few remnants of the period in which basketry spoon holders, handled vase forms, and fruit dishes with pedestal bases were made regularly. Every craft is exposed to demands as incongruous and even now it would be possible to procure any of the above forms, but only on specific order. The fashion for them has gone out completely; only an occasional request goes into the region for a close-twine patterned basket analogous to a fisherman's catch basket. Nine of my informants had made cups and saucers. As many had woven basketry covers and stoppers for liquor and perfume bottles. No one does these things today and no weaver thinks the chance of a sale immediate enough to have such objects on hand. Of there being ultimate sale for them among tourists there seemed little doubt, but a weaver would have to wait indefinitely. No. 33 had noticed an increasing demand within the last two years for wood baskets, small and large, for Indian all-stick plates, and for the more common root baskets. White people seemed to be getting away from the fine grass overlay types, to be inquiring for the sturdier baskets. Other weavers, too, were noting the tendency.

Trade Influence on Structural Detail

Next after form, the most conspicuous additions to the native basketry tradition are handles and set-on covers with lifting knobs, or with straps (pl. 48*a*). These details are less in vogue at present among white women than formerly. The natural sequel to decreased demand functions on the Klamath river: fewer such details are being made. Something of the controversy over the relative "age" of handles and covers was given in the section on Basket Types. There is not much doubt that it is the concept of a cover that is troublesome. The oldest baskets had flat plaque lids tied on with elk thongs, or conical-shaped covers with knob-like protruberances, or inverted baskets of the seed-gathering type. Today, a "cover" means a plaque with a straight half-inch rim fitting down over a collar (pls. 49*a, b,* 50*a, b,* 51*a, b*). No 40 had started the making of covers in her district following the unsuccessful efforts of her neighbors, who were professional weavers. The material achievement was less in her mind than her triumph over the experts; they had copied foreign objects; she had adapted an old idea to a new use, as she explained. A "knob" signifies a ball-like handle to most Indian women and is the result of white influence. So, also is the strap of grass plaited over a length of thong, a type found on some fancy basket covers. No one of my

informants dissented on that score. Any form of knob is in better repute than a lifting strap. A knob is regarded as a natural outgrowth of the traditional form. Thus, No. 29 made a distinction between her mother and herself, who put the variant type of knob on their covers, and No. 20, who makes, among other unaccepted innovations, the newer strap handles on hers. The Hupa, they told me, make fitted covers without the means to raise them.

Plaited carrying handles (pl. 48*a*), too, were unknown until baskets were offered for sale.; now they are admired quite generally. The facts concerning structural details, because of difference of opinions, were made the object of special inquiry among a group of the most conservative up-river weavers, Nos. 33, 34, 35, 36, and 37.

The usual method of finishing a Yurok-Karok basket is to clip off the sticks close to the last course of twining (pl. 41*b*). Openwork spoon baskets, serving also for odds and ends, have coiled edges of grass and black fern over a foundation of sticks bent to lie flush with the top of the last course. The coiled finish (pl. 44*a*, *b*) has been transferred to fancy baskets, especially by the Karok weavers. Yurok weavers see it in the light of compliance to foreign taste. No. 10 doubted whether any woman would make a coiled finish on her own basket; No. 5 had filled orders specifying such a top finish. From the standpoint of a professional cap maker the idea of a spoon-basket top being considered superior to the clipped cap finish is ridiculous. No. 42, Karok, thought that the difference in top finish constituted a tribal difference: down-river people leave their baskets unfinished; up-river people use the coiled finish. Only caps and food baskets should end abruptly, this informant thought; a fancy basket top should be an attractive feature with an edge such as the Karok make on them. She had refinished the tops of some down-river baskets by ripping out a portion, inserting new sticks, crossing them, and ending the weaving with a grass coil. In exchange the storekeeper gave her new cloth. The following check will show that finish is an unreliable criterion for determining provenience:

	Yurok	Karok	Hupa
Fancy baskets in the print collection	17	11	10
Clipped sticks, no top finish	15	10	9
Crossed sticks, coiled top finish	2	1	1

To be just to No. 42, the coiled top finish is more often found according to her generalization in today's baskets; and Karok weavers of today do prefer that finish on their sale baskets. The customary abrupt

ending of the weaving must have impressed some buyers as inadequate. No. 14 made baskets for a storekeeper, who planned with her a narrow border of alternate black and white twining stitches topped with a line of solid black (pl. 47*b*). The finish was extra work and the dealer paid more for it, at the same time giving the Indian woman a new slant on the refinements to which basketry lends itself.

Trade Influence on Pattern

Some patterns have a measurably better sale value than others. It may be understood when a weaver says she likes certain marks very much and makes them again and again, that her baskets produce more than aesthetic enjoyment. I never heard a woman regret that she must deny herself the making of a favorite mark because it would not sell, and conversely, an informant never complained of being weary of flint and wax'poo marks in spite of her repetitions of them. Several women recalled difficulties in disposing of baskets with crochet patterns or designs from obvious non-basketry sources in them. Even the swastika motive had delayed the sale of some baskets. No. 23 adapted a mark from a pictured Navaho blanket. The storekeeper refused the basket until she proved its Indian source. But, as a rule, the women are wary; there is too much at stake in terms of weeks of time and effort to gamble with unproved designs. White customers have never shown any preference for new designs; a letter chosen randomly from a newspaper, *X*, or *Z*, or *H* is an unwise venture (pl. 25*b*). Occasionally an order will come for a motive of initials, of Merry Christmas, or the Christians' cross—none of which, it is protested, can be made to look like an authentic basket mark. At picnic grounds it was once profitable to display baskets with the name of the site or Fourth of July woven in them. Nos. 11 and 26 had done this, but only to vary their work, to try something different; neither informant considered the results other than amusing.

A tabulation of basketry designs cited by informants as most in demand shows a laudable consistency. All of them are genuine old Indian marks expressive of native good taste; they are simple and "showy," which means they are divided into a few, fairly large color areas. Generally, in Yurok country, designs are developed in black on white; a red fern basket does not sell so well there. In Karok districts, where both white grass and black fern are comparatively scarce, the ground area is usually red with white patterning. This color balance is considered more striking than the reverse. The

nicest baskets in both tribes have bright spots of yellow-dyed porcupine quills, more favored at present than has been noted for some years past. No one except No. 7 has, to date, ever received orders involving package dyes; until that happens there is little danger of their acceptance. One family leans toward their use but the output so far is noticeably un-Indian in color. Besides, dyes are expensive.

TABLE 18

DESIGNS WITH SALE VALUE

Informants	"Easy" designs*			"Hard" designs*			
	Flint	Wax'poo	Snakenose	Spread finger	Flint-and-points	Cut wood	Foot
(*Yurok*)							
1	x						
5	x	x				x	
6	x	x	x				
7		x		x			
8	x	x	x				
9	x				x		
10	x		x				
11	x		x				
12	x	x					
13		x					
14		x					
15		x					
16		x					
17		x		x	x		x
18	x	x					
(*Karok*)							
20			x				
21		x					
22			x				
25		x			x		
26	x						
27		x					
28	x	x					x
29	x						
30	x	x			x	x	
31		x					
32	x	x		x	x	x	
33	x	x					
34	x	x					
36				x			
37	x						
38	x		x	x			
39	x						
41			x				
42	x		x				
Totals:	20	20	9	5	5	3	2

* See illustrations of easy and hard designs, figures 29-32.

Designs characterized as easy to make are in large majority in table 18. Toward the hard marks weavers hold different attitudes: either the designs are passed by because a white buyer who knows nothing of relative values demurs at a price commensurate with the extra time involved; or, a hard pattern is woven because the buyer does know values and is willing to pay primarily for the additional effort. This last is especially true of storekeepers whose experience aids them to balance the time required by one design against that for another. There is, too, from a different standpoint, the mental attitude of the craftswomen: one says no more is to be gained by making a hard mark and that a good basket sells regardless of its design; another says that weaving a pattern she likes renders time and potential difficulties matters of indifference to her. It must not be assumed that the so-called easy designs are always simple. Although flint is the name given, there are no solid flint marks in today's baskets; each form has a secondary design within it to be reckoned with. Again, marks easy or hard, if repeated often enough through demand for them, become less trouble to set and weave. This fact was noted for the foot mark, which is difficult to most weavers, but is easy to No. 28 who is called upon to make it often.

Attitudes toward duplication of designs are fairly uniform. Most Yurok-Karok women care little about the number of times they repeat a design that sells well. The most expert put the same mark on a cap and on various sizes of fancy baskets. Two professionals answered naïvely that they would as soon make several designs alike as not since the baskets went to different places when sold. No. 15 makes duplicates as a precautionary measure: two customers may want theirs alike. She has four main designs which she makes in rotation. Other women are more exacting. One will not make the same pattern twice in succession; another varies the repetition slightly to give it interest; a third chooses a simple element like the isosceles right triangle for her most frequently made design because the triangle allows a number of stylicized changes in arrangement. That duplication has always been more or less common is indicated by the recognition of some old designs as favorites of certain weavers. Numbers of times an informant was reminded of some woman, usually dead, who had made the design shown in the print. There was always the chance when the basket had been purchased in that locality that the intuition was sound. To us, one good basket looks very like another, but the personality of a weaver may be as visible in her product as an architect's or writer's is in his.

Trade Influence on Color

Yurok-Karok weavers know commercial dyes; they know grass and fern will take various colors, but the demands of white buyers are inflexible: there must be no colors but black, white, red, and yellow in the closely woven basketry of the region. A storekeeper sent a professional weaver at Pekwututl six bunches of grass dyed with package dyes in imitation of porcupine quills. She was to make the grass into caps to be traded for supplies. She had no apparent reluctance to using the dyed material; if white people did not know or care, she need not concern herself. The yellow which appears in caps of her own planning is dyed quills; she substitutes no grass for them.

