

SINKYONE NOTES

BY

GLADYS AYER NOMLAND

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A GENERAL SURVEY

THE DATA presented in this paper were obtained in two visits to the Sinkyone in 1928 and 1929. The field work was done under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California.

Informants used in the field were Sally Bell, Jenny Young, and Jack Woodman. The last two have since died. They were all fullblood Sinkyone more than ninety years of age, the sole survivors of their tribe, which was almost exterminated by the whites in the massacre of Humboldt bay.

Jack Woodman only reliable informant (pl. 4*d*). Born and always lived in own culture at Briceland; father born near Bridgeville when parents visited there. Mother born near Briceland on other side of Elk ridge. Grandparents' birthplace and tribal affiliations at Bridgeville. Sally Bell born Needle Rock; reared from childhood by white settlers; married Coast Yuki, Tom Bell; blind, senile, sees spirits in rafters, etc. Information unreliable.¹ Jenny Young born Ettersburg; reared Shelter Cove; white influence since small child; information unreliable, mixed with Christian teachings and stories.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR TERRITORY

The Sinkyone (Kaikomas) are an Athabascan tribe living in southern Humboldt and northwestern Mendocino counties. Their culture is closely allied to that of the surrounding Athabascans and to the general non-Athabascan type of culture of northern California. There are only dialectical differences between the various linguistic divisions of the group.²

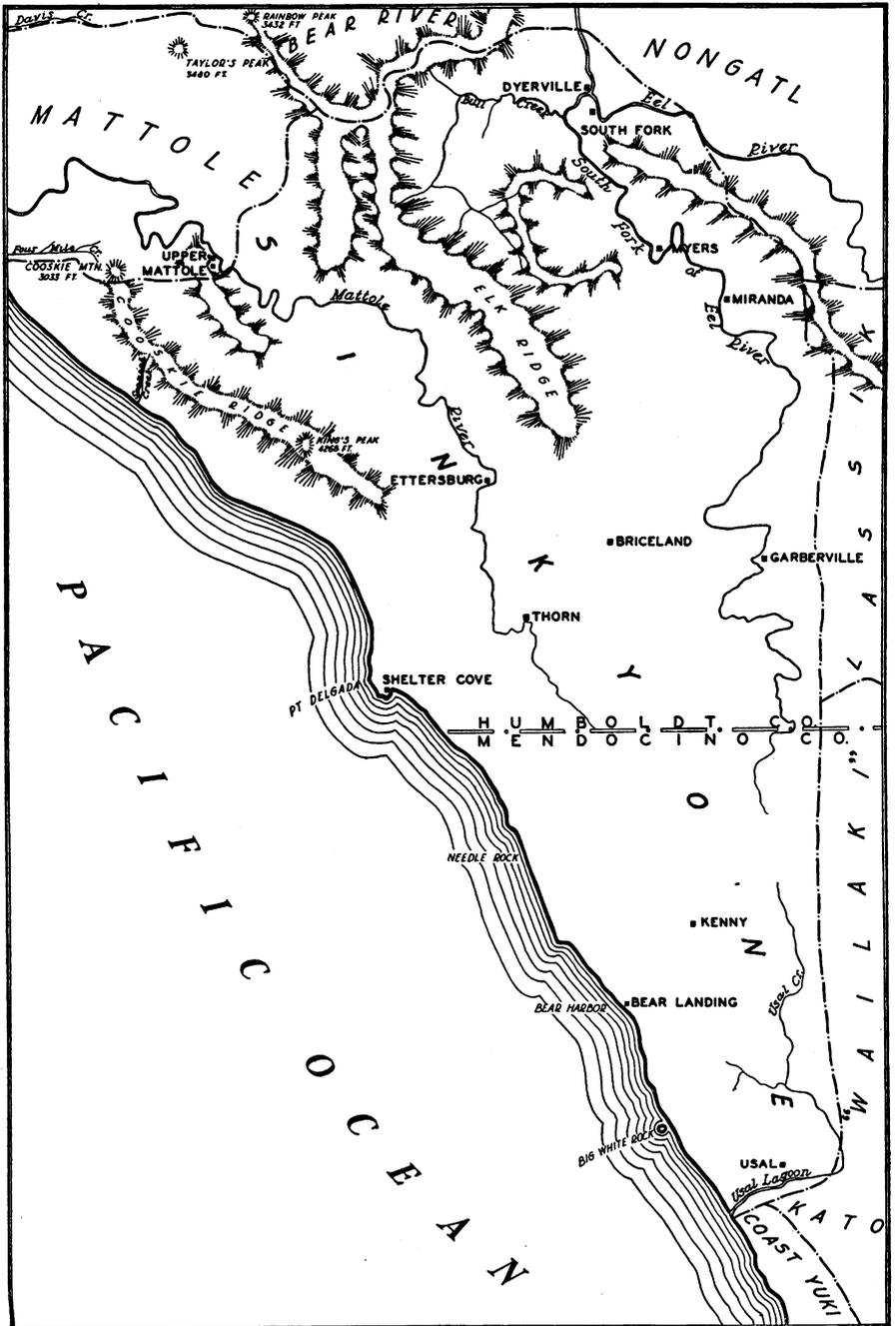
Feeling of solidarity, precisely established boundaries, dialectical differences, and a few outstanding differences in culture set them off as a distinct unit which shares in the common northwest California culture.

Sinkyone territory extends from the Pacific ocean eastward to the Nongatl, Lassik, and Wailaki western boundaries, which roughly correspond to the Redwood highway in its course from South fork of the Eel river through Garberville and Dyerville. Southern boundary adjoins Kato and Coast Yuki and the northern boundaries adjoin Mattole at Four Mile creek and Upper Mattole and Bear River southern boundary at Rainbow ridge (see map).

The country is extensive and rugged. Mountains, although not extremely high, have deep erratic courses cut by streams, some of whose sources are within the territory. Elk ridge extends through central Sinkyone territory into Bear

¹E. W. Gifford, Coast Yuki MS.

²Pliny Earle Goddard (UC-PAAE 24:293, 1929) says: "In other respects the Bear River dialect resembles the southern Athabascan group of California, which includes the Nongatl, Wailaki, Kato, and Sinkyone. The lexical difference between this group and Hupa is marked, and the agreement of Bear River is definitely with the south in this respect. This is also true in phonetics, aside from the one point mentioned above."



Map 1. Sinkyone territory and boundaries (according to Jack Woodman).

River country on the north. It is an outstanding landmark and important in the native mythological tales as well as in hunting and gathering tales. All other parts of the land were correlated with it. Small valleys are bisected by meandering streams along whose courses grow hazel, live oak, willow, and other shrubs. On the mountain slopes there is a thick covering of manzanita, madroña, tan oak, etc., and on the upper slopes and surrounding coastal valleys there is a heavy growth of pine, fir, and redwood (pl. 4a-c).

Trails to the north into Mattole and southern Bear River country pass over steep mountains, whereas those to the coast and western Kato and Yuki country are natural passes through the mountains. Landfall is so steep and surface run-off of water so excessive that all rivers and streams become torrential and impassable during the winter and spring.

Prevailing winds are from the west. In summer heavy fogs blow in from the ocean and in winter the winds from the west yield abundant rainfall. North-east winds are rare and usually followed by snowfall.

Land belonged to the tribe, members hunting, fishing, digging, and gathering over it at will. According to Jack, they had no permanent villages, but people moved in family groups to the hills for seed gathering and hunting, to valleys for root-digging and berrypicking, and to the coast for gathering seaweed, crustaceans, mussels, clams, abalone, etc. Two informants always gave names of land areas in place of village names. Anse'ntakūk was the land south of Briceland; Totro'bē, the land around Briceland; Chacīngū'k, ridge north of Briceland; Cusacīc'ha, region north of Garberville; Yenekūk, area south-east of Briceland; Yese', coast area to Mattole boundary at Four Mile creek; Senkē'kūk, to the South fork from Garberville; Yēsē'kūk, Mattole River area. Yēsē' means down.

It seems improbable that the Sinkyone lacked permanent villages since they had semisubterranean sweat houses; several families were admittedly living at Needle Rock at the time of war with the whites; and all the neighboring Athabascans with similar culture had such villages.³

The Sinkyone intermarried freely with all surrounding tribes (including the Yuki and Wiyot) except the treacherous Wailaki. To these last-named they felt great antipathy and charged them with wanton murder of the traders who entered their territory.

SUBSISTENCE

HUNTING

Hunting, universally practiced by all able-bodied males of the group, was the main source of food and clothing. Practically all male activities hinged upon the preparation of implements for hunting and fishing and the chase itself. Women prepared the meat for winter storage but were not permitted to hunt.

³ A. L. Kroeber visited the Sinkyone at a much earlier date and speaks of them as being "quite definite in the habit of occupying their permanent villages in the stream valleys only in the winter half of the year, while in summer they dwelt on the more open mountain sides and hill tops" (BAE-B 78:145, 1925).

Religious regulations and dances were inextricably woven into the hunting regulations. Before a hunt, twenty-four hours' abstinence from sexual intercourse was compulsory; other men would not accompany one who did not observe this regulation. Quiescence was required during the entire time of a wife's menstrual period, and five days' quiet after the birth of a child. Bad luck would otherwise result; deer and elk, smelling the hunter's uncleanness, would escape, grizzly and black bears would attack on sight, or other catastrophes might befall him. Hunters danced in the sweat house for from two to three hours in a purification ceremony called a good-luck dance. They rubbed angelica leaves on their hands and in their hair, or chewed a small piece of the root. Sometimes the hunter suspended a piece of the front leg-bone of the deer, a deer hoof, or a bit of angelica root from his neck. Charms were not much used and reliance was upon skill and observance of the taboos. Best hunters were permitted to wear a chicken-hawk leg or a fawn leg-bone through the nasal septum. Hunting was mainly seasonal and was practiced both by lone hunters and by communal groups.

