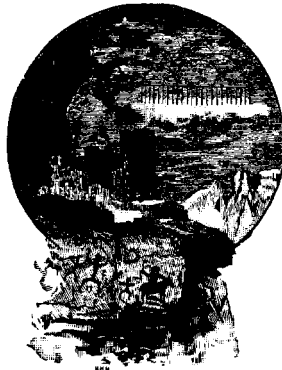


SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY  
BULLETIN 78

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HANDBOOK  
OF THE  
INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY  
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WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1925

## CHAPTER 6.

### THE CHIMARIKO AND WIYOT.

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#### THE CHIMARIKO.

The Chimariko were one of the smallest distinct tribes in one of the smallest countries in America. They are now known to be an offshoot from the large and scattered Hokan stock, but as long as they passed as an independent family they and the Esselen served ethnologists as extreme examples of the degree to which aboriginal speech diversification had been carried in California.

Two related and equally minute nations were neighbors of the Chimariko: the New River Shasta and the Konomihu. The language of these clearly shows them to be offshoots from the Shasta. But Chimariko is so different from both, and from Shasta as well, that it must be reckoned as a branch of equal age and independence as Shasta, which deviated from the original Hokan stem in very ancient times. It seems likely that Chimariko has preserved its words and constructions as near their original form as any Hokan language; better than Shasta, which is much altered, or Pomo, which is worn down.

The entire territory of the Chimariko in historic times was a 20-mile stretch of the canyon of Trinity River from above the mouth of South Fork to French Creek (Fig. 8). Here lay their half dozen hamlets, Tsudamdadji at Burnt Ranch being the largest. In 1849 the whole population of the Chimariko was perhaps 250. In 1906 there remained a toothless old woman and a crazy old man. Except for a few mixed bloods, the tribe is now utterly extinct.

The details of the fighting between the Chimariko and the miners in the sixties of the last century have not been recorded, and perhaps well so; but the struggle must have been bitter and was evidently the chief cause of the rapid diminution of the little tribe.

Since known to the Americans, the Chimariko have been hostile to the Hupa downstream, but friendly with the Wintun upriver from them. Yet their location, with reference to that of the latter people and the other Penutians, makes it possible that at some former time

the Chimariko were crowded down the Trinity River by these same Wintun.

The Chimariko called themselves Chimariko or Chimaliko, from *chimar*, person. The Hupa they called Hichhu; the Wintun, Pachhuai—perhaps from *pachhu*, “willow”; the Konomihu, Hunomichu—possibly from *hunoï-da*, “north”; the Hyampom Wintun, Maitroktada—from *maitra*, “flat, river bench”; the Wiyot, Aka-traiduwa-