Fully a third of the informants expressed themselves on the subject of commercial dyes. They have a specific use in the handled baskets of willow or hazel sticks woven like our own market types. From Rekwoi to the Asisufunuk district there was agreement of opinion that dyes were not appropriate for the "old" types. They are too bright to color fern the customary red, but more than that, a basket does not sell when commercial dyes are used. Storekeepers and buyers from the outside strongly advise against them. Among the Indians they rate lower in estimation than woven shades for electric lights and initialed baskets. But for all-stick clothes and market types purple, green, red, and blue are conventional. No yellow is used; it does not look "right," and it does not "show off." So established is the use of the other colors for this type of basket that some weavers were at a loss to say why they did not use yellow; they had not appreciated the fact of its omission until their attention was called to it.

Trade Influence on Technical Standards

There are few references to technical standards in connection with the economic aspect of the craft. As has been stated, the best work of which a weaver is capable goes into her orders; if there is a "good enough" attitude, it is reserved for her household necessities. No. 14, speaking of the care essential to preparation of materials, said her mother had made money at basketry because she knew quality beginning with the raw stuffs. She herself saves the best sticks and roots for orders; she uses the sortings for her own containers.

What is looked upon by conservatives as a questionable procedure, diagonal twining or double-stick work, is actually an asset to sale

baskets. The method, as stated in the section on Standards for Workmanship, has no caste among those who do it and no excuse except for being a short cut. The white purchaser, perhaps, picks up one basket to find a pattern in the bottom similar to the center one in a cap; the next basket will be patterned, he thinks, by diagonal twining. The easy technical method may be the more attractive in appearance to him and helps sell the basket. Although Indian women are still more or less apologetic about stooping to the quick way, only the most conservative are unyielding. No. 7 filled an order for a number of baskets of double-stick work throughout. This, to her, was a matter of her customer's taste and not to be questioned. It is the same ignorance of the traditional which has done away with the two encircling roots on the outside of cooking baskets. After one is accustomed to their decorative effect, a large modern sale basket with plain unbroken surface has an unfinished appearance even to a white buyer. Just as in the matter of black fern in cooking baskets, an Indian law requiring the strengthening roots can be set aside by the more practical considerations of trouble saved and buyers' complete satisfaction without them.

Roughly speaking, the shape of the basket and the design in it are less influential to effect a sale than are size and workmanship. Weavers tell of former prices paid for their weaving in days when a quarter seemed reasonable and fifty cents high for a plain cap. Everybody wanted to sell and no one knew how much her work was worth. Usually it was food that was given in exchange and even now that course is followed by some merchants; others pay in cash, an alternate policy which amounts to the same thing in a one-store community. Today gift-size baskets are measured either by encircling them with thumbs and first fingers or by lapping the fingers for the smaller sizes. Some weavers scale their sizes to prices: No. 20 sells a root and grass basket about thirteen inches across the top, a measurement which she gauges by putting her arms around it, hands lapped, for ten dollars: No. 6 makes a larger basket, which she measures in the same way, for twenty dollars. No. 14 has three standard sizes and her orders come for baskets of a specified price: her two-dollar-and-a-half size is as wide across the top as the distance from the knuckle to the first finger tip; the three-dollar-and-a-half size is as wide as from the knuckle to the second finger tip; and the six-dollar-and-a-half size, a covered basket, measures from the second finger tip to the wrist. All are woven with very fine sticks, grass, and black fern (pl. 46*b*, *c*).

A weaver is naturally proud of some of her sales. If she is a cap maker it is assumed that she will get four to five dollars for a dress cap disposed of among her own people. A fine quill cap is worth six dollars and the buyer as well as the seller advertises the price. White customers are asked more with no apology for the action.

TABLE 19

TODAY'S PRICES FOR YUROK-KAROK BASKETS

Informant	Plate	Spoon	Wood	Doll cradle	Soup.	Cook	Gift	Fancy	Cap
5									$6
6					$1	$20	$1		
						$22			
7									$6
9					$3	$35			
12		$0.75							
14							$2.50	$6.50	
							$3.50		
17				$0.75	$1		$3.00		
18							$1.00		
							$2.00		
19	$0.50		$2.50						
20	$0.50				$1			$10	$10
								$15	
23								$ 8	
27						$10			$3
									$7
28								$15.00	
34								$ 3.50	$4
								$ 5.00	
36							$1	$ 2.50	
37									$10
41									$6
									$10

It may be of interest to glance at present prices for Yurok-Karok baskets (table 19). The list includes only such recent sales as were given me by my informants. In general, sizes and quality are unknown. Comparison of the worth of the different baskets in the table is impossible; however, No. 9's work is so mediocre-to-poor in quality that the buyer of one of her baskets for the sum mentioned was either indiscriminating or charitable. No basket of the cooking type is worth thirty-five dollars and the women would be the first to say so.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE VIRTUOSO

One of the best, if not the best, Karok weavers in the territory today has never made freak baskets nor copied foreign shapes. No. 28 cannot be considered typical. She and her family have had more contact with white people than is usual, and for a long time her tastes have been molded, perhaps unconsciously, by the likes and dislikes of a patroness who contracts for the family's entire output. As a partial result she and her daughter have never sought to invent marks, because only the old ones are requested. Her one attempt to vary the usual repertory of designs by copying a modified old mark was clearly lacking in favor. Both informants repudiate the tourist fancies as un-Indian and in poor taste. But, inconsistently, a basket with the legend Fourth of July woven in it was given center place in their photographed group. A frequent question when looking at an obvious European design was "Why do they want to do it?" And yet, No. 28 admitted, so strong is the feeling that their craft must be profitable as well as pleasurable, and much as she might dislike to, that she would accept even a commission to make table mats. If her patroness asked for them she would execute the order as if it were a detail like color arrangement. Basketry is a business with the Yurok-Karok women, molded by their traditions and conventions, to be sure, but yielding in all but technique to the demands of trade.

Novelty Shapes

Whatever may be the attitude toward the result, the weaver, who can control her technique to effect an unusual or even freakish shape, is accorded admiration and a reputation. It takes ability and effort, for Yurok-Karok weavers characterize all invention or ingenious adaptation as hard. Thus, it is hard to make a new mark, or to copy initials as sketched by a customer; hard to make a basket smaller than two inches in diameter; hard to develop in basketry a cup and saucer or other dish; hard to cover bottles; hard to make oval shapes. When No. 39 remarked that only a good weaver would try these things, I checked over the list of informants and found some corroboration for her statement.

Not all the capable weavers, as may be seen from table 20, tried their hands at fads and not all the average weavers were discouraged by anticipated difficulties. Of the total forty-three informants, I

estimated twenty-three to be good or excellent craftswomen and fourteen to be average or less in ability. For six informants, I saw no work upon which to base an estimate. In this connection, thirteen of the twenty-three good weavers have experimented with technique to produce foreign shapes as against five, or less than a third of the average and poor weavers.

TABLE 20

CORRELATION BETWEEN ABILITY AND ATTEMPTED NOVELTIES

	Freak shapes	Cups and saucers	Bottle covers	Initials, legends
Good work:	18, 20, 31, 34, 41	6, 17, 18, 20, 30, 37	5, 6, 7, 17, 20, 41	5, 38, 40
Average work:		8, 26	11, 26, 39	11, 26, 43
No examples seen:		33		13

Realistic Designs

Animals and men are not considered fit subjects for basketry patterns. The majority of my informants have never seen any attempts at realism; a few remember certain weavers who, in years gone by, had been known for their skilful representations; not one Yurok or Karok weaver aims to do anything of the sort at present; there is no

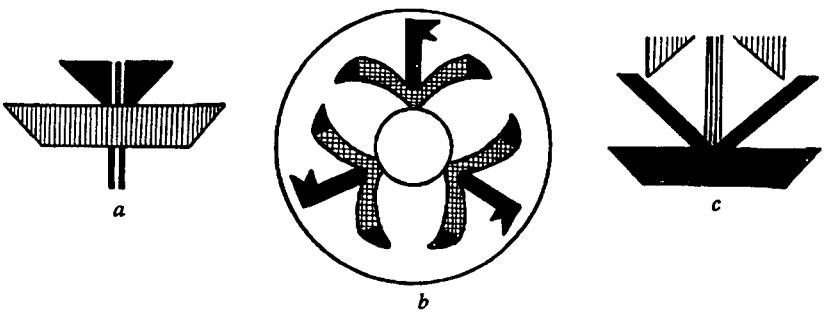

Fig. 35. Realistic designs. *a*, *b*, sketched from baskets in a private collection. *c*, No. 20's original design (partly finished).

demand for realism. The cases referred to were looked upon as evidences of high technical proficiency, but as nothing of the kind was known by informants on the lower river, it is clear representation could not have been regarded, within memory, as an important accomplishment. In Weitspus there was once a woman, long since dead, who encircled her basket with men holding hands. She is given credit for originating the design. At its completion she was afflicted with a painful eye trouble. My informant did not believe the design

indissolubly connected with punishment, but she did think realism might be tempting fate. On the upper river a woman of the same age as my Pekwututl informant was emphatic on the subject of realism: it is against Indian law to work whole or parts of animal forms into basketry motives. Other nature forms are in a different category, not particularly appropriate perhaps, but not dangerous. Three Karok weavers, all experts, were admiringly spoken of; they were able to make life-like pictures: No. 18 once put flowers and birds in her fancy baskets and novelties; No. 20 still weaves potted plant motives based on quadrilateral elements, although different from any other basket mark (fig. 35*c*); and No. 34 made very small butterflies which were, according to her, an original motive.