Dogs were sometimes used to drive game into the river where it could be easily killed. In early times dogs were said to have been scarce, perhaps one to several family groups. They were taught to hunt with special words for attack and recall. They were well treated because they were believed to be transformed humans.

Game was plentiful, almost all animals and birds being used for food. They were shot with the bow and arrow, netted, trapped, snared, and stalked. All kinds of birds (except dove and owl) and their eggs were eaten. Dove and owl were not killed because people believed that they were transformed persons who mourned their deceased relatives.

Deer, elk stalked by lone hunter wearing deer head stuffed with moss, dried leaves, after brains, tissues removed; must be 2-pronged; tied to head by string attached to animal's neck; hunter crawled close for shot. Communal hunts: 4, 5 men went far back, hallooted to drive deer toward best hunters hidden fanwise in brush. Iris-string noose fastened open on trail, attached to bent-over limb; animal walked into open loop, limb released, noose jerked up and broke neck of animal or held it securely until hunter could slit throat. Deer leg-bone knife (ca. 2 ft. long!) for slitting throat slung at back of hunter's neck. Game skinned on spot; best piece to chief. Man whose arrow killed animal entitled to skin, antlers, brains, hoofs, tendons, and share of meat. Remainder divided evenly among hunters. Lone hunter also divided meat with group. Meat carried to camp in improvised sling of twisted hazel brush with thong across chest; thrown on ground at house entrance; women unrolled, prepared for cooking. Men must cook all fresh meat. Taboo against women cooking any but smoked, dried meat. Hides used for clothes, blankets; brains for tanning; sinews for bow-strings, sewing, lacing, etc.; antlers, hoofs for implements. Fresh meat roasted on coals; cooked in earth oven or in cleft stick at angle over fire. Fire made radially, kept up day and night; cooked on all sides of it. Barbecued in pit 2-3 ft. deep according to amount of food. Pit lined with even-sized stones; hot fire built on top; when stones thoroughly heated, fire raked aside; hot pit lined with green leaves; food laid on leaves; covered with other leaves to keep clean and hold steam; hot rocks put on top and covered with sand. Food allowed to remain 3 or 4 hours; uncovered; lifted out with tongs onto platterlike baskets. Surplus meat stripped, smoked on quadrangular frames over low willow fire, then put on leaves in sun for final drying. Stored in baskets for winter either in strips or ground into "pinole." Quadrangular frame for smoking made of 4 forked corner-posts, side sticks lashed at cor-

ners; small hazel brush laid across side sticks for rack; frame 2 ft. off ground. Meat smoked 2 days, nights; then sun-dried.

Grizzly, black bear invariably hunted by group; too hazardous for one man. Hides used for clothes, blankets; flesh treated same as deer, elk. Oil collected in clam, abalone shells placed under smoking meat; preserved in sections of dried kelp tied at one end; used for medicine or eaten warm over acorn, buckeye porridge. Seal and sea lion speared from large redwood canoes, killed with cascara-wood club; towed to shore; cut up; flesh dried; hides never used; oil preserved for food and medicine same as bear. Fox, coyote, panther, wildcat not trapped; must be shot; flesh not eaten; hide for quivers, brought hunting luck. Coon, rabbit snared, shot; flesh eaten; hides for clothing. Rabbitskin used almost exclusively for blankets; skin cut spirally into strips, twisted, woven over and under; hung out in wind to fluff up. Whales washed ashore at Needle Rock belonged to tribe; whole group camped there during whale butchering; discoverer got choice piece, remainder equally divided. Flesh dried same as deer; stored for winter. Preserved oil warmed for use on dried berries, etc. Whale's bones used for fire which dried meat. Boys dug rats out of nests, skinned, gutted, roasted them on coals; considered good food. Mice eaten in times of stress. Roasted grasshoppers were delicacy. Men fired grassy meadows; women, children gathered roasted grasshoppers in flat baskets. Jack: "Sometimes women gathered five, six big baskets of those little things."

Large birds shot, all others netted or killed by rocks thrown by hand. Bird nets of iris-fiber string held open by cross-trigger to which long string attached. Hunter hidden in brush. Seeds on ground under bag-shaped net. Birds congregated; hunter yanked string, collapsed bag, hit birds over head with special cascara-wood stick. Birds thrown into fire; singed; gutted; split open; inserted in cleft stick which was stuck slanting over coals.

Hunting bow of yew, sinew-backed. Quivers of otter, fawn fur for bows and arrows. Skin not slit but inverted and dressed. Deer-hide strap for suspension over shoulder. Deerskin leggings for protection against hot stones and rattlesnakes while hunting, or deer-hide strips wound around feet. Moccasins: Jack, none. Jenny, yes. No snowshoes. No eyeshade.

FISHING

Fishing was as important as hunting in supplying winter food. Small fish were netted and caught with hook and line at all times of year, but the all-important fish supply came from the seasonal salmon run. During the run, usually lasting about two months, the entire tribe camped on the banks of the streams. The men harpooned from boats and strung nets across the river during the day and well into the night, while the women and children prepared and smoked the catch. In fishing there were no such restrictions or taboos regarding sex or sex relations as in hunting, for, according to Jack, "fish were stupid and not able to smell under water." Women and children might, therefore, take a turn at fishing whenever they had time. Torches of finely split redwood were used at night in direct opposition to the practice of the Bear River people, who feared to fish after dark. Fish were netted, speared, angled, and poisoned.

The Sinkyone observed first-salmon rites, a characteristic Northwestern trait, the southern extension of which meets the California culture in Sinkyone territory, probably the farthest southern boundary of the rite. Anyone might catch the first salmon, but after its capture the shaman began the ceremony. His prayer, "Ensongkū'tsēsja' [Let us eat well]," was the same as that for the characteristically Californian first-acorn ceremony. This indicates transfer of the older acorn-formula to the newer introduced salmon-ceremony,

especially since the northern elaboration of this is here lacking. After the first prayer by the shaman he danced around a small fire for a short time, then ceremonially scaled and cleaned the salmon with a special obsidian knife, split it open, and roasted it on hot coals at the side of the stream where it was brought out of the water. The shaman tasted the first morsel, then each person must taste a bit of the flesh to ensure the increase of salmon for the succeeding year as well as personal and tribal safety. Other salmon were cooked at another fire for the feast which took place after the ceremony. There were no further rites during the season.

Salmon nets of iris-fiber string stretched across stream on upper side of riffles; held down by rocks tied to mesh; propped open with short sticks; ends tied to brush or held taut by men in canoes. One-man net had drawstring with stick tied to end; stick pulled out to close drawstring. Small nets set in hole on upper side of weir of sticks and stones. Spear shaft of fir, 6-8 ft. long; harpoon head of 2 pieces of deer- or elkhorn, "6 inches" long, wrapped together with iris string and pitched; inverted horn-barbs prevented fish escaping. String from detachable head to man's wrist retrieved fish. Hook for salmon "about 6 inches" long, of deer bone; opposing barb of hazel wood, wrapped with string, pitched to hold wrapping and give strength.

Ocean fish caught from rocks with iris-string line tied in center of double-pointed deer-bone hook. Hooks for small fish smaller replicas of salmon hook. Trout "hooks" of loop of human hair wound around finger; tied in middle with iris string, used like fly on top of water; trout's teeth get tangled in hair; fish easily raised out of water. Fish traps of small hazel brush for salmon when water low; set with opening downstream. Women not allowed to make fishing or hunting nets; men taught how by father, uncle, older brother. Torches for spearing salmon from canoes or banks at night. Poison or mashed soaproot stupefied fish. Sültsa'n said to be the strongest poison. Jack: "It grew in one tall stock with a cluster of blue flowers at the end of the spike and a root as big as a hat. The root was pounded and put into water. It turned the water blue and made eels [lampreys] come out of the rocks and trout turn right over." Lampreys said to be caught with line and double-pointed hook. Surf fish dip-netted; net: oval bag with one straight edge. Flat edge placed on ground with bag-mouth toward land to catch fish on receding wave. Fish smoked whole. Clams, crabs, abalone, river crawfish caught by hand by men, women, children. Abalone pried off rocks with cascara stick sharpened at one end.

Fresh salmon cooked by laying directly on hot coals in earth oven; or (like birds) in cleft stick over coals. Salmon cured for winter, split open; laid skin-side down on smoke rack over slow fire of green willow brush 2 days, nights; then sun-dried on leaves 2 to 3 days; packed in baskets between layers of leaves. Eggs removed, smoked with fish, packed in special baskets ca. 3 ft. high by 20 in. diam.; kept in house; stone-boiled or raw, considered a great delicacy. Lampreys, abalone smoked, stored for winter. Clams, mussels, abalone pounded, sun-dried for winter.

PLANT FOODS

The Sinkyone were a seed- and root-gathering people as were their Californian neighbors. Their main plant-food supply came from acorns, buckeyes, seeds, greens, soaproot, camas, nuts, berries, etc., which were eaten raw, roasted, stone-boiled, barbecued with meat, or dried and preserved for winter. Acorns, the main source of "pinole" flour, held first place in the plant food supply. Each year the first-acorn ceremony was held after the harvest, the chief and shaman deciding the time and the place. There was a five-night dance in a spe-

⁴Gifford, Coast Yuki MS, says that his Yuki informant told him that Sinkyone of South fork of Eel river used pounded wormwood for poison.

cially built brush enclosure. The first night the shaman sang and danced between the central fire and the circle of people, who merely listened; the four succeeding nights the entire group joined in both the singing and dancing. The ceremony was to ensure an increase of the acorn crop for the following year. The first acorns gathered were cooked by a selected group of women and put on plates in front of the assembled people. The shaman then sang, danced, and said a prayer, "Ai, ai," after which he moved each plate one place to the right. He then said a second prayer, "Ensongkū'tsēsja" (the same as in the salmon ceremony), whereupon everyone ate of the acorns lest a dire personal and tribal catastrophe befall him.

