

WIYOT TOWNS

BY

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THE ETHNIC geography and society of the native peoples of northwest California rest on their stable villages or settlements. The term town is justified by the attitude of the culture toward these settlements; in size they mostly are no more than hamlets. For the Wiyot, the data of Powers, Kroeber, and Waterman¹ are unsatisfactory. Loud's work² is thorough and fundamental, but his account of the towns, embedded in a study which is primarily archaeological and historical, hardly emerges with full definition. In 1930, while working with the neighboring Athabascans, Nomland secured an unusually full list of Wiyot settlements along Eel river, the area on which previous data were least full. To this there is here added a summary list for Humboldt bay recorded seven years before by Kroeber. These two sets of new data have been compiled with those of Loud, and those of Curtis³ which have appeared in the meantime, with the idea of establishing the recognized or significant settlements of the Wiyot as has been done for the Yurok, Chilula, Hupa, and Tolowa. We are in no sense superseding Loud, whose work, rather, we corroborate and strengthen. Anyone who is familiar with this type of investigation in the field will realize that several inquiries are always better than one, complete exactitude being impossible two or three generations after the conditions inquired into.

EEL RIVER, WIYOT

According to all authorities, the Wiyot territory on lower Eel river was called Wiyot or Wiyat. Nomland's data on this stretch were obtained in 1930 from John Sherman, born in 1860 of a family from a settlement near the mouth of the river. He lists more villages than any previous informant, perhaps citing parts of settlements separately and including post-Caucasian settlements by Indians. He also extends his people farther up the river than anyone else: nearly to Larrabee instead of a little below Scotia. This is not necessarily incorrect because he was specifying in terms of "our language," and it is probable that the Athabascans from Scotia to Larrabee were sufficiently in contact with the Wiyot, and intermarried with them, to be largely bilingual. It is of

¹Powers, *Tribes of California, 1877*; Kroeber, *Handbook of California Indians, BAE-B 78, 1925*; Waterman, *Yurok Geography, UC-PAAE 16:177-314, 1920*.

²*Ethnogeography and Archaeology of the Wiyot Territory, UC-PAAE 14:221-436, 1918*.

³*The American Indian, 13:226*.

course also possible that Sherman is correct, and that the Scotia-Larrabee stretch of Eel river was really Wiyot; but, if so, the informants of Powers (sections on Viard and Saiaz), Loud, and Curtis are flatly in error.

In any event, Eel river from Scotia to Larrabee was not Mattole, as Kroeber has it in map 1 of his Handbook, nor was it Sinkyone. Nomland's Bear River, Mattole, and Sinkyone informants were positive on the point. If Athabaskan, the stretch in question belonged to the Nongatl (Saia). Otherwise it was Wiyot. In either event, most of the inhabitants are likely to have known both languages, like the Karok-Shasta on the Klamath between Happy Camp and Hamburg.

The Wiyot owned the coast south of Eel river to Cape Fortunas, but used it only for temporary camping, not for permanent settlements (Loud, pp. 273, 289, 295).

The largest village on Eel r. was near the mouth, but has long since disappeared. Loud calls this TolotpiLik, site AQ, and puts it among sloughs just above the mouth. A salmon cannery was built on the site but was later washed away, and Loud's site AQ is shown in the present stream bed. Curtis gives Turatpehlik as on the s side near the mouth, and as large and wealthy. Kroeber recorded DelatpeLik as the birthplace of Nelson Brown, on "Cannibal" (=Cock-robin ?) island on the N side of the river, opposite the cannery, which was washed out about 1880. This would correspond rather to Loud's AP. The Yurok know of a former large village, Weyet, at the mouth: the longest obsidian blade at Weitspus was acquired from here as the dowry of a very rich man's only daughter. This checks with the fact that streams are named after the sites at their mouths, and Yurok Weyet corresponds to the native Wiyot as the appellation of the Eel River district. Inasmuch as the Yurok use Weyet also as the name of the whole Wiyot nationality, the settlement at the mouth must have been important, especially since it lay farther from them than Mad r. and Humboldt bay.

Jerry James outlined this myth: Originally, the mouth of Eel r. had a white deerskin dance. A young man from the mouth of Mad r. visited there, was invited to gamble, and won their houses, fish dam (weir), and deerskin dance. Having no place to keep all this, he gave away (the dam and dance) to the (Yurok on the) Klamath, who still have it. They kept some short dams (small weirs) in this (Wiyot) country because, as he traveled home, a flock of quail whirring up startled him and he dropped part of the winnings he was carrying.