Virtuoso effects are viewed differently. If they are far enough removed from the conventional designs so that there is no clear suspicion of a familiar foundation element which might have undergone change, they receive a good deal of admiration. The designs are "new," of no rank, but their makers have overcome not only all the known difficulties which are faced by any weaver, but have overcome, also, unknown difficulties incidental to developing a tangible something out of a concept. From other than the curio seeker's standpoint, novelty shapes and fantastic representations are a deplorable misuse of talent; from the Indian woman's they are proof of the conquest of technical obstacles.

Dreams

Basket weavers of other tribes acknowledge inspiration through dreams;[38] the dream element is totally lacking on the Klamath river. One informant hazarded the opinion that a woman might say she had dreamed a design just to be different, but no old weaver would tell anyone such a tale. Other informants had been so eager to begin work on new baskets that they dreamed of starting them, or they went to sleep trying to calculate mentally the motive counts in an untried mark. But no informant took dreams seriously, and no one had ever seen or known of a new mark that appeared in the locality as the result of a dream.

[38] F. Boas, *et al.*, Coiled Basketry, 302.

CONCLUSIONS

Basketry as practiced by a Yurok-Karok weaver is thoroughly molded by a compact body of established traditions. Moreover, it exacts nothing of her which she considers unreasonable or stultifying. Tribal standardization begins with her learning the craft from a preceding generation of weavers identically as they were taught by their mothers' or grandmothers' generation. Standardization continues by prescribing materials: all the needed supplies grow within the region; dependence upon those outside the circumscribed area, which might conceivably make for changes, is unnecessary. There is no locality which does not have one or the other of the alternates for foundation sticks, twining elements, and decorative overlay. There are choices, to be sure, and the Yurok weavers are in a more advantageous position to obtain those rated as superior than the Karok. To the observer the red-dyed-fern baskets of the Karok are not less beautiful, perhaps, than the white-grass-black-fern baskets of the Yurok. To the natives of the region the larger quantity of red used indicates less plentiful growths of the more desirable supplies. With the exception of the Karok use of myrtle for foundation sticks and mullein for yellow dye, the two tribes gather, prepare, and weave with exactly the same materials. The identity goes beyond this: weavers use materials according to the same conventions. Alder-dyed fern, for example, is no part of the "nicest" dress cap in which white grass and black fern overlay cover the major areas. Fern has its own place: it is the basic color area of a cap to which smaller black and white areas give emphasis. This is not an inflexible rule. If a weaver wanted to render a small design element in red fern in her very nice cap, no Indian law is trangressed, or no bad luck follows, but she would thereby depreciate the value of weeks of work, and display what is to beholders an incongruous selection of colors and materials. Naturally, she follows custom in self-defense. So, too, the avoidance of red fern and yellow-dyed quills in the same basket is not a matter of individual taste: the combination would be, according to majority opinion, an overriding of established conventions.

For the twining process there is no thought of substitution; most weavers never heard of a basket completely made by coiling, the method occasionally used to finish off the tops of fancy baskets. To

a Yurok or Karok woman basket making is accomplished by a single variety of technique; to change the technique means to stop weaving. Those rare examples of coiling which have drifted in and out of the region are so fundamentally different in materials and workmanship that they are looked upon as curiosities, nothing more.

Forms and proportions have come down practically unchanged. Older weavers are able to point to differences, mostly in sizes of baskets, but never is there any doubt as to the intended type. If it is bowl-shaped it is a food basket, or if it has a grass overlay surface, it is a cap or modern fancy basket. The latter is woven more or less according to the proportions of the bowls. With these exceptions identification is rendered positive by unmistakable forms for specific types. In all these details the basket weaver follows old habits, the line of least resistance. To consciously vary the shape of soup or cooking baskets would be a foolish waste of effort. They are utensils. Whatever individuality is to be expressed will be afforded opportunity in the choice of the design. The work cap shape fits the head snugly; it is unreasonable to suppose any basket maker would try to improve that prerequisite. The dress cap shape is purely conventional: it touches the head only at the rim and is flat-topped. Here any deviation would be an overthrow of tradition. No one knows how long the present shape has been in vogue. Some informants remember a slight difference in contour. It is extremely improbable that an object worn only for display during festivities of a ceremonial character would yield to marked variation. The cap measurements which are rigorously adhered to by today's cap makers are demonstrated just as meticulously by the oldest woman in the Klamath region. There are no other measurements; whatever modifications are seen to have taken place in a cap are at once put down to ineptness, and not to a desire to foster stylistic change.

The sections on Design review in detail the concepts of "old" and "new" designs, the latter term synonymous with tribally unrecognized motives. A weaver is interested in a new mark, it is admired and copied, but it is a passing thing and always labeled as such. Up to the present, at least, no woman will make a prophecy that in time an invented motive or one taken over from white sources will ever become incorporated into the Yurok-Karok system. Informants say some person will always be left to recognize the design's original, or half-caste character. With this attitude toward invention and the resistance of the older conservatives to changes, whatever alteration

of patterns goes on is slight or is tolerantly disapproved of. The weaver who shows aptitude for modification, even if her result has been carried thereby out of tribal recognition, is given grudging commendation. There were, other weavers say, plenty of smaller changes she might have made in old patterns to vary them for the sake of renewed interest. Any flair for the original which is due to meet similar response would have to come from a woman who was technically proficient and of established reputation. Nos. 20 and 39, when the latter was an active weaver, and No. 41's family seem to have maintained not only their positions as experts thoroughly conversant with tradition, but also were able to evolve at times something new for their districts. No. 43 is now known as an innovator. She is only twenty-one years old—not yet in the expert class—but she is daring and frankly dissatisfied with the old designs and forms. If she represents a tendency to be shown a few years from now by the fifteen-year olds at Ko'otep on the lower river, there will indeed be radical changes in Yurok-Karok basketry. Their real effectiveness, however, may be doubted. Between the Ko'otep and Ti districts there is no basket maker under thirty-five years of age except No. 14. The daughter of an expert with wide reputation, she is at present closely associated with her relatives, Nos. 7 and 10, both reactionaries. No. 14 herself is quite content to be as bound by traditional conventions as the older women. Granted, also, that some women between the two districts may take up the craft later, they will be taught the old things and years will pass before they are in control of technique to an extent where freedom from old designs is possible. Perhaps by that time these women, too, will have seen how much easier it is to copy the traditional models than to go through the arduous calculations essential to setting an untried design motive. It would seem, then, that as long as there is Yurok-Karok basketry in the Klamath region it will be made according to traditional convention, which has established choices of materials, selection and arrangement of elements, and the placement of these as design motives.

In this respect the northwestern Californians are presumably not unique. Formalized composites of prescribed units are common to other crafts. Both Lowie and Kroeber concluded in their separate studies of parfleches that the significant feature in a design was the disposition of the combined geometric elements with relation to each other rather than the elements themselves.[39] Spier found in analyzing

[39] R. H. Lowie, Crow Indian Art, AMNH–AP, 21:279, 1922. A. L. Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, AMNH–AP, 1:171, 1908.

Plains Indian parfleches that one shape, the lozenge, never occurred except as the center of a motive, but that another, the single triangle, never assumed the central position.[40] In a different field, pottery, Boas quotes Dr. Ruth Bunzel's description of Zuñi water jars.[41] They are divided into decorative zones each with its appropriate design chosen from a strictly limited range. The proper design, in turn, is always to be disposed within a field according to a definitely established scheme. This last tendency is in consonance with the restrictions imposed upon the weaver of Yurok-Karok dress caps. The mildest criticism of a basket mark varying a little from its usual expression is tolerance for some weaver who apparently wanted to make that particular change; the most severe criticism repudiates the result as an individual's vagary, of no rank among tribal designs. What remains to the weaver is opportunity to rearrange colors in a motive, providing they are the correct ones to start with, and to vary to some extent the arrangement of certain elements. As has been noted in the section on Legitimate Modifications, the boundary separating the approved from the challenged in this last possibility is so elusive that an Indian woman's concept of it is an enigma.

Originality, as a result, is lacking to a large degree and ingenious play with technique is not worth the trouble. To find twenty women giving the flint mark as their favorite design element and as many others admiring the combination of quadrilaterals and right isosceles triangles known as the wax'poo mark, indicates the narrow groove in which Yurok-Karok basket makers seem content to travel. Few liberties are taken with designs and these are of the simplest. Tastes are for plain patterns; complexity and exuberance of detail leave weavers indifferent, whereas there is enthusiasm for a solid rectangle terminated with triangular forms—the combination in good proportion to the size of its field (pl. 9*a*). It is thus with respect to the native designs; when the weavers admire and copy something of ours in their baskets, the results are open to question from the standpoint of good taste.

Standards are conventionalized. The fact that more baskets than ever before are being sold does not lower but raises the quality of workmanship. So-called slipshod methods are evidenced in few sale baskets. The white buyer, from his many opportunities to handle

[40] L. Spier, An Analysis of Plains Indian Parfleche Decoration, UW-PA, 1:100, 109, 1927.

[41] F. Boas, Primitive Art, 166–168, 1927.

textures, appreciates even spacing and smoothly held overlay materials. A roughly made basket is as obvious to him as to the best Indian weaver. Substitution of materials may enable a woman to finish a basket quickly; short cuts may save her time, but they are unimportant disadvantages in a basket not made for cooking in or eating from—that is, the use to which we put our purchases need not take into consideration a structure upon which specific demands are wont to be made. Technically the standards are high. They may be initiated by pride in ability, but they are maintained at uniform level by the added incentive of an established reputation among other weavers and by the hope of better prices for one's products.