A direct contradiction in the information given by Jenny and Jack occurs concerning the use of tobacco. Jack said that the Kaikomas never used it prior to white influence, although they had the long tubular pipe with a flat burning place on the upper surface. He maintained that angelica was smoked by shamans, who passed the pipe to the smokers sitting in the ceremonial circle around the fire, whereas Jenny said they gathered wild tobacco from shady places on the rivers and creeks and sun-dried and smoked the leaves. However, she was unable, after considerable effort, to produce any of the leaves in question. What probably happened was that tobacco, after its introduction by white settlers, was used in the ceremonial pipe instead of angelica.

Huckleberries, blackberries, strawberries, salal berries, salmonberries, wild cherries (from Mattole River area) eaten raw. Manzanita, madroña berries roasted by rotating with coals in flat baskets; stored for winter. Hazelnuts husked, broken, cooked into lumpy mush or dried, stored. Seeds of tarweed, "dandelion," wild oat, etc. fanned with seedbeater into deep conical baskets slung around waist with buckskin thong; winnowed by seedbeater; parched with coals or hot rocks rotated in flat parching-basket; ground into "pinole" with stone pestle in bottomless flaring basketry hopper set on stone mortar; packed in baskets for winter. Acorns, buckeyes cracked on mortar; winnowed in large flat basket; broken nuts partly ground, placed in hole in sand, leached with boiling water "several times a day for five, six days"; sand removed; nuts "partially parched with hot rocks"; dried; packed in basket; stored for winter. Four or 5 days' supply ground into pinole as needed. Acorn mush, buckeye soup, etc. stone-boiled in basket. Special uniform white stones for cooking; would not crack. Looped hazel stick for stirring mush. Hot stones handled with looped hazel tongs tied across handle. Cooled stones removed, replaced with heated ones.

Soaproot, camas dug with cascara wood digging-stick. Pepper nuts usually roasted in campfire. Plant food always roasted in earth oven with meat for tribal feasts.

Sunflower stalks, bear clover, sorrel, iris nuts, etc. always eaten raw. One or 2 buckeyes sometimes eaten raw on trail, said to be cooling, thirst quenching. Wild peas, tarweed, sunflower, dandelion, barley seeds, etc. parched; made into pinole; stored for winter. Seaweed sun-dried; softened by heating before being eaten. Fern roots rarely used; said to be staple food with Wiyot. Salt from crystals on outside of dry kelp and from ashes of blackberry leaves burned on flat stone. Both kinds stored in pieces of dried kelp about 1 ft. long tied at one end while wet. No intoxicating drink known.

MANUFACTURES

BASKETRY

The variety of baskets assigned to the many special functions in Sinkyone culture indicates an ancient, highly developed trait, even though basketmaking is unknown to the surviving Sinkyone. The art reached its greatest elaboration

in both technique and design in the finer household baskets and the hats. Materials for these fine, tight baskets were spruce and redwood root-fiber with a pattern overlay of five-fingered fern and brake fern and red alder bark. Quail crests were sometimes woven into the designs—probably an idea borrowed from the fine, feather-decorated baskets of the Pomo Indians farther to the south. All household basketry utensils were made by women. They were also allowed to make certain kinds of basketry fish traps and to set them in the stream, but all other fishing and hunting baskets and nets must be made by men even though women prepared the materials for their construction. Men wove only eel- and fish baskets and their own burden baskets.

Spruce, redwood fiber partly roasted, split, pulled out, wet while working. Fern stems kept moist while being used. Red alder bark stripped off when sap up, dried and moistened again before using. Ceremonial and drinking baskets twined with root fiber, all others with hazel weft and warp. Types of baskets: small drinking-cup baskets; conical seed-baskets 2 ft. deep, 20 in. across top; boiling baskets of various sizes up to 2 ft., 6 in. high by 2 ft. in diam. for acorn mush; parching, winnowing trays 2-3 ft. across; plates; hoppers; storage baskets from 2-4 ft. high and 3 ft. in diam.; burden baskets; hand carrying-baskets; sitting basketry cradles with eyeshade. Rope and string from iris-leaf fiber for snares and nets, rolled on thigh with palm of hand while wet. All string and rope made by men.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE, BONE, AND WOOD

Implements were sparse, with Northwestern influence shown in the use of elk-horn spoons (although the elk-horn purses of the north were either not used or unknown) and of carved and painted bird- and animal-design canoe paddle handles. This is the only instance of wood carving or painting in Sinkyone culture. Wooden implements, such as the bow and arrow, canoes, fire drill, etc., were of the utmost importance to the tribe.

Stone pestle 10 in. long, 3 in. in diam. at flat end, other end pointed; stone arrow-straighteners and -polishers; mortar (slab) flat, wide, about 10 by 14 in. Rock maul, dumb-bell shape, 6 in. long, both ends flat; unhafted, stone fishing weights, ground on one side and edges. Sharp-edged stones for hide scrapers; obsidian and stone arrow points and knives made by pressure chipping. Red, black, gray chipped obsidian "treasures," 10 to 12 in. long. Elkhorn wedge; deer-bone hunting knife, about 2 ft. long; bone awl; chicken hawk leg-bone whistle stopped at one end, one hole in side filled in with pitch to make whistle.

Bows of yew wood, whittled out with flint knives, scraped, bent back to limber; reënforced on back with sinew glued on with cooked fish-heads. "Elderwood" arrows whittled out with flint knife; straightened by holding in teeth, bending, sighting; polished by drawing between opposing stones. Arrow points of various woods for hunting, flint for fighting; inserted in foreshaft wrapped with deer sinew; feathered with grouse, crow, chicken hawk; 3 feathers lashed to shaft at equidistant thirds; wound with iris string, glued. Rafts of logs lashed together with iris rope; poled. Canoes of whole logs burned inside, dug out, shaped inside with "obsidian knives"; bow "pointed," stern flat; seats fore and aft; poled and paddled. Paddle, 6 ft. long; nob on handle, carved and painted bird and animal figures; blade ca. 2 ft. long, oval on top, pointed at bottom. Fish traps, drying frames, split hazel sticks. Drum of fir with fawnskin stretched over it. Elderwood whistle made same as bone whistle after pith punched out. Short tubular pipe of alder for certain dances. Cascara wood digging-stick, abalone pry, seal club. Redwood fishing-torches. Fire drill: straight buckeye stick on hearth of cedar; dry moss or leaves underneath for tinder. Several bits of burning tanbark, held together, carried for short distances; coals buried in basket of ashes carried all day.

HIDES

Hides were of utmost importance for clothes, blankets, and other skin-made articles. Both men and women knew the technique of skin dressing but, except in emergency, men did the preliminary work in preparing the skins and women finished the process. However, women were not restricted to that part of the dressing activities and might skin and prepare the hide without male help. The technique of dressing hides was the same for all animals. They were dressed with and without the hair. Small skins were held open by a loop of hazel brush and dried in the sun, and elk hides were specially prepared for armor with tissues and shreds of flesh left on them, so that when they dried, they were stiff and thick and could be relied upon to turn enemy arrows.

Skinning deer, elk stereotyped: cut under jaw, high up on back of neck, around knees, slit ventrally from neck to tail, around tail, down ventral side of hind legs, around hoofs; front legs cut ventrally from neck to knees. Flint knife, ca. 8 in. long, string-wrapped handle, used to skin down hide. Hide tanned by soaking in warm water until soft; wrung by attaching end to post, twisting other end with stick. Hair removed same way except very hot water used, hide scraped. Skin stretched on ground; covered with dried deer brains and wood shavings soaked in warm water for tanning; these rubbed in; skin rolled up for 2 days; rinsed; wrung; scraped with deer-bone knife; worked between hands until soft; sun-dried. Elk-hide armor imperfectly scraped after hair removal; tissue, shreds of flesh left to make stiff; not worked between hands. Small animals cut around neck, inverted and peeled down, or ventrally slit to tail, inside legs, around knees; scraped; tanned; rubbed between hands; hazel-withe loop inserted to hold open; sun-dried.

HOUSES

The Sinkyone had four types of house; two forms of dwelling house, the dance or sweat house, and the temporary brush house. The two types of dwelling were the typically central Californian excavated circular structure with a center pole, and the wedge-shaped lean-to found in the Northwestern culture. The northernmost limits of the circular house meet the southernmost limits of the wedge-shaped house in Sinkyone and Kato territory, and excavation of the latter type apparently has been applied to the former. The wedge-shaped lean-to house, like the Mattole and Bear River structures, was almost vertical in front and sloped back from the ridgepole to the ground. The sweat house, like the circular dwelling, was an excavated structure built around a center pole and having a central smokehole entrance. Since the circular sweat house belonged to the archaic central Californian culture stratum, the circular dwelling probably followed the same pattern as the sweat house and was the early type, the lean-to being intrusive and more recent. The temporary houses were simple unexcavated brush enclosures without center pole or smokehole. They were abandoned at the end of the hunting and gathering season and allowed to fall apart through weathering.

