave things away for him. He was her sister's daughter's son.

After these two sang, Sa'lmin stopped. Then others who had spirits sang one after another during the night.

Sa'lmin's daughter had a bed built high in the house "like an upper story." It was covered so that she lay hidden there all day for the five days of this performance. Every night she sang while dancing on the elkskin. She had acquired a spirit some time before. She was not yet married (and seems to have been sexually immature). While she sang her mother and younger sister went around the fire singing with her. Her father gave away presents each morning.

Each night's performance lasted until morning. They danced in this fashion for five nights. Sa'lmin alone knew how to give this dance with the thumping sticks. These were called wa'kc'kwiti't.

There are two points of comparative interest in this performance; the thumping sticks and the inner chamber for the girl. A stick of a peculiar shape with just these powers was also known in western Washington. The features are alike; the kneeling boy cannot resist the pulling of the stick when its spirit has been sung into it. He is clad in a blanket fastened about his waist, by which his friends attempt to hold him back. The variations are largely in the shape of the stick or board. This has been recorded among the Snuqualmi and Snohomish of Puget Sound, the Quinault on the coast, and the Klallam of the Strait of Juan de Fuca.¹⁴² The inner chamber for the seclusion of the young girl suggests the similar structure of the Northwest Coast tribes used for the seclusion of adolescents and as sleeping-chambers.

CURING PRACTISE AND WITCHCRAFT

The shamanistic cure depended on the extraction of the foreign substance or spirit in the patient's body. There is no evidence of a belief in sickness caused by the loss of the soul, as among the Chinook proper.¹⁴³

There appears not to have been much specialization of function among shamans. Every shaman could cure, although their powers, hence their abilities, were thought to vary. Some among them could further use their powers to inflict harm on other persons, bewitch them. Idiixi'alit was the term to designate a curing shaman; idiagē'wam, those who bewitched.¹⁴⁴ (The feminine forms of

¹⁴² Haeberlin and Gunther, *Ethnographische Notizen*, 59; Olson, Quinault ms.; Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, 292.

¹⁴³ Boas, *Doctrine of Souls among the Chinook*, 39.

¹⁴⁴ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 16.

these terms are itgaxi'lalit and itgagē'wam). Specifically, the specialized rattlesnake and bear shamans of the California tribes had no parallels here. Those who had rattlesnake spirits cured snake bites. Men and women shamans cured in the same fashion.

Calling on a shaman to cure was really only an extension of the belief that anyone could cure himself provided his spirit was sufficiently powerful. This meant in practise, however, that self-curing was largely confined to shamans. Should one of these get hurt, as by being stabbed or breaking a leg, he would sing his spirit song to protect and cure himself. "The spirit was awakened; the power of this creature was received by the person who is helped by it." We are not certain that he would attempt it if he thought himself bewitched. He used no rattle or drum; the audience, who also sang with him to help, beat time with sticks on a long plank. Then an omen would occur; it would rain or thunder. (This was true whatever the spirit he possessed.) Such a rite occurred at home; never in a sweat-lodge, since the use of these structures had no relation to curing.

An excellent instance of this was recorded as part of a Wasco war narrative. A desperately wounded man was brought home to where a scalp dance was held.

Now the man had become sick. So then a long pole was set up, and then ceremonial feathers were tied on top of the pole to a wolf's backbone, the man's guardian spirit. The man said: "Now I shall die, and do you all hear what I have to say, what I learned when I was a boy. Now then I saw something [on my spirit quest] as a boy, so that now I shall tell you all what it was that spoke with me as a boy, what I recognized. Now it is going to rain a little. Thus I know, I found it out as a boy. I saw black (clouds) passing over the sky, and the sky turned white. And then it rained. If it will not rain and if it will not hail, then truly I shall die." Then it started in to rain and to hail, and the wounded man said; "Now I shall bathe in the water, and you will carry me." So then he was carried to the water and put into it. And then the man recovered; surely indeed the Paiutes had shot at his guardian spirit. He did not die, he became well. Every one saw him, also I here saw him.¹⁴⁵

This illustrates as well how the vision experience was told only *in extremis*.

Those who had insufficient power to effect a self-cure had recourse to a shaman. An emissary was sent to offer the shaman so much in valuables for his aid. If he considered this insufficient, he refused. Another person was then sent to offer more. The first messenger could not go again, because by the very refusal it was shown that he was an unlucky person and had increased the patient's likelihood of dying. Payment was offered in the form of canoes, furs, stone bowls, dip nets, spears, and in the historic period, horses, cattle, blankets, and money. No payment was made unless the cure was successful; the shaman was sometimes held to a cure within a limited time, else he was not paid. In that event another one was called in.

When the shaman felt that the cure was more difficult than he alone could master, he invited another to work with him.

If you should become sick, then you think to yourself: "whom shall I take that is a good medicine-man?" You give him three horses and two oxen and twenty dollars. The medicine-man says: "I shall not succeed in making him well, he is too sick." One more medicine-man has been taken; now they are two. He has been given four horses, one cow and ten dollars, and two blankets.

¹⁴⁵ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 221-223.

Now the medicine-man says: "Now it is well that we two doctor, we shall doctor right. Now we two shall make him well." And the medicine-man says (to his companion): "It seems that you thought you are a poor medicine-man. It seems that this man over there has become sick, so that we two shall doctor him now. Now he will get well. What do you think, O medicine-man, for your part?" He says: "Yes! now both of us shall doctor him." The two of them doctor him, but he has not got well. Now the man dies. Both of the medicine-men are killed, (who) were doctoring him. Those two were wicked, they had "shot" him.

Again one man has become sick. And again a medicine-man has been taken; he has been given two horses, and three blankets, and ten dollars. Also a woman has been taken (who) is to doctor. She has been given, has been paid as her fee, one horse, and one cow, and two blankets, and five dollars. Now the two of them doctor; now they have put down time-beating sticks [a plank was pounded with sticks] and he sings; the medicine-man keeps on doctoring.

Now the medicine-man says: "Now he will not die, now we two shall make him well." Again, just so the medicine-woman says: "Now he will not die, now we two shall make him well." Now the two of them say: "Now tomorrow we two shall go home and we shall completely doctor him." Now the two of them have just completely doctored him. And then they are about to go home. They say: "Now where are the horses?" [in payment of their services]. A boy goes to get the horses.¹⁴⁶

The drumming on a long plank was done by ten men hired for the purpose. The shaman, like a chief, had a spokesman, who repeated aloud what the spirit communicated to the shaman. (We have no information whether the same individual always assisted a shaman).

All pre-adolescent children were sent away, especially babies. There was the danger that the "disease" taken from the patient's body might lodge in theirs; older people were not so susceptible (because they had spirits of their own to resist?).

There was a regular costume for practitioners, which consisted essentially of a cap bearing eagle feathers. In addition, the shaman painted his face in various colors, wore buckskin leggings and shirt, and, we presume, articles peculiar to his familiar spirit as described above. Shamans had rattles made of a bunch of dew-claws strung together; we do not know that they were used in curing, however.

A shaman always smoked before starting to cure, taking five puffs of his pipe and inhaling the smoke. This made his cure more effective since it made his spirit more active and strong.

A big fire was built beside which the patient was laid. The shaman sang his spirit songs to the accompaniment of the din created by whacking at the plank-drum, warmed his hands repeatedly at the fire beside him, and placed them on the sick man's stomach. The spirit power in his hands drew the "disease" toward them. Then he applied his mouth to the spot to suck it out. (A tube was not used). In this manner he drew out "blood, bad stuff." Having gotten it into his mouth, he spat it into a vessel of water "to cool it." It was then more easily handled. Ordinarily it remained invisible to the laity although other shamans could see it readily enough. He would sometimes show a little object as the offending substance.

Mrs. Teio's niece, Julia Wahpat is a shaman. She can take "dirt out of one's eyes." She blows into them and then sucks it out.

¹⁴⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 179-183.

Matter-of-fact procedures must also have accompanied shamanistic cures, or been invoked for common disorders. We have no data on these. It is observed, however, in an account that a convalescent was given fish-soup, made of the heads of salmon and white salmon.¹⁴⁷

Bewitching seems to have been common, or perhaps most serious illnesses and injuries were laid to this. When serious trouble arose between two Wishram, one might pay a shaman to bewitch ("poison") his rival. A few days' illness and the bewitched one died. As he expired he spoke the very words used by the shaman in sending his spirit on its mission, in which the shaman instructed it just how the deed was to be accomplished. The dying man named his rival as the instigator. The accused was tried by the chief who assessed a fine as blood-money; should he fail to pay, he was ordered shot. The relatives of the bewitched man might not wait for action of the chief's council but take vengeance into their own hands. Five or six were sometimes slain in a feud begun by a charge of witchcraft before the case came before the council. The fine was especially heavy in that event, since the guilty man was held responsible for the additional deaths as well. The chief rarely bothered with feuds of this sort among the lowest class. It will be observed that the malignant shaman came off scot free in these cases. He was not guilty in any sense, since he acted merely as the agent of the one who hired him.

Nevertheless a shaman was killed if he was thought guilty of witchcraft on his own account. This was not by order of the chief's council, but an act of revenge on the part of the survivors. If it was generally believed that the shaman had received his deserts, no action was taken against the avenger. Ordinarily a shaman and his family, like that of a war chief, occupied an exceptional position. Neither the man nor his family was likely to be molested; people were too much in fear of a shaman's powers. For instance, the murder of a member of his family was a very rare occurrence. The shaman had the privilege of demanding whatever he chose by way of recompense for the killing. Chiefs were too much in fear of shamans to hold them to account, not that a shaman would bewitch a chief, but he might take revenge on some member of his family. Shamans were not ordinarily killed because they failed of a cure. But they would be if it was thought that they had bewitched the patient in the course of their practise. This is the explanation of the killing of the practitioners mentioned above.

The shaman called in to cure one bewitched proceeds exactly as described above. That his effectiveness was limited by the relative powers of his own and the intrusive spirit is clear from the following account. Even though the patient might die, the shaman might sometimes extract a little object from his body. This he would hold in his hands, enquiring of the surviving relatives what they wanted done. They would take revenge by cutting it in two; then the bewitching shaman would go out of his mind or die.

The following statement by an eighty-five year old shaman named Smith establishes the relative powers of the spirits and how much curing in a witch-

¹⁴⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

craft case depended on this factor. It expresses as well the dangers that inhered in the procedure, the prohibition of untoward action, and the truculence of certain shamans.

This doctoring is true. I have been curing for more than sixty years and have met all kinds of disease. Some diseases are bad. When a person is bewitched, he will surely die unless the shaman has a much stronger spirit than that killing the patient. When a person dies of witchcraft, the body cracks in many places, although they may appear before he expires. Such cracks are not deep, perhaps only an eighth of an inch, just enough to let the blood run freely. The body turns various colors, especially red and blue stripes lengthwise of the body. This shows that he was bewitched by a strong shaman. A shaman who undertakes to take such a spirit out of the sick must have a stronger spirit himself. If not, even though he draws it out, it will kill the shaman and both will die. In five days the shaman is dead. Some important bone of his body breaks, a leg or his spine. This happens, not from any accident, but while he is lying sick abed. So curing is very dangerous and a shaman must be treated well.

This is especially true where a family has many children. When a shaman visits their home the children must remain very quiet. In particular they must not run behind his back. To pass behind his back when he does not see it may frighten him, disturb his spirit, and cause him harm. They must also be careful not to drop anything, to make a sudden report, so that he is startled. If they do, he gets angry and may bewitch some member of the family.¹⁴⁸

A person who has as a spirit an eagle, grizzly bear, cougar, or wolf, in fact any animal that will eat human flesh, is "bad" (malignant). He especially must be treated with circumspection. These spirits want human flesh when they can get it, hence such a shaman will bewitch someone just to satisfy his spirit, which is just the same as feeding it.

FIRST SALMON RITE

A ceremony over the first salmon taken in a run of the fish was celebrated by tribes from northern California to northern British Columbia. Throughout the same area there were special attitudes and behavior toward this fish.¹⁴⁹ Both features were shared by the Wishram.

The first salmon run of the year on the Columbia River is that of the spring (or chinook) salmon. They appear first in March and the run is at its height in mid-April.¹⁵⁰

The procedure with the first salmon was rigorously followed, for if the proper behavior was not observed few of the salmon would be caught. The first salmon caught (sometimes the first few) was carried home by the fisherman and laid aside. No further fish could be taken until the proper rite had been carried out over this one. No one might touch this fish except a shaman (any shaman), who cut off the two flanks of the fish, leaving the head, backbone, and tail in one piece. He made incisions at short intervals in each flank piece, inserting bits of dry cedar wood to hold them open. The backbone-piece was also prepared for roasting by cleaning it. Stones were heated in a shallow pit and arranged to form a flat surface when the wood was consumed. A thick layer of choke cherry leaves was heaped on this, on which the pieces of the several

¹⁴⁸ Both prohibitions also occurred among the Klamath and comparable ideas were shared by Kwakiutl and Thompson.

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion, see Gunther, *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*.

¹⁵⁰ So our informant, but Cobb puts the run from January to March (*Pacific Salmon Fisheries*, 8) and Lewis and Clark set their first appearance in 1806 at April 19th. (Hosmer, II, 261).

salmon were laid covered with mats. From time to time the covering was raised to see if the fish were baked.