Conventions transmitted from one generation to the next have simplified the work of the Yurok-Karok basket maker. In the main they have set up few irksome prohibitions. A weaver is not required to be original or even ingenious. Her design choices, if she has no definite desire to go outside, are readily available within a range of traditionally authorized variations of standard motives. The size of her basket is a matter of instruction; where to begin her pattern is governed by formula; the width of the design zone is predetermined by basket proportions; the colors to use are strictly defined. Technical problems not repeatedly met are few and those regarded as unusually difficult are confined to the basket types in which a few weavers have always specialized. Far from being deadened by a craft in which so much is reduced to conformity, the women of the two tribes have developed an appreciation of quality, design-to-space relationships, and effective color dispositions which are discriminating and genuine.

APPENDIX

INFORMANTS' CHARACTERIZATIONS

The characterization of each informant which follows is in two parts. The first paragraph is an assembling of statements which each woman made concerning her own work incidental to other matters under discussion. To this first part has been added my impression of her ability. The second paragraph is partly composite. Wherever several informants' numbers are grouped, the separate evaluations as given are summarized in a sentence. In the remaining cases, an individual weaver's opinion of another was equally illuminating as to her own attitudes or skills, and no modification has been made beyond

TABLE 21

INFORMANTS' WORKMANSHIP AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

		All-stick types				Close-twine types			
Author's rating	Informant	Market	Plates	Cradle	Wood	Storage	Jumping dance	Hopper	Cap
Good	1								
Average	2								
?*	3			x					
?	4						x		
Good*	5								x
Good*	6								x
Good*	7			x	x	x		x	x
Average	8								
Average	9								x
Good	10								No
Average	11								
Poor	12								
?	13								No
Excellent	14						x		
?	15								
Average	16								
Good	17	x	x						
Good	18						x		
Poor	19		x		x				No
Excellent	20	x	x	x					x
Good	21			x					
Good	22						x		
?	23								No
Excellent	24	x			x				No
Good	25	x	x		x	x	x		No
Average	26	x	x		x	x			x
Average	27								x
Excellent	28								x
Excellent	29								
Good*	30	x		x					x
Good	31								No
Good	32		x						x
?	33								x
Excellent	34					x			x
Average	35								x
Average	36								
Excellent	37							x	x
Good	38								
Average	39								
Good	40	x							
Good*	41				x		x		x
Average	42								
Average	43								

* No examples of weaving seen.

minor changes in wording. For convenience, table 21 gives my own ratings of informants' workmanship in terms of poor, average, good, excellent. The more unusual types of baskets each informant has made are also listed. It is assumed that every weaver makes or has made the plain root types and the fancy close-twine sale baskets. No effort was made to gather the information in the table, but it is correct for the types each woman weaves at present. The past record of accomplishments is incomplete. Big storage baskets are no longer made except for a rare order; the two lower age groups of informants cannot be expected to have had experience with them.

The Expert Weaver

To the question of who is the expert weaver in the locality there was always an immediate reply. Even if the answer necessitated declaring that the woman being interviewed was herself the best weaver, the information was given without affectation. Usually some other woman shared the honor with her or was equally adept in another line of basketry. If an informant felt that her statement needed corroboration she might say that everyone agreed she made the finest caps, or that anyone would tell me she did the best work. Of course there is envy. When one informant tells you that for her three-dollar basket another woman can ask five dollars, there is an implication of superior workmanship to which there cannot be indifference; but neither is there anything to be done about it. Many times informants have said that their best materials and work went into their sale baskets, that if they lowered their standards it was in those baskets made for household use. Consequently there seems to be no feeling of injustice about prices paid or that effort, as such, demands compensation beyond the estimated value of the result.

There is a laudable reluctance to condemn another's weaving among the Yurok-Karok women. The best workers are easily discovered; reference to poor weavers is usually lacking. The characterization of a woman's baskets as "pretty good" implies, as it does with us, mediocrity. If it were suggested that one's time would be wasted in interviewing some basket maker the prophecy would be worth heeding. Interrelationships are at the bottom of much of the tolerance; a relative's work may be described as average when her results are poor.

The map (fig. 36) shows in a graphic way the distances an expert's reputation will travel. Each woman who was referred to outside

her immediate locality—local references are not indicated—was known by name and for the basket type in which she specialized, or for what she was able to charge for her work. In addition, the variety of details that travel covers a wide range. This is illustrated by the sentences concerning No. 20, the best known and the most independent weaver on the Klamath.

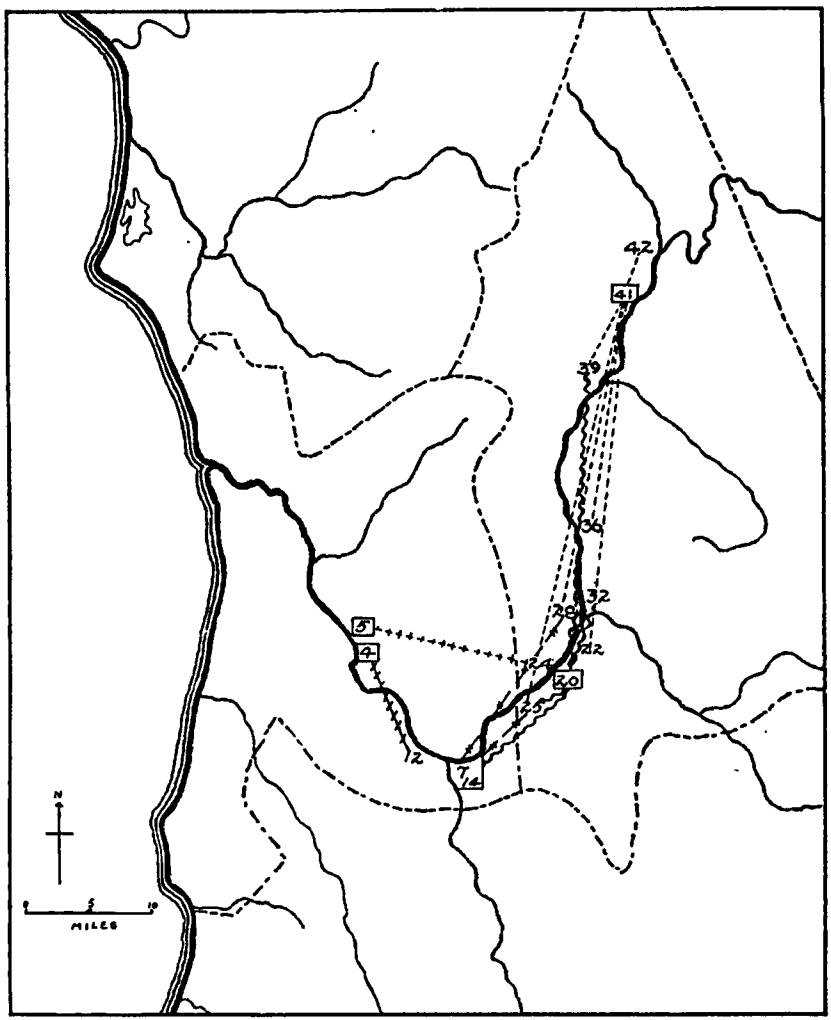

Fig. 36. Map to show the distances reputations of experts have traveled. All travel follows the river, considerably increasing the number of miles in reality.

No. 1, a Yurok at Wetlkwau; about sixty-five years old; one of three sisters all known as basket makers with high standards. No. 7, a professional at Pekwututl, is the best known of the three. No. 1 makes fancy baskets of the cooking type in different sizes, also grass overlay baskets of modern style; she admired a globular, handled basket and began at once to copy the photograph—this eagerness is in direct contrast to her sister's ultra-conservative attitude toward new things. No. 1 regrets there are so few old weavers left in the Rekwoi district and that the young women do not care for weaving.

No. 2, a Yurok at Ho'pau; about seventy years old. Since becoming prosperous and interested in a religious cult she does not make baskets; she gave some corroboratory information regarding old designs but in a manner to suggest rather superficial knowledge.

No. 5 said No. 2 was never a good basket maker even when she did weave.

No. 3, a Yurok at Ayotl; about fifty years old; a cousin of No. 17. My interview with her was very short. She seemed to know designs and their conventional requirements more categorically than any other Yurok on the lower river; she made fine distinctions as to proportions which other informants missed. She was beginning to weave all-stick open-twine Indian pans and cradles and criticized her own efforts; she knows how they should look but has failed so far to make as good open-twine as close-twine baskets.

No. 4, a Yurok at Sregon; about forty-five years old; a weaver with old traditions. She has taught her seven-year-old daughter as she herself was taught. I saw none of her work although she has a reputation as a dance basket maker. Her invented mark is shown in figure 18*g*.

No. 5 said No. 4 makes all kinds of baskets; she also crochets. She uses old basket marks in her weaving. No. 6 said No. 4 makes fine porcupine quill caps. No. 12 had heard the husband boast of his wife's Jumping dance baskets.

No. 5, a Yurok in the Ko'otep district; about forty years old; one of the most intelligent informants. She is the expert cap maker on the lower river with all the old traditions and conventions in mind. Whatever she said of basketry was based on her experience from young girlhood in a community where everyone weaves. She herself enjoys weaving and everything connected with it.

No. 24, Karok, displayed her cap bought from No. 5 "who lives on the lower river where they do the finest work."

No. 6, a Yurok in the Ko'otep district; about fifty-six years old; slow and very conservative. There was no one in the informant group who spent as long a time looking at the basket prints; she looked methodically at each one commenting on workmanship, proportions, and designs; no point in technique escaped her notice. Her statements corroborated and unified many incidental remarks; she was the only informant to try to see value in baskets made by outside peoples.