Circular dwelling excavated about 2 ft., sweat house 4 to 6 ft. Both similarly constructed with center pole sunk in middle of excavation; twisted hazel ring lashed to 4 side poles, then brought over top of center pole and butts sunk into ground at edge of excavation; other poles planted at edge, lashed to center ring, formed rigid skeleton with central smokehole. Slabs of redwood boards or redwood or madrofia bark tied with string crosswise over pole

frame; boards overlapped to cover wall surface; second layer of slabs or bark leaned across cross-layer vertically from ground to smokehole. Sweat house same except roof flatter, more domelike; never very large; covered with madroña bark peeled when sap up; first row used concave side out; joints covered with other pieces concave side in, like tiles. Opening for dwelling at side; hanging skin for door. Sweat-house entrance through smokehole. Materials for building obtained by burning down trees into lengths of ca. 8 ft. Slabs split off by elk-horn wedges driven straight across butt with stone maul; wedges reset, succeeding boards split until entire bole worked. Poles for skeleton frame cut, trimmed with flint knife. Lean-to house of slabs or bark leaned against ridgepole, resting in 2 upright forks; front nearly vertical; slab-covered roof sloped from ridgepole to ground at back of excavation; door in front, skin-covered.

DRESS

Dress was entirely of hides, with little ornamentation, although women wore fringed and beaded garments for ceremonial occasions. Warm winter blankets and garments were made from fur hides, summer clothes of the dehaired skins. Strings of "beads" were worn around the neck and strung in loops for earrings for both sexes. Women had "anklets of long beads" fastened at one end so as to make pleasant clinking sounds at a dance. An adolescent girl wore strings of "angelica" seeds which seemed to have magical significance for her and prepared her for the later puberty rites. They were put on at all subsequent puberty rites within the tribe. Beads were worn for display and established the monetary status of the family according to northwest Californian custom. Both men and women kept their hair long except during mourning. Men allowed it to hang around the shoulders, a headband of buckskin keeping it out of the eyes, or tied it at the back with a buckskin thong. Women made two buckskin-tied braids, one at each side of the head. They brushed the hair with a soaproot-fiber brush. Men pulled out sparse beards with a flint knife. Women, after puberty, wore a basketry hat; immediately before puberty, a twisted buckskin around the head. Shamans' dress was of deer hide fastened under the arms and hanging below the loins, belted with a four-inch strip of elk hide. They also wore a band of yellowhammer feathers around the head and a bunch of hawk feathers, suspended at each side, thrown back over the shoulders. Warriors' dress was of specially prepared elk hide. There was no head deformation.

Men's breechclout had fur on outside. Women's "skirt" comprised 2 aprons overlapping at sides; back apron with hair on, rounded on front corners; front apron dehaired hide. Summer skirts and common wear of plain dressed hides. Fringed, beaded skirt made by stretching skin over large basket, cutting into fringe with flint knife from bottom to near belt line. Fringe tied with iris at intervals of 2, 3 in., shell beads inserted between tyings. "The overblouse of two small skins sewn together on shoulders and under arms reached almost to hips." In cold and rain, men, women, wore deer, black-bear blankets of 2 skins sewn together. Deer-bone punch to make sewing holes. Coonskin cap with tail hanging down worn by common men in winter; minkskin for rich. Rabbitskin blanket, grizzly, black bear-skins for sleeping, one under, one over. Everyone barefoot except hunters in fall season, who wore deer-hide moccasins or wrappings, leggings for protection against rattlesnakes, hot sand, rocks. Elk-hide armor for war leaders doubled at neck, raised up high in back; hung below knees, tied at neck, across chest with string. Cut out on shoulder, slit down right side for free movement. Belted with elk hide or unbelted. Quiver under edge of hide on right shoulder. Other fighters: loin cloth only, or naked.

SEASONS, DIRECTIONS, COLORS

Seasons.—Eight "seasons," prefix *gūng* denoting onset. Spring coming, *gūnggū'nta*. Spring, *gū'nta*. Summer coming, *gūnggū'nsě*. Summer, *gūnsě'*. Fall coming, *gūnggūnta'ngkūk*. Fall, *gūngta'ngkūk*. Winter coming, *gūngkě'kūk*. Winter, *kěkū'k*.

Directions.—North, up river, *yětē'*. South, *yěněka'*. East, *yáták'a'*. West, *yède'*. Up, *yābi'* (also creator). Down, *yătēha'*. Down river, far, *yěsě'*.

Colors.—Red, *ci*. Blue, *tsōgū't*. White, *títikě'*. Black, *sàng*.

TIME AND COUNTING

Time.—Time of day reckoned by sun; 10 parts: before daylight, daylight, before sunup, before noon, midday, afternoon, before sunset, before dark, dark, and through the night.

Counting.—Counting on fingers in series of fives. Highest number Jack could recall was 40; thought did not count higher.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

THE FAMILY

The family of man, wife, and children was the unit of Sinkyone life. However, it might be associated with a larger informal group of relatives such as parents-in-law, uncles, and cousins to the second degree. A person also recognized sons-in-law and daughters-in-law as belonging to his family unit, but excluded parents of his children-in-law. Relatives usually lived in houses built close together and formed an economic as well as social group. There was no clan or ceremonial affiliation, the family's only obligation being to the tribe as a whole, with the chief at its head.

GENEALOGIES

Genealogies were recited to the great-great-grandfather in the male line; further than that blood relationship ceased to be recognized. Step-relatives were counted to the great-grandfather in the male line and were accorded the same consideration as blood kin. Orphaned children of relatives and friends were informally adopted and considered as blood relatives.

KINSHIP TABOOS

Brothers and sisters could not speak directly to each other unless obliged to do so, and then they must speak slowly and seriously, never laughing or joking together. A woman could not talk to her son-in-law except through a third person and, whenever she passed him, she held her buckskin blanket before her face. A girl, however, could speak directly to her father-in-law, but must talk very little, very slowly and seriously, and never laugh in his presence.

MARRIAGE

Monogamous marriages were usual although polygynous unions were accepted, especially among chiefs and rich men. Purchase of the bride was universal and considered the only form of legitimate marriage. Negotiations were consummated through a relative or friend acting as go-between, and the price

varied with the social status of both parties. The groom drew heavily upon his family and friends to accumulate property for the purchase of a rich girl since his own and his children's status was regulated by the amount paid.

A man with insufficient means might work for his parents-in-law as payment for his wife. Such service commonly continued for one year or until the first child was born.

Girls sometimes were given by a debtor in lieu of payment. Such a girl was reared to marriageable age by the wife of the creditor and became the son's bride after puberty. This form of marriage was highly approved and the bride was looked upon with special favor. Marriage with a widow was accomplished with less ceremony and fewer presents according to the financial circumstances of both parties.

Bride price paid in beads, canoes, rope, flints, hides, food, etc. As soon as price accepted by girl's parents, they allowed the man to have sexual intercourse with girl at their home. Bride's parents notified friends of coming ceremony; they prepared food for dance, presents of food, beads, hides, baskets for bride. Groom's parents gave girl beads, flints, dresses, etc. Everyone attended ceremony, sang, danced 5 nights, then feast prepared by girl's parents. Bride taken to new home; made ceremonial visits to parents-in-law for 1 or 2 months; wore all beads, ornaments given by them; conducted herself with seriousness; talked very little. Groom's parents returned each visit, brought additional gifts; not clear whether continued gifts part of bride price, free-will offerings in interest of amicable relations between families, or means of advertising wealth.

A man could not marry his first or second cousin because she was considered the same as his sister. He might marry his brother's widow, but there was no obligation nor apparently any preference for such a marriage. If he married his deceased wife's sister, he gave only a few additional presents to the parents-in-law, especially if a large bride-price had been paid for the first wife. Parents of a dead wife might offer a younger sister or other female relative in her place, but the man was at liberty to refuse and the parents-in-law must then repay the original bride-price unless there were children born of the union. Elopement was rare, but the girl's parents usually gave their sanction to the accomplished fact and settled the difficulty by accepting presents from the groom through mediation of the chief. Should a man forcibly take a woman against both her and her parents' will, male relatives could kill the abductor without fear of reprisal. If the girl was willing to continue living with him, they accepted payment.

DIVORCE

Divorce was common and no stigma attached to the separation. A wife left her husband for mistreatment, infidelity, or failure to provide for the family; she kept the children and did not repay the bride price. A husband could leave his wife for ill-humor, infidelity, or sterility. He demanded repayment of the bride price and, if there were children, he could keep them if it were not repaid. The husband could punish his wife's infidelity in several ways: he could whip her and kill the lover; accept payment from the lover and turn his wife back to her parents without repayment of the bride price; accept payment from the lover and keep the wife; or kill both the woman and her lover.

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

A gravid woman was free from fasting, but she was expected to work and lift up to the time of parturition. Delivery was either in a sitting or lying position according to preference. A midwife rubbed with considerable pressure down the sides and across the abdomen of the woman to aid in expulsion of the child, while her assistant held the woman up from the back. They used no medication or heat applications. The shaman might be present at a birth and, when the woman was in difficult labor, even rub her and sing for alleviation of the pain.

From the time of birth until the child cut its first tooth, both mother and father fasted from meat. The father did no work for five days after the birth, except to prepare meals for himself and his wife, and the mother remained quiet for a period of ten days and ate alone for a period of thirty days. Weaning did not take place until the child was two or three years old. Twins were unknown.

Specially prepared deerskin on floor to receive infant at expulsion. Skin buried in hard ground so snakes could not crawl on it. Umbilical cord cut with flint knife; tied with iris string. Infant washed; wrapped in fawnskin; put in cradle. Placenta handled carefully; buried in selected loose ground deep enough so that animals could not unearth it. When stump of umbilicus dropped off abdomen, it was wrapped in string, placed in cradle until child's first tooth erupted, then buried in hard ground; abdomen bound with wide string. Stereotyped handling of umbilicus thought to prevent navel from breaking, letting intestines down. Child nursed whenever it awakened, then put back in cradle.

ILLEGITIMACY

Illegitimate children were very rare. The father could meet his responsibility by payment, or the male relatives of the woman could kill him with impunity. An illegitimate child was always reared by the maternal grandmother and treated as her own, but the entire family was disgraced by the woman's defecation and she was ineligible for remarriage with a man of her own social status.