All the people of the town attended the feast. Other food had been prepared and spread out on the ground. Old people came to take some of it home. Everyone, even children, was given some of the salmon to eat. (Sapir's informant stated that "all the old men eat it, each a small piece," but this does not preclude the others).¹⁵¹ Prayers were said at the feast by anyone. "He prayed over water, salt, fish, etc.," to the accompaniment of drum and bell. This suggests that the reference is to the days of the Smohallah cult. This being so, it is possible that this was the Christian grace taken over by both Smohallah and Shaker adherents. Some certainty attached to this suggestion since prayers were said neither at the fishing places nor at the time of cutting the salmon.

Lewis and Clark observed the rite at Skilloot village (ita'xluit, Wishram) at the Dalles, April 19, 1806. "The whole village was filled with rejoicing to-day at having caught a single salmon, which was considered as the harbinger of vast quantities in four or five days. In order to hasten their arrival, the Indians, according to custom, dressed fish and cut it into small pieces, one of which was given to each child in the village."¹⁵²

The rite not only insured the salmon run to everyone but made the fishing stage at which the first salmon was caught particularly lucky. The rite was not made for runs of salmon later in the year.

Inquiry was made concerning other attitudes and observances toward the salmon found elsewhere on the coast. Salmon bones were ordinarily discarded, not returned to the river. There was no belief in a connection between salmon and twins. Salmon, in fact all fish and game, were susceptible to the presence of mourners. If a baby died, its father might not go near the fishing places, else the salmon run would cease. The same tabu applied to a widower or widow. The latter might not handle fresh fish or game without giving bad luck to the fishermen and hunters, and should she eat it, the game was likely to disappear almost in its entirety. It is not clear that the five day sweating for purification that followed burial entirely removed the prohibition.

The chinook or spring salmon, as the first of the year, came in for special regard. They were very particular about how this fish was caught. No one could talk casually and carelessly about it. Boys were told: "You must not say 'I am going to catch the spring salmon, to kill him.' He was a person. If you say that you might be drowned." Boys who disregarded this and said they were going to catch many, always met with bad luck; they might be drowned, or at least would catch only a few.

OMENS

A number of omens (imqxa'tc) were recognized.

A rainbow was a sign of a birth, in fact, the end of the arc pointed to the very spot. When a double rainbow was seen it meant that there had been two indi-

¹⁵¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 183.

¹⁵² Hosmer, II, 261.

vidual births or that twins were born. Further, the nature of the rainbow affected the weather. If it was a "bad rainbow" the day would become unseasonable, excessively hot in summer or stormy in winter. On the other hand, if the rainbow was "good," the weather would turn very pleasant. Mrs. Teio said, however, that a birth always caused a bad day; it stormed or became hot. This coupling of birth, rainbow, and storm was common to all Upper Chinookan peoples (Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas) as well as the Wishram.¹⁵³

"If at night the moon is seen with a star closely following her to one side, that truly (signifies that) now some woman is soon to become a widow.¹⁵⁴ If the moon is seen with two stars following her, that (signifies that) the woman will die and her two children will die. Now, if, when it is yet daylight, the moon is seen with a rainbow about it, truly that (signifies that) somebody will be murdered secretly." The howl of a coyote also foretells the approach of death.

Sneezing was a sign, among the Wasco, that someone was talking about the sneezer.¹⁵⁵

Certain acts also affect the weather. When the people were berry picking on the southern slopes of Mount Adams, boys would sometimes climb far up, where they would pull up quantities of a certain plant. This would bring a storm which would cause the people to move away. If one stirred about in a hole in the rocks near the Wishram village of Niḵlu'idiḵ, the wind would rise.¹⁵⁶ One must not point at the moon shining brightly in winter else a great frost would take place; "the moon would become ashamed."¹⁵⁷ The croaking of frogs was a sign of approaching rain, which presumably has a basis in fact.

Walking over the dead caused bad luck; the result was laming a leg. Grains of Indian corn were not eaten because they were considered to be bones of the dead. The latter must be a rationalization about an unfamiliar food, arisen possibly since the coming of the whites, since the Wishram were far from any agricultural area.

VISIONS

Dreams were believed to prefigure coming events. It is possible that these were derived from the guardian spirit, but it was not so stated. That is, there is not much difference between a dream in which a hunter was told by his spirit, the deer, where deer were to be found, and the following:

A war party set out against the Northern Paiute. On the night of the first day "we camped. And then we dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of iqta't-sticks [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And

¹⁵³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 191. A connection between births and the weather is also conceived by Thompson, Klamath, Northern Maidu, and Eastern Pomo.

¹⁵⁴ This is also a Wasco omen (see tale, p. 277).

¹⁵⁵ Sapir, *loc. cit.*, 193, 106, 293.

¹⁵⁶ The same belief is entertained by the Klamath.

¹⁵⁷ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 193.

then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die, I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang, rubbed the iqta't-sticks together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us towards the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream?'¹⁵⁸

A prophecy of the coming of the whites was reputed to have had its source in another vision. "Long ago, I believe, the people learned that now whites would soon come. One old man, I believe, learned of it at night. Then he dreamt; he saw strange people, they spoke to him, and showed him everything; and he heard something like three or four Indian songs. In the morning he spoke to all the people. And then everybody gathered together to hear him—women, men, children, old men—everybody. He told the people what he had seen in his sleep at night. And then they gathered to hear him; they danced every day and every night. They were made glad because of his story." He then became quite explicit in describing what the whites were like and what they would bring. "For days and nights they danced. They were not at all hungry, truly they did their best (in dancing). Everything they saw—ax, hatchet, knife, stove. . . . Then indeed they would again jump up and down; they did their best strongly. And truly things are just so to-day; now surely the old man dreamt just that way."¹⁵⁹ This has all the ring of a Ghost dance performance, the revelation of a great change, the dancing by the whole population, the ecstasy and joy, yet there is nothing specific of the Ghost dance about it. The prophecy was not that of the return of the old life and the coming of the dead. Unfortunately other details are lacking, e.g., the form of the dance, prescription of conduct, etc.

THE SMOHALLAH CULT

We have several times referred to descriptions of earlier religious practices as pertaining to the Smohallah cult. This seems to have been prevalent among the Wishram as a substitute for their ancient forms, or rather, as a modification of them. The Smohallah cult still flourishes on the Yakima Reservation in the form of the Pom-pom or Feather religion. It still has its adherents among the handful of Wishram and Wasco, but many of them, perhaps the majority, are converts to Methodism and that pseudo-Christian sect of the Pacific Northwest, the Shakers.

The difficulty in assigning what follows definitely to the Smohallah cult is that one of us (Spier) believes that the historic cults, Smohallah, Pom-pom, Shakers, and the two Ghost Dance movements, were merely so many special expressions of an old form of revelatory religion that prevailed in this general area. Much of what follows indicates a recurring pattern of behavior, the specific instances of which cannot be easily assigned to one or another of the historic cults. For convenience of reference only we present the whole as pertaining to the

¹⁵⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 207.

¹⁵⁹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 229-231.

earlier historic cult of this region, that of Smohallah. We will reserve discussion of this point to another place.¹⁶⁰

"They worshipped the sun chiefly; sometimes they spoke of the moon and stars in this connection.¹⁶¹ In their prayers they mentioned the sun more frequently. The one who prayed stood up in the center of the house, their church. (This church was made with wall and roof covering of tule mats. It was generally very long, about forty to fifty feet, and four or five paces wide.) He or she would speak in a very low tone while another person beside him would repeat the words louder. As soon as he was finished the drums were beaten. There were usually five drums in use. The drummers were at one end of the church. A row of women down one side and a row of men down the other danced face to face. They danced in place, hopping up and down, with their extended right hands holding an eagle tail feather. [In an account by Mrs. Teio, the dancers held their arms flexed, swinging their hands back and forth before their chests].

"The church costumes were decorated with eagle feathers and yellow paint. Their faces were painted various colors. The wings of eagles and other large birds were used as fans when it was warm. [The lower ends of these were buckskin-covered].

"The one who preached was a person who had died and come to life again. On this account the Indians never buried sooner than five days and nights, since many of them came to life again. He told what he saw in the other country, as they called it. Some saw the same things and people there; others saw different things. This religion was strongly believed in and is to this day by the older Indians. They knew there was another place to go after death in this world."

The following account of his experience was told by Charley. He is one of the preachers of this religion, having "died" some fifty years ago (i.e., about 1855-60).

"What I saw, how I felt just before my last breath, was similar to what my people saw [me do?]. I was dead three days. Just before I died I saw my mother who had died some years before. She was high up in the air. After I died I saw a beautiful country, with grass knee high and as green as green can be, no brush nor any kind of stick. I walked along until I finally saw some bushes. Reaching these I saw a person standing at the edge of it. I saw these were huckleberry bushes with nice green berries on them. I thought at once that I must pick one and try it. This person said: 'No; you must not pick any of these berries.' He was standing right in the pathway. He stepped aside and told me to go on, warning me not to put my fingers on the berries. I heeded and went along.

"After a while I came to a place where there were many green fir trees, cedar, and other timber. I saw a person standing there, also in the pathway. Oh, how nice the trees looked. I thought I would take a small limb of one, but before I did, or spoke, this person repeated what the other had said. He gave way to

¹⁶⁰ See also Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870*.

¹⁶¹ This narrative is that of Pete McGuff.

me and I went on, finding at the next place, creeks full of small and large fish; at the following places, deer, elk, places with beautiful birds, places with all kinds of roots Indians use as food. At each place was a person in a cave, dressed in deer and elkskin clothing decorated with eagle feathers and painted with yellow paint.

"I finally reached a place where people were dancing, but I was stopped before getting very close. I saw people whom I knew had died years before and my relatives. But no one would speak to me. I tried my best to talk to my dear mother but she would not even look at me.

"I learned the songs they sang and the way they performed. Then I was told by one of the persons that I must do likewise, that I must teach my people this before I would be allowed with them and my mother. 'We will send you back; you are wicked.' After talking to me a little, he turned me around to the right.

"I woke from death and since then have done as I was told. I will never forget that I have a place to go after my death where I can find my people. I did not see a white person nor any but Indians. Preachers of older days never saw any either. They believed, and I too believe, that white men do not go to the place we Indians go. I tell this to my people in my preaching; that there is another place to which a white man goes. He goes up all right, but must be to another part."

Mrs. Teio gave the following account, when asked if she knew of Smohallah:

"My uncle, Dick Benson, died. He was a [reservation] policeman. He was wicked; he left his wife for another woman. They laid him out when he died. Some boys drummed and prayed for him. Smoke came out of his body. They told him he would have to return to earth because he had drunk, gambled, etc. 'You will have to go back and pray every day; then you can get through.' He lay dead all day, but he came back to life. He confessed and told his people not to gamble, nor drink, nor to steal lovers. 'You have to be of proper mind to go through when you die.' All his children heeded him for a while. He lived through the year until the next spring when he died. This was when I was a little girl [*circa* 1860-65].

"Smohallah lived near Toppenish later. [She spoke as though Benson was Smohallah, but later denied that Smohallah was a man]. He said: 'Early in the morning clean yourselves and your houses, and then cook.' Our religion [Shaker] tells the same thing.

"Some people of the Smohallah religion live at Nixlu'idiḡ [Spedis] now. They drum and pray on Saturday evening and Sunday morning; praying to prepare for the return of the dead. [Not clear; she seemed to mean that the dead might return in the manner of Benson and tell how to lead the good life "to go through" on the Judgment Day]. There is a long house there which they use as a church. Everyone belonged to this religion when I was a girl. They always used bells and drums at their meetings.

"Smohallah dreamed. Some other started the religion when some one died

like my uncle [not clear]." On the other hand she insisted later that Smohallah was not a man's name, but the name of the cult.

She had never heard of Wowoka and his Ghost dance doctrine, nor of that of the Ghost dance of 1870, although she had seen the Northern Paiute who were brought to the Yakima Reservation about 1875. She knew nothing of the doctrine of the restoration of the old life and the extinction of the whites.

THE INDIVIDUAL

INFANCY

There were certain omens connected with birth. They said that when a child was born it might rain, or blow, or be very hot; the weather was unusual, and it was because of the birth that it was a bad day (Mrs. Teio). McGuff's manner of stating this suggests either that the state of weather depended on whether the birth was easy or hard, or that good weather was a favorable sign, a storm or an extreme temperature the reverse. A rainbow was similarly a sign of a birth, the child being born at the point where the arc begins. A double rainbow signified that two were born at the same time, or that someone had given birth to twins. This belief was shared by the Wasco, Cascades, and Clackamas.

The cradle-board was not made before the birth; in fact, they waited perhaps five days. It was then made by some old person; an old woman for a girl, an old man for a boy. These were people possessed of some shamanistic power; at least they had as guardian spirits the dog or coyote. Such guardian spirits could understand the language of babies. They maintain that a dog, a coyote, and an infant can understand each other, but the baby loses his language when he grows old enough to speak and understand the tongue of his parents.

A cradle was used until the child was weaned, that is, for one or even two years. The child was accustomed to sleep in it, and spent most of its time on the board, hence it was not abandoned early. When one child had outgrown its use, it was kept for another of the family. But if the baby died they would dispose of it in some distant place. Babies were not buried with the cradle but placed in the charnel house on an island in the river.