No. 7, a Yurok at Pekwututl; about seventy years old; a professional basket maker for many years; sister of No. 1 at Wetlkwau. She has made all kinds of baskets (pls. 5*a*, 53*b*), selling them to Indians and white tourists. Among her own tribe she had a reputation for the finest caps and the best cradles, two extremes seldom attempted by a weaver. She has no false pride about her

work: it is good and everyone knows it. No. 7 has kept her standards high in spite of raising a family on the proceeds of her sales; her work is now past its prime for quality, but her store of knowledge is large and authentic.

Nos. 1, 11, 12, 13, and 15 said that No. 7 made the most baskets in the vicinity and made them best; that she had never done anything else but weave baskets; that she got good prices for her work; that she turned out her weaving quickly; that she made caps that fit well.

Nos. 28 and 29 knew of No. 7's caps from a long time ago.

No. 8, a Yurok at Weitspus; about thirty-six years old; a cousin of No. 15. Effect and the quick saleability of a basket count; this aspect is one of the newer attitudes toward the craft. No. 8 uses easy marks that are woven quickly; she characterized those patterns in the basket prints involving frequent changes as too slowly made to interest her. She would not try a design which promised uncertain results; her reason was that it takes a long time to make a basket even if there are no design difficulties to overcome and mistakes to rip out. The simplest flint marks, rarely varied, are her favorites. Her invented design appears in figure 18*b*.

Nos. 9, 12, and 15 said, admiringly, that No. 8 is a fast worker. No. 10 described No. 8 as willing to make anything that would sell, including small fancy baskets for tourist trade, which she makes better than her neighbors.

No. 9, a Yurok at Weitspus; about forty-six years old. She works under unspeakably dirty conditions; she sells to white people from her own house; she does not trade at the store. She camps, in the summer, with her husband on the grounds of a millionaire sportsman. She has been spoiled by patrons who pay her four times the value of any of her baskets. The dozen she had ready for the annual visit were mediocre in workmanship and dirty. She looked through the prints with an acquisitive eye, commenting only on those designs which she had sold well. She said that people called her a good weaver and acknowledged with pride her ability to make caps; she prefers to do open-twine weaving in shapes similar to the modern waste baskets, and large food basket types. Her main contribution was an original mark seen in figure 18*h*.

Nos. 10 and 12 said No. 9 is industrious, and interested; she cannot make a good basket; she is careless.

No. 10, a Yurok at Pekwututl; about forty-six years old; a daughter of No. 7, a cousin through her Karok father of No. 25. She has grown up in an atmosphere of professional basket-making; she collects supplies for her mother and sister-in-law, No. 14, and takes great pride in her quantities of prepared materials (pl. 3*a*). She is conservative in all her work and she knows standards; she weaves less steadily than her mother but makes all the ordinary types of close-weave basketry except caps.

Nos. 12, 13, and 15 said that No. 10 is one of the best makers in the locality; that she gets good prices for her work; that she uses old marks.

No. 11, a Yurok at Ertlerger; about forty-seven years old; the mother of a large family. She likes to make baskets but knows weaving demands more uninterrupted time than she can give to it. Her sale products are of the acorn basket variety. During the craze for novelties she made the usual types of covered bottles, cups and saucers, etc. Her main value as an informant lay in

the fact that she knows fine workmanship and devices, although she herself cannot achieve results up to her own standards.

No. 12 said No. 11 is a fast worker but cannot make enough baskets to make weaving worth while; it is hard to weave, she thinks.

No. 12, a Yurok at Ertlerger; about fifty-six years old. She does not make many baskets to sell; her house and husband need all her time. Possibly the frank confession that she has always been a poor weaver is more nearly the correct explanation. Her efforts are limited to open-twine spoon baskets of mediocre quality, and to table mats begun in close-twine like caps. The edges of her mats are finished with interlaced scallops copied from our cheap modern stick work. Her preferences are for the open-twine which she considers easy; her designs are simplified to the type commonly made by very old or very young weavers; if her basket gets out of shape from the addition of too many or too few sticks, she loses her interest in it. Her husband helps her gather materials but she admitted he could not boast about her basketry. Possibly the best commentary on her ability as a weaver is the fact that she was never mentioned by any informant as being a basket maker. Here is a woman who weaves simply to be weaving with other women, in contrast to unsuccessful workers who have taken up crocheting or dropped crafts altogether. She knows designs as her rating on the old-new design argument proved; she was very valuable in her gossipy way. Her information led several times into additional lines of inquiry.

No. 13, a Yurok at Ertlerger; about seventy years old; an aunt of No. 17; related to No. 25; the only woman in the vicinity who does not attempt to make baskets. No. 13 likes dishes because cleaner; she grinds her acorns in a patent mill; but she sifts her flour from a basketry tray bought from a good weaver. She used to make fancy and small baskets for tourist trade. Caps were always beyond her: they have to be a good shape. She called herself a poor weaver; she took up crocheting, which she did faster and with more satisfaction to herself. In criticizing a basket print she pointed to a stick so small it could hardly be seen, to show me a fault she herself used to commit. She knew as she was working that her basket was not developing as it should, but kept on with the weaving; she called this lack of control over her work not having a gift for weaving. Perhaps her very inability to achieve according to her standards made her quick to evaluate those of other weavers. She knew old conventions and she recognized violations of traditions.

No. 14, a Yurok at Pekwututl; about twenty-seven years old; the daughter of an expert maker who is still referred to by down-river weavers. No. 14 makes as fine a basket as any weaver does today. She has made all sizes of fancy close-twine baskets (pl. 46*b*, *c*); she used to make Jumping dance baskets by the newer method of weaving cylinders and then slitting them the long way. She likes plain, old-fashioned designs which she reproduces faithfully; she uses the flint mark most often because it suggests so many variations.

Nos. 9 and 15 said No. 14 made the best baskets of anyone in the locality and got the best prices for her work. No. 10 said No. 14 is the only one of the younger generation who wants to make fine baskets; other girls think the craft old-fashioned. No. 14 makes a fine basket, too fine; she likes to do it that way. Everything in her work must be small. No. 10 and her mother save the ends of sticks, the smallest porcupine quills, and the finest grass strands for No. 14. No. 25 said No. 20 makes finer baskets than No. 14's best quality.

No. 15, a Yurok at Weitspus; about thirty-five years old; a cousin of No. 8. She makes all kinds of bowl-shaped baskets, rather indifferently. When she tires of weaving she crochets. Once she made her living at basketry; now she sells as much as she can find time to make. She knows old patterns and has made most of the commoner ones.

No. 10 called No. 15 shiftless; she said her baskets are not very good.

No. 16, a Yurok in the Weitspus district; about seventy years old. She is chiefly interesting as a weaver who still goes for all her materials and makes baskets for sale. She likes open-twine fancy baskets which she weaves very well in spite of her age; they are easier for her than the close-twine types. She has never made very small baskets nor done very fine work, but her sister and daughter, both dead, were excellent weavers. She brought out their baskets to show the quality of work she was accustomed to seeing around her. She was mainly helpful in identifying a number of "lost" designs which had been labeled new style motives by younger weavers.

No. 17 referred to No. 16 as a "real old-fashioned weaver" who has never changed her attitude toward the traditional aspects of basketry.

No. 17, a Yurok in Otsepor district; about fifty years old; a niece of No. 13. She is a most intelligent informant and tolerant of other's efforts but has years of basketry traditions behind her upon which to base evaluations of results. Designs and their names were familiar to her from long association. When she hesitated to give a pattern rank as an old one, her opinion was often shared by other weavers of like experience. At the same time her tendency to analyze a pattern in terms of named elements, places her very low on the list of informants who agreed upon the tribal "age" of designs. She has made all the old baskets from stickwork to caps (pl. 5*d*, *e*). In addition she has kept abreast of the fantastic demands of modern trade. She tells of herself that she still has a high reputation for clean, well shaped baskets, and that people write back to the little store for more of her work. She has no favorite designs. She carries in her head the calculations for all the old marks which she will ever need. Where another weaver might have been eager for more designs, she admired those she did not use in her own weaving, but said she has substitutes for them.

Nos. 15 and 18 said No. 17 makes the smoothest kind of basketry. No. 28 said No. 17 is a good basket maker, that her work is coarse, and that she makes big caps. No. 31 approved of the size of caps No. 17 made.

No. 18, a Yurok in the Panamenik district; about fifty years old. Besides having been an expert worker, No. 18 spoke English easily, a fact which made it possible to get from her information upon a number of points less certainly understood by other informants. She used to weave baskets to sell but has given that up in recent years. Her work was fine and even, and she accomplished eccentric shapes modeled after the footed bowls and spoon holders of the whites. Some of her work is shown in plate 51*h*, *j*. She makes Jumping dance baskets. No. 18 "explained" that the attitude of an expert basket maker toward her own reputation could be completely lacking in self-consciousness: she had earned her reputation in competition with others in her vicinity. She said a weaver rarely overestimated her work; that everyone around knew just what kind of weaving each woman did, and that there was no gain in describing one's own ability in terms other than those used by the neighbors.

No. 21 said No. 18 was the only weaver in the locality who made flower and bird forms in basketry—a type of work accounted very skillful. No. 28 said No. 18 made very fine baskets.

No. 19, a Karok in the Panamenik district; about seventy years old. From habit she gathers annual supplies which are bundled up to store, but not to use; her only baskets today are all-stick Indian plates of inferior quality. She confessed she was a poor weaver of caps; she said some of her baskets were bought by a local collector; if so, she was once a good weaver. She was proud of her order for giant fern strands from No. 7, and of the reflected glory from her daughter-in-law's reputation as an expert.