ABORTION

Abortion was practiced by women who became jealous of their husbands. They used no abortive medicines, but hit themselves over the abdomen with rocks with sufficient force to kill and expel the foetus, after which it was secretly buried. Mortality from this practice was so high that a woman usually preferred to separate from her unfaithful spouse and demand the return of the bride price.

PUBERTY RITES AND TATTOOING

Puberty rites.—These rites were held by members of the tribe at the time of the girl's first and second catemenial flow. They followed the usual Californian type of ceremony in which the pubescent girl refrained from work and food during five days and from eating grouse, fish, salt, and meat for varying periods. During the five-day fast she must use a head scratcher for scratching

her head and body (in order to prevent sores and blindness), a special drinking basket and tube of straw; she must pull her hair over her face and sit in a corner of the house. There was no special menstrual hut, but the girl must be removed from the house while deermeat was being cooked. The female members of the family cared for her. She was not allowed to turn over by herself. All women and children and the older men of the tribe danced and sang over her nightly for five nights. There could be no laughing during the songs and dances. The ceremony was believed necessary to ensure the girl's future health and to prevent sickness or disaster to the group as a whole. The girl was fully tattooed after the ceremony. One old woman who knew the technique performed the service, which was thought to ensure good luck and long life. There was neither boys' rite nor circumcision.

Taboo of deermeat 2-3 years; other kinds of meat and fish, 6 months to 1 year. Must not look around or at sun during fasting period. Mother, females of family saw that she observed all restrictions; washed her face and hands with soaproot; combed hair. At the nightly dances women held up girl to dance for short time; rocked her during singing. After 5 days girl put hair back. Women escorted her to river for purification swim on sixth day. Shaman cooked food and fed her sparingly. Ceremony over. Girl then allowed to carry wood, water, etc.; not to run. Shaman always lifted taboos of deermeat, fish. He cooked deermeat; kept basket beside him; told her to eat small portion only; sang; talked to her all the time. She could eat more later without further ceremony. Sometimes one certain woman (qualifications unknown) could cook fish or meat other than deermeat in breaking girl's fast.

Tattooing.—"Identification marks" were tattooed on the girl at the time of her first puberty ceremony, and on adolescent boys of equal age, although there was no puberty ceremony for the males. Both sexes were tattooed with a broad line, about an inch long, between the eyebrows, and another on the chin. Women's tattooing consisted of a line from the corners of the mouth to the middle of the cheek, one to three straight lines on the chin, and one straight line down the cheekbone to below the corner of the mouth. Jack said that his father was the only man in the tribe with special tattooing. He had a zigzag necklace-pattern tattooed from shoulder to shoulder. Accident disclosed the same pattern on Jenny Young. She was very embarrassed and, later, while showing the design, said she was ashamed to have anyone see it and that it had no meaning.

Made small fire on rock; held flat rock over it; collected soot, then cooled it. Man or woman who knew how pricked pattern in skin with sharp deer bone; rubbed soot into wounds. Tattoo said to make pretty, healthy, lucky, long-lived. Girls sometimes tattooed own legs in spirit of bravado or competition; any pattern; no significance.

SICKNESS, DEATH, AND MOURNING

Sickness.—Care of the sick devolved on the old women of the family. It was necessarily cursory because of living conditions and the belief that all sickness was due to violated taboos. The patient shared the family house, blankets, and food without any special provision. Treatment was magical for severe sickness and herbal for the common complaints, the former consisting of singing and dancing by the shaman and extraction of the pain by sucking.

Wounds washed with eagle feather dipped in infusion of tan oak, alder bark, then bound with compress of steamed yarrow leaves. Serious wounds sung over by shaman. Broken bones a serious calamity; not set; tied up with soaked deer-hide strips, these allowed to dry on patient; formed cast; with enforced rest usually effected a fair union of the bone.

Fevers treated with purge of green alder-bark infusion; patient kept cool by frequent cold baths. Aching tooth eased by piece of hot, flat bone held against it. Never pulled teeth; believed to cause more toothaches; allowed to crumble out.

Headache: patient's head rubbed with angelica or peppermint; tied around tightly with strip of deerskin. Colds, stomach trouble treated by purge of young spruce bark, tan-oak infusion. Green peppermint leaves rubbed on outside.

Death.—Death was attributed to violation of taboos. As soon as it was certain that the sick person would die, he received no further care, and wailing began.

One man handled the body from the time of death until after cremation. Regarded as thereby defiled and a menace to the group, he was tabooed from entering the village for five days. Friends carried fire and food to him during that period, after which a purificatory bath and ritualistic lifting of the taboo by the shaman reestablished him in his family, though for one month he must still observe a taboo against eating meat. At the end of that time the shaman sang for him and lifted the taboo. All persons attending the funeral also had to submit to a purificatory bath before returning to their homes.

Cremation, the accepted method of disposal of the dead, was accompanied by the destruction of property and by the burning or abandoning of the dwelling, in the typically Central Californian manner. The Mattole and Bear River peoples, whose territory adjoins Sinkyone on the north, definitely buried their dead, so cremation apparently reached its most northerly limit among the Sinkyone.

For four or five years, or until such time as the relatives had forgotten their grief, the name of the deceased was taboo. There was no ceremony marking the lifting of the taboo nor was the deceased's name ever given to a younger person.

Burning of the dead was considered necessary to send the dead person's soul to the afterworld. Otherwise it might return to this world and malevolently cause sickness, disasters, and even death to living members of the tribe. The shaman's spirit was believed to accompany the good man's soul on the journey to the afterworld. There were no death dances.

When death occurred in night, body kept until morning; otherwise, burned immediately. Corpse-handler washed, dressed body in best clothes, removed it to pyre. Relatives sat around pyre, wailing while corpse burned. Wood for pyre gathered before death. No defilement for wood gatherers. Pyre always built on same pattern: square redwood frame about twice as large as ordinary bed. Body extended on pyre face up, personal property around it; dry wood piled around frame, over corpse. Bows, arrows, clothes, baskets, etc. broken up, burned. Friends of good man picked out his charred bones from ashes, put them into carrying basket; secreted them in rocks; never told where, never again visited locality.

Mourning.—A ceremonial cutting of the hair (which was allowed to grow again after the first cutting) followed immediately upon death of a relative. The Sinkyone had no set mourning period, no mourning anniversary, and no

mourner's rights. Women were sometimes so violent in their demonstrations of grief that they inflicted bodily injury on themselves unless restrained by friends, although there was no deliberate scarification or other set method of showing sorrow. Wailing must take place before sundown and must be followed by a purificatory face washing. Only people who wished to inflict death on another cried after sundown.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Other than land, all property was personal. The land was owned by all members of the tribe in common. All individually made objects (men: bows, arrows, nets, spears, etc.; women: baskets, dresses, shell spoons, etc.) were the property of the maker and could not be disposed of by any other person. This sense of personal property rights extended to small children. A man or woman usually gave almost everything he possessed to his children before he died because personal property could not be inherited. All other personal property such as clothes, eating baskets, hunting implements, etc., was burned with him on his pyre.

DIVERSIONS

Children played the usual games of jumping rope, swinging, and running races. Little boys shot rings around the ends of cut logs until the center was reached, used a deer-hide sling for throwing rocks, made grass images at which they shot, and also shot at one another with balls of grass instead of arrows. Little girls made dolls of leaves and flowers over sticks, played with the acorn buzzer, and imitated their mothers' activities.

Adult men played shinny, broad-jumped in competition, and shot at targets for sport. Both sexes gambled in the little-sticks game, but only men played the grass game.

Sling of braided buckskin; long ends at each side of wide center; braided handles, one end knotted for holding after missile hurled.

Shinny ball and drivers of pepperwood knot and straight stick. Chose sides, set goal posts. Favorite adult game. Counted little-sticks game with counters; method of play unknown. No football. Jack said no salmon vertebrae ring-and-pin game except from Eel River Wiyot. Jenny reported use of fish vertebrae and pin in gambling games.

CHIEFTAINSHIP, TRADE, AND WAR

Chieftainship.—Chieftainship was inherited by the chief's oldest son if he was an able hunter and a wise and wealthy person. Otherwise the old men passed him by and chose a man who qualified. He was usually the war leader and sometimes was selected from the mightiest fighters. He made rules, settled disputes, and paid the debt of any individual who was unable to do so. With a shaman, he set the time for hunting and gathering migrations, the time and place for erection of the sweat house, and also presided over dances and instructed his people in correct behavior. His authority extended into every walk of life. For his services, and to aid him in amassing the wealth necessary to his office, the people gave him the best of everything—food, blankets, skins,

beads, etc. Obedience was based on respect. He had no means of enforcing his authority except by influencing loyal subjects to ostracize the disobedient member. This was a terrible punishment because it meant virtual destruction. The ostracized person could not live in the group, take part in activities or ceremonies, or marry any member of the tribe.

Trade.—The products of the surrounding tribes were so similar that active barter was not carried on to any great degree except with the Wiyot, from whom the Sinkyone obtained their supply of beads. Trade was generally incidental to visiting.

War.—War was usually internecine or defensive, but wars of reprisal for the killing of a member of the group or the abduction of a woman were entered into from time to time. An emissary was sent to the chief to make settlement for murder or damage. When an agreement was reached, the matter was dropped. When there was no settlement or an insufficient offer, the chief declared war.