The cradle was a wooden board, rectangular but tapering markedly to the lower end. The corners of the upper end were so deeply notched or cut away as to leave a trapezoidal handle protruding from the middle of this end. The cradle-board was of cedar or fir. A hoop of rosewood, as thick as one's thumb, rose high over the child's face. Each end of this was firmly bound to a side of the board. One or two cords to the handle, two others to the base, kept it upright. A square board was sometimes set upright above the child's head, fastened transversely to the board. A pair of holes was drilled at each side, above the place where the head rested, to take the ends of a packstrap. A strip of cloth (buckskin?) was fastened along each of the longitudinal sides of the board so as to cushion them. A series of holes down each of these sides bore a series of loops through which went the thongs by which the baby was lashed in. A soft pad was fastened to holes drilled for the purpose, to provide a pillow for the head; the feet rested on a similar pad. A soft bed was provided on the board, the baby covered by a decorated buckskin, and lashed fast (Fig. 8).

Frontal flattening was accomplished by placing a cloth on the forehead, then a soft pad as big as the hand; then a broad band bound the whole to the board (probably to holes in it). McGuff stated that a strip of buckskin about four

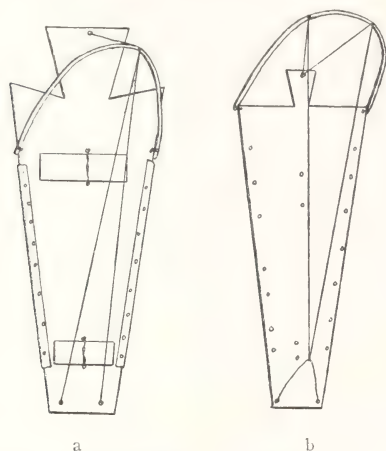


FIG. 8. Cradles (a, from native sketch; b, from specimen seen in the field and said to resemble a Wishram cradle).

inches wide was folded into a square, four by four inches. This was placed on the forehead of the securely laced baby, then another piece of buckskin was strapped over the head. As the child grew, the flattening device was tightened. Only certain persons could be entrusted with this task; not every mother could undertake it, for she might lace it so tightly as to kill the child. The flattener was not put in place until the baby was two or three weeks old, and was continued in use for eight or ten months.

Lewis and Clark observed that both sexes had flattened heads. "They also flatten the heads of the children in nearly the same manner [as the Sahaptins and Flathead], but we now [on the down-river journey] begin to observe that the heads of the males, as well as of the other sex, are subjected to this operation, whereas among the mountains the custom has confined it almost to the females."¹⁶²

Frontal flattening was orthodox and preferable to a normal head. Everyone had it: "they did not like to see round heads." "If its head should not have a flattened forehead, it would be laughed at."¹⁶³ Slaves lacked flattened heads, by which may have been implied either that it was forbidden to slave children, or what is more probable, that adult slaves, largely derived from southwestern Oregon and northeastern California, did not have deformed heads. (A flattened forehead was called *ixapa'ka*, a natural one *ilmigakstu'k*).

CHILDHOOD

The impression derived from the attitude of parents as exemplified on occasions for rejoicing is that family sentiment was strong among the Wishram.

¹⁶² Hosmer, II, 47.

¹⁶³ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 177. Sapir understood that the flattener was a piece of hard wood or skin made to fit the child's forehead. The use of wood is doubtful.

There were not only proud celebrations over the child's little successes, over turning points in later life, but there was considerable serious instruction of the child, more or less formal, on how to conduct himself for a full life. Since much of subsequent success was laid to the acquisition of power from a proper guardian spirit, the boy or girl was rigidly instructed and guided in obtaining it. This has been discussed above. We indicate here a few other items.

The old people told boys who wanted to be strong to run up the neighboring high hills without pausing to rest. This would train them to follow the hunt without tiring. Girls were set the same task so that they would be active and strong.

A long while ago, when I was a boy, the old men would tell myths in winter. Now there I was listening to them. I would be told: "If you fall asleep before it is finished, straightway you will have to go and bathe. If you do not fall asleep, you will not go and bathe." Now I was fond of myths when I was a boy, so I would be satisfied with the things that I was told and would listen to them. If I fell asleep too early, (when) it was all finished, they would wake me up. An old man would say to me: "Go in bathing!" I would try to refuse, but in vain, so I just had to go. I was undressed entirely naked where he knew there was lots of ice or also where it was pressed together tight.

He would give me an ax for chopping up the ice. He would say to me: "You will chop right through it, you will dive under water, you will stick your head out, you will turn around, you will look to the rising sun, you will cry out 'wā!', you will shout. You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look across this way (i.e., north), straightway you will again shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, again you will shout as before, you will look across yonder (i.e., south). You will duck down under water, you will stick your head out, you will look to the setting sun, you will shout 'wā!' You will duck down under water for the fifth time, you will stick your head out, you will look up to the sky. Then enough; you will return home."

Now when I came home, a fire was already burning. On the ends of my head-hair icicles were dangling. I would be told: "Don't be looking at the fire; turn away from it, present your buttocks to the fire. It will quickly blow at you and make you grow quickly." That is how I was done to in order not to be sick and in order to be strong, or just so, in order to prepare one for a guardian spirit. And indeed ever since I was a child I have never been sick; I have always been strong. But not at all have I seen anything that they call a guardian spirit, I do not know what it is like. Sometimes, although there is no ice in the river, it is present in a canoe or a boat; in that same water I would bathe myself. In winter the water of a boat or canoe always freezes, which is just a little bit cool.¹⁶⁴

We have recorded an incomplete statement that the (horned?) owl (ikau'ha'u) "scares children." It is probable that what was implied was the common custom of elders among the western Indians to threaten to invoke the owl to discipline unruly children.

A mask was used to frighten children. This was of cedar; an ugly face, with big eyes and ears, which represented At!at!a'tia, one of the cannibal women. She figures in the mythology as a stupid, child-stealing and -devouring woman, of immense size, having a striped body like that of her own children; she has a fondness for human flesh and feeds her children snakes, frogs, toads, and the like. "No one today can give an exact description, nor did anyone ever see her." Owl is her husband, which perhaps explains his function as a bugaboo. This cannibal-woman concept has a wide distribution through the northwest. The Wasco conception of her was identical with that of the Wishram.¹⁶⁵ This is the only use of a mask known to the Wishram.

¹⁶⁴ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 189, 191.

¹⁶⁵ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 35-39, 165-173, 274-286.

NAMES

Without doubt the greatest event in a Wishram's life, and certainly the most impressive ceremonial of the ordinary individual, was the bestowal of his name. A child was first named when he was from six or eight months to two years old; he might receive a substitute when adolescent, and perhaps again as an adult, during a shamanistic dance. Occasion arose to change the name again on the death of a relative, when there was less ceremony or perhaps none at all.

There was a marked objection to telling names, one's own or another's. Names did not have meaning and were different for each sex. The observances with respect to names were strictly adhered to.

A name was always that of a dead elderly relative; there was no exception to this. No two people within the tribe bore the same name, although it might occur among another Upper Chinookan people. When a man died his name was not uttered again for five years. Some close relative was then given it, a son or grandson, e.g. For instance, Ta'xcani died; after five years his son would call all the people of the neighborhood to a big feast, giving away many presents, and paying an important man well for then calling him by his father's name. The Klickitat observe the same custom, "using the name again after five days or five years" (*sic*).

It is easy to understand then why names have no meanings. If names have been handed down from generation to generation, there must have been only a limited number in use and in that sense great stability. But if archaic forms were preserved and in addition suffered phonetic attrition, it is possible that they should become in time meaningless, provided they ever had any meaning. The only counter tendency would be that of reading meanings into them, which is certainly not the habit today.

Children were not named in earliest infancy; parents waited until they showed they would survive. This was variously put at six or eight months, a year, two years. Wishram and Klickitat both followed the same custom. The idea was that a child named when still very small might die, when the name would have to remain unused for another five years. They would rather wait and be certain before giving it a name.

The name might be changed at any time in later life when a relative died. This was done out of deference to the feelings of the parent of the one whose name was changed; he might feel sad to hear his child called by the name the dead person had used for him. McGuff specified that the change was made when a parent or brother or sister died. (It is significant that the change was not made on the death of one's own child, implying that children never called their parents by name.) Sometimes all the names of a family were changed in this fashion. Members of the family did not like to use a name which had been used by the deceased. That would be looked on as mocking the dead.

The naming ceremony was quite impressive. A feast was prepared, and relatives and friends even of other tribes were invited. Very valuable gifts were made to the spectators, so that the person would be widely known by this name.

The one who was to be named was dressed in a costly costume and stood between two others in the midst of the gathering. The one on his left began in a low voice: "This is now so and so." The one on his right repeated this in a loud voice, the people answering loudly: "āxi." The name given was that of some relative who died long before; probably some of the younger people had never known or even heard of this person. Then again the one on the left said in a low tone: "This name used to be so-and-so who died long ago." The one on the right repeated these words in a loud voice and again the spectators answered: "āxi." Now the one on the left said in a low tone: "We want the mountains, the rivers, the creeks, the bluffs, the timber to know that this man or woman is now named so and so." He on the right repeated this in a very loud voice, the spectators responding: "āxi." The left said again: "We want to let the fishes, the birds, the winds, snow and rain, the sun, moon, and stars know that so and so has become as though alive again. His name will be heard again when this man is called." The right repeated as usual, the people answering: "āxi." This was the last announcement. Anyone among those present who was ever acquainted with the former bearer of the name could now come forward and ask for whatever he wished. He said: "I am glad to meet so and so again after being so long lost [dead]. I am glad this name has come to be spoken again; so I want so and so to give me this and that." It was invariably given him.

The sentiment behind the rebestowal of the name was avowedly that the dead becomes alive again.

The following description of the naming ceremonial is blended of two other accounts. It does not differ except in details. When a child was to be named, his parents invited guests and prepared for them. An old man would rise and address the gathering. He repeatedly lifted a nicely tanned elkskin and pronounced the name. "You used to call him by that name when you met him on the road. Today he is going to leave that name. Today he [the child] will be called by his grandfather's name, so and so. You will know it when you meet him, and you will call him by that name." He would then cut the skin into pieces sizeable for moccasins and give one to each man. Another man rose: "All you who are gathered here in this house! A long time ago there was so and so: he is going to be with us again. We will give this name to the child." They gave him a blanket. A second man: "My nephew (or whatever), so and so, bring me a saddled horse." So they bring it to him. Another rose: "He was [is?] going to give me a horse, that name [man?]. The parents would say: "Yes, we give you that horse; he is going to be with us again." A woman might rise to say: "So and so, bring me a blanket," and they would give it to her. They gave away many valuables to their friends and relatives on behalf of the boy or girl.

A "high-sounding," apparently titular prefix, Sapa— or Sipa— meaning big, great, sir, was sometimes used with the names of mythological characters. It may have had current use.¹⁶⁶

The importance attached to names, which were almost titles, and the desire

¹⁶⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 134, 66.

to have them widely known is distinctly reminiscent of the Northwest Coast proper.

The following list of names was obtained. Data on the age of the person and the earlier relative who bore the name were obtained for some.

MALES	FEMALES
k!ötö'me, young.	tanitčespaṃ, little girl; named for her
tcö'palai, young, his maternal grand- uncle's name.	maternal grandmother, an Upper Chinook from below Hood River.
tö'mxöt, young.	ķ!wü'naiät, young.
täniwa'čē, middle aged; named for his father, a shaman who was killed.	tauwai'ipäm, young; said to sound like a Klickitat name; her grandmother was one.
ka'ła'mek, old.	alika'ł, middle aged.
spidi's, old. ¹⁶⁷	dūmiau'öx, old.
ta'xcani, old.	k!esu'sni, old.
pa'pkēs, young (?); said to be that of a former Wishram chief.	texau'wac, old.
me'nait, old; the common name of the same man in later life. ¹⁶⁸	xai'ädwiša, old.
ba'laxwōc	ba'c ^a cp ^a
ck'li'lpam	cagǐ'fwöt
dagi'ucac	cli'cli
k!iē'lx (or k!i'yēlx)	gacnō'gwōx
kxala'mak	kesa'mis
Lxoaliken	kiai'tōni
łala'qxam	k!u'ltcaiet
saxa'll	ni'sapam
sila'tsi	qxisamis
sne'niwa	sābiau'xs (or sa'biax)
tamsa'wit	sa'iamelut
ta'mxat	sa'uyapam
txa'uaxca	si'lamgas
wacta'tci	tša'txo
wai'sata	tsō'sigans
wa'lauis	tu'malec
xa'tc!emtc!em	wagu'miäc
xē'milk	wai'yapic
xi'muc	xīnwat
yayau'wen	ya'utani

The following men's names are those of other tribes: *Wasco*, gu'tcta, weditc, wilu,¹⁶⁹ *Cascades*, sa'ianuxēn; *Klickitat*, xatama'ł!ki.

¹⁶⁷ Spedis, Washington, the site of the Wishram village, is named for him.

¹⁶⁸ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 224.

¹⁶⁹ Curtin, in Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 284.

EAR PIERCING

A celebration of much the same order took place when a child was to have its ear lobes pierced to carry ornaments. This was done for children of both sexes, when only a few years old. No piercing was done in later life. (It is interesting as an example of conservatism to note that little girls' ears are still pierced, but the practise has been given up for boys, except among the "wild" Indians on the Yakima Reservation.)