No. 20 called her mother-in-law lazy; she has a half dozen baskets partly finished with no thought of completing them.

No. 20, a Karok in the Panamenik district; about fifty-five years old; the professional basket maker of the up-river region. Because she grew up near Katimin and now lives in the Panamenik district, she is better known and more often spoken of than any other one weaver on the Klamath river. She has made every sort of basket but the Jumping dance basket, besides novel shapes and fancies for sale to tourists. In addition to the usual repertoire of closely woven types she is adept at stick weaving (pl. 5*o*) . She makes clothes and market baskets of all sizes from the two-inch gift sizes up. She does not make miniature close-twine baskets. Her original marks are shown in figure 18*a, f*. She has tried her hand at crocheting, has made arrows, paper flowers, and other non-basketry objects. According to general opinion, whatever No. 20 attempts is well done. Since more women referred to her and the range of comments was widest in her case, it may be of interest not to summarize them in this one instance.

Nos. 7 and 10 said No. 20 is the one good weaver in her locality. No. 18 said No. 20 makes everything; she is the best in the district. Some women make caps best; some make packing baskets best; No. 20 does both well. She can make a soup basket in three days. When looking at the picture of the modern baskets in plate 51*e–k*, No. 18 said No. 20 "does this sort of weaving." No. 19, her mother-in-law, said of her that she makes caps well, but will not try to make dance baskets. She is the best of the weavers; she knows everything about baskets from caps to hand baskets of all-stick work. No. 20 gets ten dollars for her caps woven with quills, and five dollars for black-fern caps without quills in them. No. 25 said No. 20 is the best maker of baskets; that she gets very high prices, from five to thirteen dollars for her work—a conspicuous emphasis on price in comparison with her own prices; that No. 20 makes finer baskets than No. 14. No. 28 said No. 20 has several baskets on hand to show buyers. Lately she has taken to making stick baskets. She is the only one who might put an innovation, like a loop, on a basket to hang it by; she likes different things; once she made a mark in her basket like half a good luck mark (the swastika). No. 30 said No. 20 buys materials—an uncomplimentary statement to make of any Yurok-Karok weaver. No. 20 makes loops and knobs on her baskets (only knobs are old style); she likes to do things in new-fashioned ways. No. 32 said No. 20 started the handle fashion for the baskets in this district; No. 33 said No. 20 weaves all day long; she gets up at four in the morning; she gets out her orders quickly. She is admired for these achievements. She is the one in the locality who starts innovations, handles, loops, and other details. A long time ago she marked a basket with a new mark; the basket did

not sell for a year. No. 33 was warned by No. 20 not to make up marks: they will not sell. No. 39 knew of No. 20 as a maker of fine, even basketry; she spoke of No. 20's wide reputation for weaving.

No. 21, a Karok in the Panamenik district; about sixty-five years old. When she made baskets to sell she liked fancy baskets best, especially the miniature sizes appropriate for gifts. She was so enthralled with her weaving that she begrudged time to eat or cook for her family; she regretted that no one could expect to give unlimited time to the work. She has recently taken up stick weaving to make doll cradles; these sell readily and are finished quickly in comparison with close-twine types. She identified a number of so-called new designs as marks partly forgotten by all but the older women like herself. The baskets she showed me were well done; it was a surprise to hear her called an average weaver by her neighbors. Her invented marks are shown in figure 18*c, e*.

No. 23 said No. 21 is industrious but not a good basket maker. No. 25 said No. 21 does not know much about basketry.

No. 22, a Karok in Amaikiara district; about seventy years old; mother of No. 23. She still sends her baskets to the store to be sold and is rated one of the best weavers in the district. By comparison with experts' weaving, her baskets are average in quality, but she is respected and quoted by Karok women; she knows old traditions. In criticizing shapes of Jumping dance baskets, she cut a paper pattern of a correctly proportioned basket. Old conservatives farther up the river were agreed that whatever No. 22 said of conventions might be accepted without reservation. She is representative of the older group of weavers who have never attempted to change forms or designs.

No. 30 said No. 22 would corroborate her statement that it is bad luck to put fern in cooking baskets. No. 41 said the paper pattern of a dance basket was right; that No. 22 had had much to do with the old dances at the place across from her home, Amaikiara, and that she knew the right shapes.

No. 23, a Karok in the Amaikiara district; about forty-five years old, daughter of No. 22. She made a few baskets when a young woman, but since marrying she has embroidered and crocheted. Like several others, she mentioned having to stop weaving for housework, a fact which put her at a disadvantage, she thought. She had never made a cap, and as a result, she classified her efforts in her own mind as average. She was mainly helpful in contrasting her mother's generation and its ways with her own.

No. 24, a Karok in the Panamenik district; about fifty years old; cousin of No. 25. She makes handled market baskets of modern type for white buyers and wood baskets of the old style for Indian women. The latter are hard to make, but she can turn out two market baskets a day with ease. She confessed not being able to get the shape of caps; as a result, she limits her close-twine work to fancy baskets.

No. 18 said No. 24 is the only one who makes baskets in double-stick technique (this is diagonal twining, quick work, and not up to Yuork-Karok standards). No. 19 called No. 24 a good weaver but not a maker of the finer baskets.

No. 25, a Karok in the Wopum district; about fifty years old; cousin of No. 10. She makes both types of baskets, open-twine, all-stick wood and market baskets as well as fancy close-twine types. She was most enthusiastic

over the prints and for all her years of making, exclaimed at seeing her favorite designs in fine basketry. She has made dance baskets but has had no experience at finishing the ends. No. 18's husband told her just how to go about it, but she lacks courage to try a man's job. She is not a cap weaver; she confesses she cannot get the right shape of a dress cap.

No. 26, a Karok in the Wopum district; about seventy years old; sister of No. 24; aunt of No. 25; a quietly energetic old weaver who still goes for her own materials and makes basketry to sell. Long ago she made tourist novelties with the rest of the good workers. She takes great pride in her ability to make work caps for herself and friends; they are not as good caps as she made formerly but they have the right shape. In August she was weaving small fancy baskets with striped patterns for the holiday trade; the rest of the year the sale of open-twine Indian plates, old pack basket types, and hand baskets are her chief means of support; she sells a good many to Indian women. The quality, even with her age handicap, compares favorably with average weaving.

No. 27 said No. 26 has to use fillers because she spaces her designs inaccurately; that she has a hard time setting a mark; that she works all the time.

No. 27, a Karok in the Wopum district; about fifty-seven years old; sister of No. 31. She makes all kinds of baskets except Jumping dance baskets. She thinks, since very few women make them and they are dependent upon men's work, that a weaver loses no standing in admitting her inability to weave dance baskets. She feels competent to make a seed basket (Brush dance basket) were there an order for one. She works quickly but with average results. Caps are hard for her; if they are too short or too tall she sells them as fancy baskets to white women. She does not attempt stick baskets; she believes that if she were to make that type she would lose skill to make the close-twine ones—an idea amusing to weavers who can do both well. She made two-inch gift baskets and found the twining difficult. A flat wall plaque with pocket arrangement for letters was a recent original achievement. She has a number of individual devices which have been mentioned in other sections of this paper. The reactions expressed by other weavers toward these reflect first upon her teaching; second, upon her ability (see under Design Copying).

No. 25 said that No. 27 makes good baskets.

No. 28, a Karok in the Katimin district; about sixty years old; mother of No. 29. An exceptionally good weaver of a single type of small covered basket, modern in shape but with old designs in it. For a number of years every basket she has made has gone out of the region on contract. She is under no obligation as to sizes or number in a lot, but the patterns must be authentic, old. Her opinions on standards and conventional proportions are valuable; her own feelings with regard to quality were apparent in the discussions of each phase of basketry; she knew each from the angle of the best way to do things for the highest quality result. Everyone referred to her as a fine weaver, but her work is seen in the district too seldom to call forth detailed comments. Were she in active competition with other local weavers there would have been a good deal said of her divergence from traditional forms. She made the covered basket with high knob shown in plate 51*i*.

No. 10 said No. 28 makes excellent baskets. No. 31 said No. 28 makes baskets unlike the old types.

No. 29, a Karok in the Katimin district; about thirty-five years old; daughter of No. 28. Except for the difference in age, what is said about the mother applies equally well to the daughter. They make the same type of covered basket and send their work out on the same contract. No. 29 is thoroughly familiar with all the details of making, and furthermore, took intense interest in getting them properly presented to me. When she acted as interpreter, she brought out comparisons of methods used by different weavers, taking great pride in every old-time way that pointed to the conservatism of the Karok. Many points seemingly too obvious for direct mention were obtained through her efforts to make basketry, as practised by the Karok, appear completely molded by convention. She is one of the most tribe-conscious of the informants.

No. 10 said No. 29 makes baskets as well as does her mother. No. 28 thought her daughter makes as nice baskets as her own.

No. 30, a Karok in the Ti district; about twenty-nine years old; a niece of No. 36. She lives some distance south of the Klamath but comes back to her old home to gather supplies. Sticks only are available in Scott valley, and Karok women who have moved there are accustomed to making annual trips back to familiar localities for ferns and grass. No. 30 and the others would like to come in the early spring for better qualities of willow but the fare is an item, so the summer trip when more kinds of materials are at their best must suffice. She makes baskets to eke out the county money allowed her family. She weaves small storage baskets and the popular modern fancy basket types, novelties, table mats, cradles, market and clothes baskets. Comparatively few women cover a range from caps and miniature fancy baskets to the all-stick types.

No. 29 thought No. 30 as good as any other Karok weaver but said that she is handicapped through lack of basketry supplies.