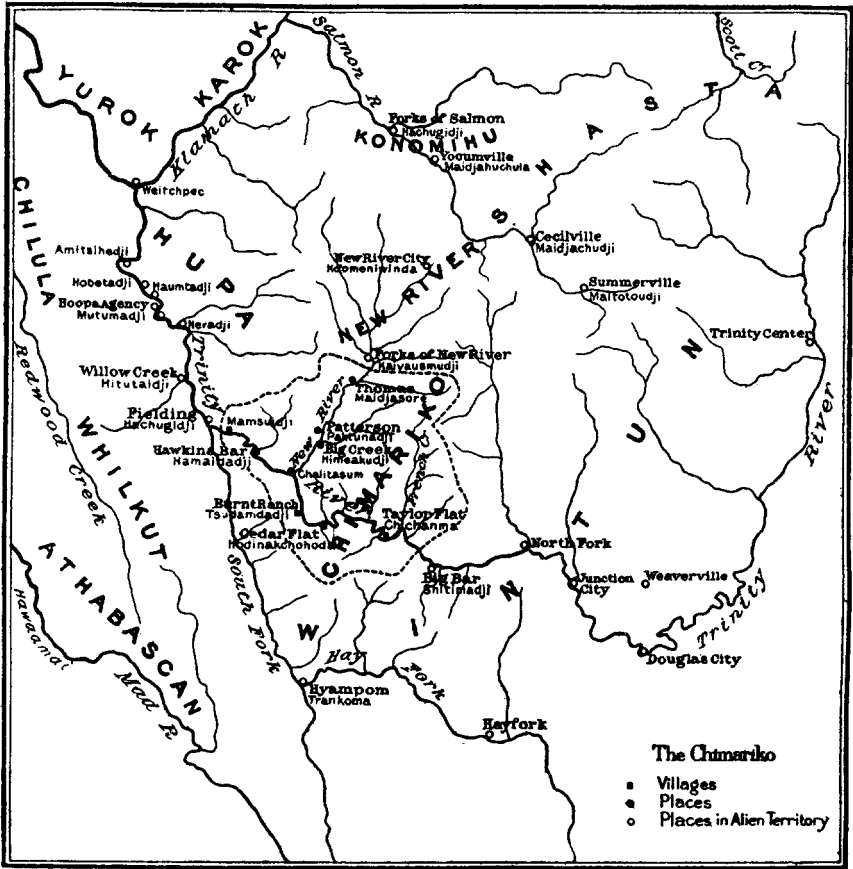


FIG. 8.—Chimariko land, towns, and neighbors.

ktada,—perhaps from *aka*, “water.” Djalitasum was New River, probably so called from a spot at its mouth. They translated into their own language the names of the Hupa villages, which indicates that distrust and enmity did not suppress all intercourse or intermarriage. Takimitlding, the “acorn-feast-place,” they called Hopedadji, from *hopeu*, “acorn soup”; Medilding, “boat-place,” was Mutuma-dji, from *mutuma*, “canoe.” The Hupa knew the Chimariko as Tl’omitta-hoi.

The customs of the Chimariko were patterned after those of the Yurok and Hupa in the degree that a poor man's habits may imitate those of his more prosperous neighbor. Their river was too small and rough for canoes, so they waded or swam it. They used Vancouver Island dentalium shells for money, when they could get them; but were scarcely wealthy enough to acquire slaves, and too few to hold or sell fishing places as individual property. Their dress and tattooing were those of the downstream tribes; their basketry was similar, but the specializations and refinements of industry of the Hupa, the soapstone dishes, wooden trunks, curved stone-handled adzes, elaborately carved soup stirrers and spoons, and rod armor, they went without, except as sporadic pieces might reach them in barter.

With all their rudeness they had, however, the outlook on life of the other northwestern tribes—a sort of poor relation's pride. Thus they would not touch the grasshoppers and angleworms which are sufficiently nutritious to commend themselves as food to the unsophisticated Wintun and tribes farther inland, but which the prouder Hupa and Yurok disdained. The only custom in which the Chimariko are known to have followed Wintun instead of Hupa precedent—though there may have been other instances which have not been recorded—was their manner of playing the guessing game, in which they hid a single short stick or bone in one of two bundles of grass, instead of mingling one marked rod among 50 unmarked ones.

The Chimariko house illustrates their imperfect carrying out of the completer civilization of their neighbors. It had walls of vertical slabs, a ridgepole, and a laid roof with no earth covering. These points show it to be descended from the same fundamental type of all wood dwelling which prevails, in gradually simplifying form, from Alaska to the Yurok. But walls and roof were of fir bark instead of split planks. The length was 4 or 5 yards as against 7 on the Klamath River, the central excavation correspondingly shallow. The corners were rounded. A draft hole and food passage broke the wall opposite the door where the Yurok or Hupa would only take out a corpse. And the single ridgepole gave only two pitches to the roof—a construction known also to the lower tribes, but officially designated by them as marking the "poor man's house," the superior width of their normal dwelling requiring two ridgepoles and three slants of roof.

Chimariko religion was a similar abridged copy. Sickness, and, on the other hand, the medicine woman's power to cure it, were caused by the presence in the body of "pains," small double-pointed animate objects, which disappeared in the extracting doctor's palm.

The fast and uncleanness after contact with the dead lasted five days, and had to be washed away. Such more elementary beliefs and ritual practices for the individual the Chimariko shared with the other northwestern tribes. But the great national dances of the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa, held at spots hallowed by myth, colored by songs of a distinctive character, dignified by the display of treasures of native wealth, and connected with sacred first-fruit or even world-renewal ceremonies, these more momentous rituals the Chimariko lacked even the pretense of, nor did they often visit their neighbors to see them. They were a little people in its declining old age when civilization found and cut them off.

### THE WIYOT.

#### HABITAT AND AFFILIATIONS.

The Wiyot, a small body of shore-dwelling people, join with the adjacent Yurok to constitute the Algonkins of California. A certain resemblance between the two languages was noted on first acquaintance, and their ultimate affinity suspected. Fuller data revealed a great difference. When a beginning of analysis was finally possible, the structure of the two idioms was seen to be very similar; after which comparison showed a certain number of common stems. They were then united as the single Ritwan stock; but renewed examination established this as but a member and distant outpost on the Pacific of the great Algonquian family of central and eastern North America (Fig. 9).

Wiyot territory fell into three natural divisions: lower Mad River, Humboldt Bay, and lower Eel River. The natives had a name for each district: Batawat, Wiki, and Wiyot. The people of each region were called by names formed from these words by the suffixion of the element *-daredalil*. Wiyot, while thus properly only the name of a district, was used for the entire stock by most of the neighboring groups: the Yurok say Weyet or Weyot, the Karok Waiyat. The Athabaskan Sinkyone, up Eel River, are more correct in restricting the term to the country, and call the inhabitants Dilwishne, which they explain as an onomatopoeic word descriptive of the strange sound of Wiyot speech. As the stock has no name for itself as a body, the designation Wiyot is perhaps as appropriate as can be found. Wishosk, which for a time was in vogue in the books, is a misapplication of the Wiyot denotation of their Athabaskan neighbors: Wishashk. Their own language the Wiyot call Sulatelak. The ending of this word is also found in Wishi-lak, Athabaskan language.

The Mad River Wiyot associated considerably with the Coast Yurok and were tolerably acquainted with their language. This fact has led to con-

flicting statements as to the northern boundary of Wiyot holdings. As nearly as can be ascertained, this lay just south of Little River, at whose mouth stood the Yurok town of Metskwo. The upper part of Little River was Chilula hunting ground. On Mau River, Blue Lake, near the forks, was still Wiyot. The main stream from here up was Whilkut, that is, Athabascan. The North Fork was without villages and is in doubt. The Wiyot owned at least the lower portion; and on Map 10 the whole of its drainage has been assigned to

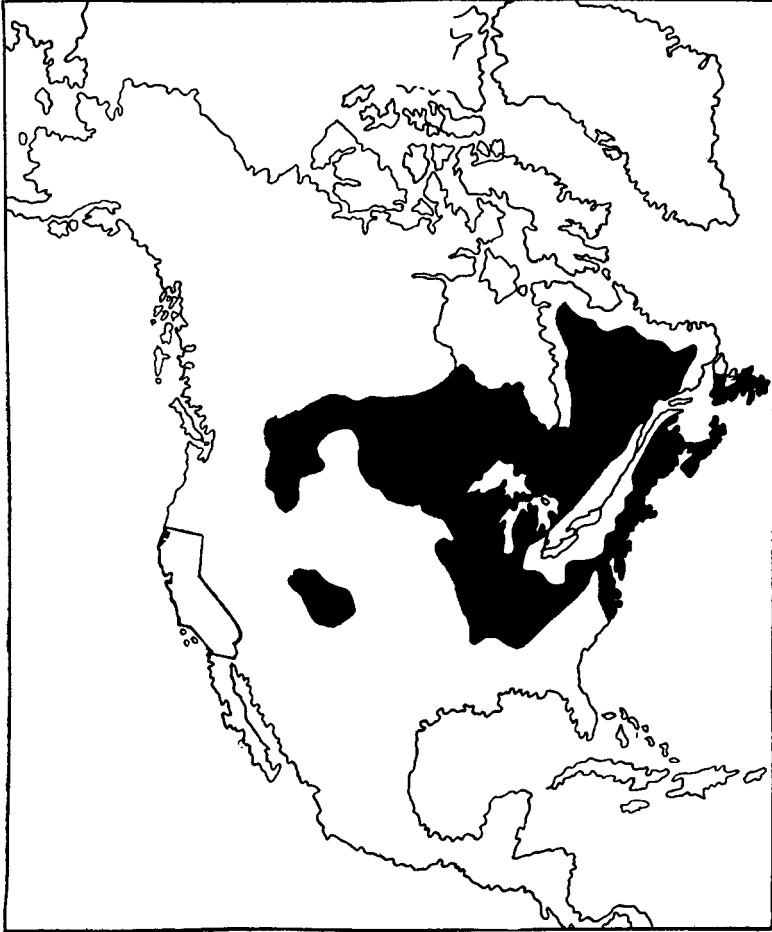


FIG. 9.—Wiyot and Yurok in relation to the Algonkin family.

them. From Mad River south to Eel River Wiyot territory extended to the first range inland. Jacoby, Freshwater, and Salmon Creeks, Elk River, and Boynton Prairie were thus Wiyot; Kneeland Prairie and Lawrence Creek, Whilkut and Nongatl Athabascan. On Eel River the boundary came at Eagle Prairie, near Riodel. Southwest of Eel River, the Bear River mountains separated the Wiyot from another Athabascan division, the Mattole. The spurs of this range reach the sea at Cape Fortunus, between Guthrie Creek and Oil Creek.

The greatest extension of Wiyot territory is only about 35 miles, the greatest breadth barely 15. Their ocean frontage is low and sandy, as compared with the precipitous and rocky coast for long distances on both sides. Three or four miles north of their boundary

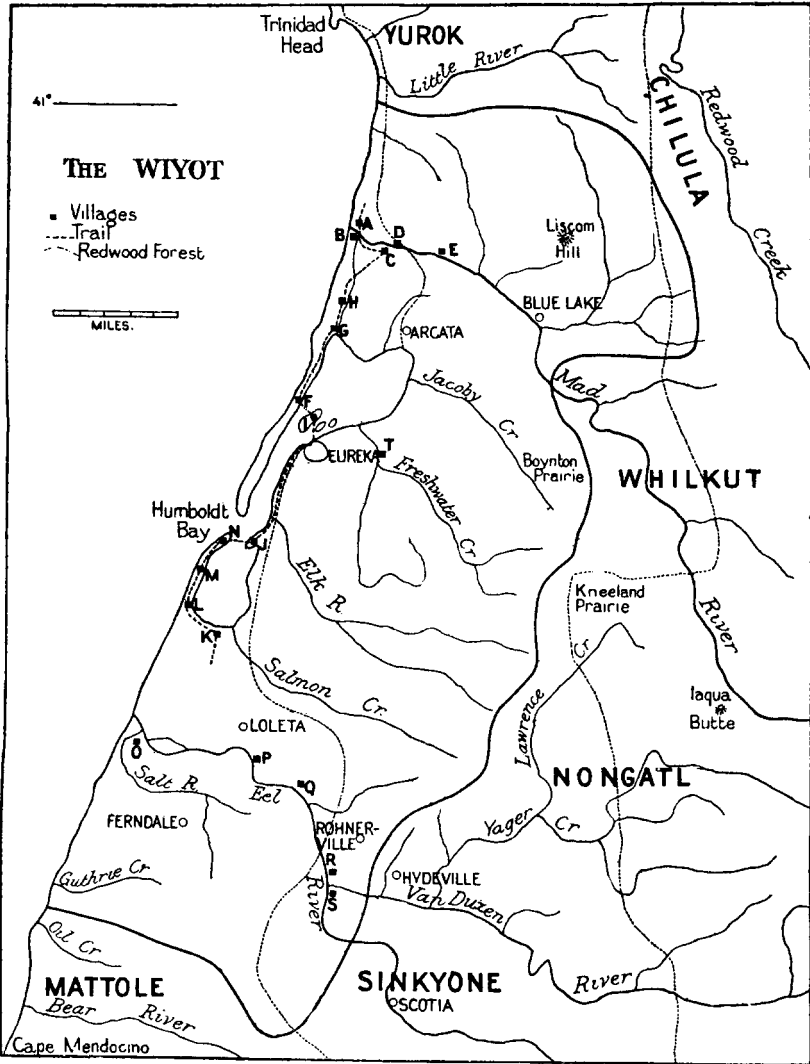


FIG. 10.—Wiyot towns and territory.

is Trinidad Head; 5 or 6 south, Cape Mendocino; both conspicuous headlands. The greater part of Wiyot territory was heavy forest, mainly of redwood. The balance was sand dunes, tidal marsh, or open prairie. Every Wiyot settlement lay on a stream or bay; the majority on tidewater.

## SETTLEMENTS.

The Wiyot towns are known only in part. For the plurality the Yurok names are recorded with more certainty than the proper Wiyot designations. On the Eel River section information is particularly scant; most of the entries in Figure 10 may be only place names. Mad River is also likely to have been settled farther up than Osok; and it is not clear whether Kumaidada was a settlement or an uninhabited spot.<sup>1</sup>

## WIYOT VILLAGES.

Designation in Fig. 10.	Wiyot name.	Yurok name.
A.....		Ma'awor.
B.....	Tabagaukwa (?).....	Tegwol.
C.....	We'tso (?).....	Erlerw.
D.....	Kachewinach (?).....	Sepola.
E.....		Osok.
F.....	Tabayat; Witki (?).....	Teuhpo.
G.....	Kotsir (?).....	Erterker.
H.....	Tokelomigimitl (?).....	Eni'koletl.
I.....	Dulawat.....	Olog.
J.....	Potitlik, Cherokigechk, Pletswak (?).....	Oknutl.
K.....	Yachwanawach.....	Lumatl.
L.....	Legetku (?).....	Leptlen.
M.....	Bimire.....	Pimin.
N.....	Dakduwaka· Hiluwitl (?).....	Ayo.
O.....	Ho'ket (?).....	
P.....	Wuktlakw (?).....	
Q.....	Dakwagerawakw (?).....	
R.....	Watsayeriditl (?).....	
S.....	Hakitege (?).....	
T.....	Kumaidada.....	Hikets.

The names of the villages from Salmon Creek to the South Spit (K to N) may be confused.

<sup>1</sup>Loud, *Ethnogeography and Archaeology of the Wiyot Territory*, 1918 (see bibliography), gives a map with nearly 200 sites, 32 of them the principal settlements in 1850: 10 on Mad River, 14 on Humboldt Bay, 8 on Eel River. A number of these identify with the sites in Figure 10, but in most cases under different names (pp. 258-272, 286-296).



## NUMBERS.

The five named towns on Mad River are credited with the following numbers of houses, according to two Yurok sources:

Ma'awor.....	7	4
Tegwol.....	3	
Erlerw.....	20	
Sepola.....	15	10
Osok.....	5	4

This gives averages of 9 and 6 houses per village. The latter figure is that obtaining among the Yurok and probably higher than that for the Chilula, and is more likely to be correct. At this rate, the population of the five settlements would have been a little over 200; and the entire Wiyot population would have amounted to perhaps 800, or not over 1,000. An 1853 estimate set the former figure. The 1910 census yielded over 150, but classed half of them as of mixed blood.

The following estimates are of interest:

	Wiyot.	Yurok.	Karok.	Hupa.	Chilula.
Miles of river navigable to a canoe.....	25	50	60	35	(30)
Population.....	500	1, 800	1, 500	1, 000	600
Per mile.....	20	35	25	30	20
Miles of ocean, bay, or lagoon shore ....	50	50	.....	.....	.....
Population.....	500	700	.....	.....	.....
Per mile.....	10	15	.....	.....	.....

It is clear that streams were more sought as habitations than the coast in this part of California. Furthermore, practically all of the coast settlements, among the Tolowa and Yurok as well as the Wiyot, lay on bays, lagoons, or the mouths of streams rather than on the ocean shore itself.

## PLACE NAMES.

These are Wiyot names for foreign places: Datogak, Oil Creek; Chwaregadachitl, Bear River; Tsekiot, Cape Mendocino; Wecharitl, south of the mouth of Mattole River. These are in Mattole territory. Wiyot "Metol" may be the source of this name, or merely taken over from the Americans.

Yurok places: Pletkatlshamalitl, Little River; Dakachawayawik, Trinidad village, Yurok Tsurau; Ktlonechk, Trinidad Head; Chirokwan, Patrick Point; Ri'tsap, a village on Big Lagoon; Tsi'push, Stone Lagoon, Yurok Tshapkw; Hapsh, Redwood Creek, Yurok Orekw; Chugichechwelage, Redding Rock; Eshkapsh, Gold Bluff, Yurok Espau; Katkadalitl, Requa, Yurok Rekwoi; Ikti'n, the Klamath River; Dalitlrukiwar, Wilson Creek, Yurok, O'men; Takeluwalitl, Weitchpec, Yurok Weitspus, also the Trinity River.

The Karok village of Panamenik at Orleans was Gatsewinas.

In Athabascan territory: Kawa'tlakw, on Redwood Creek, below Bair; Tanataptlagerawakw, at Bair; Dalekwuta'tl, Berry, on the same stream; Wameriwauk, upstream; Talawulitskilik, Bald Hills, between Redwood Creek and the Klamath; Dat-hanetkek, Murphy; Pletalauleli'n, Three Cabins; Plet-kukach, Mad River Gap, or near it; Gukech, Kneeland Prairie.

Wiyot names of tribes: All Athabascans, Wishashk; Yurok (the language), Denakwate-lak; Karok, Guradalitl, the speech, Guradalitl-rakwe-lak; Tolowa, Dalawa; Hupa, Haptana; Wintun or Chimariko of the upper Trinity, Deiwin.

It appears from several of the foregoing examples that the Wiyot and Yurok did not always follow the regional practice of translating or making anew each other's village names, but occasionally took them over with merely phonetic alteration.

#### MATERIAL CULTURE.

In their industries the Wiyot were mates of the Yurok. Their habitat supplied certain distinctive materials and now and then favored a minor degree of specialization. Clams largely took the place of mussels, salt-water fishing was practicable but hunting of little consequence, slightly different basketry wool fibers were available than in the interior, and so on. But the endeavors and methods of the culture are those of Yurok culture; and that on the social as well as the tangible side. Houses, baskets (pl. 23), dentalium money, and a hundred other objects were the same and were used and valued alike, apparently. Together with the lower Yurok and the Tolowa, the Wiyot were the makers of the canoe of northwestern type, whose manufacture can only be carried on where the redwood grows close to the water.

#### SHAMANISM.

Shamans were chiefly women, and acquired their powers on mountain tops at night. Some people, too, were pitied by powerful lake spirits, and became physically strong and brave. Shamans in practicing wore a headband from which hung two long strings of feathers (Fig. 11, *c*), and shoved condor feathers into their stomachs. There were those who only diagnosed while dancing and singing and others who also sucked out disease objects and blood. The disease "pains" were minute, wormlike, self-moving, soft, and transparent. They were sometimes sucked through the tobacco pipe (Fig. 11, *a*), which was a standard unit of the shaman's equipment. The pains were called *silak*. This word recalls the disease-causing apparatus that the Maidu name *sila*.

*Dikwa* means "spirit" or "supernatural." The word is applied to the Americans and also denotes magical poison. A woman's monthly condition is called *dikwa-laketi*, and the helpers of shamans were *wishi-dikwa*, "inland spirits," from their inhabiting the hills.

## ETHICS.

Bodily and social self-restraint in daily life was as much inculcated by the Wiyot as by the Yurok. It was only through this quality that a man could be anything in the world. Only through its exercise could he retain his riches and become wealthier. Self-control marked the rich man and was the evidence as well as the cause of his standing. The poor man was inherently inferior. He did not gravely and naturally hold himself in, because he could not. It was impossible that he should ever kill a white deer or have any other great piece of fortune. The psychic influence of these beliefs

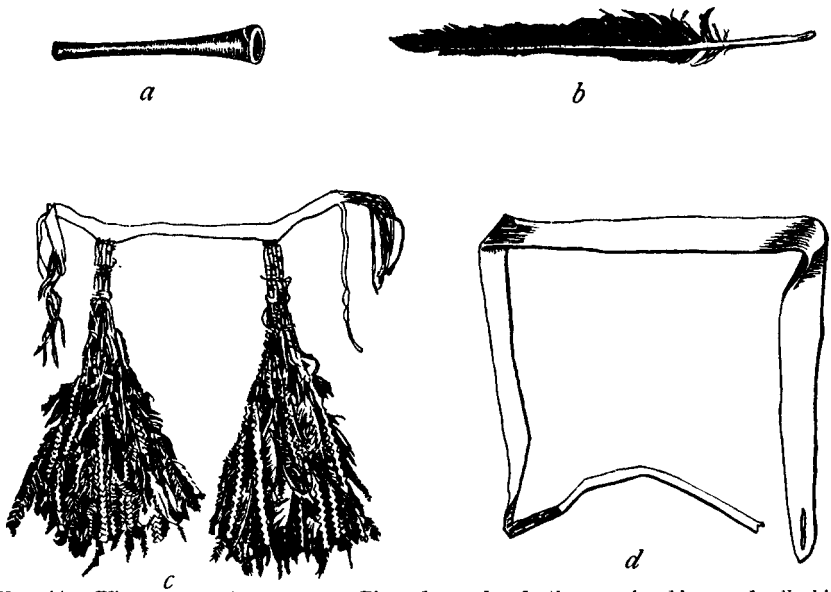


FIG. 11.—Wiyot shaman's outfit. *a*, Pipe; *b*, condor feather; *c*, headdress; *d*, elk-skin belt.

must have been profound, so that in large measure they must have justified themselves in experience.

## CEREMONIALS.

The Wiyot did not make the White Deerskin dance. They made the Jumping dance only at or near the village of Shepola on Mad River, apparently much as the Yurok made it, and with many visitors from the Coast Yurok.

A dance of somewhat different type, but reckoned as equivalent to the Deerskin dance, was made at Hieratgak, on the North Spit of Humboldt Bay. This was held in a house for five days. A woman stood in the middle of the line of dancers, some of whom wore ob-

sidian blades hanging from the neck, instead of carrying them as among the other northwestern tribes. A Yurok account puts this dance at Olog and has it visited by the more southerly of the Coast Yurok.

The dance on Eel River is entirely unknown.

The adolescence ceremony for girls was well developed. For 5 or 10 days the maiden sat covered in the house fasting. Each night the people danced. At the conclusion she was taken by a number of women into still salt water. They stood waist deep facing the shore in a line and bent forward in unison to the song, sending a miniature breaker up the beach with each sway.

#### BELIEFS.

Wiyot mythology is of interest because it consists of the usual northwestern ideas to which a strange element has been added which can only have come from central California, through the Athabaskan groups to the south. The narrative formulas by which the Hupa and Yurok believed they existed were in full force. Gatswokwire or Rakshuatlaketl is the exact equivalent of the Yurok Wohpekumeu. He wandered over the earth satisfying an unquenchable erotic impulse, but also did good. He obtained for the world the salmon that were jealously hidden away by their owner; he made children to be born without killing their mothers. He instituted dances and many other human practices, the formulas necessary for which go back to his actions. Sometimes his amativeness brought him into trouble, as when the Skate woman lay on the beach to attract him and carried him across the ocean; but he was never permanently vanquished.

With Gudatrigakwitl, "above old man," we encounter a conception of which there is no trace among the Yurok. He existed before the earth, he made it, made the first man Chkekowik or Wat the haliotis, made all human beings, animals, acorns, boats, string, other utensils, the weather, even dances. He used no materials and no tools. He merely thought, or joined and spread apart his hands, and things were. He lives now and will exist as long as the world.

It is possible that this deity has been given increased prominence by the modern generation of Wiyot if the Ghost dance of 1872 reached them, but he is introduced into too many ideas that are ancient and general in northwestern belief to allow his being ascribed in any large measure to that new and passing doctrine. Moreover, the concept of a supreme god and outright creator is found among many Californian tribes: the southern Athabascans, the Yuki, the Wintun, the Maidu.

Another peculiarity of Wiyot mythology is its fondness for animal characters. This is a generic Californian rather than a central Californian trait; but it is a deviation from the specialized northwestern type of myth as revealed in its extreme Yurok or Hupa form.

The story of the origin of death shows northwestern and central motives. Spinagaralu, locust larva, or sand cricket, was responsible. According to one account he disputed with and prevailed over Above old man, who had intended people to be reborn or regenerated 10 times. In another tale, more distinctly central Californian, Spinagaralu refuses to let Frog's dead child come back to life. When his own perishes, he wishes to restore the old order, but Frog is now obdurate.

It is clear that the Wiyot are northwesterners; wholly so in institutions and material accomplishments, but with some first traces of the much wider spread central Californian culture appearing in their religion.