People gathered in the house at the invitation of the child's paternal grandfather, e.g.¹⁷⁰ He said: "Do you all now come! Now my son has a child, a little baby, and the ears of my son's child will have holes pierced into them." A little food was prepared of which all ate. The piercing was done by an old man or woman, a relative or friend who was adept at it. A tanned elkskin was spread out on which the child was placed. Then the lobes and peripheries were pierced two, three, or four times, for the number gave prestige. Sapir's informant said five to each ear (five is the Wishram pattern number). Our informant did not know what was anciently used for piercing. A loop of deer-sinew was inserted to keep the hole open; it was frequently anointed with deer tallow to keep it soft. The elkskin was then cut into pieces large enough for a pair of moccasins, which were distributed as gifts, as in the naming ceremonial. Various other gifts were made to old people at this time: small baskets, horsehair rope, twined bags, were specified. Those who pierced the ears, and those who held them, received a larger share. They sang and danced on this occasion; danced individually, or in twos or threes, men and women together. "Now the boy or the girl has become good If it did not have its ears pierced, it would be laughed at." An elderly woman informant had three holes in each ear, two in the lobe and one somewhat higher.

FEASTS OF REJOICING

The giving of a first name and the piercing of ears in childhood were only the first of a series of rejoicings over turning points in the child's career. The next landmarks that followed were the first products of the child's labors, and for girls, maturity. In fact, the same pattern of behavior continued throughout life. We have seen how adults were newly named on the death of a relative. The same sort of rejoicing and public recognition took place, for example, when a man recovered from a serious illness. Its form was always the same, a feast and valuables given to the assembled guests. Perhaps the most striking thing about these celebrations is the love and concern over the child's successes which the parents displayed.

When a little girl was big enough to pick enough huckleberries to make a *iuna'yexix* (a huckleberry-load; a package of dried huckleberries of standard measure), the old women were called, and it was given to them. This gave her good luck in picking berries and made her a rapid picker.

¹⁷⁰ This account is a combination of other notes with that given by Sapir (*Wishram Texts*, 177).

My mother did this for me [Mrs. Teio] whenever I did something. When I was seven or eight years old, I picked berries, which she dried. She called the old people and gave them a feast. She did the same when I was nine; I picked more then.

Last year a little girl about four years old dug a quart of wild onions. They cooked them. They had a feast and gave away blankets and cloth. I got a skirt. Perhaps this year she will dig something, a little more.

When a boy catches his first salmon, and again when he kills his first deer or bear, they had a similar celebration. All the older people of the village were invited by the boy's parents. The fish was roasted on sticks, and on this the old men feasted. Other edibles were furnished by the parents. After the feast the old people, especially the men, were the recipients of gifts; blankets, shawls, etc. This gave the youngster success in catching more.

The girls' puberty celebration was essentially of the same kind. At first menstruation the girl was secluded in a little house apart for five days. A dance was given by her parents during the five nights. At the expiration of the time she was brought among them decorated with bead necklaces, which, with other gifts, were distributed among the guests. The celebration was held because her parents rejoiced that she was now a woman and ready to accept offers of marriage. Possibly she could wear bead necklaces only from this time forward as an indication that she was now mature.

Women were not secluded nor was their daily life interrupted in any way at their courses, save on this first occasion.

Sometimes a man would prepare a salmon feast after the fashion of the first salmon rite in order to make the old people happy. Everyone would come to his feast.

KINSHIP TERMS

Lists of terms were obtained independently by us.¹⁷¹ In the combined list that follows the form given is in the third person, except in the case of parents where alone the first and second forms differ from the third. The vocative forms are given parenthetically. Bracketed forms are alternatives.

ilxt !a'max (masc.), alxt !a'max		"all progenitors from the fourth generation back, i.e., beginning with one's great-grandparents." ¹⁷²
ĩtc !ũ'mõx ¹⁷³		any great-grandparent (probably a first person form).
itca-k !a'cuc (k !a'cuc)		her paternal grandfather.
ia-ga'k !uc, ia-ti'lec ¹⁷⁴ (ga'k !uc, ti'lec, ¹⁷⁴	tĩ'la ¹⁷⁴	his maternal grandfather
aya-k !i'c (k !ic)		his paternal grandmother.
aya-cki'x (ckix)		his maternal grandmother.
wi'-am		his father (wi'n-amc, first person; wi'm-am, second person).

¹⁷¹ Some of these terms have been published by Sapir, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, 329.

¹⁷² Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 169.

¹⁷³ Forms obtained by Spier alone.

¹⁷⁴ Sahaptin in origin.

wa'y-aq	(a'qxo)	his mother (wa'n-aqc, first person; wa'm-aq, second person).
i'a-mut	(a'mut)	his paternal uncle, step-father.
iaɛ'ɛm	(a'ɛm)	his maternal uncle.
aya'-lak	(a'lak)	his paternal aunt, father's brother's wife (?). ¹⁷³
aya-gu'tx	(agu'tx, aqxô'da)	his maternal aunt, step-mother, mother's brother's wife (?). ¹⁷³
ia'-lxt	(a'pu, ga'pu)	his elder brother.
waya'-lxt	(alxt)	his elder sister.
iô' ^u -xix	(a'wi)	his younger brother.
aya' ^u -txix	(a'tci)	his younger sister.

All cousins (both parallel and cross) as well as step-brothers and -sisters are called by these four terms.

ia'-xan	(a'gwa)	his son.
aya'-xan	(a'ca)	his daughter.
ia'-qxoq, id-ia'-qxoq		his children.
ia'-welx	} (qxē'welx)	his brother's son.
aya'-welx		his brother's daughter.
itca'-welx		her sister's son.
aga'-welx		her sister's daughter.
ia-ɫa'txan	} (qxēɫa'txən)	his sister's son.
aya-ɫa'txan		his sister's daughter.
itca'-tkiu		her brother's son.
aga'-tkiu		her brother's daughter.

These nepotic terms are also applied to the children of parallel- and cross-cousins.

ia'-qcen	} (ga'cu)	his son's son.
aya'-qcen		his son's daughter.
ia-ga'kan, ia-ti'la ¹⁷⁴	} (ga'gu, ti'la) ¹⁷⁴	his daughter's son, his sister's daughter's son. ¹⁷³
aya-ga'kan, aya-ti'la ¹⁷⁴		his daughter's daughter.
itca'-gian	} (ga'ya)	her son's son.
aga'-gian		her son's daughter, her brother's son's daughter. ¹⁷³

itca'-tken	}	(da'ga)	her daughter's son, her sister's daughter's son. ¹⁷³
aga'-tken			her daughter's daughter.

These terms presumably apply to the remaining grandchildren of siblings as well and probably to those of parallel- and cross-cousins.

itca'-gikal	}	(qxigi'kal)	her husband.
aya'-gikal			his wife.
ia'-qci'x	}	(iqci'x)	his father-in-law, his son-in-law.
itca'-qcix			her son-in-law.
aya'-gcix			his mother-in-law.
itca'-cti	}	(icti', icti'u)	her father-in-law.
aga'-cti			her mother-in-law, her daughter-in-law.
aya'-cti			his daughter-in-law.
itckwo'kcin ¹⁷³			son- or daughter-in-law's father.
akkwo'kcin ¹⁷³			son- or daughter-in-law's mother.
itc-qix	(iqi'x)		his brother-in-law. ¹⁷⁵
aga'-tum	(qxi'tum)		her sister-in-law. ¹⁷⁵
itca-pu'tcxan	}	(qxipu'tcxan)	her brother-in-law. ¹⁷⁵
aya-pu'tcxan			his sister-in-law. ¹⁷⁵
itcanu'mdatx ¹⁷³			granddaughter's or great-granddaughter's husband.
aganu'mdatx ¹⁷³			grandson's or great-grandson's wife, daughter's daughter's daughter's son's wife.
ia-cu'x (plural iġ-cu'xtikc			his relative.
iġ-qxô'qcn-ana, iġ-qxô'qma-na			relatives by marriage (not thus related to the husband of a newly married girl but to his blood relatives).
i'-pġqau			widower.
a'-pġqau			widower.
iġiê'-luq !Emax			divorced man.
iġga'-luq !Emax			divorced woman.
wi'-limx			remarried man.
wa'-limx			remarried woman.

"It is customary in Wishram, when apostrophizing a relative, as in mourning, to use both the non-pronominal vocative and the first person singular possessive form of the noun (as if one were to say in English: 'Papa, my father!')."'

¹⁷⁵ Each of these four terms applies to the two possible relationships, e.g., "his brother-in-law" means both "his sister's husband" and "his wife's brother."

Thus, a'ca wagī'ḡan, "my daughter!" and gā'īya witcigī'yen, "grandson, my grandson!"¹⁷⁶

In all these terms the sex of the speaker makes no difference in the stem used, unless noted otherwise. There is, of course, the inevitable sex-prefix of Chinook words. Thus, there are no separate terms for the brother, e.g., of a man and of a woman.

While it is not obvious, the grandparental and grandchild terms are verbally reciprocal as well as conceptually so.

The system as a whole is relatively simple. Parallel and cross-cousins are equated to the siblings and their descendants termed like those of siblings. Avuncular relatives on the two sides of the family are kept separate and differentiated by sex as well. The nepotic relationships are not correlated with these. Among them there is one term for the child of a sibling of like sex with the speaker, separate terms for the child of a sibling of unlike sex. At greater remove from the speaker, there are four classes of grandparent, conceptually and verbally reciprocal with four kinds of grandchildren. In this classification the primary distinction is based on the sex of the connecting relative. One impressive feature of the whole system is that the sex of the speaker does not figure.¹⁷⁷

From the fact that there is a coincidence of terms for paternal uncle and step-father, maternal aunt and step-mother, step-child and a man's brother's or a woman's sister's child, Sapir has argued for the influence of the levirate in establishing these terms.¹⁷⁸ But if, as Spier's additional data given here indicate, the step-mother is also equated with mother's brother's wife (not *father's* brother's wife), the force of this is considerably lessened. The paternal aunt is also probably equated to father's brother's wife. As the data stand then the spouses of the uncles are equated to their respective sisters. It may be maintained that this is conceptually, hence historically, distinct from the equation of step-parents with the avuncular relatives, but we cannot say which is the primary usage.

The following brief list of Wasco kinship terms was obtained:¹⁷⁹

k!a'kos	paternal grandfather.
wi'namc	father.
wa'naks	mother.
etcestsumt	father's brother.
etclum	mother's brother.
axlak	father's sister.
īcu'ł	elder brother, cousin.
īco'xix	younger brother, cousin.
waguł	elder sister.
gu'dxix	younger sister.
yoxhan	son.
eiyoxhan	daughter (axhan, my daughter).

¹⁷⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 158, 94.

¹⁷⁷ For the relation of this to other systems, see Spier, *The Distribution of Kinship Systems*, 76.

¹⁷⁸ Sapir, *Terms of Relationship and the Levirate*, 328.

¹⁷⁹ By Dr. Erna Gunther from Frank Gunyer.

etkeo	[her?] brother's son.
aktkeo	[her?] brother's daughter.
icqikal	my husband.
axqwikal	my wife.
coł	brother-in-law.
axtu'm	my sister-in-law.
axllkaw ^a	my [?] widow.

All of these terms are recognizable in the Wishram list except icu'ł, elder brother and cousin, and coł, brother-in-law.

A term, itcta'ta, for "my maternal uncle," recorded by Boas among the Chinook proper,¹⁸⁰ was employed among the Wasco by little children to mean "my brother."

GAMES

Shinny was played only in the spring. A pole was set up at each end of the playing field as a goal. The ball was laid in a hole at the center of the field, whence two opposing players struck it out. The side which gets the ball past the other's post wins. This game was played by men only, perhaps five on a side. The ball could not be touched with the hands. The shinny stick was crooked; the ball was made of oak (?) root. Stakes might be anything.

Double-ball shinny was, as usual, a woman's game. The goals were as for shinny, but the "ball" was not set in a hole. This ball was made by joining two billets of heavy hard wood by a strong buckskin thong, a foot long. Each billet was about nine inches long, an inch or more in diameter, provided at the middle with a groove in which the thong was tied. The striking sticks were straight, four feet long, slightly pointed. The "ball" was thrown toward the opponent's goal with the point of the stick; it could not be touched with the hands.

Hoop and pole was played by men and boys only; any number played. The hoop was a ring of willow or other wood, eighteen inches in diameter; the stick somewhat thicker than the thumb. It was not netted. The pole was unusually small, only four feet long and hardly thicker than the hoop. It was not marked nor decorated in any way. Any smooth spot was used as a playing ground. The stereotyped method of throwing the hoop was to hold it vertically in front of the shoulder and to throw it down to roll along the ground. The poles were then hurled after it. The winning throw was one in which the pole pierced the hoop, so that they fell lying together in this fashion.

The only bow and arrow game recorded was that of shooting at marks made of bundles of weeds about eight inches long.

Foot-races were indulged in by men, boys, and girls. They raced both to a distant point, or to it and returned.

Any contest designed to test physical power or endurance was called 'waqil'ukck. The one who stood the most pain won the game.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Boas, *Vocabulary of the Chinook Language*, 135.

¹⁸¹ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 84.

Anyone might toy with the ring and pin game, children too, solely for amusement. The device consisted of a bundle of cattail-down, bound into a cylinder as long as the finger and about an inch in diameter. A short cord fastened to one end attached it to the bone (?) pin on which it was caught. We could not learn with certainty whether the bundle was swung toward or from the body, probably the latter.¹⁸²

The dice game was feminine; men never played it. It may have been played only in winter and spring. The (deer?) bone dice were four in number; seven inches long, a half inch wide, flat on one side, slightly convex on other, somewhat pointed at the ends. These were marked in pairs on their convex faces; two called "men" (ika'lūxc) had a line of crosses along the face, those called "women" (inū'mkckc) were marked with two longitudinal lines of dots, crossing which were transverse lines. Not all women owned nicely marked dice. These were thrown from the hands. If two of a kind fell face up, "men" or "women," the thrower won a point; with any other throw the dice passed to an opponent. It is probable that sticks were used to mark the points won, but the informant did not know how many there were, nor their use.