No. 31, a Karok in the Katimin district; about fifty years old; a sister of No. 27. She makes no baskets to sell and few for herself. She comes from a family of weavers and knows old patterns and the conventional methods but has no actual interest in the craft. She once made open-twine fancy baskets and food types. She admits being unable to get the shape of a good cap. She is proud of her ability to plot designs on squared paper. She does not fear the complications in any mark because she can diagram it before beginning work.

No. 35 said No. 31 made footed bowl types when they were in fashion; that she does nice work; that she draws marks to guide her in pattern setting.

No. 32, a Karok in the Katimin district; about forty-eight years old; a very hard working woman with a family of small children. She crowds in her basket making to help earn the living and because she enjoys it. She weaves all kinds from caps to the large all-stick drying trays. Her sale baskets are usually of the food types, strongly made. She still makes and uses baskets as part of her household equipment (pl. 5*b*); she is conservative and content to follow the old procedures to the letter.

No. 28 said No. 32 is a good weaver; that she uses simple, old marks.

No. 33, a Karok in the Panamenik district; about sixty-five years old. She has made baskets for many years, though less regularly for sale in the recent ones. She can weave close-twine and open-twine types. At present there is better sale for all-stick trays, so she is specializing in them. She is very proud of her friendship with No. 20, an acknowledged leader in her district; she quoted her opinions often to corroborate her own.

No. 21 said No. 33 makes a pretty good basket—this means she does average work.

No. 34, a Karok in the Ayis district; about seventy years old; an expert weaver of established reputation among her own people although she has not made baskets for six or more years. Examples of her work are even and smooth (pls. 32*b*, 45*a*, *b*). She used to make all kinds of basketry except miniature baskets. Her big storage baskets were bought by collectors. She also made novel shapes for the trade. According to her own statement she was always able to charge good prices for her work.

No. 28 said No. 34 used to make the very nicest baskets. No. 35 remembered that she made butterflies in her baskets and that she got high prices—up to five dollars—for the small sizes with hard designs in them. No other weavers made the type of designs she was able to make unless they copied from hers.

No. 35, a Karok in the Ayis district; about sixty years old; sister of No. 37. She lives in an isolated spot across the Klamath from her nearest neighbors. She has been making baskets for many years but of late years has woven only the easier food types. She sticks to old shapes and designs although she knew of innovations in both. She admired the makers of novelties. She has always worked alone; she knows all the old marks by heart. Her greatest pride is her ability to make porcupine quill caps but she has not had an order for one for many years.

No. 28 knew No. 35 as an old-time conservative; that she used to make good baskets.

No. 36, a Karok in the Ti district; about fifty years old; mother of No. 43; aunt of No. 30; a weaver of old-time forms and patterns, at the same time a great admirer of her daughter's developing reputation as an innovator. No. 36 is known as a good worker and her comments on points involving traditions were given with authority. During her interview with me, her whole family came around her. Occasionally she stopped her conversation to drill one or the other of the younger girls on design names or technical details; doubtless the method used in teaching basketry essentials.

No. 30 said her aunt and No. 37 are the best makers in the district.

No. 37, a Karok in the Ti district; about fifty-five years old; sister of No. 35. She is the expert cap maker of the vicinity. Her products are sold regularly from Katimin to the Inam district. One of her caps was displayed by an informant in Ertlerger as the work of the finest maker up-river. No. 37 is the only informant who is still making basket hoppers for her own needs and to sell to Indian women. She said of herself that she could make anything. A reputation for ability to weave caps and hoppers would prove that statement.

No. 13 had bought a cap from No. 37, paying ten dollars for it. No. 28 said No. 37 makes hats small at the top in the older style; that she can weave all types of baskets. No. 35 said of her sister that she made all the hard things like cups and saucers, and that she could make letters in baskets. No. 42 knew of the high prices No. 37 could ask for her caps.

No. 38, a Karok in the district above Ti; about thirty-seven years old; daughter of No. 39. She is one of the cleanest workers in the region. Her house is immaculate and her basketry materials in perfect order. She is proud of her weaving, and of the fact that she uses only the old-fashioned designs. She has made novelty baskets on order, but they are not her choice.

No. 42 knew of No. 38, and that she had once made a basket with ABC in it.

No. 39, a Karok in the district above Ti; about seventy years old; mother of No. 38; sister of No. 42; a fine type of old-time weaver. She has made baskets for many years and can tell much about passing traditions. She said she used to make nice fancy baskets as well as the novel shapes; she made porcupine quill hats, for which she got a high price. Now her work is getting coarser and she weaves mostly for her own use. She stopped trying to make caps when they failed to measure up to her standards. She has much interest in the craft, knew what other weavers were doing, and cleared up several obscure points on design changes.

Nos. 10 and 13 referred to No. 39 as an old weaver with a high reputation for fine work in former years. No. 40, the interpreter, remembered her own mother ordering hats from No. 39.

No. 40, a Karok in the district above Ti; about fifty-five years old; a slow talker, accurate in all her statements. She has not made baskets for a number of years due to other demands upon her time. She has never lost interest completely, but recognizes that she is out of practice. Her two partly finished baskets of fine craftsmanship showed her an able weaver. She means to take up the weaving again but will start on coarse sticks before she attempts to continue with fine work. She made all-stick types but was most proud of her improvement upon an unsuccessful fancy basket cover which had its start in the vicinity.

No. 41 and her family, Karok at Inam; No. 41 about seventy years old. This family is known the upper length of the Klamath river for their ownership of old Indian ceremonial objects, their "making" of the largest new year's festivities in the region, and their basketry (pl. 2*a*). They are all professionals. No. 41 has been and still is of great influence; the two daughters and the niece are recognized experts. They are full of the traditions of the craft, but do not hesitate to turn from them to meet any demand for innovations. One daughter, especially, is credited with superior ability to invent new objects and designs. Since an interpreter was necessary, no one of the women can be singled out as most helpful. Generally, the mother voiced the opinions for the family after a discussion among themselves. She is much admired for her memory: she remembers the new pattern, comes home, weaves it in a basket, and the others copy it.

No. 22 had bought a cap made by one of the daughters; she liked it for the variation of an old mark which had been woven in it. Nos. 25, 28, and 42 referred to the caps made by the family; that they make a right size and well fitting caps; that ten dollars is the price for one of their quill caps. No. 36 spoke especially of the talented daughter, saying that she could make anything in basketry. No. 39 knew that the family was hired to make the Jumping dance baskets for the Hupa dances and that the daughters are the innovators for the locality. No. 40 mentioned the cover idea the family had taken over from the whites' dishes and the fact that she had been able to improve upon the idea.

No. 42, a Karok of the Asisufunuk district; about seventy years old; sister of No. 39. She has been a good basket maker and still tries to maintain her standard. Her white husband offered the information that her ability was not equal to her ideals; he said she was always ripping out her work to correct mistakes. Her original mark is shown in figure 18*d*. She was one of the two

people who owned a basket similar to an unusual specimen in the University collection. Her basket is shown in plate 17*a;* its design story is told in the section on Designs with Histories. Her mother was a down-river woman. No. 42 was in a position to contrast the traditions of the two tribal areas in addition to remembering some of the oldest ways of doing things in basketry.

No. 43, a Karok in the Ti district; about twenty-one years old; the daughter of No. 36; a unique combination of the modern girl who wants change and novelty and the Indian craftswoman who has grown up among tribal conventions. The mixture where it concerns her results is unsatisfactory; she is out of harmony with both aspects. Her materials were wound with rags in the most approved Indian manner; she sat in an airless room so that her basket sticks should not dry out; but she wove baskets with Merry Christmas legends in them, using commercially-dyed fern. Her ideal is to win admiration for innovations such as initials, woven names, and unusual shapes. Her basket with its original design elements is described in the section on Invented Designs (fig. 18*i*). For standard work she draws upon her mother's memory of old marks; she herself knows few names of tribal motives. Her basket-making sets her apart from girls of her own age who, in that region, rarely go beyond the simple techniques. She is very proud of her ability, and her mother is much prouder.

No. 30 knew that No. 43 used package dyes for fern. No. 34 had noticed package dyes were being used for fern and thought the tendency was being fostered by No. 43. No. 36 said that her daughter used package dyes together with the native plant dyes.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES AND FIGURES AND MUSEUM NUMBERS OF SPECIMENS ILLUSTRATED

Specimens possessing the prefix 4– are in the University of California Museum of Anthropology; those preceded by 2– are in the Washington State Museum; those with the prefix G– are from photographs made in the field by Pliny E. Goddard; CA as a prefix indicates that the specimens belonged to the former collection of the California Academy of Sciences; those without numbers are baskets in private collections.

Plates

Plate 1. Informants. *a*, No. 6, Yurok. *b*, No. 19, Karok.

Plate 2. Informants. *a*, No. 41, Karok. *b*, No. 16, Yurok.

Plate 3. *a*, No. 7, Yurok. *b*, hazel twig brush and mussel shells for cleaning finished baskets.

Plate 4. *a*, first weaving of Yurok-Karok girls; x .6. *b*, No. 18's baskets. *c*, No. 27's pattern fragments.

Plate 5. *a*, Yurok; 2–40; girl's acorn soup basket. *b*, Karok; 2–41; boy's basket. *c*, Karok; 2–51; man's plate for fish. *d*, Yurok; 2–43; man's soup basket. *e*, Yurok; 2–44; dipper for serving from cooking basket. All x .47.

Plate 6. Yurok soup baskets. *a*, 1–1475. *b*, 1–1698. *c*, 1–1472. All x .44.

Plate 7. Soup baskets. *a*, Yurok or Hupa; 1–1206. *b*, Hupa; G–454. *c*, Hupa; G–442. All approximately x .44.