John Sherman did not mention any major village at the mouth, but his first 5 or 6 settlements lie close to it and are perhaps to be construed as parts or suburbs of a major town, or as places to which the Indians moved after the cannery dispossessed them.

The following is Sherman's list, in order upstream, and with the number of houses in parentheses.

Ta-cugh-ach-tihl, at mouth. (Few houses; sand.)

Sha-cäche-laug-k. (Few.)

Ma-quesch-klaukl. (2-3.)

Tla-saud-sauk. (2-3.)

Gladt-me-schlick, Rabbit island; informant's family belonged here. (5-10.) By map, this might be Loud's AP, WotsaLik; or, by sound, Delat-pe-Lik, Loud's washed-out AQ.

Hohl-dah-le-lish-wold, "water sing," just above Rabbit island. (5-10.)

Teh-quäh-walk. Not a settlement, but 3 "sweat houses" used in connection with a ceremony, dance, and feast before salmon fishing, and again (?) in the fall. One of the sweat houses was called vohlrichtsik. The dancing was by men in a sweat house; women cooked. This seems to be the Wiyot first-salmon ceremony. Loud gives Tekwogok, site AB, at upstream end of Rabbit island N of mouth.

Sa-paw-wah-wach-latt, across from Ferndale. ("Across" may refer to Salt r. or to Eel r.) (4-5.)

Tauk-ta-guach-tli, across from Ferndale, near Loleta. (1-2.)

Sa-ya-yig-a-yohl-rig, next above, close. (1-2.)

Rat-kau-nee-yauk, across from Ferndale. (10+) C, Ratkaniyaq, on s side Eel r. about 2 m. above Turatpehlik, 6 houses c. 1912, destroyed by freshet.

Wib-schlauch, across from Ferndale. (5-6.) L, Miplök, site AT, on N side.

Hauch-wooch-kau, close above. (Several houses.) C, Hachwochkaw, s side about 1 m. above Ratkaniyaq; (0). L, Hochwochkor, site AU, on a slough on s side.

Däsh-kaug-wee-ee, near last. (Several houses.)

Dah-quah-ku-lauk, below Loleta. (1-2.)

Es-laugh-loke, Loleta. (1-2.)

Task-ti-tohl-li, a little above Loleta. (5-10.)

Woke-schlauk, near Fernbridge. (Few.) L, Wuklakw, near Singley on Eel r. K (Handbook, p. 115, site P), Wuktlakw, N side.

About here would lie: C, Taquraq, about 2 m. above Hachwochkaw, also on s side (0); L, Tokwherok, site AV on s side.

Who-wutch-kitchl, at Fernbridge. (5-10.) L, Howotkil, site AW, where trail from Salmon cr. and Humboldt bay comes to Eel r. (But cf. L, p. 289, Topochochwil, Francis cr., and p. 295, ex K: Butšatšwil, "Ferndale.")

About here must be: C, Wasalla^m, on s (*sic*) side, between Fernbridge and Fortuna (0); L, Wosala, N side, site AX, close above AW, apparently now washed out.

Teh-tetch-lauk, above Fernbridge; river formerly bent s here toward Ferndale. (Large: "20.")

Tau-wah-lute-ka-muck, s of last. (Several.)

She-ah-nee-quech-klauk, on s side. (Many.) L, Sweanawochkro, site AY, about opposite AX.

Wai-chas-tak, above Hansen's cr., not a settlement; "puppies" lived in the water here. L (p. 283), near Hokonwōyok, site AZ, a little animal, like a coyote, rose to the surface and barked.

Wumans-se-kaug-we, "prairie," at Fortuna. (Many.)

Seh-woke-quer-rok, a sandy area above Fortuna. (Several.) L, Tswokerok, site BB, at mouth of Strongs cr., on N side above Fortuna.

Ta-too-ga-ond-lich, at Grizzly Bluff. (Several.)

Platk-atl-skaa-lich, "rocks come down," at Grizzly Bluff. (Several.)

Ha-suh-lu-wah-lo-weh, close to "Brown Fort." (Several.)

Suh-weit-se-cup-tlich, "single clump of brush," near Alton, below it. This would be not far from L, site BC, Tsolskoge.

