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**YUOK GEOGRAPHY**

**BY**  
**T. T. WATERMAN**

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## INTRODUCTION

The information contained in this paper is drawn from a considerable mass of material recorded by Dr. A. L. Kroeber and myself at different times among the Yurok Indians along the Klamath river and in the adjacent region in northwestern California. The lists of houses and place names and the sketch maps illustrating the villages were in large part worked out by myself during the summer of 1909. Dr. Kroeber's acquaintance with the region and its people began a number of years earlier and is much more intimate than my own. The present paper represents a pooling of interests, and includes the geographical information assembled by both of us in the course of independent work with the tribe. Some of it, perhaps the greater part of it, was obtained incidentally in connection with investigations along other lines. The maps and diagrams accompanying the text were drawn from my original sketches by my wife.

The principal feature treated in this paper is the distribution of primitive place names. Several thousands of such names are listed, representing probably a fourth, if not a third, of the total number known to the Yurok.

The matter of phonetic symbols for writing these Yurok words confronts us at the outset.

## ORTHOGRAPHY

The phonology of Yurok offers some very interesting features. The language is not phonetically harsh, and does not seem difficult, yet the quality of the sounds is difficult to analyze accurately. There is the additional practical difficulty that many Yurok place names are now used by the whites and appear on the ordinary maps of the region in anglicized form. When such names are spelled phonetically their identity, for the casual observer, is lost. I have adopted a system of representing the sounds which is as strictly phonetic as my knowledge makes possible. The difficulty just mentioned has been obviated by showing on the maps both the commonplace and the phonetic spelling of those Yurok names which are recognized by usage.

Pronunciation of the names as here written also requires some explanation. There are sounds in Yurok which differ so slightly from

the corresponding sounds of English as to cause some confusion even to the would-be phonetician. Such sounds are, for instance, the Yurok *r* and *s*. The Yurok employ *r* both as a vowel and as a consonant. The sound has about the quality of the last two letters of English "her," but occurs in unexpected combinations. For example, the name *r'nr*, Blue creek (rectangle C-46), or *tsr'ktsryr* (rectangle E-1, a fishing place above *noxtskum*). This "vocalic *r*" is a favorite sound with the Yurok, who interpolate it in many English words according to some esthetic standard of their own. Thus English "apples" becomes "rplrs." In Yurok words the substitution of this vocalic *r* for other vowels sometimes seems to be connected with slight modifications of meaning. Thus *me'kwel* means a pile, but *mr'kwrl*, a knoll. At the end of a word this sound takes on the character of a surd or partly surd *r*. The Yurok *s* also is hard for the Caucasian to imitate. These Indians have in their own language only one sibilant, in place of the four which exist in English (*s*, *sh*, *z*, and the *zh* sound which is found in *azure*). The Yurok sibilant is of a type called by various writers cerebral, cacuminal, or lingual. It differs from the English *s*, among other things, in that the tip of the tongue is turned up, and that the tip approaches the palate (or more accurately, the alveolar process) a good deal farther toward the rear of the mouth cavity than is the case with the English *s* or *sh*. I think the Yurok sound is essentially an *s*, but the turning up of the tip of the tongue and the general retraction give it something the quality of the English *sh*. There is also a sort of whistle or "edge" to the sound which is absent in English. To the ear the sound has the effect sometimes of *s* and then, again, of *sh*. The Yurok, in turn, are completely baffled by our English sibilants. For "face" those Yurok who speak English say something resembling "feysh," and for wash they often say "wass." Our sonant sibilants they disregard, and their English plurals always end in a surd sound. For "eels" the Yurok says "eelse" or "eelsh."

In the Yurok language there are no labio-dental sounds, that is, there is nothing like *f* or *v*. They substitute for these latter sounds *p* and *b* in speaking English. This leads to difficulties with many English words. One estimable old lady has two dogs, which she christened respectively Fanny and Fido. One name she pronounces "Pannie" and the other "Pie-dough." I have often wondered why she chose those particular names. Very likely she thinks she pronounces them correctly.

A few sounds exist which have no counterparts in English. In addition to the surd *r* already referred to, I might mention surd *m*, surd *n*, and surd *l*. I will not attempt to describe these sounds, which are of course very common in Indian languages, except to say that they resemble in tongue position the corresponding sounds of English, but are made with the breath alone, or with very little help from the voice. There are two continuant or fricative sounds, represented by *x* and *g*, made with the tongue almost in position for English *g* as in good, but not quite touching the palate. One of these continuant sounds is surd, the other sonant. "Cracked," or exploded consonants (fortis consonants) resembling in tongue position the English consonants *p*, *t*, and *k*, seem to me to occur. A sound of frequent occurrence in English, though we take little account of it, is what is called the glottal stop. This appears when we try to speak two English vowels separately. This is very common in Yurok. I have also heard at times a *k* which is made much farther back in the mouth than is any English *k*. It seems to be a weak velar or postpalatal surd stop, whose position I cannot define at all closely. I have represented it by *q*. In certain names both Dr. Kroeber and myself write this sound quite persistently.

The vowels of Yurok have always seemed to me to be very much like the vowels of English. The most conspicuous differences are that a sound like *u* in "but" does not occur, and the sound of *a* as in "fat" is not so flat as in English. Dr. Kroeber feels that all vowels in Yurok are "open," that is, that such sounds as the *e* in *fête* or the *i* in *machine* do not occur at all. However, I seem to hear the close vowels, and so I have written them. The same remark applies to consonants; I have written each word as it sounded to me. I am suspicious especially of the velar *k*, the continuant *g*, and the palatal fricative *x*, all of which may be accidental in certain words, and not organic sounds.

In addition to the regular vowels, whispered vowels sometimes occur. The commonest of these is a high-back-rounded vowel (to use Sweet's term<sup>1</sup>), which I have represented with a superior *w*. It might be adequately represented by a superior *u*. Whispered *e* and *i* also occur.

Doubling of vowels and consonants is frequent, and this I have indicated by a colon following the sound. Occasionally there is a

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<sup>1</sup> 1908. For this and all other references to literature see the bibliography at the end of the paper.

curious pause in a word, as mentioned by Dr. Kroeber.<sup>2</sup> This I have indicated by a plus sign. I think it represents an element dropped out in composition, but I am unable to explain it in detail.

The Yurok sounds may be represented in tabular form as follows:

CONSONANTS												
	STOP		FRICATIVE		AFFRICA-		NASAL		ROLLED		LATERAL	
	SURD	FORTIS	SURD	SONANT	TIVE	SURD	SONANT	SURD	SONANT	SURD	SONANT	
Labial	p	p'					M	m				
Alveolar	t	t'	s		ts	N	n	R	r	L	l	
Palatal	k	k'	x	g								
Velar	q											
	Aspirations h		Semivowels w, y			Glottal stop'		Pause +				
VOWELS												
	i	ī							u	ū		
	e	ē						o	ō			
					r, R							
				ä			a					
	Whispered vowels				i, e, w							

In giving lists of place names, as in the following pages, some alphabetic order is necessary. For various reasons I have abandoned the English alphabetic order and substituted the following:

i, e, ä, a, r, o, u, w, y, h, (x), p, m, t, s, ts, n, l (L), k (q), g.

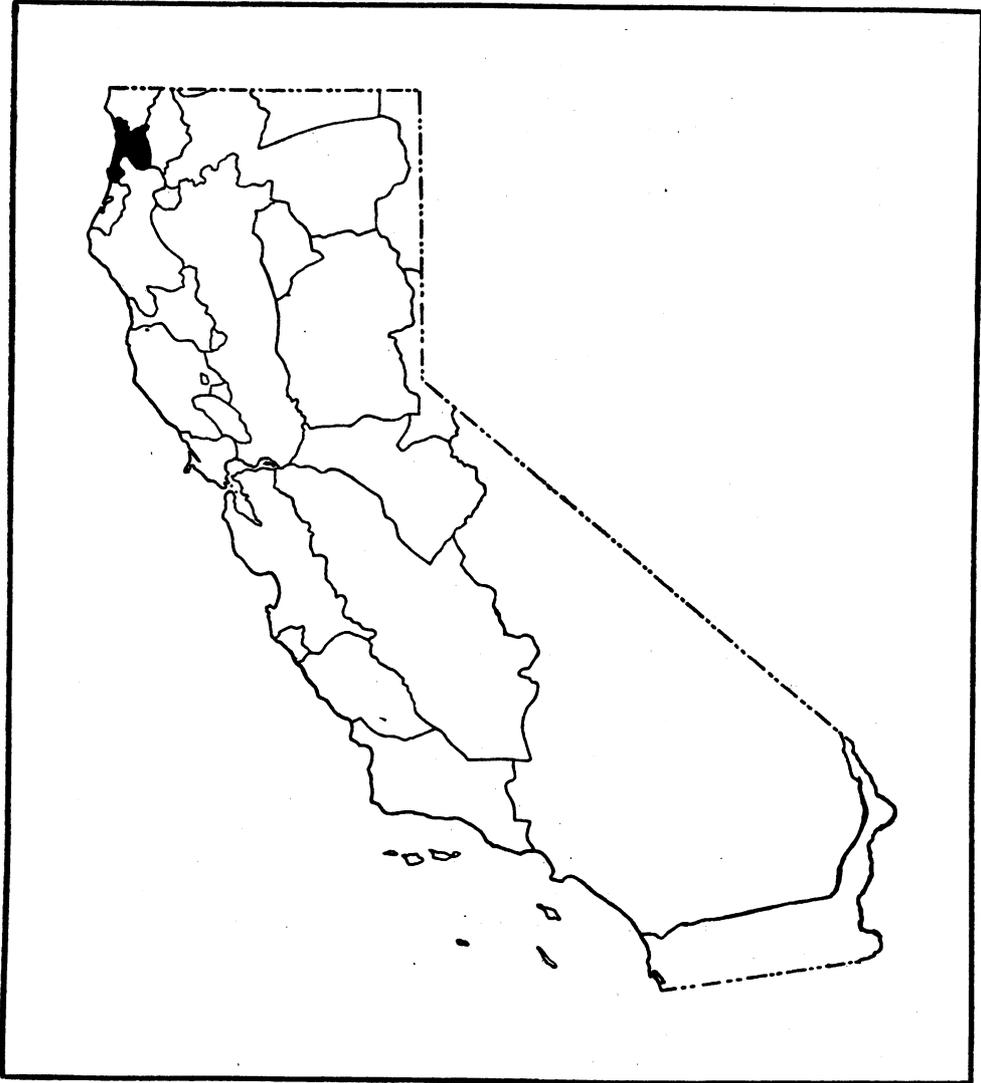
Since capital letters have been used as special symbols for voiceless sounds, Indian proper names are not capitalized as English usage would require. Those native names which have been Anglicized by usage are of course regularly capitalized.

## LOCATION OF THE YUROK

The Yurok inhabit a rather limited area in northwestern California, lying for the most part in Humboldt county. Compared to the size of the state it is a very limited area indeed (map 1). They occupy the lower thirty-six miles of the Klamath river, from a short distance above the point where the Trinity enters it, to the sea, and a somewhat longer stretch of seacoast, reaching northward to Wilson creek, Del Norte county, and southward to Trinidad bay, in Humboldt county, a distance of forty-two miles. The map shows this area as having a

<sup>2</sup> 1911.

more or less polygonal outline. However, the Yurok actually occupied only the banks of the river and the ocean beach. The places claimed by various Yurok families (the privately owned real estate, so to speak) are all found close to the river or the sea. The hills lying back from the water they utilized for gathering grass seed, acorns, and for the pursuit of game; but private holdings become very scat-



Map 1. California, showing the location of Yurok territory.

tered in going back a few miles, and merge into open country where no one exercises any claims of proprietorship.

Within this small stock two distinct dialectic divisions exist, which may be designated according to their habitat as a "river" people and a "coast" people. The river division is in every way the more important of the two. The coast towns were not so large nor so numerous as those along the river, and the coast population probably numbered considerably less than half of the river population. The total number of houses in the coast towns (excluding re'kwoi, which lies at the mouth of the river) is, according to my information, about one-third the number found in the river towns (see p. 206). There was probably less traffic up and down the coast than along the stream, and less visiting back and forth. This more or less marked isolation is associated with the appearance of dialectic variations among the coast towns.

#### MODE OF LIFE

In looking for something which will serve to characterize Yurok life, dependence upon water is at once suggested. They had no great achievements in the way of navigation, but, on the other hand, were very persistent about it in a small way. They preferred canoeing to other forms of travel, and their principal highway was the river. Their country is intersected with a large number of trails, many of them very ancient; but these trails were not nearly so important in commerce and social intercourse as the river. For example, the Yurok were much better acquainted, and were much more intimate in every way, with the Karok, and the Hupa, who lived above them on the river, than they were with the Tolowa, who lived twenty miles up the coast.

Their canoe is a heavy dugout, capable of carrying a cargo of several thousand pounds. Though of somewhat clumsy appearance, it is really very well designed and is quite light to handle. It is rather easily upset, and the Yurok went out to sea only with some misgivings. They paddled all along the cliffs near the harbors, and around all the nearer sea rocks, to gather mussels and to hunt sea-lions. In calm weather they frequently voyaged out to Redding rock, which lies six miles offshore. This really was a bold feat, for the rock offered no shelter, and if a squall came up they had to paddle for shore at the risk of being swamped. One young fellow who went with a party to

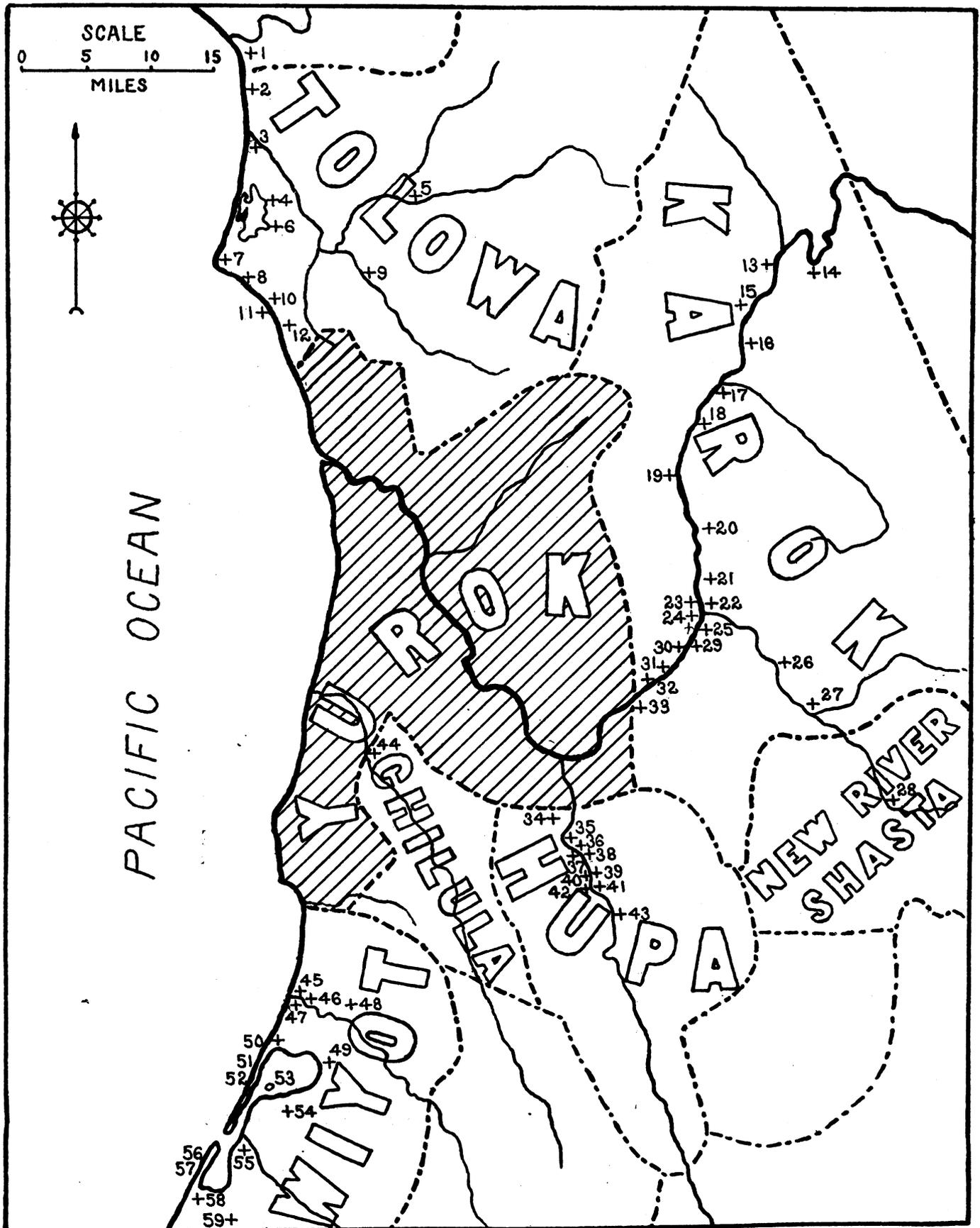
hunt sea-lions once climbed to the top of the rock, just to say he had done it. A storm came up and his companions could not wait for him to descend, so pushed off and left him. He was never heard of afterward. Sometimes, when the weather was favorable, the Yurok canoe-man boldly made the voyage from port to port on the open sea.

The river, however, was their highway in all seasons, and, moreover, was the principal source of food. Their two great staples were salmon and acorns, and I think of the two the salmon was the more important. The word for salmon is *nepū'*, which means literally "that which is eaten." The supply of salmon was obtained during the annual run. The deep sea fish, such as halibut and rock cod, they seemed to know nothing about, I presume because their canoes were not sufficiently seaworthy to enable them to visit the banks. Angling with hooks they understood, but the only ocean fish which they took in this way were surf fish and smelt, which they caught from the beach with throw-lines. To summarize, the Yurok may be described as a water-faring folk who are prevented by caution and poor equipment from being actually sea-faring.

Interesting religious ideas have become associated with all the means of travel. Trails, for example, are "like people," that is, they are sentient, and must be treated with urbanity. If you step out of a trail and in again, and fail to preserve decorum, the trail becomes resentful. Along each important trail there are "resting-places." Few of these show on my maps, because I did not travel the trails myself, but hundreds of such places are to be found. People when traveling kept on in a business-like way until they came to these resting-places. There they took off their packs and had a good breathing spell. If they did differently they were likely to have bad luck. The resting-places are invariably very pleasant spots. In this custom the Indians show the knowledge of experts. Five minutes' rest with the pack off in the shade is, of course, worth more in preventing fatigue than an hour of loitering along a trail. Here and there in the Yurok country are large trees into which parties of travelers shot arrows, as an offering for good luck on the trail. I never heard of any trick for shortening the trail such as some tribes have, but, on the other hand, medicine formulas are said to exist for lightening the traveler's burden, thus having the same effect. One Indian, now deceased, is said to have known songs which he sang before starting on a day's journey. After that, load and all, he felt "light," and could walk far without fatigue.

The boat came in for a large share of religious regard. If a person beached his boat carelessly, or bumped it against the rocks, he would not live long. Canoes were spoken to, especially in dangerous places, and urged to hold up and do their best. After a boat had been appealed to in this way and roused up, it fairly leaped ("look like he jump," the Indians say). When out on the ocean frequent use was made of songs and formulas to keep from capsizing. Such songs had the effect of keeping the water smooth. The old Indian spoken of above had ten songs, along with a myth story of a family of ten breakers, all brothers. On one occasion this old man had to convey a dead body from o'men, north of the river-mouth, to one of the river towns. The Yurok are afraid both of corpses and of the ocean, but, trusting in his songs, this old man boldly put to sea with the body and conveyed it safely into the mouth of the river. This saved a weary journey with a hundred and fifty pounds of deceased Indian over the mountains. Other Indians say they would not have tried it, fearing that the presence of the corpse would raise a squall.

In material culture the Yurok are practically identical with their neighbors, and their relations with them seem to have been somewhat free and easy, in spite of the fact that the languages are different. The river system was not only a highway for the Yurok but up and down its length there was a good deal of intertribal traffic and unlimited visiting. For religious ceremonies especially people were likely to gather from a number of "foreign" places, traveling sometimes over considerable distances. The Yurok thus know a good deal of country besides their own. They even assign Yurok names to all the important places in the territory of their neighbors. They are not peculiar in this, for the Hupa, to go no further, do exactly the same thing. Thus it happens that each important place inside Yurok territory and outside has a series of names, in three or four different languages. Sometimes these paraphrase each other, but often they seem to be totally independent in the different tongues. The distribution of Yurok names outside of Yurok territory is indicated roughly on the accompanying map (map 2). These Yurok names indicate that the whole world, so far as the Yurok knew it intimately, was about one hundred and fifty miles in greatest diameter. This was equivalent to ten or twelve days' journey by canoe, going up-stream. Beyond the limits thus set, the Yurok knew vaguely that other tribes of human beings existed, but he did not consider that there were many such tribes. His conception was that the boundary of the world was not far beyond the area of which he knew the place names.



Map 2. Northwestern California, showing distribution of Yurok place-names outside Yurok territory.

Towns and places represented on the map.

- |                |                |               |              |                        |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|------------------------|
| 1. rkr'        | 13. äko'niler. | 25. ma'a      | 37. qrrwr'   | 49. we'skwenet-o-tnä'w |
| 2. noro'rpeg   | 14. äyo'omok   | 26. sepola'   | 38. o'plego  | 50. enikole'l          |
| 3. hiné'i      | 15. rä'yoik    | 27. keski'l   | 39. qä'rtel  | 51. rtr'qr             |
| 4. logeno'l    | 16. häkutsa'r  | 28. ke'per    | 40. rlr'n    | 52. teps'axk           |
| 5. hine'g      | 17. pos'r      | 29. nä'ästok  | 41. pyä'ägel | 53. olo'g              |
| 6. tolo'q'w    | 18. äpye'w     | 30. we'tsets  | 42. pets'w   | 54. hike'ts            |
| 7. päk'w'täu   | 19. tsäno'l    | 31. ko' omen  | 43. wo'rtoi  | 55. oknü'l             |
| 8. ko' hpi     | 20. me'legol   | 32. olege'l   | 44. otle'p   | 56. weyo'              |
| 9. mistsi'ks   | 21. tü'noiyo'l | 33. oprgr'    | 45. ko'hso   | 57. pi'min             |
| 10. rl         | 22. higwoni'k  | 34. plo'kse'u | 46. sepora'l | 58. le'plen            |
| 11. ne'kel     | 23. segwe'w    | 35. oknü'l    | 47. tegwo'l  | 59. äyo'               |
| 12. osme'tsken | 24. e'nek      | 36. rgr'its   | 48. pegwe'   |                        |

## NOTES ON MAP 2

*Places in Tolowa Territory*

2. *noro'rpeg*. A town.
3. *hinē'i*. A very important Tolowa town, referred to as "Smith river" by the Indians who speak English.
4. *lo'gen-o'L*, translated "fish-weir lies." Whether the name refers to a structure or a myth I do not know.
6. *tolo'q<sup>w</sup>*. An important town, located on Pond's ranch. This town name originates the term "Tolowa," applied to the whole tribe.
7. *pe'k<sup>w</sup>tsū*. A rock lying four miles from Crescent City. A lighthouse now occupies the summit. Several myths refer to this great crag. One account says that it is one-half of a pestle which an Orleans girl threw at her brother, Root-boy. The other half is the rock *sekwona'*, six miles offshore, opposite the mouth of Redwood creek (see p. 261, No. 21). Another myth says that it is part of a gigantic horned serpent (*knē'woleg*, see p. 233) which was killed at *Re'kwoi*.
8. *ko'hipi*. A very important place, near the present county seat of Del Norte county, Crescent City.
9. *misti'ks*. A small Indian settlement.
10. *rl*. This is the name of a lagoon south of Crescent City, and an Indian town on its shore.
11. *neke'L*. Place on the beach.
12. *o-sme'tskén*, translated "where chipmunk." A town about six miles south of Crescent City.

*Places in Karok Territory*

13. *äko'nileL*. An important town, near the present Happy Camp. This was a "boom" town in the days of 1849 and 1850, for placer deposits were discovered in the vicinity, which soon worked out, however. Since then the white population has steadily diminished. The Indians celebrated here a religious ceremony spoken of as "Indian New Year," evidently named by analogy with the "Chinee New Year," a season observed with much festivity by the Chinese coolies who used to work the placers in this region.
14. *äyo'omok*. A place addressed in a medicine formula for purification after touching a corpse (see p. 231, no. 43).
15. *rä'yoik*. A town, the Karok *ayis*.
16. *hä'lkutsor*, translated apparently "back-from-the-water." A town, near a place called at the present time Bucket Ranch.
17. *posi'r*. A place near what is now called Cottage Grove. A myth tells that a certain large boulder was removed by supernatural means from this spot to a place far down-river, at the mouth of Blue creek, in Yurok territory (see p. 238, No. 68).
18. *äpye'<sup>w</sup>*. An Indian settlement.
19. *tsäno'L*. A town.
20. *me'leg-oL*, translated apparently "offal lies." A place.
21. *tunoiyoL*. A town.
22. *higwone'k*, apparently to be translated "up-hill at." A town.
23. *sege'<sup>w</sup>*. A town, the Karok *katimin*. This town was in myth times the abode of a number of evil beings. Four dances were celebrated here, the "deerskin dance," the "jumping dance," the "brush dance," and the "puberty dance." Just across the river towers up a great crag called by the Yurok *se'gwū-te'ktani*, translated "at-se'gwū-standing." The Karok call it *auite*. Upon it certain supernatural hawks are believed to live. The rock is mentioned in the myth "the theft of water."

24. e'nek. A town, the Karok amaikiara.
25. ma'a. A town on Salmon river. The work ma'a in Yurok means "not."
26. sepola', translated "prairie." A town, on Salmon river (cf. no. 46).
27. keskil. A town on Salmon river.
28. ke'per, translated apparently "house-pits." A town.
29. nä'ästok. A town.
30. we'tsets. A town.
31. ko'omen. A town, near the present Orleans bar. A rock at this point, called by the Yurok qeqo'xtau, is one of ten beings addressed in a medicine formula for purification after a death (see p. 231, no. 43).
32. o-le'gel. A town, at the mouth of Camp creek.
33. o-pr'gr. A town at the mouth of Red Cap creek.

*Places in Hupa Territory*

35. o-knū'l. A town, the northernmost in Hupa valley (cf. no. 55).
36. rgr'its, translated "sweat-house." A town, the Hupa miskūt.
37. qr'rwr. A hill, called by the whites Socktish, after a Hupa place name.
38. o-ple'go. A town, the Hupa takimilding ("Hostler ranch").
39. qā'xtel. A town, called by the whites "Captain John's rancharia."
41. pyä'ägel. A town.
42. petso'w. A town, the southernmost of the large places in Hupa valley, the Hupa djictafadiñ.
43. wo'xtoi. A town, the Hupa xaslindiñ, called by the whites "Sugar Bowl."

*Places in Chilula Territory*

44. o-tle'p. A Redwood or Chilula town, called in the local dialect Xowunnakut. This place is about four miles from the mouth of Redwood creek, and is the farthest down-stream of the Chilula settlements.

*Places in Wiyot Territory*

45. ko'hso. Town at the mouth of Mad river.
46. sepora', translated "prairie." A town (cf. no. 26).
47. tegwo'l. A town.
48. pe'gwe. A town.
49. we'skwenet-o-tnä'w. A town.
50. enikole'l. A town.
51. r'trqr. A town.
52. tepa'axk. A town.
53. o-lo'g, translated "where-it-floats." A town on Gunther's Island, just in front of the city of Eureka.
54. hi'kets. A town.
55. o-knu'l. A town (cf. no. 35).
56. weyo'. A town.
57. pi'min. A town.
58. leple'n. A town.
59. äyo'. A town.

The location of the following places is uncertain:

*In Tolowa Territory*

- kna'awi. A place on the beach north of Crescent City.

*In Karok Territory*

opyū'weg, translated "where they dance." A town "above Orleans."

Very likely this is another term for āko'nilet.

hūmawr'. A place two days' journey above enek.

o-rā'w, translated "where it drops." A rock, addressed in the purification ceremony.

This rock was one of ten beings who tried to prevent death from coming into the world (see p. 231, no. 43). The Karok name is ikvinik.

kaseguvaiu, a Karok name. A rock, just above o-rā'w (see preceding entry).

qa'ales. A rock. One of ten beings who tried to prevent death (see preceding entry).

o-pegoi'. A town at or near Red Cap Creek.

o-tskrgūrū'n. A rock, one of ten beings who tried to prevent death (see preceding entry). It is close by hi'gwonek, (no. 22).

wetsetsqā's. A boulder in the river. Possibly one of the ten beings mentioned above.

It lies just above we'tsets village (no. 30).

o-kwe'go, translated "where they always shoot." An "arrow tree" (see p. 230, no. 30; also p. 249, no. 59).

*In Hupa Territory*

o-tr'pr. A cold spring, far up the Trinity River. According to a myth this is the place where obsidian "grew" (came into existence).

hoo'n-o-tep, translated "... where it stands." A place up the Trinity river above Hupa.

mr'pr. A town in Hupa valley, below rgr'its (no. 36).

petso'-hiqo'. A place in Hupa valley, across the river from petso'w (no. 42).

tse'max. A mountain at the foot of Hupa valley, on the eastern side. The whites call it Rock mountain.

*In Chilula Territory*

rooke'tsu. Place on Redwood creek.

qwē'ixtsr. A place in the Bald hills.

o-yegos. A place on Redwood ridge.

kegwe'tū. A butte in the Bald hills.

## GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPTS

The Yurok imagines himself to be living on a flat extent of landscape, which is roughly circular and surrounded by ocean. By going far enough up the river, it is believed that "you come to salt water again." In other words, the Klamath river is considered, in a sense, to bisect the world. This whole earth-mass, with its forests and mountains, its rivers and sea cliffs, is regarded as slowly rising and falling, with a gigantic but imperceptible rhythm, on the heaving primeval flood. The vast size of the "earth" causes you not to notice this quiet heaving and settling. This earth, therefore, to their minds is not merely surrounded by the ocean but floats upon it. At about the central point of this "world" lies a place which the Yurok call qe'nek, on the southern band of the Klamath, a few miles below the

point where the Trinity comes in from the south (see rectangle E-137). No Indian ever told me in plain words that this was the center of the world, but this seems to be the idea. Thus numerous mythical tales center here, and here the culture hero "grew" out of nothing, back in the myth days.

At this locality also the sky was made. A character called *we'sona-me'getoL*, "world-maker," fashioned the empyrean vault after the manner and pattern of a fish-net. Little else seems to be known of this deity. He plays no further part in myths. The story tells in detail how he took a rope and laid it down in an enormous circle, leaving one end loose at a certain place among the hills. Traveling off in a gigantic circuit and coming around from the south to the same spot again, he joined the two ends of the rope together. Then for days he journeyed back and forth over the hills, filling in and knotting the strands across each other. The song he sang to accompany his labors is still sung by people who work on fish-nets or netted carrying-bags. When the sky-net was complete, the hero took hold of it in two places and "threw it up." As it sailed aloft it became solid, and now stretches over us as the great blue sky. Above this solid sky there is a sky-country, *wo'noiyik*, about the topography of which the Yurok's ideas are almost as definite as are his ideas of southern Mendocino county, for instance. Down-stream from *qe'nek*, at a place called *qe'nek-pul*, "qe'nek-down-stream" (see rectangle E-116), is an invisible ladder leading up to the sky-country. A great number of "myth people" who formerly congregated at *qe'nek*, quite frequently went up this ladder to watch shinny games in the sky-country. The ladder is still thought to be there, though no one to my knowledge has been up it recently. The sky-vault is a very definite item in the Yurok's cosmic scheme.

In their theory this sky just described was constructed so as to come down into the ocean, all the way around. It lies far out, away from land. The powers who decided such matters arranged that it should not be in a state of rest, but should move up and down. It continually rises and plunges down again into the sea; hence the rollers which wash up on the world's shores. If you paddle far out where the sky comes down to the water, it is perfectly possible, by counting off the lifting and lowering, to slip through underneath. This is the way to get into the regions beyond the sky. The geese have a special exit of their own, a "sky-hole," a round opening where they enter and leave this world. They spend part of each season in

outer space beyond the sky. When flock after flock of geese sail overhead toward the northwest they are headed for this opening. The structure, if I may so call it, consisting of the sky dome and the flat expanse of landscape and waters which it incloses, is known to the Yurok as *ki-we'-sona* (literally "that-which-exists"). I may repeat that the sky overhead is to the Indian as real and as concrete as is the earth he treads on. This sky, then, together with its flooring of landscape, constitutes "our world." I used to be puzzled at the Yurok confusing earth and sky, telling me, for example, that a certain gigantic redwood tree (see rectangle C-34) "held up the world." Their ideas are of course perfectly logical, for the sky is as much a part of the "world" in their sense as the ground is.

The Yurok believe that passing under the sky edge and voyaging still outward you come again to solid land. This is not our world, and mortals ordinarily do not go there; but it is good, solid land. What are breakers over here are just little ripples over there. Yonder lie several regions. To the north (in our sense) lies *pū'lekūk*, downstream at the north end of creation. A supernatural being called *qa-pū'loiyo* (a gambling device) seems to be the presiding genius there. "In the beginning" there lived in his company a supernatural being called *pū'leku-kwe'rek*, "At-the-north-end-of-creation sharp-one." He came to "our" world and cleared it of all monsters and evil beings. "South" of *pū'lekuk* lies *tsi'k-tsik-ol*, "money lives," where the dentalium-shell, medium of exchange, has its mythical abode. Again, to the south there is a place called *kowe'tsik*, the mythical home of the salmon, where also all have a "house." About due west of the mouth of the Klamath lies *rkrgr'*, where lives the culture-hero *wo'xpa-ku-mä*, "across-the-ocean that widower." After a varied career here, he was taken *wo'xpa*, "across the sea," by a skate who tricked him through assuming the form of a woman. Every night "over there" in *rkrgr'* "they" have a deerskin dance. The frogs on summer evenings can be heard going down the Klamath in a canoe from far up-river, talking and laughing. The canoe is invisible, but you can hear it pass along with its cheerful crew. They go down the river and across the ocean and under the sky-edge, to see the deerskin dance in *rkrgr'*; and they come home again early every morning.

Still to the south of *rkrgr'* there lies a broad sea, *kiolaapopa'a*, which is half pitch—an Algonkian myth idea, by the way. All of these solid lands just mentioned lie on the margin, the absolute rim of things. Beyond them the Yurok does not go even in imagination.

In the opposite direction, he names a place *pe'tskuk*, "up-river-at," which is the upper "end" of the river but still in this world. He does not seem to concern himself much with the topography there, and I know no further details.

Below our world is an underworld, *tso'r:ek*, a sort of cellar, of undetermined extent. This is the world of the dead, and is connected with "our" world. The dead are said to go to a lake. After going round and round and about they go down through this water into the underworld. Two widely separated points were mentioned to me as the very spot where the souls go down (rectangle I, location

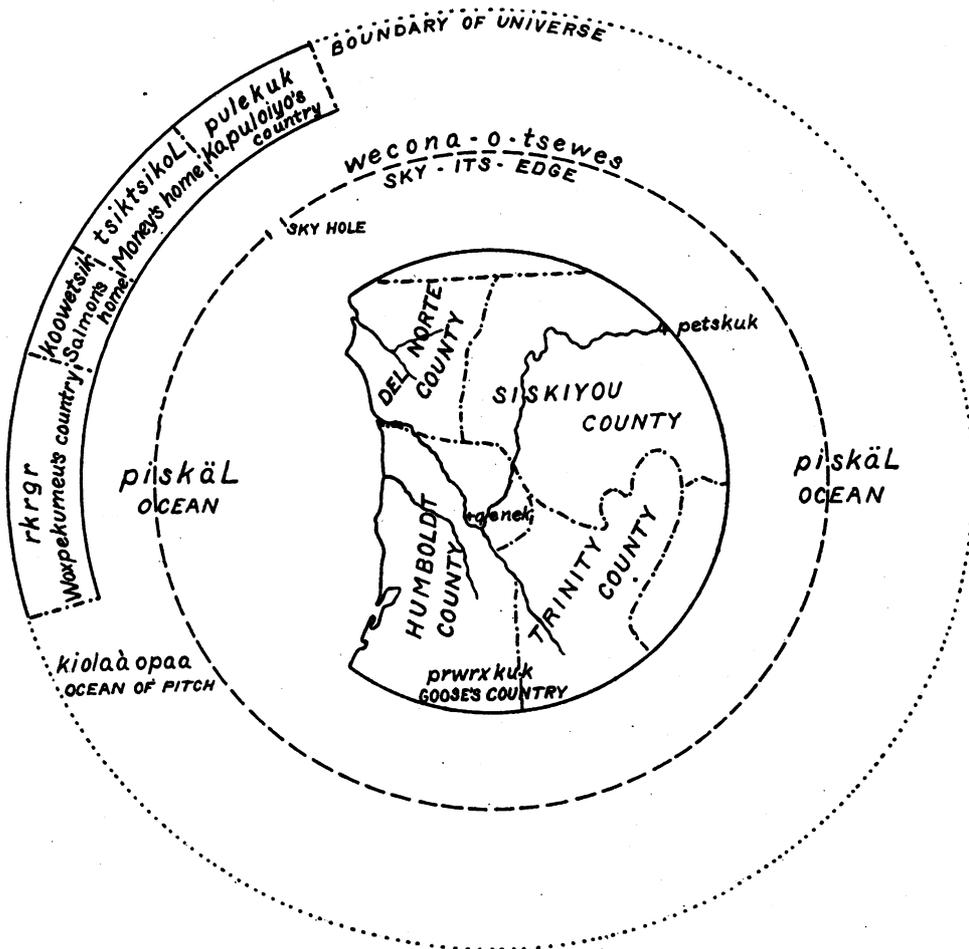


Fig. 1. Diagram showing the Yurok idea of the world.

uncertain, also plate 4). I am uncertain whether the Yurok believes there are two such places or not. They are loath to discuss this subject.

The Yurok's conception of the world he lives in may be summed up in the accompanying diagram (fig. 1). This was not drawn by a native; I pieced it together myself from various allusions and references.

### DIRECTION TERMS

The Yurok direction and position terms enter into the place names to some extent, and the ideas involved differ sufficiently from ours to warrant explaining in some detail. The Yurok's conceptions of directions are quite different from our own. It is certain that they have no idea of our cardinal points north, east, south, and west. Instead, their world is bisected by the river; and the fundamental concepts are *pets*, "up-river," and *pul*, "down-river." The river is rather crooked, and hence *pets* may stand for almost anything in our terminology. The river enters the ocean after following a northwesterly course, and for this or for some other reason "down-stream" ("pul") is applied to the direction north along the coast. Their "down-river" by an extension of the term, or of the idea, is equivalent to our "up the coast." Pulukuk, "down-river-at," as the name of a mythical place, would be paraphrased in English "at the north of everything"; for there is nothing whatever beyond it.

There exists in Yurok a term *hīrq*, which is often, but not always, associated with the region north of the river. I have the feeling that it applies rather to the region than to the direction. It is sometimes translated by Indian informants (who speak very imperfect English) as "around in back," with a sweeping gesture northward. I may advance the opinion that in essence its implication is away from the river and a long way from it. A second word, *pr'kwr*, whose literal meaning seems to be "behind" or "in rear," is very frequently used with reference to the south. It is also used in defining positions within a village, or inside of a house, where the idea of direction in our sense is almost certainly not involved.

I can say definitely that in paddling down a twenty-mile stretch of river, as the current bears the canoe first in one direction, then in another, around promontories and down rapids, an Indian will almost box the compass in pointing "pul," or "hīrq," for he has the course of the river channel as his fundamental idea, to which the others are relative.

The following list of direction terms and geographical expressions is not exhaustive, but it contains a number of elements very frequently used, and may be of service from the comparative standpoint. For the alphabetic order in the following list see page 182.

wē' kɪ, "this-at," here.	pr'wr, pr'kwr, in rear of, in back.
rii'qen, rii'qau, weri'qen, at the edge of.	meL, from (also as a preposition, with, by means of).
re'gwonek, re'gwonau, at the end of.	sets, on top of.
rā'yip, on the other side of.	so'lekuk, down-hill.
wo, wo'gi, in the middle.	te'gwolāw, oceanward (piskā'L is the noun for ocean).
wo'gik, inside.	te'kti, close.
wo'po, wohpi, in the water (paa is the noun, water).	to'lil, crosswise.
won, wo'nek, wo'nau, woneks, above, up (overhead).	tso'leu, down-hill.
yo, near you.	tso'arek, in the ground.
hīr, hīrq, behind.	nā'nik, on the other side of the hill.
he'si, further.	ke'Lkus, facing backward.
he'Lqau, away from the water, back; when on the sea, he'Lqau means ashore.	kes, down below.
poi, at the head of, ahead.	kye <sup>w</sup> , kyek <sup>w</sup> , kye'kwīn, yonder (probably "not visible").
pets, pe'tsik, pe'tskus, up-river.	ko, across.
pul, pu'lik, pu'luk, down-river.	

Such elements as the above are often combined with an element hi-. Its meaning seems to be either "visible" or "a short distance," I am unable to determine which.

The following hi- forms have been encountered. With these should be compared hiqo'n, long ago, he'gwoni, at first.

higwo'n, above.	hime'n, around.
higwo'p, in the water.	hitso', down-hill.
hirā'm, not translated.	hiyo'k, there.
hipe'ts, up-river.	hino's, behind.
hipu'r (cf. pul) down-river.	hiqo', across.
hime'r, under.	hike's, below (on a slope).

The following are some of the commonest geographical expressions :

e'wpo, salt water.	mr'kwrl, a knoll.
eme'lnok, where trails meet.	mrkwrmr'kwel, a "bar" (a submerged barrier in the river).
eqo'wel, acorn-grounds.	tegoi ye'we, a promontory.
olole'q <sup>w</sup> , village.	te'po, steep, upright, tree.
oke'go, rapids.	ti'kwo, a cove.
oke'to, lake, lagoon, flat.	syo'hpil, a "slide."
oke'ge, where trail goes over.	sr, cr'nr, tributary, affluent.
otse'gep, landing place.	tsege'hken, a low cliff.
otsā'L, sand bar beach.	tse'kwel, flat in front of a cliff, a "bench."
osmemo'RL, osyoh, "where it slides," land slide (cf. syohpil).	tsū'rai, a mountain.
owē'gr, spring.	nū'hprk, fork of a creek.

okne'w, high.	ní'qr, limit of snaring rights, boundary.
úpqrw'i, a small (?) creek.	krtsr', ridge (the expression ukrtsr,' "one ridge," is the ordinary term meaning "a short distance").
ro'opi, a cliff.	
wiroi', creek (sometimes given as úpkwr'i).	kerno-rnr' kwr'l, peak of mountain.
ye'gwol, earthquake.	qeto'x sil, a flat.
haä'g ro'otswegen, "rocks always answer," echo.	keyaweyu's, entrance from ocean into lagoon.
piskä'l, ocean.	

### PLACE NAMES

My impression is that local geography seems to mean rather more to the Yurok than is ordinarily the case with Indian tribes. The Yurok have a very large number of local names. The names listed herewith could readily be doubled if an investigator were to put in the necessary time and effort. In certain areas the separate place names crowd so thickly that it is difficult to find space for them on a map (see, for example, rectangle E, p. 246). In their nomenclature certain principles are very clearly visible, which it is interesting to point out, particularly with reference to those features in which the Yurok practice differs from our own.

The places having names exhibit in themselves a good deal of variety; for example, a place name in a given case may become attached to a flat of thirty acres, or to a village site, or to a boulder the size of a steamer trunk, or to a few elderberry bushes, or to a single tan-oak tree, while vast numbers of such places have no proper names at all. The spots which are "named" are to be found, in the great majority of cases, along the edge of the stream. In a sense, my maps showing place names are misleading, for I myself went along the river in a canoe, and naturally most readily secured the names of the places close at hand. I am, however, perfectly certain of the general fact. What place names are current in the hills away from the river show a marked disposition to group themselves along the important trails. Wherever possible I have indicated these trails on the maps, but I am unable to go into this matter systematically. The hills are not, however, so devoid of place names as they seem to be on glancing at the maps. I may remark also that many place names occurring in localities far removed from the river refer indirectly to some locality or landmark which is at the very edge of the stream. I believe that the map indicates fairly well the way in which the independent names crowd at the edge of the water. On the coast the same rule holds.

A sea-stack the size of a piano will have a name, while a hill of two thousand feet elevation has none.

In our own practice stream names are considered fundamental. When a country is explored or newly charted the streams are named first. I should consider stream names the most important of all geographical names for us. The Yurok, speaking now in general terms, treat streams very differently. There is nothing which can be called a name for their main river, a fact which is not in itself surprising, for it is for them the "only" river. But, with a few exceptions, there are also no names for its tributaries. I do not mean that the Yurok never refer to the streams, but that the term applied to the stream is the name of some place on it, or at its mouth. Such a stream as Blue creek, for example (rectangle C-45), which in many regions would be looked upon as a moderately large river, is called r'nr wroi', r'nr being the village-site just west of its mouth. Tuley creek (rectangle E-138) is called Oke'go wroi, "Rapids" creek, the name referring to the great rapids in the main river, near where the creek enters. Examples of this trick of nomenclature could be supplied *ad libitum*.

Some exceptions to this general rule should be pointed out. There are a few cases in which the stream name is descriptive of the stream. The Trinity river is called hu'pa-sr, that is, "Hupa affluent." It flows for the last few miles of its course through the valley inhabited by this tribe of Indians. A stream known to the whites as Bluff creek (rectangle G-44), in reference to numerous precipices on both the main stream and its tributaries, is called by the Indians tsí'poi wroi', tsí'poi meaning "steep." A small stream on the coast (rectangle B-28) runs for part of its course underground. I think a hillside slid in over its channel, leaving the creek to find its way through the débris. It is called lkē'lik wroi', "earth" creek, or ground creek. Some stream names refer to mythical beliefs connected with the water itself. A brooklet above o'segen (rectangle B-16) is called sme'rkitur, "toothless." There are supernatural influences assigned to it, and anyone who drinks the water loses his teeth. A small creek, one and a half miles below Blue creek, mentioned above, flows in a gully which was made by the crawling of a gigantic horned serpent. The stream (rectangle C-33) is called ma'a-spū, "never drink." Such names are obviously applied directly to the stream itself.

In some cases a stream name appears on the map, while the place name, from which it originated, does not. The reasons for this situation are various. The investigator inquires very carefully for all creek names, partly, I suppose, because the creeks are not readily

overlooked, most of them appearing on the commercial maps which are likely to be in his pocket. Place names which are applied to boulders, or small flats or clumps of buckeye trees, are, on the other hand, very easily missed. My maps, therefore, fail to illustrate with absolute fidelity what I nevertheless know to be a fact.

I remarked a moment ago that in exploring a country we name the streams first of all. We also apply names conscientiously to the elevations. A glance at the map of any state in the Union will show a great number of "named" mountains and hills. In this respect also the Yurok's interest is very different from our own. Broadly speaking, he does not name a whole mountain. A name may seem to the investigator to be applied to a mountain, but in most cases it will be found to designate some one particular spot on it. In explanation I may mention the case of two mountains. One of them, Rivet Mountain to the whites, lies near the upper end of the Yurok territory. It is a big cone-shaped elevation, lying in a great bend of the Klamath and culminating in a peak some 3500 feet in height. It is a conspicuous landmark for great distances (see pl. 7, rectangle G-2), and plays a picturesque rôle in myth. The name seems to be ke'wet. I have reason to believe, however, that this is really the name of one "myth" village, invisible to mortal eyes, which lies on a terrace on its upper slopes. Similarly, there is in what are called by the whites the Bald hills, a great grass-covered butte, which I understood the Indians to refer to as än'kau (rectangle H-36). Closer inquiry seems to indicate that this term is the name of one particular spot on the mountain slope in front of a cliff where there is an echo. The Indian belief is that one goes there and "shouts" for supernatural help, and that the echo response tells whether or not the supernatural beings are favorable. I feel perfectly sure that, whether or not every mountain is nameless, the Yurok does not apply names to mountains or to regions on the scale that we do. He applies place names with meticulous care to a vast number of definite spots and objects, but the larger features of the relief and the drainage system go practically unnamed.

Certain descriptive elements occur very commonly in the place names mentioned by Indians. The commonest of these are pul, "down-stream," pets, "up-stream," already mentioned, higwon, "at a higher elevation" (above, in the sense of above on a hillside), and higo, "across from." Let us say that a boulder at the edge of the river has a name connected with some myth. Let us assume, which is often the case, that this rock is known by its own proper name to every

Indian on the river. A place a short distance up-stream, and another in a similar position down-stream, a place across the river, and places up on the hill-slopes on both sides of the river, are known variously as "up-stream from" or "down-stream from" or "opposite" or "above" this particular rock. In this way four or five additional place terms are often manufactured. For example, one of the places "called upon" in a certain medicine-formula which purifies people after contact with a corpse, is *nä'gil-hiqo'wone'q<sup>w</sup>*, "up-hill from opposite *nä'gil*" (rectangle C-48). The Yurok feels this particular compound expression as a proper name, and does not reflect upon its derivative characters. We too, of course, have compound expressions, such as East Orange and West Seattle, which we use as independent place names. In the following lists I include all expressions which I found to be actually functioning as the names of places.

Though this difficulty in separating proper names from descriptive expressions is not new, I should like to discuss it further and illustrate it from another standpoint. There is in Yurok an element, *o-*, prefixed to stems, which makes what is substantially a locative. For example, *o-Lkē'lol*, "on the ground," "*o-kä'polil*," in the brush, *o-we'sonū*, outdoors, literally, in the world (see above, p. 191). Prefixed to a verb stem it gives an expression meaning where something stands, or lies, or grows, or what not. Whether such a descriptive expression constitutes a proper name or not depends somewhat on the point of view. The following are examples:

STEM	PLACE NAME
keto, flat, level	<i>o-ke'to</i> . A body of water called Big lagoon. The term seems to mean "where the water is flat or calm" (rectangle I-26). <i>o-keto'k</i> . Name of the flat hilltop above <i>pek<sup>w</sup>ütul</i> (rectangle G-48).
sloits, to pass downward	<i>o-slegoi'ts</i> . "Where people always pass downward." A name applied to various places where trails are down declivities (rectangles D-92, D-142, G-59, map 22). <i>o-slo'q<sup>w</sup></i> . "Where it comes down." A town on Big lagoon (rectangle I-22).
kego, to pass over and and down	<i>o-ke'go</i> . Name for the rapids at <i>qe'nek</i> (map 22). <i>o-kegē'i</i> . Where the trail is over a sharp hog-back south of Stone lagoon (rectangle I-13).
knetken, arrow-point	<i>o-kne'get</i> . "Where people customarily get arrow-points." A name for various cliffs and rocks (rectangles A-66, B-1, J-6, K-57).
stseep, to land, disembark	<i>o-stseep</i> . Name for various places near towns where boats are beached (rectangles A-36, A-47, K-30, etc.). Name also for a place on the coast (rectangle B-23), which is always "smooth," where people voyaging along the coast can land when squalls come up.

There are about five hundred expressions involving this prefix in the lists below. I can only say that while they certainly are descriptive they seem to be felt by the Yurok as proper names.

