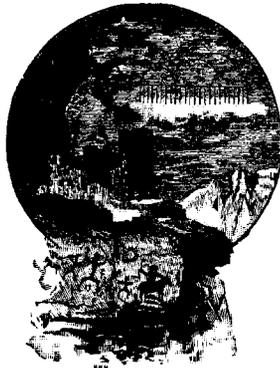


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HANDBOOK  
OF THE  
INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY  
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## CHAPTER 5.

### THE KAROK.

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#### NATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Karok (Pl. 21) are the up-river neighbors of the Yurok. The two peoples are indistinguishable in appearance and customs, except for certain minutiae; but they differ totally in speech. In language, the Yurok are a remote western offshoot of the great Algonquian family, of which the bulk resided east of the Mississippi and even on the Atlantic coast; the Karok, one of the northernmost members of the scattered Hokan group, which reaches south to Tehuantepec. The nearest kinsmen of the Yurok are the Wiyot, on their south and west; of the Karok, the Chimariko and Shasta, southward and eastward. In spite of the indicated total separateness of origin, the two groups are wholly assimilated culturally.

Except for a few transient bands of Hudson Bay Co. voyagers, the Karok knew nothing of the existence of white men until a swarm of miners and packers burst in upon them in 1850 and 1851. The usual friction, thefts, ambushing, and slaughters followed in spots. The two sacred villages near the mouth of the Salmon, and no doubt others, were burned by the whites in 1852; and a third, at Orleans, was made into a county seat. There were, however, no formal wars; in a few years the small richer placers were worked out; the tide flowed away, leaving behind only some remnants; and the Karok returned to what was left of their shattered existence. Permanent settlers never came into their land in numbers; the Government established no reservation and left them to their own devices; and they yielded their old customs and their numbers much more slowly than the majority of Californian natives.

The term "Karok," properly *karuk*, means merely "up-stream" in the language of the Karok. It is an adverb, not a designation of a group of people. The Karok have no ethnic name for themselves, contenting themselves, in general Californian custom, by calling themselves "people," *arara*. They will sometimes speak of them-

selves as Karuk-w-arara in distinction from the Yurok-w-arara, the "downstreamers" or "Yurok"; but this denomination seems wholly relative. In thinking of the Shasta above them on the Klamath, they would probably name themselves Yurok-w-arara.

Karok designations for their neighbors are as follows, *-arara* or *-ara* denoting "people," and *-hi*, "speech":

Kakamichwi-arara, the Shasta of Klamath River. This term may refer to the residents of one village. The speech seems to be called Karakuka or Karakuha. Shammai is mentioned as a village.

Tishra-w-arara, the Shasta of Scott River.

Mashu-arara, Mashu-hi, the Konomihu and New River Shasta; from Mashu-ashav, Salmon River. Shamnam is the Konomihu village at the forks, and Hashuruk one below.

Kasha-arara, Kasha-hara-hi, the Wintun and probably the Chimariko of Trinity River; possibly also the tribes on the Sacramento.

Kishake-w-arara, the Hupa on the lower Trinity.

Yurok-w-arara, Yu-hi, the Yurok.

Sufip-arara, the Yurok of Rekwoi, probably also the Coast Yurok.

Waiyat-hi, the Wiyot.

Yuh-ara-hi, the Tolowa. Yuhanak seems to be a Tolowa village.

#### SETTLEMENTS.

Knowledge of the Karok settlements is still involved in confusion. It is clear that there were three principal clusters of towns: at the mouths of Camp Creek, Salmon River, and Clear Creek. Other stretches of the river held smaller villages, and in parts even these appear to have been few.

The farthest Yurok settlement upstream was near the mouth of Bluff Creek, the lowest downstream of the Karok was Wopum, Yurok Opegoi, Hupa Haiwochitding, opposite Red Cap Creek, a considerable village. Between these two towns a steep peak stands on the south or east bank of the Klamath. This cone may be regarded as the boundary between the two peoples, although the Indians, always thinking in terms of individuals or collections of individuals and their personal rights, and rarely in terms of groups as such, almost certainly did not so regard the mountain. Then, until the vicinity of Camp Creek was reached, followed several minor settlements of which for the most part only the Yurok names are recorded: Aranimokw, Tu'i, Oler, Segoashkwu. Above Tu'i was a village called Shavuram or Sahwuram by the Karok, and Operger by the Yurok. Chiniki and Sanipa were also in this region.

In the Orleans district there were, in order upstream, Chamikinich, Yurok Oketur, on the south or east bank; Tachanak, Yurok Olege'l, Hupa Dachachitding, on the opposite side at the mouth of Camp Creek; Panamenik, Yurok Ko'omen, Hupa Nilchwingakading, on the flat at Orleans; and, once more on the east bank, Katipara, Yurok Tsano, Hupa Killakying. Then followed Chinitas, at Sims Ferry, and Tsofkaram or Tasofkaram at Peach. The Yurok mention Wetsitsiko or Witsigo in this region.

About a mile below the mouth of the Salmon the Klamath tumbles down a low fall, which was a famous fishing station (Pl. 6). Directly at the fall, on the east side, was Ashanamkarak, Yurok IkwaneK. Opposite, a few hundred yards below, was the sacred town of Amaiklara, Hupa Djeloding. The Yurok

called this Enek, but distinguished the upstream portion of the settlement as Tumitl. (Pl. 7.) Directly at the mouth of the Salmon, on its lower side, and well known as the spot on which the sacred Jumping dance of Amaikiara concluded, was a little flat, uninhabited in the historic period, called Ashapipmam by the Karok and Kworatem by the Yurok. The latter name seems to be the source of the designation "Quoratean," which an artificial system of priority and synonymy in nomenclature for a time affixed to the Karok nation.

Just above the mouth of the Salmon rises an isolated little peak, cut out between the Klamath and an old channel, which can not fail to impress every imagination: A'uich. Adjoining it, on a bluff that overlooks a shallow rapids in which the river ceaselessly roars among its rocks, lay the most sacred spot of the Karok, the center of their world, *isivsanan ach*, Katimin. Strictly, there was Yutimin, "the lower dam," as well as Katimin, "the upper," and the Yurok distinguished Segwu' and Apyu. Opposite lay Ishipishi, Yurok Kepar, of which Yutuirup was a neighbor or suburb. (Pl. 22.)

Tishrawa, Unharik, Kaus, Inoftak, Iwatak, and Akoteli are villages or parts of villages that can not be exactly located, but which seem to have stood in the vicinity of the mouth of the Salmon.

From this district up villages and information become scander. A few miles above Katimin was Ashipak, "in the basket," Yurok Hohkutsor; 10 or 12 miles farther, Ahoeptini and Ti. Aftaram, mentioned as rich, may have been in the same vicinity. For 20 or more miles, nothing is known, except Ayis, Yurok Rayoik, and a village called Kumawer by the Yurok. Then, at the mouth of Clear Creek, Inam is reached: a large town, as shown by its boasting a Deerskin dance, and famous even to the Yurok as Okonile'l. Some 8 miles above, at the mouth of Indian Creek, at Happy Camp, was Asisufunuk, the last large Karok village, at which a fish weir was sometimes thrown across the river. The Shasta mention in this region Nupatsu, below Happy Camp, Aukni above it, and Ussini at the mouth of China Creek, beyond which, at Thompson Creek, their own villages commenced. The three words are probably Shasta equivalents of Karok names.<sup>1</sup>

The land of the Karok is substantially defined by this array of villages along the Klamath. There were few permanent settlements on any affluents. All of these were owned by the Karok, and more or less used as hunting and food gathering territories to their heads; so that technically their national boundary followed the watersheds bordering the Klamath. The only exception was in the case of the largest tributary, the Salmon, about whose forks, a dozen miles up, were the Shastan Konomihu. The Karok seem to have had rights along this stream about halfway up to the forks.

Since the American settlement, the Karok have emigrated in some numbers, until now they form the sole Indian population on Salmon River, and are rather numerous mixed among the Shasta.

The dialect of the uppermost Karok was somewhat differentiated, but speech was substantially uniform.

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<sup>1</sup> Recent unpublished statements obtained from several Karok put their boundary against the Shasta much farther upstream, nearly at Hamburg Bar, and claim Shamal, Seiad Valley, as Karok. If this is correct, the map (pl. 1) must be considerably altered.

Of the wars and feuds of the Karok, little is known, except that the Tolowa sometimes crossed the high southern spur of the Siskiyou to attack villages in the Clear Creek and Salmon River districts, and that the Karok probably reciprocated. Toward the Hupa and Yurok friendly feelings generally prevailed. There no doubt were feuds between individual villages, but there is no record of these ever involving the nations as a whole.

#### NUMBERS.

The population of the Karok did not exceed 2,000 at the time of discovery, and would unquestionably be put at about 1,500 were it not for the considerable number of survivors. The Federal census of 1910 reckons 775, which makes them one of the largest surviving tribes, and even stocks, in California. This figure seems open to some doubt. Five years before, with a rather high mortality prevailing in the interim, an official investigator, whose statistics everywhere else are more exhaustive than those of the general census, reported only two-thirds as many, distributed as follows:

Panamenik (Orleans) district.....	178
Katimin (Salmon) district.....	192
Inam (Clear Creek) district.....	160
On Salmon River.....	46
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>576</b>

To this total would have to be added a number now resident in ancient Shasta territory; but quarter bloods, many of whom now live among the Americans and would be reckoned as whites by the ordinary census enumerator are included.

The last figures are of particular value because they show the population of the three districts to have been fairly balanced, with some preponderance in the middle one. The circumstances of contact with the whites were much the same in the three regions. Now, an early resident, observant and in unusual relation with the Indians, estimates 425 for the Panamenik district, and for the two above, with part of which he was less intimately acquainted, 1,500. His 425 would rather yield 1,500 for the whole nation.

The official reconnaissance of 1851 reports 250 souls up to Katimin and 600 to 700 for the stock. But these figures are unquestionably too low.

The number of houses noted by the expedition of 1851 is a better index: 37 in and below the Panamenik district, 69 in the region of the mouth of the Salmon, total 106 for very nearly two-thirds of the stock. The maximum number of houses that can be attributed to the Karok is therefore 200; and at the inhabitant ratio of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  determined for the Yurok, the population of the stock would be 1,500. This figure seems the most likely; yet, even if it be stretched somewhat, it is clear that the Karok were less numerous than the Yurok, but outnumbered the Hupa.

It may be added that on the basis of 40 to 50 inhabitants per town, as among the Yurok, this population implied something like 30 or 40 Karok villages, which is about the number for which names are recorded.

It is also clear that the populational loss of the Karok in the past 65 years has been relatively mild, possibly not exceeding one-half.

#### NEW YEAR CEREMONIES.

The Karok brought out more clearly than the Yurok the esoteric first fruits or new year's element that underlies all the great dances of the northwestern tribes. They named the ceremonies "world making." But they reckoned their neighbors' celebrations as equivalent to theirs and visited them regularly. A Karok said that there were 10 of these ceremonies and listed them in geographical order as follows—actually he mentioned only 9:

Inam.....	Karok.	Takimitlding.....	Hupa.
Katimin.....	Karok.	Kepel.....	Yurok.
Amaikiara.....	Karok.	Pekwan.....	Yurok.
Panamenik.....	Karok.	Rekwoi.....	Yurok
Weitspus.....	Yurok.		

Among all three nations the ceremonies were mostly held in early autumn, the remainder in spring, and undoubtedly all have reference either to the beginning of the acorn crop or the run of summer salmon. Among the Karok, that at Amaikiara came about April. Late in August the autumn series commenced at Inam. Some weeks later came Panamenik, and two days subsequently Katimin. The season of these last is close to that of the Takimitlding acorn feast and the Weitspus Deerskin dance; but, so far as evidence goes, conflicts did not take place. A great man could not bring his property to two dances at once; therefore the sequence was, no doubt, nicely adjusted, although the Indians, of course, mention ancient spirit ordainment as the cause. They probably reason that the gods wished the wealth of the rich to be displayed at as many gorgeous dances as possible. The formula speaker at Panamenik, at any rate, began his 10 days' rites in the waning moon, timed so as to conclude with its death. That afternoon and the next day the dancers exhibited their deerskins; and then, as the new moon appeared, visitors and residents alike moved up to Katimin, where the local priest, notified of the start at Panamenik, had so gauged the beginning of his fast that the multitude was present for its ending. Then the Deerskin dance was made for five days. The Inam ceremony having come a month or so earlier, everyone had time to attend, return home from this remote spot, and prepare for the two subsequent ceremonies. At Inam they also danced with white deerskins, but

only about a day and a half as at Panamenik. The Amaikiara rite falling in spring, had no competition except for the Salmon ceremony and spring Jumping dance in Hupa, and possibly the similar Yurok ceremony at the far-away mouth of the river. It was followed by the Jumping dance, which the Karok made only at this place.

It seems that the choice of seasons for the ceremonies may also have been determined in part by the climate. September is still normally dry and sunny, and the regalia become little exposed to rain. It is true that the Indians do not cease a dance if it begins to rain; but they do break it off or materially shorten it for a downpour or a storm. Moreover, as visitors can not begin to be accommodated in the houses of the town, and sleep in the open or under the rudest of brush coverings, the rainy season would be very unfavorable for a 2 or 5 or 10 days' dance. It is true that there is still considerable rain at the time of the spring ceremonies; but these are less numerous, and, while of no smaller religious import, are, on the whole, attended by less sumptuous dancing. All the surviving Deerskin dances, among Yurok and Hupa as well as Karok, come in autumn. In central California, where elaborate regalia are again encountered, the Kuksu dances fall during the rainy season; but they are definitely held in the dry and roomy earth house. Southern California is so nearly arid that ceremonies could be held in a roofless inclosure and their time determined other than by the weather.

The esoteric portions of their four great dances were gone through with in full by the Karok priests each year, as is only proper for rites that renew and establish the world. So far as actual records go, however, the Deerskin dances were made only in alternate years, although those of Panamenik and Katimin came in the same year. Biennially the war dance was substituted for them. This calls for no display of wealth and is likely, therefore, to have drawn visitors only from nearer towns, thus lessening the burden of entertainment on the rich men of the home village. Whether the great dances were made biennially or annually before the American intruded is not certain.

#### rites at KATMIN.

At Katimin the old man in charge of the ceremony sleeps for 10 nights in the sacred sweat house there. This, at least in its present form, is not a true sweat house, but a squarer and higher structure, not slept in at other times. (Pl. 12.) During the days he is in the sacred living house; but each day he visits a different rock or spot in the hills and speaks to it the requisite part of his long formula. It is said that this formula was not treated as private property—that is, not sold or inherited outright—but that the old man would teach it to a younger one who evinced memory, interest, and concentration. This might often be his

assistant, it may be assumed, or, if not, then a son or nephew. It does not seem likely that a Karok would allow so important a possession as this knowledge to pass to any other than a kinsman in some degree.

Besides his assistant the priest is accompanied by two virgins, or perhaps girls not yet adolescent, who seem to gather wood for his fire in the living house and to cook the light portions of acorn gruel on which alone he subsists. For the same 10 days he speaks to no person, does not turn his head to look or listen, and is addressed by no one. On each visit to a sacred spot he is followed by a band of young men, who shoot at marks and play along the way. Meanwhile visitors begin to arrive and camp on the sand bar by the river.

The 10 days come to a climax on the last night at the *yuhpit*, a foot-high hillock of clean sand near a large pepper tree at the edge of the bluff on which Katimin stands. (Pl. 22.) The two maidens clean this of any rubbish that may have accumulated and add to it each year one basketful of clean sand from the river. They descend to this, cook acorn gruel at the water's edge, and, carrying it up to the *yuhpit*, give it to the young men who have accompanied the priest on his daily journeyings. In the evening the old man brings out a sacred stool or seat from the sweat house, sets it on the sand pile, and, with his drill, kindles new fire before the assembled people. As he throws something on and the blaze burns up he calls out, and all except he cover their faces until he orders them to cease. Whoever looked would be bitten by a snake during the year. For the remainder of the night he sits or stands on his holy seat, perhaps reciting prayer or formula at times, and the people, or some of them, remain about, "helping him to keep awake" by their jests and laughter.

The combination of the use of sand in the *yuhpit* and of the fact that the Karok name for the world which is established by the rite is *isivanen*, has led to strange reports that this is a "sift sand" ceremony.

The next day begins the Deerskin dance. The priest is still attended by the two girls, and daily mutters his story while casting angelica root into the fire before the dancers commence. For the last day's dance they line up between the *yuhpit* and the pepperwood. Two parties, representing Aftaram and Katimin, compete in the dance. In old days there may have been more.

#### rites at Panamenik and Inam.

At Orleans the course of the ceremony is similar. Its central feature, the kindling of a fire which may not be looked at, is called *wileta'o* by the Yurok. Whether there is anything corresponding to the *yuhpit* is not known. Elements of this kind are often local among the northwestern tribes. There is some doubt whether the ceremony begins in the Panamenik or Tachanak sweat house. The dance is at Chamikinich, concluding at a spot on the opposite western shore called Tishanishunukich.

Of the Inam ceremony nothing is known except that it is called *irahivi*. It and the two foregoing esoteric rites, as well as public dances, are said to have been instituted by the same *ikhareya* or ancient spirit as he traveled downstream. The formulas are, however, distinct, although no doubt of similar tenor.

#### rites at Amaikiara.

The Amaikiara new year ceremony also centers about a fire that mortals may not see; but this is made during the day, and there is a ritualistic eating of the first salmon of the season. The priest or formula reciter is called *fatawenan*, and with his assistant has fasted—that is, subsisted on thin acorn

mush—for “many days,” probably 10. Early on the morning of the great day the men who have been with him in the Amaikiara sweat house emerge and shout to the people of the town and of Ashanamkarak across the river to leave. Everybody packs up his food and starts uphill. No one may eat until the summit of the ridge is reached. There they feast, play, and shoot at a mark, but never look back, for whoever saw the sacred smoke arising would sicken before long.

A woman assistant is ferried across the river to Ashanamkarak. Going uphill, she cuts down a small madroña tree, splits the whole of it into kindling, and carries the load down to the river's edge at Ashanamkarak, after which she returns to Amaikiara and spends the remainder of the day fasting in the sacred house *wenaram*.

Toward noon the priest and his assistant leave the sweat house, bathe, paint themselves, and cross to Ashanamkarak. Here, in a small cleared space among the tumbled rocks, stands an altar (Pl. 6), a rude cube of stone about a foot high, the only instance known in California of a true altar, unless the southern California ground paintings be so reckoned. This the assistant repairs, then starts a fire near it with the madroña wood. He also cooks and eats a salmon. How and when this is taken, and whether it is caught at the spot, which is noted for its fish eddies, are not certain. The priest himself merely deposits tobacco to the deities, directs by signs, and speaks his formula “inside”—that is, thinks or mumbles it. He utters no word and is in too holy a state to perform any act. Later in the afternoon the pair return to Amaikiara, where they are received in the sweat house by the men who have remained within, to the same song to whose strains they left it. Toward evening these men come out and shout to the people to return.

For 10 days more the *fatawenan* and his assistant remain seated in the *wenaram* and sleep in the sacred sweat house. The people, however, make the Jumping dance at Ashatak, opposite the mouth of the Salmon, and conclude the last day by dancing at Ashapipmam, while those of Katimin come down and dance simultaneously across the mouth at Itiwuntunuta. In the Jumping dance the Karok use eight long poles, *ahuvareiktin*, painted red and black, which afterwards the young men try to take from one another and break. This is a feature not known from the Yurok and Hupa, except for an incident in the customs of the former when they build the dam at Kepel.

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE RITES.

The ceremonies described are all unquestionably of “new year” type, and have calendrical association with the moon. Yet, to judge by Yurok analogy, the Karok year, or reckoning of the moons, began at the winter solstice, when there were no public rites. The concept of a renewal or reestablishing of the world for another round of the seasons was, however, strong in all four of the ceremonies, each of which was believed to contribute an indispensable part to this end. The new fire element, which is so marked, has not yet been discovered in any part of California other than the northwest; some form of first salmon rite appears to have been in use in nearly all those parts of the State in which the fish abounded.

## GIRLS' ADOLESCENCE CEREMONY.

Like the Hupa, but unlike the Yurok, the Karok made a dance for adolescent girls. Contrary to the usual Californian custom, this dance was performed chiefly by men—a distinctly northwestern attitude. The opening was especially reminiscent of the Deerskin dance: men stood in line, the singer in the middle, the girl danced back and forth before them. Then followed a round dance such as is most common in the ceremony elsewhere in California. A ring of men surrounded the maiden, a circle of women stood outside, and both revolved dextrally. One by one the men took the girl from behind and danced with her. Finally the war or defiance dance was made, apparently by the men only, lined up abreast. No one wore regalia of much moment. The girl herself had on a little visor of jay feathers, and carried a rattle of deer hoofs, an implement used in this dance by almost all groups of California. Neither object is employed by the Yurok.

The dance was made at night to keep the girl awake; she herself shook the rattle. For 10 days she ate no flesh and drank no water, might not look at the sun or sky, could not touch water to her face. Each morning she carried to the house 10 loads of wood cut by a female relative. On the last day she emerged early and ran back and forth 10 times, motioning at the morning star as if to catch it, and asking it to give her long life and many dentalia. The entire observance was repeated twice subsequently.

## SCOPE OF RELIGION.

Some of the present-day Karok state that they, the Shasta, and more easterly tribes excelled the Hupa in able shamans as well as powerful wizards, but that the Hupa formula for purification from a corpse was longer and more exacting. This belief is probably significant. The formulas are a more specialized development than belief in guardian spirits and poisons. They should therefore be worked out more fully at the center of the area in which they prevail, the generalized practices rather in the marginal and surrounding regions.

The following religious vocabulary may be of interest:

*em*, supernatural power, such as a shaman possesses.

*em-yar*, "good shaman."

*patuwukot*, sucking shaman.

*maharav*, clairvoyance.

*anav*, a sacred formula.

*anava-kiaran*, one who knows formulas, either to cure sickness with herbs or for any other purpose.

*ara-tanva*, "person die," a pain, *i. e.*, disease object.

- apuruwan*, an "Indian devil," *i. e.*, a person secretly possessing a magical object that produces death; also apparently the object itself.
- yumara*, ghost, spirit of a dead human being.
- ikhareya*, ancient spirit, *i. e.*, member of the race of beings that preceded mankind. Yurok *woge*, Hupa *kihunai*.
- yash-arara*, "real person," a human being; also, a true man, one of wealth and authority, a "chief."
- kemish*, any monster; also poison; also wickedly fearless.
- ipshanmaskarav*, poison.
- pikship*, "shadow," soul.
- imya*, breath, life.
- ikhareya-kupa*, ordained by the former spirit race, sacredly established.
- pikuah*, myths.
- ih*, to dance; *ih-an*, dancer.
- ih-uk*, girl's adolescence dance.
- hapish*, to make the "brush" or curing dance.
- wuwuhina*, any great dance, either the Jumping or the Deerskin dance; *wuwuhansh*, those who make or provide for such a dance.
- ishkaship*, "leap up," the Jumping dance.
- isivsanan pikiavish*, "making the world," the "new year's" ceremonies at Katimin, Amaikiara, etc.
- isivsanan pikiavan*, "world maker," the old man who recites the formula for this rite.
- fata-wen-an*, another name for him at Amaikiara.
- sharuk-iruhishrihan*, "down hill he eats salmon," or *sharuk-amavan*, "down hill he leaves salmon," the assistant in the Amaikiara ceremony.
- ahup-pikiavan*, "wood maker," the woman assistant who cuts firewood; there are two at Katimin.
- imushan*, the male assistant at Katimin.
- wen-aram*, the sacred house at Amaikiara associated with the "new year's" rite.
- kimachiram iship*, the sacred "sweat house" of the corresponding Katimin ceremony.
- isivsanan iktatik*, "makes firm the world," a sacred stone kept in this house.

#### NAMES.

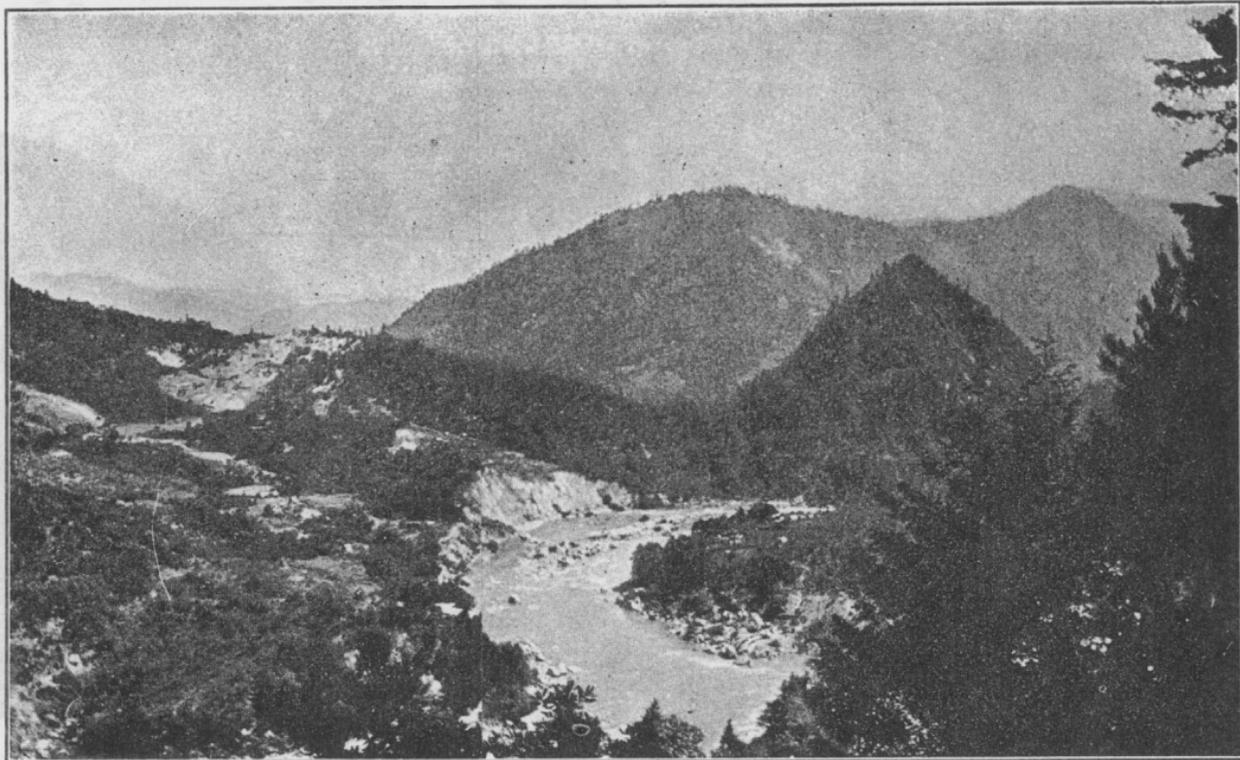
Children were named only after they had attained several years; as the Karok say, so that, "if they died young, they would not be thought of by their names." People will not tell their own names, and are exceedingly reluctant to mention those of their kinsmen and friends, even if the latter are not present to be embarrassed. It is a penalized offense to speak the name of a dead person and the height of bad manners to use that of a living person to his face, unless the closest intimacy exists. Even in reference to living people clumsy circumlocutions spring up, such as Panamenik-wapu, "born at (or belonging to) Orleans," or designations by allusion to the particular house inhabited. This feeling causes even derogatory nicknames,

such as Pihnefich, "coyote," to be preferred to the real name. In address, terms such as "old man," "Hupa man," "widower," "married woman," "widow," are very frequent. Most of the personal names seem to us very trivial, when they are not based on some peculiarity of habit; but in the case of girls there appears some inclination to bestow names that are pretty. Perhaps these are secondary pet names, just as the designations by occupation or characteristic are probably not true personal names. A few examples are: Akuni-hashki, "shoots swiftly"; Kemhisem, "roamer" or "traveler"; Anifakich, "walks down hill slowly"; Ma'ikiviripuni, "runs down from up the hill"; Sichakutvaratiha, "wide belt"; Taharatan, "flint flaker" or "bullet molder"; and for girls, I'niwach, "dripping water"; Hatimnin, "butterfly."

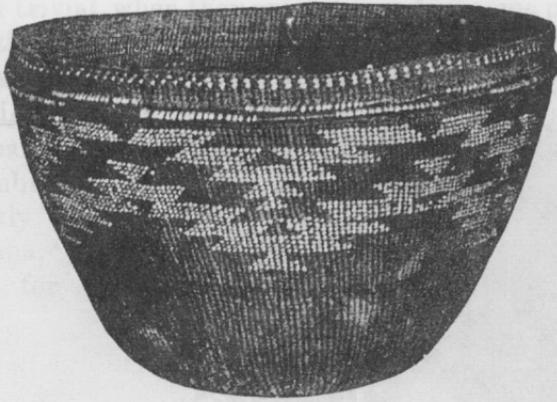
#### CONCLUSION.

Beaver-teeth dice are attributed to the Karok in one or two museum collections. This is an Oregonian form of game, and may have reached the Karok only since the American occupation. It is true that the upper Karok are geographically nearer to tribes like the Klamath and Modoc than to the mussel-gathering Yurok of the coast; but their culture as a whole being so thoroughly northwestern, and showing so little eastward leaning, raises a generic presumption against any eastern practices that are not definitely corroborated.

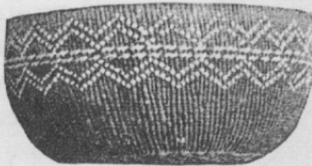
Data are scarcely available for a fuller sketch of Karok culture. Nor is such an account necessary in the present connection. In at least ninety-five institutions out of every hundred, all that has been said of the Yurok or is on record concerning the Hupa applies identically to the Karok. Here nothing further has been attempted than to depict their relation to their land and to note some of the minor peculiarities of their culture and its departure from the most integral form of northwestern civilization.



THE KAROK CENTER OF THE WORLD: SACRED TOWN OF KATIMIN ON LEFT BANK OF KLAMATH; ISHIPISHI ON OPPOSITE SIDE ACROSS RAPIDS; AUICH PEAK BELOW, HIDING THE MOUTH OF SALMON RIVER; AND BEYOND, THE RIDGE UP WHICH GO THE SOULS OF THE DEAD



*c*



*a*



*b*

**WIYOT BASKETS**

For eating (a), carrying (b), and cooking (c).