Gid-eh-ge-dahl-ish, at mouth of Van Duzen r. (Many.) L, Kigergodolil, site BD. K (Handbook, p. 115), Hakitege for this site ("South") seems in error.

Wah-te-gret-eh-wah-wichl-she, small creek above Price cr., inhabited. Loud puts the Wiyot upstream-boundary here.

Ka-chūs-de-ti-ge-lahl-le, How cr. (Many.) According to K, following Powers, this is still Wiyot, but their limit.

Ta-ti-wah-le-gach-kuk, "river bend," at Riodell bridge; inhabited? From here up, all other authorities make Eel r. Nongatl Athabaskan.

Ta-kee-muk, "whale," because one came ashore here! (Many.) L, Tokēmuk; p. 256: 1½ m. below Scotia, a few houses, intermarried with Wiyot; p. 295, ex K: Dakimak.

Pah-toot-tah-wak, "dusty," at Scotia bridge. (Many.)

Tah-kin-eh-wach-lauk, "twisted," creek above Scotia; trail from here to Bear r. (Several.) L, p. 256, TokenewoLok, at Scotia, probably Athabaskan.

Plet-etl-sou-weh-teh, "white rocks," close above last. (Houses?)

Skel-ut-oh-leh, "two rocks set in stream," bridge at Brown's mill. (Houses?)

Hah-tug-eh-reh-er, at a slide on the river above Pepperwood. (Houses.)

Weh-wel-a-da-lash-se-lehl, "buckeyes flow away," at Shively. (Many.)

Mat-teh-teh-com-mā-me, below Larrabee cr. at Holmes flat. End of Wiyot (speech).

HUMBOLDT BAY, WIKI

The new data are by Kroeber from Jerry James of Bucksport, born at Dula-wo't on Indian island. The geographical order is from the North spit in dextral circuit around the bay, back to the harbor entrance at the north end of South spit.

Hiaga'tgak, on N spit, opp. Bucksport, near Rolph shipyard. C, Hiyughutkuk, N spit, S of Fairhaven (0). L, site 17, Hieगतgak, Iugutkuk, ¼ m. S of Fairhaven shipyards. K (JAFL 21:38, 1908), Hieratgak.

Tšō'makw, S of Samoa. L, site 22, in Samoa, Djō'mak, an archaeological deposit.

Tsakwe'r, Little River Lumber Co.

Dikewe't-hel, ½ m. N, small settlement. L, site 23, Digawet-hatkiL, TekewethatkiL, uninhabited in modern times, but formerly a dance place (p. 294, n. 150; p. 274), and a large archaeological deposit. The dance attributed to Hiगतgak (p. 269) may have been held here, moved from here to Hiगतgak, or divided between them.

Laka'lewīL, small settlement. L, LekaliwīL, site 26, or TokalibwīL, site 31.

Mōle'l, small settlement, permanent. L, site 34, Mōle'l (but his site 34 is N of 33).

Nā'lutšhaba'kwer, 300 yds. beyond, small.

Dabō't, at first drawbridge over Mad River slough. C, Tapo't, N (*sic*; for S?) end Mad River slough, large in 1850, 0 in 1870. L, Tāpō't, site 33.

Hawī'rat-hō'l, half-mile from last, on a cove beyond the next point E; a large settlement. L, Howetotol, given as another name for site 33.

Wata'lhabaiuwe'm, at Bill Carson RR drawbridge. C, Wita'hlpaiyuwi'mu, 1½ m. N of bay, ¾ m. from ocean (0, but graves). L, Witāchwhayuwin, graveyard at site 34.

Bika'lits-kale'beLīk, small.

Bika'lits-katawā'yawīk, 2 m. beyond Wata'lhabaiuwe'm, small; no settlements N beyond this until Hetbela'kauh (C: Hutwela'kaw) at mouth of Mad r. L, Bikatslikātwayāwīk, site 36.

Kroeber's Jerry list contains no settlements on the semicircular NE shore of the bay, which is largely marsh. C gives Wīpat at Arcata wharf; cf. L, site 39, Mīpet, Mīpat.

Kawō't, S of Ryan slough. Perhaps corresponds to Loud's Ikatchipi, site 58, 8-10 (f) houses in 1858.

Gwasā'kw, 1 m. W of last, near drawbridge.

Patā'yawōk, at Carson mill in Eureka.

Mōprā'kw ("grove of young redwoods"), 100 yds. from Occidental mill, Eureka. C, Mopīra'q, California and Summer sts., Eureka (0). L, perhaps ToloīapLīk, site 65; 3, 4, or more houses in 1852.