What has been said above refers to names that are readily analyzed. On the other hand, many geographic names have defied all my attempts at analysis. Greater knowledge of the language than I possess would probably lead to success with most of them, but it is worthy of remark that at the present time many of them puzzle the Indians themselves. They often say that words and expressions used as place names are intentionally modified, or distorted, explaining that otherwise the listener could not distinguish place names from common nouns. The Yurok readily supply examples of this practice. I presume the real explanation in most cases is that place names often preserve old forms, which have either dropped out of ordinary speech or have become modified by the wear and tear of daily usage. The following are examples of this "modification" of stems in place names:

STEM	PLACE NAME
tla, to drip	o-tla'w. Where it drips. Name for various places where water trickles over a cliff (rectangles D-119, E-72, G-41, J-37). o-trega'. Rectangle E-56. o-trä'hko. A cave at Trinidad, where water drips from the roof. o-tregworū'. Rectangle O-8. o-tlewölū'L. Rectangle H-2.
woxkero, pepperwood	wohke'ro. Name of an important town (rectangle D-25). wo'ke'l. Name of a down-river town (rectangle B-39). awoxqe'la. Name of a house in pe'k <sup>w</sup> tūL (map 28, no. 3).

Place names are often shortened in composition, or become otherwise modified. Whether or not this modification is due to the dropping off of endings I cannot say. The following are a few examples:

ORDINARY PLACE NAME	FORM USED IN COMPOSITION
wē'itpūs	Frank haM wets ki nu wei Frank says Weitspus about to by travelling go. (Frank says he is going to go to Weitspus).
ko'hpe, a Tolowa town, Crescent City	kos-nin. Crescent City divorced, the nickname of a woman who was formerly married to a Crescent City man.
pe'kwan	pe'kwis-nina, at-pe'kwan divorced. Name of a woman formerly married into pe'kwan.
lä'yeq <sup>w</sup> , by the trail, a house name	läs-oma. Name applied to a girl bought from the house lä'yeq <sup>w</sup> in Crescent City. lä's-son. Nickname for Billy Brooks at rekwoi, half-married into the house called lä'yeq <sup>w</sup> in that town.
me'rip	me'ri-tsus. Involved in a scandalous affair at me'rip, nickname for a white man living with a me'rip woman.

Geography and myth among the Yurok are closely associated. Mythical stories are frequently localized very definitely. The Yurok believe, like the Hupa, that in myth-times the country was inhabited by "immortals" (wo':gē in Yurok, corresponding to the Hupa kixûnai<sup>3</sup>). These wo':gē are the actors in most of the mythical tales. When the Indians appeared they either turned into animals or left the country. Place names continually refer to these mythical predecessors of the Indians. Anything and everything that puzzles the Indian is ascribed to these wo':gē. Old village sites, where the Indian recognizes house-pits or natural depressions resembling house-pits but about which he has no information, are referred to as wo':gē towns. I found one addle-pated old informant to whom these wo':gē were so real that he sometimes bewildered me, making me think he was referring to real people. He would point out a "house-pit," for example, and tell me about the structure (which way the door faced, how big it was, etc.), and would then remark, incidentally, that the people who lived in it were immortals. This localization of mythical stories is very marked in the tales of all the neighboring tribes also.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS

The Yurok towns are all very small according to our standards. The largest in the entire area, re'kwoi, contains only twenty-five houses. Many places which are spoken of by the Indians as being very important contain only half a dozen structures. Some of the sites have, no doubt, been inhabited through very long periods. This can be observed especially on the coast, where each village is accompanied by a heap of shell and other refuse. Some of the sites inhabited until a few years ago, for example, e'spä<sup>w</sup>, have accumulations of shell several yards thick. The important excavations of Loud on Humboldt bay<sup>4</sup> indicate that the highly specialized culture found in that neighborhood has a very considerable antiquity. The presumption is that the same is true of the closely similar Yurok culture.

In stating that such sites were inhabited for long periods it is not meant that they were continuously inhabited. Like most primitive people, the Yurok change their places of abode very abruptly. No doubt the relative size and importance of towns has shifted from time

<sup>3</sup> Goddard, 1903, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> 1918.

to time. I think the Yurok may have been more prone to change their places of abode than the average tribe. In addition to all the usual causes of change of abode (disease, floods, attacks by enemies, bad dreams, and plain fidgetiness), the Yurok are extremely quarrelsome. Prominent among their traits is a certain sinful pride, a love of squabbling, and readiness to take offense. These result indirectly in the shifting of habitations. A man very often takes mortal offense at a word even if it is not intended to be slighting. It was related as particularly characteristic of a certain ceremony that during the observances no one took offense; all this "touchiness" was laid aside. Thus you might safely remark to a one-eyed man that he had only one eye. "It was perfectly safe," the Indians say with some wonder, "he would not get mad!" The most sensitive Yurok, however, takes offense in certain well established degrees. The tribe has an elaborate scale of prices for each degree of injury, from the use of what they consider abusive expressions up to and including homicide. When money is not promptly paid for these injuries they believe in retaliation of an unsoftened, Old Testament character, which visits the consequences of transgression upon an enemy's kin and his townsmates, if the offender himself is at all hard to get "at." If an individual commits a homicide, or if his relative commits a homicide, or even if his "big friend" commits a homicide, that individual is an uncomfortable person to have around. Unless his cause is so just, his character so upright, or his personality so winning that his townsmen are ready to join in his defense and make common cause with him, the village usually makes it so unpleasant for him that he leaves. While the quarrel is being patched up such a man is considered to be better off living by himself in some lonely stretch of the river where his presence embarrasses nobody and compromises nobody. In most cases in which a man moves off in this way he begins sooner or later to "pay for" the man he has killed. The price for a homicide is pretty high, however, and a number of years are often occupied in making up the full sum, which is paid in installments. When he has completed his payments he often does not feel like moving back. If he makes his new home a permanent one, and raises a large family there, the addition of new houses gradually lends the place the character of a settlement.

The effect of these customs on the distribution of habitations is at once apparent. Some very important towns are said to have started in this way, the town of Sregon, for example (see below). If a man

had "connections" in a second village and if the quarrel was not too serious, he sometimes "moved in" beside friends. A deliberate killer, however, was very likely suddenly to find that he had no friends, and such people very often moved into the wilderness away from everybody. My feeling is that such an enforced migration was itself accepted as a partial satisfaction for the injury, and a promise to be good. At any rate, a man who was sure enough of himself to hold his ground after a homicide, deliberately challenged a bloody vengeance on the part of the slain man's relatives. If he moved and stayed away from dances he was sometimes allowed an extended period in which to pay up.

The following incidents serve to further illustrate the effect of these characteristics. It is very easy to become involved in feuds. The Yurok believe religiously not only in the solidarity of the family and the village but in a mutual responsibility, one for another, of the members of a nation or a race.

A certain fine morning in 1909 saw me talking with an Indian woman at *qe'nek*, having some success in getting place names from her. Her young daughter in the meantime went out and looked over the cliff to see my canoe. In it she saw an Indian called "Weitchpec Frank." She came back and told her mother, who at once severed all relations with me, very pointedly. Neither she nor her daughter nor my companion would tell me definitely what the trouble was, but afterward I found that Frank and the woman's brother-in-law had quarreled over a small sum of money twelve years previously. Since I was in Frank's company I was in her eyes as bad as Frank himself.

The father and uncle of an old Hupa man called Spencer were killed many years ago by soldiers from the garrison in Hupa valley. Dave Durban, the brother of Weitchpec Frank, had been a sort of paid scout for the government during this period, so he was held partly to blame for the fact that a Hupa was killed by the soldiers. Since that time old Spencer has not "liked" Frank because he is the brother of Dave Durban, the ex-scout. He does not speak to Frank when the two meet.

When I visited the town of *turip* I found myself involved in an involuntary quarrel with a certain old man because I was a white man. The old Indian's nephew had once been jailed for making fast his gill-net at the bank of the river, in aboriginal fashion, but in defiance of the federal statute governing methods of fishing and disregarding the pains and penalties therein made and provided. The

old man held me partly to blame for the action of the Federal Grand Jury, though I defended myself as best I could. He refused, with some politeness, to talk to me or to take my money.

When a feud is in progress a person who gives information, or intelligence, to say nothing of advice, to a murderer, before the act is committed, is held to answer in precisely the same degree as the murderer himself. A special term, *wrnrykr'*, was applied to such an "informant." It obviously results in the rapid spreading of feuds. If a man in even this remote way becomes involved in a serious quarrel the outcome is usually a migration to some other dwelling place.

Sometimes a man moves away from his village merely because of indignation over something. Thus "Tuley Creek Jim," or "Coyote Jim," called by the Indians *qe-qe'nomr*, had a quarrel in his home town of *qe'nek*, so he moved to *rékwoi* and built a house there. In many such cases, of course, the people ultimately moved home again. In cases of epidemics a whole village would readily be abandoned. Altogether, there was a good deal of shifting about, and at this late day it is sometimes hard, especially in the case of old and long abandoned sites, to tell exactly what the marks of habitation, such as house-pits, really mean.

Since the coming of the whites many towns have been abandoned altogether for a variety of reasons. Lands have in many cases been allotted by the government to Indian families, and where the spot allotted was at all favorable they have taken up their abode on it. It goes almost without saying that the effort in this paper has been made to indicate the towns as they were at the time of the coming of the whites.

Even if one disregards as far as possible what has happened since the white invasion, the question of the distribution of the towns still offers some difficulty. Even at that time there were very considerable differences between settlements. Some were large and some were small, some were regarded as permanent, and others were looked upon as temporary. Some places had once been important, but already at that time were almost abandoned. In a few cases nothing but pits remained, about which nobody knew anything, except that a name was attached to the site. It is a bit difficult to indicate all such matters on a map. I learned very early in my acquaintance with the tribe that the great tribal ceremonies were celebrated in certain towns only. For example, the deer-skin dance<sup>5</sup> was held only at *wē'itspūs* and *pe'kwan*,

<sup>5</sup> For an account of the corresponding Hupa ceremony see Goddard, 1903, p. 82.

and nowhere else. Another important ceremony, the jumping dance, was held only at wē'itspūs, wo'xtek, re'kwoi, ore'q<sup>w</sup>, and oke-to. The explanation is that these ceremonies were celebrated, naturally enough, in the most populous places. When information is collected about the original size of these towns they are seen to be (except ore'q<sup>w</sup>) the largest in the area. Another difference between towns is that in many settlements each separate house has a proper name of its own. This does not depend upon size. Generally speaking, then, there is some uncertainty about the actual number of towns. On the maps I have distinguished between permanent towns and temporary settlements by the use of different conventional symbols.

In spite of the confusion which exists it is possible to indicate certain general facts about town distribution. Some of them, perhaps the majority, occupy old river terraces. River towns are usually more than a hundred feet above the stream, which has in places an annual rise of more than seventy vertical feet. A tremendous flood in the winter of 1862, still mentioned often by the Indians, somewhat changed the location of settlements; a good many towns were permanently moved to higher sites, and others where the houses were washed down the river were abandoned, the people seeking refuge with friends and relatives in the undamaged towns. The town of wo'xtek, at Klamath Bluffs (rectangle D-31), for some reason received a very large number of these immigrants. Powers noted some years ago<sup>6</sup> that the Yurok towns are situated for the most part on the northern bank of the river. This is indicated clearly on the map (see map 4). Where the course of the river is north and south there is little difference observable, but where the river runs approximately east and west the towns lie on the north bank, in the proportion of three or four to one. I think Powers is correct in his explanation that the Indians preferred sunny situations. The south slopes are timbered with oaks and varied timber, interspersed with fine grass fields. The northern slope of the hills, which would form the southern bank of the river, is, on the contrary, almost uniformly covered with pines and other conifers, and the places which might otherwise be village sites are in the shadow of these somber forests. Beginning some miles above the mouth of Blue creek, the river flows through a belt of redwood timber extending almost to the coast. The larger villages are very clearly grouped outside of this redwood belt. There were towns within it, but they were of small size, and where the redwoods were thickest there were no

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<sup>6</sup> 1877, p. 46.

settlements at all. The town of rnr, at the mouth of Blue creek, seems to have been the only place of importance within this area, and it went into a decline some generations ago. Near the mouth of the Klamath towns became more numerous; on both sides of the estuary there existed populous centers.

On the coast the towns were attracted to the regions of the lagoons. The mouths of a great many coast streams in California form estuaries, blocked off from the sea by sand bars. During the winter rains the water rises in these lagoons and breaks through the barrier. In summer as the river drops the barrier is rebuilt, resulting in a deep expanse of water, perfectly still, and often beautifully clear. Many of these lagoons have quite a romantic setting. Large rivers like the Klamath carry such a "head" of water that the bar never entirely closes across, though the opening is much narrowed in late summer. Even the tiny streams in the region we are discussing often have lagoons. Around these spots the Indian towns grew up. What the economic attraction was I cannot say. The sites to be found beside the lagoons are certainly very pleasing to the eye, and Indians are not at all insensible to scenic beauty. The vast number of water fowl must also have been an item. On Big lagoon the people ate mud hens (legē'its), which at times grew so fat that they could not fly. Water fowl were often taken with nets, in which the birds got their feet entangled upon taking to the water. On the shores of Big lagoon were five or six Indian settlements, one of them a very large and important place.

#### LIST OF TOWNS AND SETTLEMENTS

The following is a list of Yurok towns and settlements obtained by myself in 1909. For comparison I have inserted a list of the river towns shown on an interesting map, found in 1917 in the county records in Crescent City, by Mr. Owen C. Coy of the California Historical Survey Commission. This document is an unpublished map of Del Norte county, made by a certain Randall, the county surveyor, and is dated 1866. The entries which I have marked with an asterisk will require more particular comment than the others. For general location see map 4, opposite p. 226.

RIVER TOWNS		NUMBER OF HOUSES IN ABORIGINAL TIMES	FOR PLAN OF THE TOWN SEE MAP
AUTHOR'S LIST, 1909	RANDALL'S LIST, 1886		
aiqo'o, "basket"		2	
otsepo'r, "where steep"		3	
lo'ole'go, "fish weir where they build"		4	
oslegoi'ts, "where they descend"		3	
osmemo'RL, "where it slides"		3 (recent)	
we'itspūs, "confluence"	Welch-peh	17	26
pe'k <sup>w</sup> utul, "pile of rocks"	Porah	5	26
rlrgr'		6	27
wa'hsek		6	24
qe'nek		4	22
tse'tskwi		2	
qe'nek-pul		1	
aukweya'		3	
me'rip	Ma-rep	5	21
wa"ase, "poor" ?		6	
ke'pel, "house-pit"	Fort Kepel	4	20
sa"a		8	19
mū'rek, "cooking-basket" ?		11	18
hī'mel	Kamelch	4	
wē'iqem		Pits only	
no'xtskum	Noitker	3	
ke'peror		Pits only	
meta	Mettah	6	16
kē"ikem		Pits only	
srego'n	Surgoin	5	
yo'xtr	Yotum	4	
pe'kwan	Pequo Creek	24	15
qo'otep	Katep	22	14
wo'xtek	Watek	13	13
woxke'ro, "pepperwood"		4	12
otsä'L, "where it is sandy"		Pits only	
te'kta			
sr'pr	Surpah	3	
ä'yol	{ Jehehak	—	
	{ .....pan		
nä'gil	{ Mangosh	3	
	{ Torah		
r'nr	Henah	3	
ho'wego	Herwahgah	—	
rl'i'ken-pets		2	
*stowen		—	
	Koppa	—	
tū'rip	Tarep	6	
sä"äl, "spirit people"		5	
*trwr	Terwah	Camp site	
o'ke'l, "pepperwood"	Wokkel	3	
ho"päw	Hoppaw	4	
re'kwoi, "mouth of a stream"	Requa	25	8
tmr'i		—	
we'lkwäw	Wekeswah	9	
tse'kwel		—	

COAST TOWNS		NUMBER OF HOUSES IN ABORIGINAL TIMES	FOR PLAN OF THE TOWN SEE MAP
AUTHOR'S LIST, 1909	RANDALL'S LIST, 1866		
o'men		4	7
o'men-hipur		7	6
o'segen		4	
ä'spa'w, "drinking-place"		7	
otmekwo'r		Pits only	
si'gwets		—	
ore'q <sup>w</sup>		7	30
tsa'peq <sup>w</sup>		10	
hr'gwr, "big"		5	
tso'tskwi		5	
oke'to, "lagoon"		18	
kē''kem		—	
oslo'q <sup>w</sup>		—	
pä''är		—	
pi'npa		—	
mä''äts		5	
tsū'rai, "mountain"		14	34

There are certain discrepancies between the two lists, though in general they correspond quite closely. For example, hi'mel, which is listed by Randall as a town, still shows house-pits quite clearly, yet I could ascertain no names nor find any one whose family had ever lived there. Apparently it has been long abandoned, and in fifty years the names have been forgotten, by many of the Indians at least. Noitker, which evidently corresponds with no'xtskum (also called no'xtsko), is, on Randall's map, across the river from the site pointed out to me under that name. I was told, when on the spot, that across the river on the flat were old house-pits, blotted out by cultivation. Possibly some homesteader ousted the Indians, and they moved the town and the name across the river. Near the mouth of Blue creek four towns are shown by Randall, where my attention was called to only two. His Jehehak and an indistinguishable name ending in . . . pan correspond in position to what was pointed out to me as the site of äyoL. Mangosh and Torah are close together near what is called nä'gil today. nä'gil was described to me as a "town," but äyoL I have always considered a recent settlement. The facts seem to be that it was abandoned as a town, and then more recently occupied again by some people who moved in there on account of a quarrel. ho'wego (Randall's Herwahgah) is a well known place, a flat in the bend of the river at its most dangerous rapids, Lamb's riffle, but was not described to me as a town. Apparently there is an old town site there, some distance below the riffle, whose existence I did not hear of when on the spot. Stowen is also a well known place, with Indian

families of some importance living there even now, but the present occupants are not descendants of the ancient population belonging there. The most important of them, Stowen Bill, hails from qo'otep-wogi. I was at some pains to collect genealogies, but none of my tables include individuals from stowen.

The Koppa of Randall's map lies on the same flat as tū'rip, a splendid site on a terrace among the redwoods, but the name Koppa is strange to me. Randall mentions the creek at pekwan, but indicates nothing about the town, though it was the largest on the river. Possibly he took the town for granted. At sä'äl his map indicates Indian houses, but gives no town name. trwr or turwer (Randall's Terwa) used to be an important place during the settlement of the country by the whites, who once had a substantial blockhouse there, that is, a heavy log cabin loopholed for musketry. The great flood of 1862 washed the whole village site away, and the Indians, when I was on the river, said it was not originally an Indian "village"; they referred to it as a "camp site," where people came in large numbers for spearing fish.

## HOUSE NAMES

A very characteristic point about the more important Yurok villages is that the houses in most cases have names. Some of these are very popular, and appear over and over in different towns. A few resist etymology. When a family was prosperous, and had numerous descendants, they sometimes had to build additional houses, and one name was applied to all the structures. In every town there are some nameless houses. Sometimes a town is found in which none of the houses had names. Such towns are always small.

The question of how houses received their names is a little puzzling. Some of the largest houses and some houses belonging to very important men have very commonplace names. I think the name becomes associated with a house by popular usage merely; and I dare say the custom was based primarily on convenience in reference. On the other hand, however, the house was a big thing in the life of the Yurok, and the house name stood for family standing and respectability. Families became associated and identified with house names as a family in Europe may become identified with the name of an estate. I have seen more than one old Indian, poor enough in this

world's goods, point to a depression in the ground where his ancestral house once stood, asserting that his family lived right there and that therefore he amounted to something. The Indian's notion of the importance of these houses may be illustrated, in another way, by the fact that they calmly mention them in accounts of mythological events. They tell us that the towns stood as they do now, house names and all, when the supernatural beings instead of the Indians were living along the Klamath. There is a myth that a young man in the town of qo'otep once went to the Sky with his pet deer. He belonged in the house sip<sup>o</sup>tai, which is still pointed out in the Indian village. In the myth about a "big money" or giant dentalium "as long as a sturgeon," which lived in the river beside a rock in front of pe'kwan, two well known houses are referred to, pe'kwan-wogi and qo'otep-me'tsr'o, both of them still standing. I suppose the Yurok would admit that some of the timbers, at least, have been renewed since mythical times. But the situation of those houses, their identity, according to the Indian viewpoint, has remained unchanged. A certain house in wo'xtek, called asi'ksäkweL, is mentioned in a myth about Rattlesnake's wife. In the myth of the origin of the jumping dance the hero's home is the house wo'gi, in the town of we'itspus. Other examples could be given.

The following list includes all the house names I was able to collect. Though not exhaustive, it is, I think, representative. I have indicated the translation where I have it, and in a third column the number of times each house name is used in Yurok territory. For the alphabetic order employed in the lists see the Introduction. Asterisks mark translations which are uncertain.

## YUROK HOUSE NAMES

NAME	TRANSLATION	NUMBER OF HOUSES BEARING NAME
e'lkerö	earth?	1
eniose'go		1
ärä'w	something hanging	1
ala'xkwetso'ip		1
re'pok	doorway	1
regwona'	at the end	2
rego'k		1
rä'äk	in the creek	3
rä':yoi		1
rego'o te'poni	feather-plume trees	1
r'wrgrn	wrn'r', plant used for sand-paper	1
r'nigr		1
r'nrk upkwr'i		1

NAME	TRANSLATION	NUMBER OF HOUSES BEARING NAME
r'grits-hir	behind the sweat-house	1
rki'gri	hair-ties	4
opyū'weg	where they dance	3
ote'tkol		1
o's'oq <sup>w</sup>		1
oslo'q <sup>w</sup> , hoslo'q <sup>w</sup> , osle'ga, sloi'yiq	where the trail comes down	6
o'tse'por	a village at Bluff creek (see rectangle G-39)	1
ore'gok	where it rolls down	1
orā'm	where there is sound of dancing	1
ole'geL		1
olego'k		1
wona' <sup>w</sup> , wone' <sup>w</sup> , wo'nil, wo'nau	up-hill	11
wo'neq, wo'nu, woi'yona, wo'noiyrL		
wo'gi, wo'gu	in the middle	19
wo'xtek		1
woxke'ro, woxke'lo, awoxqe'la	pepperwood	2
hi'nkeloL	white oak	1
hir, noLhir, hira'	behind	1
hike's	in front	2
higwo'p	in water (close to water)	3
haä'gonar	on top of a rock	1
ho''zko		1
he'Lqau	back from the river	4
hawaye'rai	last one	1
hoqome'e'r	last one	1
pi'ita	ironwood	1
pi''npa	town on Big lagoon	1
pets, pe'tsa, petsu'slo, pe'tsku, hipe'ts	up-river	15
petsa <sup>w</sup> ūmr'prk	doorway up-river	2
pegwolau'	stone slabs for sweat-house	1
pr'kwri	hill	
prgu'r		1
pul, pu'lek, pu'luk, hipu'r	down-river	18
pu'luk repo'q <sup>w</sup>	doorway down-river	1
pe'kwoi		1
peqū'r	mud	2
pā''är	water	1
pr'kwri	in rear	1
pre'ken	big seat	1
pler, ple'loi	big	6
me'tsr'o		1
me'yeloL	nettles	1
me'Lkū	shut in	1
me'kwer	little	1
mekwoma'	biggest	1
mā''ä hitso'	this side of mā''ä	1
mā''äwon	up-hill from mā''ä	1
mā''ä	town on Big lagoon	1
tete'q <sup>w</sup> olr'grL	*shinny	1
teq <sup>w</sup> sau'		1

NAME	YUROK HOUSE NAMES TRANSLATION	NUMBER OF HOUSES BEARING NAME
teko'l		1
tekwo'r		1
t'eka'		1
tegwiro'		1
tegwole'k repau'	doorway facing the ocean	1
tä''ämo	elderberry bush	3
tarä'		1
tr'wr	South point on Big lagoon	1
to'leL, to'lil	crosswise	1
si'gwets		1
si'petai		1
sepora'	prairie	2
sa'a		1
sa' sip	wild honeysuckle	1
so'xtsü	on top	1
sia'l ole'pa		1
skä'' äwilol	*buckeye hangs	1
tse'ken		1
tse'kwel	a flat in front of a cliff	2
tse'gi otep	live oak tree	1
tse'qr'		1
tsa'peq <sup>w</sup>	Stone lagoon	1
tsa'spe		1
tso'le, tso'lek, hitso', hitso'rau	down-hill	14
hitso'-wo'gi	down-hill from wo'gi	1
tsü'rai	*mountain, name of a town (Trinidad)	1
tspanr'	long	1
niqr'wrk		1
ne'qerai		1
neq <sup>w</sup> sa', leq <sup>w</sup> sa'	by the back door of the sweat- house	1
Lena'eq <sup>w</sup>		1
le'kiL	on the ground	1
la'yeq <sup>w</sup>	by the trail	3
lo''oliL	dam-builder's house	1
ki'neqau	last one	1
kepe'l	house-pit	2
ke'tskel		9
ke'nomr		1
ka'uku'ts		1
kr''pr		1
ko'mr''r	last	1
kus		1
kwo''ora		1
knē'woleL	long	1

It is obvious at once that these names fall into certain classes. I have grouped together in the following tabulation such as logically belong together.

## YUROK HOUSE NAMES

(Classified)

NAME	TRANSLATION	NUMBER OF HOUSES BEARING NAME
<i>Ceremonial</i>		
rkí'gri	hair ties	4
opyū'weg	where they dance	3
ore'gok	it rolls down	2
ora'm	sound of feet	1
		10
<i>Descriptive of House</i>		
petsa' <sup>w</sup> ūmr'prq	doorway up-river	2
pu'luk repo'q <sup>w</sup>	doorway down-river	1
plēL	big	6
me'kwer	little	1
mekwoma'	the biggest	1
te'gwolek repau'	doorway toward the ocean	1
tr'wr	South point house	1
se'pora	prairie	2
tspā'nr	long	1
haä'gonar	on top of a rock	1
pr'kwri	hill	1
pequ'r	mud	1
pä''är	spring	1
pre'ken	big seat	1
te'kor	steep	1
kepe'l	house-pit	1
knē'woleL	long	1
		24
<i>Mythological</i>		
rego'o te'ponl	feather-plume trees	1
si'petai	see page above	1
		2
<i>Names from Owners</i>		
o'tsepor	village at Bluff creek	1
pi''npa	town on Big lagoon	1
mä''ä	town on Big lagoon	1
tetä'q <sup>w</sup> olr'grL	shinny game	1
tsä'peq <sup>w</sup>	town on Dry lagoon	1
lo''oli'l	dam-builder lives	1
		6
<i>Named like the town in which they are situated</i>		
wo'xtek		1
tsū'rai		1
sa'a		1
		3

NAME	YUROK HOUSE NAMES		NUMBER OF HOUSES BEARING NAME
		TRANSLATION	
<i>Plants</i>			
r'wrgm	sand-paper	rush	1
wokke'ro	pepper	wood	2
hi'neloL	white	oak	1
pi'ita	iron	wood	1
me'yeloL	nettles		1
tä''ämo	elderberry	bush	2
sä sip	wild honeysuckle		1
skä'ä'wilol	buckeye	hangs	1
tse'gi otep	live oak	tree	1
			11
<i>Position in the village</i>			
rg'rits hi'r	behind the sweat-house		1
oslo'q <sup>w</sup>	where the trail comes down		6
wo'nau	up-hill		11
wo'gi	in the middle		19
hir	behind		1
hike's	down		2
higwo'p	close to water		3
he'Lqau	back from the river		4
hewēye''rai	last one		1
heqome'e'r	last one		1
pets	up-river		15
lä'yeq <sup>w</sup>	by the trail		3
pul	down-river		18
pr'kwri	in the rear		1
me'lku	shut in		1
mä''ä hitso'	this side of mä' ä		1
mä' ä won	up-hill from mä' ä		1
to'liL	crosswise		1
tso'le <sup>w</sup>	down-hill		13
le'q <sup>w</sup> sa	by the back door of the sweat-house		2
regwona'	at the end		2
rä''äk	in the creek		3
kineqau'	last one		1
			111

111

This tabulation shows that the house names occurring most frequently are those referring to the position of the houses in the town. These names occur in the greatest variety, and each is used over and over. The name wo'gi, in the middle, appears in nineteen towns, and such names as pul, "down-river," and tso'le<sup>w</sup>, "down-hill from the others," are almost equally popular. The peculiarities of the houses themselves also give rise to a great many names. Se'pora, close to a "prairie" or patch of grass, and pleL, "big," are examples. Next in importance in giving names to houses are plants and trees. Houses

named after their owners are relatively few in number. In all such cases it is the name of the owner's native town that is applied to his new house. The fact that so few houses are thus named reflects the fact that a man did not very often leave his native town and succeed in setting up an establishment elsewhere. People very often moved from their towns, but usually had to ask to be "taken in" somewhere else on a footing not particularly gratifying to their pride. It must be remembered that the mere building of a house required ample resources, and if a man commanded these resources it required rather extraordinary considerations to make him move. Of late years, of course, there has been a great deal of moving around, as the result of being displaced by the whites. In the old days the riffraff and adventurers moved all about, trying to improve their circumstances, but the wealthy people took a pride in staying at home.

It is noteworthy that in three cases (*wo'xtek*, *sa''a*, and *tsū'rai*) houses have the same name as the town in which they are situated. This would seem to imply that, in these cases, the towns grew up about these houses.

#### PLACE NAMES AND PERSONAL NAMES

Among the Yurok there exists a custom, which I have not heard of elsewhere, of substituting for personal names terms which are essentially place names, or descriptive expressions based on place names. Our personal names become permanently attached to the individual, become part of his make-up. Personal names are known to the Yurok, but are applied only to children, and instead of being permanent these names are dropped at marriage and used no more so far as that person is concerned. Thus their whole attitude toward personal names is quite different from our own. The nearest approach to correspondence is in the matter of nicknames, but even here there is a difference; with them nicknames are very common (see below), but are not used in addressing a person, or in his presence.

Names are given to children at the time when they cease to be regarded as infants, at the age of eight or nine years. A boy is named by his father, while the girl's name is selected by her mother. Certain personal names run in particular families, as is more or less the case with ourselves. A well known Yurok family living in the house *pul*, in *pekwan*, have frequently used the name *e'gos* for their boys. An important family in *pe'kwan-he'Lqau* is partial to *te'hqo*

as a boy's name. In the town of sre'gon, where nearly all the inhabitants are relatives, sär is very popular. Since these names are dropped at the time of marriage they may be used over and over in one immediate family. Thus a certain Indian called by the whites Wokel Dave had before he was married the name mo'ok, a name which he took from his father, who was also mo'ok. When Dave took to himself a wife, the name mo'ok was given to his younger brother. This boy died while still quite young, so this particular name was not used again in that family. The young fellow took it with him when he died, and it will not be used again in that family for a long time. If he had lived until it was time for him to relinquish this name it would very likely have been given to a still younger brother.

I give herewith a few additional examples of these personal names.

## BOYS' NAMES

pr'N	rogäq <sup>w</sup>	rotsi's
mä'wo r	sohpr'k	twäg
to'an	skä'w	hrgr'
we'la	sprgi'	sär
hä'älits	opo't	koi'ya'
ortsumo'l	rgr'	tsütsmēgr'

Expressions containing a playful allusion to marriage were often used as "boy" names. One such name is srümigo's, "married to Patrick's point." Another is se'kwe's, "married to Redding rock (sekwona')," a sea-stack six miles offshore below the mouth of the Klamath (rectangle H-21). A third is enkewis, "married to ä'nkau," a mountain in the Bald hills. The majority of the names given to boys are not translatable; at least, in my genealogies most of them are not translated, although I made inquiry in every case.

## GIRLS' NAMES

yr'wis	mr' <sup>i</sup> pi's
wo'onä''	srni's
hünē'	hä'ägwē'
nene'm	wen:ē'
ninawa'	hrgrpi's

In the case of young girls, the playful allusions to marriage are very common. The following are examples:

mr'nrwi-son, married into snail's house  
 tsu'ts-wa, married to "chippy-bird"  
 hr'kwr-wa, married to rabbit  
 he'mi-wa, married to pigeon  
 sme'ts-wa, married to chipmunk  
 r'lgr-son, married into rLgr-town  
 srü'mi-son, married into Patrick's Point (srumig)  
 onü''ü-son, married into onü''ü

These girl-names, like the boy-names, are surrendered on marriage, and never used thereafter. Even a girl's own mother would never call her by such a name. Thus we may almost say that the Yurok have no personal names. After they take their places as full fledged members of the group they are known instead by descriptive expressions.

The facts about this system of substituting descriptive expressions for proper names are broadly as follows:

A man who owns a house is regularly called, except by his immediate relatives, by the name of his house. This house name is like a title of respect. Thus an Indian called Sam Smith is regularly addressed by the other Indians as *pets-repo'q<sup>w</sup>*, "door-way up-river." This is the name of his house in the town of *qo'otep*. Other people here and there are referred to as *qi-pu'l*, "down-river," or *qi-wo'gi*, "in the middle" (see list of house names on p. 209). On going to a new place a man is called by the name of the place from which he came. Thus a very well known old Indian living at the town of *re'kwoi* is called by everybody *mä''äts*. This is really the name of his home town on Big lagoon, from which he moved sixty or seventy years ago. What his original name was I do not know. He has so long outlived his generation that I doubt whether it is known to very many of his Indian associates. Another well known character goes among the whites by the name of Lagoon George. The Indians call him *q-oke'to*, "yonder Big lagoon." In his home town of Big lagoon (*oke'to*) this name or term would hardly do, for it would obviously apply to all native-born people, but abroad it serves well enough. Yurok communities being very small, compared to ours, such an expression as "man from Big lagoon" could hardly be misunderstood.

People of less importance than house owners are called by terms which express their wedded condition, with special reference to the houses into which they married or out of which they sprang. The Yurok have highly developed matrimonial institutions, the principal facts for our present purposes being that two forms of marriage are recognized. A wealthy man pays for a woman and takes her to his own house, the children belonging to him. This constitutes the highest type of marriage, and is very creditable to all concerned, especially if the amount paid is large. Children take a higher or lower rank in society according to the price paid for their mother. A very poor man may perhaps have no money with which to pay for a woman, or a very little. In this case another form of marriage is possible. He may arrange to live with his wife's group, the children belonging

to her and her relatives. Such a man is said by the Indians to be "half-married" (no'xpe<sup>w</sup>). Divorce is fairly easy, subject always to some satisfactory arrangements concerning the property interests. Quite an elaborate set of suffixes exist, which, in connection with house and village names, express the various aspects of the marriage relation. Such expressions take the place filled by personal names among ourselves. Place names, when used in this way, as terms of address and in combination with suffixes, are curiously clipped. I can only refer to this clipping, without attempting to explain it. The etymology of the suffixes, also, is entirely beyond me.

SUFFIXES USED IN DESCRIPTIVE EXPRESSIONS WHICH TAKE THE PLACE OF  
PERSONAL NAMES

-omä<sup>w</sup>

If a man's wife is from the house wo'gi, he is called wo'gis-oma" after her death.

-son

A girl married into a given house, takes the house-name plus this suffix, in place of her personal name, which she abandons. Thus, a girl who married into the house lä'yeq<sup>w</sup> would be called by her own relatives läs-son, "into läyeq<sup>w</sup> married." It is worthy of remark that a man who is half-married is sometimes spoken of in exactly the same terms. Thus Billy Brooks, at rékwoi, is half-married into the house lä'yeq<sup>w</sup> in that town. He is regularly called läs-son by his friends, and by his numerous enemies on occasions when he is not listening. I believe that people who were not on good terms with him would be a little careful about alluding to his half-married condition unless willing to affront him deliberately.

-e'melo

This suffix seems to be used with exactly the same meaning as the last. I am unable to explain it.

-owa'

A man who marries a woman takes the name of her house, plus this suffix, in place of his name, as long as she lives. Such expressions are especially common among relatives. Several brothers will call each other after the names of the houses from which their respective wives were obtained. After a man's wife is deceased the compound based on her house-name is no longer used. A well known Indian living near wē'itpūs, "Canyon Tom," has a brother Mike. He married a Hupa woman from the town of petso<sup>w</sup>. He is called among the Indians petsa'-owa'.

-mīLnos

Children sprung from half-married fathers, also illegitimate children, take the name of their father's house plus this suffix.

-tsus

This suffix describes a man who is living with a certain woman outside of wedlock. It is added to the name of her house, or town. Thus a well known white man living with a Merip woman, is called meri-tsus, involved in a scandalous relation with Merip.

-or,-egor

A woman who has several children may be bought from her relatives. These children are called by the name of her new husband's house plus this suffix. Turip-egor means "brought along with their mother, by a Turip man." It is applied to children of either sex

-nin (cf. *ninegos*, divorced)

A divorced man or divorced woman may be called by the name of the house or town of the ex-spouse plus this suffix.

In addition to personal names and descriptive expressions serving as proper names, the Yurok make frequent use of nicknames as already stated. These nicknames are often in reference to some bodily trait or peculiarity. Thus the wife of old Jim Williams, at ho'pä<sup>w</sup>, a woman from we'lkwä<sup>w</sup>-pegwola', called qi-pe'g formally, is referred to less formally as tr'nrwit, "six toes," because she has an extra digit on each foot. An old man at pe'kwan-pul is called wone'q<sup>w</sup>-sego't, "up-hill he goes." The reason for this I do not know. A man at meta' is called kr'grm, "heightened," for the reason, as the Indians put it, that "he looks like he was stuck on himself." An Indian at qe'nek, called by the whites "Tuley Creek Jim," is called behind his back se'gep, "coyote," because of his quarrelsome disposition. The Indians say he looks mean and talks too fast. An old fellow living a few miles below him is called qwrgr'i, "whistler." A blind old Indian at ore'q<sup>w</sup>, who owned a medicine for purification after touching a corpse, is called "Skirk," an Anglicized form of the Yurok tskr'kr, said to mean "hay-fork." He is said by some to have once stolen a hay-fork, or to have been accused of it, or to have charged somebody else with stealing a hay-fork, or something. The ideas about the incident are a trifle vague now, but the name has stuck for sixty years. If one should address the old Indian by this title he would probably ask for five dollars as injury-money. His proper title is qi-pä'är, after his father's town of pä'är, on Big lagoon. His own name, as a young man, was keno'. A certain woman is called, as a nickname, ki'mholin, "dirty," not for physical but for moral reasons. Although of excellent birth, she is the mother of several bastards. Had she sprung from a very poor family her actions would have been little noticed.

#### FORMS OF REAL PROPERTY

An important feature of the place names which are indicated on the following maps is that many represent private holdings. In other words, a good many of the places represent a primitive form of real estate. Some of these places were valuable for one reason, some for another. The places which were "owned" by individuals or by families may be classified roughly in the order of importance as fishing-places, "acorn-fields," and snaring-places. I shall frequently refer to these places in the following pages, and I will explain at this point what is meant.

*Fishing-places.*—The Yurok have several devices for taking fish, among them the hook-and-line, the two-pointed harpoon, traps, and a variety of nets. Some of their seines are eighty to one hundred feet long, models of patient-craftsmanship. Their principal reliance, however, is a dip-net, stretched between three poles and handled from a staging.<sup>7</sup> It is only possible to use the dip-net to advantage in a pool where the salmon congregate. Wherever a large boulder or promontory makes a sort of deep eddy or backwater the Yurok built a staging of poles (pl. 8). Such an arrangement is known to the Indians as a "fishing-place," *kworl*. It is more properly a netting place. Such places were owned by individuals. They could be sold, bartered, and bequeathed like any other property, and they changed hands quite freely. Their value depended on the number of fish they supplied, and they were appraisable very exactly in Indian money. Their value fluctuated more or less, for there are continual changes in the bed of the stream, and sometimes a "place" is suddenly damaged or spoiled entirely by silting up. At the present time a fishing-place may be sold for two dollars and a half. In aboriginal times a fairly good place was worth a great deal more than that, even considering all possible differences between their standard of values and ours. There are several reasons for the decrease in importance. The Indians nowadays have many ways of earning a livelihood, and the salmon accordingly mean less to them. The supply of salmon is meanwhile less to be depended on, for the canneries take enormous numbers.

It was often possible to buy a half interest in a fishing-place, and when there were two owners they usually alternated in using the gear. If both parties happened to come to the place at the same time, each took half the night. The fishing-place *wo'weyek*, near *qe'nek*, is owned by five partners, three of them being from *qo'otep*. It was originally owned by two *qe'neq* men, but one of them got sick and had no money for the shaman who treated him, so he had to sell a part of his right in this place to three other men. My informants told me that a particularly fine place might be owned by ten men. It is owned, say, by one man for half a day, by another for two days, by a third for one day, etc. Some are owned by one man "for salmon," and by another when the place is good for eels. A given place may be owned by one man when the river is "up" to a certain height, and by another when it is lower than that. Sometimes an "empty" place, abandoned because of silting up, or because of changes in the river channel,

<sup>7</sup> Goddard, 1903, p. 23, briefly describes the device.

became useful again. If it is unoccupied for a long time, the original owner is sometimes forgotten, and people appropriate such a place by squatting on it. A place obtained in this way is called weq<sup>u</sup>sisiik.

Fishing-places were sometimes "spoiled" for spite. This can be done secretly by burying pieces of a certain root near the pool. This will make the ground slide into the river and fill the pool. If one cannot find the roots, which do not grow everywhere, there exists a certain medicine-song, which will drive all the salmon away from the place. More commonplace difficulties arise from people attempting to discover "new" places just below old and well established ones. The salmon come, of course, up-stream, and ownership in a given "place" involves the right to prevent anybody from fishing below it. I say the "right," but perhaps that is overstating it; I should refer to it rather as the recognized privilege of raising a terrible row if any one moves in on a preserve. Whether or not an Indian can block another one off is a question largely of influence and the influence of families and friends. Certainly the closer the newcomer located to a previously occupied rock the more chance the previous owner had of raising a commotion in his own favor. In actual practice, a certain definite series of fishing-places were recognized, from one end of Yurok territory to the other, and each of them represented valuable property.

*Beach and seacoast rights.*—The Yurok fished relatively little in the sea. As remarked above, they used throw-lines along the beaches for surf fish and smelt, catching them in sufficient quantities to dry. Mussels and clams were very important, and seaweed (identified by Goddard as *Porphyra perforata*) was dried, dipped in whale oil, and eaten. The gifts of the sea which the Yurok talk most about were the sea mammals, especially whales. Whales, I think, were never hunted, for the Yurok have no whaling tackle. But the stranding of a dead whale was not uncommon and was considered a great event. Sea-lions they hunted in regularly organized parties. Sea-lion oil, like whale oil, was considered a delicacy. A well known dish consists of such oil mixed with grass-seed flour (slow'il) and pounded manzanita berries (pyäts).

The beaches and all the sea-stacks and outlying rocks, big and little, even including Redding rock, an isolated crag six miles offshore, were "owned." They were not "private" property, but rather the property of definite and limited groups. I think each "owner" had a right to a part or share in the returns. The Yurok talk a great deal about "beach rights." Certainly the territories belonging to

different towns were carefully discriminated and the limits very accurately known. The people who could by right share in a given piece of good fortune, such as a stranded whale, were the individuals who owned rights in that particular stretch of beach. Little river, for example, was the frontier between two tribes, the Yurok and the Wiyot. If a whale came ashore on the boundary line the parts lying north of the northern bank of Little river belonged to the Yurok town of tsū'rai (Trinidad), the parts lying south of the line belonged to the Wiyot. The people owning "places" in the vicinity were each entitled to certain "cuts" of whale. These "cuts" were measured off with the pack-straps which were used in carrying the openwork burden baskets. Such a strap was of certain recognized and standardized dimensions and was divided into sections by knots. The length of a strap was, to use the Yurok expression, "one double stretch," qo'htsenoi wenū'pek, that is, twice as long as the owner's "reach" from finger tip to finger tip across his chest. The length of the cut of whale was the full length of the strap. The strap was then doubled two times to determine the width of the strip of meat. Some rich families were entitled to ten cuts. When a man had cut off his strip of meat, the carrying strap was fastened under the whale hide by means of slashes and the meat was dragged home on the ground. If in cutting up a whale a man cut beyond the end of his strap violent disputes arose.

While a whale was being cut up people from various places used to come and sit around and look on, without touching the whale. If they did, it meant a fight. Later, when invited, they would cut small pieces for themselves. Certain pack-straps are said to have been reserved for the purpose of measuring whale meat, and to have served as symbols of the owner's rights to a share in stranded whales. I have records of these pack-straps changing hands and passing inland by marriage, so that a given family in an up-river town might have the right to a certain cut in every whale which became stranded between two certain points on the beach forty miles away. Sea-lion clubs, e'tsqwo-ūpr'qrm, also, were looked upon as a sort of outward and visible sign of partnership in sealing-rocks. These clubs were of yellow pine. The length was one cubit, qo'htsemoi-nemo'otis, as the Yurok say, that is, the length of the forearm with the hand open. Certain of these clubs were handed down as heirlooms.

Indians, like other people, have a liking for the exotic in foods. A village in Hupa valley at one time "bought" a rock in Trinidad

bay because they liked mussels. The people from the village came all the way across the hills to collect mussels on that rock. There was some traffic between the two places in dried seaweed, which the island people relished especially because of the salty taste.

*Acorn-places.*—The acorn ground also was a very definite spot. It was often of several acres' extent. The boundary between two such places is called *nī'qr*. Usually a number of places occur close together on a hillside where there is a heavy growth of oak. Nearby there are frequently shacks, built of planks and various odds and ends, with a simple gable roof, in which people camp while the crop is being gathered. There were no pits to such houses. When acorns were plentiful no one worried much about his "rights," or "other people's rights," for that matter. In seasons of scarcity, when the acorn crop fell short (which often happened), or when it failed in certain sections, ownership of places became a very important matter. Permission to pick up acorns in a given spot might in that case be bartered for Indian money. Sometimes several different groups or "houses" are spoken of as owning some acorn-place in common. Thus four houses in the town of *qo'otep* (*mē'itsr'o*, *hitso'*, *pe'kwoi*, and "Jimmy Cleveland's") owned in partnership the acorn-place called *o'tsep-higwo'n*. Houses in three separate villages (*pe'kwan-ketske'l*, *meta'-pul*, and *qo'otep-regwonau'*) own in common an acorn-place called *o-le'go*, which lies just in the rear of a fourth town, *no'tskum*. Many conflicting claims are advanced concerning the ownership of different acorn-fields, but this does not necessarily mean that the ownership is indefinite. I get the impression very clearly that acorn-grounds were owned, if not by individuals, at least by families. I find very few definite references to sale or exchange, however.

*Snaring-places.*—Hunting with the bow could be practiced anywhere by any individual. This method, however, was on the whole little depended on for large game. When the Indians were in earnest the method they practiced was to run the animals with dogs, to get them in snares. As pointed out by Goddard,<sup>s</sup> deer and elk have a way of taking certain paths and following certain gullies and passes in the hills, especially when pressed and trying to get to water. In these particular spots snares were set. Such snaring-places are often called by proper names, and are strictly private property.

The Yurok had a great many varieties of vegetable food besides the acorns. They speak of many edible bulbs (mostly lilies, I think)

<sup>s</sup> 1903, p. 21.

as "Indian potatoes," in Yurok hr'Lkr and otoi'. Another source of food was grass seed, which they gathered with the seed-beater. I think this was important, not from its quantity but from the fact that it introduced variety into a rather monotonous diet. They speak highly of grass seed, mentioning "millet" (legeL), wild sunflower (petso'lo), clover (klä'wpo), and at least four other varieties called tsi'ge, tse'gem, slo'wil, and no'rpil. People camped on open grass lands or prairies, in brush huts covered with brakes laid on in courses, shingle fashion. So far as I know, grass lands were not owned by individuals, though each village had its own localities and never went elsewhere.

### DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

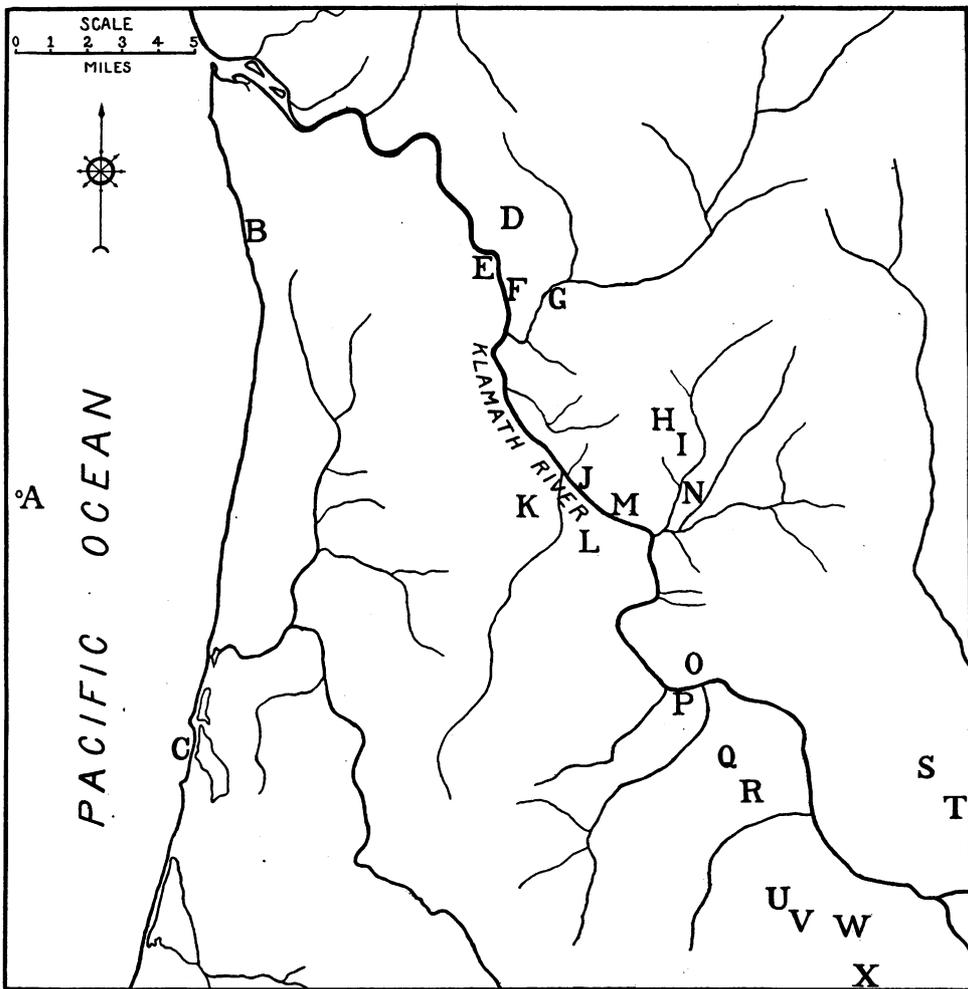
Descent and inheritance are, of course, important in connection with such property as that just described. The rules of descent, if they may be called rules, seem to be extremely unsystematic. It is worth remark that a man's relatives did not necessarily inherit his property. He could "will" it, in whole or in part, to others. Thus old Ben, at sa'a, had considerable ceremonial regalia, which he "left" to his "big friend," who later sold it to the whites. So also Grove, at the town of pe'k<sup>w</sup>tuL, owns a fine fishing-place called sio'gon, a little below the rapids at qe'nek. One of his old friends willed it to him. I am sure that property in a great many cases descended through females. For example, Kepel Joe owns the fishing-place hä"äsqr'r, which he got from his mother and sister. They were "doctors" and somebody paid them this place for "doctoring." I have numerous records of property owned by female members of families. For example, ki'Lotep-hima'r (a fine fishing-place, rectangle C-16) belongs to Humpback Thompson's wife at qo'otep-sa'aL, while rkyi'rgr nearby belongs to Nick's wife in the same village. There was a recognized advantage in contracting marriages at a distance from home, for it gave a man's family, and particularly his descendants, valuable "connections." Certain important families, whose members have married here and there, now claim property, in the form of fishing-places and acorn-camps, all over Yurok territory and even beyond it. A man's immediate relatives were considered to have the privileges of his wife's acorn grounds, or those of her family, and if their own crop proved to be poor a marriage contracted with a little judgment might prove to be a valuable asset and save the day for them. Even marriages

with members of other tribes were not unheard of, and were considered to be evidence of enterprise and a good spirit. One Yurok brought his wife from Indian creek, in Karok territory. Inter-marriage between tribes, especially near the tribal frontier, was so common that the Yurok, I presume like the Hupa and other tribes, are often bilingual. Marrying close at home, on the other hand, was looked upon as evidence of sloth and lack of spirit. A man who married the girl from next door was called by a special term, eni'wa, and the girl who did this was called we'yonits. Such a marriage was not disreputable, but a special name was employed for the people who contracted it.