The Sinkyone were numerically too few to carry on a successful offensive against the stronger tribes such as the Wailaki and Wiyot. The greatest number of outside skirmishes were with their western neighbors, the Mattole, but the Sinkyone were inclined to be friendly with them between times and always joined with them and the Bear River people against the Wiyot raids. There is no account of any trouble with their southern neighbors, the Kato and Yuki, with whom relations seem to have remained amicable. War activities apparently were not absorbingly interesting to any of the smaller Athabaskan groups. Their territory yielded an abundance of food, and they were comparatively safe from encroachment by the stronger tribes because they were surrounded by groups of about their own strength who were allied to them in language and culture and who banded together to repel the numerically stronger alien groups.

Prowess in war gave a certain decided social distinction but did not lead to chieftainship unless accompanied by other requirements.

When taking the offensive in war, the Sinkyone first held an incitement dance for five days and nights. Fighting began in the morning and continued one day only, or until the Sinkyone had killed as many warriors as had been killed by the enemy. Each side was permitted to search the field of battle and remove its dead without molestation.

The only weapons were bows and arrows. Armor for the best warriors was of elk hide doubled at the neck and raised high enough so that the wearer could shrug into the collar when the enemy shot at his head.

Trained warriors, so equipped, took the front rank and dodged missiles. They were flanked by other fighters who were naked or wore only loin cloths. The enemy always shot at the war leaders, either because they thought that the leaders' death would disrupt their followers and so bring victory, or because a tacit agreement between the contestants made this the stereotyped form of warfare. Undoubtedly they could have slaughtered many of the unprotected warriors unless some accepted rule had intervened. The common

warriors pushed against the enemy ranks until one side broke, then shot at them.

They took no prisoners of war and consequently had no slaves, but they took whole scalps, cut around just above the ears, to use at their dances. There was no form of cannibalism.

After the battle a victory dance was held around a central fire in the sweat house. Both men and women took part in the dance, which lasted one day and night, and all took turns holding the scalps. After the performance the scalps were washed with soaproot, dried, and kept in the house for other occasions, not exclusively for war or victory dances.

Jack Woodman.—Harris [Lassik] and Mad River [Nongatl] peoples were bad fighters. They killed Covelo [Wailaki] people and Bull Creek [Bear River, Sinkyone] people all the time. I do not know why—just for meanness, I think. We never had much trouble with them, they were too far away and we let them alone. Once one of them killed a woman who was gathering seeds on Elk ridge. Another man found her and called some hunters. They all searched and found three women belonging to the killer's tribe, so they killed them and evened the score. They never did catch the murderer, but one of the women they killed was his mother, so he stopped murdering. Sometimes when outside people found children at play too far away from camp they choked them to death just for meanness. They did not set fire to houses or anything like that, they just killed people on the sly. That is what makes war.

War was hard work, pushing against the enemy makes sweat run down good. The first war I took part in was below Meyers, about four miles down river. The whites had killed some of the Indians for their land and the Indians then killed some of the whites secretly. The second time I went to war was the fight which took place at the end of the bridge south of Dyerville, near South Fork station. I do not know what was the cause of that war, but we fought the Harris [Lassik] people. The third time was with the Harris people and the Wailaki near the mouth of South fork. The fourth war was on the flat at Bull creek. I cannot say what it was about, but I know that the Mattole and Bear River people joined with us against the whites. The fifth and last war in which I took part nearly cost me my life at the hands of the Mattole. That battle took place on Mattole river, and was caused when some of the Mattole men killed a Kaikoma [Sinkyone] woman and child while they were out seed gathering.

Once there was a big camp at Meyers because we were told that a war was coming soon. All my people gathered there. The enemies came up on the upper side of the river and the chiefs talked, but while they were talking all their men began to shoot bows and arrows and the fight began. All the women and children ran down the sandspit on the lower side of the river and jumped into the river and tried to get away, but there was a high bank across the river on the other side and they couldn't get out. Some of them drowned, but most of them the enemy shot down while they were in the water. A few escaped, but it was a big killing, a big war. I don't know what they fought about, but my mother told me about it and every time she told it she cried, because all her people were killed there.

Sally Bell (The massacre at Needle Rock).—My grandfather and all of my family—my mother, my father, and we—were around the house and not hurting anyone. Soon, about ten o'clock in the morning, some white men came. They killed my grandfather and my mother and my father. I saw them do it. I was a big girl at the time. Then they killed my baby sister and cut her heart out and threw it in the brush where I ran and hid. My little sister was a baby, just crawling around. I didn't know what to do. I was so scared that I guess I just hid there a long time with my little sister's heart in my hands. I felt so bad and I was so scared that I just couldn't do anything else. Then I ran into the woods and hid there for a long time. I lived there a long time with a few other people who had got away. We lived on berries and roots and we didn't dare build a fire because the white men might come back after us. So we ate anything we could get. We didn't have clothes after a while, and we had

to sleep under logs and in hollow trees because we didn't have anything to cover ourselves with, and it was cold then—in the spring. After a long time, maybe two, three months, I don't know just how long, but sometime in the summer, my brother found me and took me to some white folks who kept me until I was grown and married.

RELIGION

ANNUAL DANCES

There were two annual dances besides the first-acorn and -salmon rites previously described. One was the renewal of the world, the other the ancestor-impersonation dance, which was held to appease the spirits of the chief's and wealthy tribesmen's dead relatives. Both dances took place in June and July. Other dances, which might be held at any season, were the purification dance of the hunter, puberty dances, and war dances of incitement and victory already described, shamanistic curative dances, and those for the initiation of a new shaman (described under Shamanism). The shaman might also dance for rain, but it was more of a supplicatory dance to gain favor of the spirits than a directly efficacious magical performance. It was held in the sweat house and lasted only one night.

Nagaicho, the creator, appeared to the shaman and instructed him in respect to the time and place of the world-renewal dance. He in turn notified the chief, who informed the people. The ancestor-impersonation ceremony was held soon after the shaman, through supernatural sight, had seen spirits of the dead hovering around the camp. He notified the chief, and together they set the time for the dance of appeasement.

Both ceremonies were held in brush enclosures outside the village and both followed a stereotyped form. There was no localized dance place nor any indication of clowning in any of the ceremonies.

At world-renewal dance families moved to camp ground outside enclosure. Men, women, children gathered food, prepared it during week before dance began. People visited first day. Shaman came 9 A.M. second day. Men built fire in center of enclosure; selected singers sat at one side; onlookers in circle far back from fire. Shaman (in full regalia at night) first said formula prayer; warmed pepperwood leaves until they smoked, waved them in air toward 4 directions and zenith; this was offering to creator, spirits. Rubbed angelica on forehead, smoked some in tubular pipe; passed pipe to circle of onlookers; some took puff, some did not; passed it along. Shaman then told story: "Nagaicho made this world and patted it down so everything would stay in place. But bad men were not satisfied and tore it down, tore up the ocean banks, tore up the trees, tore down the mountains. Since that time we have had to sing and dance every year to make it right again." Shaman then began to sing in low voice accompanied by singers, split sticks, chicken-hawk bone whistle, stamped drum. Then sang louder; began to dance around fire; circled fire 5 times. Then shouted admonitions to people. Danced every night for 3, 4 hours; fifth night ended ceremony. Shaman took purificatory swim; ate prepared feast; slept. Everyone went home on the sixth day.

In ancestor impersonation, shaman stood still, told everyone to be quiet until all spirits came. Shaman only one who could see spirits; told people when all spirits had arrived; set out offerings of acorn mush and then sang, danced. Wore one raven feather in hair, held one in hand while dancing. Danced 5 nights, then told people spirits all gone back to sky-world. Ceremony closed with formula prayer. Shaman swam, ate. People feasted, ate spirit offerings. Sixth day disbanded. Man whose ancestors "represented" by shaman paid large sum for ceremony, furnished all food used as offerings to spirits.

SHAMANISM

Shamanistic power was gained by persons in sleep, in dreams, and in lonely places. The ability to become a shaman was not inherited by the novice. He must show special indications of having gained supernatural power and must obey the teaching of an older shaman. Women could become shamans only after menopause.

A shaman had in him, besides his personal soul attached to his body, a spirit given to him by the creator at the time that he became a shaman. This spirit could leave his body at will without his losing consciousness and without any other extraordinary manifestation. It could be sent out from his body at performances to search for lost souls or to communicate with the spirit world for counsel or guidance. It accompanied and guided the souls of good people to the afterworld.

A shaman's duties were tutelary, magical, and curative. He divined and prophesied for the benefit of the tribe; performed dances to prevent sickness; divined culprits in their misdoings through his contact with the spirit world; set the time of the annual dances and was master of ceremonies during their performance. He ordered fasts to be kept at puberty, after childbirth, and by the handlers of the dead. One important duty was to cure sickness when its unknown cause was presumed to be the breaking of some taboo or the injection of an intrusive object into the body by a malevolent individual. A curing ceremony was repeated for five nights, pains being extracted by sucking. The best sucking doctors were paid larger amounts than less successful ones. Five strings of beads, a canoe, or a rabbitskin blanket was high pay for a cure. The creator taught the shaman his songs. "Nagaicho gave me a song that time. It could be used any time I felt like singing it. It was good for luck, to bring health, make me rich, and give me power. I didn't have to learn that song. I knew it when I woke up and I have used it ever since." Male shamans taught boys the songs, dances, taboos of hunting, fishing, war, gambling luck, moral precepts, and instructed novices in prayers, songs, formulae, and procedures of curative dances.

In curative dance, pains extracted from body by sucking out intrusive materials. Dance in sweat house; men, women attended; shaman's helpers led singing. Performance lasted 5 nights. Shaman the only dancer; blackened face from corners of mouth to ears; dressed in regalia if patient rich, otherwise wore ordinary dress; held 2 raven feathers in right hand; sang curative songs; smoked angelica in tubular pipe; passed pipe to old men. Rubbed angelica on forehead, head, hands of patient. Brushed with feathers while dancing around fire, bending toward fire, holding feathers aloft as if supplicating spirits; then sucked pain area. Spat blood into special basket; said prayer; examined contents of basket. "Saw" form of pain. Sometimes showed pain: sharp piece of blue abalone shell 2-3 in. long, stick, stone, piece of flint, etc. Extracted one pain each night, told patient, "Now you are getting better." When patient too far gone, shaman spilled water on ground, turned basket upside down, said, "I cannot save."