Dūlawo't on Gunther or Indian island opp. Eureka; 1 of the 2 largest towns; birthplace of informant. The wišīō'lawak dance was made here, indoors. They wore jumping-dance regalia, but it was a different dance. The jumping dance at the mouth of Mad r. was made partly outdoors. C, Tuluwa't, N end Indian island (6 in 1850). L, site 67, Dulawat, Tolowot; this site was excavated by him; 9 houses; 6 in 1860.

Hatwerū'l, near center of same island. L, site 68, EtpidoL, Atherol, Wotperol; in 1850, popul. ⅓ of last.

Dat-higeri'raw or Dat-higeri'rar, S of Eureka, by woolen mill.

Gutswē'tīk, Bucksport. C, Kutsuwa'hlik (8-10, 1850). L, site 73, KutsowēLīk, KutserwaLīk, 8-10 in 1851.

Wa'mel, $\frac{1}{4}$ m. s.

Hikšo'ri', mouth of Elk r. C, Iksa'ri, once large, but 0 in 1870. L, site 77, Iksare, Iksori.

Tša'rok-higa'tšgak, Buhne's point, opp. South spit. With Dūlawo't, the largest town. C, Cha'rukighu'chkak, large town, dispossessed in 1850. L, site 79, Tšerokigetšk, Džorökē-gochkok.

Dālewa'tk, below Field's landing. L, site 83, Dolawotkuk.

Loud's Potatoli, site 86, and Sowokwokertsokowel, site 92, were not mentioned by Jerry.

On Salmon cr., only camp sites. C has Tolihl, Indianola, 5-6 houses in 1915; but this is a "reservation," not an old settlement. L, Tolēl, site 102, houses only for clam gathering (but a sweat house!); large archaeological deposits.

Ya'tšwunawā'ts, near next, to E, on bay. L, Yawonawoch, site 100.

Tbatga'kauhw, Heney's landing, halfway up South spit (*sic*, for: halfway along s shore to beginning of spit?). C, Tputka'kaw, on bay between lighthouse and Indianola (1). L, Twetkoka, site 104. K (JAFL 18:105, 1905), Twutka dalagerili, "on Eel river opposite Table Bluff," may possibly be meant for this.

Pi'mi'r, South jetty, at end of South spit; fresh water could be obtained by digging in the sand almost anywhere a rod or so from the bay. C, Pi'mir, point of South spit, 10 houses before 1860 massacre. L, site 112, Bētmēt, 10 h., 1 sw. h. before 1860 massacre.

It is evident that the bay villages were conceived of as more or less in line, like those on Eel and Mad rivers and those of the neighboring tribes. The line ran north and south, cut across the bay at Gunther island, and was apparently the trail of main travel. This was already indicated in Kroeber's Handbook map, but the south end of the trail given there is incorrectly placed because of a confusion; the trails shown in Loud's map must be substituted. The line of main communication was as follows:

From mouth of Mad r. s down along Mad River slough and the North spit to Dikewet-hel; then E across the bay via Dulawo't on Gunther island to one of the settlements in Eureka, probably Moprakw; thence s along the E bay shore to Salmon cr. or to Tolihl at Indianola. From Salmon cr., trails ran over the divide to Eel r. in the vicinity of Fernbridge and Fortuna, and from Tolihl a shorter trail went via Table Bluff to the head of the sloughs which connected at the s with the mouth of Eel r.

This gives a land route all the way from Mad to Eel river, with a short ferry only across the bay at the island, and probably over the tidewaters of lower Elk river and Salmon creek. At the same time, the whole journey could also be made by boat alongside the trail except for the two stretches of a mile or two each between Mad river and Mad River slough, and between the southwest corner of the bay and the Eel river sloughs.

The only important settlements off the line were: Hiagatgak at Fairhaven on North spit 3 m. beyond (s of) the ferry point at Dikewet-hel, but easily accessible by boat across the bay from Gutswēlik at Bucksport; the village on lower Ryan slough (Kawō't or Ikatšipi) 1 or 2 m. E of the landing in Eureka; and Pi'mir at the harbor entrance on the point of South spit, which seems to have been ordinarily reached by ferrying back across the bay from Tšarok-higatšgak at Buhne point. All other settlements off the line were either quite small or impermanent.