The ideas concerning the interest which a man acquires in his wife's property vary. Accordingly they are a fruitful source of quarrels. Marriage with a given woman enables a man to set up a claim to interest in her holdings, a claim which he may or may not be able to sustain. In my notes such claims to property are referred to continually. Thus the house pul, at the town of meta', owns an acorn-place called oro'o, just up-hill from the south landing-point of John Gist's ferry at the settlement of Martin's. The Indians explain it by saying that meta'-pul once bought a woman from there. I think in general the husband could claim very little for himself, but might insist with some prospect of success that the woman's children share in the property of her family. I think the woman's interests were much more separate from her husband's than has been the case among ourselves. The following may serve to illustrate the Yurok feeling:

A certain woman's deceased husband had filed on a homestead. After his death a payment of \$100 somehow fell due. She did not have the money, nor did her relatives. Her new husband suggested that he would make the payment and save the property, and they would own it together. The payment was made, but the woman's brothers showed resentment for some reason. They insisted that the new husband was an interloper. He took the stand that if somebody would return his \$100 he would withdraw from the transaction. The woman's relatives did not have any money, and so the quarrel dragged on. The husband and one of the woman's family happened one day to be in a sweat-house at me'rip, and the quarrel broke out afresh. The relatives invited the husband outside to fight, but took care to go out first. As the husband crawled through the small "back door" he was severely kicked about the head and face. Thus a new element was added, namely, the question of indemnity for injury. When I was in touch with the case it seemed to me that half the Indians on the river were involved in the dispute in one way or another.

The result of these customs is a great scattering of property rights. Individuals often possess holdings at what are, to the Indians, great distances apart. The "places" owned by the people of a certain



Map 3. The Yurok area, showing the property owned, or claimed, by one family, that of a'mits, "Charley," in the town of qo'otep.

- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <p>A. sekwona', REDDING ROCK, hunting grounds for sea-lions.</p> <p>B. amone'k, a rock marking the northern limit of a stretch of beach</p> <p>C. The outlet of Stone lagoon, the southern limit of the stretch of beach just mentioned</p> <p>D. o'xtr-so'h, acorn-grounds</p> <p>E. otse'ki-skr, fishing-place</p> <p>F. orä'w, fishing-place</p> <p>G. tse'ktsin-ego, acorn-grounds</p> | <p>H. ori'ig, acorn-grounds</p> <p>I. sr'pr-mel-e'go, acorn-grounds</p> <p>J. o'lko-hiqo', fishing-place, with a snaring-place just above it on the hill. This snaring-place supplied only small deer</p> <p>K. rwrgrll'ig, acorn-grounds</p> <p>L. osegere'q'w, acorn-grounds</p> <p>M. House he'lqau, in the town Qo'otep</p> <p>N. wogo'w, acorn-grounds</p> <p>O. te'kus-o-ke'pel, snaring-place</p> | <p>P. tsegoroko'r, a great rock at the edge of the river, with a fine fishing-place at one end</p> <p>Q. owëgä, acorn-grounds</p> <p>R. qe'nek-hez, acorn-grounds</p> <p>S. egwole'q'w-higwo'n, acorn-place grounds</p> <p>T. loole'go-pets, acorn-grounds</p> <p>U. ke'pel-o-kim, acorn-place grounds</p> <p>V. hekegë', acorn-place grounds</p> <p>W. o'plo-higwo'n, acorn-place grounds</p> <p>X. we'skwenet, acorn-grounds</p> |
|--|--|--|

villages are often adjacent to holdings belonging to persons from villages many miles away. Back of the town of qo'otep, for example, I recall an acorn-place with three "shacks" on it. This place belongs to the town of o'segen, which lies across the mountains on the coast. This distance is only twelve miles as the crow flies, but much farther than that by boat or by the trail. The adjoining piece of property, an acorn-place called sr'pr-meL-e'go, "sr'pr-town uses it," is claimed by a man in qo'otep. The town of sr'pr, about four miles down the river, has some claims here, however. My qo'otep informant says that his people "allowed" some sr'pr folk to gather acorns here and after a while they set up a claim. It was the custom of the qo'otep people to leave for the sr'pr people enough acorns on the ground to fill a basket. What the basis of the claim of the sr'pr people was I did not ascertain, but it was probably ascribed to some intermarriage. I decline to believe that the qo'otep people would have shown this persistent generosity without some very good reason.

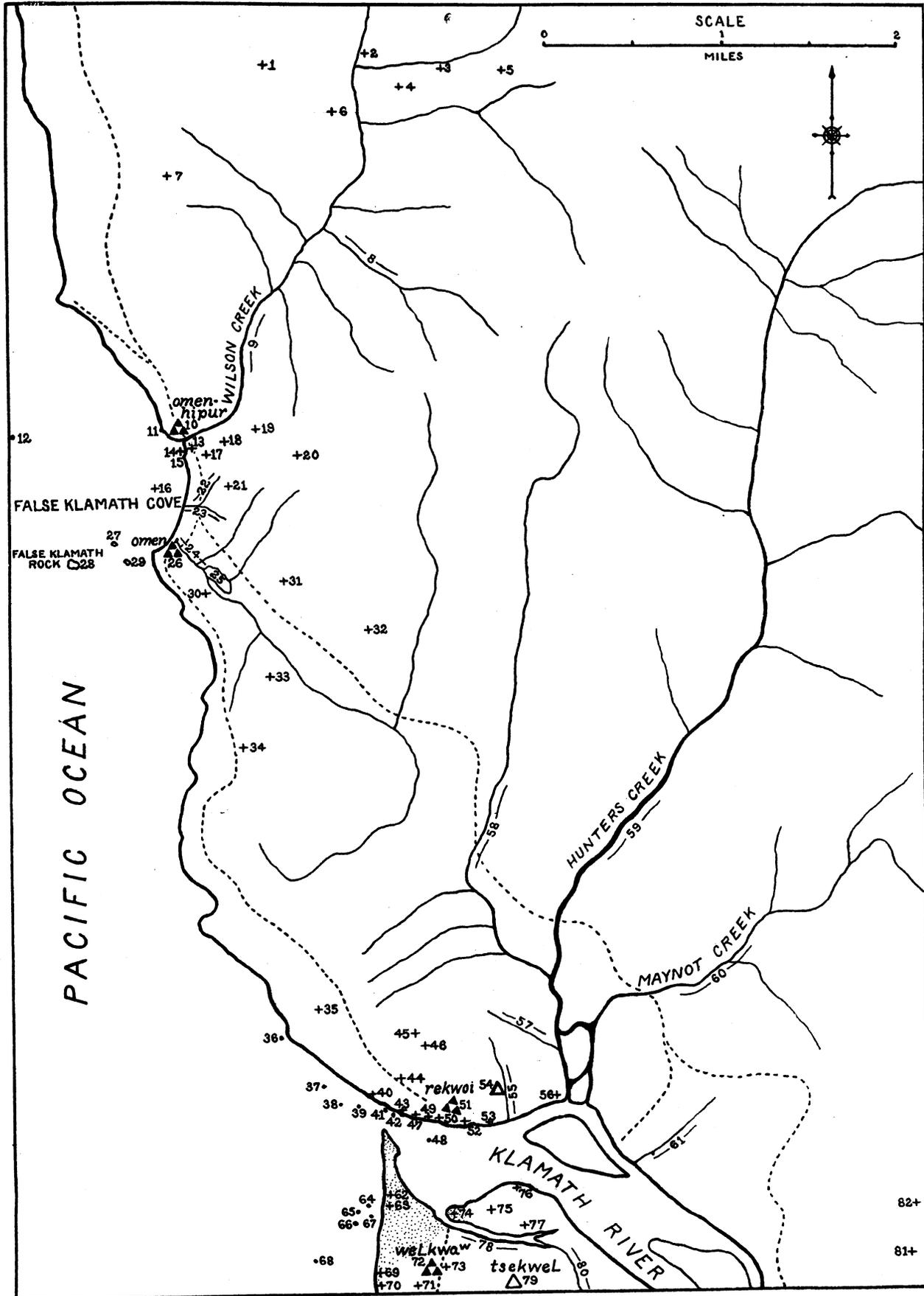
On this one hillside, then, we have already found three separate towns represented. Down in the gully, near by, was a spot called otrego'n, where "Indian potatoes" could be dug. This potato ground was the property of a man in a fourth town, turip, twelve miles down the river, with several villages intervening.

To illustrate the scattering of property rights more definitely, I have indicated on the accompanying map (map 3) the varied holdings claimed by one individual Indian. The information was in large part obtained from the individual himself ("Charley," or a'mits, living at the town of sa'a). While he was proud of his family and their former wealth, I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the information. I believe the map indicates fairly the property that might be accumulated, by purchase and marriage, on the part of one wealthy Yurok family.

## DESCRIPTIVE GEOGRAPHY

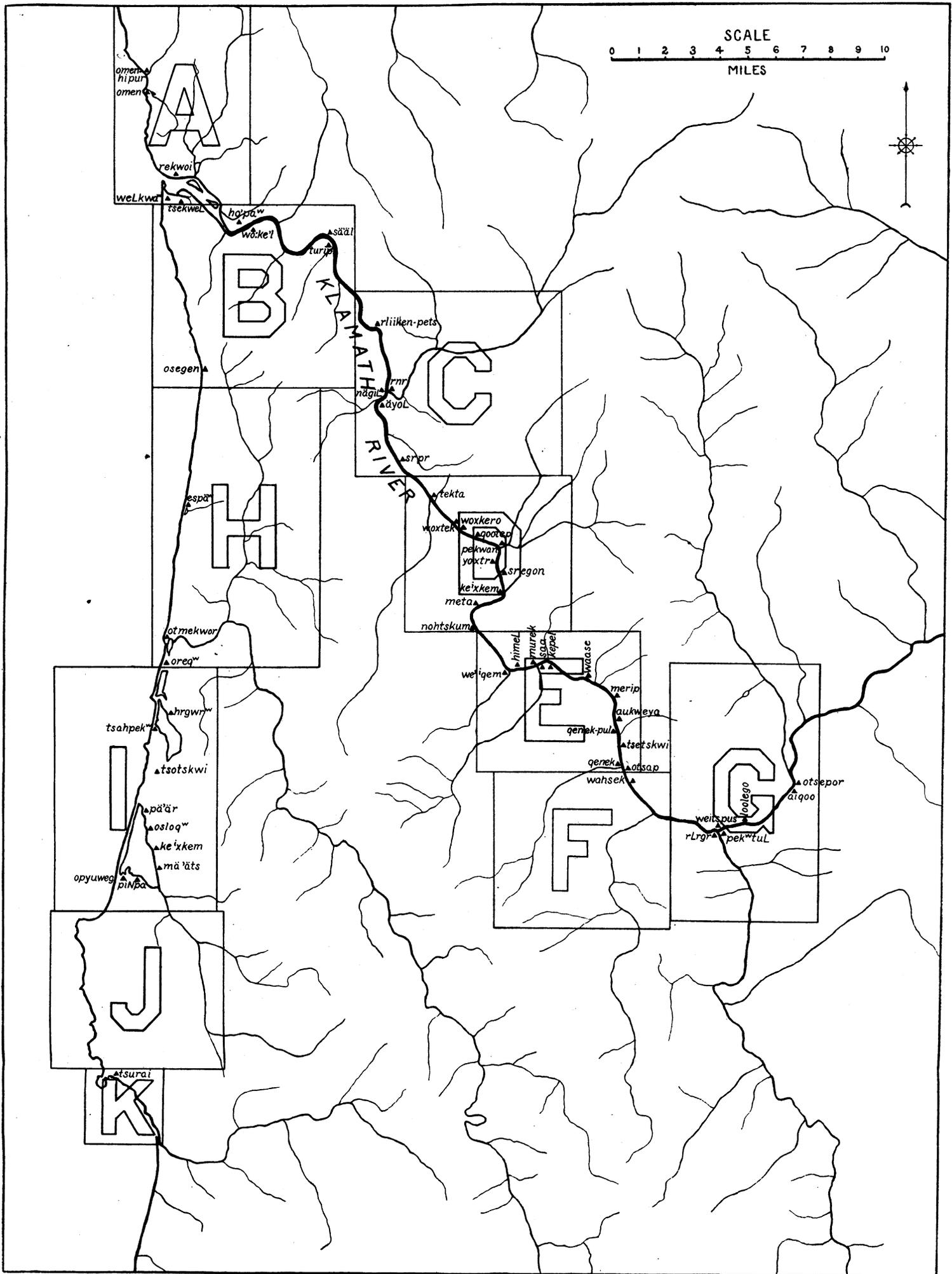
For the purpose of showing the distribution of place names I have divided Yurok territory into arbitrary rectangles. The limits of these rectangles are indicated on the accompanying key map (map 4). Indian towns and certain other localities are shown drawn to a much larger scale on sketch maps. The rectangles are based on what are called the "township plats" of the region, which are on file in the United States Land Office. These township plats have been corrected,

1. lké'lik-o-le'pa, acorn-ground
2. ora'w, acorn-ground
3. mr'm owe'e ikú', acorn-ground
4. pye'h-o-aké'go'o, acorn-ground
5. wr'sip-u-so'n, acorn-ground
6. wa'asinera', spring
7. áyoh, hillside
8. re'gok-o-yú'ú wroi', creek
9. o'men wroi', creek
10. o'men hipú'r, town
11. o'lik, small promontory
12. owrg'r L, large sea-stack
13. he'lkus-o-le'gem, rock
14. kr'otakeg'm, sea-stack
15. o'n:ego, rpromontory
16. me:mú'wim, rock almost submerged
17. ore'wok, hill
18. oke'gep, spring
19. yots-legai, ridge
20. kil-o-méyo', hill
21. tamegi'ts-wesle'k-wo'ne<sup>w</sup>, hill
22. otrgr'p wroi', creek
23. wo'gi sitso' wroi', creek
24. hirikúmr'<sup>w</sup> wroi', creek
25. o'kwego oke'to, lake
26. o'men, town
27. tá'táil, two sea-stacks, with channel between
28. rli'gr, sea-stack, FALSE KLAMATH ROCK
29. pr'gris-o-ts'guk, sea-stack
30. okwe'go, sacred tree
31. wo'gir-o-te'pon, hill
32. á'spik-o-skú, spring
33. wa'ámok<sup>us</sup>, hill
34. tahtosi'ta, hill
35. á'kor-o-tep, knoll
36. otse'gep, sea-stack
37. ha'ág, sea-stack
38. sú'ú, fishing-place
39. melekoi'yo, small sea-stack
40. mega', rock cliff
41. mo'í-o-o-tek, small sea-stack
42. otsnepá'<sup>w</sup>, small sea-stack
43. ore'go's, large pointed crag
44. otspi'gr, rock on hillside
45. hr'wr'<sup>w</sup>, hill
46. rnr'g, perpetual spring
47. otse'gep, landing-place
48. ro'ó, a small rock
49. pkets-o-pe'gemú, small rock at water's edge
50. trpr', rock
51. re'kwoi, town
52. w'tspú, point where a ridge enters the lagoon
53. plepé', point where a ridge enters the lagoon
54. tnr'i, settlement
55. tnr'i wroi', creek
56. petskus-o-re'tse, place
57. poiyouwú'r wroi', creek
58. úme'gwo, creek
59. pú'lik sr'nri, creek
60. he'lkú sr, creek
61. nikurta'r'i, creek
62. tegwola'-o-tsáL, sand-spit
63. trkr'mrwr, large rock in sand-bar
64. opegi'lyem, small sea-stack
65. lké'lik-ol, small sea-stack
66. okne'get, large sea-stack
67. wá'á' son, small sea-stack
68. taráhpstá'k, sea-stack, almost submerged
69. rli'rq, crag
70. etakwokú'uk, spring
71. ketsa'k, berrying-place
72. we'lkwá'<sup>w</sup>, town
73. wahtsero', hillside
74. wo'hipi-ol, sand-spit
75. otwe'go, flat
76. úpr'sr, a point of land
77. tselo'notep, camp site
78. otwego' wroi', creek and slough
79. tse'kwel, village or house site
80. há'wo wroi', creek
81. seye'<sup>w</sup> osle'p, acorn-ground
82. oll'ik, acorn-ground



RECTANGLE A

Map 5. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)



Map 4. Key Map, indicating the division of Yurok territory into arbitrary rectangles for the purpose of description.

where possible, by the maps of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. The United States Geological Survey with its topographic sheets has not yet been pushed into this region. The Land Office makes no claim to accuracy for the township plats on which the present rectangles are based, for the work was in many cases done a generation ago, by contract. In some cases I have gone so far as to correct these plats from my own observations. Where any one map is based on sources other than the Land Office maps I have made acknowledgment in the caption.

For the sketch maps which show the position of Indian houses within the villages I assume responsibility myself. It will be understood that this work was done with few instruments and little technical skill. All I can say is that the sketches represent observations made with a tapeline and a compass on the spot. In some cases, where the Indians were ill-tempered about it, the work was done hastily or surreptitiously. At times their opposition made work of any sort impossible.

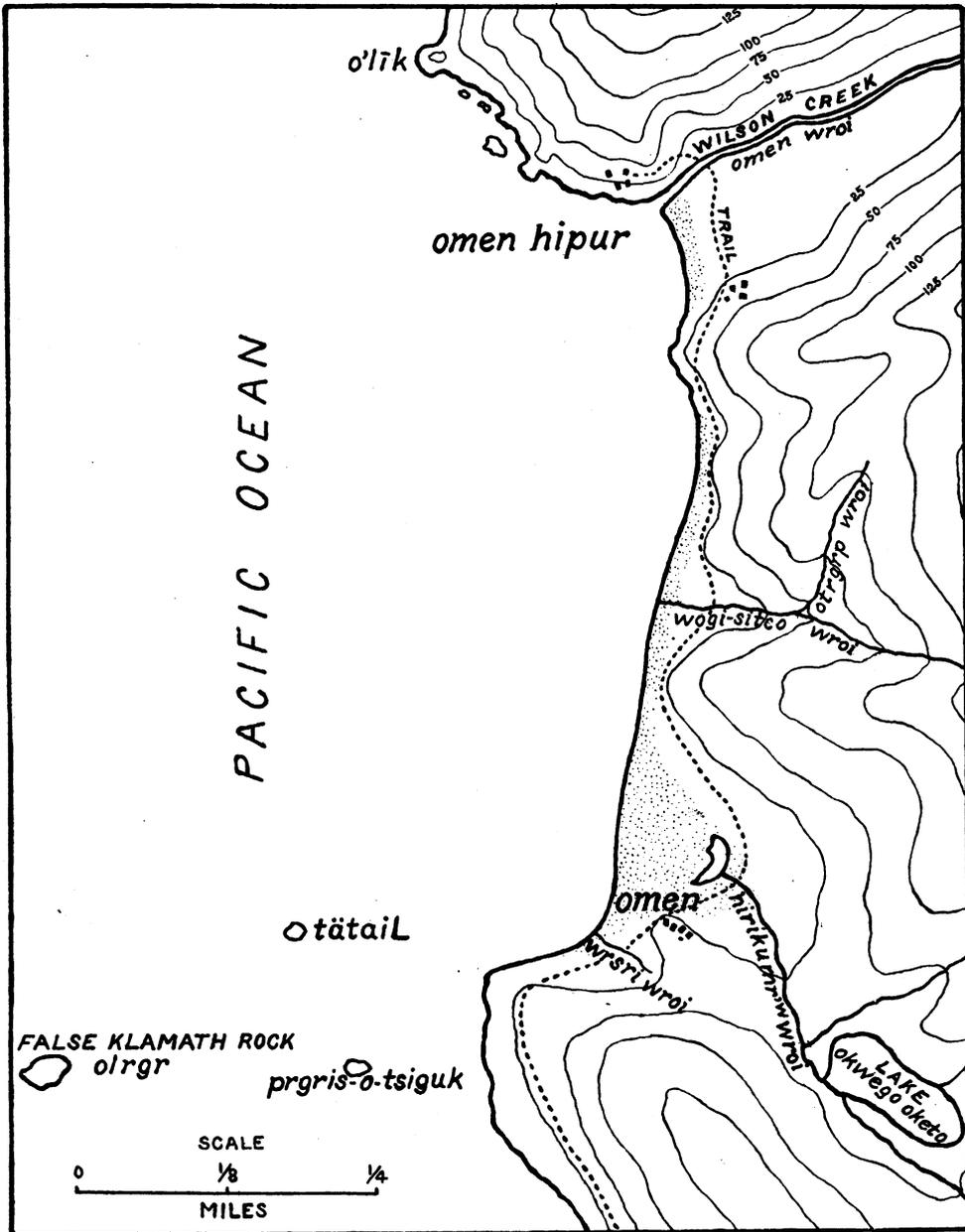
### Notes on Rectangle A

The place names on this map are very closely grouped in two neighborhoods, namely, the mouth of the Klamath river and the mouth of Wilson creek. As already noted, the names on the map represent only a small part of those known to the Indians. The areas where the names cluster so thickly are, however, two very important places of settlement. At Wilson creek are the most northerly Yurok outposts. The principal town is o'men. North of that place, just beyond Wilson creek, is a group of house-pits known as o'men-hipū'r (omen down-river). A third group of pits, lying between these two, has apparently no separate name. No Indians now live in this vicinity, and I have no way of closely estimating the original population, but it could not have exceeded two or three dozen. The place, nevertheless, is quite prominent, and the people there seem to have been wealthy and influential. The mouth of the Klamath had a number of settlements. The largest is re'kwoi, containing twenty-five houses or more. This is the largest town in Yurok territory. Other towns and settlements referred to in this vicinity are tm'ri (close to re'kwöi), welkwä<sup>w</sup>, tse'kwel, kestitsa', pegwolä<sup>w</sup>, and otwe'go, lying on the opposite side of the river. Of these we'lkwä<sup>w</sup> was the most important, and is the only one whose location was definitely pointed out to me.

The Klamath mouth has the form of an estuary, containing several islands and sheltered from the sea by a sand-spit. This spit extends from the southern bank, the flood waters escaping through a narrow opening between the end of the spit and the north shore. Formerly this bar, or spit, extended out from the north shore, and it is so shown on the maps of fifty years ago. Its configuration changes quite rapidly. The Indians all lived just at the extreme lower end of this estuary. Up-stream the river banks were heavily wooded and were not inhabited.

The county operates a cable ferry at this point, the boat crossing the smooth water above the bar. In aboriginal times also the place was a ferrying point, for an important trail followed the coast line. Myths recount that formerly there were monsters in the waters here which seized canoes and drowned people. Twelve types of monster are mentioned, as follows: *kne'wolek* (long one), the horned serpent (see above); *qa'amec*; *kego'r*, the porpoise; *waxkwe'L*; *hūpupos*; *wes*; *teko'o*; *Lkelikik-noo*, "on ground double one"; *paixku'*; *esku'*; *siikwr*; *miikiwits*. A mythical hero, *pū'leku-kwe'rek*, "at-the-north-of-creation sharp-one," killed them off and made the crossing safe. Ceremonially also the mouth of the river was of some importance. *Rekwoi* was the scene of a jumping dance, and at *welkwäw* was celebrated an annual salmon ceremony, which had the effect of removing a taboo on the spring salmon-run. A crag called *orego's*, at the water's edge, a short distance from *rekwoi*, is very important in the formula for purifying people after contact with a corpse. The mouth of the Klamath had also, I think, the largest population of any locality in *Yurok* territory.

1. *Lkē'lik-o-le'pa*, translated "earth-on where." An acorn-ground.
2. *o-rä'w*. Acorn-place. A similar name (rectangle C-32) is translated "where things drop."
3. *mr'm-o-we'e-ikū'*, translated "lookout-place where they gather acorns." An acorn-ground.
4. *pye'k-o-ske'go'o*, translated "manzanita-berries where they are spread out." An acorn-ground.
5. *wr'sip-ū-so'n*, translated "canoe-ornament its ....." An acorn-ground.
8. *regok-o-yū'u wro'*, translated "trout run up." A creek.
9. *o'men wroi'*. Wilson creek. The site from which the creek takes its name lies five-eighths of a mile to the south (see no. 26 below).
10. *o'men-hipu'r*, translated "omen down-river." A village site. The name seems to be applied to two separate groups of house-pits, between which Wilson creek flows. These groups of pits are an eighth of a mile apart. I am not able to supply any information about the site, except that there is no appreciable accumulation of shell. Other town sites show large accumulations of clam and mussel shells, several yards thick in some cases. For the relations of these three sites see map 6.
11. *owrgr'L*. Wilson's rock. This is a large sea-stack, white with bird-droppings. The name is said to refer to this appearance (cf. rectangle K-19). White = *yū'L* pets.



Map 6. The mouth of Wilson creek and vicinity, showing two towns, o'men and o'men-hipū'r.

Contour interval 25 feet.  
Datum is sea-level.

Small rectangles represent house-pits.

15. o'-n:ego. A point. A similar name (rectangle K-12) is translated "where waters meet and leap up."
18. o-ke'gep, translated "where they lie in wait" (possibly referring to the hunting of game).
19. yots-legai', meaning apparently "boats go over." A ridge. I cannot explain this curious name.
20. kit-o-meyo, translated "redwood-tree where....."
23. wo'gi-sitso' wroi', translated "middle it-flows creek."
25. o-kwego o-keto, translated "where customarily-they-shoot quiet-water." A lake. For okwe'go, see no. 30 below. A stream, no. 24, expands into a small lake in most romantic surroundings, a still expanse of water shut in by hills, with a heavily wooded ridge rising from its southern shore. From its pleasant sedgy margin an outlet wanders off across a small meadow, and enters the ocean close by an old Indian village (see no. 26). This site is illustrated in plate 19.
26. o'men. A town. This is the most important of the settlements in the neighborhood. Four house-pits are situated on a knoll. Their names and situation are shown on the sketch map (map 7). In front of the houses lies the creek, hi'rikumr' wro', which forms the outlet to the lake (see no. 25). At the time of my visit the mouth was blocked up by the sand, which had piled up to an elevation of eight or ten feet. The drainage from the lake, which lies outside the boundaries of the sketch, had formed a small pool behind this barrier. During the rains this sand is swept away and the lake drains directly into the ocean. On this sand, at the time of my visit, were extensive accumulations of shell, less than half a yard in depth were exposed. These shell accumulations seem to have been much eroded by wind and wave. In a low place in the sand is a small spring, where the village got its water. Only one sweat-house existed, the location of which is uncertain. The people bathed, after sweating, in the sea and not in fresh water.
28. olr'gr. False Klamath rock (see map 6). A sea-stack. This large rock lies just at the southern end of a cove of considerable size. Ships standing along the coast in former days sometimes mistook this cove for the mouth of the Klamath. Hence its English name. The rock is one of the three conspicuous sea-craggs in this neighborhood.
- A myth recounts that the youngest of five brothers became transformed into a supernatural being and took up his abode in this rock. He has a pipe, of mysterious powers, which he keeps in a pipe-case of weasel skin. This latter "becomes alive" and runs about the country, and occasionally enters houses where people are eating. If that happens, "never harm it," the Indians say. It may be recognized as the supernatural animal by a white stripe across its nose, and a short tail. The owner of the pipe said long ago when he went into the rock that if people looked at the rock and cried, they would get many woodpecker heads (tsis, used as money). Some years the top of this rock is black, and looks as though it were burnt.
29. pr'gris-o-tsyē'guk, translated "bald-eagle he sits."
30. o-kwē'go, translated "where customarily they shoot." A sacred tree; a rugged old yellow pine. This word, okwego, is applied to a tree into which Indians, traveling along a trail, shoot arrows for good fortune. An arrow was a valuable piece of property, representing quite an investment of time and labor. The act was in the nature of an offering. The Indian ideas about it seem to be a bit vague. I never succeeded in this connection in getting the name of any definite spiritual being. It is considered a settled fact that such offerings, however, brought good luck on the journey. Apparently the ideas connected

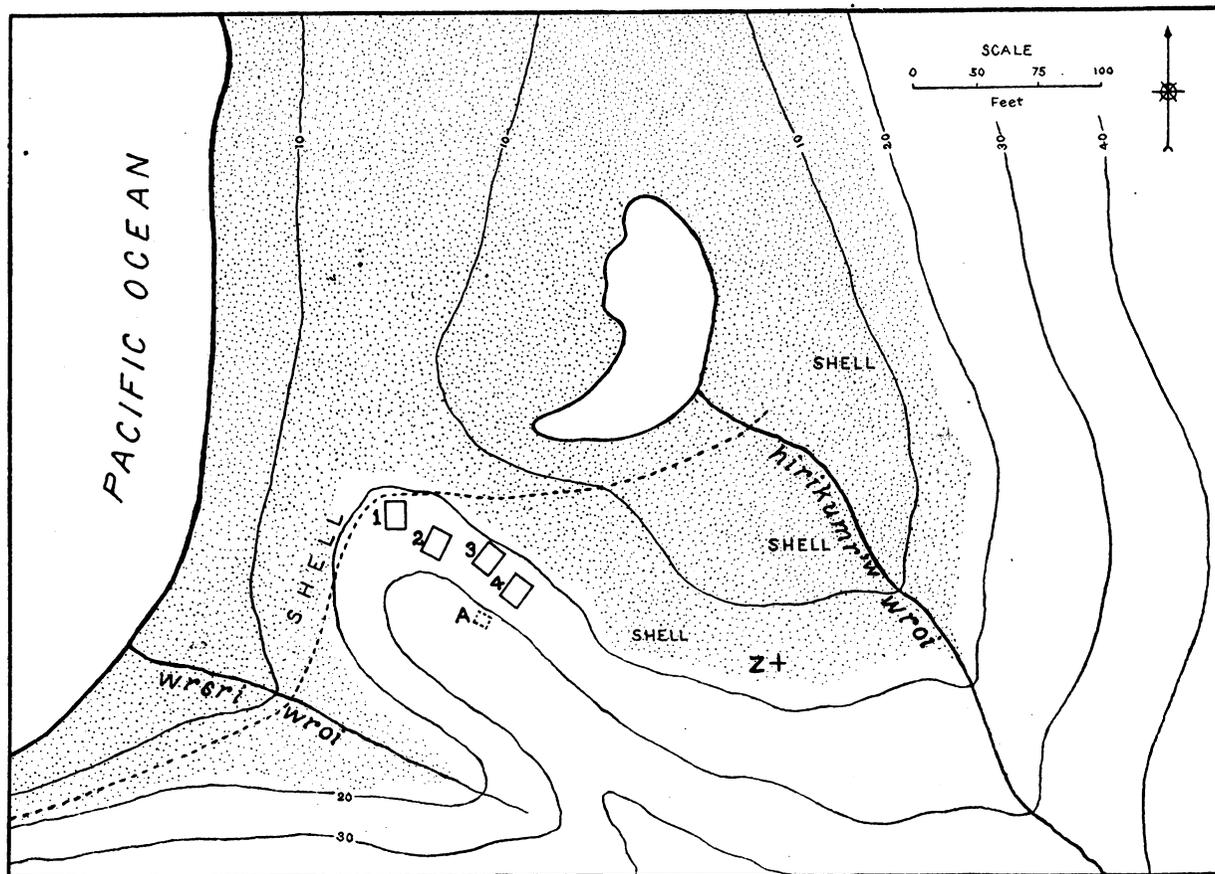
HOUSES:

1. lā'yeq<sup>w</sup>, "by the trail"
2. tsmé'yis weno'
3. ....
4. regwona', "at the end"

SWEAT-HOUSE: A

PLACE:

z. Spring, water-supply for village



Map 7. o'men.

Contour interval 10 feet.  
Datum is sea level.

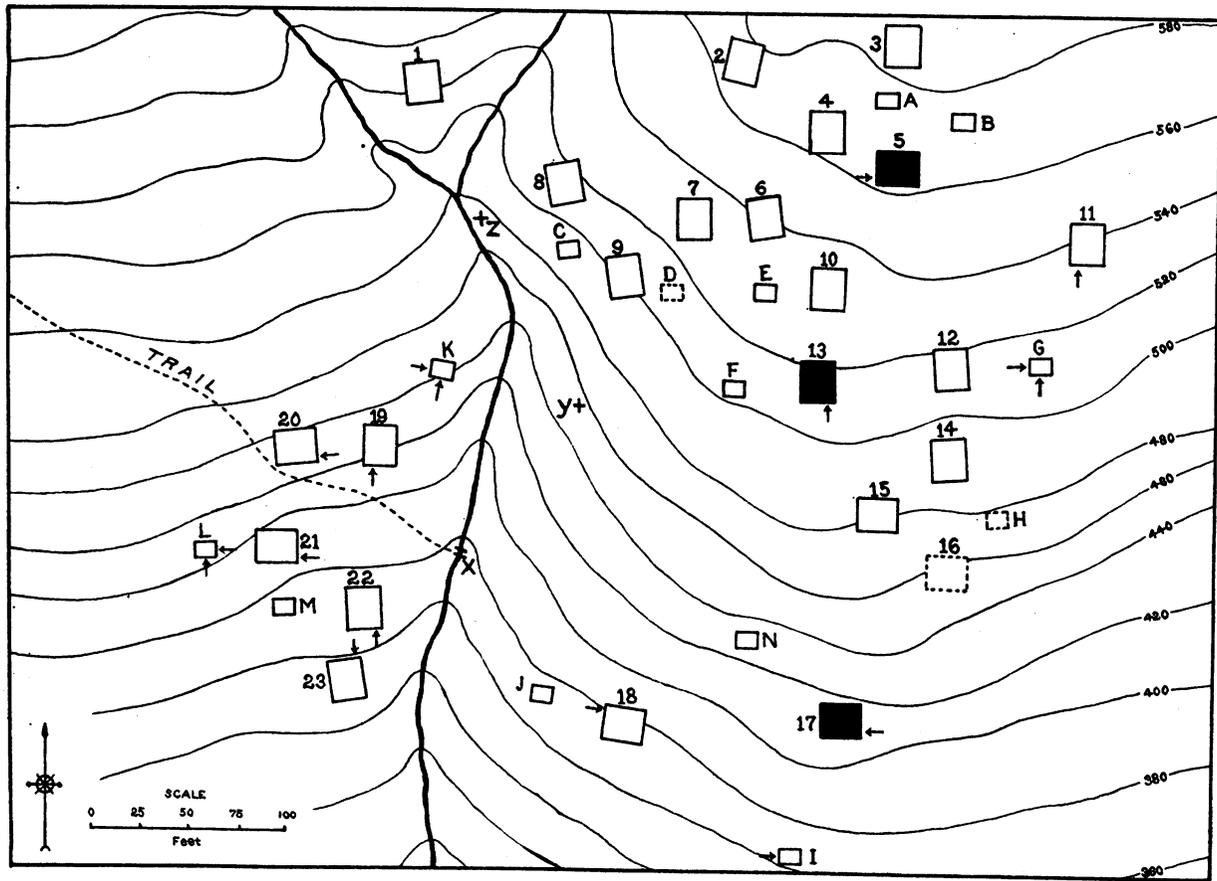
Rectangles represent native structures (hollow,  
house-pits; dotted, location uncertain).

HOUSES:

1. ol'igel
  2. wo'neq<sup>w</sup>, "up-hill"
  3. wo'gi, "middle"
  4. neqai
  5. te'gwiro
  6. te'gwolek repau', "doorway oceanward"
  7. r'nrk upkwi
  8. hawē'yera
  9. läyeq<sup>w</sup>, "by the trail"
  10. tsä'äl
  11. qeq'meroi
  12. se'pora
  13. pleL, "big"
  14. mä'a-won, "above mä'a" (see 16)
  15. mä'a-hito', "this side of mä'a" (see 16)
  16. mä'a, name of a town on Big lagoon
  17. knau
  18. ho'komr
  19. o'sloq<sup>w</sup>, "where the trail comes down"
  20. o'sloq<sup>w</sup> (annex, see 19)
  21. pr'kwri
  22. ke'tsikel
  23. ore'gok, "where it rolls down"
- SWEAT-HOUSES: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N is a ceremonial sweat-house, called k'f'molin rgr'i, "old" or "ugly sweat-house"

PLACES:

- x. oslo'q<sup>w</sup>-o-wetre'go, translated "where the trail comes down where....." water-hole which supplies the village
- y. tä'älwoäg, translated ".....his rock," a large boulder
- z. otrē'ga, translated "where it drips"



Map 8. re'kwoi.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is sea level.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

with such offerings never crystallized into a theology. At the present time by climbing up with a rope stone arrowheads can be dug out of such trees. After firearms were introduced, bullets were occasionally shot into these trees, scarring them and knocking off the bark.

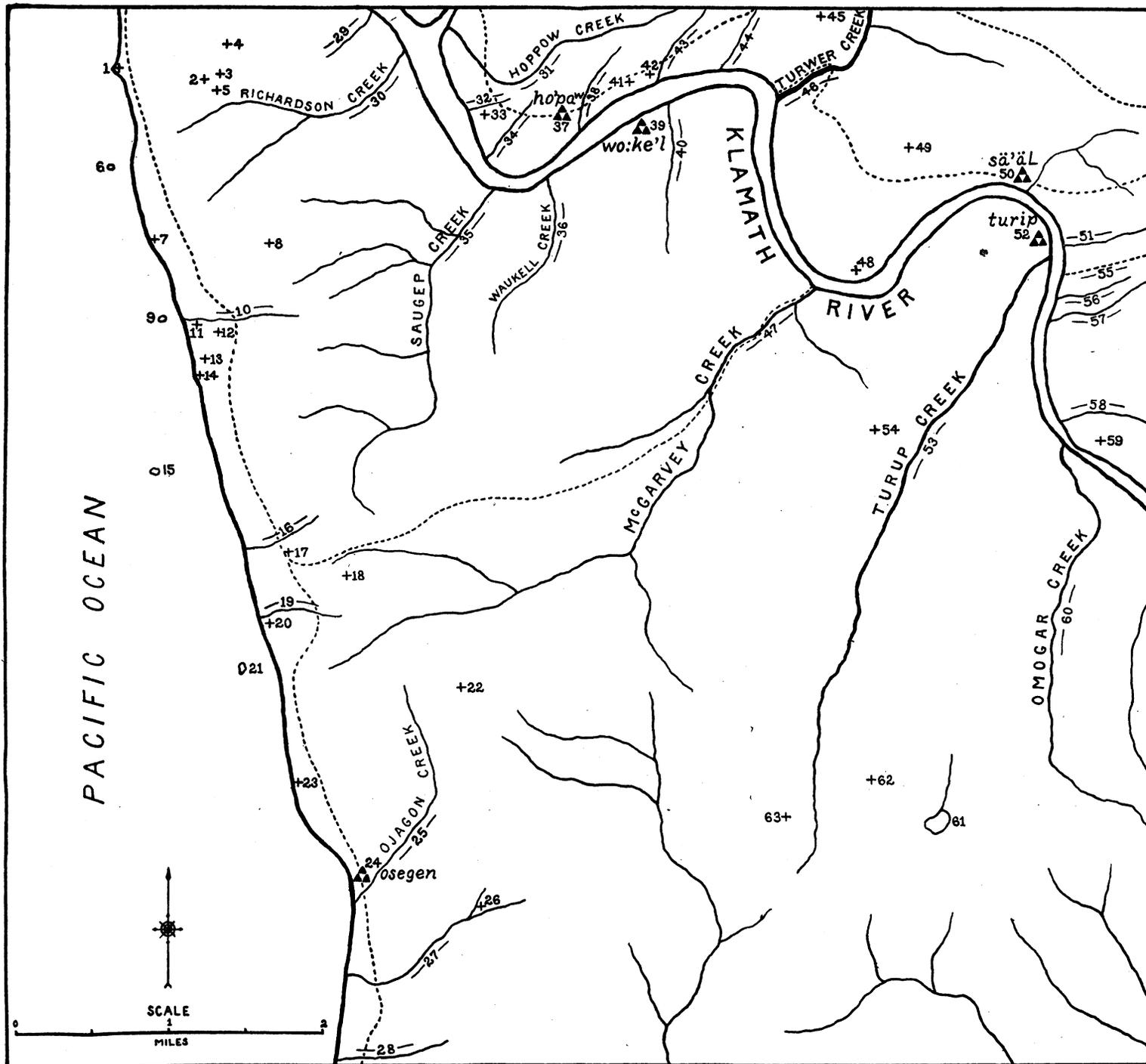
31. wo'gil-o-te'poni, translated "in-middle where trees-are." A hill.
32. ä'spik-o-skü', translated "drinking-place where good." A spring.
36. ostse'gep, translated "where they disembark." A sea-stack (cf. no. 47).
38. sü"ü. A fishing-place, good only in midsummer. I have written this name also as o-tse'gep.
43. o'regos. A large pointed crag of granite at the edge of the lagoon (see pl. 3). In this rock lives a supernatural being who is one of ten personages addressed in a "medicine" for purification after funerals. When death was being introduced into the world these beings tried to prevent it. Unsuccessful, they still live in various rocks along the Klamath, beginning far up in Karok territory. In addition to being prayed to, ceremonial regard is paid them. A corpse must not be taken in front of them, for example. If a body is being transported in a canoe it must be landed in the vicinity of one of these rocks, and carried overland.
45. hr'wr'w, translated "big." A hill.
46. rnr'q. A spring. This spring, which never runs dry, supplies water for the town of re'kwoi.
47. o-stségep, translated "where they disembark" (cf. no. 36 above). A large crag just below the town of re'kwoi. This is where the villagers landed from their canoes; hence the name. A myth recounts that in the original design of things this rock was "going to be" flint, and arrangements were being made so that people could obtain finished arrowheads by taking a bow and shooting this rock with an arrow-flaker. At the supreme moment Woxpekume came along and spoiled it.
48. no"o, translated "t<sup>o</sup>w" or "double." A small sea-stack.
50. trpr'. A rock or cliff projecting into the surf. A myth recounts that Woxpekmeu lay on his back on a ledge near here, singing, slapping himself on the chest, and moving his foot. The marks of his feet are still to be seen in the vertical rock, partly covered by high tides.
51. re'kwoi, translated "creek mouth." A large town. The term occurs as a place-name in rectangle K; near Trinidad.

The largest of the towns about the mouth of the river is re'kwoi, which has given its name to the white settlement of Requa. A salmon-cannery is situated here, and it is a shipping point for freight, and coastwise schooners occasionally touch here. The Indian town of rékwoi contained originally twenty-five houses or more. The town occupies a most inappropriate location on a steeply sloping hillside, drawing its water from an isolated spring which drains down a small watercourse. Most of the Indians now live in European houses, but some of the old structures still stand. Rekwoi was important ceremonially, as one of the places where the jumping dance was held. Informants say that this ceremony was quite different in details from the jumping dances held at weitspus and pekwan. The observances during the final two and a half days were held under some trees on the flat at we'lkwäw (see no. 72 below, p. 232). In connection with this dance there was a "sacred" house, opyü'weg (where they dance). When I was there this old house, which had been in a state of collapse, had been built over with planks from the sawmill. Its condition before this repair is shown in plate 4.

The houses in this town are shown in map 4.

52. wē'itpūs, translated "confluence." This is the name of a point projecting into the estuary. It is noteworthy that this word occurs as the name of an important town up the Klamath (see p. 257, no. 21).
53. plepē', translated "big." A point where a ridge runs into the lagoon.
54. tmr'i. Said to have been a village site. Captain Jack (hū'mīs) belonged here, but I have no further information. The American town of Requa is situated squarely on this old site.
59. pu'lik-sr'nri (pulek-sr), translated "down-river stream." The down-stream branch of Hunter's creek.
60. ne'Lkū-sr, translated "landward stream." The up-river branch of Hunter's creek.
62. tegwola'-o-tsä'L, translated "oceanward where sand-at." The sand spit from the south head at the mouth of the river.
63. trkr'mrwr. A large rock in the beach near the foot of the bluff. In former days when the sand bar ran out from the opposite shore this rock was a good fishing-place for the dip-net.
64. opegi'iyem, translated "where they gather mussels." A small sea-stack.
65. lkē'lik-ol, translated "ground-on it lies." A small sea-stack.
66. o-kne'get, translated "where they get arrow-points." A large sea-stack. This expression was given to me as the name of the sea-stack shown in this rectangle, and also as the name of a promontory in the next rectangle to the south, called in the *Coast Pilot* Flint Rock head (see rectangle B-1). It seems illogical to apply this name "where they get arrow-points," to a sea-rock, but my informants insisted upon it. The illusion is evidently mythical in both cases mentioned, for the formations in both places are granitic, and arrow-heads could not possibly have been obtained there.
68. tsrä'hptsik. A small sea-stack. This expression seems to contain the word tsik, shell money. The rock is famous in Yurok story. It is almost submerged, and most unimpressive to look at. It represents, however, a mythical character. The Yurok say "it used to be a woman" who travelled all over the country looking for a place to settle. She finally reached her present home, which she found ideal. Prayers are addressed to her.
72. we'lkwä". A town. A number of barns and outbuildings now occupy this site, the frames of a few Indian structures still standing here and there. Practical difficulties prevented me from getting the names and locations of the various villages in this vicinity and the houses in them. The principal Indian hereabouts is "Welko Johnny," nephew of the old Indian who "owned" a salmon medicine. Johnny himself inherited the priestly office and the necessary formulae at the death of his relative, along with a pipe and possibly some other paraphernalia. He is very secretive, and has a good deal of feeling about the things of yore. His uncle used to earn considerable money at the salmon-ceremony, as he exacted a substantial fee every time he repeated the sacred formulae. I found Johnny unwilling to tell much, while the other Indians were unwilling to trespass on his "bailiwick" by giving information. Some of the ceremonially important places are shown in the accompanying photographs (pl. 4). I was able to ascertain merely about this pipe that it was too sacred to be viewed, and the priest in "making" the ceremony took the pipe from the place where he had buried it, with his face averted, and smoked it without looking at it. A death-purification formula was also "owned" by someone in this town, according to some informants.
74. wo'hipi-ol, translated "in-the-water he-lies." A sand spit.
75. tselo'n-o-tep, translated "..... tree where it-stands." A flat.
79. tse'kwel, translated "flat place in front of a bluff." This place was mentioned as a town site, but I was able to get no satisfactory data. The word is frequently used as a house-name.

1. okne'get, promontory in the ocean
2. tsr'hr-o-le'go, hill
3. okrmrtar', peak of hill (No. 2)
4. mr'yr, acorn-camp
5. štakwokt'u, spring
6. me'n:oi, sea-stack
7. ke'ipet, crag
8. so'idw, open hillside
9. me'leg, sea-stack
10. me'leg wroi', small creek
11. metso', hillside
12. e'wpo-ū-kwā'pet, a brushy hillside
13. haāg-o-syo'il, crag
14. no'mig, promontory
15. tskw'e'ge-waa'g, sea-stack
16. smeakitu'r wroi', small creek
17. wo'mots, open hillside
18. oswrg't, snaring-place
19. š'monek wroi', small creek
20. š'monek, rock
21. otego'revet, rock
22. omi'mos wrnr', large hill
23. ostse'gep, beach
24. o'segen, town
25. o'segen wroi', creek
26. nūū'xpr'ik, fork of creek
27. osrpr' wroi', ANTLER CREEK (BUTLER CREEK)
28. lke'lik wroi', an "underground" creek
29. qri' wroi', small creek
30. we'lkwe'w wolo'mono wroi', small creek
31. hopā'w wroi', creek
32. omeno'k wroi', creek
33. omeno'k, place
34. ho'pā'w-pūl wroi', creek
35. hā'pā'w-welega' wroi', creek
36. wo'ke'l-pūl wroi', gully
37. ho'pā'w, town
38. ho'pā'w-hipe'ts wroi', gully
39. wo'ke'l, town
40. wo'ke'l-pets wroi', creek
41. wo'gir-o-tek, ridge of rock
42. nrng'rgrn, place
43. nrng'r' r wroi', creek
44. oloi'L wroi', creek
45. r'wr, acorn-ground
46. tr'wr wroi', creek
47. yo'x'wtr wroi', creek
48. tr'wr, camp site (turwer)
49. wohpere'rā'w, hill
50. šā'šl, town
51. šā'šl-hipe'ts wroi', creek
52. rū'rip, town
53. tū'rip-hir wroi', TURUP CREEK
54. olgr'w-so'htsi, plateau
55. Trail of the Dead
56. haāgorū-ū-wore'l wroi', creek
57. wr'eri wroi', WORTHLA CREEK
58. sto'wen wroi', creek
59. sto'wen, flat, with redwoods
60. omega'a wroi', creek
61. rigrk, lake
62. nā'gir-so, snaring-place
63. o'so, large hill



RECTANGLE B

Map. 9. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

The location of the following places is uncertain:

- wo'gi-syā, translated "in-the middle land-slide." A small flat.
- knē'wole, translated "long-one." This expression is applied to a mythical horned serpent monster of fabulous proportions. This serpent figures largely in Yurok myth, and appears in a number of place-names (see below). Sometimes it takes the form of a small spotted object, extremely "pretty," and is picked up by hunters. To satisfy its voracious appetite it grants its owner fabulous success in hunting. It lives under water, and has been encountered there by a number of heroes. It has also crawled about extensively on land making gullies and leaving various other traces.
- okne'ri. This expression contains the elements "where" and, I think, "arrow-point" (knetken). It is probably north of omen. My informants said that people went to salt water at this place to get rock to make arrow-points. After they made the points they "cooked" them. After that the points were "strong;" they would shoot right through an elk.
- neqoi'qes. A big rock. It was said by one of Dr. Kroeber's informants, a Hupa, to be concerned in the death purification ceremony. This name may possibly be the Hupa equivalent of o'r:egos (rectangle A-39).
- lkro'o-te'nem. A big dome of rock.
- mega'ir-ū-kwr'tsr. A ridge.
- tegwālā'us. A place north of re'kwoi.
- o-l'i'geL. A flat.
- o-pe'get. A place near omen.
- lo'xlko. A mountain.
- paiyamū'r. A point of land.
- o-tlū'ūk.
- o'men-wa.
- ke'k:oi.
- emkiki' ūpkwr'i. A small creek.
- ke'p:eʷ.