DREAMS

Dreams were an integral part of the life of the people. They were interpreted according to set standards when they conformed, or by the shaman when they did not conform. Dreams of tan oak, pepperwood, white or black oak were a

sign of good luck. Dreams of a dead person might mean that the spirit of that person had visited the dreamer, or be an indication of disaster to the recipient of the visit.

In dreams or unconsciousness a man's soul was supposed temporarily to have left his body. He believed that when he dreamed of distant places his soul had traveled there; when he dreamed of dead relatives or friends, either their spirits had returned to visit him or his soul had traveled to their abode.

The creator appeared to people in their dreams, telling them how to gain good luck and health, also how to become a shaman.

SOULS AND SPIRITS

Souls inhabited all rocks, trees, and animals. They went to the afterworld at death. In his heart every man had a soul which left his body in dreams, unconsciousness, and at death. All things animate and inanimate had souls; all animals and birds had at one time been people who were transformed because they disobeyed the taboos and regulations laid down by the creator. Souls appeared like shadows of their owners but fresher and younger looking. While the wandering soul was absent from the body, it might be intercepted by a malevolent spirit or become lost and unable to find its way back. Lost souls died unless the shaman could return them to the body in a short time. All souls went to the same place after death. They recognized each other, spoke their own language, and continued life in earthly fashion. Food was more plentiful in the afterworld, and sickness and death were eliminated. The shaman's spirit accompanied and guided the souls of good people to the afterworld.

Souls and spirits were different in appearance. "I can always tell if it is a spirit of a dead person or the soul of some living person. Souls look like shadows of the person, only fresher, younger looking." Spirits of the dead appeared as men in their living earthly form; they were the same size, shape, and consistency. They were able to communicate with the living, particularly with shamans or men with shamanistic proclivities. Spirits of evil persons might willfully linger around the camp and were malevolent, causing sickness or disaster to various human enterprises. These spirits were difficult to banish but could eventually be sent to the afterworld through shamanistic performances.

Jack Woodman.—Nagaicho's spirit met me when I was dancing and singing for a cure dance. Nagaicho's spirit looked like a man, natural, and dressed like a rich man. He came singing and took me with him into the sky. He talked to me and showed me the whole world and how everything worked and what everything meant, and then he brought me back again.

At another time he came to me. You must not tell your husband, mother, sister, brother, or anyone else what I'm going to tell you now. Just keep it to yourself. You know Nagaicho passed through Briceland going from north to south; he came over Elk ridge and he saw where white men had peeled tanbark. He said to me, "It looks just like my people lying around, lying around with all their skin cut off." He looked, he looked, he looked once more and he hung his head. He was sad, sad, and he would not look again, he felt so grieved. Tanbark has big power and it all belongs to Nagaicho. He saw men breaking rocks and plowing up grass. He saw all things leaving and going back to where they came from. He felt worst about the tanbark. Then Nagaicho told me that he wanted to make another freshet from the ocean—make everybody die so the world would come back as it used to be. But

I said to him, "No, no, I do not want that." I gave him back words, told him not to do that, to leave people alone, they were having a good time, and it couldn't be helped now that they were here. I said, "Don't do that," until Nagaicho said no more about it. You know that this is the third time he wanted to make a freshet because the people are so bad.

MYTHOLOGY

The highest divinity was Nagaicho, "the great traveler." He created the world and established its order and condition. He made man, taught him all the arts, and gave him everything for his welfare. He created birds and animals and everything on earth. Nagaicho was never depicted as tricky or erotic like the Hupa and Yurok divinities. His name was so sacred that few people ventured to pronounce it aloud. He was usually spoken of as "that man," or by other evasive titles. He punished wickedness by flood, saving a brother and sister to repeople the earth.

There was a Sun father and Moon mother of Cloud-woman and her younger brother, Morning Star. This was the only reference made to celestial gods.

Myths of Coyote as trickster, benefactor, and dupe were probably as numerous as in other parts of California. They have the dualistic motif to account for much that is wrong in the scheme of man's welfare.

Raven and eagle were held in high regard as transformed humans who gave superior supernatural power. Raven's superiority is clearly of Northwestern provenience.

Other animal tales served to illustrate the traits characteristic of the species.

Localized speech was accounted for by the belief that the creator gave different words in different places.

Thunder was thought to be the reverberation of the footsteps of the creator or the shamans' spirits as they passed from one part of the sky-world to another.

Earthquakes were a warning to the people that they were not observing the taboos of the creator.

THE FLOOD

(JACK WOODMAN)

The world [ne'] is flat. There was a flood because of man's wickedness. One man, Nagaicho, flattened the world when he made it over. He had tall timber and jumped on top of it until the water went down. He studied what to do then. He went to the ocean and worked and patched up the banks and opened the rivers quickly. Then he planted plants and bushes. He made everything easy for man. Man is the one who makes it hard for himself because he does so much wrong.

When Nagaicho flattened the world and fixed it up, there was one man and he had a sister, and they were the only two saved from the flood. They had a big round basket and landed in it on the Buttes [sána'nsūn] where there is a small flat place in the rocks. They didn't know what to do. After the flat dried, Nagaicho built the world over, but the man and his sister were alone on earth. The man talked to Nagaicho and he told them to live as man and wife.

COYOTE CUT HIS HAIR

(JACK WOODMAN)

Coyote is mischievous. One time a man lost his wife and he cut his hair short all around. Coyote came to see him and asked him: "How did you cut your hair so smooth?" The man

told him to get a round basket, and go out in the woods and get pitch and bring it home and put it over his head. Coyote got the pitch and rubbed it into his hair and then the man told him to set fire to it, so he did. Coyote ran and ran and then fell down. It burned his face and eyes and he didn't have any hair on his head. The man said: "Next time you had better not ask me questions."

COYOTE MADE AN EEL HOOK

(JACK WOODMAN)

Another time the same man [as in the preceding story] made an eel hook, made it pretty. Coyote came in and looked at it. He asked: "How do you make the hook so well? I'd like to know." The man said: "Go and get flint and sharpen it and cut the front of your leg from the ankle close to your knee, and make a hook out of that bone." Coyote did that. He took a flint and hit himself as the man told him and broke his leg. He squealed and the blood poured out. The man said: "Now maybe you will get some sense." Coyote lay there and after a while the leg got well. I don't know how Coyote healed himself.

PANTHER AND DOG

(SALLY BELL)

Panther and dog cannot get along because there was some kind of bone they stole from someone. I don't know what the bone was.

BEGINNING OF FIRE

(JACK WOODMAN)

A man dreamed and saw a long way off. He dreamed of fire, and it started to burn. He said: "Look out, fire is going to start; don't you believe me?" Then fire did start. No one could get away from it. Coyote said that he was going to run to water. But the water was dried out everywhere and Coyote could not find any. Finally he found water. He was going to jump in and drink. He stuck his head and face in, but the water dried up. Everywhere it was the same. He was about to die. He ran toward the ocean and got to a high bank at Shelter Cove. He got on a high bank. He was happy then. He rose up and was going to jump in. Then the water dried out. By and by he licked wet mud and that saved him. Maybe next time he will believe people when they tell him.

COYOTE'S PUNISHMENT

(JACK WOODMAN)

One time "that man" dreamed about the sun. He told the people to believe him, but he saw that they did not believe him, so he told them that he would bring the sun down into the world and the sun would be against the people. Coyote said: "No." The man said: "I will show you." So he brought the sun down and it shone all night. Coyote said: "You cannot scare me with that." The man talked to the sun and the sun went around Coyote and kept shining on him all the time. Coyote called out: "My cousin, take the sun from me." But the man tried to make the sun lie on Coyote. The sun would not lie on Coyote, but it made him very sick by shining on him all the time.

ORIGIN OF BLINDNESS

(JACK WOODMAN)

Coyote was very rough about some things, but he was very good about some things also. Once that same man said that when a person gets blind we will have him fixed over and make him well. Coyote said that he did not believe in that way of doing things. He said that when a person was blind he should always stay blind. Just because Coyote did not believe in that, people's eyes were not made well by that man.

THE FISH DAM

(JACK WOODMAN)

Coyote had a wife and many children. He made a dam on the river and placed a net in it to catch fish. He caught many fish, but he did not bring any home. He sat there and ate them. Those he could not eat, he put away. Then he went home. His wife told the children: "He looks swelled up. He doesn't look hungry." He would not eat acorn soup. He would not eat anything. Next day his wife went to the dam and found the fish. The children found fish also. She did not tell Coyote she had found the fish, but she said to him: "Tomorrow night at sundown, go to your dam and catch fish and bring them home." That night he caught many fish, and at daybreak she took the children and went away because he did not bring any fish home to them. She took a deerskin blanket and put rocks in it and put it in her place where she slept and covered it up. Coyote came home with fish and thought the rocks were the woman. He told her to get up, that he was hungry. He hit the rocks with his elbow and broke his arm. Then he lay down and was sick. He yelled for someone to come and told people to come in and have the fish. They told him he had better live on them himself. The woman left for good. He searched for her but never found her.

COYOTE STOLE THE SUN

(SALLY BELL)

In old times everything was almost dark. There was no sun and no moon. People said: "We are going to have black dark soon." Coyote said: "What for? I don't want darkness all the time." So he started out and he found the sun and moon. He got the sun down and threw it on the ground. Then it blazed up into daylight. That is one good thing Coyote did for the people.