The hand game¹⁸³ was formerly played by men alone; now men and women. Any number of individuals could play. Seated on the ground, each of the parties had a plank laid before them on which to beat with short sticks (eighteen inches long) while they sang. Four gambling bones were used. These were made of the shin bone of a deer, as long as a finger and three-quarters of an inch in diameter. Two of these, called "men," were marked with a piece of buckskin tied around a groove at the middle; the two called "women" were unmarked. Sticks serving as markers were stuck into the ground between the parties; our informant did not know how many.



FIG. 9. Gambling bones for the hand game; a, set used by men; b, set used by women (redrawn from a native sketch).

The leader of each side sat in the middle of his row. He rolled all four bones in his hands, then passed one "man" and one "woman" to one man on each side of him, always an assorted pair. These hid them one in each hand, swinging their hands to and fro across in front of their bodies. The object of their opponents was to guess in which hand the "men" were hidden. (McGuff

¹⁸² Mrs. Teio did not know whether juggling was in vogue.

¹⁸³ Ordway of the Lewis and Clark party observed the game in 1806 (Quaife, *Journals*, 344).

states the unmarked pair were guessed for.) The leader of the opponents sat still, watching. He announces his guess by hand movements. If he chose both outside hands (that is, the right hand of the man on his left and the left hand of the man on his right) he moved his hand across in front of him with thumb and forefinger extended. If he chose one inside and one outside hand, he drew his hand across with only the forefinger extended. If he chose both inside hands, he moved his open hand edgewise downward as though between them. To show how they were hidden, the hider then held high his hands palms forward.

If he correctly guessed the way in which one of the hiders held them, his side took that pair of bones. Then he guessed again for the other pair. If he missed on the second guess, his pair returned to their former owners. We do not know how the markers were used, but suggest that one was drawn from the pile by the hiders when their opponents guessed incorrectly.

Riddles were unknown.

Children slid down some slippery rocks at Niḵlu'idix, the village at Spedis. One, known as watst'a'loxlux, to slide, was a long slippery rock resting obliquely against another. They sometimes quarreled over this sport.

SWEATING

The sweatlodge was the small hemispherical affair containing heated stones common on the western plateaus. The ordinary lodge was three to four feet in diameter, three and a half feet high. Others large enough to admit five or six people were broader, but no higher. The frame was made of willow poles stuck into the ground about a foot apart in a circle. No specified number was used, as among the Blackfoot. These poles were then bent down and tied together at the top; there were no horizontal ribs. The frame was covered, probably with mats, over which dirt was heaped; nowadays blankets are used. A doorway was left, which was closed with a blanket. They carpeted the floor with sweet smelling fir boughs.

Stones were heated on a crib of sticks outside and carried in to a hole, some eighteen inches across, just inside the entrance, either to the right or left. Water was sprinkled on the hot stones to create steam.

It was customary to go into the lodge to sweat five times, by which time the stones had grown cold. There was no esoteric significance attached to the number; it was merely customary. They were enjoined to keep their eyes closed, else they would become red around the rims. "Those who did not have strong minds would get scared and run out." On coming out of the lodge it was customary to sit about to cool off before plunging into a nearby stream.

Formerly men and women made use of separate sweatlodges, or more probably went in at different times; nowadays a man and his wife will go in together.

Sweating was for several purposes. Hunters always sweated in the morning before starting out, in order to rid themselves of their body odor. In spring when the trees on the mountains were freshly green and scented, they carried the leaves and green bark, especially of the fir, into the lodge so that they would

acquire this fragrance. It was usual to sweat first to cleanse oneself, then bring in the fresh leaves for their pungent odor.

Sweating was also indulged in to acquire good luck; it was so used by fishermen, trappers, gamblers, and lovers. An old man would be hired to go into the lodge with the sweater; he took his position near the heated rocks. He was one who knew how to talk to the sweatlodge, asking it to help his employer and to give him luck in marrying the woman of his desire, e.g. In the same way a woman would hire some old woman to plead for her.

Mourners and those who touched a corpse had to purify themselves by sweat-bathing. The mourner began to sweat five days after the death, going into the lodge once a day for each of the five succeeding days. This was so that they would not contaminate the things they touched, giving bad luck to others.

A sickly person would also go into a sweatlodge in order to recover his strength. There was also a pothole (?) at the river near Lyle, said to have been made by Coyote. Heated stones were put into this and it was filled with water to provide a hot bath for sickly persons.

SMOKING

In earlier days only shamans and chiefs smoked; common men would have gotten "consumption" from its use. The shaman always inhaled five puffs before beginning to cure in order to strengthen his spirit and to make it more lively. One whose spirit was the rattlesnake would dry a snakeskin and mix it with his tobacco. The pipe was also used at interludes in council meetings, the chief who was host starting the pipe on its round, each chief present taking a puff or two.

We are not certain that any of the three plants used were tobaccos. A plant (ig!ai'nūt), having a leaf like that of the turnip (and hence perhaps a tobacco), was grown in spots where ash beds remained from burned logs. McGuff stated that this seed or plant was gotten from the Hudson Bay Company. Yet the practise of planting in ashes is aboriginal.¹⁸⁴ Prior to this, Indians from the east brought a smoking leaf which was bitter and strong. These Indians told that this plant was scarce and grew only on the cliff faces, whence they procured it by shooting it down with arrows. This sounds, of course, like a fiction to enhance its value. The third plant (iĭpātcū) was probably bearberry, the common kinikinnick of the northern latitudes. It was described as growing on the mountains; a very low plant bearing red berries, the leaves lanceolate, an inch long. The leaves were roasted before a fire until brown, when they were dried, crushed, and mixed with tobacco.

The potency of these early tobaccos was said to have been much greater than the commercial tobacco now in use. Four or five puffs made a pleasant amount. Sometimes a smoker would take too much, rendering him unconscious for as much as a half hour. Such heavy tobacco was ordinarily smoked only at bed time.

¹⁸⁴ Sapir, *Notes on the Takelma*, 259; Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, 37.

Tobacco was not chewed, as for example, with lime.

The pipe described was of the elbow type, fitted with a short wooden stem. The bowl was of a fine grained local stone, blue-green to black in color. The two arms of the L-shaped bowl were of about equal length, three inches, and of the same diameter, that is, about an inch and a half. A little nubbin protruded forward from the base of the bowl proper. The slender wooden stem was about five inches long. Such pipes were made by the Wishram themselves.¹⁸⁵ Further up the Columbia straight tubular pipes were in use, probably in the hands of the Sahaptin peoples at Celilo.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

When a man or woman died the body was kept for two or three days before being carried to one of the burial houses. The mourners brought various valuables for the deceased because he was liked. These were tied all over his body: sea-fish bone beads, sea-shell beads, round glass beads, and strings of Chinese cash. The body of a virgin was similarly decked in addition with cloth and bracelets. The corpse, having been painted and dressed, was wrapped in a tanned buckskin, placed on its back on a plank the width of the body, and lashed there. Two men then carried it to the family burial house; they were not necessarily relatives and were paid a horse apiece for their services. Many mourners followed. It was deposited with the row of corpses at the side of the last one set in place. Sometimes the man's horse was taken there to be killed. The gathering then dispersed, with further duties falling on members of the family and those who had handled the corpse alone.

Mourning was continued for five or ten days. "If a man should die, the people mourn. He is liked; his heart was good to everybody. Ten days and five days they mourn. Again, so also in case of a woman. Good was her heart and, when looked at, good her appearance."¹⁸⁶ Parents and other relatives cut their hair short to the ears.

Those who handled the corpse and close surviving relatives had to purify themselves by sweating. They began five days after the death, going into the sweat-lodge once on each of the five succeeding days. Men and women used separate lodges (or the men used it before the women) and during this time they also ate apart. The sweating was to cleanse the mourner so that he could handle things as others did, without causing bad luck. If a widow handled fresh fish or game, the fisherman or hunter would have bad luck the rest of the year, and should she eat fresh flesh, the game or fish were likely to disappear almost entirely. Should a widow fail to purify herself, the fish would run deep and the game be wild in the vicinity of the village, so that they would be difficult to take. Nor could a widower, or the father of a dead baby, go near the fishing stages until he had purified himself, else the fish run would cease.

Widow and widower had to keep up full mourning and remain unmarried for five years, during that time never dressing the hair, for example. This restriction applied as well to the survivor of an infant marriage even though it never reached the stage where the couple lived together.

¹⁸⁵ Klamath pipes of this general type are figured by Barrett, *Material Culture of the Klamath*, pl. 22, figs. 8, 9.

¹⁸⁶ Sapir, *Wishram Texts*, 179.

The funeral of a chief was somewhat more elaborate. His body was dressed in his buckskin clothing and his spirit outfit added. Chiefs of other tribes came to view the body. After five days and nights the corpse was carried to the burial island. His personal servant (a woman, a man, boy, or girl) was also taken to the burial place. A few words were said to him, he was killed and buried with his master, and "nothing more was said about it." A few days after the burial, the property of the dead chief was distributed among his relatives and other chiefs as remembrances. Then a big feast was given by the tribe and his successor was recognized. When a chief's wife died, a girl or woman servant was also generally buried with her. This was true among the Clackamas as well (see below).

An account of a funeral of earlier days was obtained from Mrs. Teio, who is now a member of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers. Curiously enough it appears to be the rite of members of the Pom Pom religion (derived from the Smohallah cult and now flourishing among the Yakima), not the ancient Wishram form.

The body was taken to a long house, "a church," not used for secular dances. A row of men faced the body on one side, a row of women opposite. Perhaps three of the men had hand-drums of the tambourine type and one a little bell. They stood in place singing. Then the bell was rung a little and someone stepped forward (the widow or another relative), and prayed. They continued this through the night until sunrise, various men praying between intervals of drumming and singing. The body, decked out as described above, was then carried to the burial vault in the ancient manner.

The island of the dead, Memaloose Island in the Columbia, is locally quite famous. It derives its name from a Chinook jargon word for the dead. This island is several miles upstream from the former Wishram village *Nixlu'idix* at Spedis, Washington. This has been the Wishram burial ground throughout the historic period and the span covered by tradition. The burial vaults clustered somewhat thickly there and each was crowded with corpses. Each family owned one; sometimes it was used by several related families. If a woman had no place to put her dead, she might ask a man for a place in his vault, making him a present. These structures were built by a group of related men.

The burial house was a small rectangular structure of planks set over a shallow pit, measuring about ten feet to the side and six feet high, and with a shed-roof, that is, with but a single pitch. The wall planks were set vertically. A burial house was called *itk!i'mxötgámö'x*. "In them the bodies were laid with their heads to the west, sometimes piled up to a depth of three or four feet. Carved wooden images were frequently set up around the vaults, and the planks were often carved and painted to represent men or various animals."¹⁸⁷ We figure the carved side of a canoe found on this island (plate 13).

Bodies were not reburied.¹⁸⁸

Cremation was not practiced by the Wishram,¹⁸⁹ nor did our informant

¹⁸⁷ Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, 171.

¹⁸⁸ For many years the whites of the vicinity were in the habit of plundering the grave houses, until they were trampled down and the bones scattered. Some years ago the Wishram built a single stone vault there, in which they collected all the bones they could then find.

¹⁸⁹ Mr. W. Egbert Schenck informs us that investigations in archaeological sites at The Dalles and on Miller's Island, opposite the mouth of the Deschutes River, show cremation formerly to have been the custom in this region.

know of any tribe in the vicinity that did. She knew it however as the custom of the Klamath and Northern Paiute in Southeastern Oregon.

An account of Clackamas burial was obtained. Their chiefs were buried in a manner similar to that of the Wishram but differing in details. The corpse of the chief was taken to his burial place in a small canoe, large enough to admit of only two paddlers. His slave-servant was taken in another similar canoe. Others followed in large canoes. When the body was laid in the hole the slave was called and addressed thus: "You have been very good to your master, waiting on him all the time. He thought of you as his own son, fed you the same food he ate, and you also thought warmly of him and treated him as a father. Now you see he is gone forever and never again will be seen. You have no one to attend at home, so you may go with him. Now get down in the hole and cover yourself with part of your master's clothes; be there beside him." He was then lowered into the grave and buried alive.

WISHRAM TALES¹⁹⁰

SALMON MYTH¹⁹¹

Five wolves had a house. They stole Spring (Chinook) Salmon's wife. They all went hunting. Spring Salmon made the springs dry up, so the wolves thirsted. They went around and around. They said, "Hmmm, that is a salmon smell." They could not keep still; they were wild because they smelled salmon. The springs all dried up so that they all died except the youngest. That is why there are wolves now; the youngest was saved. Then Spring Salmon took his wife again.

They went down the river in a canoe. He told his wife he was going to sleep. "Do not wake me. You will be captain in this canoe. We will go straight down. If you see anything do not be afraid." He lay down where he sat and slept. As they went along she saw a worm crawl out of his head; salmon get wormy. So she pushed him away. "Haaa," he cried.

They reached a big rock a little below Lyle. He said, "Oh, wolves' wife, you hurt me." He made a hollow in the side of the rock with his paddle just big enough to sit in. Then he placed his wife on the blade of the paddle and put her up there. She had nothing to eat. This was punishment because she hurt him.