## Notes on Rectangle B

1. okne'get, translated "where they get arrow-points." Flint Rock head, a promontory in the ocean, high and conspicuous. A myth recounts that wo':gē (an immortal being) tried to turn this promontory into obsidian so the Indians could make arrow-points there. Although he did not succeed, his efforts left the rock marked with stripes of red. He "almost did it," the Indians say. This name is also applied to a sea-stack (see A-66).
7. ke'lpel, said to mean burning, connected with the stem leloil, "to burn." A crag, with vegetation on it. "The brush and grass take fire up there," the Indians say, "when nobody starts it."
9. me'leg, translated "refuse, offal." Sea-stack. Chicken-hawk, krnit, killed a breaker, aixpoo, at this point. Another account relates that he had a "ranch" here, ranch being the word in common use for an Indian town, through the Spanish rancheria, used in this special sense. On this rock one can still see the offal which Chicken-hawk threw aside, in the form of marks on the rocks.
11. metso'. A camp site. There were "sea lions" in this vicinity, and people camped here when hunting them. (cf. no. 15 below).
12. e'ʷpo-ū-kwāp, translated "salt water his house-pit." A brushy hillside. A depression in the midst of the brush is where Salt-water or Ocean had his dwelling.

13. haäg-o-syo'il, translated "rock where landslide." A cliff where the rock has disintegrated and rolled down.
14. no'mig, translated "split." Crag, with a large fissure.
15. tskwe'ges-waäg, translated "harbor-seal his-rock." Sea-stack.
16. sme'rkitur wroi', translated "toothless creek." A belief exists that if anyone drinks the water of this creek his teeth come out (cf. rectangle D-18).
17. wo'mots. A "resting-place" on the trail.
18. oswrgr't. A "snaring-place" belonging to a house in o'segen.
20. ä'-monek<sup>w</sup>. A rock. Some informants say that this was once inhabited. I know nothing of house-pits here, however.
21. o-tego'reyet. A rock. My informant told me that Crescent City people used to come here to dance "for fun."
22. omi'mos wrnr', translated "Hupa-people's hill." A big hill. In hard times (when food was short) Hupa people used to come here to pick elderberries.
23. o-stse'gep, translated "where they disembark." There was a landing-place here, always smooth, where people could land when caught in a squall. This name appears also as o-tsegep in my notes.
24. o-segen. A small town on the coast. My informants recalled three houses and two sweat-houses.
26. nū'xprik, meaning, I think, a "fork;" the stem is connected with the numeral "two." The place is located where Butler creek forks.
28. Lkē'lik wroi', translated "in-the-ground creek." This creek disappears underground for a part of its course, emerging again further down; hence the name.
30. we'Lkwä<sup>w</sup>-wolo' mono wro', translated "we'Lkwä<sup>w</sup> its-tan-oak creek." For we'Lkwä<sup>w</sup> see rectangle A-72. Richardson creek. The name implies that we'kwä<sup>w</sup> had an acorn-place here. Tan-oak acorns were much prized.
37. ho'pä<sup>w</sup>. A town. This place was small, but the people were wealthy and quite influential. The small-pox raged here in the early days and practically broke up the village. One old woman of a wealthy family asked, when she was dying, to be cremated along with her house, instead of being buried. This was done, though it was not the custom.
39. wo'ke'l. A town. This was a small place, situated on a large flat. The river has eaten a quarter of a mile into this flat, during flood waters, and the whole village site has gone down the river. It was not of much importance. My informants remembered only two houses.
41. wo'gil-o-tek, meaning, I think, "in-the-middle where it-stretches." A long sharp ridge, or "hog-back," of bare rock, running toward the river. It is said to be a "doctor rock," where people were taken to be made "doctors," or shamans. There are persistent references in this region to places where candidates were taken to be initiated into the shamanistic profession. The allusions seem to imply that there was some society or organization of shamans. On the other hand, no one has produced any real evidence that such a society existed. I have sometimes thought that these "doctor rocks" were invented by the Indians to please the whites. We know that the magic formularies which made up the shaman's stock in trade were purchased or acquired like any other property, a fact that does not fit in well with the idea of a shamanistic society. This rock is very bare, of tremendous extent, and most impressive.
42. rnrgr'rgrn, translated "where they get sweat-house fuel." A party of men and women, who had spent the previous night in wakefulness and prayer, went up in a boat to this place and gathered sticks for the sweat-house fire. All the way up-river they sang one song, and all the way going back they sang another. They were obliged by rule to remain awake all day though performers in night time ceremonies normally slept a large part of the morning (see pl. 4, fig. 3). This was in connection with the Jumping Dance.

45. r'wr'. An acorn-place belonging to ho'päw.
48. tr'wr. A camp site. The site lies on the down-stream flank of a long, wide point of land. At one time very old house-pits were visible here, dating from a time before the memory of the present Indians. These pits have all been washed away. In the knowledge of my informants, the place has been used only for camping. The river here is broad and shallow, and the people came in numbers to spear fish. In pursuit of the fish they waded out in the current armed with long two-pronged salmon-spears. Acorns also were gathered in the neighborhood, and the people had a number of shacks, or shelters, made of poles, in which they slept. There were two sweat-houses where the men stayed at night. The place was later the site of a White blockhouse, called Fort Terwa (see above p. 208).
50. sä'äl, translated "spirit-people." This was quite an important town of seven or eight houses, containing one or two very wealthy families. The spirit-people, known as sä'äl, who are ordinarily spoken of with some fear, seem to have shared this town with the human beings on rather intimate terms. In one of the houses the sä'äl were so numerous that, according to the Indians, one did not dare to turn his back to the fire; that is, if he looked into the dark part of the house, he might see one of the spirits, and get sick or otherwise suffer misfortune.
52. tū'rip. A town. This is one of two sites on a fine redwood flat. I only heard of the second one after I left the region. I was able to get no direct information about tū'rip on account of the hostility of the Indians toward my efforts at investigation (see above p. 202). The town is said to have contained eight houses and three sweat-houses. According to one informant the first tribal fish-weir was "going to be" erected here by the immortals. They changed, however, and finally decided on ke'pel (rectangle E-56).
54. olgr'sohtsi. A plateau, belonging to tū'rip, good for digging the "Indian potatoes," called hr'lkr.
55. The "Trail of the Dead" is the path taken by disembodied souls on their way to the underworld. The place where they "go down" is differently located by different informants, but the entire tribe agrees that the dead go up the hillside at this place. The trail is a geological formation leading up the steep hillside, which a living person could not possibly follow. I have never been able to get a map of the complete route followed by the dead. The ideas do not seem to be sufficiently crystallized to enable the Indians to give a clear account. The entrance to the underworld is in rectangle I, location uncertain. See so'o-o-gur, on page 267, according to some informants. Others place it opposite tū'rip, in rectangle B. See pl. 4, fig. 4.
56. haä'gorū-ū-wore'l wroi'. A creek. The name involves the stem haäg, rock.
59. sto'wen. A redwood flat. In recent years this site has been inhabited by a numerous family of Indians, with various relatives and connections. This family belongs in qo'otep, having moved down here either on account of a quarrel or for economic reasons. The site is well known, and may have been a settlement in former times.
61. ni'grk, translated "half a boat." This expression refers to a habit which Yurok dugout canoes have of splitting in two lengthwise. The lake gets its name apparently from its configuration. "Thunder," however, lived in this lake. During thunderstorms people would go up there and try to see Thunder. If they succeeded they would become so strong they could tear a man apart.
63. o'so, translated "red." A big hill. Near the top there is a slide of reddish color, which gives the hill its name.

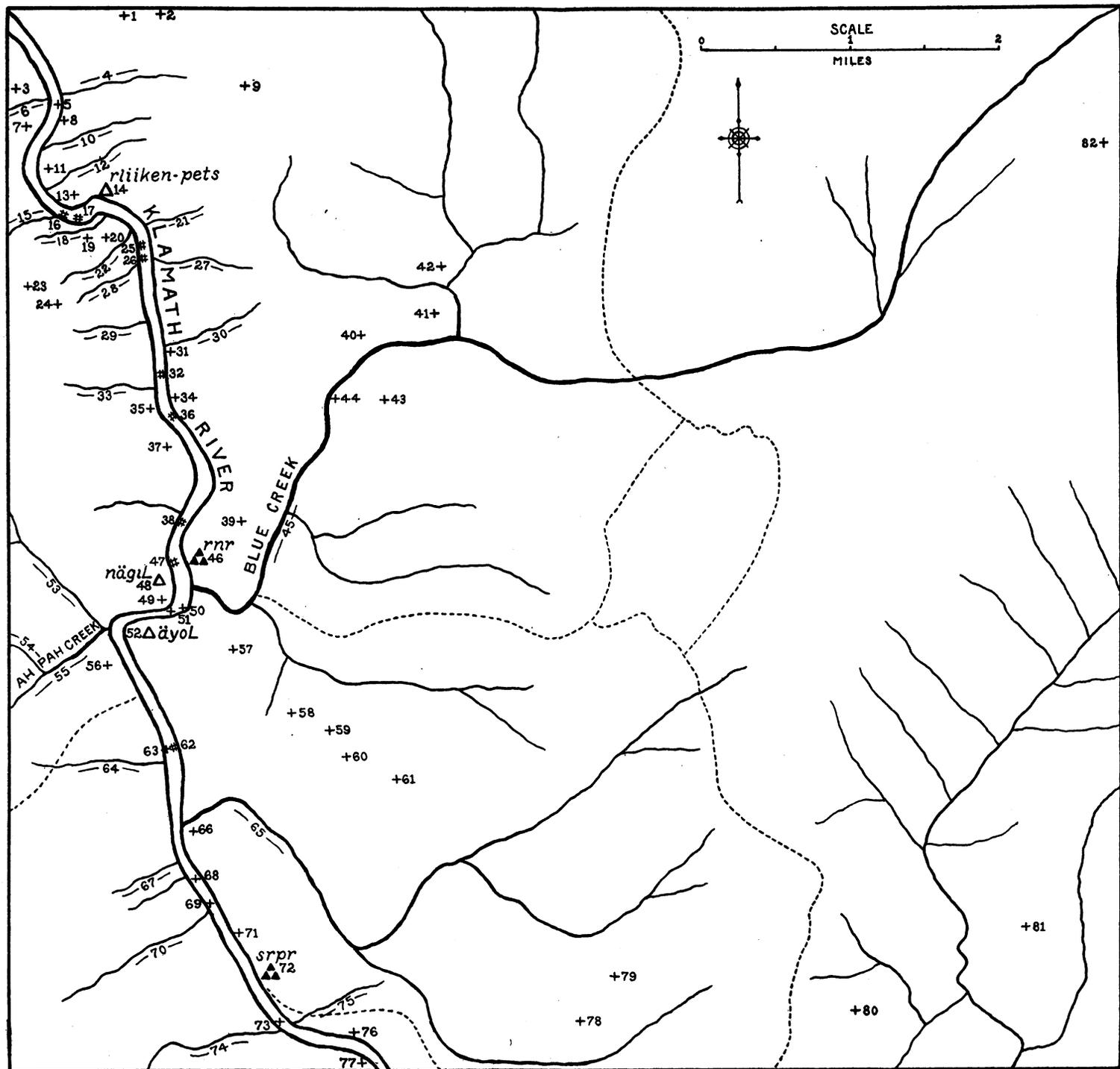
Two places about the location of which I have no definite information are of mythological interest. At here'mtsolo'q a number of evil beings were drowned and covered with rocks, which accounts for the fact that the stream bed there is full of large rocks. The other place, te'kta-o-te'mets, is somewhere south of wo'mots (no. 17). Some evil being there in mythical times caught people with a hook until a culture hero killed him.

### Notes on Rectangle C

The territory represented in this rectangle lies in what might be called a redwood belt. The redwoods as a matter of fact follow very closely a zone where conditions particularly suit them. Outside of that there are only scattered trees to be found. This zone appears on a faunal map of this region very clearly, for among the giant redwood trees a particular fauna flourishes. The animal life there is of a limited character, since the redwood environment is not on the whole favorable to a varied and rich fauna. It is a fact of some note that the Indians, too, did not find it a favorable place for their villages. Only a few villages are found in this redwood zone, and they are not of large size (see above p. 204). I am uncertain whether they found the redwood region too gloomy, or whether the heavy shades of the forest made the temperature too cool for comfort, or whether the diminution of animal life kept them away.

5. kr'hpr otsin o-tsy'e'gū, translated "khrpr young-man where-he-always-sat."  
A young man from the house khrpr in Turip wanted to become supernatural. He used to sit here for days at a time. Finally he became a supernatural being, and married a girl of the immortals at Patrick's point.
8. o-tre'gworū, translated "where it customarily drips." A trickle of water.
11. rli'iken. A camp site. A sweat-house pit is still to be seen there. There were a number of temporary shacks in the vicinity. Everybody with fishing-places in the neighborhood came here to camp. The eyes were gouged out of all the fish caught here, and it was considered obligatory to roast them on the day they were caught. The reason for these ceremonial rules seems to be no longer understood.
12. ki'l-o-tep wroi', translated "redwood where it-stands creek."
13. Lām'äkwer. A flat. A "mean man" lived here in the time of the immortals. He used to seize canoes by the projection on the bow and drag the boat with its occupants way up on shore.
14. rli'iken-pets. Site of a small settlement. My informants recalled two houses and a sweat-house here. In the summer the people are said to have moved across to howego (no. 19 below) to camp and dry salmon.
15. ki'l-o-tep hima'r, translated "redwood-where-it-stands underneath." A fishing-place.

1. sto'wen-so'htsi, acorn-grounds
2. qo'otep-emeL-pl'gr, acorn-grounds
3. hā'wok, flat
4. sto'wen-pets wroi', creek
5. kr'hpr o'tai'n o-tsaye'gū, small rock in river
6. oknū'l wroi', creek
7. o'tāā'g, flat
8. o-tre'gworū, trickle of water
9. o'xtr-soh, open hillside
10. hnū'lig wroi', creek
11. rli'iken, camp site
12. ki'l-o-tep wroi', creek
13. Lāmā'kwel, small flat
14. rli'iken-pets, Indian settlement
15. Lāmā'kwel-hiqo' wroi', creek
16. ki'l-o-tep-hima'n, fishing-place
17. rky'l'gr, fishing-place
18. hā'wegok-hipū'r wroi', creek
19. howego', flat
20. omi's, flat
21. osā'w wroi', creek
22. omi's wroi', creek
23. omi's-won, acorn-grounds
24. ho'owon, acorn-grounds
25. otse'ki'akr, fishing-place
26. pkwo'oro, fishing-place
27. o'htw wroi', creek
28. otse'keuskw wroi', creek
29. elke'l-o-tep wroi', creek
30. wē'xte'me wroi', creek
31. wē'xte'mel, deep gorge
32. o'rā', fishing-place
33. wa'a-apū wroi', deep gorge
34. wē'sona mestso', redwood tree
35. ro'htw, acorn-grounds
36. rego'k-o-mū', fishing-place
37. to'xtr-pets, acorn-grounds
38. o-pe'gwol, fishing-place
39. ni'olol, Conical hill
40. re'kwoi-emeL-pl'gr, seed-gathering ground
41. so'o-tayūk, acorn-ground
42. tse'lkum, acorn-grounds
43. tse'ktsin e'go, acorn-grounds
44. tse'ktsin, hollow between rocks
45. r'nr wroi', BLUE CREEK
46. r'nr, town
47. opeto'is, fishing-place
48. nā'git, Indian settlement
49. hegwon'o-l-o-tayū, place
50. takwe'ges-o-rike'n, rock in the river
51. wo'hipi-rk, rock in the river
52. ā'yo'l, Indian settlement
53. pū'lik-sr, branch of ALPAH CREEK
54. otoi'sr'mnrs, middle fork of AHPAH CREEK
55. o'ho wroi', AHPAH CREEK
56. o'ho, large flat
57. wo'n-o-leg, acorn-grounds
58. wotake'w-o-solo'neyik, acorn-grounds
59. wo'take', acorn-grounds
60. slo'wil, seed-gathering grounds
61. o'men-o-ro'o, acorn-grounds
62. wa'ase-eme'kwol, fishing-place
63. rllkr gr, bar in the river
64. rllkr gr-pets wroi', creek
65. e'npe'w wroi', creek
66. e'npe'w, redwood grove
67. olkrgr wroi', creek
68. posi'r-ol-haag, submerged rock
69. ke'winū', eddy
70. ke'winū' wroi, creek
71. ome'kwel, point of land
72. sr'pr, town
73. uma'-tal':guk, SUGAR LOAF ROCK (in the river)
74. segwora' wroi', SURPER CREEK
75. meyep'r wroi', creek
76. tā'to-o-le'go, small flat
77. twe'lkr, acorn-grounds
78. re'kta-krtar', hill
79. nānep'r, open hillside
80. ori'g, acorn-grounds
81. neko'ksip, acorn-grounds
82. o'kpiis, open hilltop



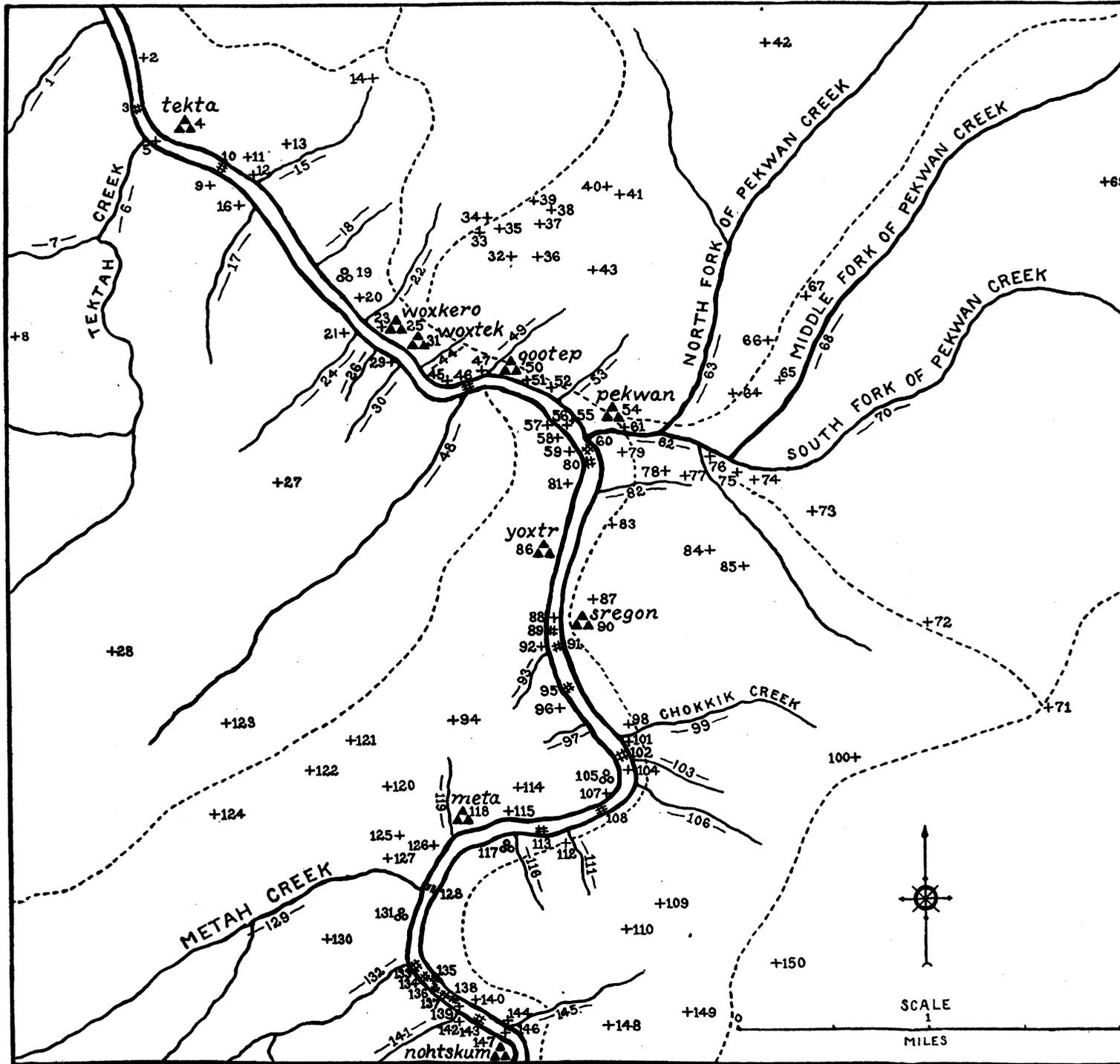
RECTANGLE C

17. rkyi'rgr. A fishing-place. The eyes of salmon caught here are always dug out before the fish are taken home. The immortals who first fished here left orders to this effect.
19. howego', translated "where you cross," or "where one crosses." An extensive flat. The trail here leaves the river and cuts across the back end of the flat. The horned serpent, knē'wole, once crossed the river here, coming from E'spā'. I do not know which of these facts gives rise to the name.
26. pkwo'oro. A fishing-place. pkwo-olo means "maple."
29. elke'l-o-tep wroi', translated "earth where it stands creek," apparently describing some dirt cliffs.
31. wē'xte'mel. A gorge with steep sides. A myth recounts that the horned serpent referred to above crossed the river here in his progress over the country. He crawled down the left bank some distance above this point (see ma''a, no. 33), passed over the river and crawled up the right bank here. At both places he left deep gorges. The gully here named is so steep-sided that according to the Indians if a deer enters it from the river-side he can surely be caught, for he cannot climb out. Dr. Kroeber believes that the crevice slopes so steeply from the river a deer probably could not enter at all.
32. o'rā', translated "where things are dropping." Gravel is always falling here from the bank. A fishing-place.
33. ma''a-spū wroi', translated "not-drink creek." This gully was produced by the crawling along of a gigantic horned serpent, hence the taboo (see no. 31 above).
34. we'sona mestso', translated "world prop" or "sky prop" (see p. 191 above). A huge redwood tree formerly stood here which was believed by the Yurok to hold up the sky. It was washed out by the river some years ago.
36. rego'k-o-mū', translated "trout where are caught." A fishing-place.
37. to'xtr-pets. A small flat with oaks. The acorn-grounds here belonged to rekwoi-oslow, and had three shacks on it.
40. re'kwoi-emetpigr, translated "rekwoi here-at camps." A seed-gathering ground.
41. so'o-tsuūk, translated "corpse where he sits." An acorn-ground.
44. tse'ktsin, translated "salmon-trap." A recess in the boulders behind a rapid. Salmon enter here and cannot get out again.
45. r'nr wroi'. Blue creek. This is a fine, large stream, which in some regions would be called a river. The largest salmon are said by the Indians to turn up Blue creek. An old trail follows up its course, but there seem to have been no settlements on it except the one at its mouth (no. 46). This stream and Bluff creek (rectangle G, no. 44) are said by the Indians to "come from the same place".
46. r'nr. A town. This site occupies one of the finest points on the river, on a bluff overlooking two streams. Very deep and sharply defined house-pits are to be seen, but I could find out relatively little about the people who lived here. Apparently the town was gradually being abandoned even before the coming of the whites.
- Corpses are occasionally taken up-river in canoes. As long as the boat is below r'nr the head of the corpse is placed toward the stern. Above r'nr the head of the deceased is placed toward the up-stream end of the boat. R'nr is one of a number of places where in transporting a dead body definite rules must be followed (see A-43, p. 231).
47. opetso'ts, translated "where you toast fish." Fishing-place.
48. nā'gil. A settlement. My informants recall four houses here. The town is said to have been founded by the great-grandmother of one of my informants, Weitchpec Frank. The old lady with her four sons moved down here from qo'tep-meitsro on account of a big feud. This particular misunderstanding

- was a "devil" quarrel; that is, somebody was accused of "Injun-deviling" someone; in our terms, of causing his death by magic means. An "Indian devil" is a sorcerer. Such accusations were serious matters and resulted sometimes in very bitter feuds.
49. *hegwono'L-o-tsyū*, translated "hegwono'L where he-always-sits." A certain bird, *hegwono'L*, nests here.
  50. *tskwe'ges-o-rike'n*, translated "harbor-seal where he-sits." A rock in the river. Harbor-seal, according to the mythical ideas of the Indians, is "connected" at *qenek*, has relatives there. The porpoises, as a matter of fact, are supposed to have lived there in a family group in mythical times. Seals rest on this rock when "on their way up." I imagine that in reality they would hardly go farther up than this point though actually seen here.
  51. *wo'hipi-rk*, translated "in-the-water sitting." A rock in the river.
  52. *ä:yo'L*. A small settlement. My informants could recall only two houses. The patriarch here was an old man called *woi-lo*, who had a good deal of property of one sort or another, and enjoyed some renown.
  54. *otoi'-sr'mrnrs*, translated "wild-potato it-runs-in." Middle fork of Ahpah creek.
  57. *wo'n-o-leg*, translated "above where one-goes-over." An acorn-place and a snaring-place on opposite sides of a gully, on two different ridges.
  63. *rıkr'gr*, said to be connected with *wrlkr'r-mryū'*, to dance the war dance. A bar. This vicinity is a nesting-place for the night-hawk, *kivēyu'ts* (one of the goat-suckers or whip-poor-wills, probably the Texas night-hawk, *Chordeiles henryi*). This bird, which is related to the whip-poor-wills and bull-bats of the Middle West, has a very striking note. The Indians say it resembles the war cry. The immortals recognized this similarity and so held their war dances here. Hence the name.
  68. *posi'r-o-loäg*, translated "posir rock ....." A submerged rock. This rock came originally from a place called *posi'r* in Siskiyou county (Cottage Grove, map 2), in Karok territory. It is a "charm" for snaring deer. The hunter dives down and touches the rock, then rubs his hands on the deer snares. After that a deer is invariably caught.
  69. *ke'winū'* (*ke'win* means "eel"). An eddy. Dead eels always float in there, hence the name.
  70. *o-me'kwel*, translated "where there-is-a-pile." A point of land. At the present time the point is missing, for it has been washed away by the river.
  72. *sr'pr*. A town. This was at one time a place of some importance because a rich family lived there. It contained three houses in the memory of people now living, and had been larger than that. The big flood of 1862 washed everything away, and drove the people up on the hillside. I was not able to find the site, and could locate it only approximately. I think the house-pits themselves have been washed out by flood-water.
  73. *uma'-tsi:guk*, translated "wild-devil always-sits." Sugar Loaf rock. A "wild-devil" is, in other words, a supernatural being of the woods. He gets up on this rock so he can look around and plan deviltry. It is considered imprudent to loiter around this rock.
  76. *tä'to-o-le'go*, translated "smoothing-stone where they-collect." A terrace where people got small flat stones useful in smoothing arrows.
  78. *te'kta krtsr'*, translated "tekta-ridge." A hill. For *tekta*, see rectangle D-4.

Of one place whose location is uncertain, *alrgr'-so'htsi*, I can only say that it is somewhere on the hill above a certain "o-lrgr'." The latter place also I was unable to locate. It is said to be connected with *hr'lkr*, "Indian potato."

1. ole'ga wroi' creek,
2. ol-o-tsyu', cliff
3. tse'ge-o-mu, fishing-place
4. te'kta, town
5. leta', rock in the river
6. te'kta wroi', TECTAH CREEK
7. rsa'pek srnrn'i, branch of tekta wroi'
8. rwrgrri'iq, acorn-place
9. o'lko, flat
10. o'lko-hiqo', fishing-place
11. trqwrn'w, snaring-place
12. olo'omonopye'gwegil, dance-place
13. otse'gep-pye'gwegil, dance-place
14. pr'kwr'i, dance-place
15. helega'a wroi', creek
16. kyoh-sepsol, rock
17. osyo'l wroi', creek
18. sme'kkit, creek
19. otsa'l, old village site
20. osegil's, flat
21. mu'rnü kepe'l, small flat
22. tsemi'l wroi', creek
23. tsa'h-spa'w, small flat
24. kepe'l-mel-e'gol wroi', creek
25. wohke'ro, town
26. ot'o'r wroi', creek
27. osegere'q', acorn-grounds
28. owrg', acorn-grounds
29. la'al-o-pege'yil, place
30. osegere'q' wroi', creek
31. wo'xtek, town
32. orego'k, game ground
33. ose'gep rgr'ik, pile of rocks
34. haa'g-o-teq', crag on hillside
35. ni'tepo, hillside
36. okro'kle'wpo, open hillside
37. mu'um, acorn-grounds
38. nonpü'l, seed-gathering grounds
39. ye'wome', place on trail
40. ho'oreq, hillside
41. wr're'ts-o-tma'w, place for gathering firewood
42. srpr'mel-e'go, acorn-ground and snaring-place
43. pr'grl-o-le'go, resting-place
44. opu'wet wroi', creek
45. ora'am, meadow
46. me'rqo, fishing-place
47. omi'g, rock at edge of river
48. rsi'golä wroi', creek
49. qo'o-tep wroi', creek
50. qo'o-tep, town
51. krl-el-negwo'akes, tall rock
52. ole'pa'w, small flat
53. wo'toqwor wroi', creek
54. pe'kwan, town
55. rte'a, sand bar
56. pe'kwetel, rock in river
57. ne'pui-sots-o-lego'l, tall rock by river
58. otegu'k, rock by river
59. tse'ge-o-reqen, small flat
60. rkye'a, fishing-place
61. sots-o-le'gai, cliff
62. pe'kwan wroi', PEKWAN CREEK
63. pu'lik srnr'i, branch of creek
64. wo'gi oso'ho neye'q', hill
65. olke'go, acorn-grounds
66. ronts-o-le'go, resting-place
67. wo'go, acorn-grounds
68. srnr', middle fork of creek
69. o-tre'gon, trickle of water
70. pe'taku-srnr'i, branch of creek
71. pe'kwan-eme'l-nok, where trails
72. ti'o'o, acorn-grounds
73. ni'qr, boundary point
74. o'lpau, place
75. wr'grs, acorn-grounds



76. rnrgr', berrying-grounds
77. o'woh, acorn-grounds
78. mr'kwr'l, small hill
79. tek'w sa'u, flat
80. o-tsa'l, flat
81. ro'gon-ego', camp site
82. knu'lkenok wroi', creek
83. e'xgo, hillside
84. qi'tol, flat
85. nego'ksap, place
86. yo'xtr, town
87. kwerap-o-tek, pointed crag
88. so'o-ke'tsir, submerged rock
89. oru'wis, fishing-place
90. sregon, town
91. segwona'r, bar and fishing-place
92. o-slegoi'ts, declivity
93. ma'a-wr'rpqwr'i, creek in huckleberry thicket
94. re'ptem, acorn-grounds
95. o-syo'l, fishing-place
96. rtrgr'p, cold spring
97. hego'o-lego' wrpqwr'i, small creek
98. wri'l-ego, place on trail
99. tso'kik wroi', creek
100. me'iku, acorn-grounds
101. tso'kiq, former village site
102. ossai'q'w, fishing-place
103. ossai'q' wroi', creek
104. wo'po-reqen, large rock in river
105. ke'xkem, former village site
106. me'iku wroi', creek
107. mrn-ego', point of land
108. omo'l, fishing-place
109. ri'niq'w-ego', hill
110. wr'rgr'i, flat
111. ho'ome'r wroi', creek
112. ho'ome'r, flat
113. omäna'l, fishing-place
114. negona', open hillside
115. wi'iqwor, landslide
116. mrwrsisla' wroi', creek
117. old village site
118. meta', town
119. otla'w wroi', creek
120. ho'mono'ote'p, solitary tree
121. tmi'gon, big hill
122. tsurowa'a, open hillside
123. tsir'q-o-te'p, tan-oak flat
124. me'h'l, timbered hillside
125. rnrgr', hillside
126. pe'lkeneg, landslide
127. hä po'r, flat
128. tsots-o-me'kwel, sandbar
129. mets'wroi', METAH CREEK
130. tsu'loiyo'l, small flat
131. kepero'r, old village site
132. no'xtska-hipu'r wroi', creek
133. le'wit-o-ska'a, fishing-place
134. ke'men, fishing-place
135. me'r'oget, fishing-place
136. tio'xkror, fishing-place
137. olege', fishing-place
138. melnega', fishing-place
139. prgru'anü, small rocks in river
140. mr'lrgr, great rock near river
141. tr'pr upqwr'i, small creek
142. o-slegoi'ts, declivity
143. tr'pr, fishing-place
144. nega' tür waa'g, large boulders at edge of river
145. negeni's wroi', creek
146. mi.lmu'wimü, small boulder in river
147. no'htskum, town
148. o'rome'n, open hillside
149. plo'kse'w, seed-gathering ground
150. te'kti'l, high hill

RECTANGLE D

Map 11. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

## Notes on Rectangle D

When we compare this rectangle with the one adjoining it down river, which has just been discussed, we find that there is a marked increase in the number of Indian settlements and the frequency of place names. In going up the river one emerges from the redwood belt at the town of *srpr'*. Above that town the river flows between lightly wooded slopes, with a good deal of sunny, open ground. A number of very large towns are grouped at the point where Pekwan creek enters the river. This vicinity used to be known as Klamath bluffs, and was considered quite a metropolis by the early settlers. A trader by the name of Johnson had a store here, the only one for a great many miles. It was a populous place, however, even before the coming of the whites. I think the trader put his store there simply because it was a place of congregation. Several important dances were held in this vicinity, and *pekwan* is spoken of as a sacred town. There are at least two structures which were used in connection with the deer-skin dance. The people in this town had much ceremonial stuff, were extremely well-to-do, and rather traded upon their importance. A great deal of mythology is localized hereabouts. This neighborhood, in which there are three Indian towns, is undoubtedly the most important place in the middle course of the river. Upstream from it settlements are neither numerous nor large until the point where the Trinity enters, at *Weitchpec*.

1. *o-le'ga wroi'*. A name similar to this (rectangle K-21) means "where things drift ashore."
2. *oL-o-tsyū'*, translated "person where sits." A cliff overlooking the river. A woman's parents were unkind. She travelled along, wishing something would happen to her. When she got here she sat down to rest and turned into a rock. The upper part of this rock is shaped like a person's head.
3. *tse'ge-o-mū*, translated "..... where they are caught." A fishing-place, owned by *qo'-otep-me'tsr'o*.
4. *te'kta*, meaning probably "log" (called also *oprega'*). An old town site. At this point there were formerly a number of pits. The name is frequently mentioned, but the pits themselves were washed out by high water years ago, the current undercutting the terrace. I know of one very old woman who "belongs" in *te'kta*, having been married from there when a girl.
5. *leta'*, translated "ridge-like." A rock at the edge of the river. At low water a hole can be seen in the surface of this rock. This was made by *Woxpekoma'*. He was poling his canoe up-stream, and at this point saw some women, whose attention he wished to attract. He pushed up against the current and then allowed himself to slip back a number of times, so the women would wonder whether he would make it next time or not. He planted his paddle against this rock, to push; that is what made the hole.

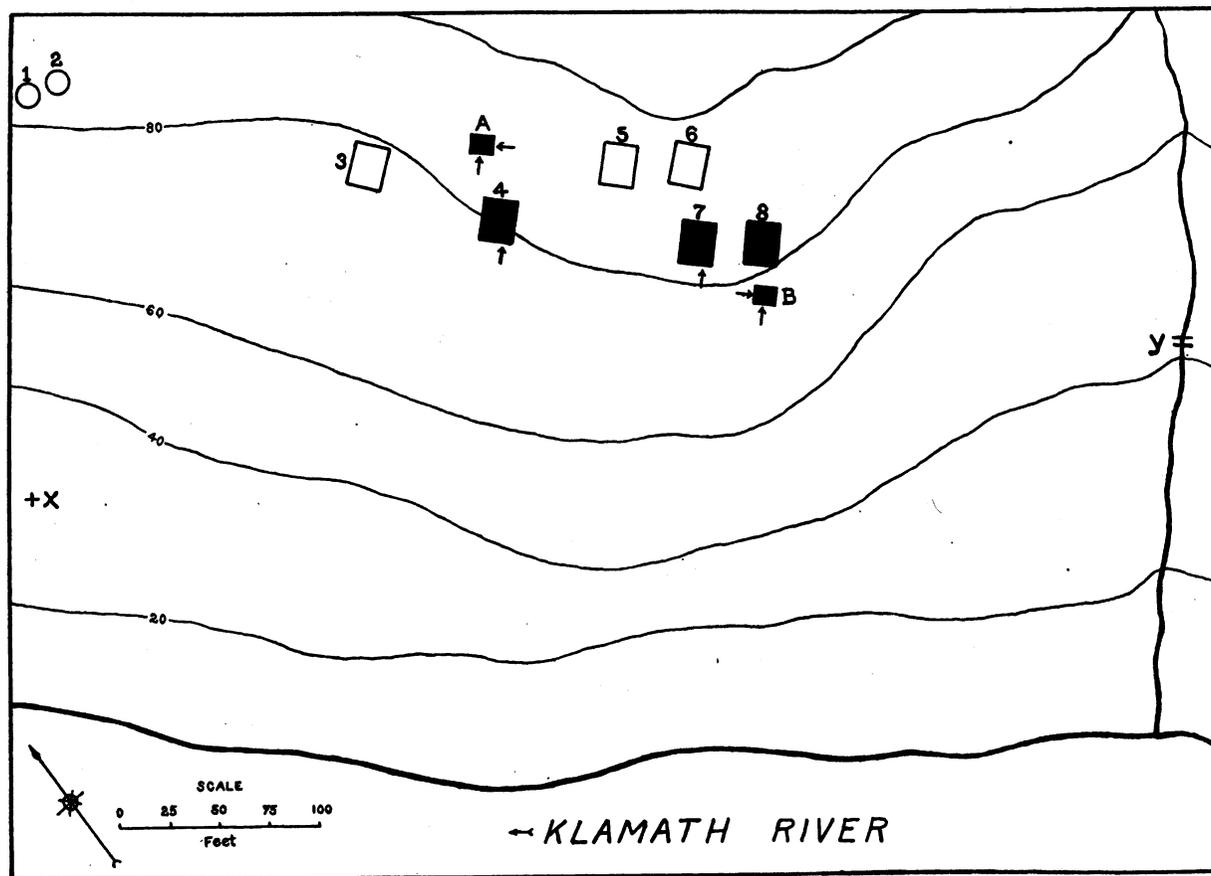
7. *tas'pek srmnr'i*, translated "tsa'pek-affluent," tsa'pek being the town at Dry lagoon (rectangle I-10). The stream is a westward branch of *tekta wroi'* (Tectah creek).
8. *rwrgeLr'iq*. Acorn-grounds, belonging to *ki'morets*, at *qo'-o-tep*.
9. *o'lko*, connected, by my informants, with *olke'gum*, to pick acorns. A flat beside the river. Acorns are ripe first at this place.
10. *o'lko-hiqo'*, translated "o'lko across-from." A fishing-place. The owners used to set deer snares also, running the deer off the flat above with dogs. "They only got small ones," however. The place belongs to *ki'morets* of *qo'-o-tep*.
11. *trqwrnr''w*. A snaring-place, belonging to the town of *qo'-o-tep*. This was the scene of ceremonial performances in the deer-skin dance.
12. *olo''omono-o-prē'gwēgil*, translated "tan-oak where they-always-dance." A small flat. This is the "first" place in the deer-skin dance; that is, the place where the first performance is held.
13. *o-tse'gep-pyē'gwēgil*, translated "where-they-disembark dancing-place." A flat by the river. This is described as a "boys' dancing place," and had some connection with one of the important ceremonies. I do not know which one.
14. *pr'kwr'i*. A spot on the hillside. This is the "last" place in the deer-skin dance.
15. *helegä''ä wroi'*. A creek. One feature of the deer-skin dance is a performance on the water. Two of the biggest boats are brought alongside each other, and some men in each boat hold on to the other one, so that they move abreast. A row of individuals in each boat "dance," swaying and stamping in time to a song and making the boats "bounce" in the water. The effect, to Indian eyes, is perfectly exquisite. In performing this dance they floated down as far as this creek.
16. *kyoh-sepso'L*. A large boulder. An immortal threw his acorn-net on top of this rock and left it there, "so the Indians would find it and learn how to make such things."
17. *osyo'L*, translated "landslide."
18. *sme'rkit*, translated "toothless." If anyone drinks here his teeth come out (cf. rectangle B-16).
19. *o-tsä'l*, translated "where sand." This is the same word as *ostsel*, no. 80, below. A former village site. House-pits used to be visible here, but the site lies in an extensive flat which has been cultivated for years and they are no longer visible. The present Indians know nothing about a town here. They saw and recognized the house-pits merely.
20. *o-segi's*, translated "where they-always-gather-fern-root (si'son)." A flat. The fern-root was gathered to be eaten.
21. *mu'rnū-kepe'L*, translated "merganser house-pit." A small flat with a depression. *Mu'rnū* is described by the Indians as "river-duck," evidently the saw-bill or merganser. In myth times he had his house at this point.
23. *tsa'h-spä''w*. This seems to contain the stem "to drink," but I could not get a translation. The name is said to have come down from the immortals.
24. *kepe'l-mir-e''gol wroi'*, translated "kepel hereat always-stays creek." A small stream. When the deer-skin dance is being celebrated the people from *ke'pel*, a town (see rectangle E-53), camped beside this creek.
25. *woxhke'ro*, translated "pepperwood." A town. This is the lowermost of a series of four settlements on the north bank of the stream. At the present time three of these, *qo'otep*, *woxtek*, and the present one adjoin each other. I was told that this town dates back only to the year 1862, the year of a great flood, an event from which the Yurok have since dated everything. At that time many of the houses in the two other towns went down-river, and the people built on new sites. One informant said that this town was originally

HOUSES:

1. and 2. mo'cktek, "Blue crane's house-pits"
3. regwona, "at the end"
4. ....
5. ....
6. ....
7. wo'gi, "middle"
8. wo'gi (annex, see 7)

SWEAT-HOUSES:

- A, B  
x. o-pyí'weg, translated "where they dance"  
y. teaspe-o-pa'a, spring (water, supply)

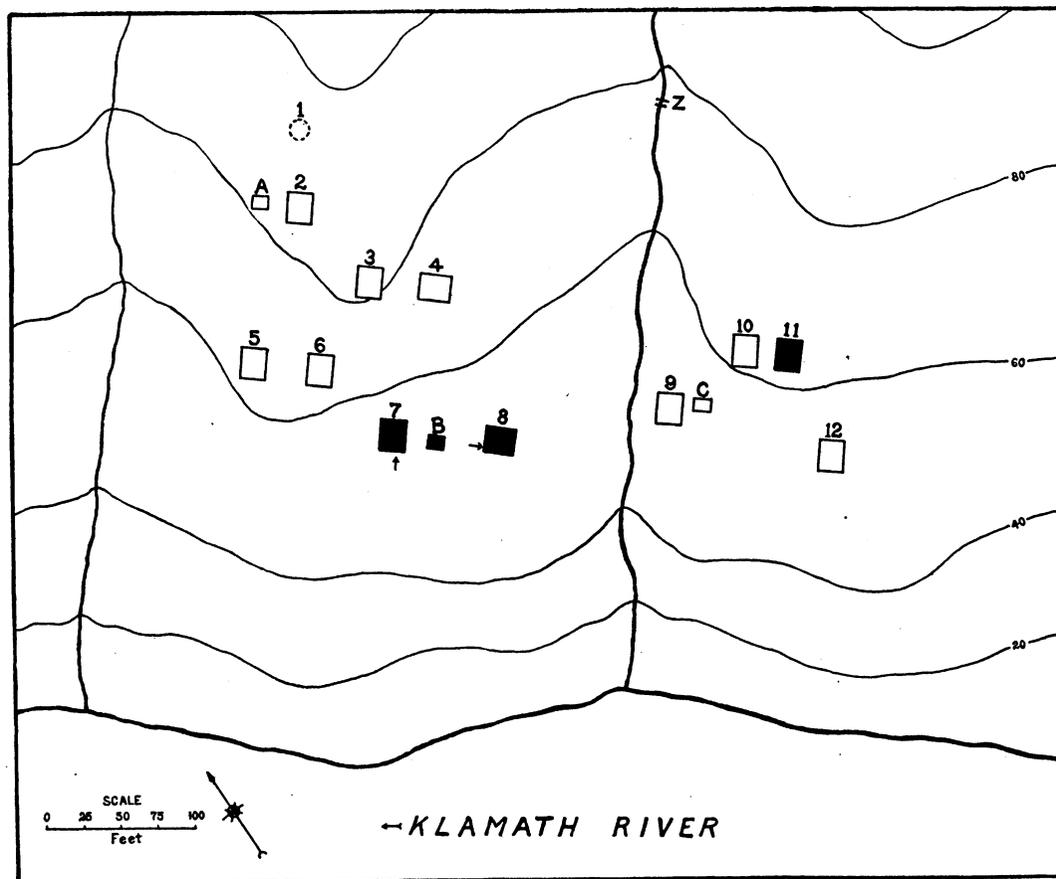


Map 12. woxe'ro.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing; hollow, house-pits only).  
Circles indicate pits to which mythological names are attached.  
Arrows indicate doorways.

- HOUSES:
1. näye'gwol, "Earthquake's house"
  2. tse'gi-o-tep, "live-oak where it stands"
  3. wone<sup>w</sup>, "above"
  4. to'li, "crosswise"
  5. ketske'l
  6. lä'yed<sup>w</sup>, "by the trail"
  7. tso'le<sup>w</sup>, "down-hill"
  8. sipetai
  9. wo'xtek
  10. .... Whiskey Joe's house
  11. .... Poker Bob's house
  12. .... Wi'lit's house
- SWEAT-HOUSES:  
 A, B, C  
 z. owr'grn, a spring



Map 13. wo'xtek.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
 Datum is level of river  
 at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing; hollow, house-pits only).  
 Circles represent pits to which mythological names are attached.  
 Arrows indicate doorways.

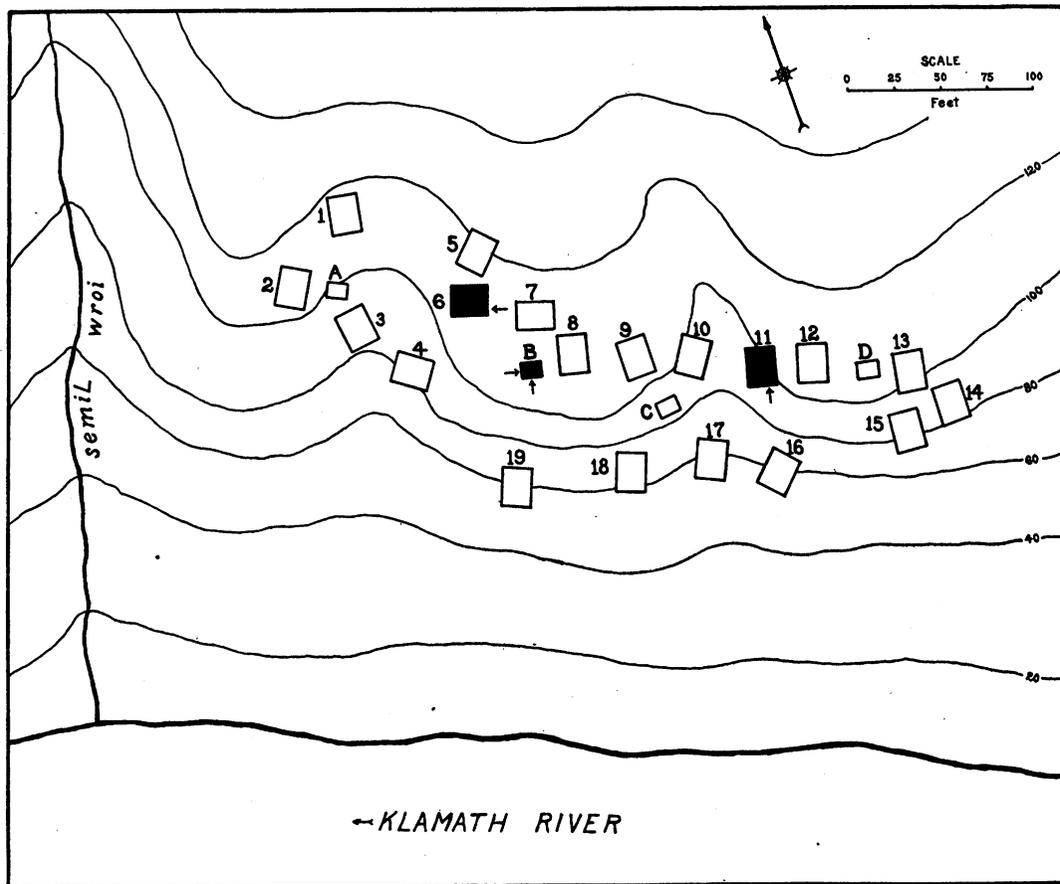
located at tsah-spä<sup>w</sup> (see no. 23, above), which was closer to the river, and was completely washed away. The whole matter is rather confusing, for when a man built a new house in a new location he often preserved the old name. The houses in this town are shown on the accompanying sketch-map (map 12).

26. ot' o'' R wroi'. Creek, at which people obtained material for arrows (I think for the manufacture of foreshafts).
27. osegere'q<sup>w</sup>. Acorn-grounds. Ki'morets of qo'-o-tep-town owned a place here. In addition to that there were holdings with three "shacks" belonging to o'segen, on the coast. This latter fact apparently accounts for the name.
28. owgr'. Acorn-grounds, belonging to Nick's wife at qo'-o-tep.
29. lä'al-o-pēgē'yil, translated "sturgeon where he-always-cooked." A story recounts that a man stole sturgeon and cooked it here. I do not know the details.
31. wo'xtek. A town. I was informed that this town, like the preceding, grew up in 1862, when qo'-o-tep was swept away by high water. Accordingly many of the houses have no names. There is some confusion arising from the fact that certain families, after their houses "went down river," rebuilt in a different place, while at the present time both their old and their new houses are gone, replaced with European structures. Concerning the names shown on the sketch-map (map 13) I have the following notes.
  - House 1. na-yegwol, translated "Earthquake's house." Earthquake, yegwol, used to be a person. For that matter, there was a whole family by that name. Many different pits, some of them not artificial, are pointed out in different neighborhoods, as his abode (see p. 200). The depression in the present case is now under a barn.
  - House 2. tsegi-o-tep, translated "live-oak where it-stands." In the earliest recollections of my informant there was just an old pit at this point. The sweat-house stood back under the live-oak. The people who originally lived here were immortals. A girl from the house one morning went up on the hill gathering iris for fiber. Something caught and ate her. Her brother afterward went up. After the sun came up, several sā''āls who had eaten her came out of a big rock by a waterfall, where the creek cuts down through the cliff. The young man shot one of them. That night the rest came down to kill him. They ate up his house, his sweat-house, and even the rocks around the sweat-house. When my informant in his childhood used to see these rocks, which were still lying about, they were all full of holes. Of the whole establishment they left only one plank. The young man hid under that and escaped. Nobody has lived there since.
  - House 3. wone'<sup>w</sup>, translated "up-hill." The family was very wealthy. One of the daughters inherited the house, and was half-married to two different men, the first from qo'-o-tep, the second from pe'kwan-pū'lek.
  - House 4. toliL, translated "crosswise." As the Indians say, this house is "cranky" to all the others. It was built to accommodate the overflow from tso'le<sup>w</sup> (no. 7).
  - House 5. ketskel. The people here also were very well-to-do. A man who was half-married here from sre'gon (rectangle D-90) had a son, who half-married into meta'. Moving later across the river there, he is now known as Meta'-hiqo' Jim. His daughter is Meta Emma, who owns a brush-dance medicine.
  - House 6. la'yeq<sup>w</sup>, translated "by the trail." This is Sam Smith's house, which he got from his mother. His father, who was only half-married here, came from mū'rek (rectangle E-35).