COYOTE STOLE THE SUN

(JACK WOODMAN)

Coyote went to where the sun rises and followed it. Northern people go up the coast to hunt the sun, but Coyote went to the east. He is smart. He did everything. He stole the sun, but the people overtook him, so he threw it in a gulch. Then he made an old basket and dug Indian potatoes. He dug them so fast that he covered the sun with them. A man came looking for the sun. Coyote turned himself into a little boy when he saw the man. That man asked him if he had seen a man packing the sun. Coyote said no, that he had not seen a man but he had seen a streak pass him. They went on. Coyote took the sun and packed it a long way round. He didn't follow those people. When he came to some rocks, packing the old basket, that man overtook him. He knew that Coyote had the sun. The people were going to kill him, but he said: "Put me upon that rock to kill me and let me stand there. Spread a deerskin for a blanket so that I can fall on it." They did that and then he was ready. He threw the pack with the sun in it and hit a big rock with the sun. It burst all open and sunlight came. Coyote whooped and shouted and said: "You can kill me all you want to now, but I'm going to have one-half dark and one-half sunlight." Then he jumped on the other rock and escaped. The people tried to pick up the sun but they could not.

MINK AND CLOUD-WOMAN

(SALLY BELL)

In winter Mink had plenty of everything—salmon, bear, deer. Mink's mother was old. Mink and his wife wanted to take their baby in a basket and cross the river, but she did not want them to go and cried about it. But Mink and his wife went. A big king-salmon came out of a hole in the riffles and swallowed them. The baby dropped out of the basket on shore, where the grandmother found him and took him home. She looked for her son and daughter-in-law but she knew that they were dead. She raised the little grandson. The boy grew fast. He was

told never to run close to the river. The grandmother made a little bow and arrow for the boy for a plaything. The boy saw quail and told his grandmother. He asked her what they were. She told him what they were and that they were good eating, but she did not think that he could kill them. When he grew larger, he went to the river and saw a salmon which had quantities of hair in its mouth. He went back and told his grandmother. She cried and cried. She took hold of him and told him to keep away from there, because that was where his mother and father were killed.

The boy asked his grandmother what all kinds of animals were and where they came from. She told him everything. She made bows and arrows so that he could kill deer, and showed him how to shoot. He killed all kinds of birds, bear, deer, and other animals. He went everywhere and brought back the meat for his grandmother. She kept telling him to keep away from the river and from fish, but after a while she made a boat for him because he wanted to know how to catch fish. Then she made a dam of poles and sticks and showed him how to spear them. The boy tried it by himself. Then he went in the river and saw the fish with hair in their mouths and killed them with a club. He got even with them for killing his father and mother. Then he caught other fish and took them home to his grandmother and she ate them. There was plenty to eat for his grandmother all the time.

One day the grandmother made a long arrow without a point. She made a bow for shooting sticks at the clouds. Clouds are where the sun comes from. Cloud was a woman. Cloud-woman dreamed of a good-looking man, Mink. She made nice baskets and had nice clothes and had plenty of everything. She put pinole in the baskets, made acorn soup and everything, and packed them. Then she tried to get down from the sky to where Mink lived. She tried to climb down a high knoll without his seeing her. After a while, she started singing her dream about him. She was dressed so beautifully that she showed light. One evening the boy, Mink, went out to shoot at a mark. Cloud-woman kept coming toward land that she had seen in her dream, singing all the time. Mink dreamed that he wanted to see her. She could not eat anything, just drank water. She came to the dreamed-of ground and looked down and saw Mink. She stood a long time, then came down to where he was shooting at a target. Mink looked up and saw her and started to pick up his arrow. Before he could pick it up, she picked it up and broke it. She broke two arrows for him. He did not say anything or look up. He had nothing to do with her, so she went on past the house. He looked after her and wanted to know if it was man or woman. She kept on going. Mink went to the house, and his grandmother wanted to know why he came so early. He did not answer. He fixed his hair, got his arrows, and told her he was going to take a walk. He tracked Cloud-woman but could not overtake her until she came to the coast. Every where she stopped, she was told by the air that Mink was following. Whenever she drank water she pinched up angelica and threw it in the water. She left food for him. He tried to catch her but he could not. She was going back home on the other side of the ocean, riding on the sunset, singing all the time. Twice she camped. He camped, too, but he did not come up with her. Where she camped she put food in a basket for him. He ate and saw her in the distance but he never came up with her. She said: "That is why you cannot overtake me. You wouldn't talk to me, so I'm going home." She was on the coast and stopped. She went on the beach and took off all her clothes. She spat down on the dress and covered it so he couldn't see it. He sat down in the spittle. She came back for her basket, singing all the time. She reproached him for not talking to her. He said: "You walked so fast and are such a good walker that we should run after elk and see who runs faster." Cloud-woman forgave him and was good to him. She pulled a boat out for him to take him to her home on the other side of the ocean. She warned him that the people there always killed men she brought home. She put angelica on him, told him to lie flat in the bottom and then covered him over. She went on the ocean and told him not to move when something came out of the water to bite them. She then told him that her father was called Sun and her mother Moon. She told him that nothing could kill him because of her, and she taught him what to do to be safe. She said that when she came to the middle, sticky part of the ocean that he must do nothing, just stay quiet, so he did that and she reached home. She covered him and told him to keep still.

Then she went into the house and they gave her whale meat to eat. She fed the fat to Mink. Sun began to say that he smelled Mink, and Cloud-woman picked up fire and hit him in the mouth and talked to him. Old woman [Moon] tried to hit Mink with the mole rock which hung from her ear, but she couldn't hit him. Night came and Cloud-woman put him to bed. She told him that her people always killed her men, so they would watch. Old woman, Sun's wife, got up and tried to kill him with a paddle. She tracked him and tried to kill him, but finally gave up. Cloud-woman whipped her mother and father and her little brother, Morning Star, for trying to kill Mink. The next morning Cloud-woman's father tried to kill him when he sent him to get rocks for acorn pounding, but he couldn't kill him. Then he tried to kill him by sending Mink to get wood and making big stumps fall on him, but Mink escaped. Cloud-woman's father began to be afraid. Then he had Mink go and get a big dog that had always killed other men. Mink got the dog, and then Cloud-woman's father was scared. But he wanted Mink to catch salmon, so Cloud-woman told him just how to fish. The fish came up into the brush house, and she told him when the bad fish were coming and when the good fish were coming. He caught the bad fish and killed them, and then his father-in-law was afraid of him. He was sent then to the bear country, but he didn't get killed. Sun then put Mink in a field and drove all kinds of animals toward him to kill him, but they couldn't kill him. They tried with all things to kill him, even with ball games, but they gave it up. He always won.

Then Mink showed off by diving into the ocean and dragging up many salmon with a rope.

Finally Mink felt sorry for his grandmother and wanted to go home and see her. Cloud-woman said that she would take him home, and would take their little son with them. She fixed everything ready to go. Her parents did not want the two to go, but they went anyway. Cloud-woman told Mink that he must not look back at her or her son, that she would follow him. When they had gone a long way, he looked back at his son and all he saw was little black clouds on the other side of the ocean. Then he looked back at his wife and all he saw was big white clouds on the other side of the ocean. He did not find his grandmother. She was dead. He didn't know what to do. He cried and thought he wanted to die. He picked up his grandmother and her things and burned everything. Then he went to the river and went in the water and caught two suckers. He cooked and ate them, but he vomited them. Then he went in the river and caught one sucker and ate it raw and it agreed with him. He did not vomit that. Since then he has always eaten fish raw and never eaten on land.

MISCELLANEOUS MYTH INCIDENTS

Raven is a big bird. Sometimes a man or woman dreams of raven. He starts singing for nearly half a year. Then the doctor says it is about time to make a sweat house for that man. Then the man gets to be a big doctor and gives a big feast for the raven and they eat lots of food.

Crane wanted to catch fish, so he made a basket and a net and he can get fish any time he wants. He used to be a person.

Eagle has nearly as big a power as raven. One time she dreamed of a man called Fisher who lived in the east somewhere. Then she started to go to that man, but he would not marry her. He was a very rich man. Then she said: "All right, you think you are prettier than I am, but I guess I can live." Then she came back to her own place. She lived there always after that, and never married.

Crow caws and flies around. He knows, he talks, and makes a big noise. He says: "Look out. There's going to be a war." People don't believe that, or don't understand him, but it always comes out true.

PLATE

EXPLANATION OF PLATE

a. Upper Mattole river in Sinkyone territory. *b.* Old native trail from Briceland over the mountains to Mattole territory. *c.* Sinkyone territory as seen from the trail over the mountains. *d.* Jack Woodman in his garden. (Last fullblood Sinkyone man; died, September, 1929.)



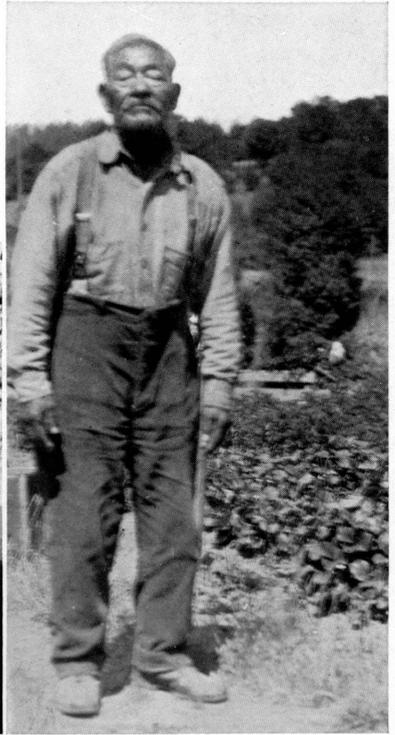
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