He paddled a long time until he came to his house. He had two big crows (or ravens). They used to fly about and on their return he would listen to what they said. Finally one said, "I am going to have the eyes." The other said, "I am going to have the cheeks; you can have the eyes." He heard them and said, "What do you see, that you talk that way? Do you see something?" The crows said, "Yes, we saw a woman. She is in a rocky place: no one can get there. She is very poor, a nice looking woman." It was his wife. So he said, "You fellows can go this morning and bring her on your backs. Do not kill her: bring her here." The crows said, "Yes, we will try." So they put their wings together and put something on this. Then they flew up, and because it did not fall off, he said, "I guess it is all right; you can go fetch her."

So they went. That woman could not move. She cried. She said, "I can not go; I might fall." But they said, "No, we will take you. Our brother sent us." So they sat down where she was and crossed their wings. They told her to sit on that and place one hand on the shoulder of each. So she sat there and they took her. "Kaw, kaw," they called as they took her. Anything Spring Salmon wished, he did; it was all right. So he took her for his wife again. She no longer starved. She was all right now; they lived together again.

¹⁹⁰ For a discussion, see Sapir, *Preliminary Report*, 542-4.

¹⁹¹ Told by Mrs. Mabel Teio.

THE CANNIBAL WOMAN¹⁹²

There was a girl and a little boy at Spedis. These two were very smart. They were looking for arrowheads, which they found. An ugly woman named At!at!a'liya came. She had a big basket in which she put them. She covered them and tied them in. Then she carried them to her house near Celilo. She had many children there, which she always roasted. The girl hurt the boy; he cried, "Sister, you hurt me." The woman said, "[That is a sign that] my children got burned." His sister whispered, "Say it again," and he did. The woman said, "Somebody hollered; my children got burned. I will have to leave this basket." When they reached there these two children were all right. The two cut a hole in the basket and got out. Then they stuffed the basket with grass and roots.

The two fled. The girl carried the boy some of the time. When they reached the river again, an old man told them, "I will take you over there." The woman found that they were gone when she opened the basket, so she followed them. They went across in the old man's canoe, but she swam after them.¹⁹³

She tried to catch them but she was drowned. The old man took them across the river. She floated down until she stood upright as a big rock. She has breasts and her basket on her back. That is why there are no more cannibal women about. All the children are shown that rock.

THE DESERTED BOY¹⁹⁴

There was a very mean boy at Spedis. He fought with the other children all the time. The boy's grandmother had an underground house. An old man said, "We are going to take him into the hills across the river and leave him." Those two old women said, "No!" They cried. He said, "Yes, he is too mean." At last he took the boy across the river. The two old women never stopped crying. The men went over there to cut sticks for the hoop of the hoop and pole game. They left him there. One young man said, "We will defecate." They made a face in the faeces with a stick and told it, "If you hear a cry, you call out." They put another far inside the clump of bushes where they cut the sticks. That mean boy said, "It is a long time now. I have lots of sticks." So he shouted, "Ho!" Somebody shouted, "Ho!" He called again and then went over there. Again he called and heard the reply. He went there, but there was no one. He saw the faeces with mouths. He said, "I guess they deserted me." So he took the sticks.

When he reached home nobody was there except the magpies. Everyone else was across the river playing the hoop and pole game. He went into the house and cried. He heard something going k'e, k'e, like a fire. He looked around until he found it; it was something to make string of. He said, "I am

¹⁹² Told by Mrs. Teio.

¹⁹³ The narration was interrupted at this point.

¹⁹⁴ Told by Mrs. Teio.

going to make a trap to catch magpies." He made it and caught many of them. He dried the skins. He used the string to sew them together to make a blanket for sleeping. He measured it: "It is long enough for me to sleep."

Then he went fishing and caught a chub. He roasted it at the fire and ate one side. He kept the other for the morning. He said, "Oh, I am all right." So he slept under his magpie blanket. Next morning he put it on, tying it around his neck, and went fishing again. He got two fish. He cooked one and kept one for evening. "I am getting on all right." Next morning he fished again. Pretty soon he got something: it was heavy and nearly pulled him in. It was put there by a woman of the river people, the daughter of Itc'kian, a river man. They had tied a big basket of salmon, camas, and berries to his line. He pulled it in. "Oh, I have something." He opened it. "Oh, my;" he danced. As he danced his blanket flapped straight out behind.

The people who had left him now saw him. "Something happened to that mean boy. He is dancing close to the river." He took the basket to his house. Soon he ate and slept again. He was glad.

That woman got ready at night. She was a young girl; she had long hair. She made a nice house: she put nice blankets in it. The boy had nothing but his magpie skins. She wished him to be a man now. She put him in her bed.

In the morning he looked all around. He saw the blankets. He saw himself: "My, I am big." He turned and saw the woman. He was afraid and astonished by her nice clothes. He said nothing. She knew what he thought. She said, "That food I sent you because you were poor and deserted. Now I have come to stay with you." He said, "All right."

That morning the people saw it and said, "Look, that mean boy now has a good house. Smoke is coming out of it." They thought about him.

Those two stayed there until they had a little boy and a girl. They grew quickly. He told his wife. "I guess we will go to see my grandmother. Perhaps she is still alive." She agreed. He made a bow and arrow for the little boy. She made a little basket and digging stick for the girl. The boy tried to shoot. Those people across the river saw it and talked about him. But they never came across, because they were ashamed. So the family crossed to see the man's grandmother. They travelled; the boy tried to shoot birds. "Oh, a different man is coming," the people said. He knew because his wife had given him power. His grandmother, blind and poor, was sitting in the underground house, crying continually. He went in and said, "Oh, you two are alive yet?" One said, "Eh." He told them who he was. They cried, "No, you are a man; that was a little boy." He said, "Yes, that is me," but they did not believe him. He made them believe. So they returned across the river with him.

That is all I know of this story.

STAR HUSBAND¹⁹⁵

Some young girls were sleeping out in the open in the summer. They saw the stars, one big one and a little one. The younger girl said, "I will have the smallest for a lover," and the elder, "I will have the larger." They slept. Toward morning something lay close to the younger; it was bright, like gold. This happened north of Spedis. She said, "Oh, something is lying by my side." The older sister said, "That is the star you were wishing for." So they jumped up and went home. Everybody came to see him shining there. Now it is gone; I guess someone threw it in the river. Sometimes it shines there.

¹⁹⁵ Told by Mrs. Teio. She did not know of the sky root digging incident. The Wishram have the spider rope incident, but Mrs. Teio did not know it.

WASCO TALES¹⁹⁶

SKY ROPE¹⁹⁷

A little boy was taken to the sky, where he grew up. A woman forbade him to go to a certain place. There were a people who ate nothing but human eyes. These people wanted him to marry their daughters, of which there were five. His own people found him and cleaned his stomach of eyes, bones, etc.

He married the youngest daughter of the Sun. They liked him because he was a good hunter. He went to the forbidden spot [another?] where he found a hole. He looked down to the earth. He saw his brother, who had no eyes, crying for him. He felt sorry for his brother. He went back and lay down, for he did not know how to descend. His wife asked him what was wrong. He told her. She said she would get two old people, Spiders, to make a rope for him. They let him down. She said, "Tell your people to clean their house five times [or for five days] before you enter." He met his brother there, crying, and asked, "Why do you cry?" His brother said, "Because I lost my brother." This younger brother said, "I do not believe you are the lost one. I think you are the trickster Bluejay." But he found it was his brother. The older brother told him to instruct the people to clean house: then he would join them with his family. So the younger brother told them.

The sky family brought all sorts of things from the sky. Now the family had plenty to eat: before this they had been starving. The sky couple had twin boys who were fastened together. The Sun's daughter told her brother-in-law not to take the twins anywhere for fear something might happen to them. Bluejay thought, "Perhaps I can split them apart." He took his axe and cut them apart. But when they parted their entrails were dragged out. The woman was sewing when her thread broke: she knew that something had happened. Her brother-in-law told her. She found them split in two. She was so sad that she wanted to go home. She said, "Now I will take my sons back home. The only time you will see them is on those occasions when you see a bright light on each side of the sun when it is shining." This is a sign that some one is going to be very sick or die. (A star near the moon has the same significance.)¹⁹⁸

CHIPMUNK'S STRIPES

A cannibal woman grabbed at Chipmunk. Her fingers scratched the marks on his back.

ORIGIN OF DEATH

Eagle helped Coyote get his wife in this way. Eagle knew where the dead stay. They went down the Columbia River to find this place. Coyote saw a boat. He called very loud to the man, "Bring your boat here." Eagle knew that

¹⁹⁶ This group of tales was obtained from Frank Gunyer in this abbreviated form alone.

¹⁹⁷ This is a long tale, of which this is not the beginning.

¹⁹⁸ This belief is current among the Wishram, who phrase the first with reference to rainbows around the moon.

the man was a shade who took the drowned in his boat. The man would not come to shore. Eagle did not like the way Coyote called. He took him under his wing and jumped over to the boat. Then they were ferried across. They saw a smoke on this island. Eagle said, "Let us go to that house." They saw two old living people there. Eagle asked, "Why do you live here?" "Our children all died, so we live here. At night they come here." "Where are the dead?" "Way over there where a big frog looks after them. He lives in a big house. He swallows the moon. The souls lie there and only rise when it is pitch dark." They told them to kill the big frog. "People tell the frog when it is time to swallow the moon. She makes five leaps to reach the moon. She puts the moon in her stomach. Then the dead wake and have a good time."

Coyote saw this: he stayed in the corner of the house during the day. He heard his wife having a good time. He was jealous and wanted to jump out to catch the man with his wife. But Eagle held him. In the morning the frog spat the moon out; it was daylight.

The old folks said, "The only way is to kill the frog and use his body to act as he does. That is the only way to get the soul." "All right," Eagle said, "we will have to make a box." Eagle made the box. They killed the frog and skinned her. Coyote put on the skin. They told him to make five jumps. He practised.

At night he slept there in his disguise. Two men said, "Frog, make your jump." He jumped, but not quite far enough. Some of the dead suspected: they disputed among themselves whether it was Frog. Again he jumped, but not far enough. By the fifth jump most of them were sure it was not Frog. Coyote caught the moon and tried to swallow it, but it stuck out of his mouth a little. They thought it was Coyote. He put his hand over his mouth to cover the moon.

The dead came into the house until it was completely filled. Coyote heard his wife. Eagle called, "Let the moon go." He was at the door holding his box over the opening. Coyote spat the moon out. Then when it was light they all left the house but they were caught in the box.

These two told the old people that they had all the souls. They shouted to the man in the boat, but again he would not come ashore. Eagle took Coyote under his wing and jumped to the boat. They went across.

Eagle carried the box. They travelled up the river. When nearly home, Coyote heard the people talking in the box. He asked Eagle to let him carry it. He said, "You are a great man and yet you carry it; I am only common; let me take it." Eagle resisted, but finally gave it to him. Coyote was curious to look into the box. He told Eagle to go ahead of him. Eagle said he would wait, but Coyote insisted. Eagle suspected that Coyote would destroy the people in there. He went on. Coyote opened the box, slowly, but the powerful spirits came right out, and went back where they had been brought from. Coyote tried to close the box, but he could keep only one crippled man in it.

Eagle knew at once what the other had done. Coyote carried the box on and gave it to Eagle. Eagle said, "I do not want it now." He let the cripple go. He said, "If I had brought it here and opened it properly, people would live again in the spring just as the trees do."

RACCOON

Raccoon and his grandmother had five potholes filled with acorns in the rocks near the Columbia. She gave him only one and a half acorns to eat. He stole the contents of all five holes, defecating in them instead. He hid under the ashes. She took a stick and struck him across the back and tail, making the marks that raccoons have today.

He made five big balls of berries with thorns sticking out all over. He fed them to his grandmother. He brought water to her, using her basket hat. But he first punched a hole in the bottom, so that she got very little. She began to sprout wings and finally flew off to perch as a rock that is there now. Raccoon, grieving, sat down and rubbed his buttocks along the rocks. These marks can still be seen.

FOOD SMELLERS

A people on the Columbia had no eyes or mouths. They ate by smelling the sturgeon. Coyote opened their eyes and mouths.

ABSTRACTS

WISHRAM TALES

Salmon Myth (p. 273)

Spring Salmon's wife is stolen by five wolves. He makes the springs dry so that they die of thirst. One is saved *hence there are wolves now*. He takes his wife in a canoe. She pushes him away when she sees a worm crawl from his head. In punishment he places her in a hole he makes high in a rock. His crows discover her and carry her back at his command.

The Cannibal Woman (p. 274)

A girl and boy are stolen by a cannibal woman, who carried them in her basket. The girl makes the boy cry out. The cannibal thinks that her own children are suffering and leaves the basket. The two escape, crossing the river in an old man's canoe. The cannibal pursues but is drowned. *She becomes a certain rock; that is why there are now no cannibal women.*

The Deserted Boy (p. 274)

People decide to desert a boy who is quarrelsome. His grandmother protests. They go across the river with him to search for sticks. They desert him leaving their faeces to call to him. When he arrives home, the people have left. He makes a blanket of magpie skins and catches fish. A river-woman pitying him ties a basket of food to his line. She prepares a house and food, and lies with him as he sleeps. They have two children. The people see his house and are ashamed. He seeks out his grandmother, with his family, and shares his good fortune.