MAD RIVER, BATAWAT

We have no new data on this district, but collocate those of Loud, Curtis, Kroeber, and Waterman, in order upstream.

North side of the mouth: L, site 4, Kōlikēme; "10-15" houses in 1853, 75-80 people in 1855; summer jumping dance held here; Whilkut Athabaskan name, Kidjeholintin; site now washed out. C, not mentioned. K, Yurok name, Ma'awor, 7 or 4 houses.

Behind last, near it, on a bluff: L, site 5, Kliwatkut, site of a winter jumping dance; Athabaskan: Djēdjōlineme (pp. 282, 287, 290, 297). C, not mentioned. K, Kachewinach (? probably an error); Yurok: Sepola, "prairie"; 15 or 10 houses, 2 sweat houses, jumping dance made.

C, Hlulutalaqli, 1 m. below Chome on N side (0), may be one of the preceding.

South side of the mouth: L, site A, Hatpilekā, 8 houses in 1856; Whilkut name, Enuakachi. C, Hutwelakaw, 8 houses in 1856, 3 in 1915. K, Hetbelakauh (Tabagaukwa an error); Yurok name Tegwol, 3 houses.

On S side, 1 m. up. L, Tasiswa or Krochgroyekruk, site B; Athabaskan: Tāsoltin. C, Tasiswek (4), and Kachkurayechkura, a little below Tasiswek (0). K, Yurok: Erlerw, "20" houses, seems to refer to this site (cf. Loud, nn. 80, 98, 171) rather than to Betser.

L, Chumī, Djōme, site 6, Athabaskan Yegidilosten, N side 1+ m. above mouth. C, Chome^{uh}, near RR crossing (3).

L, Gwisok, Athabaskan Tetminga, site 7, close to last, 11 houses, 2 sweat houses. K, perhaps Yurok Osok, 5 or 4 h., 1 sw. h.

L, Tisopiligeli, Athabaskan Yegidilosten, site C, N side, E of Mill cr., 5-6 houses.

The following 4 sites, Loud's H, I, 9, J, were on Mad River bend, which has since straightened out.

L, Tokoktāweleer, site H, N side. C, Takaktaruwuhlurru.

L, Klichibit, site I, opp. above last; Athabaskan Tāchenkalchwhēten.

L, Betser, site 9, N side, 5-6 houses; Athabaskan Tidil'tin. C, Patsar, in bend (5). K, We'tso perhaps is the same.

L, Tokelerboku, "salmon speared," site J, diag. opp.; Athabaskan Klokwōseskōten. C, Takuluvaku, at county bridge below Glendale (2).

There followed some 5 m. of Mad r. with only occasional scattered houses at the edge of the timber. About Blue lake there were openings and a couple of villages:

L, site X, at Blue lake, Athabaskan name Itsinohogindisten, 4 houses, partly Athabaskan. A little to the N, site Z was destroyed by the Chilula a few years before 1850. C, Tatiqoghuk, at Blue lake, about 12 houses in 1850. K, Daridiwiagak.

L, site ΔB, at the mouth of North fork of Mad r., Athabaskan name Miskēnhuten, 1 sw. h., 4-6 h., mostly of bark instead of planks. Wiyot name of North fork, and therefore presumably of the site at its mouth, Rō'lit.

CEREMONIES

Because there is a strong tendency for great dances or public ceremonies to be attached to particular spots in northwest California, the situation of these is significant for populational distribution. It appears that the Wiyot performed their major dances at three centers, one in each of the three districts. On both Eel and Mad rivers, this center was close to the mouth. On Humboldt bay, it was at the one spot where through travel was necessarily by boat—on Gunther island and the facing shore of North spit. Each center was therefore an important point of ferriage. For each center, also, two or three different sites have been named as danced at. This probably does not mean that custom was ill-

defined or changeable, but that the rituals were complex, different parts of them being performed at separate specified spots, as among the Yurok and Hupa. By the precedent of these peoples, the esoteric foundation of each Wiyot major ceremony would be attached to a particular house or sweat house in one town; but unfortunately these houses are not known, beyond the suggestion that they probably stood in Delatpelik, Dulawo't, and Kolikeme.

POPULATION

Buchanan estimated 800 Wiyot in 1853. Kroeber's figure is "perhaps 800, or not over 1000" for pre-Caucasian times. Loud inclines to 1000: 250, 350, 400 respectively in the Mad, Humboldt, and Eel districts, with 1500 an extreme figure and anything beyond, pure folly.

