

things over to pay them. When they carried over enough, they all stopped crying, and all were friends again. They visited and said, "Now we are friends." Then they ate, and had a big time. If they didn't give enough payment, they fought."

When payment was insufficient and they decided to fight, a ceremonial dance was first held at Me'ss-e-ah. Two headmen and the shaman danced and sang for an hour or so, praying for the success of the undertaking. During the actual fighting they came within arrow's range and spread out in a loose line. They jumped about to dodge the arrows. Nora said that usually few people were killed in an intertribal war, not more than four or five, but many were killed when they fought with the Centerville (Wiyot) people, because "they always had trouble with them anyway."

A victory dance was held at Me'ss-e-ah following success in war. Two headmen danced and sang when the whole tribe assembled. Scalps were not taken. Each side was permitted to search the battlefield for the dead and wounded without molestation. The slain were carried home by friends and buried with regular observances.

War weapons were chiefly bows and arrows and double-edged stone knives. Clubs of hardwood with heavy pointed heads were used for hand-to-hand encounters. They also threw rocks by hand and were said to be able to throw with the speed of a bullet.

According to Nora, the Bear River were more peaceful than the surrounding tribes, and war was infrequent, but they sometimes aided the Mattole in their disputes with the Sinkyone and Wiyot. One war with the Sinkyone, at Upper Mattole, was brought on because both Sinkyone and Mattole claimed the discoverer's right to a whale which had washed onto the beach south of Centerville, in the Bear River territory. The Bear River people aided the Mattole in that war as well as in other wars with the Wiyot and whites. They did not, generally, unite with the Mattole in that tribe's disputes with the Briceland and Shelter Cove people (Sinkyone). They considered such wars as of a private nature and of no concern to the Bear River people.

The next most frequent cause for war was injury by her husband to a woman's brothers or male cousins. The following tale related by Nora illustrated this point clearly.

A man from Briceland married a Bear River woman. He went away for two or three days, telling her he was going to hunt deer. He went to Bear river and drowned his little brother-in-law. Bear River men tracked him. They sent another of the wife's brothers to Briceland and he told her. He told her not to cry or let her husband know that she knew anything about the murder, but to bring her husband on a visit to her parents. He also told her to carry her little baby herself so that nothing could happen to it. Then the brother went back to Davis creek and they made an ambush for the husband. The woman did just as her

brother told her. She and her husband went to Bear river to visit her parents and when they passed Davis creek, the people met them there and killed the man. The woman lived with her people after that. Briceland people were going to fight the Davis Creek people, but when the chief heard what the man had done, he said, "That's right, we cannot kill people because that man was bad."

Bear River people had one serious war with the Wiyot. As the result of a personal grievance, a Davis Creek man killed a Wiyot. The latter retaliated by stealthily entering Bear River territory, slaughtering the sleeping people, and throwing their bodies into Davis creek. The survivors made war on the Wiyot and killed about twenty before a money settlement was arranged.

Nora said the only trouble her people had with the whites was caused by Redwood Indians (Whilkut) stealing and killing the whites' cattle at Hydesville. The whites retaliated by raiding a dance at Blue Lake and killing the guilty and innocent alike. Most of the Bear River people were attending and consequently were slaughtered. The survivors were driven to the Smith River reservation by the soldiers from the military garrison at Bucksport.

TRADE

Trade was principally with the Hupa, even though they were the farthest removed from the Bear River country. However, Bear River people traded with all their neighbors to a greater or lesser degree. There was a well-known trail leading to the Hupa and their neighbors--from the mouth of Bear river northward over the present Wildcat Ridge road, thence easterly through Monument and the intervening Wiyot and Nongatl territory. Sporadic commerce with the Sinkyone was carried on over the Mattole trade route, but such trade was slight and did not extend on to the Lassik and Wailaki territory. There seems to have been an antipathy between the Lassik and Bear River people. Lassik people were said to have killed traders on the slightest provocation.

Journeys were made on foot and trade goods transported on the back. With the Hupa they traded angelica root, wild tobacco obtained from the Mattole river (considered very superior), abalone shell, and various foodstuffs, receiving in exchange hill grass with which to make rope and carved pine nuts for beads; with the Wiyot they traded abalone shell, wild tobacco, and foodstuffs in exchange for canoes and other foodstuffs. However, trade must have been limited by the fact that the tribes had many articles in common. The principal localized products were wild tobacco on the Mattole river and the Hupa pine-nut beads. Black and red obsidian money was common to the whole area.

According to Nora, "We did not trade with the Covelo (Wailaki) people and but little with the