Star Husband (p. 276)

Two girls wish for stars as lovers. In the morning something shining, a star, lies close to the younger. They go home. People come to look at it. It is thrown into the river; *that is why it sometimes shines there.*

WASCO TALES

Sky Rope (p. 277)

A boy, growing up in the sky, is forbidden to go where people eat human eyes. (He does but) his people clean these from his stomach. He marries the Sun's daughter. He finds a hole in a forbidden place and looks down on the earth. He sees his brother without eyes and pities him. Spiders make a rope on which he and his family descend with an abundance of food. The sky-couple have Siamese twins as children. Sun's daughter warns the brother to protect the

twins. He splits them apart. Sun's daughter is sad and returns to the sky with the twins. *They are now the bright lights beside the sun which are an omen of death.*

Chipmunk's Stripes (p. 277)

A cannibal woman snatches at Chipmunk, *scratching the marks on his back.*

Origin of Death (p. 277)

Eagle and Coyote go down the river to bring back Coyote's dead wife. Coyote demands assistance of the ghost who ferries the drowned. Eagle carries him to the boat. They find an old couple living near their dead children. The dead are cared for by a frog who swallows the moon so that they come to life. Coyote is jealous of his wife's partner. They kill the frog. Coyote dresses in its skin and tries to swallow the moon. All the ghosts crowd into the house. Eagle catches them in a box. Again Coyote demands ferriage but Eagle carries him back. As they journey home Coyote obtains the box on the pretext that he, being common, should carry it. Coyote peeps into the box and all the dead escape to the land of shades except a cripple. Eagle lets the cripple return. Because of this act, *people do not revive in the spring.*

Raccoon (p. 279)

Raccoon's grandmother has plenty of acorns but gives him little. In revenge he eats them all, leaving his faeces in their place. She strikes him *making the marks raccoons now have.* He feeds berry balls to her, and gives her water in her hat in which he punches a hole. She sprouts wings and flies off. Raccoon, grieving, rubs his buttocks on the rocks *making marks now seen.*

Food Smellers (p. 279)

Coyote opens the eyes and mouths of a people who eat sturgeon by smelling it.

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PLATES



FIGURE 1. Spoons and spears (American Museum of Natural History).



PLATE 2. Wishram twined baskets (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation: a, 1-b 2838; b, 9431; c, 1-d 2838; d, 9433; e, 1-c 2838; f, 9432; g, 1-a 2838; h, 9430.)

Description of the plates: Plate 2. (a). Designs in black. Within the band are five vertical lines of fish, four in each. The fish design represents a salmon (itga'gunat). The black line above the man may be a "trade mark." Rim binding and handle of buckskin.

(b). Six vertical lines of fish, four in each. They pair off by having tails and mouths alternately toward each other. While the five vertical lines of fish motifs in specimen a might be considered as an instance of the operation of the Wishram pattern number, five, it is obvious that this alternation was possible only with an even number of verticals. Rim binding of red cloth; handle of buckskin.

(c). The designs are in brown; above and below the brown lines encircling the basket are areas in which the weaving is darker than where it forms the background of the designs. Starting from a vertical line and going to the right there are two vertical bands of elk, three of eagles, a vertical line, one of eagles, and two of people. The rim and handle are of buckskin. The design name is deer (itgate!a'nkc.).

(d). Designs in black. The design is hazel-rope (idbi'natx). The lines encircling the basket are incomplete, ending one stitch short and of course, on a round above that on which they begin. The handle is of buckskin. To one side of it black thread is sewn over the rope rim as a "trade-mark" (?), but it is needed to hold the ends of the rope together.

(e). Designs in black. Four vertical lines of two eagles each; the other figures scattered. Design called eagles (itgatch'mun). Rim and handle of buckskin.

(f). Designs in black, save that a brown band, two stitches deep, is inserted as the third and fourth series of stitches above the legs. Design styled people. Rim and handle of buckskin.

(g). Designs in black except for the arms and trunks which are green; the band is black, and like those in figure f has an extra stitch extending from it. Design called people (itga'drlxam). A black line of three stitches to the left of the human figure at the right may be a "trade-mark"; it is not matched on the other side. Rim binding is buckskin.

(h). Five eagles in black. The human figure in black has a green stripe of three stitches above the legs as a "trade-mark." This design called eagles. Rim and handle of buckskin.



PLATE 3. Wishram and Paiute twined baskets. a, c, d, Wishram; b, Paiute (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, a, 9427; b, 9434; c, 9436; d, 9428)

Plate 3. (a). The stepped elements are in black with the median diagonal lines in red. The squares at the lower right has a border of black surrounding a field of red enclosing a central cross in red. This design was called fish gills. The base of the basket is made of cordage; the rim is finished by turning back the warps (in the manner of Klamath baskets?)

(b). This is a Paiute basket brought from Warm Springs Reservation. The design was called eyes by the Wishram. The background is brown, both warp and weft, the decoration in white. A "trade-mark," composed of two dark stitches separated by a white, is in the upper solid white band. The rim is bound with cloth through which a cord is drawn.

(c). The design is human teeth. Decoration is in brown. The wefts of the base and the warps throughout are of commercial cord. The rim is a piece of sacking with rope and loops, through which to thread it, to tie up the basket.

(d). The design is serpent fangs. The upper course of decoration is black yarn (or cloth), the second brown, third black and white, fourth brown, fifth black and white, sixth and seventh are like fourth and fifth respectively. The base is wefted with cordage; the rim is calico (?) with an Indian hemp (?) cord drawn through. A tiny patch (one stitch) of black yarn above the upper band is a "trade-mark" (?)



PLATE 4. Wishram twined baskets (American Museum of Natural History).

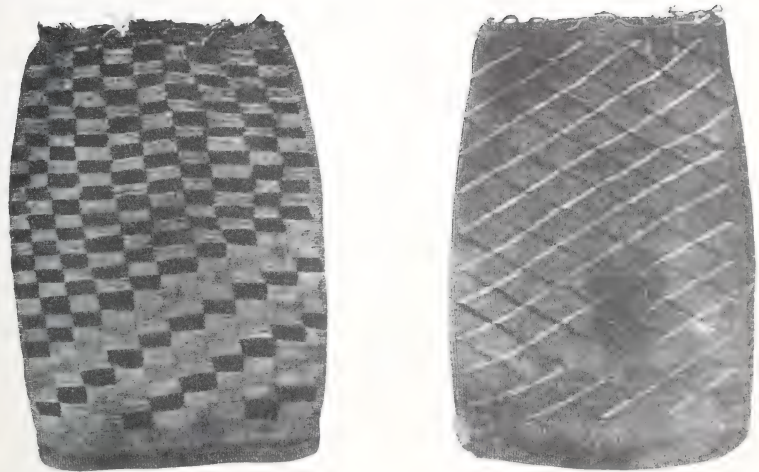


PLATE 5. Wishram twined bags (American Museum of Natural History)



PLATE 6. Wasco twined baskets and bag (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; a, 9155a; b, 1202; c, 9155b; d, e, 8633; f, 2179).

Plate 6. This plate consists solely of specimens from the closely allied Wasco, which are included for comparison. (a). The five bands of decoration consist each of a median band of white bordered by narrow bands in blue from which extend vertical spurs in red. The handle of buckskin is sewn directly into the basket.

(b). This basket is interesting as a case of negative decoration. The white elements seem to form the decorative units but inasmuch as they are of the same material as the body of the basket, it may be that the dark portions, which look like background, really constitute the design. Considering the white parts as designs, we have at the top a series of alternating short lines, each two stitches long; next a series of angular D figures, followed by three bands of oblique lozenges. On the other hand if the dark parts are the design, the upper band remains the same descriptively, the second consists of reversed K figures, the remaining bands of oblique hour-glass figures. This specimen was collected by Curtis, who recorded it as from "Wasco Nez Percés from Washington; made of corn husks."

(c). The upper course of design is of red yarn; the second is dark (black or brown) above, red below, the third red, and the fourth red above and dark below, reversing the color sequence of the second. Dark (brown) and light bands separate the design courses. A "trade-mark," a small red yarn lozenge, lies below the lowest design course. The rim is bound with calico through which a cord is drawn.

(d, e). Obverse and reverse of a basket. The lowest four fishes, two eagles, and two elk or deer, and the lower heads, necks, and shoulders of the human figures are brown; the rest of the designs are black. This suggests that the difference in color is not intentional (as the head of the second deer from the bottom is black) but due to the original stock of brown material giving out. Going to the right there are in sequence two lines of double heads, three of four joined eagles, three of twelve fishes (the first and second arranged with joined tails to form open lozenges, the second and third with mouths adjacent), and one line of deer. The rim is of buckskin. Attention is drawn to the diagonal twine in the upper part of the basket forming a self pattern. The stitching is not regular, however, occasionally crossing only ^{one warp} instead of two.

(f). A twined bag from which much of the color of the decoration has been lost. On one side the vertical stripes are in order from right to left, blue and brown, red, blue and brown, red; on the opposite face the same order is repeated from right to left, which means that the stripes opposite each other on the two faces are alternately red and blue-brown.

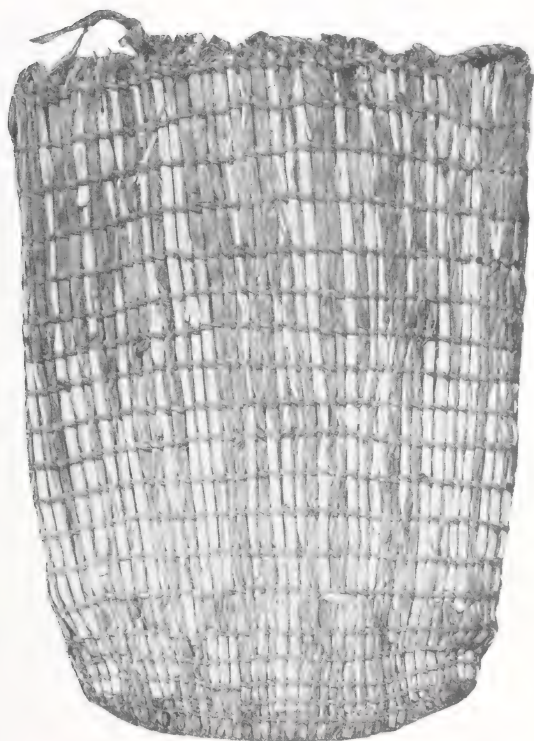


PLATE 7. Wishram bag in coarse open-twine (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, No. 1-2839).



PLATE 8. Wishram coiled baskets (a-c, American Museum of Natural History; d, e, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; d, no. 9435; e, 9429).

Plate 8. (d). White imbricated overlay on dark wrapping. A buckskin loop is inserted through the body of the basket; cordage through holes in the rim.

(e). White imbricated overlay appears sporadically on the dark wrapping, apparently to give a design of random dots. The rim loops are imbricated throughout. Two buckskin loops are provided; one passes through two basketry loops at the rim, the other through this buckskin loop and a third basketry loop.



PLATE 9. Parfleche used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture; a, folded, b, open to show the decoration on the side flaps (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, no. 9437).

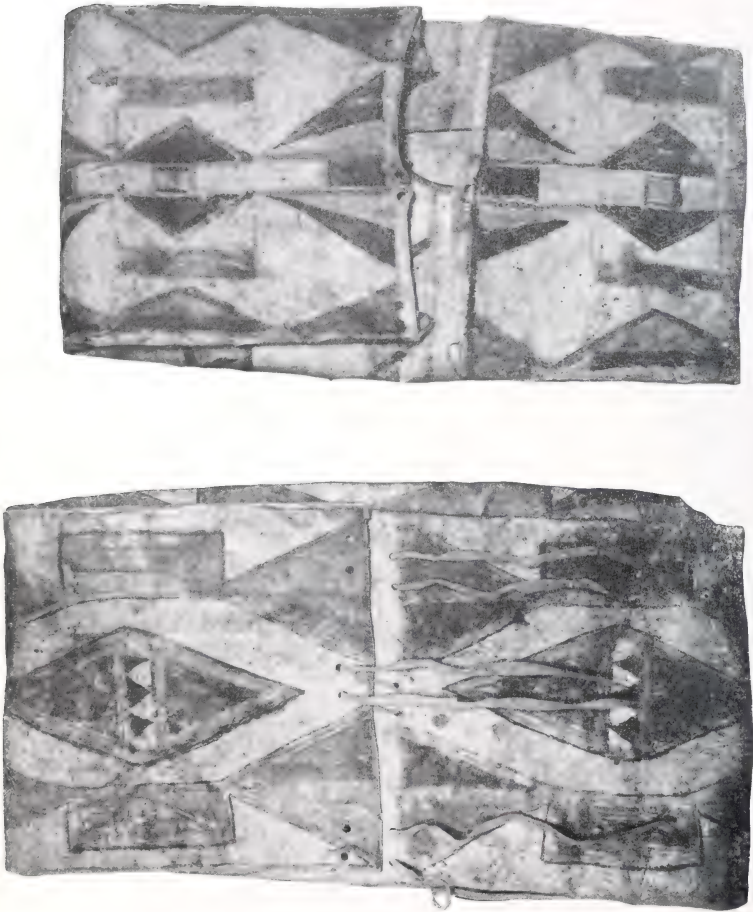


PLATE 10. Parfleches used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; a, no. 9438; b, no. 9439).



PLATE 11. Parfleche used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, no. 1-2840).