Curtis lists 26 settlements; Loud, 32 "leading villages," with "a small part of the population" in scattered settlements of 1, 2, or 3 houses (p. 258). Our map shows 41 towns (those on Eel river above Scotia not counted in). But some of these are "archaeological sites" unoccupied in 1850 (Loud, pp. 273-5); and others, important camp sites like Tolil. Still others may not have become permanently established until after 1850. The number inhabited at any one time in native days was evidently not much over 30, certainly not over 35.

The average size of the towns evidently was somewhat smaller than among the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok. There is no indication that any Wiyot town contained 20 or 25 houses as did Rekwoi, Pekwan, Weitspus, Takimitlding, Panamnik, Katimin, Inam. Wherever Loud quotes specific information in his monograph, whether from Indians or whites, the number of houses or families in a town is never over 12, and more often around 4, 6, or 9, even for important centers. It may therefore be concluded that the Wiyot town was smaller than the Yurok: of perhaps 30 instead of 45 inhabitants.

Thirty to 35 towns of 30 souls each, in the mean, yields nearly 1000, to which would have to be added the population of scattered 1- and 2-house settlements. It looks therefore as if 1200 might be a better estimate than 800, but that the true figure was probably little over 1000.

The distribution of population was distinctive. On Eel river, as Loud says, the population thinned out rapidly above Fortuna, 7 miles from the mouth. On Mad river, the concentration ended at the bend, less than 5 miles up. Every bay settlement was on tidewater. The Wiyot were thus as "coastal" in residence as a people could be. Yet they used the ocean very little for either subsistence or travel. The towns at the mouths of the two rivers could look out on the ocean, but they faced the river like the settlements upstream. On the two spits the houses stood on the bay side; farther north they were on Mad River slough, not on the parallel beach. The main line of north-south communications avoided the beach and ran along inland waterways which, except at a few spots, could be traveled either by boat or along shore on foot. The canoe is fundamental in the culture; but the Wiyot, though they rarely slept be-

yond the smell of salt water, managed their lives so as to avoid more than occasional putting to sea. It may be added that they are the farthest people south to use extensively the wooden boat of the northwest coast. Beyond them, the Athabascan Bear River and Mattole groups made canoes from trees on Rainbow ridge, and the coastal Sinkyone of Shelter cove built them from beach drift-logs of redwood. These boats were used in going out on the ocean to hunt seals and sea lions. Smaller boats were kept where trails crossed a rather large stream, like the Mattole, but were used chiefly at the time of fish runs at high water. None of these Athabascan divisions seems to have relied on the canoe for everyday travel and transport as did the Wiyot.

In short, with all their proximity to the ocean and constant use of canoes, the Wiyot had made the pattern of their life attach to still water and its shores.

WIYOT TOWNS

Solid squares—Major settlements

Hollow squares—Major settlements of less importance, or located only approximately, or abandoned by 1850, or founded after that date

Double squares—Largest settlements

Starred squares—Dances held here

Dots—Minor or transient settlements

Broken line—Principal line of communication and travel

Bracketed numbers or letters following names correspond with Loud's designations in his map facing page 402 of Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 14, 1918.

Town names have their spelling somewhat simplified as compared with the text: consonants approximately as in English, vowels as in Spanish.