- House 7. tso'le<sup>w</sup>, translated "down in front." This house belonged to a wealthy woman who got it from her father. Her mother came from a house in qo'-o-tep. This woman, who now lives with Captain Jack near Requa, is called Kimho (dirty). It is important to note that she got this nickname on account of sex irregularities. In such a wealthy woman they were considered scandalous.
- House 8. si'p<sup>e</sup>tai. In recent generations human beings have lived in this house. Formerly it was inhabited by immortals. One of these wo'ge young men had a pet deer and a pet rattlesnake. The rattlesnake is still occasionally seen in the vicinity. The young man used to swim in the river along with the deer, and the latter's tracks are still to be seen at low water in a flat rock out in the stream. Once the people in the sky-country (see p. 190) were having a dance which the young man and the deer attended. The deer danced and sang a song about being homesick for si'p<sup>e</sup>tai. So people came to know that this house was called si'p<sup>e</sup>tai. Nobody had known before that it had a name.
- House 9. wo'xtek. A man lived in this house whose wife was a to'lowil woman, from Crescent City. He had two sons and a daughter.
- House 10. This house is inhabited by an Indian called Whiskey Joe, who moved here from qo'-o-tep at the time of the flood.
- House 11. The man of this house was half-married to a qo'-o-tep he'Lqau woman. He was originally from tso'tskwi, opposite qe'nek (rectangle E-124).
- House 12. The man of this house is called wi'lits. He lived originally in qo'-o-tep-pe'kwai, moving here when his former place was washed away in 1862.
- O-wrgr'n, translated "where rushes are gathered," is the name applied to a spring where the town obtained its water. The "rushes" referred to are plants with edible tops. When dry, the shaft is used as "sand paper" for smoothing arrow-shafts.
32. o-rego'k, translated "where it rolls." This is a sloping hillside where boys played a game with a large root. It is described as white and round, and is called te'q<sup>w</sup>skel. They rolled it down hill and shot at it with arrows.
33. ose'gep rgr'ik, translated "Coyote's sweat-house." This is a pile of rocks which looks from a distance like a sweat-house foundation.
36. okro' kle'wpo, meaning, I think, "possesses cliff clover"; that is, where wild clover grows on a cliff. It is the name for a flat where people went after wild clover, which was eaten raw.
39. ye'wome', translated "he disappears." Place where the trail enters the trees.
40. ho'oreq, translated "fern."
41. wr're'ts-o-tmä<sup>w</sup>, translated "alder where they-break-up." Place where the women went for alder, which was good for kindling fires.
42. srpr'-mel-e'go, translated "srpr here always-stays." Acorn-ground claimed by ki'morets of qo'-o-tep. This is the place spoken of above (p. 226).
43. pr'grl-o-le'go, translated "black-walnut where they-rest." A resting-place on the trail (see p. 185).
45. orä" äm, translated "sound of dancing," the drumming sound made by feet. This is a house name in pe'k w<sup>u</sup>tül (see map 28, below). Formerly a meadow, this place has been mined out by hydraulic machinery, and nothing is left but bounders.
50. qo'-o-tep, translated "..... where it-stands." This is the location of a hamlet known as Johnson's (Klamath post office), and has been for fifty years the principal trading place on the river. A few Indian structures stand among a large number of European buildings in various styles. The arrangement of

HOUSES:

1. hipū'roiyaū, "down-river"
  2. regwona', "at the end"
  3. regwona'-hipe'ts, "up-river from regwona'"
  4. ....
  5. rā'voi
  6. pe'tsku-repo'k<sup>w</sup>, "doorway up-river"
  7. to'lel, "crosswise"
  8. wo'gi, "middle"
  9. pe'kwoi, "mud"
  10. me'tsar'o
  11. he'lqau, "back from the river"
  12. he'lqau (annex, see 11)
  13. otr'nmri
  14. tetā'q<sup>w</sup>, "shinny game"
  15. tse'ken
  16. pe'tsku, "river"
  17. ....
  18. oslega', "where the trail comes down"
  19. hitso', "down-hill"
- SWEAT-HOUSES:  
A, B, C, D



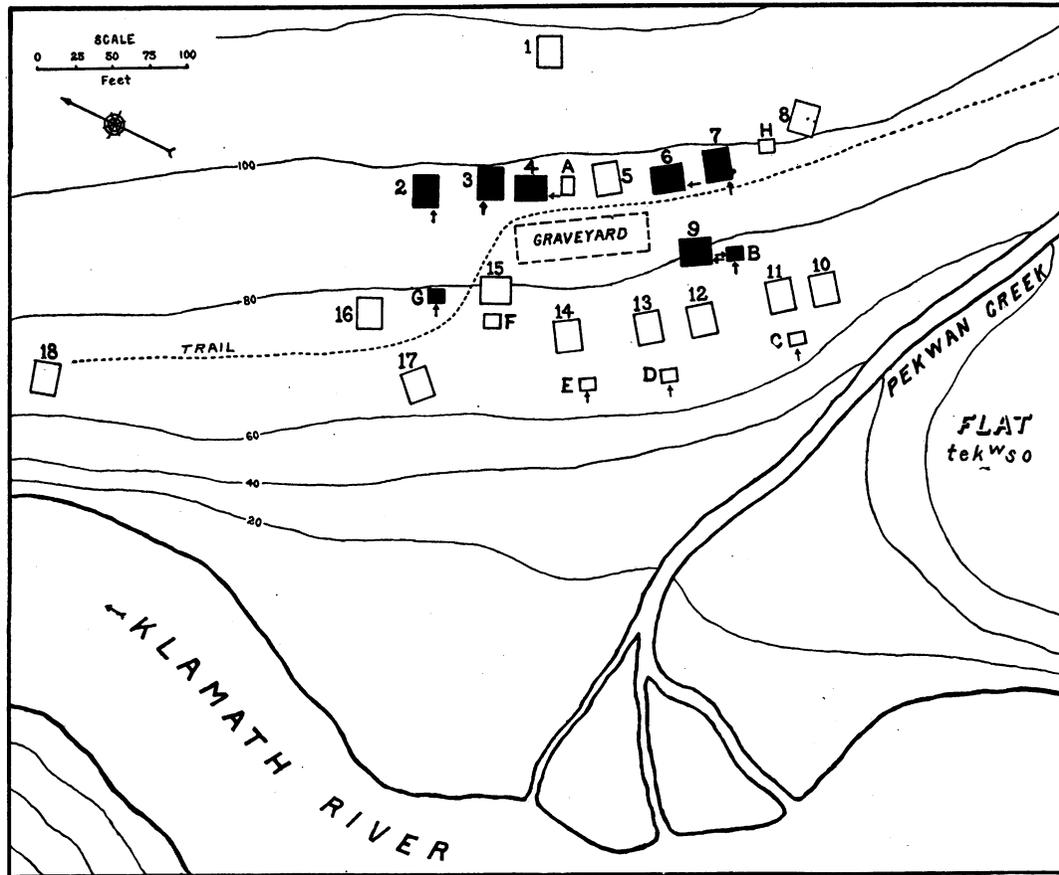
Map 14. qo'-o-tep.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid,  
still standing; hollow, house-pits only).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

**HOUSES:**

1. wo'gi (annex, see 4)
  2. oslo'q'w, "where the trail comes down"
  3. opyu'weg, "where they dance"
  4. wo'gi, "in the middle"
  5. higwo'n, "up-hill"
  6. rk'gri, "hair-ties"
  7. te'l-wo'o'lomel, "the tel where they live"
  8. he'lq'q, "back from the river"
  9. le'q'wsa, "exit of sweat-house"
  10. ala'xkwetsoip
  11. tso'le'w, "down-hill"
  12. ta'am'o, "elderberry bush"
  13. hi'tsau (annex, see 11)
  14. o'lqero, "earth"
  15. ke'takel
  16. ara'w, "something hanging"
  17. teko'r
  18. ska'awilil, "buckeye hangs"
- SWEAT-HOUSES:**  
 A, B, C, D, E, F  
 G. is a ceremonial sweat-house, named opegal'ole



Map 15. pe'kwan.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
 Datum is level of river  
 at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid,  
 still standing; hollow, house-pits only).  
 Arrows indicate doorways.

the original structures, so far as I could determine, is shown on the following sketch-map (map 14). It may be noted that house 9, pe'kwoi, "mud," disappeared in 1862; the people building house 12 in wo'xtek. Similarly house 11, he'lqau, "back from the river," was replaced at that time by house 11 in woxtek.

51. kr'L-ele-negwo'rkes, translated "..... a-long-way see." A tall rock.
52. ole"-pa" a, translated "warm water." A rock, beside the river. The Indians say there are old house-pits hereabouts, dating back to the time of the immortals. I have never seen anything which could be identified as a pit. Any depression may at times look to the Indian like the site of an "immortal" house, slightly metamorphosed.
- 52a. pe'kwan. A town. This important place lies on the bank of a large stream, Pe'kwan creek, a short distance back from the river (see the accompanying sketch-map, map 15). They obtained their water from the creek, which is colder than the river and better water. Pe'kwan contains a relatively large number of Indian structures, and exhibits many of the traits that must have characterized the village life of the Yurok before the whites came in. Its most noteworthy feature is the fact that the houses are disposed in two rows, along the trail, which runs parallel to the river. The Indians notice the symmetrical arrangement and speak of the trail with some pride as a "street." The village is connected with one of the two deer-skin dances and in the village itself are four structures whose names indicate some connection with the observances. The first of these is rkí'gri (no. 6 on the accompanying sketch-map, map 15) "hair-ties," where the performers put on their regalia. The second is opyu'weg (no. 3), "where they dance." The third is the ceremonial sweat-house, named opegoi'ole (letter G). In this sweat-house the necessary formulas were repeated, and certain esoteric rites were performed. Two men were especially occupied in the sweat-house, staying in there through the whole period of the ceremony. These individuals were known as the tel. House number 7 is called tel-wo'o'lemel, "the tel where they live." The actual dance performances, which were of a very elaborate character, were scattered over a number of places.

Five such places are especially pointed out, at which dances were performed. They are, as given above:

12. olo''omono.
11. trqwr nr'.
13. otse'gep-pyē'gwēgiL.
15. helegä'ä wroi'.
14. pr'kwr'i.

56. pe'k<sup>w</sup>tel. An enormous, long rock in the stream below pe'kwan town. There used to be a sand spit running up-stream from the upper end of this rock, but the current shifted and carried it away. A myth recounts that a "Big money" (pē'lin-tsi':k), a dentalium as long as a sturgeon, lived in the water alongside this rock. Prayers are spoken at this point. When a man is passing in a canoe he waits till he is just abreast of this rock, in the middle of the river, then, if he is a man "who knows," he claps his hands for good luck, saying:
- tsa skúin son ū hégok ki óx pelin me kwomLitsok  
now! good be when I travel will have big returning I arrive
57. nepū'i-sots-o-lego'L, translated "salmon (literally 'that-which-is-eaten') on-top where he-lay." A large boulder. A very long time ago high water left a salmon lying on top.
59. tspē'ga-o-rē'qēn, translated "shag where sits." Shag or Shikepoke sat here, I think in mythical times.

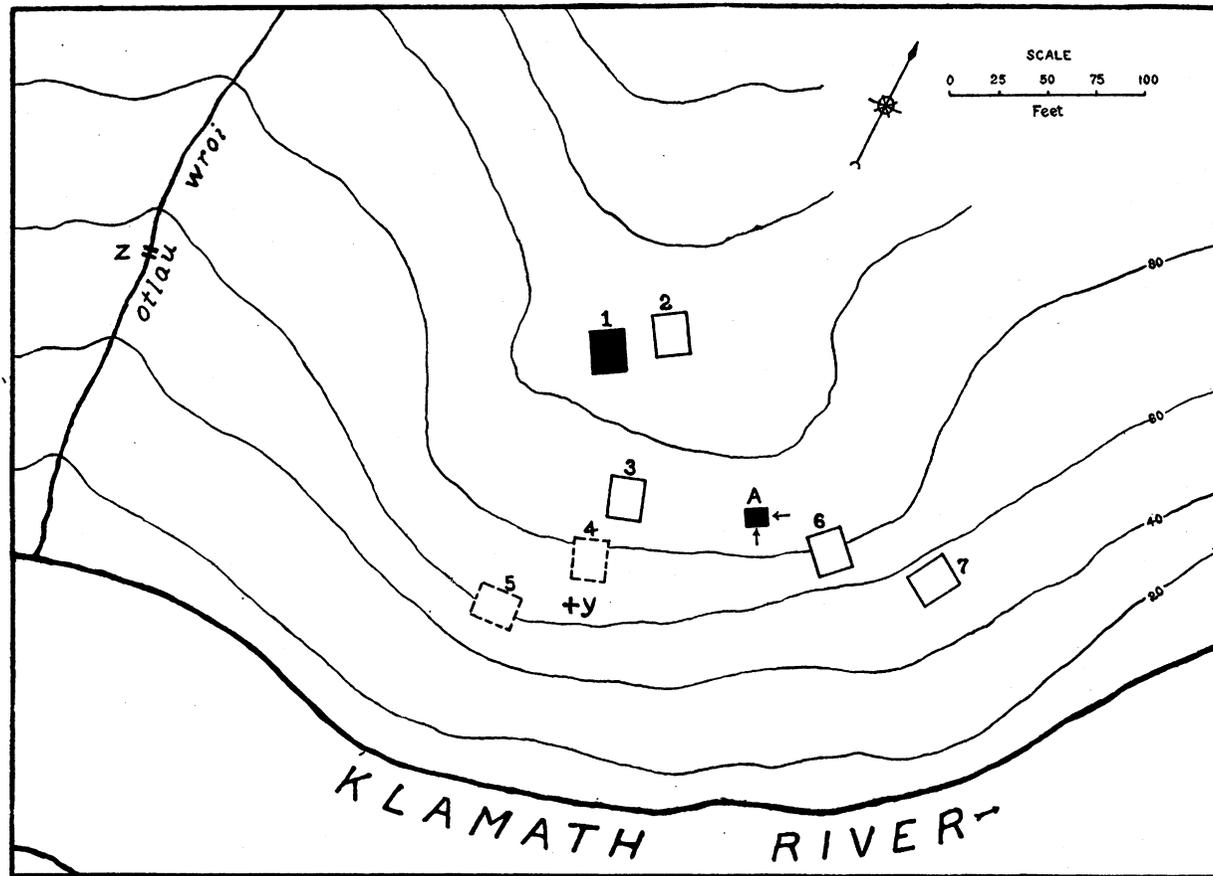
60. rkrer. A fishing-place. This name occurs also a few miles up-river (rectangle E-37).
61. sots-o-lē'gai, translated "on-top where one goes." The trail up pekwan creek runs on top of a big cliff or crag. The rock runs down steeply into the river, and the trail cannot pass in front. Hence the name.
64. wo'gi oso'ho neye'q", translated "in-middle ....." A hill between two creeks.
65. o-Lke'go, translated "where people gather up." A hillside with a heavy growth of oaks. The acorns were very plentiful here, and anyone could go there. The place was one of a number mentioned to me, which were not "owned" by individuals or families.
71. pe'kwan-emeL-nok, translated "pekwan from (trail) comes." Place on top of the hill where trails meet.
72. ti'o'o. Acorn-place. It is described as a place where any person from pekwan could go for acorns. It seems to have been in a sense the property of the village.
73. nī'qr, translated "as far as they go." The word seems to mean a boundary, or landmark. In this case, the place marks the limit of the sre'gon people's snaring rights. They could only come this far in driving deer or elk.
75. wr'grs, translated "hard, knotty." An acorn-ground belonging to a house in pe'kwan. The acorns here were "scaly."
76. nrngr' (nrpr', berry), translated "where one always berries." This term is translated below (no. 125) as "where they gathered sweat-house brush."
78. mrqwrl, translated "knoll." A small hill.
79. tek' sa'u. A small flat. Two houses formerly stood here, one behind the other.
80. o-tsa'L, translated "where sand-is." A small flat.
81. ro'gon-eyo', translated "stakes they-make." A camp site. When the fish-dam was being constructed at ke'pel stake-makers camped here. They went up on the hills to cut the young firs from which the stakes were split.
84. qī'tol, translated "the flat-place at." The stem "flat" is used in a number of geographical names, including lagoons (see p. 198).
86. yoxtr. A town. I obtained the name of three houses here, as follows:  
     wogi, "in the middle"  
     hipur, "down-river"  
     pets, "up-river."
87. kwerā'p-o-teq, translated "sharp where it-stands." A pointed crag two or three hundred yards above the river.
88. so'o-o-ke'tsil, translated "corpse his mouth-open." A large rock in the river, submerged until late summer. The reason for the name I do not know.
89. orū'wis, translated eddy. A fishing-place.
90. sre'gon. A town. This place was not large; but its people were all related, and all excessively rich. Even yet, the sre'gon people assume a rather overbearing attitude toward other Indians. The people here were unwilling to tell me anything about house-names or geography, and I think they passed the word along that I was not to be told by anybody else. At least I never succeeded in getting more than a few scraps of information, with the names of two houses: wo'gi, "in the middle," and hi'pets, "up-stream." I received a number of differing accounts of how the town came to be started. Every one agrees that it has not been there very long. Some say that some wo'xtek people first came here to live, leaving their place down-river on account of a quarrel. Others told me that it was pe'kwan people, who first built houses here. Sre'gon may have been built before either of the other places; I was never able to get the actual names of the founders, or their family history.

HOUSES:

1. wone'q', "up-hill"
2. annex to 1
3. prkw'i, "in rear"
4. peqo'r, "mud"
5. hirä, "by the creek"
6. pu'lik, "down-river"
7. annex to 6

SWEAT-HOUSE:

- A  
y. peqo'r, translated "mud," a  
spring  
z. o-se'genul, a water-hole



Map 16. Meta'.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

91. segwona'n, translated "pestle." A bar which runs out into the river. The stones here look like pestles, hence the name.
92. o-slegoi'ts, translated "where people-pass-down." A declivity where the trail leads from the hillside down toward a ford.
93. ma' a-wr'rpqwri, said to mean "place (or creek) where people got huckleberry arrow-shafts."
95. o-syo'L, translated "landslide." A fishing-place.
97. hego'-o-lego' wrpqr'i, translated "paddle where they-make creek."
98. wri'L-ego, translated by my Indian informants "with wife stop." The implication seems to be sexual. The term applies to a certain place on the trail. The Indians professed themselves unable to explain it further.
100. me'lku, translated "shut in." The word applies to a location within the sweat-house.
101. tso'kik. A flat. Every one says there were house-pits here at one time, but the flat is now cultivated and they have been completely obscured. They are referred to the immortals.
104. wo'po-reqē'n, translated "in-water sitting." A large boulder in the river.
105. ke'ixkem. A site with house-pits. The traces of habitation are quite clear here, but I could get no reference to the people. The Indians say that it was immortals who lived here also. The expression also occurs as the name of a town on Big lagoon (rectangle I-23).
116. mrwrsislā' wroi', translated "yellow-lizard creek."
117. Several well marked house-pits are to be seen at this point. The name of the place I was unable to get.
118. meta'. A town. This was once a place of some importance. Only one family has been living here in recent years, and even the site of the former structures is in some cases uncertain. The principal shaman and director-in-chief of the fish-dam enterprise (see p. 246) lived here. The disposition of the houses is shown on the accompanying sketch-map (map 16).
119. otlā'w wroi', translated "where it drips creek."
120. ho'mono-o-te'p, translated "tan-oak where it-stands." Place where a solitary tan-oak stands on a ridge.
123. tsi'rq-o-tep, translated "..... where it-stands." A tan-oak flat where the acorns are hard to crack.
124. me'li'L, translated "sweeping." A place where the tree limbs hang low. When the wind blows, it looks as though they were sweeping the place out.
125. rnrgr', translated "where they gathered fuel for the sweat-house" (rgri). This term occurs above, no. 76, where it is translated "where one always berries" (nrpr, berry).
126. pe'Lkeneq, said to be connected with pe'ixken, "mud." A miry place on a hillside, always "sliding."
128. tsots-o-me'qwel, translated "..... where knoll." A bar.
131. kepero'r, probably connected with kepel, "house-pit." A site close to the river, with numerous house-pits. None of my informants ever saw houses there. The statement was made that pekwan people started a town there on account of a quarrel. I was also told that it was a bad place. The inhabitants all died at once, and so the site has never been used since.
133. lē'wit-o-skää, translated "..... where it-hangs." A fishing-place.
134. ke'men. A fishing-place. This name is sometimes applied to the house-pits in this vicinity (see no. 131 above).
142. o-slegoi'ts, translated "where people always descend." A declivity where the trail from the Bald hills crosses the river.
144. nega'tur-waä'g, translated "..... his rock." Big boulders at the edge of the river.

145. *negeni's wroi'*, translated "mouse creek."  
 147. *no'htskum*, also *nohxtska*. A town. This is a small flat or terrace with a few house-pits, no Indian structures remaining. I obtained the names of only three houses, and it is probable that there were originally one or two more. It is said to be an old town and its importance has probably dwindled to some extent.

There is a fishing-place in this rectangle, *o-ki'go*. I am uncertain as to the location.

### Notes on Rectangle E

The region included in this rectangle contains two localities of interest.

The first is a very populous stretch of river and includes the area made famous by the building each year of a great tribal fish-dam. The materials for the dam were collected from the whole upper half of the Yurok country, and impressive ceremonies connected with the building were carried on in many places, some of them quite remote from the structure itself.

In addition there are several ceremonial places which are shown in the accompanying sketch-map of the town of *sä'ä*.

The second locality, one of great interest, at least to myself, is the town of *qének* and its vicinity. This is the center of the world, according to Yurok ideas, and their conviction is shared by the neighboring tribes. The culture hero came into existence here. In the town of *qének* dwelt a number of mythical personages. It is the scene of some fine stories. Another center for myths is the storied region around Patrick's point (Rectangle J).

I know of nothing in the physiography of either of these places to arouse this myth-making instinct; but such things of course do not go by logic. Both regions are picturesque, but there is nothing that sets them so much above other localities in the same region.

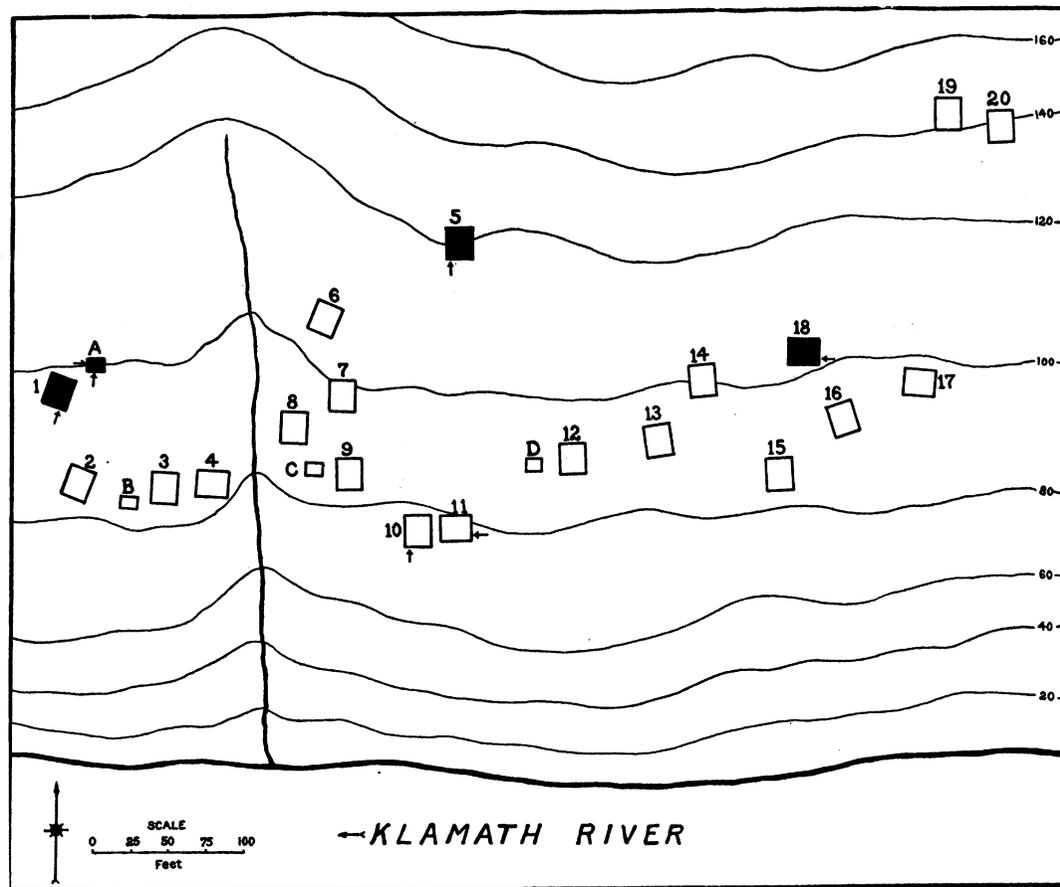
2. *qo'xtau*. A crag on a hillside. It is spoken of as rattlesnake's place. It is "full of rattlesnakes" now.
4. *otskgrū'n*. A flat rock in the edge of the river. Chicken-hawk, *kr'nit*, who plays a conspicuous role in Yurok myths, had for his wife Black Bear. Trying to climb up here once, she slipped down, and her excrement flew all around. It is still to be seen on the rocks.
7. *mū'ntsē haä'g*. Large white boulder near the brink of the river. When the idea of a fish-dam was first given expression, during the time when the immortals were living hereabouts, they were going to erect it near this point. They changed their minds, however, and built it at *ke'pel*, where it has been built yearly ever since.

HOUSES:

1. plel, "big"
2. qäps-o-rä'-pa, "water inside"
3. annex to 1
4. pü'lük repo'q<sup>w</sup>, "down-river doorway"
5. nu'tskr
6. rä'äk higwoi', "up-hill from rä'äk" (9)
7. Annex to 9
8. tse'kwel, "flat place"
9. rä'äk, "in the creek"
10. pi'npa, a town on Big lagoon
11. pe'tskürepo'q<sup>w</sup>, "up-river doorway"
12. o-pyü'weg, "where they dance"
13. me'yelol, "nettles"
14. ke'peror, "house-pit"
15. hitso'ra<sup>w</sup>, "down-hill"
16. pä'är, "water"
17. hi'nkelol, "white oak"
18. ....
19. ....
20. ....

SWEAT-HOUSES:

A, B, C, D

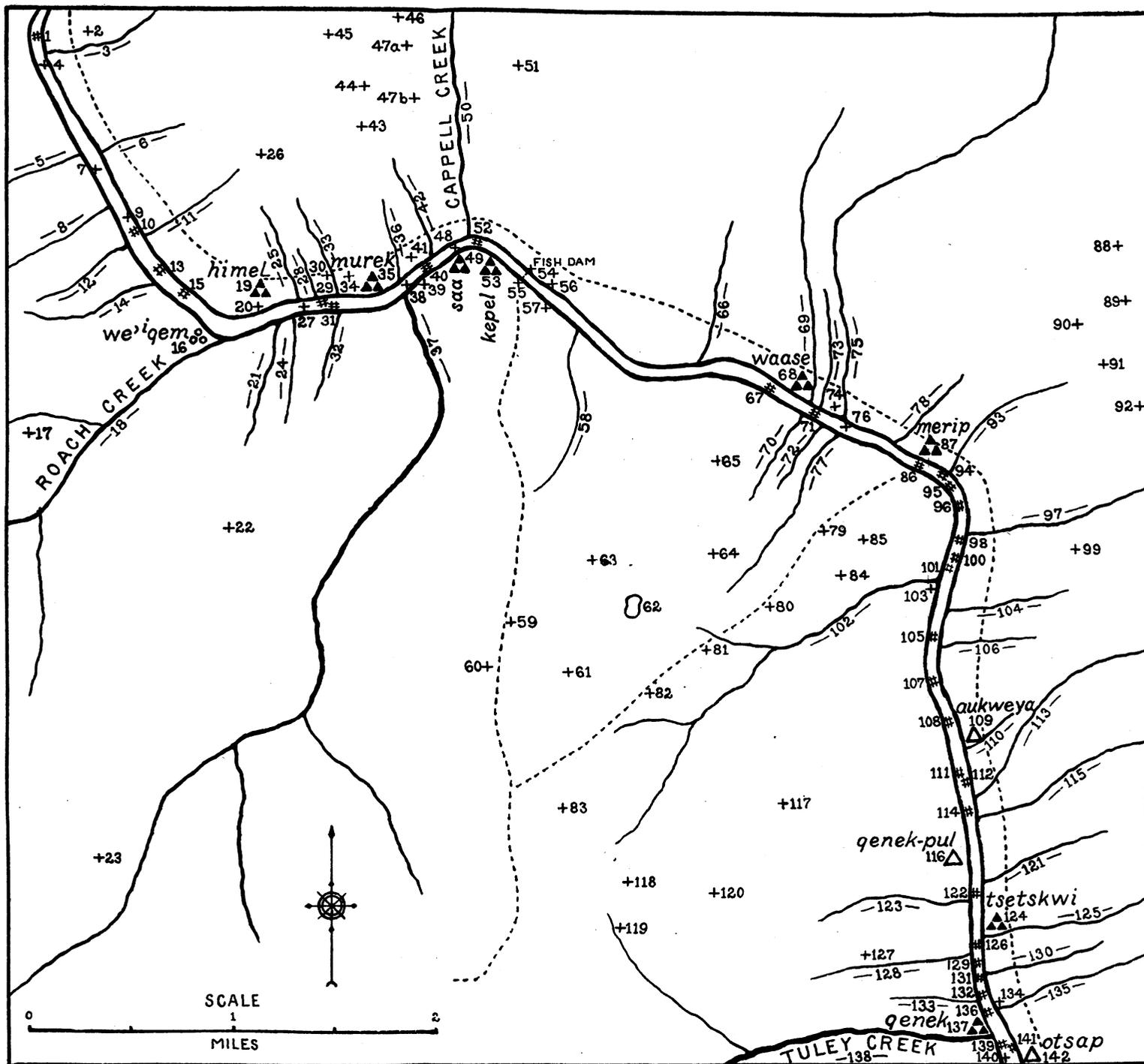


Map 18. Mu-rek.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

1. tarktaryr', fishing-place
2. qo'xtau, crag on hillside
3. qo'xtau wroi', creek
4. otakgru'n, flat rock in river
5. taweyom'u'we wroi', creek
6. tet'o'no wroi', creek
7. mu'ntse ha'g, boulder at edge of river
8. we'lkwa'-o-pa'a wroi', small creek
9. kne'tken-o-lo, large boulder at edge of river
10. kne'tkem-sio'l, fishing-place
11. keyom'o'r wroi', creek
12. olepo'l wroi', creek
13. tsap-o-sro'r, fishing-place
14. tsio:pi'l wroi', creek
15. oro'wis, fishing-place
16. we'iqem, site with house-pits
17. watsen'gomek, snaring-place
18. hime'l wroi', ROACH CREEK
19. hime'l, town
20. nega'htur ha'g, crag
21. hime'l-hiqo' wroi', creek
22. tsegoro'k higwon
23. pre'grau', snaring-place
24. tse'korok' wroi', creek
25. tsegoroq'-hiqo' wroi', creek
26. tek'u's-o-ke'pel, snaring-place
27. tsegoroko'r, rock at edge of river
28. plo'le wroi', creek
29. o'le', fishing-place
30. no'htaka, place
31. kya tsai's, fishing-place
32. ow'z' wroi', creek
33. no'htaka, wroi', creek
34. ra'yo, place
35. me'rek, town
36. smeakito'a wroi', creek
37. rkye'a wroi', creek
38. wa'a, small sand bar
39. owi'gr, place on river bank
40. o'teray, fishing-place
41. hinkelo'l, place
42. we'ape'q' wroi', creek
43. knegwora', snaring-place
44. wohpe'yo, snaring-place
45. segwo'nakol, open hillside
46. mega'u, group of redwood trees
- 47a,b. me'tsep-rgr'its, clumps of brush
48. nako'-o-sre'gon, great rock in the river
49. sa'a, town
50. tepolau' wroi', KEPEL CREEK
51. wogan, snaring-place
52. te'polay, fishing-place
53. ke'pel, town
54. merx'qwi, rock at edge of river
55. t'u'lek, rock at edge of river
56. o-tre'ga', trickle of water
57. q'mruk, place on river bank
58. ru'loiyo wroi', creek
59. o-kwe'go, tree
60. qe'nek-wone'-o-we'eiqun, acorn-place
61. o-we'ga', acorn-place
62. loko'l-u-pa'a, lake
63. pe'tolo, acorn-ground
64. poakwe'l, acorn-ground
65. mrku'r, acorn-ground
66. men-hipets wroi', creek
67. o'res, fishing-place
68. wa'ase, ton
69. wa'ase-hipe'ts wroi', creek
70. wa'ase-hiqo' wroi', creek
71. sie'gwel, fishing-place
72. o-tla' wroi', small creek



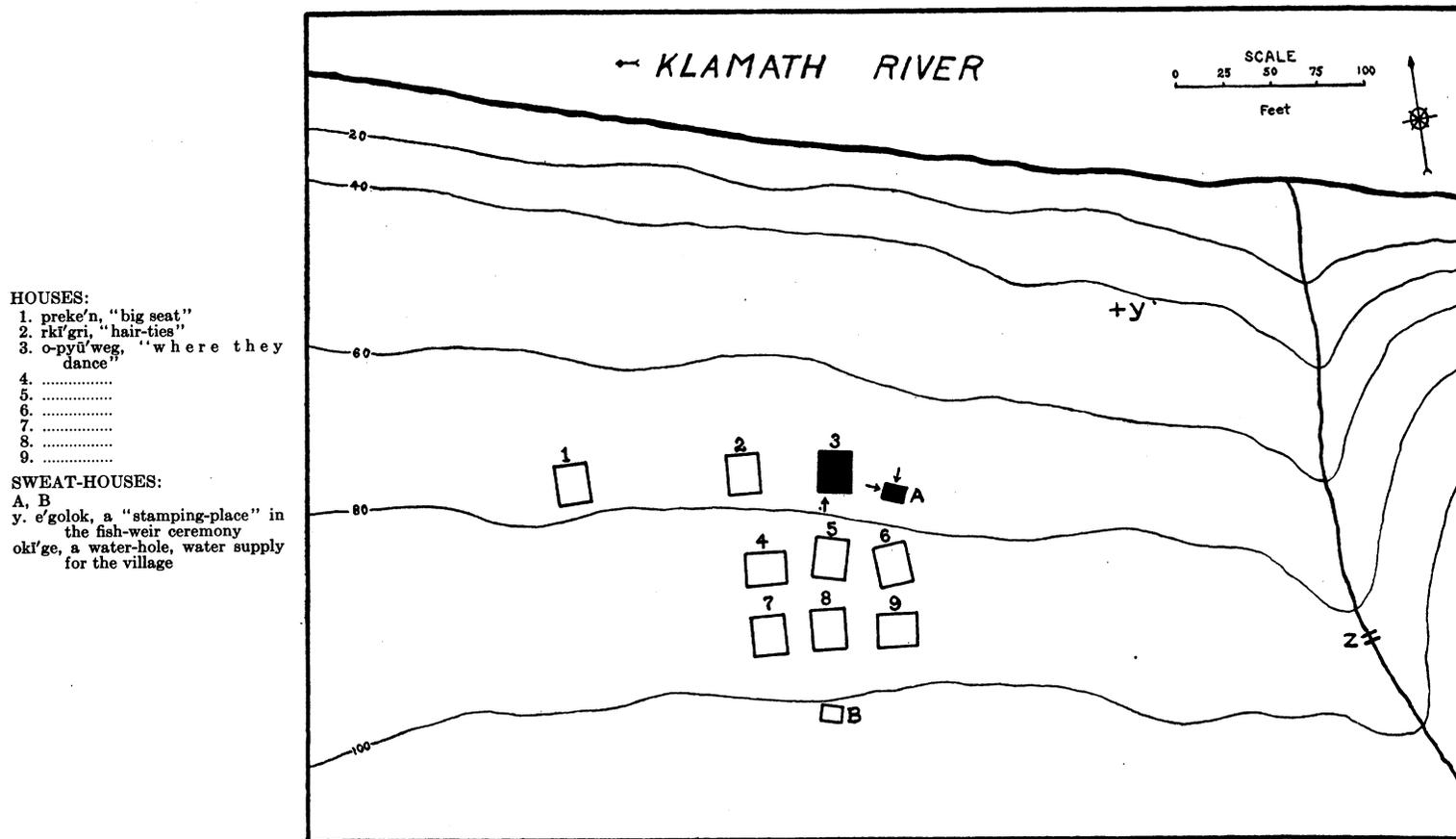
73. qowi'tsik-o-lo'g wroi', creek
74. q'owitsit-o-lo'g, flat rock beside the river
75. hu'uks-o-reqe'n wroi', creek
76. hu'uks-o-rek, rock in edge of river
77. ole'ga wroi', creek
78. olag'k wroi', creek
79. me'kwets, acorn-place
80. o-s'pr, acorn-place
81. le'pin, acorn-place
82. k'hp'rslek, acorn-place
83. o-pa'an, open country on hill summits
84. au'wo, acorn-place
85. me'rip-hiqo'-hi'gwoni, acorn-place
86. he'sir, fishing-place
87. me'rip, town
88. reg'ogets, white-cedar timber
89. ok'e'ge, place
90. oli'l, acorn-place
91. kne'tken-woa'g, rock with fish-sure
92. rpry'u'nl, cave in rocks
93. me'rip wroi', creek
94. myrgw', fishing-place
95. wo'gi, fishing-place
96. tse'gwa, enormous rectangular boulder in edge of river; a fishing-place
97. ma'aga wroi', small creek
98. olo'k, fishing-place
99. ego'oloq', rock on the hillside
100. le'ta, fishing-place
101. ot'it'r, fishing-place
102. or-he'iku-o-legai' wroi', creek
103. or-he'iku-o-legai', a large boulder
104. otr'p'p wroi', creek
105. we'logets, fishing-place
106. ma'wa wroi', creek
107. hel'qwal'u'l, fishing-place
108. yoge'yo'l, fishing-place
109. aukweya', settlement
110. aykweya' wroi', creek
111. ha'asq'r'-hiqo', fishing-place
112. ha'asq'r', fishing-place
113. egolo'ta wroi', creek
114. wor'o'mes, fishing-place
115. qe'nek-hel, acorn-ground
116. qe'nek-pul, settlement
117. wo'kotel, acorn-ground
118. lo'htko, acorn-ground
119. qe'nek-hel, acorn-ground
120. na'hksau, acorn-ground
121. ro's-o-tu'k wroi', creek
122. o-tetqo'l, fishing-place
123. okwe'go wroi', creek
124. tse'tskwi, settlement
125. tse'tskwi-hipe'ts wroi', creek
126. tse'tskwi-kes, fishing-place
127. nane'p'r, acorn-ground
128. wokote'l wroi', creek
129. herpu'n amo', fishing-place
130. egwole'k wroi', creek
131. o-tsau, fishing-place
132. pe'lkol, fishing-place
133. qe'nek wroi', creek
134. qe'nek-hiqo', acorn-ground
135. o-siegoi'ts wroi', creek
136. rpl'r, fishing-place
137. qe'nek, town
138. okego' wroi', TULEY CREEK
139. mene'wots, fishing-place
140. qe'neqas, large boulder in river
141. o'tsapimur', fishing-place
142. o-tsa'p, settlement

RECTANGLE E

Map 17. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

8. we'Lkwäo'-o-pa'a wroi', translated "we'Lkwäw its water." A small creek. It receives its name on account of a story which is told of a young man from the town of we'Lkwäw who would drink no water but this. I presume the incident is mythical.
9. kne'tken-o-lo', translated "arrowhead where fish-weir." A great boulder. Chicken-hawk, kr'nit, lived at this spot. His house was on top of the boulder. He built a fish-weir near. You can still see the holes in the rock where he drove his stakes. His dam seems to have been permanent, instead of seasonal, as the Indian dam is, for the people of those days (the wo':gē) had to portage their boats around it. The rock formation by the side of the river is still smooth where they pulled their boats up. What "arrowheads" had to do with the dam I have never been able to ascertain. Perhaps he made it of flint points.
16. we''iqem. A site with house-pits. These pits, to the number of seven or eight, lie on a small knoll beside a creek, at a very considerable elevation above the river. The place is under a steep slope, and is overshadowed by enormous conifers. Accounts differ as to the nature of the settlement. None of my informants could remember any houses here. The pits themselves are rather shallow and bear out the assertion of one of the older men to the effect that the place was never anything more than a temporary camp site, with shacks and other shelters. It was a regularly established camping place for the people who were working on the fish-dam, which was erected a mile and a half above. If anyone eats here before the dam construction begins he will bring on a rain.
- The following incident was recounted to explain the house-pits. I could find out nothing about the identity of the people involved:
- An old man and four sons lived here. Three of them got married and moved away. The fourth stayed behind; and tried to "Injun-devil" his brother (that is, to kill him by magic) to get his wife. That broke up the whole family, and nobody has lived here since.
19. hime'l. A town. My informants barely remember the time when there were houses here. At the present time a row of fairly well defined pits are to be seen, on a level bench on top of a bluff, lying just behind the crag nega'htūr-hää'g, or Swallow rock. I learned nothing of the people who lived there, nor why the population disappeared.
20. nega'htūr, translated "swallow's rock." A lofty, pointed crag, with numerous swallows' nests.
26. tekū's-o-ke'pel, translated "..... his house-pit."
27. tsegoroko'r. A boulder in the edge of the river. In spite of the similarity between this name and no. 22 (tsego-ro'k) my informants insisted they were separate places. A myth recounts that Wo'xpekoma' had a fishing-place here. Once he saw a girl on the opposite side of the river and threw his penis across.
30. no'htska. Not to be confused with a place of similar name (rectangle D-147).
35. mū'rek. A town. The name suggests mo'req', large cooking-basket (cf. rectangle J-31). This was a very important place, with twenty houses, a few of which are still standing. The town was intimately connected with the fish-dam, and some of the ceremonial acts were performed here (see above, p. 246). The arrangement and situation of the houses is shown on the accompanying sketch-map (map 18). People assembling to work on the fish-weir above ke'pel, had a simulated performance of the deer-skin dance, on the beach in front of this town. Instead of the handsome and very valuable obsidian blades carried in the regular deer-skin ceremony they used ordinary flat stones, picked up by the river-side.

36. smerqito'r wroi', translated "toothless creek." If anyone drank from this creek his teeth came out (cf. B-16, p. 234).
37. rkye'r wroi'. Creek. A fishing-place at the mouth of Pekwan creek has this name (rectangle D-60).
39. owi'igr. Place on the bank of the river. When a corpse was being brought up-river in a canoe it was landed at this point and carried overland to qr'mruk no. 57). The rock me'rxkwi in between (no. 54) is the abiding-place of one of those beings who tried to prevent death from being brought into the world; they will not stand the sight of a corpse (see A-43 p. 231). Women also on going up or down-river by canoe had to land at these points and walk across.
40. o-terä'w. Fishing-place. This piece of property plays a part in the fish-weir ceremonies (see p. 246). At the present time it belongs to Charley (amits) at sa'a.
41. hinkelo'L, translated "white-oak."
43. knegwora', translated "long." A snaring-place.
45. segwo'rskol, connected with segwos', to leach acorns. An open hillside.
46. megäu, or megaupa, translated "payment for an injury." A group of "three" redwoods (really there are six). This place is the scene of a fish-dam ceremony. The essential thing is a theatrical performance to the following effect. They wish to have a dance there, but a solitary man objects. So they "buy him off" and proceed with the ceremony (see p. 246). The name refers to this pretended payment.
47. a, b. metsep-rgrits, translated "brush sweat-house." Two places, thus styled, were the scenes of "imitation" or simulated deer-skin dances, in connection with the observance just mentioned.
48. näko-o-srego'r. This name is variously applied to a great rock in the river, a fishing-place, and a place on the hillside. It is said that in bringing cedar planks down from the summit when they got this far "they just slid off of themselves." The name is said to refer to that.
49. sa'a, a town. This town derives its greatest importance from the fact that it was the center of the fish-dam activities described elsewhere. The dam was actually constructed several hundred yards up-stream, but the "dam-chief" had his abode here. After the whites came in and the Indians fell upon evil times, the dam-maker's son half-married into meta' and moved away. He still returned here and lived in a temporary shelter on the old house-site when the dam was being constructed. One Indian house and a couple of sweat-houses were still standing at the time of my visit. When the dam was being made a great influx of people moved into the town, occupying temporary shelters. I am somewhat uncertain just which structures were permanent and where they were located. The accompanying sketch-map shows the arrangement of the houses, so far as I could ascertain it (map 19).
50. tepolä'u wroi', a creek.
53. ke'pel, translated "house-pit." A town (map 20). A good many house-pits are still visible, about which no information could be obtained. They are said by some of the Indians to be excavations made for the erection of "shacks," or temporary shelters, used only at the time of the annual fish-dam. Such houses were made very carelessly and had no names. The name applied to the town seems to imply that house-pits were visible there when the present inhabitants moved in. Ke'pel, at best, was hardly more than a suburb of sa'a, in which most of the important families of the neighborhood lived.



Contour interval 20 feet.  
 Datum is level of river  
 at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid,  
 still standing; hollow, house-pits only).  
 Arrows indicate doorways.

**HOUSES:**

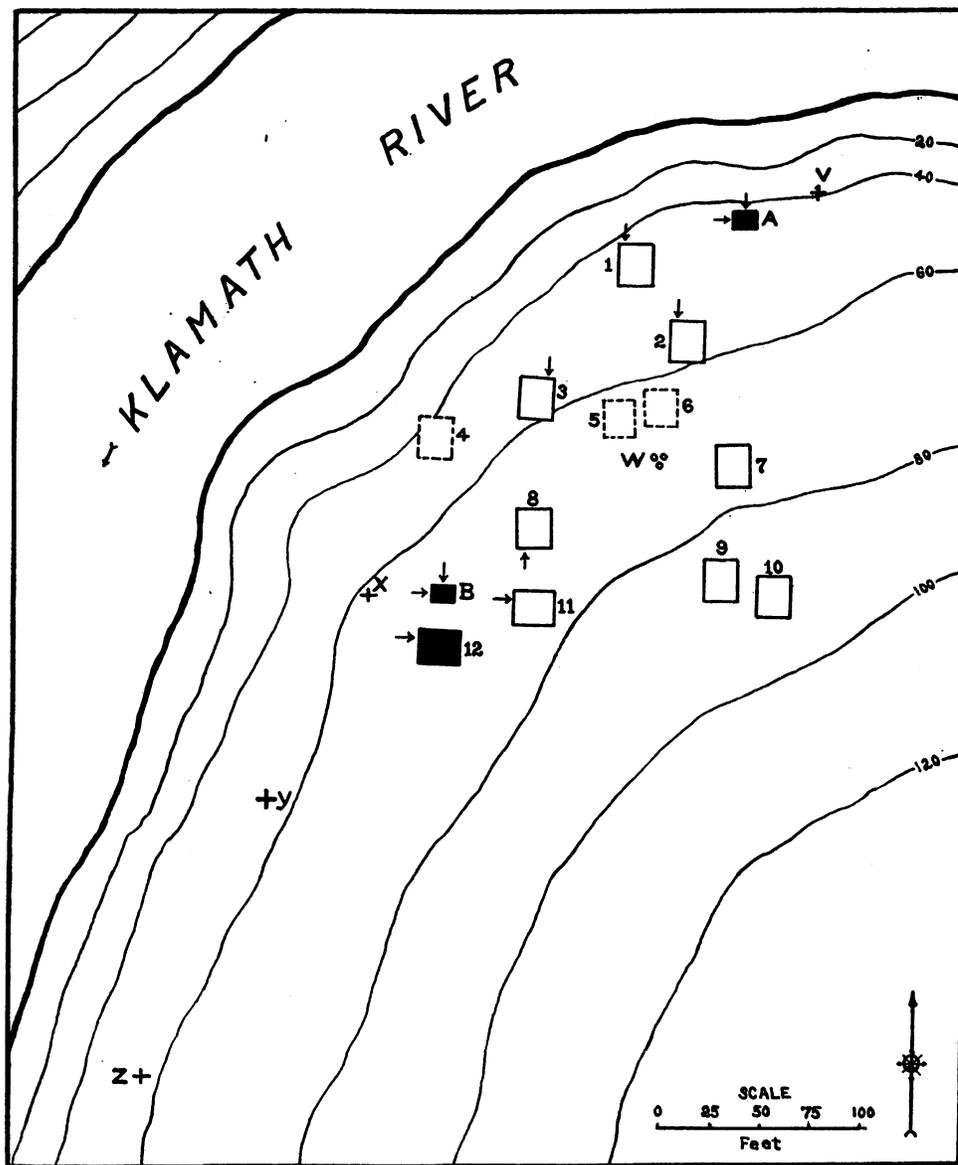
1. sá'sip, "wild honeysuckle"
2. kepel'o'l, "house-pit"
3. ketske'l
4. kné'wolel, "long"
5. ....
6. ....
7. "Earthquake's house"
8. sa
9. o-wigo'lür, "where the dam is sung about"
10. ....
11. t'ega
12. lo-wo'o'l, "dam-maker his house"

**SWEAT-HOUSES:**

A, B

**PLACES:**

- v. lo-o-tsie'go, translated "dam-maker where he always sits"  
w. singer's seat on the dance-ground  
x. plege'l-woá'g, a granite boulder  
y. no'nogits, translated "the itch," a spring  
z. tere'ksür, a spring



Map 19. sá'a.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (hollow,  
house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

54. me'rxkwi, a rock. This rock marks the north end of the annual fish-weir. One of the ten beings who object to corpses lives in it. This accounts for the fact that dead bodies have to be landed from canoes at owi'ige (no. 39) and carried overland to no. 57. Canoes carrying corpses or women must not pass in front of this rock.
55. t'u'lek, a rock. The south wing of the fish-dam rested here. The name wo'xku is also applied to this place, but not, I think, to the rock (see also no. 58).
57. qr'mruk. Place on the river-bank. Corpses taken from canoes according to rule at owi'igr (no. 39) might be reëmbarked at this point (see no. 54 above).
58. tū'loiyo wroi', a creek. This name tū'loiyo occurs as a variant of the name t'ulek. The trap or pen in the fish-dam which lay nearest the south shore was also called tū'loiyo.
59. okwē'go, translated "where they customarily shoot." This name is applied to a huge tree which stands not far from a hill trail. Indians traveling along shoot arrows into it "for good luck." Similar trees are shown on rectangle A, no. 30, and rectangle H, no. 37.
61. o-wēga', an acorn field. An "Injun Devil," the "wild" sort (that is, a spirit of the forest) once visited the people here. A myth recounts that they hit him in the eye with a sucker and he laughed himself to death. I think the name means "where he repeatedly laughed."
62. Loko'L-u-pa'a, translated "Thunder his water." A small lake.
66. mer-hipe'ts wroi', a small creek. In connection with the fish-dam ceremonies, a ceremonial observance took place near the mouth of this creek. Two men stood across the river from each other and had a "sham battle," that is, they used threatening gestures toward each other. Each held a stick under his left arm, and a rock in his right hand.
68. wa'ase, a town. The stem wa'asoi means "poor." This town consists of a single row of houses on a very level bluff, overlooking the river. A few Indian structures are still standing, and one rather numerous Indian family still lives there. The people gave me, rather unwillingly, a few house names, most of which turned out later to be apocryphal. They objected to my making a map. The families here were prosperous in spite of the town name. Traces of eight or ten house-pits are still to be seen, so the town was, for the Yurok, a fairly large one. The people have the reputation of being "mean," which usually means, in this region, unduly rich. It is not impossible that the name was intended to be interpreted in an "opposite" sense.
- Blue-jay, who once lived here, in an Indian house, was working one day with a deer-skin, softening it and removing the hair. Being interrupted, he threw the wet skin on top of a rock, just up-stream from the village. The rock is still spotted and mildewed-looking (see plate 10).
72. o-tlä'w wroi', translated "where it-drips creek." A trickle of water over a cliff.
74. kowi'tsik-o-loä'g, translated "kowi'tsik its rock." Kowi'tsik is the home of the salmon, across the ocean and beyond the sky (see p. 191). Fish-hawk once carried a flat rock from kowi'tsik so that Chicken-hawk (kr'nit), the well known mythical hero, could have it to gamble upon at me'rip. When he got as far as this, however, the rock grew too heavy and he dropped it. It is still to be seen.
75. hū'üks-o-re'qen wroi', a small creek (see 76).
76. hū'üks-o-req, translated "children where sit." A big boulder at the edge of the river. Some owls once carried off some children and sat them here. They cried over and over again, "he'no hega'," (take me down) and finally turned into rock.