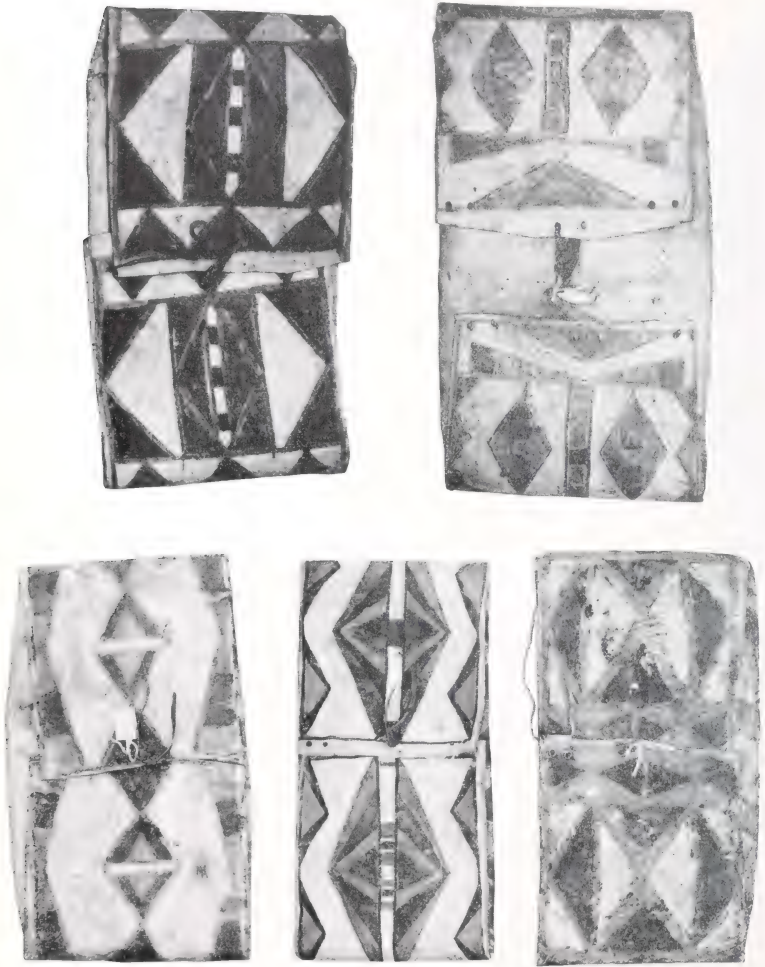


PLATE 12. Parfleches used by the Wishram, but probably of Nez Percé manufacture (American Museum of Natural History).

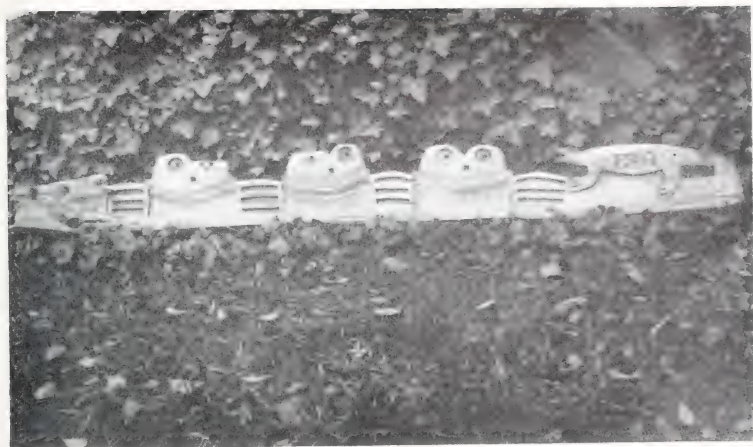


PLATE 13. Carved side-piece of a burial canoe.

INDEX

University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. III

- Adams, Romanzo, 1.
 Adams, Sidney, 3.
 Adultery, 216.
 Adzes, 188.
 Age distribution, Japan-born and American-born children, 4; Midorii and Kawauchi children, 10; Seattle Japanese children, 11.
 Alsea, 212.
 Awls, bone, 188.
- Bags, 192.**
 Bannock, 213, 223, 228, 233.
 Basin influence, 201.
 Basket hats, 207.
 Baskets, 192.
 Bears, trapping, attitude toward, 181.
 Birth, 255.
 Blackfoot, 243.
 Blankets, 190.
 Boas, Franz, 1, 13, 24.
 Body characters of Japanese children, 4f.
 Bowls, 189.
 Bows and arrows, 199, 231.
 Burial, 270.
- Calendar, 208f.
 California influence, 222, 224.
 Calumet, 213.
 Cannibal women, 237.
 Canoe bailers, 188.
 Canoes, 186f.
 Cascades, 159, 160, 161, 171, 172, 173, 202, 205, 217, 233, 250, 255.
 Caste, 211.
 Cathlassis, see Wasco.
 Cathlathlalas, see Cascades.
 Cathleyacheyachs, 161.
 Cayuse, see Waiilatpuan.
 Cephalic index, 7f., 10, 11, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.
 Chiefs, 211.
 Childhood, 256.
 Children, American Seattle, 2, 6, 8f.; Boston, 19, 24; Hiroshima prefecture, 2, 6, 8f., 20, 23, 24; Japanese American-born, 4, 11f., 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24; California Japanese, 1, 5, 23; Hawaiian Japanese, 1; Japanese Japan-born, 1, 4, 21; Kawauchi, 2, 9f., 24; Midorii, 2, 9f., 24; New York, 1, 9, 24; Porto Rica, 18, 19, 24; Saxon, 19, 24; Tokyo, 5, 6, 23; Toronto and Oakland, 13f., 15, 16, 24.
- Chilluckquittequaw, 160, 169, 172, 187, 225.
 Chinook, 223, 226; tribal and village names, 172f.
 Chippanchikchiks, 172.
 Chisels, 188.
 Chopunnish, see Nez Percé.
 Clackamas, 159, 161, 209, 217, 250, 255, 271, 272.
 Clahccllah, see Cascades.
 Club, fish, 178.
 Colors, 209.
 Cooking, 185.
 Coos, 212.
 Councils, 213.
 Cradle, 255.
 Curing, 244f.
- Deer, hunting, 180, 181.
 Deer hoof rattle, 202.
 Dentition, 3, 16f.; deciduous, 16, 18, 19, 24; permanent, 17, 18, 19, 24.
 Deschutes, 160, 162, 172, 225, 226, 233.
 Directions, 210.
 Divorce, 220.
 Dog River Indians, see Hood River Indians.
 Dogs, 181.
 Dress, 205f.
 Drum, 201.
 Duwamish tales, 57, 60, 83, 86, 87, 91.
- Ear pendants, 208.
 Ear piercing, 261.
 Earth lodge, 202.
 Echeloot, 159, 172, 225, 226.
 Elk, hunting, 180, 181.
 Eloom, see Echeloot.
 Eneshure, see Sahaptin.
 Eskeloot, 169, 225.
 Eskimo, 209.
- Face, width, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 20, 22, 23, 24.
 Fathers, Japanese, 1, 20, 21, 23, 26f., 28.
 Feasts, first labors, 261; first name, 261; new names, 261; puberty, 262.
 Feather headdress, 231.
 Fire drill, 185.
 Fishing, 174f.; club, 178; spears, 178; traps, 177.
 Food, vegetable, 182f.

- Games, 266.
 Gauges, net, 177.
 Gestures, 210.
 Green River tales, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 59, 62, 82, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 96, 99, 100, 103, 106, 109, 110, 113, 114, 122, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 144.
 Griffin, Eldon, 3.
 Growth of Japanese children, 1f.
 Guthe, C. E., 1.
- Hair, 207.
 Havasupai, 164.
 Head deformation, 255.
 Head length, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 22, 24.
 Head width, 4, 7, 10, 11, 24.
 Homogeneity of Hiroshima children, 9f.; Seattle children, 11f.
 Hood River Indians, 159, 160, 233.
 Horse, influence of, 222, 228.
 Houses, 202f.; composition of household, 221.
 Hunting, 180f.
- Identification of birthplaces, Schenck, Sara, 3; Tatsumi, Henry, 3.
 Ilte-Kai-Mamits, see Sahaptin.
 Infant betrothals, 218.
 Inui, K. S., 1.
 Ithkyemamits, 172.
 Iyenaga, T., 1.
- Japanese, growth of children, 1f.; department of education, 5, 12; Educational Association of San Francisco, 1; Language School, Orillia, 2; Language School, Seattle, 2; mothers, age of, 13; arrival in Seattle, 26, 27; birthplaces 12f., 23, 28; comparison of children, 11, 12, 21f.; junior members of sibling group, 12, 13, 24.
- Kalapuya, 222, 224, 225.
 Kathlamet, 159, 187, 217.
 Kinship terms, 262.
 Klamath, 162, 182, 187, 192, 202, 206, 208, 222, 224, 225, 238, 242, 272.
 Klickitat, 159, 160, 162, 168, 192, 194, 197, 209, 217, 225, 227, 228, 233.
 Knives, 188.
 Kwakiutl, 221.
- Lance, war, 231.
 Lake Washington tales, 62, 115, 117, 122.
 Levirate, 218.
 Lillooet, 194.
- Marriage, 217f.
 Mat lodge, 202.
 Mats, 191.
 Matsumura, Akira, 12, 20, 21.
 Memaloose Island, 170, 271.
 Misawa, Tadasu, 5.
 Moccasins, 207.
 Molale, see Waiilatpuan.
 Moses Columbia, 160, 161, 163, 224, 225.
 Murder, 213f.
 Musical instruments, 201.
- Nakashima, N., 2.
 Names, 258.
 Needles, 188.
 Nektemeux, 161, 163.
 Nespelem, 225.
 Netting, 176.
 Nez Percé, 197, 203, 205, 206, 225, 226, 227.
 Northwest Coast influence, 188, 189, 211, 213, 221, 236, 241, 242.
- Observations on Japanese children, Harada, Matsutaro, 2, 3, 4, 9; Hocking, Lillian, 3, 4; Pool, William, 3, 4.
 Okanagan, 224
 Omens, 249.
- Packstrap (tumpline), 191.
 Paddles, 187.
 Paint, face, 208; war, 231.
 Paiute, 164, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 250, 272.
 Palous, 225.
 Parfleches, 197.
 Personal adornment, 205f.
 Pestles and mortars, 189.
 Pit ovens, 184, 185.
 Pit River Indians, 208, 222.
 Plains influence, 197, 206, 207, 213, 230.
 Power, 238f.
 Prayers, 236.
 Puget Sound, 203, 204, 244; tales, 49f.; trade, 227.
 Puyallup tales, 51, 52, 53, 55, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 101, 104, 108, 109, 113, 114, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 129, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 147.
- Rasp, notched, 201, 230, 250.
 Reach (physical measurement) 3, 6, 11, 23.
 Religious practices, 236f.
 Residence, 221.

- Sahaptin, 169, 170, 171, 172, 222, 224, 225, 228; migrations, 160, 162, 163, 228.
- Salish tribes, 160, 161, 162, 202, 221, 222, 228.
- Salmon fishing, 174, 178.
- Salmon rites, 248f.
- Sanpoil, 224.
- Sato, Kenoske, 1.
- Scalp dance, 232.
- Shamanism, 236, 240, 241.
- Shield, war, 231.
- Shoshonees, 205.
- Siletz, 223.
- Skagit tales, 92, 106, 114.
- Skilloot, 203, 205, 249.
- Sklin, 233.
- Skokomish tales, 135.
- Slaves, 221f., 225.
- Smohallah cult, 201, 249, 250.
- Snake, 160, 162, 222, 225, 228.
- Snohomish tale, 139.
- Snowshoes, 207.
- Snuqualmi tales, 49, 82, 90, 94, 97, 99, 106, 111, 117, 126, 128, 134, 137.
- Smoking, 246, 269.
- Social selection, 12, 13.
- Sororate, 218.
- Spears, fish, 178.
- Spirit dances, 241.
- Spirits, 236f.
- Spokane, 224, 225.
- Spoons, 189.
- Spokesman, chief's, 213, 246.
- Stature, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.
- Stone boiling, 185.
- Sweatlodge, 268.
- Takabataka, K., 2.
- Takelma, 222.
- Tanning, 200.
- Tcipan-tchick-Tcick, 173.
- Tenino, 160, 162.
- Thompson, 194, 202; tale, 163.
- Tillamook, 212.
- Toppenish, 225, 227.
- Towahnahooks, 226.
- Trade, 224f.
- Transvestites, 220.
- Traps, fish, 177.
- Tyighpam, see Deschutes.
- Umatilla, 162, 225, 227.
- Villages, Cascade, 167; Deschutes, 168; Klickitat, 167; Wasco, 168; White Salmon, 167; Wishram, 164.
- Wahchelahs, 226.
- Wallawalla, 162, 225.
- Wilatpuan, 225; migrations, 162, 228.
- Wai'yampam, (Deschutes), 162, 169, 170, 171.
- Warfare, 228f.
- Wasco, 159, 160, 161, 162, 171, 172, 183, 188, 192, 202, 221, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 250, 255, 265; tales, 185, 236, 238, 240, 242, 245; Sky rope, 277, (abs, 280); Chipmunk's stripes, 277, (abs, 281); Origin of death, 277, (abs, 281); Raccoon, 279, (abs, 281); Food smellers, 279, (abs, 281).
- Watlala, see Cascade.
- Wedges, 188.
- Wenatchi, 160, 224, 225, 227, 228.
- Weocksockwillacums, see White Salmon.
- Wey-eh-hoo, 173.
- White River tales, 55, 89, 91.
- White Salmon, 159, 160, 161, 169, 170, 172, 202, 205.
- Wishram, 159f.; linguistic relationships, 159; population, 169; territory, 159; tales, Salmon myth, 273, (abs., 280); Cannibal woman, 274, (abs., 280); Deserted boy, 274, (abs., 280); Star husband, 276, (abs., 280).
- Witchcraft, 247.
- Wolves, 182.
- Yakima, 159, 162, 197, 225, 227, 228; tales, 53, 147.
- Yurok, 209.

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