Plate 8. Soup baskets. *a*, Hupa; 1–1493. *b*, Yurok; 1–1437. *c*, Hupa; 1–11639. All x .44.

Plate 9. Hupa soup baskets. *a*, 1–1517. *b*, 1–1495. *c*, 1–11644. All x .44.

Plate 10. Hupa soup baskets. *a*, G–448. *b*, 1–1863. *c*, G–458. All x .44.

Plate 11. Food baskets. *a*, Hupa cooking basket; G–426. *b*, Northwestern California soup basket; 1–28140. *c*, Yurok; 1–1578. All x .44.

Plate 12. Yurok cooking baskets. *a*, 1–1202; x .44. *b*, 1–1201; x .5.

Plate 13. Cooking baskets. *a*, Hupa; G–455; approximately x .44. *b*, Yurok; 1–1880; x .44.

Plate 14. Cooking baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–1579. *b*, Hupa; 1–1494. Both x .44.

Plate 15. Cooking baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–1483; x .44. *b*, Karok; 1–1583; x .36.

Plate 16. Cooking baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–1473. *b*, Karok; 1–1764. Both x .44.

Plate 17. Karok cooking baskets. *a*, private collection; x .48. *b*, 1–1762; x .4.

Plate 18. Cooking baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–1481. *b*, G–438. Both x .44.

Plate 19. Caps. *a*, Yurok; 1–4384. *b*, Hupa; 1–20824. Both x .5.

Plate 20. Yurok caps. *a*, CA–10. *b*, CA–91. Both approximately x .5.

Plate 21. Caps. *a*, Hupa; 1–27875. *b*, Yurok; 1–1593. Both x .5.

Plate 22. Yurok caps. *a*, CA–87. *b*, 1–1577. Both x .5.

Plate 23. Caps. *a*, Yurok; CA–92. *b*, Northwestern California; 1–27175. Both x .5.

Plate 24. Yurok caps. *a*, 1–1609. *b*, 1–1692. Both x .5.

Plate 25. Yurok caps. *a*, 1–1439. *b*, 1–1610. Both x .5.

Plate 26. Caps. *a*, Northwestern California; 1–20834. *b*, Hupa; 1–371. Both x .5.

Plate 27. Hupa caps. *a*, G–6. *b*, G–5. Both approximately x .5.

Plate 28. Hupa caps. *a*, G–94. *b*, 1–20819. Both x .5.

Plate 29. Caps. *a*, Northwestern California; 1–27876. *b*, Yurok; 1–1425. Both x .5.

Plate 30. Caps. *a*, Karok; 1–26812. *b*, Yurok; 1–27054. Both x .5.

Plate 31. Caps. *a*, Hupa; G–2. *b*, Yurok; 1–27055. Both x .5.

Plate 32. Caps. *a*, Hupa; G–93. *b*, Karok; private collection. Both x .5.

Plate 33. Northwestern California caps. *a*, 1–27878. *b*, 1–27164. Both x .5.

Plate 34. Yurok trinket baskets. *a*, 1–1661. *b*, 1–330. Both x .5.

Plate 35. Yurok trinket baskets. *a*, 1–1507. *b*, 1–1571. Both x .5.

Plate 36. Yurok trinket baskets. *a*, 1–1659. *b*, 1–1424. Both x .5.

Plate 37. Yurok trinket baskets. *a*, 1–1674. *b*, 1–2275. Both x .55.

Plate 38. Trinket baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–1605. *b*, Karok; 1–1598. Both x .5.

Plate 39. Yurok storage basket. 1–1089. x .16.

Plate 40. Fancy baskets. *a*, Hupa; G–445. *b*, Yurok; CA–444. Both approximately x .5.

Plate 41. Karok fancy baskets. *a*, 1–1595; x .42. *b*, 1–1807; x .52.

Plate 42. Fancy baskets. *a*, 1–1806. *b*, 1–27056. Both x .53.

Plate 43. Karok fancy baskets. *a*, 1–1801. *b*, 1–26814. Both x .55.

Plate 44. Karok fancy baskets. *a*, 2–48. *b*, 1–26815. Both x .53.

Plate 45. Karok fancy baskets. Private collection. Both x .53.

Plate 46. Yurok modern gift baskets. Private collection. All x .5.

Plate 47. Northwestern California fancy baskets. *a*, 1–27886, *b*, 1–27887. Both x .3.

Plate 48. Covered fancy baskets. *a*, Hupa; G–239. *b*, Yurok; 1–1888. Both approximately x .6.

Plate 49. Covered fancy baskets. *a*, Karok; 1–26813ab. *b*, Yurok; 1–27871ab. Both x .53.

Plate 50. Modern fancy basket cover. *a*, *b*, Northwestern California; 1–27888b. x .64.

Plate 51. Modern sale objects in basketry technique. *a–d*, Northwestern California; *a*, 1–27894ab; *b*, 1–27166; *c*, 1–27872ab; *d*, 1–27170. All x .5. *e–k*, private collection. All x .12.

Plate 52. Mealing tray. *a*, *b*, Yurok; 1–1435. x .2.

Plate 53. Open-twine baskets. *a*, Northwestern California; 1–11868; x .2. *b*, Yurok; private collection; x .33.

Plate 54. Miscellaneous types. *a*, Yurok; 1–27057. *b*, Hupa; 1–2487. Both approximately x .3.

Plate 55. Jumping dance baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–1997. *b*, Yurok; 1–1998. *c*, Yurok; 1–2273. *d*, Yurok; 1–2222. *e*, Hupa; 1–988. All x .18.

Plate 56. Jumping dance baskets. *a*, Yurok; 1–2270. *b*, Yurok; 1–2271. *c*, Hupa; 1–20825. *d*, Yurok; 1–1461. All x .18.

Plate 57. Baskets from neighboring tribes. *a*, Wiyot; 1–9404. *b*, Wiyot; 1–11626. Both x .35.

Plate 58. Baskets from neighboring tribes. *a*, Wintun; 1–2500; x .53. *b*, Lassik; 1–2541; x .32.

Figures in Text

KEY TO FIGURES OF DESIGNS SHOWN ALSO IN THE PHOTOGRAPHICALLY REPRODUCED PLATES

Fig. 4. *a*, pl. 31*b*. *b*, pl. 35*b*. *c*, pl. 43*b*. *e*, pl. 34*a*. *h*, pl. 5*c*. *i*, this series, 1: 21, 1. *p*, pl. 5*e*. *r*, this series, 1: 24, 2. *s*, this series, 1: 22, 1.

Fig. 5. *c*, pl. 16*b*.

Fig. 7. *a*, pl. 26*b*. *b*, pl. 26*a*. *c*, pl. 27*b*.

Fig. 8. *a*, pl. 14*a*. *b*, pl. 10*a*. *c*, pl. 10*c*. *d*, pl. 11*a*. *e*, pl. 8*a*.

Fig. 9. *b*, pl. 7*c*.

Fig. 10. *a*, pl. 34*b*. *b*, pl. 36*b*.

Fig. 11. *a*, pl. 6*c*. *b*, pl. 29*a*.

Fig. 13. *a*, pl. 33*a*. *b*, pl. 38*a*. *c*, pl. 27*b*. *f*, pl. 10*c*. *g*, pl. 9*a*. *h*, pl. 20*b*. *i*, pl. 11*a*. *j*, pl. 48*b*. *l*, pl. 10*b*.

Fig. 14. *a*, pl. 29*a*. b, pl. 8*a*. *c*, pl. 6*c*.

Fig. 16. *a*, pl. 8*c*. *b*, pl. 35*b*. *c*, pl. 49*a*. *d*, pl. 37*a*.

Fig. 18. *g*, pl. 46*c*.

Fig. 19. *a*, pl. 25*b*. *b*, pl. 28*b*. *c*, pl. 25*a*.

Fig. 20. *a*, pl. 22*a*. *b*, pl. 8*b*. *c*, pl. 21*b*. *d*, pl. 22*b*. *e*, pl. 24*b*. *f*, pl. 43*a*. *k*, pl. 6*b*. *m*, pl. 9*b*. *p*, pl. 38*b*.

Fig. 21. *b*, pl. 37*a*. *c*, pl. 6*c*. *d*, pl. 28*a*. *f*, pl. 54*a*. *g*, figs. 6, 12. *h*, pl. 13*b*. *j*, pl. 17*a*.

Fig. 22. *a*, pl. 19*b*. *b*, pl. 21*b*. *d*, pl. 51*j*.

Fig. 23. *a*, pl. 32*a*. *b*, pl. 32*b*. *c*, pl. 46*c*. *d*, pl. 51*e*. *e*, pl. 51*k*.

Fig. 24. *a*, pl. 32*a*. *b*, pl. 7*c*.

Fig. 29. *c*, pl. 45*a*. *e*, pl. 10*c*. *g*, pl. 10*a*. *h*, pl. 24*a*. *i*, pl. 9*a*. *j*, pl. 28*b*. *k*, pl. 23*a*. *l*, pl. 20*b*. *m*, pl. 19*b*.

Fig. 30. Pl. 11*a*.

Fig. 31. *b*, pl. 26*b*. *c*, figs. 6, 12. *e*, pl. 28*a*. *f*, pl. 9*b*. *h*, pl. 23*a*. *i*, pl. 8*b*. *j*, pl. 42*a*. *k*, pl. 15*a*.

Fig. 32. *a*, pl. 15*b*. *b*, pl. 11*c*. *c*, pl. 37*b*. *d*, pl. 11*a*. *e*, pl. 13*b*. *g*, pl. 32*a*. *h*, pl. 17*a*. *j*, pl. 41*b*. *k*, pl. 40*b*.

PLATES 1 TO 58