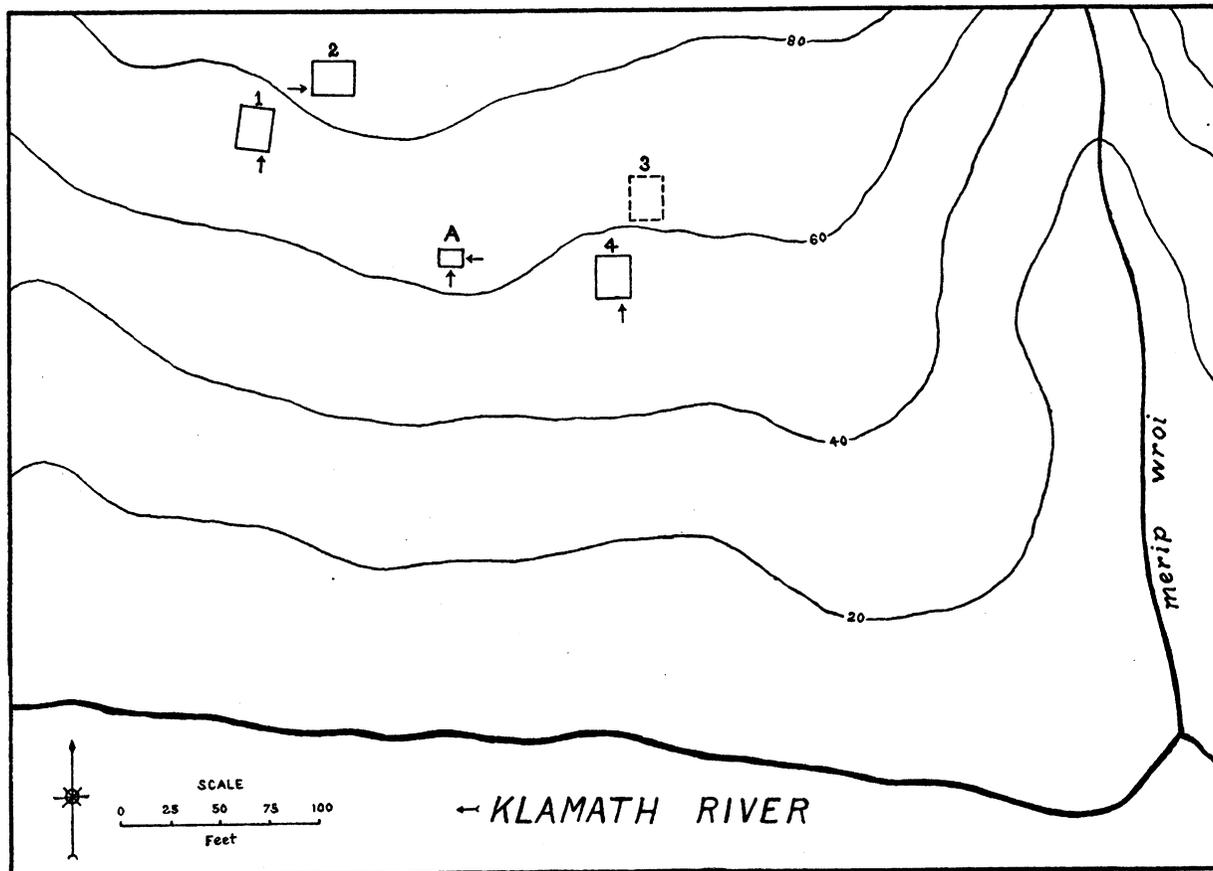
77. o-le'ga wroi'. A similar name (rectangle K-21) is translated "where things drift ashore."
83. o-pä"än, translated "where water" (?). A great open spot on the summit of the hills. It was a place for gathering grass seed, and is spoken of as being used by me'rip and sa'a. Apparently private ownership was not recognized.
86. he'sir. A fishing-place. It is said to "belong to everybody."
87. me'rip. A town. This place was small, consisting of less than half a dozen houses. A good many myths center here, but I did not succeed in recording them. The houses and their arrangement are shown in map 21. The house-name rego'-o-te'poni, "feather-plume where it-grown," refers to a cluster of pepperwood trees growing by the village. These were originally head-plumes, used by the wo'gē, or immortals. When these mysterious beings "went away," their plumes turned into trees.
- The other Indians say that the people at me'rip were a bad lot, most of them being "Injun devils" (sorcerers). This reputation is connected by outsiders with the fact that there are a lot of "bad" places in and around me'rip; that is, places connected in some way with the supernatural, places which one must not step upon, or look at, or places at which certain formulas must be repeated. Strangers did not like to go to me'rip, for not knowing all these things, they might break some taboo, and bring ill luck on themselves.
- The most widely renowned of these supernatural beings is called Jealous-one-of-me'rip. Numerous tales are told about him. At the present time he is an insignificant-looking rock, sharp, but only a couple of feet tall, standing in the village (see pl. 7). His appearance is surprisingly out of keeping with his resounding fame. This fragment (for I think it is not even a projection of the bedrock) is certainly a striking illustration of the Indian capacity for finding spiritual values in the commonplace.
88. regr'otets. A hill back of me'rip. White cedar planks were obtained there.
91. knétken-w-oäg, translated "arrow-point his rock." A rock with a fissure in it. Arrow-points which were put in this cleft, "rusted." That is, something invisible accumulated on them which made them poisonous and invariably fatal. People used to put their points in here when they wanted them to do execution.
92. rpyü'RL. A hole or recess in a rock back of me'rip. If you wanted a person to die you put his mush paddle in this recess, in the water there. If the water whirled around he would not die. To keep it from whirling you had to talk to it.
95. wo'gi, translated "middle." A fishing-place. This place, belonging to "Old Dan" at Wasek, is never used now; the old man cannot come so far from home, it is said.
96. tse'gwa. An enormous, rather square boulder in the edge of the river. This rock lies just opposite the town of me'rip. In it lives one of the immortals who tried to prevent death from coming into the world. Corpses must be landed above or below this point and carried overland, unless the boatman knows the proper prophylactic. This consists in placing a stick with two feathers on it in the bow of the boat, as though it were a person. Not everybody knew how to do this. Women also observed the taboo (see 103 below). The rock is shown in pl. 7. It was used as a fishing-place.
97. ma'aga wroi', translated "not drink creek." For some reason the water of this creek is not to be drunk.

HOUSES:

1. tä'ämo, "elderberry bush"
2. sloiy'k, "handing down"
3. he'läu, "back from the river"
4. rego'-o-te'poni, "feather-plume where it-grows"

SWEAT-HOUSE:

A



Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Map 21. me'rip.  
Rectangles represent native structures (hollow,  
house-pits only; dotted, uncertain location).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

The location of the following places is uncertain.

99. egoolo'q", a large crag on the hillside above me'rip (no. 87). Just below this is a flat boulder with stains on it. A myth relates that Jealous-one-of-me'rip had two wives. He also possessed arrows with "burning" points. Pulekuk-kwerek aroused jealousy by hugging the two women, and got himself shot. Almost in his death agony from the terrific effects the hero nevertheless jumped about and jumped about; and finally jumped back home to qe'nek. Here he chipped the burning point, which was of large size, into arrowheads. As the work progressed, he from time to time heard "small" laughter in the sweat-house below. Rattlesnakes and wasps and ants and other of the smaller brethren were down there, crowding about and catching the burning chips in their mouths. That is why these animals are poisonous. Every time they caught one they laughed. The stain on the boulder is where the hero was shot.
103. ol-he'Lku-o-legai, translated "person ashore where he-is-carried." A rock. Corpses were landed at this point and carried far inland, to avoid passing the rock tse'gwa (no. 96).
109. aukwēya'. A settlement, three houses and a sweat-house. No houses have stood here for many years and the creek has washed out the house-pits. The place is said to have been built by me'rip people, who moved up here on account of a killing.
116. qe'nek-pul, translated "qe'nek down-river" (see no. 137). Mythologically a very important place. In recent years it has accommodated a few families of Indians. The present settlement, which is quite recent, consists of one house and a sweat-house. It is said to have been built by an old Indian called qergr'i, "Whistler," from tū'rip. He left there on account of a "killing." His house came to be called rtī'rq, which means, "paying for a homicide in one lump sum." Such a payment is rather creditable, inasmuch as it evidences that the man making the payment had great wealth. Ordinarily a man had to pay in instalments. A party of Hupa once had a fight with a party of Redwood Indians (Chilula) at this point.
- Mythologically qe'nek-pul is noteworthy as being the place where an invisible ladder used to lead up to the sky-country (wo'noiyik, "above-at"). Numerous very powerful supernatural beings used to live at qe'nek, three-quarters of a mile above. These beings afterward moved to Patrick's point and became the porpoises. In the old mythological days, these immortals used to come down to qe'nek-pul and mount the sky-ladder to wo'noiyik, to watch the shinny games up there. In these myth times there was one flat "prairie," or meadow, all the way to qe'nek and above; but when these wo'gē people went away they "threw it all around," leaving it very much broken up with ravines and hills, as it is now. Corpses were landed here from boats, and carried overland all the way beyond qe'neqā's (no. 140, below).
124. tse'tskwi. A settlement. The name very strongly resembles tso'tskwi, or Dry lagoon (rectangle I, no. 14). The place consisted of three houses and one sweat-house. My informant used to come here when a young man to see a girl. At that time the head of the family was so old that he could not walk, but crawled on his knees, using deer antlers, one in each hand, as crutches. My informant could barely remember when this old man moved in here from wa'ase, where he had become involved in a quarrel. He first built his house about two hundred yards up the river, but the big flood washed him out and he moved down the stream and further up on the hillside.

131. o-tsa'u, translated "where he-boiled it." A fishing-place. In the fall the salmon are no longer good. After breeding the fish gets flabby and sores appear, due perhaps to their fighting their way over the rocks in reaching the breeding grounds. In this condition they drift down-stream and die. Their jaws also take on a different outline, appearing hooked and wolfish-looking. At this spot, Buzzard, who used to be a person, burnt the hair off his head cooking these "hookbill" salmon to eat.
132. pe'łkor, translated pebbles. A fishing-place.
137. qe'nek. A town. This is the most interesting site on the river. Its mythological significance has been pointed out above. At the present time one Indian structure is still standing, a dwelling of good size belonging to an Indian called hi'pkwa. Beside it on the bluff is a sweat-house. Other houses stood near it, though not very many, probably not more than four or five altogether. Their position is shown on the accompanying sketch-map (map 22). A large number of pits and depressions are to be seen, some of them marking old Indian structures, some not artificial. Thus pit 14 is a shallow, natural depression almost thirty feet across. On the other hand, mythological names are attached to what are undoubtedly genuine house-pits, for example no. 12, which is called "Thunder's house-pit." In the vicinity are several dozen spots which have some sort of connection with the supernatural. I greatly regretted not being able to obtain a sketch-map showing these points of interest (see p. 202).

In this vicinity is a rock with a groove down its surface. This, according to the Indians, is where pule-kuk-kwe'rek, At-the-north-end-of-creation sharp-one, a mythical hero, slid down. His sharp rump made the groove. Dust taken out of that groove is good for sore eyes. The groove is irregular, and about one inch deep. I do not know its geological origin. There are also to be seen hereabouts some stone seats, which belonged to ke'wet, who used to live here. Now he lives on a great mountain, towering on the other side of the Klamath.

Thunder, Earthquake, and the Porpoises, besides other myth beings, lived here, and their houses and sweat-houses are pointed out by informants in the most matter-of-fact way. The culture hero, woxpek-omä, came into existence in the house tso'le, no. 7. The pit was visible here until a short time ago, but the bluff has caved away somewhat. Ordinary people do not dare step around in qe'nek. Visitors used to come as far as the place where the trail crosses Tuley creek (oke'go wroi') and call. Then the people who belonged here would come down and get them, and show them around, so that they might not inadvertently step on some supernatural being's "place" and get into trouble.

Just above the town is the most formidable set of rapids in Yurok territory. The Indians call it o-ke'go (where it goes over, or pours over). Getting boats up over this rapid is very difficult. It can only be done by means of ropes. Upsets are frequent.

The following boulders at this town have names (see map 22):

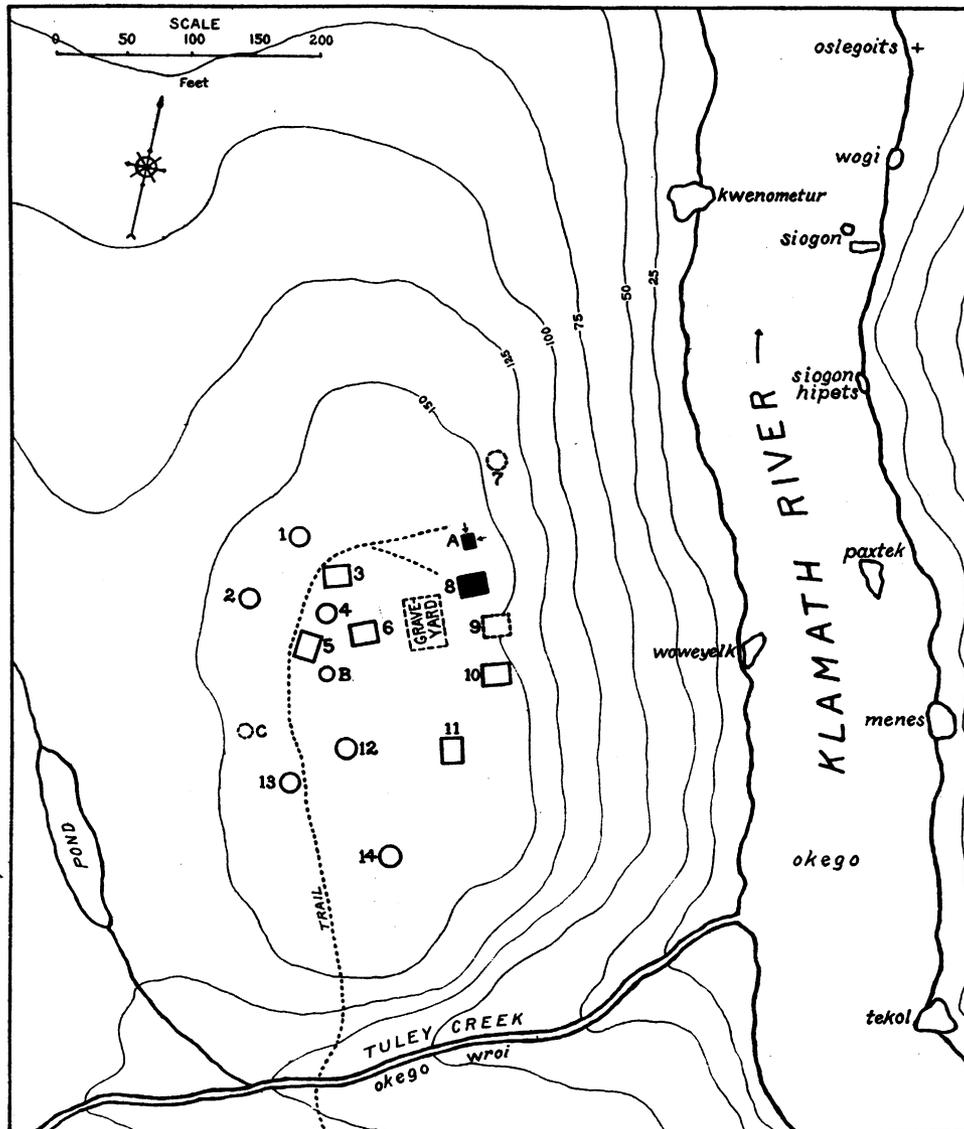
teko'l.  
 me'nes.  
 wo'weyelk.  
 pa'xtek.  
 sio'gon hipe'ts.  
 sio'gon.  
 kweno'metür.  
 wo'gi.  
 oslegoi'ts.

HOUSES:

1. "Coyote's house"
2. ....
3. ....
4. ....
5. ....
6. ....
7. tsó'le'w' "down-hill" ("Wox-pe'komä's house")
8. pul, "down-stream"
9. he'lgau, "back from the river"
10. rego'k
11. ....
12. "Thunder's house"
13. "Porpoises' house"
14. "Earthquake's house"

SWEAT-HOUSES:

- A, B, C (the last two being mythical)

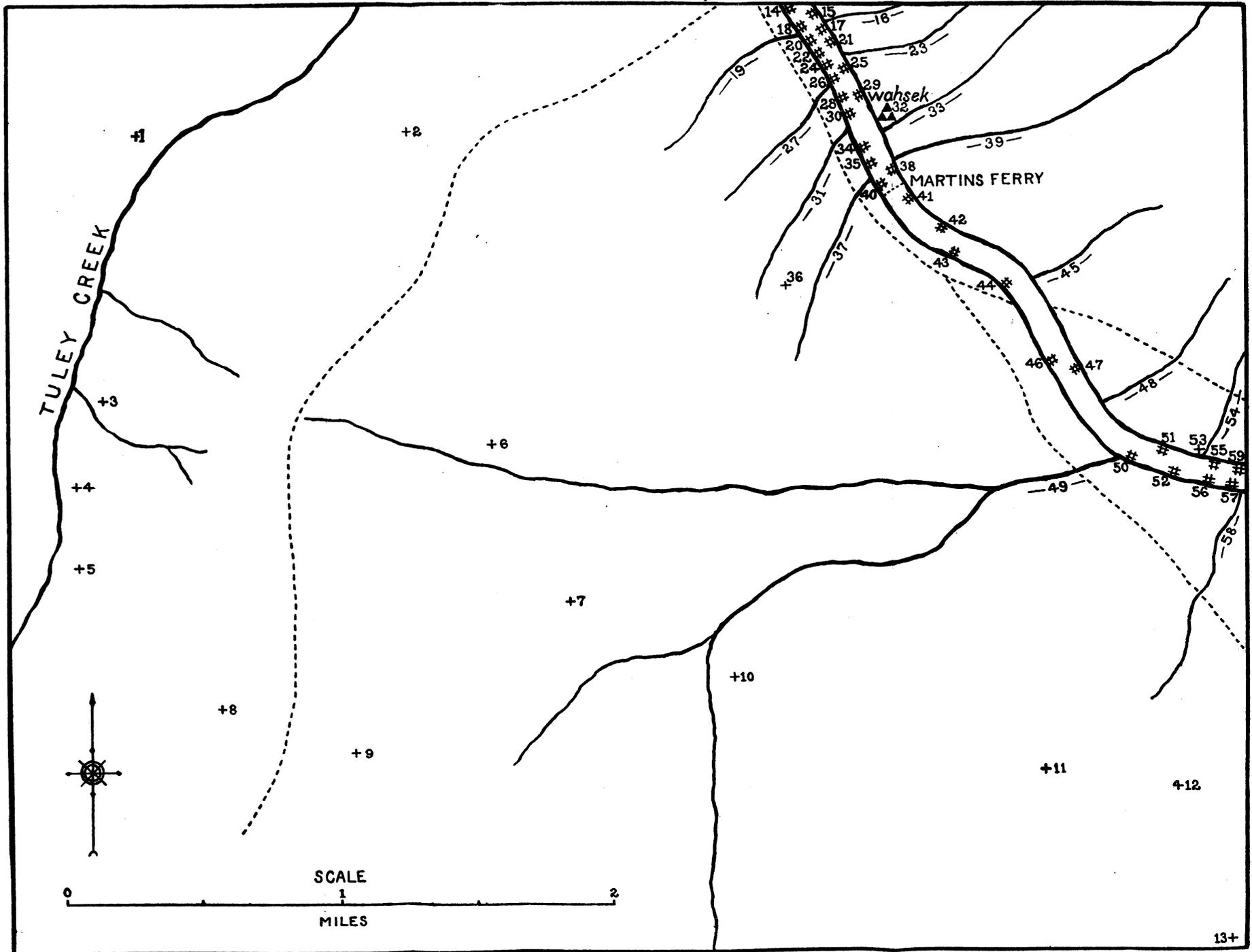


Map 22. qe'nek.

Contour interval 25 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Circles indicate pits to which mythological names are attached.  
Arrows indicate doorways.

1. we'lkik, acorn-grounds
2. o-tsa'p-higwo'n, acorn-grounds
3. re'kwoi-o-le'go, acorn-grounds
4. eapã'w-o-le'go, acorn-grounds
5. me'ni tar-o-le'go, acorn-grounds
6. rse'lkwa'w-higwo'n, acorn-grounds
7. ke'per-o-ki'm, acorn-grounds
8. te'kwon-rek, acorn-grounds
9. hirã'm-o-mel-pl'gr, acorn-grounds
10. hekegë', acorn-grounds
11. oplo'-higwo'n, acorn-grounds
12. po'toyo, BLOODY CAMP
13. we'skwenet, acorn-grounds
14. o-ke-go-so'l, rapids in river
15. mü'nek, fishing-place
16. ole'L wroi', creek
17. ole'L, fishing-place
18. kwolo's, fishing-place
19. o-tsa'p wroi', creek
20. o-lolu't, fishing-place
21. tegeriye'w, fishing-place
22. o-se'k, fishing-place
23. wa'heek-hipü'r wroi', creek
24. o-prgrnr'kis, fishing-place
25. onr'-o-mã'q', fishing-place
26. mãpãgã'L, fishing-place
27. mãpãpã'L wroi', creek
28. t'r'i, fishing-place
29. weesito', fishing-place
30. o-pl'r, fishing-place
31. tsegi'geoi'L wroi', creek
32. wagsejm tiwb
33. o-pl'r wroi', creek
34. r', fishing-place
35. wo'hpi-or, fishing-place
36. o'men-emel-ü'kum, acorn-grounds
37. wa'heek-hiqo' wroi', creek
38. Lokoi'L-we-kwoz, fishing-place
39. orp'r'k wroi', creek; also called ma'a-spü
40. wot'o', fishing-place
41. nini-pü'te-amo', fishing-place
42. o-ke'ge'p-taül, fishing-place
43. tse'lkwa'w, fishing-place
44. o-were'q', fishing-place
45. okne'ke wroi', creek
46. ot'mego', fishing-place
47. wo'xpa, fishing-place
48. tse'lkwa'w-hipe'ta wroi', creek
49. peno' wroi', PINE CREEK
50. peno', fishing-place
51. o-tere'q', fishing-place
52. tegwola'w-o-alo'k, fishing-place
53. ä:yo'L, camp site and acorn-ground
54. ä:yo'L wroi', creek
55. hi'nkun, fishing-place
56. o-megene'p, fishing-place
57. o-pl'o', fishing-place
58. o-pl'o' wroi', creek
59. o-lkë'gr-tsom, fishing-place



RECTANGLE F

Map 23. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

140. qeneqä's. A rock in the river; a rather flat boulder, as is shown in plate 9. It lies just at the brink of the series of rapids. On June 7, when I was there, it was almost covered by water. Later in the summer it projects, as shown in the photograph. This boulder is the abode of one of the supernatural beings who wanted people to live forever. He is mentioned in the "death-medicines," the formula which is used in purifying people who touch a corpse. He has turned a bit sullen since his great disappointment, and now he gathers in the bones of all the people who are drowned in the rapids, and uses them for firewood. Corpses had to be carried behind him (that is, on shore).
141. otsä'p-imü'r. This suggests otse'p-hipur, otse'p down-stream (see 142).
142. o-tse'p. A rock in the river. It is addressed in the death-purification ceremony. At this point a corpse which had been carried overland all the way from E-116, might be reëmbarked. A site on the bluff overlooking the rock was once inhabited. There used to be pits, but at the time of my visit I was unable to find them. My informant recalled having seen there, years before, the traces of three houses.

The location of the following places is uncertain:

wokotsék wrof.

o-néqep, translated "where they always eat."

o-mégra.

rplrq'r'L.

himyegól.

wryr''w.

amü'k.

### Notes on Rectangle F

3. re'kwoi-o-le'go, translated "re'kwoi where it-gathers." An acorn-ground. re'kwoi is the large town at the mouth of the river (see rectangle A, no. 51).
4. espä'w-o-le'go, translated "espa where it-gathers." An acorn-ground with two shelters. espä'w is a town on the coast (see rectangle H, no. 14).
7. ke'pel-o-kí'm, translated "house-pits where bad (ugly)." An acorn-ground. The ground there is rough and broken, with irregular depressions, suggesting old house-pits. Hence the name, bad or ugly (kimolin) house-pits.
8. te'kwon-rek. An acorn-place. The name was translated "the way the owl faces." The expression means literally "cornerward he-sits" (see tikwo, rectangle I-19). The reference evidently is to some myth concerning the owl, but I was unable to get an explanation.
9. hirä'm-o-mel-pi'gr, translated "hirä'm where-at-it-lives." The place was owned by the house hirä'm in meta'.
12. po''toyo. A hollow in the hills. The whites call the place Bloody camp. The origin of this term I do not know. This place is referred to in a myth concerning the origin of the dog.
14. o-ke'go-so'l, translated "where rapids on-top (?)." The word okego is used as a name for the rapids at qe'nek, which are the biggest on the river. The present spot is itself a stretch of "rough water" above these rapids. A small creek with quicksands comes into the river at this point.
28. t'r'i. A fishing-place, especially good for sturgeon.
29. wesito'. A fishing-place where numerous eels are taken.

32. *wa'hsek*. A town. I think this name goes back to a stem meaning "poor." The people here, in spite of the name, were extremely rich. Either the name was applied long ago, or else it was adopted by the inhabitants by way of alluding indirectly to their wealth (see E-68).

The most noteworthy fact about the arrangement of the houses, which is shown on the accompanying sketch-map (map 24) is that most of them faced on a trail which runs at right angles to the river. This is very unusual. The "original" structures were situated on a sharp declivity, very near the river. The old pits there are numbered 10, 11, and 12 on the sketch-map. At the time of the great flood these houses were washed away. •

The site of the present village "used to be" called *teke'tin* (a dough made of grass seed). In myth times a woman, to whom this whole site seemed too rough and slanting, took "pinole," or grass-seed mush, and spattered it around above the village, making a flat place or plateau. Houses were not built there, however, until later. The shift took place before the present inhabitants can remember although they are very elderly people. None of them ever heard of names for the old pits nor do they know anything about who lived there.

A good many jokes are current about the elevated situation of this town, on a lofty bluff. The inhabitants are called "coyotes" by the other Indians because when you pass in a canoe you see the *wahsek* people peeping over the edge, "like coyotes." It is also commonly reported that they live so far from the river that they have trouble finding flat rocks with which to cook their acorn-mush.

Numerous places in and about the village had names. Thus there is one spot where birds are plucked (*v*), and another where deer are cut up (*w*). I strongly suspect that all the villages had such places, for in actual fact birds will be plucked in one particular place, a spot where the feathers will not be a nuisance. My feeling is that the map of *wa'hsek* represents a very typical Yurok town from this point of view. The informants here were very old, and old-fashioned. Possibly similar names could be obtained from old people in each of the Yurok villages.

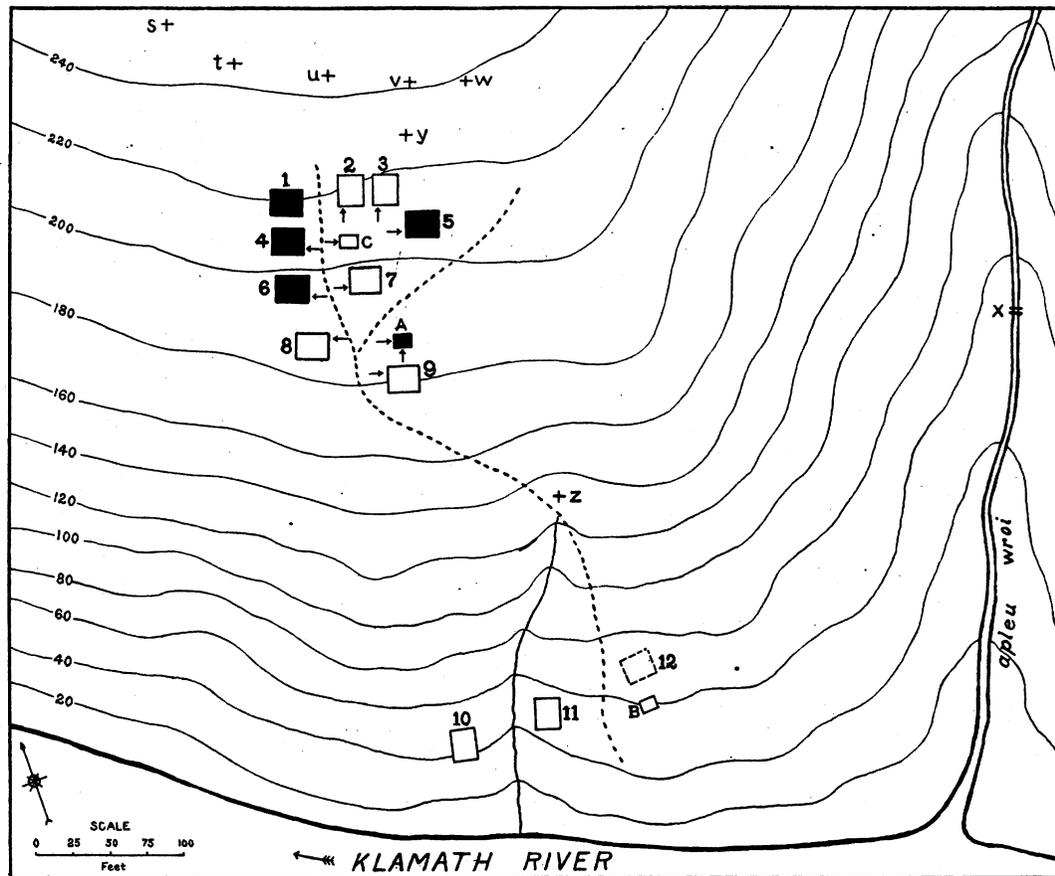
36. *o'men-emeL-ū'kum*, translated "o'men where ....." An acorn-ground, belonging to the people of *o'men*, on the coast, north of the mouth of the river (rectangle A, no. 26).
38. *Lokoi'L-we-kworL*, translated "Thunder his fishing-place." This pool is now used by an Indian, but in myth times Thunder had a staging here, and used the place for netting salmon.
39. *orpi'rk*. A creek. It is also called *ma'a-spū*, "never drink." It is known at the present time as John Gist's creek, from the white man who operates the ferry near this point. An old *sä"äl* (spirit) lives under the brush up this creek; that explains why people do not use it for drinking. He helped a man of the immortals, once, when *qaames*, evilly disposed supernatural beings from *ómen*, had stolen his boy. People going by on the river now call to this old *sä"äl*. As canoes pass this point the Indians shout out in Yurok, "Take care of me! Help me!"
40. *wot'o'*. A fishing-place. This place is situated just below the spot where the cable which operates the ferry is made fast.
41. *nini-pū'ts-amo'*, translated, I think, "suckers run-up."
47. *wo'xpa*, translated "across the ocean." I do not know the explanation of this curious name.
49. *penio' wroi'*. Pine creek. *Peno* is said to mean "to fall," "tumble."
52. *tegwolä'w-o-sloqw*, translated "oceanward where it-descends." A fishing-place.

**HOUSES:**

1. amá'lrgr'i, "eating acorn mush with the fingers"
2. he'lqa, "back from the river"
3. he'lqau (annex, see 2)
4. hitso', "down-hill"
5. hipeta, "up-river"
6. pe'tskü-repo'q<sup>w</sup>, "doorway up-river"
7. tso'le<sup>w</sup>, (annex, see 4)
8. tso'le<sup>w</sup>, (annex, see 4)
9. tso'le<sup>w</sup>, (annex, see 4)
10. ....
11. ....
12. ....

**SWEAT-HOUSES:**

- A, B  
 C is a sweat-house called wo'gi-rl'grk, "in-middle sweat-house"
- s. kame'skür, "corps is-washed,"  
     s, spring
- t. nego'omer, place for cooking  
     Indian potatoes
- u. osege'nox, spring, supply for  
     village
- v. osmrg'r'pinoi, place "where they  
     plucked birds"
- w. osrg'r'l, place "where they cut  
     up deer"
- y. aspi'g, spring never used
- z. spring used by house 9
- x. awe'gon, place for soaking acorns

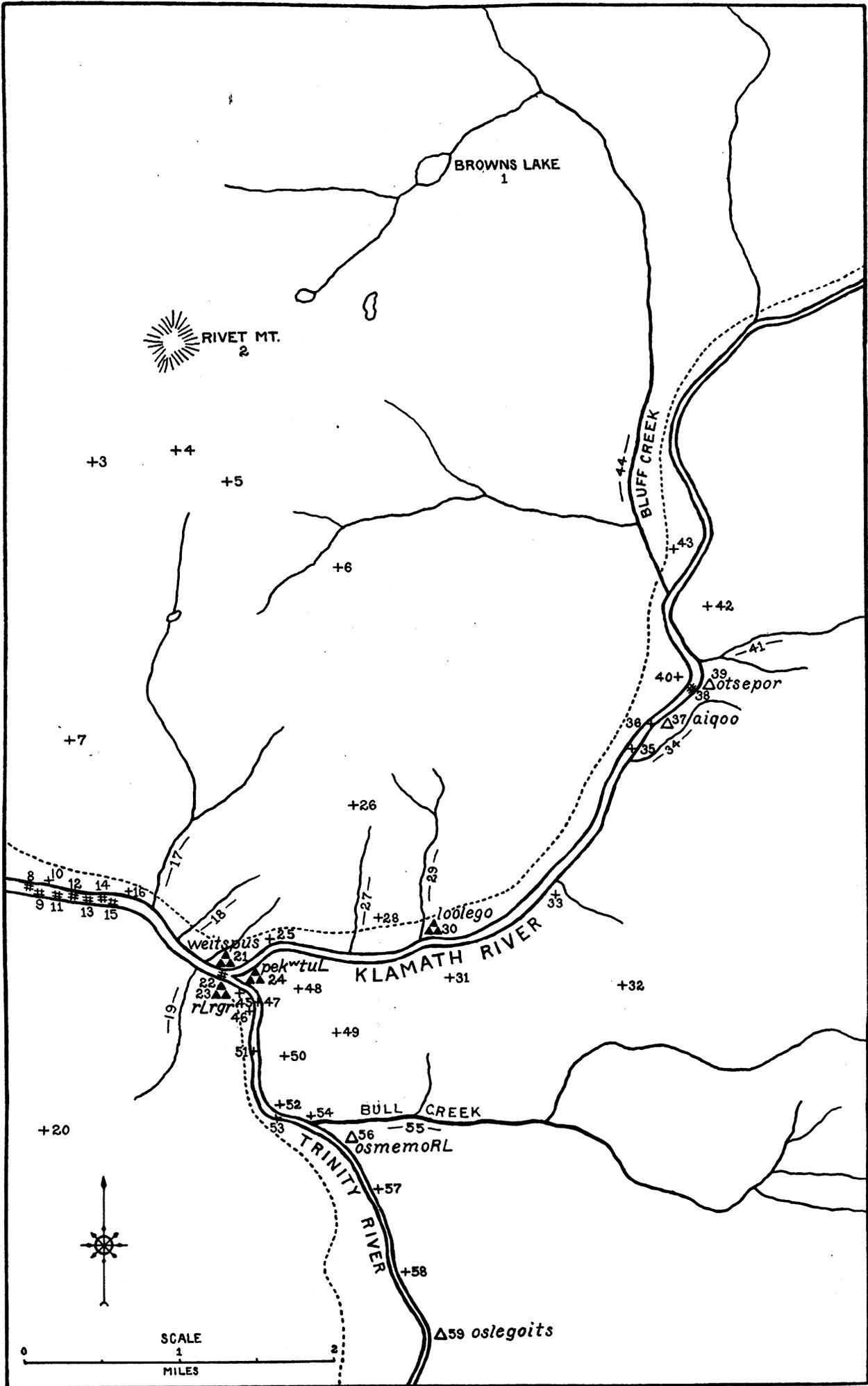


Map 24. wa'hsek

Contour interval 20 feet.  
 Datum is level of river  
 at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
 hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
 Arrows indicate doorways.

1. itprpr', lake
2. ke'wet, mountain
3. egwole'q'w, open hill-side
4. egwole'q'w-higwo'n, acorn-ground
5. aro'ox-pets, scene of a ceremony
6. lo'-o-le'go pets, acorn-grounds
7. o-segá'wits, scene of a ceremony; hilltop
8. meq'wtege'n, fishing-place
9. o-talkits, fishing-place
10. aatemr'-haá'g, boulder at edge of river
11. melnega', fishing-place
12. t'wor', fishing-place
13. to'hpr, fishing-place
14. haá'gola', fishing-place
15. neko'sit, fishing-place
16. we'spen, place
17. o-tegeke't wroi, creek
18. witnega' wroi', creek
19. r'lr-pül wroi', creek
20. kwolo'q'w, acorn-ground
21. wé'itapus, town
22. ore'w, fishing-place
23. rlrgr', town
24. pek'wú tñ'l, town
25. honare'q'w, boulder near edge of river
26. pe'kar-o-re'w, place
27. qortsemo'r wroi', creek
28. haá'golo'k, place
29. lo'-o-lé wroi', creek
30. lo'-o-le'go, town; also called heyomu
31. o'oleq'w, acorn-grounds
32. slo'o, hillside
33. sá'ár, acorn-grounds
34. pyegwelá'w wroi', creek
35. ho'onokok, boulder in river
36. potal', great rock in river
37. aiqo'o, Indian settlement
38. o-teyo', fishing-place
39. o-tepo'r, Indian settlement
40. ro:moi', small flat
41. o-tlá' wroi', creek
42. o-lá'ig, acorn-ground
43. wo'txoi, flat
44. ts'poi wroi', BLUFF CREEK
45. tsá'ri, place
46. háye'q'w, point of land
47. pe'lko'l, bar in river
48. o-keto'k, small plateau
49. pek'wú ts'li-so, ridge
50. m'lonets, place
51. megwimo'r, little rocks in river
52. megwi'l-o-te'get, large boulder near river
53. o-wrg'r'ts, boulder near river
54. re'kwoi, creek mouth
55. tso'ok wroi', creek
56. o-smemo'RL, Indian settlement
57. tesire'n, place
58. peli-kr'rts, place
59. o-slegoi'ts, Indian settlement



RECTANGLE G

53. ä:yo'l. This place was variously described to me as a townsite and an acorn-camp. The fact is that it has been for generations a camp-site, but one old Indian was allotted the land here by the government, and built a large Indian house, in which he lived off and on, sometimes staying in it all winter. A shallow pit can still be seen where the house stood. One of Dr. Kroeber's informants shouted here, when passing in a canoe, calling upon a local spirit for favor and "luck."

The location of the following places is uncertain:

tsäks-o-mitü'. A fishing-place.

o-ro'o, translated "where cliffs." An acorn-ground up-hill from the south end of the ferry cable at Martin's ferry.

### Notes on Rectangle G

This map shows the upper river limits of Yurok territory. The last Yurok settlement of importance on the Klamath is lo'-o-le'go (30), where a fish-weir was constructed. About that there were at least two small settlements, aiq'o'o and o-tsepo'r. On a small flat called ro:moi', still farther up, lying just below Thomson's bar, I found a house-pit, but was given to understand that the structure had been built there after the white invasion. I imagine that the settlement of o-tsepo'r represents the last outpost of the Yurok.

The next tribe up-river on the Klamath is the Karok. The first permanent Karok settlement encountered in going up-stream lies at the mouth of Red Cap creek, some five or six miles, as the river channel runs, above the Yurok village of o-tsepo'r. The exact boundary between the tribes was not known to my informants; and I think that probably no definite boundary ever existed.

A word about the confluence of the Klamath and the Trinity rivers may not be out of place. Three towns lie right where the streams join: wë'itspūs, pek<sup>w</sup>ütü'l, and rlrgr'. As pointed out previously (p. 182), Yurok place names are scattered not only up the Klamath for a distance of fifty miles beyond Yurok territory but also up the Trinity for a similar distance. I might say, in a word, that every town in this whole region has three names. Each of the three tribes whose territories adjoin the confluence of the Trinity and the Klamath has its own names for the towns inhabited by the other two. Sometimes the names are translations or paraphrases, but in other cases they are quite independent. The fact that Yurok place-names are found all along the Trinity does not, therefore, in itself indicate how

far Yurok territory extended. We are safe, however, in saying that the confluence of the rivers was Yurok territory, with three very important Yurok towns lying there, one of them, *wé'itspūs*, being one of the largest in the whole tribal area. Goddard's remarks<sup>9</sup> would limit the Yurok to the canyon of the Klamath. The Yurok in talking to me, however, claimed very specifically that they possessed the canyon of the Trinity for a number of miles. The lowest Hupa villages lie in Hupa valley proper, distant about six miles from the confluence. Between these two spots the Trinity pours through a very wild and steep canyon. I presume that here, as on the Klamath itself, there was no definite boundary or frontier. The canyon was uninhabited, I was given to understand, until the coming of the whites. *Wé'itspūs* was burned soon after that influx occurred, as the result of friction between the races, and for a long time afterward the whites felt some hostility toward the Indians. During this period a few Yurok families moved into this canyon and built houses. Settlements grew up at *o-smemo'RL* (56, below) and *oslegoi'ts* (59). The best known of these people was "Canyon Tom," who derived his nickname from the fact of his abode there. This Indian was himself half-Hupa, and married a woman from one of the best Hupa families. These canyon people even borrowed dance paraphernalia from the rich villages in Hupa valley.

The confluence of the two rivers is shown in the photograph (pl. 11). The map herewith shows very clearly the relation which the three Yurok towns bear to each other. They are disposed in a triangle right at the point of juncture of the two streams. The largest is *wé'itspūs*, which lies almost directly opposite the channel of the Trinity. *Pek<sup>wutū</sup>'L* and *rlrgr'* each occupy a point of land. These three towns, which really made one community, constituted, both in population and wealth, one of the most influential of Yurok centers.

1. *itprpr'*. A small circular lake. In myth times a number of "people" gathered at this point to shoot a gigantic bird with wonderful feathers, which occupied the summit of the mountain *hegwono'L* (Sheldon's butte), lying to the south-east, across the Klamath.
2. *ke'wet*. A mountain, known to the whites as Rivet mountain. This is the highest peak in Yurok territory, and a great deal of mythology centers about it. A myth village lies on its slopes, invisible to mortal eyes. I think the name applies specially to this myth village. In the stories, a young man, handsome and powerful, called *kewets*, probably because he comes from this myth village, has many picturesque adventures.

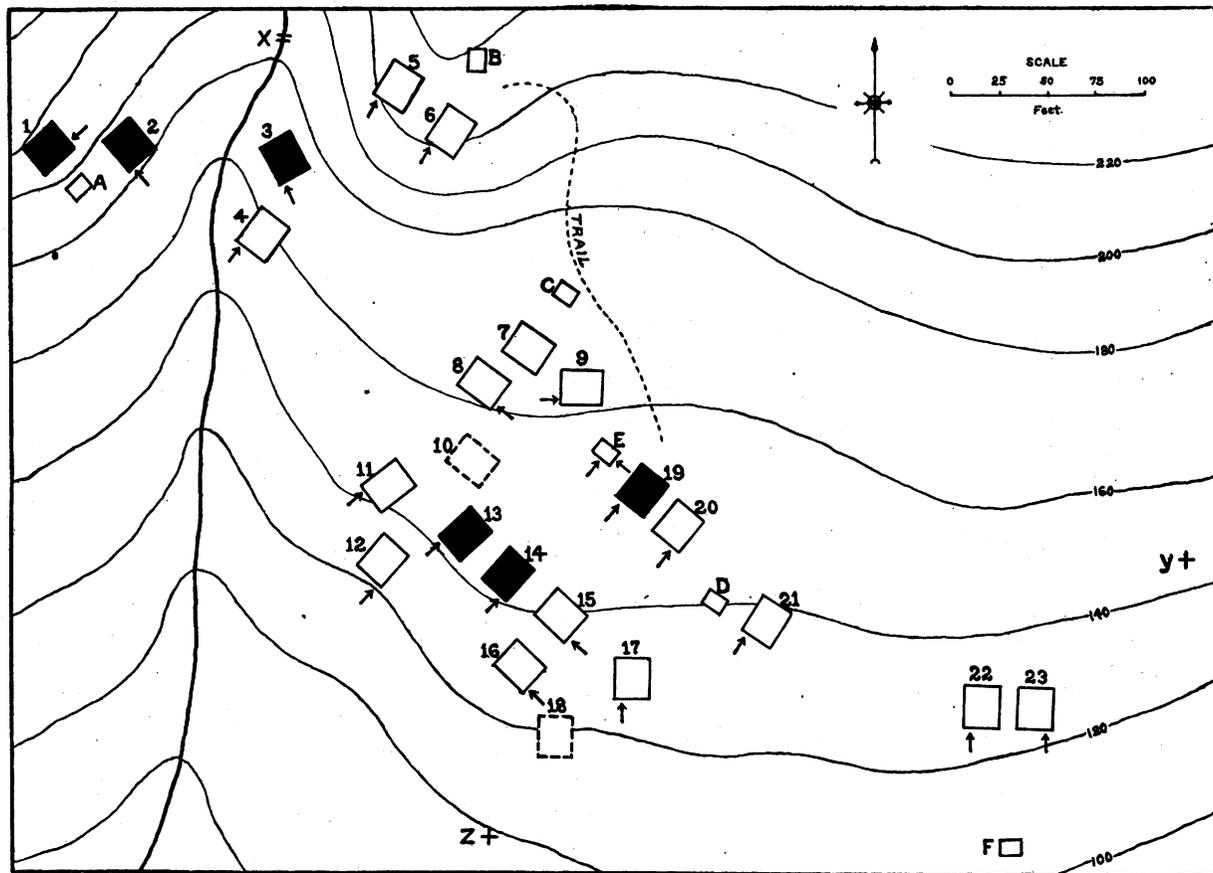
<sup>9</sup> 1903, p. 7.

HOUSES:

1. wo'noiyrL (annex, see 2)
2. wo'noiyrL, "above"
3. rä'äk (annex, see 4)
4. rä'äk, "in the creek"
5. co'xtau, "on top"
6. ketske'L
7. ....
8. ....
9. oslo'q<sup>w</sup>, "where the trail comes down"
10. ....
11. otsipo'r, village near Bluff creek
12. kome'r, "last"
13. pleL, "big"
14. ....
15. n'qrwrk, "close to dance-place"
16. rki'gri, "hair-ties"
17. wo'gwü, "in the middle"
18. opyü'weg, "dance-place"
19. tse'kwel, "flat place"
20. tse'kwel (annex, see 19)
21. tä'ämo, "elderberry bush"
22. hi'gwop, "in the water"
23. pe'tsku, "up-river"

SWEAT-HOUSES:

- A, B, C, D, E, F  
 x. Water-hole, used by village  
 y. Spring, we'itspek, "confluence"  
 z. Rocks marking dancing-place



Map 26. wē'itspūs.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
 Datum is level of river  
 at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
 hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
 Arrows indicate doorways.

5. aro'ox-pets. A place on the mountain side. In the jumping-dance ceremonies certain performances took place here. The people went to the crest of the hill above this point to shout at the spirits and ask for help. A stone seat is to be seen there which marks the exact spot. Before asking for help a person went without water, drinking only acorn-soup. Sexually also, they were under restrictions. Petitioners put angelica root in the fire, and shouted four times, up-stream, down-stream, and back into the hills in both directions. If the spirits answered it was a promise of good luck. After that the person for ten days was not allowed to eat in the main house, but had to have special food of his own and to eat separately.
10. aate'mr haä'g, translated "writing rock." The word aate'mr is now used with reference to the European alphabet. In the old days it meant the drawing of figures. The boulder so named is one of the few occurrences of pictography in this part of California. The figures are simple and geometric. They are said by the Indians to be the source and origin of all basket designs, which they closely resemble.
11. melnega'. A fishing-place. There is some confusion in my notes between this and a place some distance up-stream called wilnega (no. 18). I am inclined to believe I may have mistaken my informant's meaning in regard to these two places.
14. haägola'. (See no. 28, haägolok).
18. wilnega' wroi'. See above no. 11.
21. wē'itpūs. A town. The word wē'itpūs, sometimes given as wē'itspek, is said to mean "confluence." The name is applied specifically to a small spring, just to one side of the present village. In practice, wē'itspek usually means the spring, and wē'itpūs, the town, but the Indians will not admit that there is any choice, or any difference, between the words. In front of the town there is an extensive bar. This was completely torn to pieces by hydraulic mining some years ago, and the original configuration of the area was completely altered. While the mining was in progress, wē'itpūs was quite a thriving settlement, and photographs taken years ago show many buildings which no longer stand. A store and numerous shacks and buildings of European construction partially obscure the few Indian structures which still remain.

The town is on both sides of a small creek, and there is very little system apparent in the arrangement of the houses (map 26). A few of them stood in a straggling row, facing the river. The rest were set down anywhere. The names, however, will be found to almost exactly describe their positions. At the present time the creek runs into a large water-hole, in part artificial, where the villagers get their water. This creek in its upper part runs through a sort of dark tunnel, roofed over with a heavy growth of brush, which was the abode of an old sā'äl, or spirit. Therefore in the old days the Indians would not drink the water in the creek but got their supply from the small spring wē'itspek, just up-stream from the town (map 26, y).

Wē'itpūs is one of two towns where might be held the important deer-skin dance<sup>10</sup>, the other town being pekwan (rectangle D-54). In connection with this ceremony "parties" from different villages gave separate public performances. The old Indian who lived in the canyon above wē'itpūs on the Trinity (Canyon Tom, as he was called) gathered his retainers in a boat and performed a dance while floating down the stream. They started about half a mile up the Trinity, and floated down as far as the sand bar shown

<sup>10</sup> Goddard, 1903, p. 81, describes this ceremony as performed by the Hupa.

in plate 11. In the bow of the boat stood two men with head-dresses of slender, flexible rods, decorated with feathers. They bobbed their heads about in time to the music of the songs. The other men of the party held decorated deer-skins on poles, and these they moved up and down in rhythm. There were no paddlers, but a steersman in the stern kept the canoe in the middle of the river. On one occasion the boat upset, and the men all swam ashore, the deer-skins sticking up above the surface of the river. I did not succeed in getting any clear account of the deer-skin ceremony. It was very elaborate, and certain portions or episodes were connected with very definite spots.

The so-called jumping dance was even more elaborately localized, but again I have no definite information about the localities. Of the house names in wē'itpūs several refer to these ceremonial performances; for example, opyū'weg, where they always dance, rki'gri, hair-ties. The dancing-place is still marked with a row of small boulders, lettered z on the map.

22. o:re'w. A fishing-place. This spot is where the current of the Klamath used to strike the south shore, making the water boil in a sort of an eddy. The channel, however, has shifted somewhat. A similar name, ora'w (rectangle C-32) is translated "where things drop."

A monster lives in the water here, who enjoys the distinction of being the son of kapū'loiyo (gambling instrument), and the grandson of the culture hero, woxpek-omā'w. The prodigy's name is tsooli-lqaa. He is covered with horns, as crowded as hairs, with two extra large horns, striped transversely, sticking out of his forehead. These horns can sometimes be seen projecting out of the water, as the monster swims below. If a person can break off a piece of this striped horn he keeps it in his elk-horn purse, along with his shell money. The horn attracts money, for money "likes" it. Therefore the person will get much money and be rich. The monster is of titanic size. His very lice even are as big as grasshoppers.

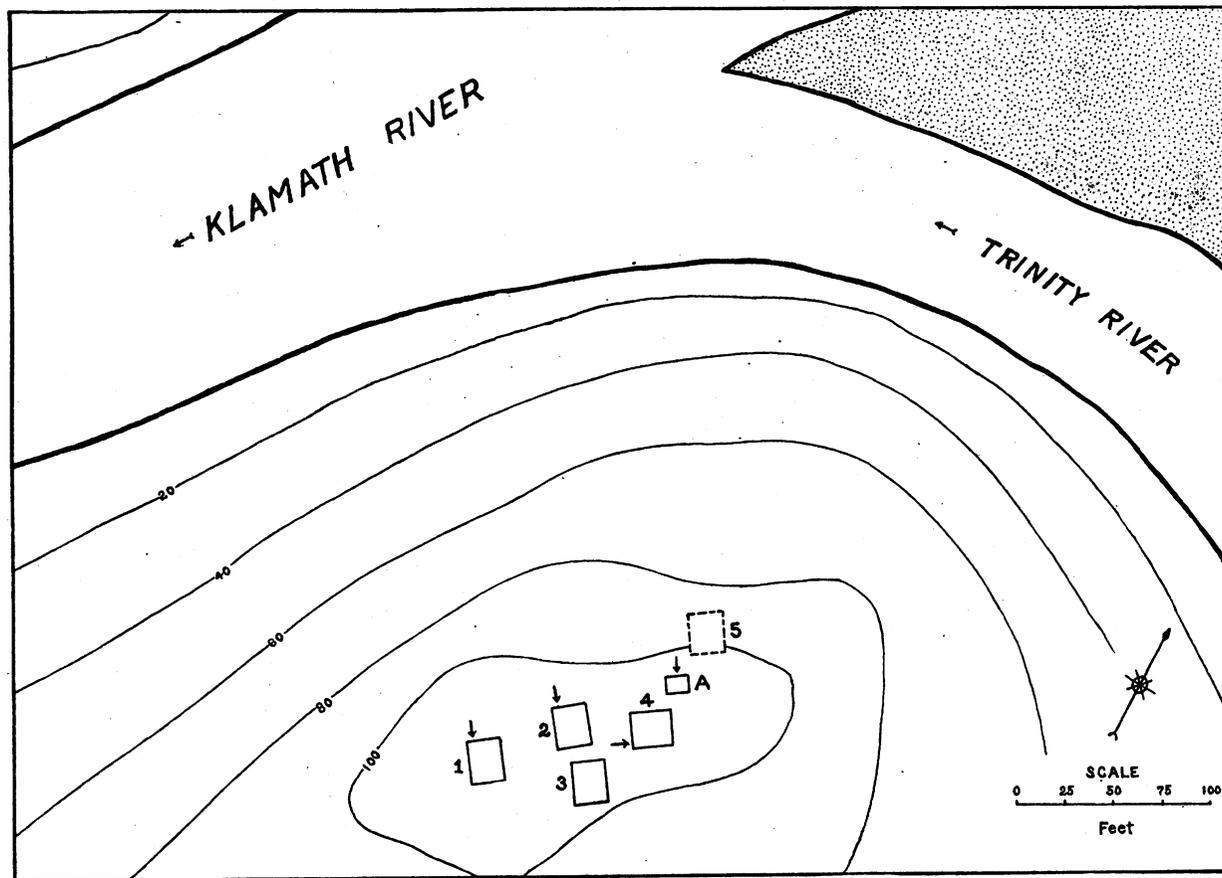
23. rlrgr'. A town. This settlement lies just west of the junction of the rivers, on a low knoll. It was always a small place, but several of its families were rich and proud. All of the house-names are descriptive except one, tsapek; this structure got its name from the fact that its owner was a man from tsapek or Stone lagoon. This one family were very poor and much despised.
24. pek<sup>w</sup>tū'l, translated "pile of rocks." A town. This place lies just on the summit of a sharp knoll, overlooking the Trinity. It was slightly larger than rlrgr', and also numbered some very wealthy citizens. The people got their water from the spring okū', z in the sketch-map.
25. honare'q<sup>w</sup>. A boulder just above wē'itpūs. This rock is addressed in the death-purification ceremony.
26. pē''kar-o-re<sup>w</sup>, translated "stakes where they-cut." People met at this point to procure stakes for the fish-weir at lo'-o-le'go.
28. haagolok. This term seems very similar to no. 14, haägola', but they were given as separate places.
29. lo'-o-lē wroi'. A creek. For the name see the following.
30. lo'-o-le'go, translated "fish-weir where they build." The site is also said to be called heyomū'. The place where this village stood has been worked with hydraulic apparatus, clear down to bedrock. Thirty years before my visit two house-pits and one sweat-house foundation were to be seen there. The houses had no names. The settlement must at one time have been considerably larger, for these people made up one of the four parties of performers who carried on the public spectacles in the deer-skin ceremony at wē'itpūs. They could not have done this had they not been rather numerous. Also,

HOUSES:

1. pul, "down-river"
2. wo'gi, "middle"
3. me'lkü, "shut in"
4. tsa'pek', town on Stone lagoon
5. tso'lek, "down-hill"

SWEAT-HOUSE:

A



Map 27. rLgr'.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

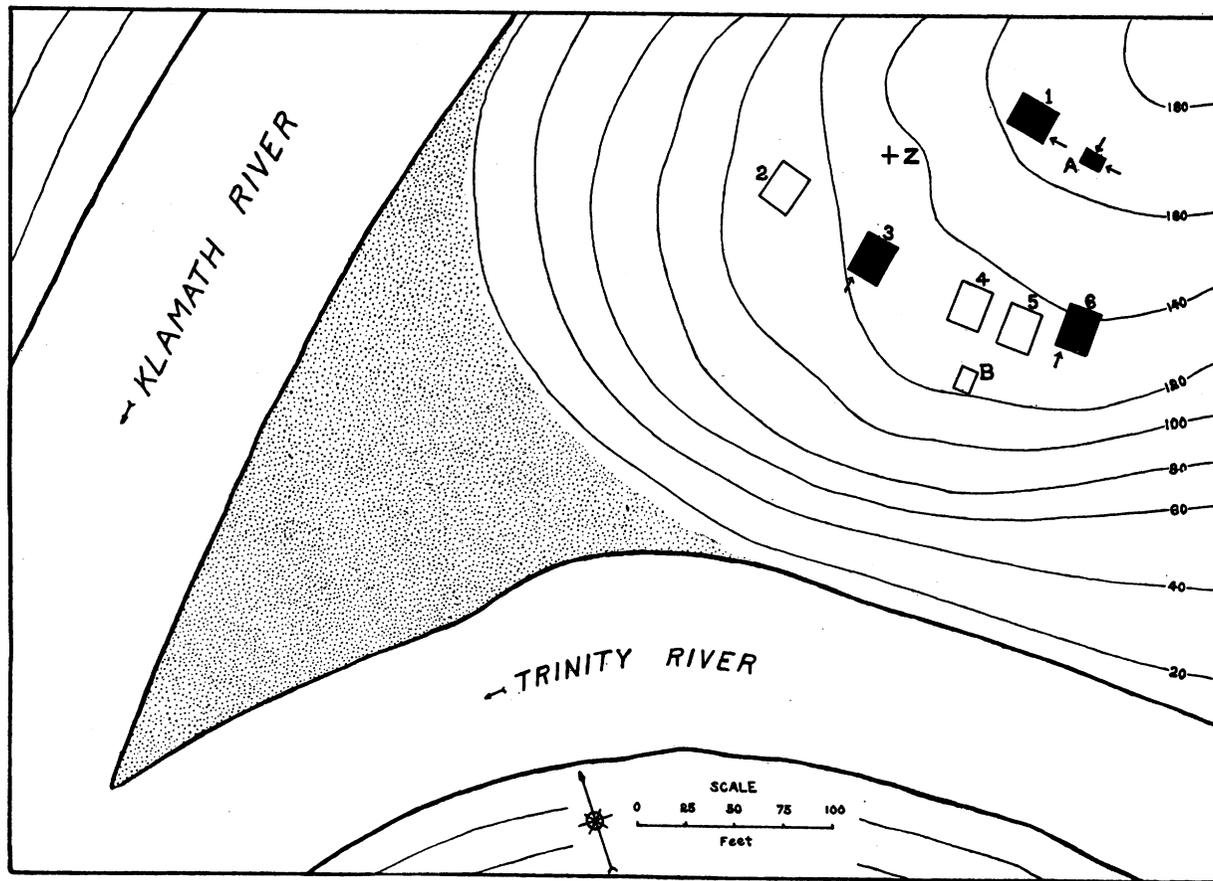
Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

HOUSES:

1. ....
2. tso'lek, "down-hill"
3. awo'xkela, "pepperwood"
4. wo'gi, "in the middle"
5. wo'gi hipets, "up-river from the middle"
6. ora'm, "sound of dancing"

SWEAT-HOUSES:

- A, B  
z. Spring named okū



Map 28. pek""tūL.

Contour interval 20 feet.  
Datum is level of river  
at normal low water.

Rectangles represent native structures (solid, still standing;  
hollow, house-pits only; dotted, uncertain locations).  
Arrows indicate doorways.

they must have had a great deal of wealth, in the form of regalia, or must have known where to borrow it. In either case, they were obviously influential people.

The dam, from which the locality takes its name, was built in different places every year, according to the height of the river and the strength of the current. I know nothing of the ceremonies. The Klamath is somewhat smaller above the confluence of the Trinity, and this dam probably did not require such elaborate preparations nor justify such elaborate ceremonies as the one which was built at ke'pel. The last of these structures was erected forty-one years before my visit (see no. 26).

32. slo'o'. The word means, I think, "to descend a declivity" (cf. oslegoits).
33. sä'är. An acorn-camp. This place was worked with hydraulics in the eighties. Across the river lie many flat rocks, which to me seemed uneven. To the Indian's eye, they look just like the stone paving of a sweat-house. One of them remotely suggests the outline of a wooden head-rest, such as the Yurok use when sweating. Wo'xpekoma', according to the account, made this place so he could lie at his ease and watch the girls going up the trail, close by the village across the river.
34. pegwolä'w wroi', translated "having-stone creek" (see no. 33).
36. potsi'. An enormous flat boulder, almost an island, lying in the river in front of the town aiq'o (see next entry). The mythical accounts say that wo'xpek-omä' made this rock after the place described under no. 33, above. For a fishing-place he had a platform of black rocks known as prmryr, from peme, "grease," a smooth basaltic formation. In the middle he made a hole to drop his net through. The traces of this structure are still to be seen. Next he made a fine broad trail, as wide as a wagon road, which is still visible at one side of the rock. Next he smoothed the top of the rock making it perfectly flat, as it is yet. This spot is called ego'or, flat basket. Here he made his house. He made this elaborate arrangement because right across the river is a resting place. The women used to stop there to rest after traveling along the trail, which comes close to the river at this point. From his fishing-place the hero had a fine view of them.
37. aiq'o. An Indian settlement. A word ego'or, meaning flat basket, is said to be at the bottom of this name. The reference is explained in the passage just above. At least two houses and a sweat-house stood here.
38. o-teyo'. A boulder. Wo'xpek-omä' also made a fishing-place here for his own use. He soon gave it up, however, because it was not good enough; he could not see anybody across the river.
39. o-tsepo'r, translated "where it is steep" (tsipoi'). An Indian settlement. This site contains three well defined house-pits. My informant, who was born here, well remembers when several families all related, lived here. They had fine large houses. The leading man was called by the whites Bluff creek Jim. Just beneath the village is a fishing-place, which is a fine one even yet.
40. ro'moi'. A small flat. An Indian by the name of kinä'ts lived here for a great many years. He belonged in murek, however, and lived here only after the whites came in. Miners with hydraulic machinery ousted him.
41. o-tlä'wroi', translated "where it drips creek." A trickle of water.
44. tsipoi wroi', translated "steep creek." Bluff creek. This is one of the few Yurok creek names which is descriptive. The creek in its upper courses flows between stupendous bluffs.
47. pe'lkol, translated "pebbles." A bar in the river.
48. o-keto'k, translated "where it is flat." Flat hilltop above pek'wütü'L.

49. pekwtū'l-so, translated "pek<sup>w</sup>utū'l-on-top." A ridge. It is also called "wogisoteg, "in-the-middle it-runs." A myth gives an account of a wo'gē, or immortal, bringing this ridge into existence by running along.
51. megwimo'r. This word was given me as the name of a bar, composed of small rocks or pebbles. The word ordinarily means "widower."
54. re'kwoi, translated "mouth of a creek" (cf. rectangle A).
56. o-smemo'rl, translated "where it slips," that is, a landslide. This name is applied to a place where a settlement grew up after the white invasion. It contained three houses and a sweat-house.
58. o-slegoi'ts, translated "where people-always-descend." The word is the regular term for a place where a trail descends a declivity. An Indian settlement of three houses, with one sweat-house.

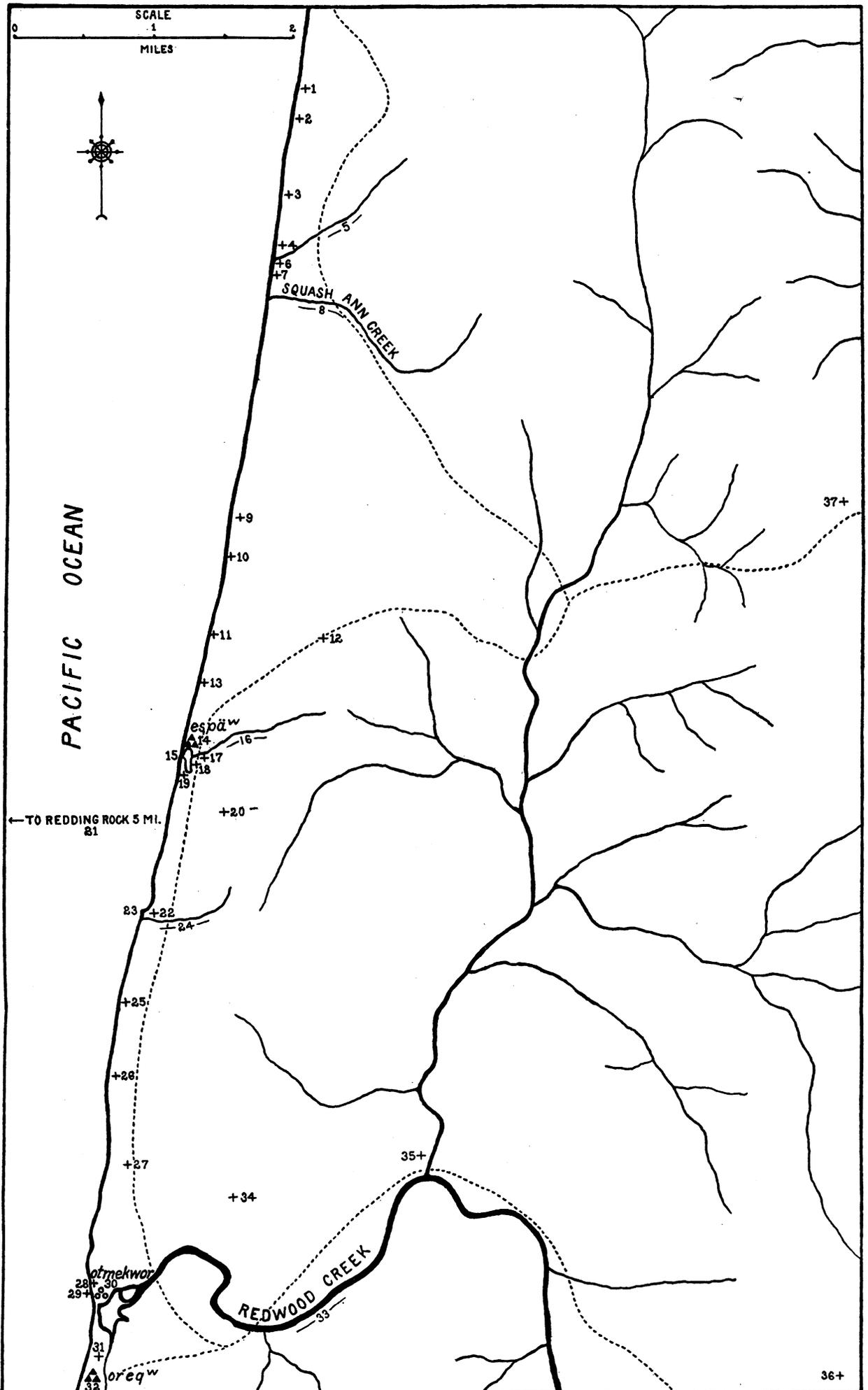
There are a good many places for which I could not ascertain definite locations. Among them are eight which serve as "places" in the jumping dance held at weitspus; as follows:

wē'ntsa'uks-o-mei'lwes, translated "women where they bathe."  
 mrr'mes. At this place a speech was made.  
 ē'geLnak<sup>w</sup>. Place at which they danced.  
 mū'nm, translated "lookout." Spot on an open hillside where they danced.  
 skoyamū'. Place at which they danced.  
 ego'r-o-le'ge'lā<sup>w</sup>, translated "basket where ....." This name is applied to a small ridge which curves up-river going back from wē'itispūs.  
 o-pyū'weg.  
 po'otoi.

Other places whose location is uncertain:

wa'men. Great open space on mountain back of ke'wet.  
 tā'tāwel. Sharp hill back of wē'itispūs.  
 wē'itispūs otsi'n oloma' ūkso' wroi'. A small creek near wē'itispūs.  
 meno'men. Open hillside near wē'itispūs.  
 okrūgr'. Place near wē'itispūs.  
 qe-tsai'lke<sup>w</sup>. Rock, near wē'itispūs.  
 ago's. Place on an old trail where a solitary pepperwood grows.  
 na'xqwoi. Place near wē'itispūs.

Of these, the expression wē'itispūs otsi'n o-loma' ūkso' wroi' may be paraphrased "wē'itispūs young-man where . . . children creek." I do not know what the name refers to. A rock qe-tsailke is one of ten beings who are addressed in the death-purification ceremony already mentioned.



1. o-syo'h, landslide
2. o-tla'w, trickle of water
3. o-tae'ge wet't'k, low cliff
4. enEe', place
5. erkE', wroi', creek
6. e'lkel-o-ro'o, cliffs of hard dirt
7. o-tega', soft cliff
8. qwo'san wroi', SQUASH ANN CREEK
9. pegwo'o-leg, place
10. ple'ken, high cliff
11. o-pe'gis, beach
12. a'golok, summit of ridge
13. tet'u's, boulders in cliff
14. espä'w, town
15. espä'w-o-ke'tul, lagoon
16. nigwego' wroi', creek
17. nigwe'go, place
18. t'i'gon, point of land
19. ye'gwer-ü-kwäp, depression on hillside
20. o-kne'w, landslide high on mountain
21. sekwona', REDDING ROCK, a huge sea-stack
22. te'kto-o-ke'te'ne's, swamp
23. poi'yura', MUSSEL POINT
24. poi'yura' wroi', creek
25. ko'ro'gis, rock slide
26. pegwola', a point of land
27. keyaweyu's, pass in the hills
28. mü'am, high point
29. o-ak'ig, edge of bluff
30. o-tmekwo'n, town
31. si'gwets, former place of settlement
32. o-req'w, town
33. tohtme'q'w wroi', REDWOOD CREEK
34. qeto'k, flat
35. o-rä'w, camp site
36. a'nkau, mountain
37. o-kwe'go, tree into which people shoot arrows

RECTANGLE H

Map 29. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

## Notes on Rectangle H

1. o-syo'h, translated "where landslide."
2. o-tlä'w, translated "trickle of water" (-"where it-drips").
3. o-tse'ge weti'k, translated "where low-cliff its-....."
5. e'lkel-o-ro'o, translated "earth where cliffs." Three small promontories of hard earth.
7. o-tega', translated "where it-thumps." A place where earth falls down in large chunks. The stem is said to be tahkta, "to jar" or "thump."
10. ple'ken, translated "large." The last one of a series of tremendous cliffs, the Gold bluffs of the whites.
11. o-pe'gis, translated "where they catch surf fish."
12. ä'golok. This is the point where people first see the ocean in coming along the trail from the interior. The name is said to refer to that fact.
13. tetü's, translated "rough." A place where the cliff is full of boulders.
14. espä'w. A town. In composition this stem takes the form aspuw, for reasons which I do not at all understand. It was quite an important place, situated on a lagoon. My informants recalled four houses and one sweat-house. In aboriginal times the number must have been larger.

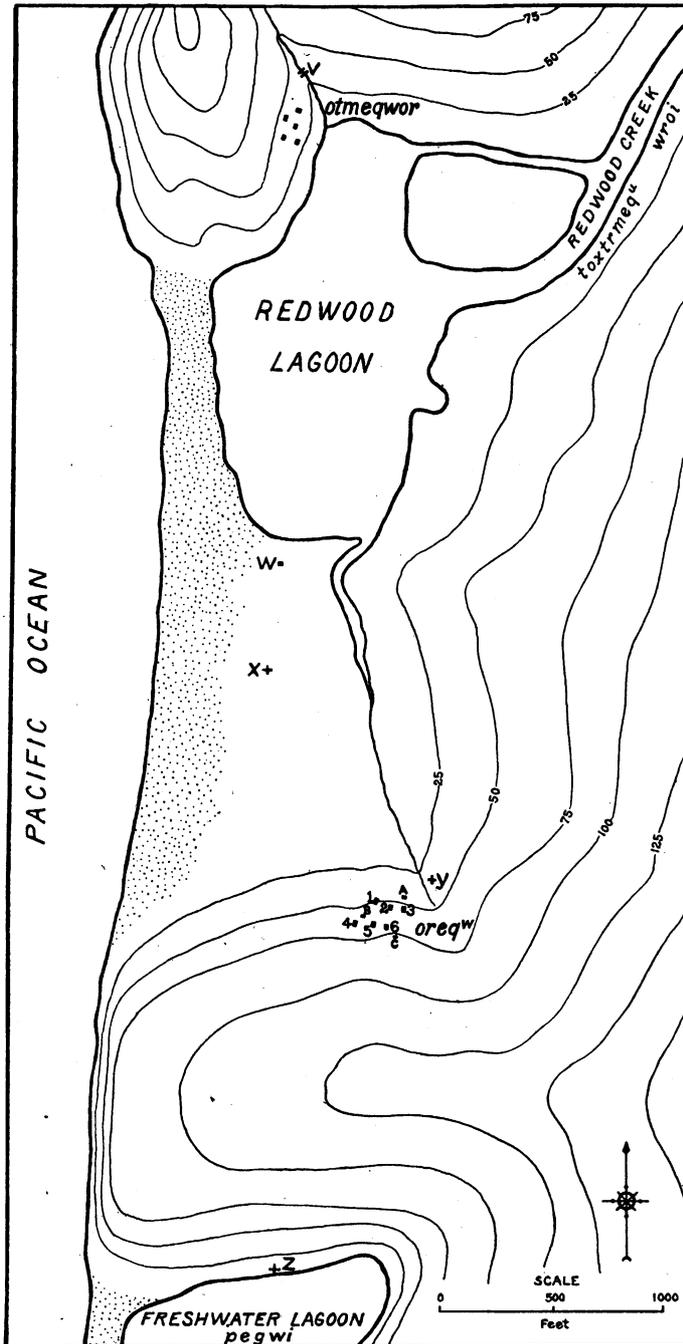
Curiously enough relations were particularly close between this place and certain towns on the lower course of the river, particularly ho'pä'w. My genealogies show a large number of marriages between these two places. Trails across the mountains connected the two localities very directly. This was, however, not true of o'segen, a few miles to the north. That village had very little to do with the up-river localities. I know nothing about the houses in espä'w except the names of two.

15. espä'w-o-kétul, translated "espä'w where calm." Espa lagoon.
17. nigwē'go. Place where the coast trail crosses a creek. The name is said to refer to that fact.
18. t'i'gon. A point of land. Connected by my informants with tegoiye' we, "promontory."
19. ye'gwel-ū-kwäp, translated "Earthquake his house-pit." As remarked above this character is quite ubiquitous. His house-pit it is pointed out in several localities. The pits here are natural depressions (see p. 200).
20. o-kne'w, translated "high." A rock slide, visible for a long distance, high on the hill slope.
21. sekwona', translated "pestle." Redding rock. This enormous sea-stack lies six miles offshore. It was visited by the Indians in pursuit of sea lions, though they made the voyage only in still weather. This is the place where a young fellow from espä'w, one of such a hunting party, climbed the rock just for a lark. The weather suddenly became threatening, and his companions were forced to put back for shore without waiting to take him aboard. He was never heard of afterward. I do not know whether a blood feud rose out of this action or not. The Indians say that the rock assumes different shapes at sunset. Much myth has centered around it.

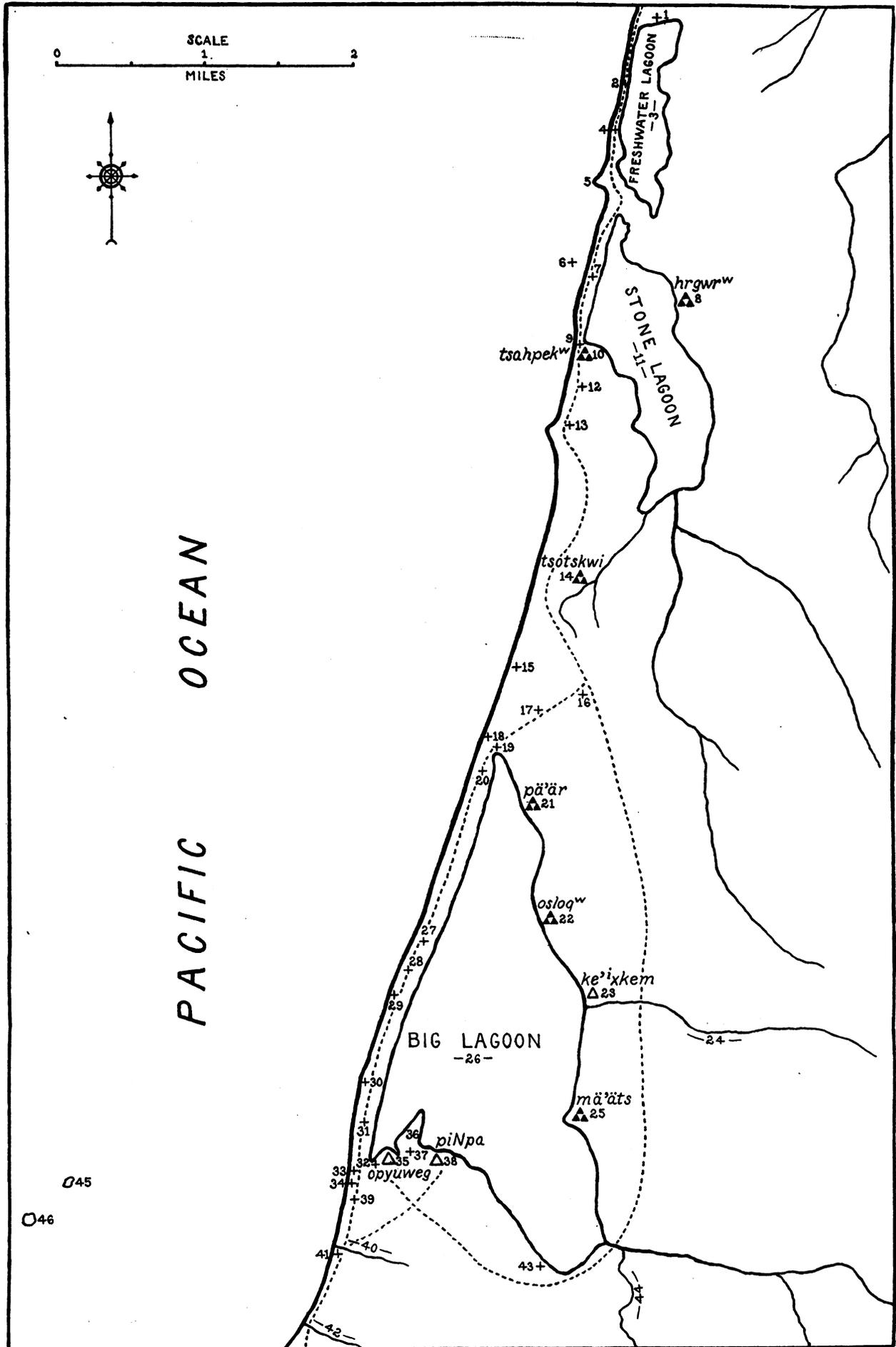
According to a myth it is one-half of a pestle. An Orleans girl, an immortal, fell in love with her brother, Root-boy. To escape her he stole away from home. She followed him all over the world, as it is known to the Yurok. Finally he set out across the ocean to rkrgr, beyond the sky. Catching sight of him from the ocean cliff she broke her pestle in fury, and threw first one-half and then the other at him. Its fragments became Redding rock and a crag near Crescent City (see map 2, no. 7).

22. te'kto-o-kte'nets, translated "logs-where they-lie." A swamp.
25. ko'ro'gis, the name of a plant with berries on it. This is applied as a proper name to a rock slide, where the plant is plentiful.
26. pegwola', or pegwola'-o-leg, translated "flooring-stones where they pick-up." The word pegwola' means the slabs of stone with which they paved the floor of the sweat-house.
27. keyaweyū's, translated "entrance from the ocean into a lagoon." The place is a pass in the hills, between lofty elevations. The Indians say the ocean "used to" come in here.
28. mū'rm, translated "lookout-point." A lofty promontory.
30. o-tmekwo'x. An old town site. At the time of my visit five well marked pits were visible. I could find out relatively little about the people who had lived there. The situation of the pits is shown on the accompanying sketch-map (map 30, top). A very important Indian settlement, ore'q<sup>w</sup>, lay across the lagoon, to the south. I am not sure what the relation of these two villages was. I am inclined to think that the present settlement is really an archeological site, the population having moved across the river a number of generations ago, for some reason.
31. si'gwets. Collection of houses. The situation of this and near-by places is shown in detail in map 30. This place seems to have been a suburb of the town of ore'q<sup>w</sup>, a few hundred feet away. At least two houses and one sweat-house stood here, and I think originally there may have been more.
32. o-re'q<sup>w</sup>. A town. A post office near by is called Orick. This place was the main settlement on this part of the coast. Six well defined house-pits are still to be seen, as well as traces of two sweat-houses and a cemetery. The arrangement of the pits and their names is indicated in map 30. The appearance of the site is shown in plate 13. After sweating the inhabitants ran over the ridge behind the town and bathed at the spot marked z. They seem never to have bathed ceremonially in the ocean. This town was one of five in Yurok territory in which jumping dances might be held. At present only one old Indian, called "Skirk" by the whites, lives here (see p. 218). The original population of the whole community must have amounted to two or three dozen.
34. qeto'k, translated "flat." A small plateau.
35. o-rā'w. A camp site. This place was described to me as a town. I have never visited the site, but the consensus of evidence is that it was no more than a collection of shelters used in gathering acorns. It represents the last outpost of the Yurok up Redwood creek, and lies some four miles from the coast. Above that some six miles was otlep, the first town of the Redwood Indians or Chilula (tsulu-la). A similar name (rectangle C-32) is translated "where things drop."
36. ä'nkau. A bluff on a mountain. People go there to "wish" by shouting. A wo'ge once went there and wished to be rich. When he shouted there was no answer. Then he wished to be a great hunter. Then he shouted again. The answer (echo) was exactly like the bark of a dog. So he knew he would have his wish.
37. o-kwe'gol translated "where they-shoot." An "arrow tree," into which people shot arrows "for luck" (see A-30, p. 220).

otmekwo'r  
 Five house-pits are visible here,  
 for which no names were  
 obtainable  
 v is a spring called otraga',  
 "where it drips"  
 ore'q<sup>w</sup>  
 HOUSES:  
 1. tse'kwel, "flat place"  
 2. me'rxqwi, "little" (?)  
 3. wa'nau, "up-hill"  
 4. rgr'its qerni  
 5. he'wa  
 6. ki'molen, "ugly"  
 w. Recently improvised sweat-house  
 x. Place on flat, cigwe'tsu  
 y. Spring, water supply, mr'xqwi  
 higwon  
 z. Bathing place on lagoon



Map 30. The mouth of Redwood creek, showing two towns, ore'q<sup>w</sup> and otmekwo'r. Contour interval 25 feet. Datum is sea level. Rectangles represent old house-pits, no structures being left.



1. nr'rts-o-po'pez, steep hillside with depressions
2. yots-o-kege'i, narrow place on sand bar
3. pe'gw, FRESHWATER LAGOON
4. toxteme'q'w, place at south end of Freshwater lagoon
5. tikwo', promontory, SHARP POINT
6. pek'le'l, rocks
7. o-segan'm, place on sand bar
8. hrgwr'w, town
9. r'ik, rock
10. tsa'hpek'w, town
11. tsa'hpek'w-o-keto, STONE LAGOON
12. o-peg'o'l, place
13. o-kege'i, sharp ridge
14. tso'takwi, town
15. pr'gris-o-tesy'guk, crag on shore
16. rock where Thunder lives
17. poi'ako-o-lep, dome of rock
18. os-o-f'ikwel, rock
19. tekwo', tip end of lagoon
20. lega', place on sand bar
21. pa'ar, town
22. o-sloq'w, town
23. ke'xkem, Indian settlement
24. rgi'wroi, creek
25. ma'ats, town
26. o-ke'to, BIG LAGOON
27. ni'wo, middle point of sand bar
28. nker num'ig, place on sand bar
29. o-legwose'q'w, projecting sand bar
30. okege'to, place on sand bar
31. knegwolo'il, place on sand bar
32. e'so, clay bank
33. pe't'owo', place on sand bar
34. nrgr'-o-il, point where beach ends
35. o-pyu'weg, town
36. tsik'w tseen, promontory into lagoon; SOUTH POINT
37. ma'akwi, place
38. pinpa, Indian settlement
39. owe'yek, point where cliffs get low
40. tspa'ar wroi', creek
41. tspa'ar, place
42. e'repa wroi', creek
43. nry'tmu'rxn, place
44. nu'meroi wroi', creek
45. to'lower, sea-stack
46. o-le'n, sea-stack

RECTANGLE I

Map 31. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

The location of the following places is uncertain:

meke'l. A slide south of osegen.

o-kyatē'yeq<sup>w</sup>. Place across the river from ore'q<sup>w</sup>.

wrtsr''<sup>w</sup>. Place east of the schoolhouse flat, at ore'q<sup>w</sup>.

yogoyo'r. Place just north of ore'q<sup>w</sup>, on the coast trail.

o-si'g. A place south of espā'<sup>w</sup>.

se'pola-o-saxs, translated "prairie where ....." A place on the hill above espā'<sup>w</sup>. They went there to make boats.

o-le'gel. A berrying-place. A similar name (rectangle K-26) is translated "where they get clay (e'lkel) for whitening buck-skin dresses."

nege's. Near espā'<sup>w</sup>.

### Notes on Rectangle I

The region represented by this rectangle is extremely varied and interesting. Along the surf line stretch three extensive lagoons, separated from each other by sharp ridges and closed in on the landward side by lofty hills. The strip of sand separating the lagoons from the near-by ocean is perfectly flat and in places only a few yards across. The contrast between the heaving Pacific with its broad line of surf, and the quiet, still lagoon is very marked; the sand barrier impresses one as being every moment on the point of vanishing. The lagoons in each case receive through numerous streams the drainage of a considerable area. The water level rises in the wet season behind the sand barrier, and each of the larger lagoons "breaks out" and for a number of months communicates with the sea through a relatively narrow channel. Then in the succeeding dry season the level of the water in the lagoons again sinks, and the sand barrier once more appears unbroken.

Freshwater lagoon, the most northerly of the three shown on this map, had no Indian towns on its margin. The site of a wo'ge town, nr'rts-o-po'pil, formerly inhabited by immortals of giant stature, can be pointed out at its northern end. At the risk of seeming to exaggerate, I may remark that after some careful inquiry among the Indians I still remained in doubt whether this was a real town in our sense of the word or a mythical town. When I asked if it was "real" they assured me it was and offered to show me the house-pits. As a matter of fact the depressions are not even artificial, and Indians, I am sure, never lived there. I consider it remarkable that the Yurok after a long association with the whites should still refer to the supernatural so blandly and in such a matter-of-course way as to cause confusion in the mind of an observer.

Freshwater lagoon gets its name from the fact that it does not connect with the ocean at all. The water seems to find its way through the bar by seepage. When this lagoon broke out at its southern end in 1899 the oldest Indian in the vicinity tried to get up a jumping dance to ward off the sickness and bad luck which were considered to be brewing for the people.

Stone lagoon had two villages, *tša'pek<sup>w</sup>*, quite an important place, with at least half a dozen houses, and *hr'gwr<sup>w</sup>*, on the opposite shore. The latter name means "big," but the town itself contained not more than seven or eight houses. I know little of either place except that it existed. The body of water known as Big lagoon, as I have remarked above, was a center of population. At least six inhabited sites were to be found about its shores, and one of these, usually called simply *oke'to*, "lagoon," was the scene of a jumping dance and a very important place both numerically and financially. As luck would have it, my notes about these places (which have long been uninhabited) are both scanty and contradictory. Undoubtedly the list of place names which I obtained in this locality could easily be expanded threefold if one could get on the ground with a good informant.

1. *nr'rts-o-pópil*. A town of the immortals. The localities which the Indians point out as house-pits are a few irregular depressions, one of them in the bedrock, on a precipitous slope. The name is said by one informant to mean "giants where they lived." Another said the name means "blankets where big" (*popil* being associated with *plel*, large), an expression alluding to the tremendous size of the blankets worn by the gigantic people who lived here.
2. *yots-o-kege'ti*, translated "boat where it-goes-over." This is a spot where the sand barrier between Freshwater lagoon and the ocean is very narrow. People used to paddle out of Stone lagoon, up along the beach, and run the crafts ashore at this point. Then they dragged them over the sand and launched them in Freshwater. There were no towns here and hence no boats. Freshwater lagoon, as the name implies, normally did not open into the sea.
3. *pe'gwi*. "Freshwater lagoon." At this spot men came from the town of *ore'q<sup>w</sup>* to bathe after sweating.
4. *toxteme'q<sup>w</sup>*. Place where Freshwater lagoon once broke out.
5. *tikwo'*, translated "corner" (cf. no. 19, below). Called by the whites Sharp point. This name is applied to an extremely abrupt ridge which rises sharply at the southern end of Freshwater lagoon, separating this body of water from Stone lagoon. It juts into the sea like a knite blade, and is rimmed with a white line of surf even in quiet weather.
6. *pek<sup>w</sup>te'l*, translated "piled up rocks." A sea-stack lying in front of Stone lagoon. The strata have broken up in more or less flat masses; hence the name. The expression occurs in different form also as the name of an important town at the junction of the Trinity with the Klamath.
7. *osegenū'm*, translated "osegen fishes." Osegen is a town some distance northward (see rectangle B-24).

8. hrgwr'<sup>w</sup>, translated "big." A town. This settlement was also called plēpē'ī, also meaning big. As explained above, the name can hardly refer to the size of the town. One informant said there were seven houses and two sweat-houses. In the early sixties Chilula (Bald hill Indians) came over the hills on a raid, and killed ten people here.
9. o-rī'ik, or o-riokiwī'ts, translated "where he-angles." People are said to have angled here for perch.
10. tsa'hpek<sup>w</sup>. A town. The settlement is called by the same name as the lagoon. I am uncertain whether the town names the lagoon, or the lagoon the town. Analogy with other place-names would suggest the former. As a matter of fact, when informants refer specifically to the lagoon, they say tsa'hpek<sup>w</sup> o-ke'to, tsa'hpek<sup>w</sup> "where it is flat (calm)" (see no. 11). Eleven house names were obtained.
12. o-pegō'l, translated "where it-is-grayish."
13. o-qegē'ī, translated "where it-goes-over." A sharp ridge at the southern end of Stone lagoon, separating it from the great Big lagoon beyond. The name refers to a place where the main coast trail goes up and over this ridge, or divide. The ridge is called Goat rock by the whites.
14. tso'tskwi. A town. The site is undoubtedly a former lagoon. I think the water had disappeared before the coming of the whites. What was once a small pond or marsh in the deepest part of the ancient depression has now been drained and plowed up. An important Indian village stood here, but has not been inhabited since more than a generation ago. The whites call the place Dry lagoon. One informant remembered having seen twelve houses and two sweat-houses here.
15. pr'gris-o-tsyē'guk, translated "bald-eagle where he-sits." A crag overlooking the sea.
16. Rock where Thunder lives. I did not obtain the Indian name for this crag nor do I know anything further of myths concerning it.
17. poix'ko-o-lep, translated "flat-basket where it-lies." A knoll. Chicken-hawk, kr'nit, left Trinidad with his wife, and started on a journey. At this point a rainstorm came up, and they covered themselves with a flat basket. This utensil is still seen, in the form of a dome of rock.
18. os-o-ū'kwel. A crag at the cliff edge. Two nighthawks (kweyū'ts) once had a battle here, one of them being from qe'nek (rectangle E-137) the other from sū'mig (Patrick's point). The qe'nek bird shot all his arrows away first and began to use rocks. I think the result can be seen in a number of scattered boulders either on shore or in the sea.
19. tekwo', translated "corner." The term is said to mean the corner or extremity of a lagoon. It occurs also in the form tekwanul (cf. no. 5, above).
20. lega'. The lagoon sometimes breaks out at this point, and the name is said to refer to that.
21. pä'är. A town on Big lagoon. I am unable to say anything about this place further than that it was of considerable size.
22. o-slo'q<sup>w</sup>. A site on Big lagoon. On the hill back of this place the fir trees stand about like people engaged in the deer-skin dance. A myth recounts that "somebody" who was trying to start the deer-skin ceremony without being able to find the "right" place tried it out here; hence the appearance above mentioned. A huge leaning tree here is known as wo'xpak-omä<sup>w</sup>'s cane. The Athapascan Chilula associate both these ideas with a locality in their own bailiwick (see Goddard, 1914, p. 288). A very aged informant had never seen houses here, but her predecessors had.

23. *kā'*<sup>1</sup> *kem*. A small Indian settlement containing formerly four houses and a sweat-house. The term occurs as the name of a group of pits, in rectangle D-105.
25. *mā'*<sup>2</sup> *āts*. A town. Informants recalled five houses here.
26. *o-ke'to*, translated "where it is calm (flat)." Big lagoon. The numerous Indian towns on its shores have already been commented upon. Enormous numbers of water birds still frequent the lagoon, and must have been an important resource for the natives. Duck hunting was done both with the bow and arrow, using arrows with wooden points, and with nets in which the birds entangled their feet in alighting on the water.
27. *ni'wo*, translated "middle." A point half-way across, near the middle of Big lagoon bar.
29. *o-leqwose'qw*, translated "sand bar sticks out." A place where the sand bar in front of Big lagoon bends somewhat oceanward.
30. *o-kege'to*. The word suggests "where it is always calm."
31. *kne'gweloil*, translated "long trees lie" (kne, "long"). A place on the sand spit.
34. *nrg'i-o-il*, translated "as far as it comes." The expression seems to mean literally "rocks where they end." The name is applied to the exact point where the cliffs end and the sand beach begins. There is a small knoll there. A spirit lives there who helps you, the Indians say, "if you go and talk to him."
35. *o-pyū'weg*, translated "where they dance." A large town containing eighteen houses, situated on the south shore of Big lagoon. The place is also very commonly known simply as *o-ke'to*, where it is calm, i.e., lagoon, or lagoon-town. The term "where they dance" (*o-pyū'weg*) refers to the celebration here of a jumping dance. I know nothing of this town except the names of the houses.
37. *mā'rkwi*. A closely similar name occurs in rectangle E-54 as the name of one of the boulders that flank the fish-weir there.
38. *pi'npa*. A settlement. This term was given to me as the name of a town very close to *o-pyū'weg*. So far as I can tell there were no house-names there. I am inclined to regard it as a suburb.
39. *o-we'yek*, translated "bluff gets low." This is the point where the beach terminates at a line of cliffs, which gradually increase in height toward Patrick's point.
43. *nryi't-mū'rn*. This expression is translated variously "wild ducks where they started in" (that is, "where they started in netting ducks") and "wild duck's lookout" (*mū'rn*).
45. *to'lowel*. A sea-stack. The word is the Yurok expression for their neighbors to the north, the Tolowa. What the application is, I do not know.
46. *o-le'n*. A sea-stack and outlying reefs. This name is not to be confused with *o-le'm*, in rectangle J, although the two lie close together. This rock was a sea-lion hunting ground. The *wo'gē* (immortals) carried these rocks and put them there.

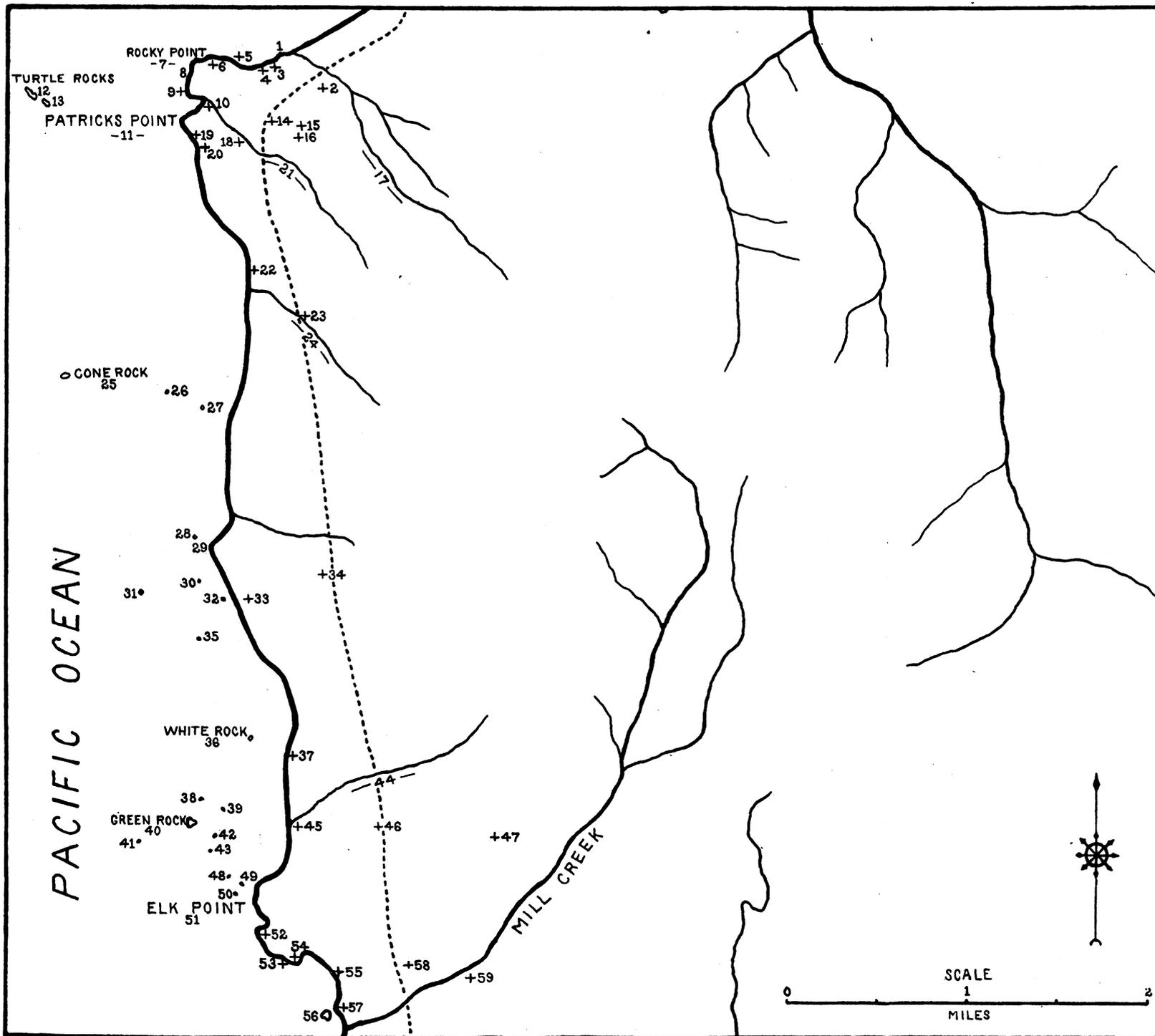
The location of the following places is uncertain:

*o-le'geL*. An open hillside near Stone lagoon. A similar name (rectangle K-26 is translated "where they get clay (elker) for whitening buckskin dresses."

*ho'hko*. Said to be a settlement near Stone lagoon.

*signi'f*. A group of depressions considered by the Indians the house-pits of an immortal village. They lie somewhere on Freshwater lagoon.