MAD RIVER

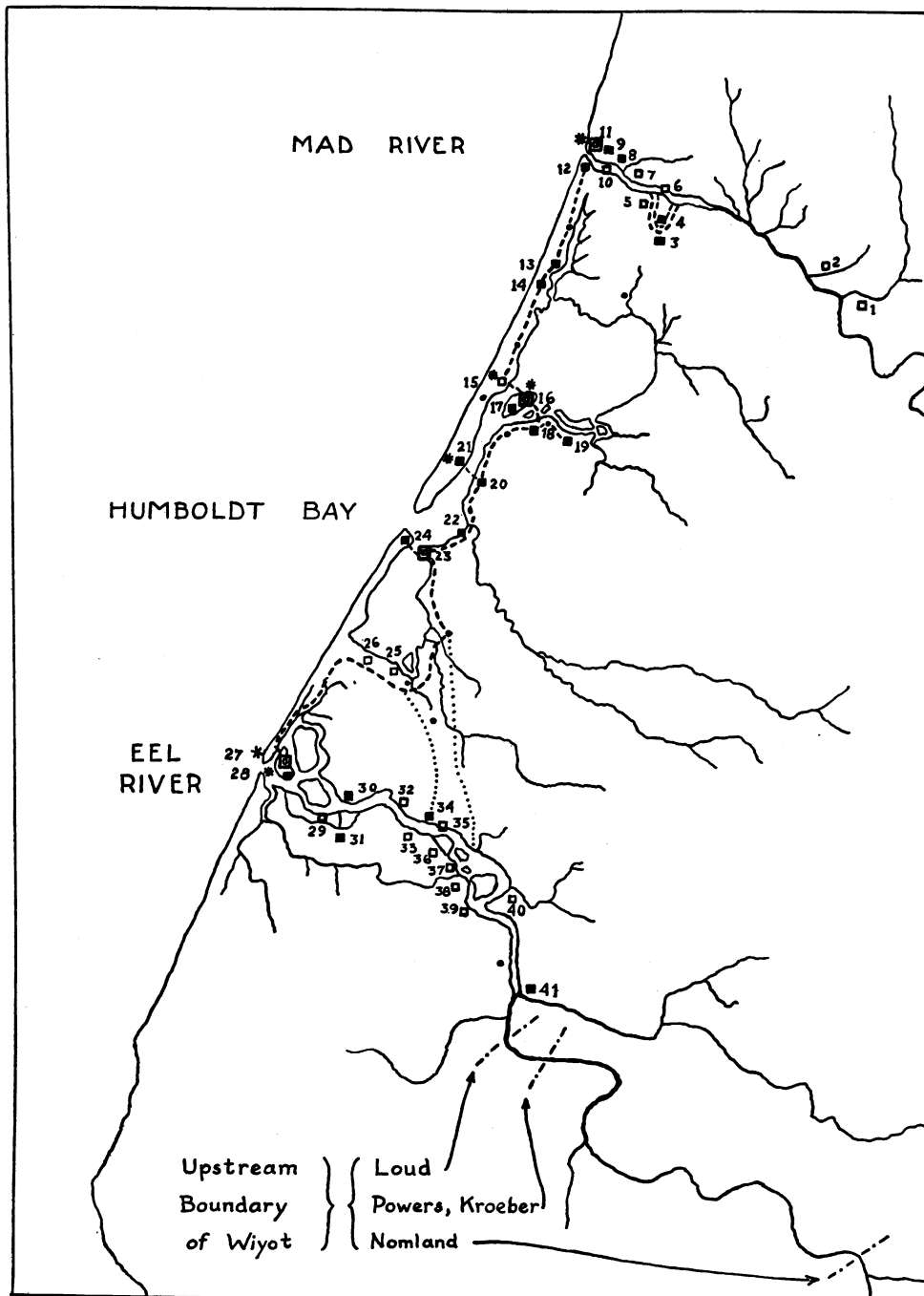
1 ? [AD]	5 Hlichibit [I]	9 Chome [G]
2 Tatikwoguk [Y]	6 Takaktaruwehler [H]	10 Tasiswek [B]
3 Takulubaku [J]	7 Tisopiligeli [C]	11 Kolikeme, Hliwatkut [4-5]
4 Petser [9]	8 Gwisok [7]	12 Hatbelakauh [A]

HUMBOLDT BAY

13 Mole'hl [34]	18 Moprakw [65]	23 Charok-higachgak [79]
14 Dabot [33]	19 Kawo't [58]	24 Pi'mir [112]
15 Dikewet-hehl [23]	20 Gutsiwehlik [73]	25 Tolihl [102]
16 Dulawo't [67]	21 Hiagatgak [17]	26 Tpatkakauh [104]
17 Hatweruhl [68]	22 Hikshori [77]	

EEL RIVER

27 Delatpehlik [AP-AQ]	32 Wuktlakw	37 Tetehtlok
28 Tekwagok [AR]	33 Takwurakw [AV]	38 Hokonwoyok [AZ]
29 Ratkaniyak	34 Howochkihl [AW]	39 Kwigergoyok [BA]
30 Miptlok [AT]	35 Wosala [AX]	40 Tswokerok [BB]
31 Hachwochkaw [AU]	36 Sweanawochkro [AY]	41 Kigegodolihl [BD]



Map 1. Wiyot towns.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

- AA American Anthropologist
AMNH-B American Museum of Natural History—Bulletins
BAE-B Bureau of American Ethnology—Bulletins
UC-PAAE University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology