

Karok

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Language and Territory

Karok is usually pronounced in English as 'kă₁răk, though the pronunciation 'kă₁rōök is sometimes heard. The Karok language has no close relatives, and thus was classified by Powell (1891) as constituting the isolated Quoratean family; however, Dixon and Kroeber (1913) were able to discover distant relationships with other languages in California, which they grouped into the Hokan family. The recognition of a still more distant relationship to languages of Mexico led Sapir (1929) to classify Karok in a subgroup of the Hokan-Coahuiltecan division of his Hokan-Siouan phylum. These wider relationships have not been fully established. Sapir's "Northern Hokan (a)" subgroup, including Chimariko, Shasta, Atsugewi, and Achumawi, has been renamed Kahi by Bright (1954).*

The Karok are defined, by themselves and by anthropologists, mainly in terms of their distinctive language. This is especially true because their culture differed little from that of the neighboring Yurok and Hupa, and no unifying tribal organization, definable politically or socially, existed.

There is little evidence of cultural or dialectal subdivisions within the Karok, except for a marginal group at the northernmost end of the territory, along the Klamath River between Seiad and Happy Camp, in an area of Shasta bilingualism (Curtis 1907-1930, 13:58; Kroeber 1936a:35-37).

The Karoks occupied the middle course of the Klamath River, where it flows mostly north to south; the northernmost village was just downriver from Seiad, and the southernmost was at Bluff Creek, north of Weitchpec. There were also villages on Indian Creek, west from Happy Camp, and up the Salmon River, east from Some Bar (cf. Kroeber 1936a; Bright 1957:453-457). Villages were located on the river or on tributary streams; the mountain country on each side was visited for hunting, gathering, and ceremonial activities (Kroeber 1925:100). Those elements of the natural environment that were most important to the Karok were the

*The transcription of Karok words follows the system of Bright (1957) except that *β* is here written in place of the earlier *v*, an unrounded voiced bilabial spirant. *r* is a single alveolar flap. For the complex details of pronunciation indicated by the accents, see Bright (1957:11-14).

river, up which the salmon swam each year; the fir forests on the mountain slopes, in which game could be hunted; and the oak groves, visited annually for the acorn harvest.

Though linguistically separate from all their neighbors, the Karok share most features of their distinctively northwestern California culture with the neighboring Yurok and Hupa; ceremonial and marital ties existed with the Yurok in particular. The more distant Tolowa and Wiyot, though in the same culture area, were known less well. Upriver, trade was carried on with the Shasta, but cultural differences were relatively greater.

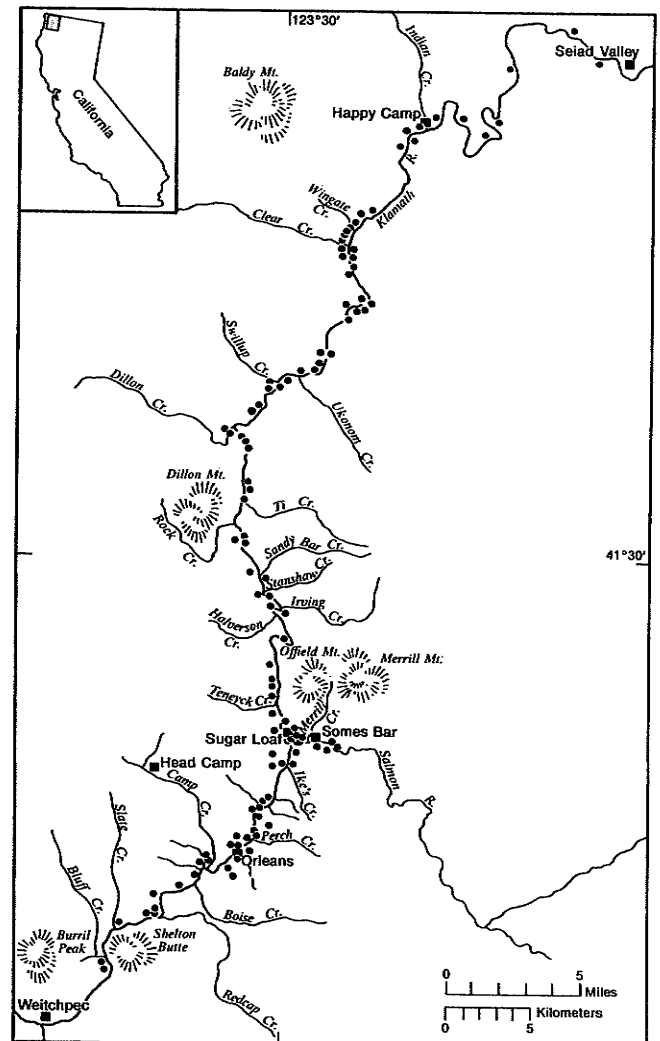


Fig. 1. Tribal area and village sites.

Aboriginally the only significant groupings of Karok population were villages or clusters of neighboring villages (fig. 1). Population was densest in three principal clusters of towns: around *panámmi-k*, Orleans, above Camp Creek; at *kaʔimʔi-n* 'upper falls' and *yuʔimʔi-n* 'lower falls', above and below the mouth of the Salmon River; and at *ʔinna-m*, Clear Creek.

After the arrival of the Whites, no reservation was set up in Karok territory; but in the nineteenth century some Indians moved to reservation lands in Scott Valley, aboriginally part of Shasta territory. Many Karoks subsequently moved into White settlements in their old territory, such as Orleans and Happy Camp, or remained living near former village sites.

Culture

In spite of the fact that Powers (1877:19) spoke of them as "probably the finest tribe in California," no systematic ethnographic sketch of the Karok has been published up to now. The most comprehensive collection of data on native California describes Yurok culture in detail but devotes only a few pages to the Karok, saying that "the two peoples are indistinguishable in appearance and customs, except for certain minutiae" (Kroeber 1925:98). The following description of Karok culture refers to the period of time immediately preceding the White invasion.

Values

Many details of Karok custom can only be understood in terms of the outlook of the Karoks toward their universe. The system is clearly similar to that described by Kroeber (1959:236-240) for the Yurok, though the Karok are perhaps somewhat less compulsive than their downriver neighbors. Kennedy (1949) summarized the most important values, with their interrelations, as follows:

(1) Great emphasis was placed on the acquisition and possession of property, in the form of dentalium shells or other wealth objects such as woodpecker scalps and obsidian blades. Such "money" was only occasionally used to purchase necessities such as food, which was abundant; rather the importance of wealth was as a mark of high social position.

(2) The highest respect and prestige was accorded to the wealthy person; Karoks speaking English sometimes use the term "good people."

(3) Abstemiousness and thrift were valued. As one of Kennedy's informants said: "Good people didn't have many children. Some people never married, so they had lots of acorns. Lizzie's mother told her it was a good thing not to marry, because then you can think about money, how to get things."

(4) Another road to wealth was to be industrious; the first lesson taught children was not to be lazy.

(5) As another means to become wealthy, magic was highly regarded; thus men performed songs and prayers for success in hunting or in gambling. Some people, called "Indian devils," supposedly employed witchcraft to enrich themselves; such sorcerers were feared but not necessarily condemned.

(6) For all their wealth, rich people were not supposed to show off or be stingy, lest poor people make bad luck for them. "You should treat poor people just the same as good people."

(9) For success in life, it was important to observe many magical practices and taboos. Many of these related to sex, which was regarded as the enemy of wealth. Puritanical attitudes toward sex were the result.

All the above attitudes resulted in a typical Karok personality type that is not unfamiliar in Anglo-American culture: anxious about property, status, and the neighbor's opinion; suspicious of the unknown; and yet, as Powers wrote (1877:21), "brave when need is . . . extremely curious, inquisitive, and quick to imitate . . . talkative and merry with his peers."

Subsistence

Like most tribes in California, the Karoks lived by fishing, by hunting wild animals, and by gathering wild plant foods. The only cultivated crop was tobacco (Harrington 1932a).

The important fish was the salmon, whose run upriver in the spring was celebrated with a ceremony. Fishing practices have been described in detail by Kroeber and Barrett (1960). Several methods were used for catching fish. Most commonly, a fishing platform was built on the edge of a stream; salmon were caught with a "lifting net" lowered on an A-frame (fig. 2) and then killed with a club. Sites for fishing platforms were privately owned but could be rented for a share of the catch. Less often, a smaller "plunge net" on an oval frame was used to scoop fish, including steelhead and trout, out of rapids (fig. 2). Nets were made of fiber extracted from wild iris leaves. Fisherman also used harpoons with detachable points, and eels were caught with dip nets or with gaffs.

The most prized game was deer. The hunter prepared himself by sweating, bathing, scarification and bleeding for luck, by smoking his weapons with herbs, and by fasting and sexual continence. Deer-head masks were used as decoys, and dogs were used to run deer into noose snares set on their trails. After the kill, deer were butchered in the woods and carried home in a bundle; offal was hidden in the woods. After being eaten, the deer were believed to "go back uphill" and be reborn.

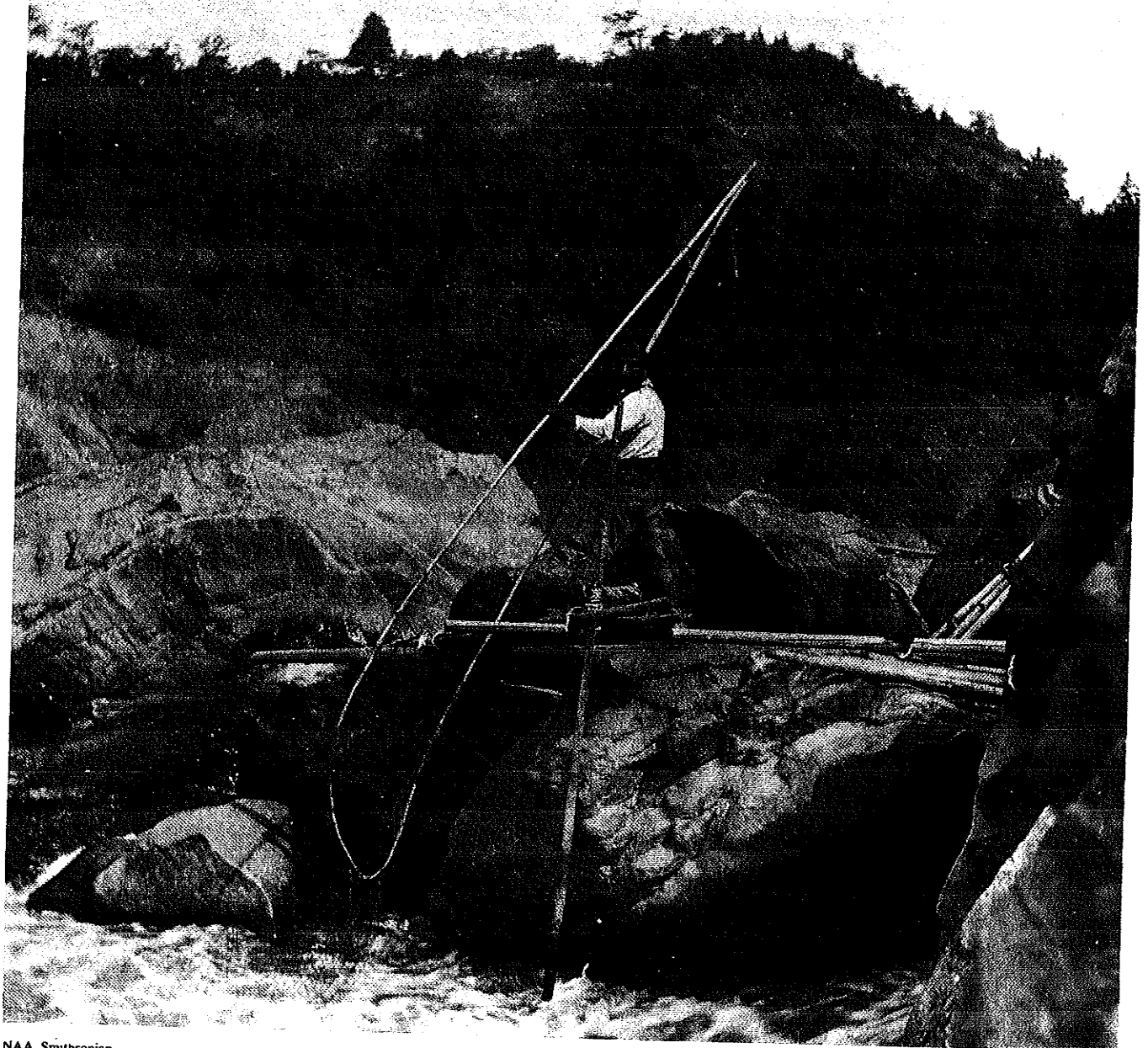
Elk were sometimes herded with dogs into ravines where they could be killed. Bears were hunted in the winter, when they were hibernating in caves; the hunter first shouted to the bear to come out, then dragged him out of the den to be killed. Rodents were caught for food by smoking them out of their holes or by poking them

out with a stick. Traps made of twigs and netting were used for small mammals and birds. Animals never eaten included the dog, coyote, wolf, fox, wildcat, gopher, mole, bat, eagle, hawk, vulture, crow, raven, owl, meadowlark, bluejay, snake, lizard, frog, grasshopper, and caterpillar. There was a taboo against eating bear meat and fresh salmon together.

Fresh fish and meat were normally cooked by roasting over a fire or hot coals. Meat and edible plant bulbs were sometimes cooked in an earth oven of hot stones,

with a fire built on top. Both salmon and deer meat could be dried on a scaffold and preserved for later use.

The major plant food was acorns, those of the tanbark oak being preferred. Families camped out each fall, living in temporary houses of fir bark while gathering the acorns from the ground. To become edible, the acorns needed to have the bitter tannic acid removed from them; the most common method was to crack and dry them, rub them to remove the skins, then grind them to flour with a stone pestle on a flat slab, sift the flour, then



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182 Fig. 2. Little Ike fishing for salmon, with a plunge net at *pame-kyá-ra-m*, Klamath River, Calif. Photographed before 1898.

leach it in a sand pit. The resulting acorn dough was mixed with water and boiled in a large basket with heated rocks in order to make acorn soup or mush. The dough could also be cooked on hot stones to make bread. Less often, whole acorns were buried in wet ground to soak for a year or more, then boiled with the hull still on, and cracked with the teeth for eating.

Wild grass seeds gathered for food were parched with coals in a basket. Other plant foods included a wide variety of edible nuts, bulbs, and greens (Schenck and Gifford 1952). Salt was obtained from certain natural deposits in the area as well as from seaweed imported from the coastal Yurok.

An important group of plant resources was that used in basketry, mainly hazel twigs and pine roots for warp and weft respectively. Regular burning off of brushy areas produced good second-growth hazel twigs, which after two years were picked, peeled, and dried in the sun. Pine roots were dug up, roasted under a fire, then split, dried, soaked, and scraped. Bear lily, Woodwardia fern, and maidenhair fern were also gathered for overlays in basketry decoration.

Technology

The materials used by the Karok for their artifacts were primarily wood, stone, and plant fiber; tools used in producing these articles were made of wood, stone, bone, and horn.

Wooden planks were obtained from logs split with horn wedges and stone mauls, and then worked with stone adzes; these were used for housing. Finer carving of wood with stone tools produced storage boxes, cooking paddles, and wooden spoons (see Kelly 1930). Wooden seats and headrests were also used by men. Boats made of hollowed-out redwood logs were purchased from the Yurok, in whose territory the redwood grew.

In addition to the pestle, grinding slab, and other stone implements mentioned above, oval steatite dishes were produced to catch the grease from roasting salmon. Small obsidian knives, chipped out with a piece of deerhorn, were attached to wooden handles and used for cutting up game; large obsidian blades, on the other hand, were prized wealth objects, displayed only at ceremonies.

The principal weapon was the bow made of yew wood, with sinew backing and a sinew bowstring. Arrows were of syringa wood, with obsidian heads for use in warfare. The quiver was made of animal skin (fig. 3). For defense, armor of elkhide or of wooden rods was worn.

Other tools included carved elkhorn spoons for men, mussel-shell spoons for women, bone awls for sewing hides, wooden or bone arrow straighteners, and wooden hand drills for making fire. The pipe for smoking to-



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Fig. 3. Jim Pepper with bow, arrow, quiver, and a headband of redheaded woodpecker scalps. Photographed in 1894.

bacco generally consisted of a straight wooden tube with a steatite bowl.

The principal use of plant fibers was in making twined basketry (figs. 4, 5). Materials, techniques, designs, and uses are discussed in detail by O'Neale (1932).

Structures

The major types of structure were the living house, one for a family, and the sweathouse (fig. 6), several in a village. The living house was mainly the dwelling of women and children, visited by the men for meals. Otherwise men slept, sweated themselves, gambled, and conversed in their sweathouses, which were taboo to women except for the initiation of a female shaman.

Both types of house were rectangular, of roughhewn planks (preferably of cedar), and semisubterranean, with a stone-paved porch outside, and a stone-lined firepit inside. The living house normally had two ridgepoles, the sweathouse only one. Doors were small and low, so that people had to crawl in, then descend a plank ladder on the inside; sweathouses had separate doors for entry and exit. The gathering by men of firewood for the sweathouse had important religious implications; limbs were supposed to be cut from the uphill and downhill sides of tall fir trees, accompanied by ritual weeping and prayer for success in hunting and gambling, which were the main means of acquiring wealth.



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Fig. 4. A young woman, probably Phoebe Maddux, making a twined basket. She is wearing dentalium necklaces and a deerskin apron decorated with braid fringes. The finished basket on the left is a carrying basket. Photographed in 1896.

In addition to the above, small wooden huts were built for menstruating women.

Clothing and ornament

The usual material for clothing was animal hide, especially buckskin, processed with deer brains and moss. A woman's everyday costume consisted of a deerskin with the hair on, worn over the back, covering the upper body, and a double apron of fringed buckskin around the waist (fig. 4); for ceremonial occasions, these garments were decorated with strings of digger-pine nuts, abalone and olivella shells, bear-lily braids (fig. 7), and, after the Whites arrived, silver coins. Maple-bark skirts were worn only when performing ceremonial or curing functions. A fur cape might be worn in cold weather. Men wore a piece of buckskin (breechclout) between their legs or went nude. A basketry cap was used by both sexes; women wore it habitually, with elaborate patterns, while men wore a plain cap only when there was need to protect the head. Buckskin moccasins with elkhide soles were worn for rough traveling, and men might also wear buckskin leggings. Snowshoes were made of hazelwood with iris-cord netting and buckskin ties for the feet.

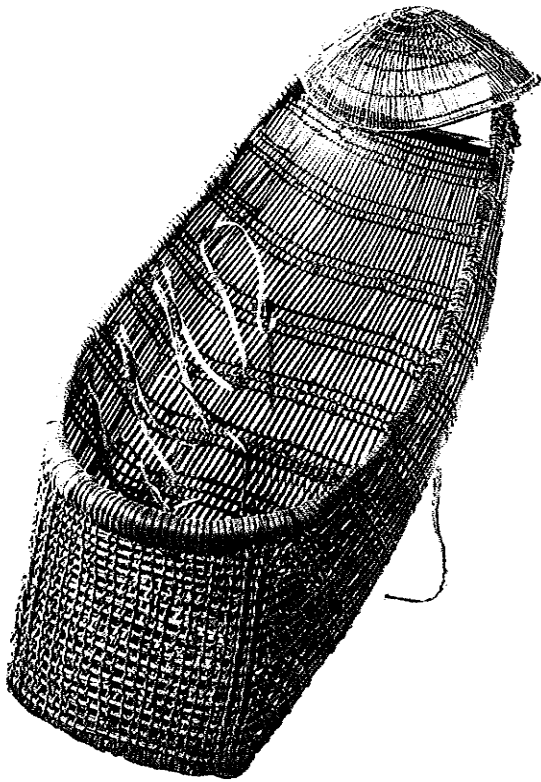
For ceremonial occasions, women wore shell necklaces; men wore headbands and "bandoliers" decorated

with woodpecker scalps and other feathers (fig. 3). Face paint was made of soot and of red or white minerals mixed with grease. The pierced earlobes and nasal septum could also carry ornaments; the Karok are said to have differed from the Yurok and Hupa in the wearing of nose pins (Barnett 1940:32). Women's hair was worn long, parted in the middle, and tied with strips of buckskin or fur so as to hang in front of the shoulders. Men's hair was also long, worn in a single roll down the back, or tied up at the nape.

At adolescence, all girls' chins were tattooed with three vertical stripes, using a sharp stone, soot, and grease (fig. 7). Indians sometimes explain that this was done to women "so they wouldn't look like men."

Social control

Northwestern California had the loosest kind of political and social organization, approximating ideal anarchy. "The village was the only political, and the family the only social, division" (Curtis 1907-1930, 13:60). Within the village, rich men were the leaders due to the prestige of their wealth; but there were no "chiefs" in the ordinary sense. Rather, the community was regulated by the set of values shared by its members. Family life was organized on similar principles, within the framework of the kinship system.



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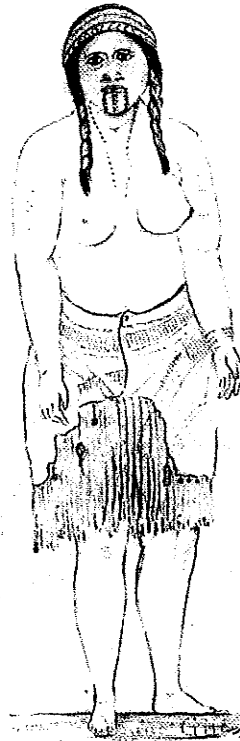
Fig. 5. Openwork baby carrier or cradle. In use it was either hung from its top or propped up vertically. The infant, bound in with leather thongs, sat on strands closing off the toe, with its feet hanging free (see also fig. 4). The separate round hood may be added to shade the face. Length 68.0 cm, collected about 1929.



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Fig. 6. A sweathouse at *pame-kyá-ra-m*. Photograph by John P. Harrington, about 1928-1929.

Karok thought recognized no crimes against the tribe or community. Instead, undesirable behavior was interpreted in two ways: transgression against the supernatural by the breaking of taboos, which would bring retribution to the wrongdoer in the form of bad luck, or transgressions against private persons or property, which would then have to be paid for in the form of indemnities to the offended individuals or families. Thus, individualism was encouraged; a person could commit trespass or murder without being stigmatized as a crimi-



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Fig. 7. Young girl from the Salmon River region wearing deerskin skirt and basket cap. She has tattoo marks on her chin and arms. Drawn by George Gibbs, Nov. 12, 1851.

nal, but he could expect to be "called to account" in quite a literal sense—being required to "pay for his misdeeds," not by undergoing punishment, but by paying indemnity in the form of shell money or other valuables. If anyone refused to pay, he was likely to be killed by the people he had offended; and this killing could in turn result either in indemnification, or in further violence between the families concerned. As Powers described it (1877:21): "If the money is paid without higgling, the slayer and the avenger at once become boon companions. If not, the avenger must have the murderer's blood, and a system of retaliation is initiated which would be without end were it not that it may be arrested at any moment by the payment of money."

What is sometimes referred to as "war" in northwest California was simply this type of retaliatory activity, expanded to involve fellow villagers of the aggrieved parties. Such feuds could be settled with the aid of a go-between, who was paid for his services. When a settlement was arranged, the opposing parties would face each other, the men doing an armed "war dance" in front of the settlement money while singing songs to insult the other side. If the women were successful in restraining the men from further violence, the settlement would conclude with an exchange and breaking of weapons.

Thus the basic principle of Karok law was that everything had its price, including the human person. Another example is the case of the "slave": a poor person could sell himself into slavery to a rich man, in order to be fed; but such a slave might subsequently be redeemed and freed if his relatives could repay the price.

Life Cycle

It is said that most children were born in the spring, since it was taboo for men and women to sleep in the dwelling house together, and intercourse was most likely to occur while camping out to gather wild foods in the summer. Mothers gave birth to babies in the living house, reclining backward and holding a strap from the roof. After the birth, the mother avoided cooking, traveling, or attending funerals for about a month; she ate alone, taking no mammal flesh or cold water during this time. The child was named, sometimes after a deceased relative, when he was weaned, between ages one and three. From around three years, boys slept in the sweat-house, where the adult men indoctrinated them in the virtues of thrift and industry.

There was no special observance connected with boys' adolescence; but a so-called flower dance was held in the summer for girls who had begun to menstruate. At this nocturnal ceremony, the girl had her face painted and carried a deerhoof rattle; men and women sang and danced together. Girls were told that they would behave the rest of their life in the same way they behaved during the puberty rite.

Many taboos applied to menstruating women throughout life: for example, they were forbidden to eat or cook meat, to pound acorns, or to have sexual intercourse. During her period, a woman stayed in the menstrual hut; new mothers and women who had miscarried were similarly isolated.

There was no particular prohibition against premarital sex; but if a woman became pregnant and a child was born, the father was expected to pay indemnity in order to legitimize the child. If this was not done, the child was considered a bastard; it was said that he was "not paid for," and he remained a pariah throughout life, disallowed from attending the deerskin dance.

Marriage itself was essentially a financial transaction; the bridegroom struck a bargain with the bride's father, and "that family is most aristocratic in which the most money was paid for the wife" (Powers 1877:22). Sometimes two men would exchange sisters in marriage; but even then, payments had to be made for both brides. The new couple went to the husband's parents' home, where an exchange of gifts completed the wedding. Later a husband might acquire his own house, but it would normally be adjacent to that of his parents. On the other hand, if a man could not pay part of the bride price, he could become "half-married"—that is, go to live with and work for his father-in-law.

The Karok practiced both the levirate and the sororate, that is, a widow was expected to marry her husband's brother or her sister's husband. A token bride price would be paid in such cases. A man could thus have two wives, or might take a second wife from outside the family, such as a girl whom he had impregnated—"she was going to have a baby, so he had to pay money." Polyandry was not practiced.

When a wife was unfaithful, her husband could demand indemnity from the other man or assault and kill him. In the latter case, the husband would of course be expected to pay indemnity to the family of the man he had killed. Alternatively, divorces could be sought by either partner on the grounds of unfaithfulness or incompatibility; such a divorce would consist in a repayment of money, negotiation of the amount depending on the number of children. Here as elsewhere, this important principle operated: the money paid in connection with sexual matters was not so much a price for a woman as it was a way of legitimizing potential offspring.

A dead person's body was removed from the house through a partially dismantled wall; the house was subsequently purified with incense. For burial, the corpse was taken to a family-owned grave plot near the dwelling site. There it was washed and dentalium shells were inserted in the nose and ears. The body was then extended supine, head in an upstream direction, and lowered into the grave with ropes. Money and valuables were broken and then buried with the corpse. A fence was built around the grave by lashing pickets to a horizontal pole; clothes and utensils were hung on this and left to rot. The male kinsman who acted as gravedigger slept by the grave for five successive nights. He and the other mourners were considered contaminated during this period; they had to sweat themselves, scarify their bodies, and avoid hunting, gathering, basketmaking, travel, sex, gambling, and the eating of fresh meat. After the five days, the ghost of the deceased was believed to go to the sky, where an especially happy place was reserved for rich people and ceremonial leaders. If anyone in the community wished to sponsor a dance within a year after someone's death, the mourners had to be paid an indemnity. Widows wore their hair singed short until they planned remarriage.

Uttering the name of a dead person was a serious offense; whether done either as a deliberate insult or by accident, it had to be compensated by payments to the survivors. However, the name was no longer taboo when formally regiven to a new baby in the family (see Bright 1958).

Kinship

The kinship system of the Karok was described, in its main outlines, by Gifford (1922:31-33); a comparison with other northwestern Californian systems was subse-

quently published by Kroeber (1934). The data as reelicited appear with some corrections in the lexicon of Bright (1957).

The basic terms for blood relatives are as follows:

ɳákka 'father'.

tá-t 'mother'.

kač 'son'.

yá-čkan 'daughter'.

ɳáttiš 'grandrelative through a man', i.e., father's parent or son's child.

kú-t 'male grandrelative through a woman', i.e., mother's father or daughter's son.

kí-t 'female grandrelative through a woman', i.e., mother's mother or daughter's daughter. These terms for grandrelatives also include granduncles, grandaunts and grandchildren.

típpa 'brother', further distinguishable as *ɳári* 'older brother' and *čá-s* 'younger brother'.

kústa-n 'sister', further distinguishable as *nánnač* 'older sister' and *čí-s* 'younger sister'. These terms for siblings are also extended to cousins.

pára 'paternal uncle'.

mí-θ 'paternal aunt'.

xúkkam 'maternal uncle'.

θúxxaθ 'maternal aunt'.

ɳaxxi-č 'man's brother's child' (either sex).

yí-s 'woman's sister's child' (either sex).

ná-θ 'man's sister's son'.

ɳíffθ 'woman's brother's son'.

fúriθ 'daughter of one's opposite-sexed sibling', i.e., man's sister's daughter, woman's brother's daughter.

A number of secondary terms can be derived from the above. The affixes *-ya-n*, *-piya-n*, and *ɳip- . . . -piya-n*, when joined to grandrelative terms, add a generation, as in *ɳatišpiya-n* 'paternal great-grandfather, son's grandchild'. With other terms, these affixes designate step-relatives, for example (from *tá-t* 'mother') *ɳipatpiya-n* 'stepmother'. The suffix *-βa-s* indicates that a linking relative is dead, e.g. *ɳatišβa-s* 'parent of one's dead father, child of one's dead son'. For deceased kin, terms are substituted for the basic ones, e.g., *ɳihku-s* 'deceased mother' instead of *ta-t*.

The basic terms for relatives by marriage (*ná-m*, *ná-miš*) are as follows:

ɳáβan 'husband'.

ɳrô-ha 'wife'.

ɳi-ni 'cowife', used between two women married to the same man.

fíkβa-n 'father-in-law'.

faratíppiš 'mother-in-law'.

ɳíkkam 'son-in-law'.

ɳíram 'daughter-in-law'.

ɳê-r 'man's brother-in-law', i.e., his sister's husband or wife's brother. The term also includes his aunt's husband or wife's nephew.

ɳí-t 'woman's sister-in-law', i.e., her brother's wife or husband's sister. The term also includes her uncle's wife or husband's niece.

ɳimna-s 'opposite-sexed sibling-in-law', i.e., a man's brother's wife or wife's sister, or a woman's sister's husband or husband's brother. The term also includes a man's uncle's wife or wife's nephew, and a woman's aunt's husband or husband's nephew.

xakanífmá-r 'sister-in-law's husband'.

xakanyárar 'brother-in-law's wife'.

Games

The most popular recreation for Karok men was gambling with so-called Indian cards—a group of small sticks, one marked with a ring around the middle, which were held in two hands and shuffled behind the back; then an opponent attempted to guess which hand held the marked stick. Play was accompanied with drumming and singing, intended to bring luck to the players.

Men also played a form of shinny known locally as the "stick game." In this game, three-man teams, equipped with heavy sticks, competed to throw a "tossel" (two wood blocks attached by a buckskin cord) across opposing goal lines. Players attempted to hinder their opponents by grappling, wrestling, and cudgeling with their playing sticks.

Minor games included cat's cradle, archery, dart throwing, and a type of dice game played with mussel shells by women.

Oral literature

Also classifiable as recreation, perhaps, was story telling, which served simultaneously as a form of education. The most important type of narrative is the myth, often with interpolated songs, told mainly in the winter; this was an account of events prior to the creation of mankind, when the earth was populated by a type of being known as *ɳikxaré-yaβ*. A myth typically climaxed and ended with the coming of mankind and the simultaneous transformation of the protagonists into species of animals, or sometimes into disembodied spirits, which exist on the earth today. The largest published collection of such myths, in Karok and English, is in Bright (1957: 162-261); also useful are Angulo and Freeland (1931) and Harrington (1931, 1932). An especially large and popular class of myths has Coyote as its trickster-hero (see Bright 1954a, 1957:162-205).

Some myths are also magical formulas (*ɳánnaβ* 'medicine'), transmitted by individuals as their personal property and used to acquire love, luck, or wealth. Such a myth tells, for instance, how a female *ɳikxaré-yaβ*, Evening Star, lost her lover and sang to bring him back again; the story, concluding in the singing of Evening Star's love song, was supposed to bring a wandering sweetheart back to a woman who recited it (cf. Bright 1957:250).

Cosmology

Little has been recorded concerning Karok views of the physical universe; the fact that no creation myth has been collected strongly suggests that none ever existed. However, many myths describe how the ways and features of the world were ordained by *ñkxaré-yaßs* before their transformation—for example, the use of salmon and acorns. In fact the Karoks seem mainly interested in their immediate surroundings. The Klamath River, running between Klamath Lakes and the sea, is the basis for their terms of spatial orientation: *káruk* 'upriver', *yúruk* 'downriver', *máruk* 'away from the river, uphill', and *sáruk* 'toward the river, downhill' are the four cardinal points.

The land of the dead was thought to be in the sky, and the Milky Way was called the road of the dead; the only other terms known for stars refer to the morning star, the evening star, and the Pleiades. A 13-month lunar calendar was observed, beginning with the winter solstice (cf. Harrington 1932a:81-83). The ritual numbers were 5 and 10, which also formed the basis for the counting system.

Ceremonies

The principal rites of the Karok were those concerned with "renewing the world" and assuring its stability between annual observances. These are correlated with the seasonal availability of major food resources: in spring, when the salmon started running, the Jumping Dance was held at *ñame-kyá-ra-m*, where salmon were mythically created. In the fall, at the time of the acorn harvest and the second great run of salmon, Deerskin Dances were held at Orleans, *kañimñ-n*, and Clear Creek. These ceremonies involved ritual activity by priests and priestesses, as well as feasting, display of wealth, and dancing. These dances, like all others, were accompanied by singing; unfortunately, little description of either dance style or song style has ever been carried out for the northwestern California tribes. Details of the rites were published by Kroeber and Gifford (1949).

A less important ceremony was the Brush Dance, held to cure a sick child. Such dances are still performed with some regularity, with the added functions of recreation and the attraction of tourist spending.

Curing

Most cases of disease were treated by two classes of curers, the "herb doctor" and the "sucking doctor." The herb doctor, who might be a man or a woman, treated patients by administering herbal medicine internally or externally and by fumigating them with tobacco and plant incense, along with recitation of magical formulae; such a practitioner was qualified simply by learning the appropriate procedures. The sucking doctor, who was usually a woman, had to have a "vocation." When a girl

continually dreamed and mourned over dead relatives, neglecting her food and acting strangely, she could be considered a novice doctor, and a "doctor dance" or "kick dance" could be held in a sweathouse for 10 consecutive nights. Within a year's time the novice was expected to go to a remote place in the mountains to sing and pray for the supernatural power of curing. If her quest was successful, she acquired a disease object or "pain" which she kept within her body and learned to control—vomiting it up, displaying it, and absorbing it into her body again. With the aid of her own "pain," the sucking doctor then cured by sucking on her patients' bodies and magically withdrawing (without breaking the skin) the "pains" that were causing illness. The curing procedure involved singing, dancing, smoking (doctors were the only women who smoked), and display of the offending pain before its magical dispersal.

Sometimes a sucking doctor was also clairvoyant, able to indicate where to find lost objects. Such a doctor could examine a sick baby and determine that the illness was caused by some wrongdoing on the part of a family member. The doctor then elicited a confession before the entire community, whereupon the baby would recover (cf. Gifford 1958, 1:245-255).

A curer's fee was paid before treatment but had to be refunded if the treatment were unsuccessful. If the patient died within a year, the fee again had to be refunded. But a curer could not readily refuse a case: if he did, and the patient died, the curer would have to indemnify the survivors in the amount of the normal curing fee.

History

The first Whites seen by the Karoks were probably traders from the Hudson's Bay Company in the early nineteenth century, but this contact seems to have had little effect. Then suddenly, in 1850-1851, the Karok territory was invaded by gold miners. The impact of this invasion was greater on the Karok than on their neighbors since Yurok territory offered less rewarding prospects for mining. Karok land was "overrun by unscrupulous individuals who had no intention of settling or establishing cordial relations with the natives" (Barnett 1940:23). In 1852, after clashes between Whites and Indians around *panámni-k*, the Whites burned most of the Indian towns as far north as the Salmon River, and the Indians fled to the hills; the White town of Orleans was then founded. When the Indians returned, they found Whites' houses and farms on their village sites. Military operations in that year claimed 15 Karok lives, and 75 more in 1855. But subsequently, "some of the refugees were given permission to build houses in unoccupied places near the farms, and thus began their unattached existence, which in most cases has continued to the present day" (Curtis 1907-1930, 13:58).

After the mines had given out in the late nineteenth century, the Karoks were left more or less to their own devices. Sexual liaisons between White men and Indian women had resulted in children who, classified as bastards in the native social system, "aped their white fathers in contempt and skepticism of the sanctions and taboos, and did not suffer thereby This disaffected group presented a continuing and finally disruptive attack on the elders and their prescriptions" (Kennedy 1949:15). By 1948 it was reported that scarcely two dozen elderly full-bloods remained with an orientation to the old culture (Kennedy 1949:1-2). But by 1972, when being an Indian was at last coming to be once more a matter of pride in America, the world renewal ceremony had been revived at both Clear Creek and *kaʔimʔi-n*, and there were once more prospects for the preservation of Karok identity.

The Ghost Dance religion of 1870, spreading from Nevada and promising the return of dead Indians and traditional life, reached the Karok through the Shasta in 1871 (Kroeber 1904). Dances were held at Happy Camp, at *kaʔimʔi-n*, and at *ʔame-kyá-ra-m* but seem to have made no lasting impression.

The aboriginal Karok population, as of 1848, has been estimated by Cook (1956:98) at 2,700. Military operations, "social homicide," privation and disease (especially syphilis, introduced by the Whites) caused the population to drop rapidly in the early years. There was some recovery in the more peaceful years of the late nineteenth century, followed by a drop in the twentieth century, as assimilation to White culture resulted in decreasing numbers of ethnically identifiable Indians. The following population estimates are from Cook (1943b:98, 105), except where otherwise stated:

1851	1,050
1866	1,800
1876	1,300
1880	1,000
1905	994 (Kroeber 1957a:224)
1910	775
1915	870

In the U.S. census of 1930, a total of 755 people were identified as Karoks, of which 16.4% were said to be full-bloods and 6.2% were monolingual. Such figures undoubtedly exclude many persons of part-Karok blood. By contrast, the Sacramento office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported (personal communication 1972) that 3,781 individuals were identified as having at least some Karok ancestry.

Synonymy

The label Karok has been in general use since Powers (1877); the variant spellings Cahroc or Cahrok were used earlier. The term is from Karok *káruk* 'upstream', contrasting with *yúruk* 'downstream', adopted by Whites to refer to the Yurok tribe. J.P. Harrington in his various publications used the English form Karuk. The Karok, like most California tribes, originally called themselves simply *ʔara-r* 'person, Indian'; some nineteenth-century writers used this as a tribal name, in the English spelling Arra-Arra.

Other terms applied by Whites in the nineteenth century were Quoratem, derived from the Yurok name for a Karok site, *ʔasapíma-m*, at the mouth of the Salmon River; Eh-nek or Ehník, derived from the Yurok name for the Karok village of *ʔame-kyá-ra-m*; and Peh-tsik, derived from the Yurok word for 'upriver'. Powell (1891:176) coined the adjective Quoratean to refer to the linguistic family constituted by the Karok language, but the term found little use subsequently.

Sources

Other than publications already cited, the most important collections of data on the Karok are the tabulations of cultural traits ("element lists") published for northwestern California as a whole by Driver (1939), the unpublished ethnographic MSS of Harrington and of Gifford (1939, 1939a, 1940), the modern Karok autobiographies contained in Kennedy (1949), and the lexicon and ethnographic texts of Bright (1957).