1. rp'k, small promontory
2. keski'l, outcrop
3. opegoi'yür, gully
4. trgw'r, rock
5. ketse'k'w, sea-stack
6. o-kne'get, crag
7. mgr'r'n, ROCKY POINT
8. e'n:ümä'w, shelving promontory
9. kwrsrm'i, sea-stack, close off-shore
10. o-le'm, camp site
11. sü'mig, PATRICK'S POINT
12. o-wä'är, one of two sea-stacks, TURTLE ROCKS (cf. no. 13)
13. tokwe'ges-w-äag, the second of the pair of rocks just mentioned (cf. no. 12)
14. mä'e'kwa, crag
15. mü'än tärktäl'l, place where many white rocks lie
16. metkë'ox, rock with depressions in its surface
17. neke'l wroi', creek
18. yr'n'r'pü, spot by the creekside
19. kwesta'n, side of promontory
20. o-prmr'g, beach of blue basaltic pebbles
21. o-prmr'g wroi', creek
23. knü'lkem, deep gully
24. knü'lkem wroi', creek
25. ye'k'wsin, CONE ROCK
26. sä'ä, sea-stack
27. ne'welel, sea rock, almost submerged
28. hä'wok, sea-stack
29. lepomä'w, reef
30. sme'tsen, sea-stack
31. mü'rek'w, large sea-stack
32. o-lme'ye, sea-stack
33. te'kw'r, camp site
34. woksä'i, resting-place on trail
35. kne'gwölek, sea-stack
38. worä'w, WHITE ROCK
37. o-tlä'w, trickle of water
38. pegwol'w'l, sea-stack
39. o-peg'i, rock almost submerged
40. mrhr'k, GREEN ROCK, a sea-stack
41. tsmo'oq'wäpa'a, sea-stack, far off-shore
42. wr'gr'l, small sea-stack, far off-shore
43. o-nyr'r'is, sea-stack with a cleft
44. lke'lekep wroi', small creek
45. re'kwoi, mouth of a creek
46. o-tkr', resting-place on trail
47. tepo', mountain
48. halq', sea-stack
49. qesqea'q', sea-stack
50. o-ke'gep, sea-stack with three "humps"
51. megwil-r'grn, a promontory; ELK POINT
52. we'tpa-o-r'igen, promontory
53. le'ptoil-o-pwe'gets, reef
54. o-meno'q', small promontory
55. tinl-o-lego, cliff
56. pe'wetol, detached crag, with trees on it
57. tē'we'-o-re'ga, small promontory
58. o-negets'q', spot on hillside
59. tsmē'yis-o-ro'o, spot on hillside



RECTANGLE J

Map 32. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

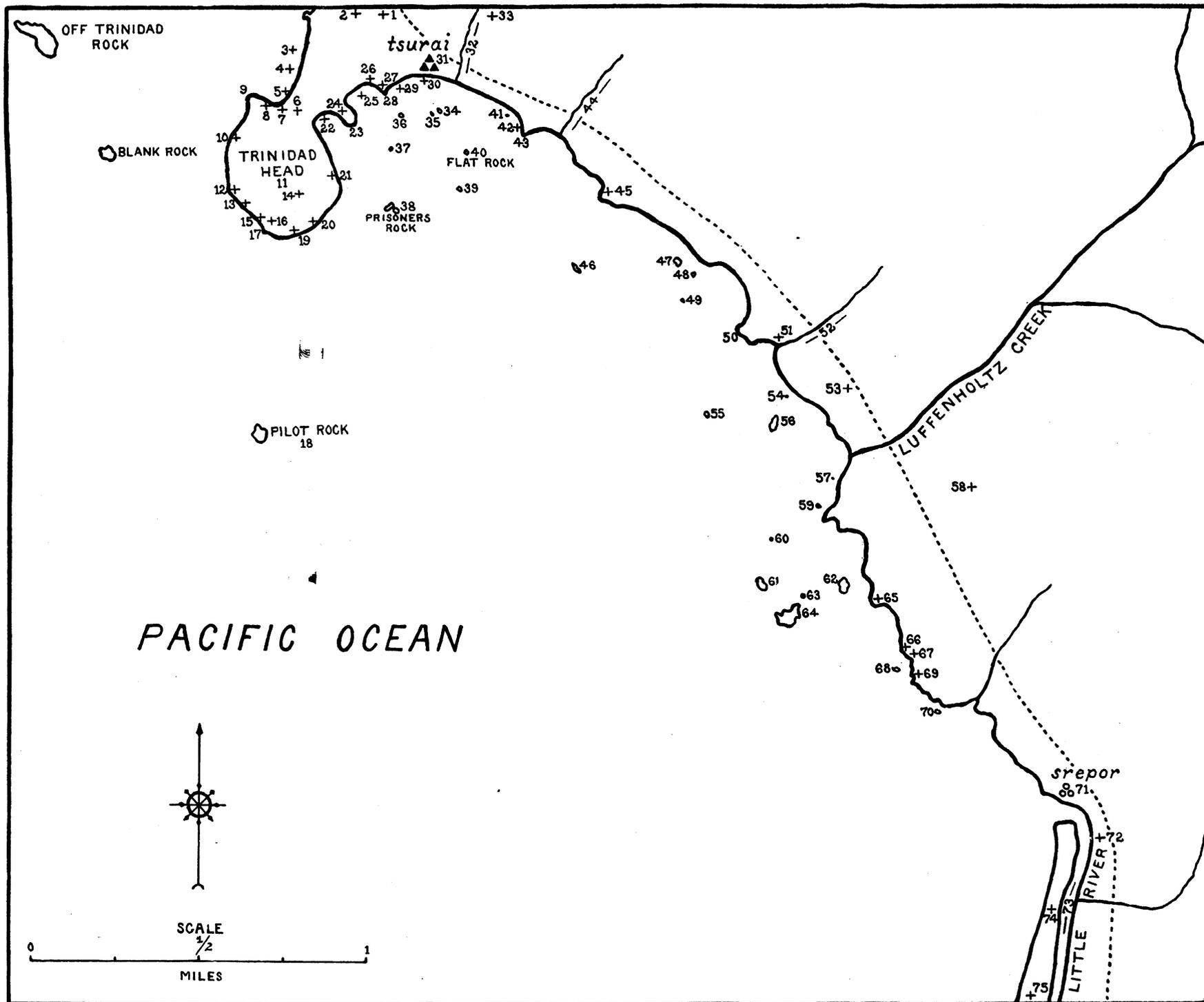
- o-osä'mits. Said to be a "town" on Freshwater lagoon.
- o-tū'ük. Place near the present stage road where the Indians used to make boats. A half cut tree stands there yet.
- tso'tskwi-hipaū. A beach boundary, south of tso'tskwi.
- o-stse'gep (or o-tse'gep), translated "where they disembark." A site with house-pits between Big lagoon and tso'tskwi.
- tekwana'L. A settlement, south of tso'tskwi.
- tsē'ixko. A spot south of tso'tskwi.
- sūpa'il. A spot south of tso'tskwi.
- so'o-o-gūr, translated "corpse his water." A small lake near Big lagoon. Disembodied souls enter this lake to go to the underworld.
- nī'krk. Spot near Big lagoon.
- qe'Lqū. A spot near Trinidad (rectangle K-31). It is also called o-kegeye'L.
- hē'wo. Place near Big lagoon.
- e'keg-o-srai. Spot near the south side of Big lagoon.
- q'war q'war. A settlement of two or three houses, somewhere on the shore of Big lagoon.
- le'yes-o-sro. A spot between Big lagoon and Stone lagoon, apparently south of tso'tskwi.
- lkerē'i. Spot, probably north of tso'tskwi.

## Notes on Rectangle J

2. keskī'L, translated "wood-compartment." An outcrop where the rocks stick up on end, like the fire wood which stands on end in a Yurok house.
3. o-pegoi'yūr, translated "where you-always-hang-garments." A gully, where the wind "sucks" hard. If you want people to die, you get some of their garments and hang them here to rot.
6. o-kne'get, translated "where they-always-get-flint." A crag on the ocean cliff.
7. mrgr'n, translated "barnacle-place" (nrgr'i, barnacle). A small promontory, called Rocky point.
8. e'n-ūmä'w, translated "slanting." A point where slanting strata run out into the ocean.
9. kwrsrnr'i. A rock just offshore. The people hunted sea lions here.
10. o-lé'm, translated "where they camp." A good deal of confusion exists in my notes between this place and some large sea rocks lying about a mile offshore. One of these rocks is called o-le'n (rectangle I-46). The Indians went there after sea lions. The present spot is a camp site, at which such hunting parties were organized.
11. sū'mig. A point called by the whites Patrick's point. This promontory and the region back of it are celebrated in Yurok song and story (see above p. 246; also E-116, p. 251). This region is the abode of the last immortals. Although these beings left the other parts of Yurok territory when the Indians came into existence, they still linger on here. I think the most important of them are the Porpoises, who are still considered as people, not as animals. For other supernatural beings see below.
12. o-wä'är. This is the eastern of two sea-stacks, called by the *Coast Pilot*, Turtle Rocks.
13. tskwe'ges-w-aäg, translated "harbor-seal his rock." This is the western and larger of the two rocks mentioned in no. 12.

14. mele'kwa. This expression means, I think, "excrement." A rock close by the trail on the flat. It is also called o-prgr.
16. metkē'ox, translated "supernatural footprints." A rock with depressions on its surface. Wóxpek-omä" is said to have left his footprints here.
17. yr'nr'pū (yr'nr, "abalone shell"). A place by the creek where people cleaned abalone shells.
19. kwetsi'n, translated "strawberries." The sloping side of a promontory.
20. o-prmr'g, translated "basalt." A beach of blue basaltic pebbles. The stem peme, "grease," is said to be the ultimate source of this term. The blue basalt is slippery, and "greasy."
22. o-tspä'mik, translated "long." A beach, covered at high tide.
23. knū'lkem, translated "deep gully, gorge." The name is applied to a resting place, under a high cliff.
28. hä:wok, said to mean "big." A sea-stack.
29. lepomä'w, said to mean "put another rock" or "add a rock." A point which is prolonged in the form of a reef, with occasional rocks showing in the surf. A man tried to get across the ocean and put down boulders as stepping-stones. The people at the town of oke'to, however, did not want a way across to be made. So they made the builder come back when he was only part way over, and pulled back most of his rocks. A few near shore are all that remain of the enterprise. This point was a boundary between Trinidad and oketo towns. People came here to collect edible seaweed (tsegil) for drying. The name is said to refer to this fact.
30. sme'tsken, translated "chipmunk." A distant sea-stack, very small. Chipmunk, according to a myth, rolls himself about out there. I do not know the details of the story.
31. mü'req", translated "large cooking basket for acorn mush." A large sea-stack, called by the *Coast Pilot*, Hodge rock.
32. o-lme'yēs (lmei, bad, dangerous). A sea-stack. For some reason, this rock is believed to be bad. No one ever goes near it.
33. te'kwur', translated "place where young seals were clubbed." The spot was used as a camp site by Trinidad (tsurai) for gathering seaweed, not for hunting sea mammals.
34. woksē'i, said to mean "large open space with grass." A resting-place on the coast trail.
35. kne'gwolek, translated "long." A sea-stack, which is vertical and rather high, not long. The name may be mythical, not descriptive.
36. worä'w. A sea-stack. An old woman in myth times once did something out here; my informant could not explain what.
37. o-tlä'w, translated "where it drips." A trickle of water.
38. pegwolä'L, translated "flat paving or flooring stones for the sweat-house." A sea-stack, where the strata project in thick slabs. The name alludes, I think, merely to this appearance.
39. o-pegī'i, translated "where you-always-get-mussels" (pii). A distant sea-stack, almost submerged.
41. tsmo'op"-ū-pa'a, translated "Wildcat his water." A distant sea-stack. It is said that Wildcat always drank here. I think the name refers to a time when the ocean was not there, and its entire bed was ordinary landscape.
42. wr'grl, translated "wormy" (wr'gr, worm). A small sea-stack. The mussels here have many worms among them.
43. o-syrgr'is, translated "where they-enter." A sea rock, with two points. Boats are run in between these points when the people are gathering mussels.

1. o-tswi'gen, flat rocks
2. o-lu'p, flat
3. trgw'g, sea-stack
4. e'go', beach
5. ra'yip, pebble beach
6. ma'-o-me'kwel, level place
7. pe'me-o-le'gelin, niche in rock
8. o-tra'hko, cave
9. ho'ktkel, promontory
10. ma'iaq, rock at edge of cliff
11. tsur'e'wa, TRINIDAD HEAD
12. o-ne:go', inlet in the rocks
13. lege'p'au, hole in the rocks
14. tmer um'l-o-lo'o, place
15. ne'ma', point of rock
16. ko'xkul-o-le'gwo'm, cave
17. pu'uktik-o-o'lo, near cliff
18. yu'lpets, PILOT ROCK
19. hryr'm'is, southeast corner of the head
20. tsrh'lik, recess in the rock
21. o-lega'w, where things drift
22. u-kwe'wa, beach
23. o-to'hpa, arch under a point
24. kr'nit-w-o'ol, LITTLE TRINIDAD HEAD
25. kr'nit we'yots o-le'p, rock
26. o-le'gel, cliff
27. o-m'i'ge, promontory
28. we'tpa-o-i'igen, end of point
29. pr'lkwrk, small rock
30. o-tse'gep, a rock in front of the landing-place
31. tsu'rai, town
32. k'i'ik'wroi', creek
33. ego't-o-tep, place
34. pego'hpo, split rock in the bay
35. liqo'men-o-yo'wek, rock
36. ego'le'pa, rock in the bay
37. sko'onaa', flat rock in the bay
38. nuu'xpoq, PRISONER'S ROCK
39. rpla'w, flat rock in the bay
40. maol'qoro, rock in the bay; FLAT ROCK
41. prxte'q', rock in the sand
42. prgw'r'w, end of Trinidad beach
43. o-le'gep, a point or promontory
44. he'woli', creek
45. pemaks-o-leg, soapstone quarry
46. tso'owin, flat rock in bay
47. holo'xtsul, rock in the bay, almost submerged
48. o-kr'grp, group of small rocks
49. mr'rp, rock in the bay
50. so'xtsin, promontory
51. ta'am-o-slo', crag at cliff edge
52. so'xtsin wroi', creek
53. te'we-o-re'ga, place where the trail passes inland behind some crags
54. alo'n, rock at the inshore end of a reef
55. yr'mrk, rock at outer end of reef (see no. 54)
56. r'lrgr, DOUBLE ROCK
57. o-kre'get, rock in the water
58. o-ke'ga, place
59. tepo'na, rock offshore with a tree on it
60. omi'mos-w-aag, rock
61. qege't-u-wrl, long, low-lying rock in water
62. tewola'g, large rock close offshore
63. kw'igerep, sharp rock in water
64. polk, large sea-stack
65. ketke'rok, crag
66. o-su'rg, cliff with a "blowhole"
67. me'stsek, HONDA LANDING
68. prhrts'r'k, rock in water
69. o-ro'n, crag
70. ra'yipa, small rock in water
71. sre'por, site with shell-heap
72. rtskrgr'n, rock near Little River
73. me'tsko, LITTLE RIVER
74. o-kso'lig, place
75. o-kwe'ges, sand dunes



RECTANGLE K

Map 33. (See key-map 4, opposite page 226.)

45. re'kwoi, translated "creek-mouth" (cf. A-51).
47. tepo', translated "steep," or "it stands upright." A mountain's side.
49. qesqeiā'q<sup>w</sup>, translated "standing on edge." A sea-stack. Compare with this expression, keskil, wood-compartment (where the wood is stood on end).
50. o-ke'gep, translated "where they-lie-in-wait." A sea-stack. People went here to hunt sea lions.
51. me'wil-e'g:RN, translated "elk stand-always." A promontory, called by the whites Elk point.
52. we'tpa-o-rī'igen.
53. le'poil-o-pkwe'gets, translated "hair where it-emerges." A reef, around which the water "boils." It is said that deer-hair, bear-hair, and elk-hair come out on top of this water.
54. o-meno'q<sup>w</sup>, translated "where it-projects." A small promontory.
55. tiNL-o-le'go, translated "yellow where they frequent." A stretch of beach in front of a yellow bluff (ti'npel, yellow).
57. tē'wi-o-re'ga, translated "in-front where they-pass." A small promontory, in front of which people pass back and forth when the tide is out.
59. tsmē'yis-o-ro'o, translated "where cliffs." A place on the hillside. People used to go out to "talk to" the trees here, asking for help.

The location of the following places is uncertain:

- weritsr'q<sup>w</sup>-o-le'guk. A place north of Mill creek.
- qe'q<sup>w</sup>sen-o-qegeye'gwets, translated "redwood-bark they peel." A place considerably north of Mill creek, where people went to procure redwood bark, for the manufacture of the dresses of shredded bark worn by "doctor."
- oli'ir. Place north of Mill creek.
- qe'rets-o-les. Crag on seashore.
- se'ge-w-o'o'lemeL, translated "Coyote his house."
- se'polek-o-sre'qwoni.
- le'wel. A rock.
- wrlqri'sne-w-o'o'lemeL, translated "wolves their house."

## Notes on Rectangle K

1. o-tswi'gen, translated "where you talk." A group of flat rocks. If a person tells the spirit in here his troubles the spirit will give him help.
2. o-lū'p, translated "sound of breakers." A place, on the present baseball ground, where the sound of the breakers on the beach comes to one very clearly.
4. e'go'. A beach. This spot was a camping-place for parties who were going out for fish and sea lions.
5. rā'yip, translated "on the other side, beyond." A pebbly beach.
6. mewome'kwel. This name is applied to the level ground which abuts on the knoll called Trinidad head. Mekwel, which seems to make up part of the expression, means a pile.
7. pe'me-o-le'gelin, translated "grease where it hangs." A place under the shadow of Trinidad head. I think the word pe'me means specifically whale blubber.

8. o-trä'hko, translated "where it drops or trickles." A cave. People used to go back into this cave in order to get rich. If one drop of water fell on the candidate he would soon be wealthy. If two drops fell on him he could never get out because the rock closed. One man, with a great deal of "power," went in there once and two drops fell on him. Then he went right through the solid rock of Trinidad head, and came out at a place just beside where the wharf now stands.
9. ho'ktkeL, said to refer to the manufacture of bows and arrows. This is said to be a place where the people practiced shooting with the bow.
10. mä"äq. Said to mean "he sits forever." The literal meaning may be "not does he move." A point of rocks. A man once went there to "cry" for luck; that is, to weep and call on the supernatural beings for help in becoming rich. He sat there one day, crying, when all at once he saw the "money" (dentalium shells) in the water, as numerous as sardines. He sat there continually, refusing to go away. Finally he turned to stone; and is there yet.
11. tsurē'wa. Trinidad head. The stem resembles the word for mountain, tsurai. The name is not descriptive, for the head is not more than a knoll of rock, connected with the shore by a low and rather narrow neck. Right at the top of the head there is said to be a hole in the rock, with a spring in it.
12. o-ne:go', translated "where it meets." A small inlet. The waves meet here in a sort of a chasm or cleft, and leap up the rocks.
13. lege'p'au, translated "cache." A hole or cave in the rocks. Here people used to leave harpoons and other tackle when they went away from Trinidad.
14. tmer u mi' L-olo'o'. Said to mean "watches the people." Spot on the side of the head. A one-legged spirit lives there, who keeps track of everything people do. The present-day people, who are unclean and keep none of the taboos, are unable to see him.
15. ne' mä" (nemä'q<sup>w</sup>, adze). A point, shaped like a Yurok adze, which has a curved handle of stone.
16. ko'ixkūL-o-le'gwo'm, said to mean "perforated-stone where it-is covered." A cave. People took angelica root to this cave, which lies just below the present lighthouse, and put it in a pool of water which is found in a recess. The water would whirl when that was done. If that root were used in connection with some undertaking it would turn out well.
17. pū'ūktik-o-o'lo, translated "albino deer where he-stands." A point of rock just below the last mentioned place. I do not know the reason for the name.
19. yū'lpets. Said to mean "white." A great sea rock, called by the whites Pilot rock, because incoming schooners take the bearings of the anchorage from it.
19. hryrmr'is, translated "corner." Place where the configuration of the head turns back toward shore.
20. tsrhr'lik (tsr'hr is the sea lion harpoon). A hole in the rock near the outer side of the head, where people cached harpoons and other tackle.
21. o-legä"<sup>w</sup>, translated "where they-come." A place near the end of the present wharf. It got its name because things drift ashore there continually.
22. u-kwē'wan, translated "his basket" (qe'woi). Place below the cliff between Trinidad head and the smaller point known as Little Trinidad head where there is a small beach.
23. o-to'hpa"<sup>w</sup>, translated "where there is a hole, or passage." A place where there is a natural archway through a point of rock.



24. *kr'nit-w-ó'ol*, translated "Chicken-hawk his house." A promontory, called by the whites Little Trinidad head. Chicken-hawk, a famous myth character, seems to have had his original home at this spot. Afterward he went off on a sort of a tour, and place-names all over the country bear testimony to his deeds.
25. *kr'nit-we'yots-o-lep*, translated "Chicken-hawk his boat where it-lies." A rock in the surf which resembles a canoe turned upside down, covered by the water at high tide. A myth recounts that *kr'nit* when he went away turned his boat over and left it there. Ocean was this hero's wife. She was always talking and muttering, the Indians say; "and she is that way even yet."
26. *o-le'geL*. Said to mean "where they obtain clay, or earth." People came here to obtain blue clay, which was used "like soap" to whiten buckskin dresses.
27. *o-mi'ige*. Said to mean "where they practice, or imitate." Little girls went to this spot, on a small promontory, to practise the brush dance.
28. *we'tpa-o-rí'igen*, apparently meaning "sea lion where he always-sits." A point of rock, which is said by the Indians to look like a sea lion's head. This name occurs also in rectangle J-52.
29. *pr'lkwrk*. Said to mean "gray," or "yellow." A small rock in the surf.
30. *o-stse'gep* (or *o-tse'gep*), translated "where they-disembark." A rock lying just in front of the landing-place.
31. *tsū'rai*, translated "mountain." A town. The situation of this place is rather interesting. It lies near the white settlement of Trinidad. The white town occupies a flat of a good many acres' extent, with Trinidad head on the seaward side, and the hills rising, heavily timbered, to the east. The bluff is rather wind swept. The Indian village lies over this bluff, on a slope leading down to Trinidad bay. I recall that the Indian village is as completely out of sight as though it did not exist until one approaches the summit of the declivity and looks down. On the day of my visit, a cold wind was sweeping over the treeless flat about the white town, but in the Indian village, down over the bluff, the air was still warm and pleasant. At the present time few relics of the Indian village remain. A few Indians still frequent the place, but they live in European structures. The accompanying sketch-map (map 34) shows the arrangement of the houses.
- The man who lived in house 4, *tsū'rai*, is said to have been enormously wealthy and a great tyrant. He owned places far to the south, on Little river, and also far to the north along the coast. He is said to have had eleven wives.
33. *eqo'r-o-tep*, translated "cooking-basket where it-stands."
34. *pego'hpo*, translated "split." A sea rock with a cleft in it.
35. *liqo'men-o-yowek*, meaning possibly "bait where they-leave." A flat rock in the bay. People are said to have left bait there and fishing-lines.
36. *ego:le'pa*, translated "cache" (cf. n. 14, above). A rock, like the preceding. People left fishing-tackle there also.
38. *nū'xpoq*, translated "double." A great rock, or two rocks, divided by a wide chasm. The whites call it Prisoner's rock.
40. *maoi'qoro*, translated "round." A sea rock.
41. *prxte'q<sup>w</sup>*, connected with *paxtek*, "storage basket." A rock half buried in the sand, resembling in shape the utensil named.
42. *prgwr'<sup>w</sup>*. The end of Trinidad beach; the place where the cliffs begin again.
43. *o-le'gep*. The word is said to refer to the fact that the rock stopped the wind and made a warm place.
44. *he':wo' li wroi'*. A creek. The word is said to mean large. A crag on the cliff edge is called *he':wo'li*, but I do not know its exact location.

45. pemä'ks-o-le'g, translated "soapstone-dish where they-make."
47. o-lo'xtsül, translated "where they wet basket materials" (in weaving baskets).  
A rock in the bay. The origin of the name I am not certain about, but I think it refers to the fact that the top of the rock is just a-wash, and always wet.
48. o-kr'grp, translated "where they always gather clams" (keptsr'). A series of rocks and reefs, extending out from shore. I think the name, again, refers to the fact that the rocks look like clam shells, scattered about.
51. tä'am-o-slo', translated "elderberry-bush where it-grows." A crag.
53. tewe-o-rega, translated "in-front where they-pass." Place where the trail turns to avoid some rocky cliffs.
55. yr'mr'k, translated "crooked." A distant sea rock.
56. r'lrgr, translated "where they get Indian potatoes" (edible bulbs). This name was given to me with reference to several places, one of them on Trinidad head, and again as the name of a sea-stack. This is the only place where I could get a definite location for the name.
57. o-kne'get, translated "where they always get arrow-points." Once, in myth times, someone was going to make the rock here into a place where people could go for arrow-points, but the scheme fell through.
58. o-ke'ga, translated "where people get angelica root." This root (wo'lpēi) was used in connection with prayers, being burned in the fire.
59. tepo'na (tepo-tree). Rock, lying close offshore, with a tree on it.
60. omi'mos-w-aä'g, translated "Hupa his rock." Two small sea rocks almost submerged. A Hupa man bought this rock from the people in Trinidad, because he liked mussels to eat. According to the account, the Hupa came over every season to collect the mussels (pī'i).
61. qege't-ū-wrl, translated "panther (that is, puma) his tail." A long, low-lying sea rock. I think the name is descriptive of its configuration.
62. tegwo laäg, meaning (probably) "oceanward rock."
63. kwī'gerep, translated "sharp." A narrow sea rock.
64. po'k, a bird. The word is said to be the word for nighthawk (kweyū'ts) in the coast dialect; but this seems unlikely.
65. ketke'rok, translated "hanging down." The usual word is ara'w, which may be contained in this expression.
66. o-sürg, translated "blowhole." A cave at the water level, which is filled with each advancing wave, the compression of the air inside blowing out a burst of spray.
67. me'stsek, translated "meadow." A flat behind a cliff. The whites rigged up a cable here for loading schooners with shingles from a small mill which stood close by. The place is known as Honda landing.
70. räyipa', translated "on the other side," "beyond."
71. srē'por. A site with house-pits and a great quantity of shell. Some of my informants said there were once four houses and a sweat-house here. The site overlooks Little river, and was Yurok. Concerning its importance, and whether or not it was a permanently inhabited place, I have no information.
72. rtskrgr'n, translated "everybody looked." A great rock, beside the stream (Little river). A myth recounts that kr'nit, the chicken-hawk, was going to build a fish-weir here. "Everybody looked," however, in defiance of the taboos governing in such matters, so he never succeeded.
74. o-kso'lig, translated "where he fell," or "where they painted him." Sun (won-ū'-sleg, "overhead he goes") once fell down here. Raccoon and his brother painted his face and threw him back again.
75. o-kwe'ges, translated "where people get strawberries" (kwestsi'm).

I was unable to get definite locations for the following places:

no'osogo'r, translated "baby basket." A crag on the hillside, somewhere to the north of Little river.

no''o, translated "split," or "double." A sea-stack far to the north of Trinidad. Not to be confused with no. 38 of the present series.

o-tskrgū'n. A crag somewhere north of Little river.

he'weł, translated "stand up," or "it stood up." The story goes that an old woman from Trinidad out getting wood once cut down a tree at this spot, working with wedge and maul. The tree fell. Then after a time it stood upright again; then the old woman ran away. The story accounts for the name.

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF PLACE NAMES

The order of characters is: i, e, ä, a, r, o, u, w, y, h (x), p, m, t, s, ts, n, l (L), k (q), g. The letter and arabic numerals following each name indicate the rectangle and the location upon this rectangle of the place named. A letter followed by an asterisk indicates that the exact location of the place named is not known.

#### e

- |                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| e'rēpa wroi'. I-42              | e'npe <sup>w</sup> . C-66          |
| erkē'. H-4                      | e'npe <sup>w</sup> wroi'. C-65     |
| erkē' wroi'. H-5                | e'lkel oro''o. H-6                 |
| e'xgo'. D-83                    | e'lkel ote'p wroi'. C-29           |
| e'po ū kwäpel. B-12             | e'keq osrai'. I*                   |
| e'mets wroi'. See amonek wroi'  | eqo'r otep. K-33                   |
| emkiki' rpqrw'ix. A*            | e'xgo. D-83                        |
| e'so. I-32                      | e''go. K-4                         |
| espä <sup>w</sup> . H-14        | ego''oloq <sup>w</sup> . E-99      |
| espä <sup>w</sup> oke'tūL. H-15 | ego:le'pa. K-36                    |
| espä <sup>w</sup> ole'go. F-4   | egolo'ts wroi'. E-113              |
| etskwokū''ük. A-70              | egolo'k. Map 20                    |
| enikole'L. Map 2-50             | egwole'q <sup>w</sup> . G-3        |
| e'nek. Map 2-24                 | egwole'q <sup>w</sup> wroi'. E-130 |
| en:ümä <sup>w</sup> . J-8       | egwole'q <sup>w</sup> higwo'n. G-4 |
| ē'geLnak. G*                    |                                    |

#### ä

- |                              |                                       |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
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| äyo'omok. Map 2-14           | ätskwokū''ū. B-5                      |
| äyo'h. A-7                   | ä'nkau. H-36                          |
| äyo'L. C-52, F-53            | äkor ote'p. A-35                      |
| äyo'L wroi'. F-54            | äkonileL. Map 2-13                    |
| äpye <sup>w</sup> . Map 2-18 | ä''golok. H-12                        |
| ämonek. B-20                 | äguir ole'' ge'' lä <sup>w</sup> . G* |
| ä'monek wroi'. B-19          |                                       |

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aukwēya' wroi'. E-110  
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 rkyi'rgr. C-17  
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PLATE 1

A general view of Trinidad bay. At the left in the background the rounded promontory is Trinidad head. It is connected with the mainland by a low flat neck. Just to the right of the neck, on a slope or declivity below the white town of Trinidad, which is on the flat, lies the Indian town of tsū'rai. (See map 34.)

Practically every rock in this picture has its own proper name.



TRINIDAD BAY FROM THE SOUTH

## PLATE 2

(See maps 6 and 7)

Fig. 1—At the mouth of this valley and to the left is the site known as o'men, lying on the small promontory there. Several big sea-rocks lie offshore. In the middle distance (to the left) is a small lake, o'men-o-ke'to. On the hillside back of the lake stands a tree into which the people shot arrows as offerings (see rectangle A-30 and note).

Fig. 2—Wilson creek may be seen as it enters the ocean in the middle distance. A site (o'men-hipu'r), marked by four house-pits and an accumulation of shell, lies on the small knoll a few feet above and beyond the creek-mouth. The distant point with the crag at the end is called at the present time "God's Footsteps" from some Indian tradition connected with the culture-hero.

Fig. 3—This view shows the village of o'men with its beach. The house-pits lie on the small knoll in the middle of the picture, just above a small pond of water.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

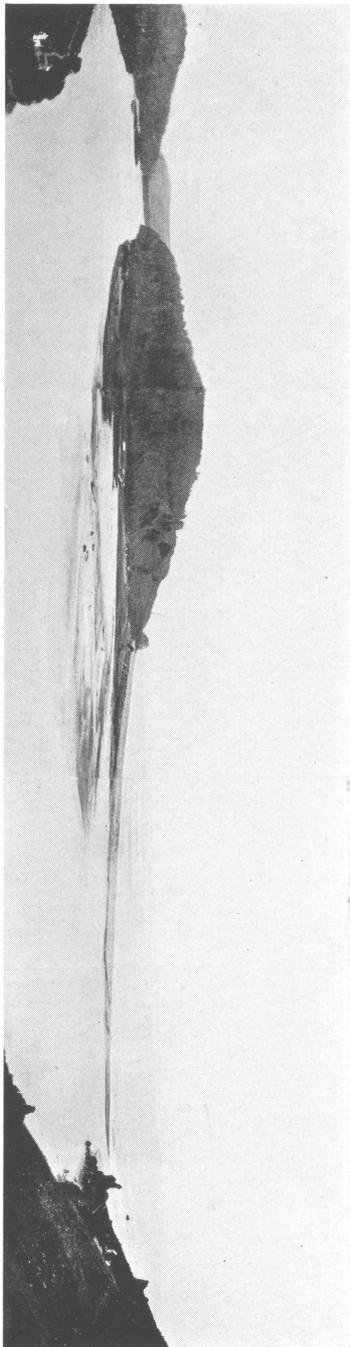


Fig. 3

PLATE 3

(See rectangle A and notes)

The main stream and its canyon may be seen to the left at *b*, with part of the white town of Requa (*a*). A village (otwe'go) is said to have existed on the flat across the river at *c*. The principal Indian settlement on that side of the river, we'Lkwa<sup>v</sup>, lay on the hill above the sand-bar at *d*. The bar at the river's mouth is seen at *e*, with the outlet into the ocean at *f*. The letter *g* indicates a large crag of rock called orego's, to whom prayers are addressed in a death purification ceremony. At *h* may be seen some houses of European style inhabited by Indians near the ancient village-site of re'kwoi.



PANORAMA OF THE MOUTH OF THE KLAMATH RIVER

UNIV. CALIF. PUBL. AM. ARCH. & ETHN. VOL. 16

[WATERMAN] PLATE 3

PLATE 4

Fig. 1—A “sacred” house in re’kwoi in which the “jumping dance” was performed. (Now replaced by a structure of mill lumber.)

Fig. 2—Tree at we’lkwa<sup>w</sup>. During the last ten days of the “jumping dance” ceremony the dances were performed at the foot of this tree.

Fig. 3—A spot some distance up-river from re’kwoi. Here a canoe landed to procure sweat-house wood in connection with the ceremony.

Fig. 4—Place opposite the town of tū’rip where disembodied souls enter the underworld. Under the pepperwood tree to the left of the center in the picture is a small hole into which the ghosts go. (See under Geographical Concepts, and also under B-55, p. 235 above.)



Fig. 1

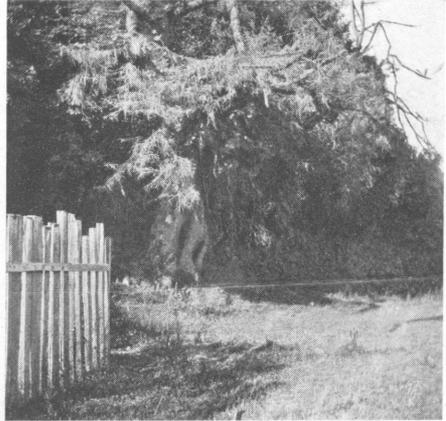


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

## PLATE 5

Fig. 1—The “sacred” sweat-house, in which observances in connection with the “jumping dance” took place.

Fig. 2—“Sacred” house. The photograph shows the rear end of the old-style Indian house in which the “jumping dance” was performed. Just to the left of the dwelling house is the roof of a “sweat-house,” and to the left of that, an inclosure of poles marking the place where bodies have been buried.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

## PLATE 6

Fig. 1—View from sa'ʼa, looking across to the town of mūrek. The structure visible over the trees in the right middle distance is an Indian house, marking the position of the village. The other structures have disappeared.

Fig. 2—View of the hillsides across the river from ke'pel. The Klamath in its canyon flows from right to left across the foreground. On the hillside above may be seen, towering above the other conifers, a group of great redwoods. These are the first redwoods one encounters in traveling toward the coast. The spot is called megau' (payment) and is the scene of a ceremony in connection with the fish-dam. The stream in the center is called tepolau' wroi' (Prairie creek) because of the extensive grass fields on the hilltops drained by it (see photograph). The structures in this picture are all modern.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE 7

Fig. 1—Boulder at the river's edge. This boulder was once a wo'ge or immortal, who tried to prevent death from coming into the world. Having failed, he took up his abode here, but still has an aversion to corpses. When a dead body is being taken up or down the river it has to be landed and carried behind this rock. Women also land from canoes and walk around on shore.

Fig. 2—The sharp-pointed rock in the foreground, which is only two feet high, was a very powerful being called Jealous-One-of-Merip. He had two wives and because of them shot the hero Sharp-behind with an arrow (rectangle E-87, E-99, and notes).



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

## PLATE 8

(See map 22; also notes on rectangle E-137)

Fig. 1—The boulder at the right with a fishing-stage is named wo'weyek. The Indian watching his nets is Old Dan of wa'ksek, a mile or two up-stream. The rock in midstream is called pa'xtek (storage-basket) because of a hole in its top. It was once a basket thrown here by a wo'gē. On the opposite shore under the shadow of a boulder is a second fishing-stage, called me'nes.

Fig. 2—View up the Klamath. The boulder in the foreground (from which the photograph was taken) is kwenometür. Near the opposite shore in the middle distance is an erect boulder with a prone one close at its side. Both used to be erect; and they are called sio'gon (erect stones at a house door which a person grasps in pulling himself out).

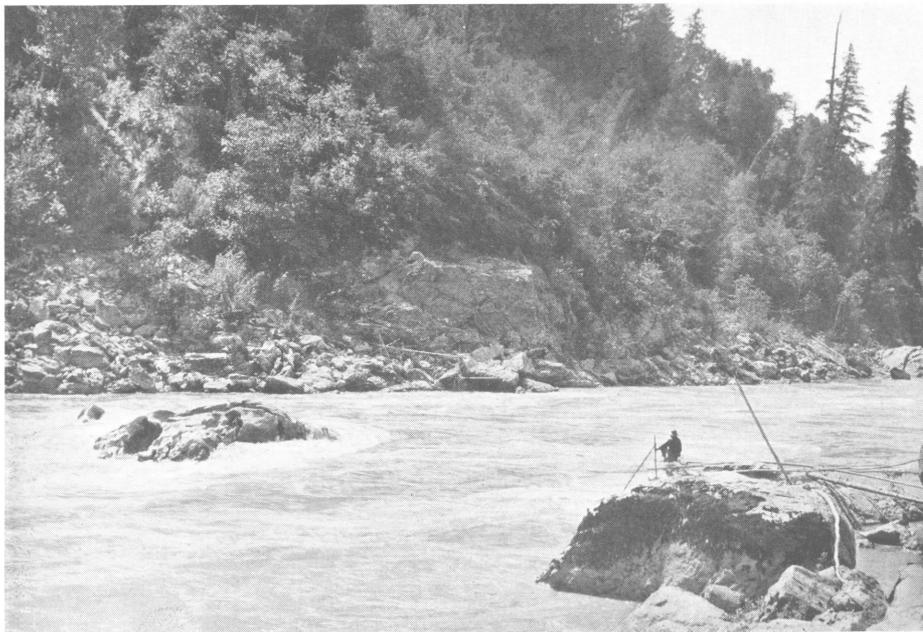


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

## PLATE 9

(See map 22; also rectangle E-137 and notes)

Fig. 1.—View up the river from the rock wo'weyek. The promontory is named teko'l.

Fig. 2.—The village site overlooking the rapids. The depressions shown in the photograph (all of which are natural, not artificial) are supposed to be house-pits where supernatural beings formerly lived. A deep depression just in front of the camera is Raccoon's house-pit. Some fifty yards away is a shallow one called Coyote's house-pit. To the right between two small clumps of brush the trail can be seen.

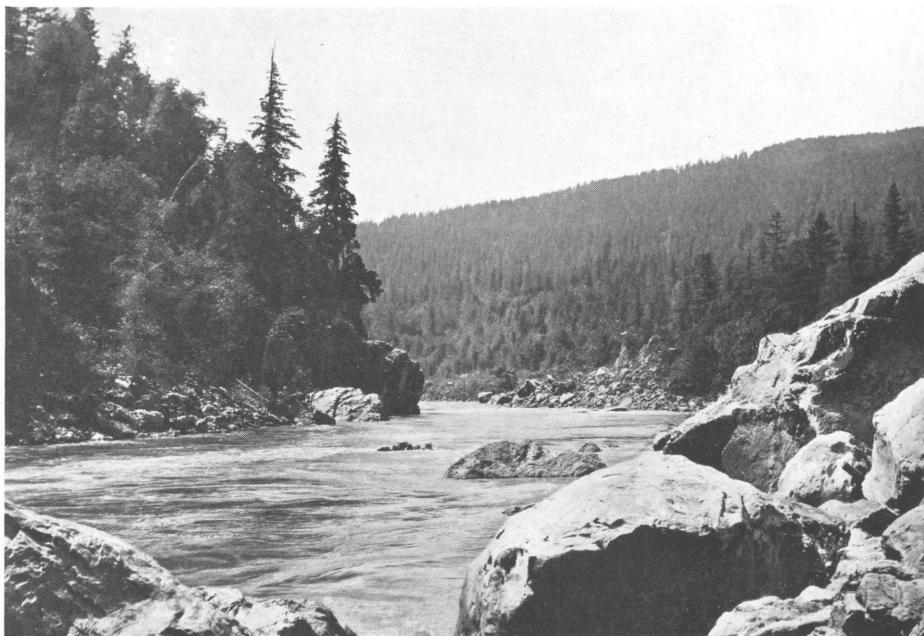


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

## PLATE 10

Fig. 1—Rock near the town of wa'ase, on which Bluejay threw a half-dressed buckskin. The skin mildewed, and the mildew is still to be seen on the boulder (see rectangle E-68 and notes).

Fig. 2—Indian houses in the town of wa'hsek (see rectangle F-32).

Fig. 3—In the middle of the picture can be glimpsed the top of a rocky cliff called hu'uk-o-re'qen (see rectangle E-76 and notes), children-they-sit. Owls once carried children up and left them here. They cried, and turned into rock.

Fig. 4—Former site of a village called lo-o-le'go, now cultivated (see rectangle G-30). A fish-dam was formerly erected at this point.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

PLATE 11

Fig. 1—The Klamath flows through a deep canyon from the left, receiving the waters of the Trinity, which flow in from the background, at the point of the sandspit. At the extreme left a cluster of modern buildings lying *across* the Klamath on a knoll marks the site of the old Indian town of pek<sup>w</sup>tu'L (rectangle G-24). Opposite the observer, beyond the sandspit, lies the town of rLgr<sup>r</sup> (rectangle G-26). All the Indian structures have disappeared. To the right, with a great white bar in front of it, lies wē'itspūs (rectangle G-21). One or two modern structures can be seen among the trees.

Fig. 2—Map of the locality shown above.

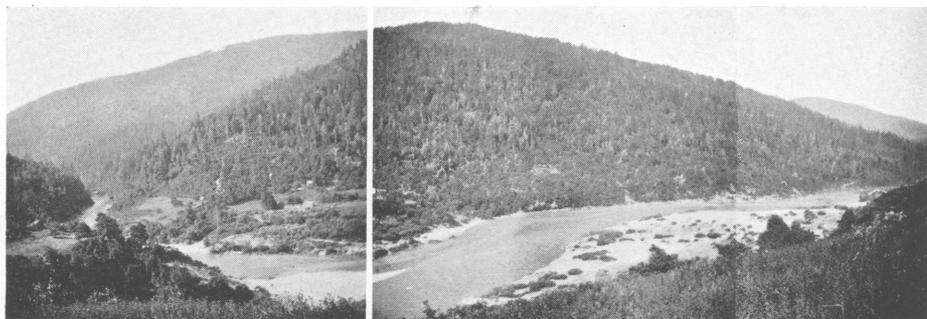


Fig. 1

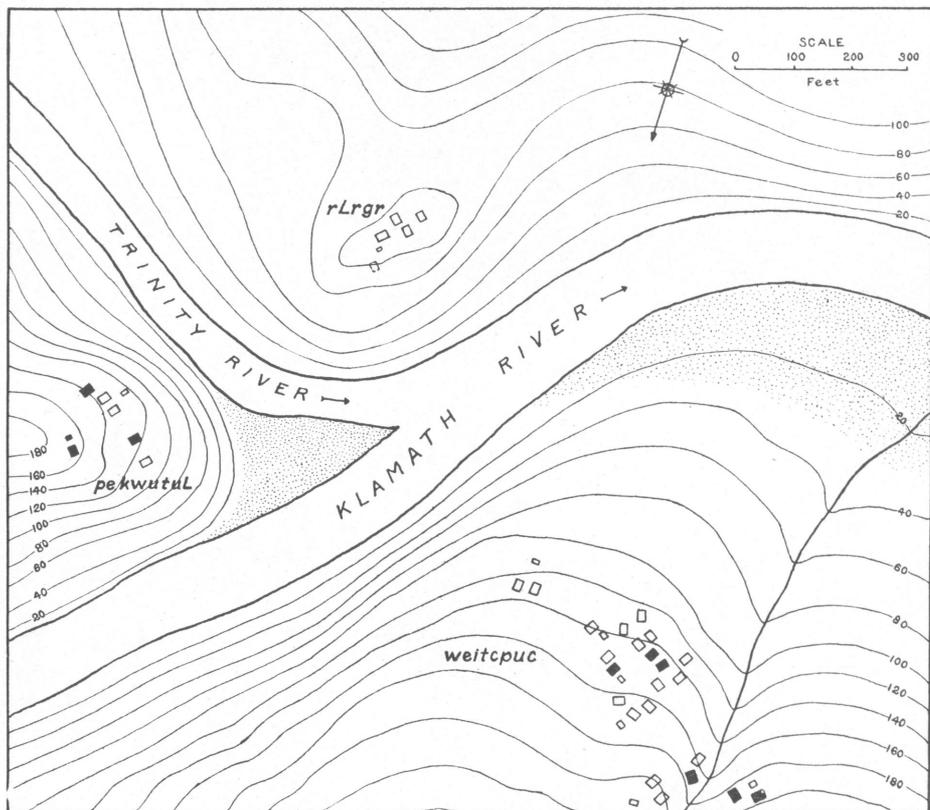


Fig. 2

PLATE 12

Fig. 1—Two Indian houses in wē'itpūs (belonging to Stone and Billy Work, numbers 13 and 14 in map 26).

Fig. 2—In the foreground is an outcropping of granite, hardly visible, beneath a small pepperwood tree. This rock was a young immortal, who once lived at wē'itpūs, and who founded the "jumping dance."

Fig. 3—This photograph shows a hillside above wē'itpūs and somewhat upstream. At this spot the first dance in the "jumping dance" ceremonies was performed.

Fig. 4—The Klamath river at segwu' (Somes Bar) in Karok territory. The river at the left flows around the base of the great rock Auite (see map 2, no. 23, and note).



Fig. 1

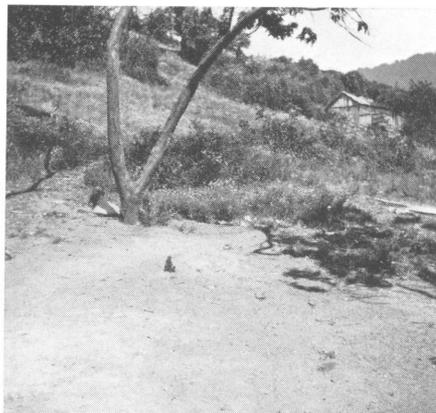


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

## PLATE 13

(See also map 30)

Fig. 1—The mouth of Redwood creek, which washes the base of the hills in the background, is in this photograph closed by a bar, forming a still lagoon, the water of which is backed up well into the foreground of the picture. On the landward side of the knoll next the sea lies a village-site known as *otmekwo'r*. A second village, *ore'q<sup>w</sup>*, lies somewhat to the left and below the point where this picture was taken (see following photograph).

Fig. 2—The site of the town *ore'q<sup>w</sup>* lies on the hillside among the ferns. No structures remain and the pits are overgrown. The shanty in the foreground is the house of a blind old Indian, *Skirk* (see p. 218).



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE 14

(See map 30)

Fig. 1—Freshwater lagoon. On the steep declivity at the right a group of natural depressions are thought to be the house-pits where giants formerly lived. The place is called nr'rts-o-po'piL.

Fig. 2—Stone lagoon.

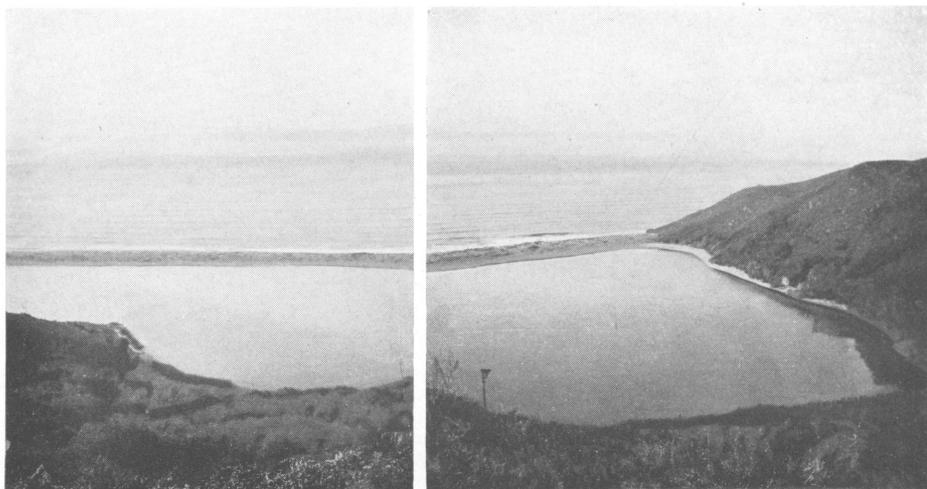


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

ALONG THE COAST: FRESHWATER LAGOON AND STONE LAGOON

## PLATE 15

(See map 31)

Fig. 1—Goat Rock between Stone lagoon and Dry lagoon.

Fig. 2—Dry lagoon. An Indian village, tsotskwi, lay just to the right of the white barn in the distance. Goat rock (rectangle I-31) may be seen at the left.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

ALONG THE COAST

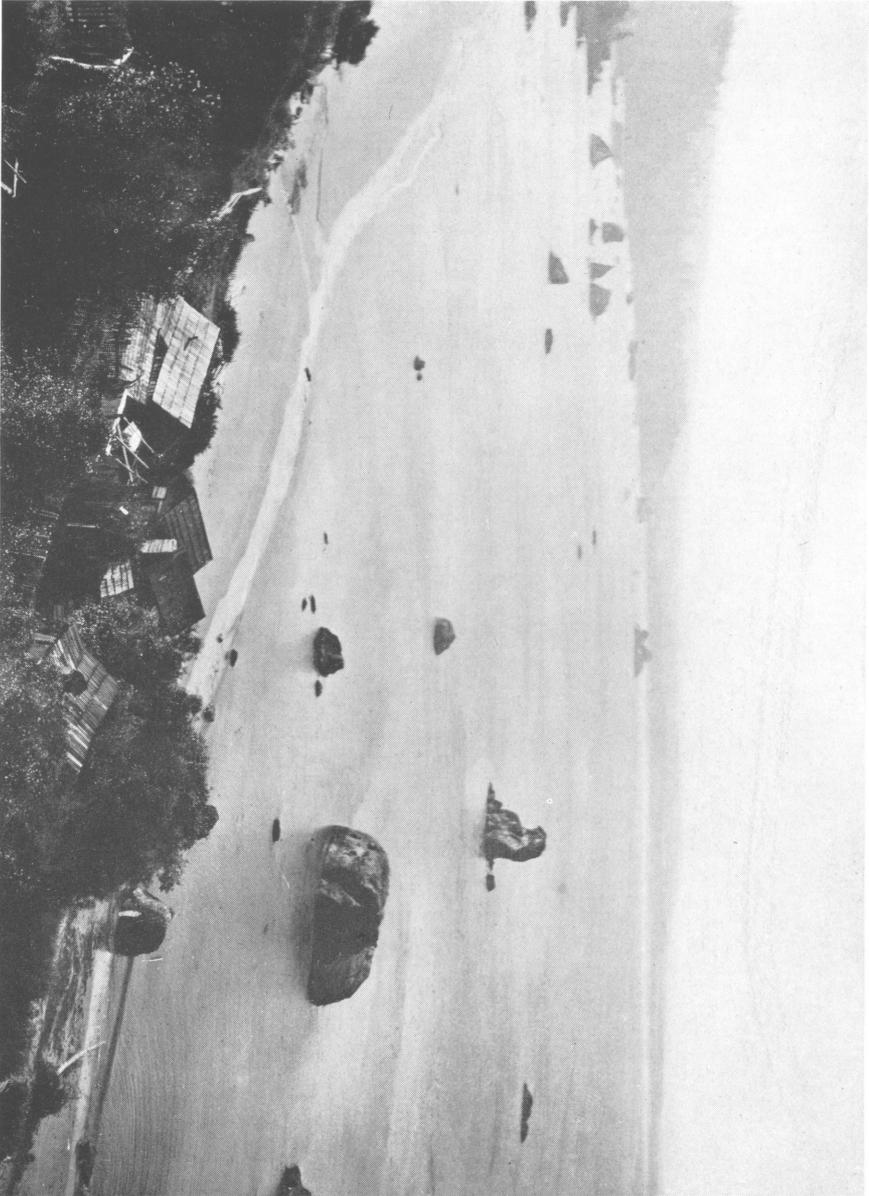
PLATE 16

(See map 33)

The village lies on the slope of the bluff, sheltered from the wind. The native dwelling-houses have been replaced by shacks of sawn lumber, but one or two old sweat-houses still remain.

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[WATERMAN] PLATE 16



VIEW OF TRINIDAD BAY AND THE TOWN OF TSURAI

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