

# KAROK TOWNS

BY

A. L. KROEBER

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IN 1923, on a trip up the road along the Klamath river, I interviewed two intelligent Indians near Clear creek, in the upper part of Karok territory, which I had never before visited. They were Ned, reputed the oldest of his people and apparently well over 80 years old; and Mary Jacops, sister of Frank Jacops, a middle-aged to elderly woman noted, with her family, for conservatism to the old ways. Ned spoke English, but a young relative interpreted for Mary. From both I obtained a list of Karok native towns or settlements in their order down the Klamath. Ned's began at Happy Camp and ended at the falls below the mouth of the Salmon, and he added for each place the number of houses he had seen or heard of there. Mary Jacops' list begins above Happy Camp, in territory generally assigned to the Shasta, about which matter more below; and continues to where the Karok met the Yurok between Redcap and Bluff creek-mouths. Especially around populous centers, she named more sites than Ned, apparently through listing separately the parts or "suburbs" or "wards" of what by others is treated as a single settlement. Some of her names were avowedly those of sweat houses each of which, on the average, served perhaps three living houses, and, by Yurok custom, usually took its name from one of these. It is therefore indicated, by the way, that the Karok, like the Yurok, named their houses.

I give the two lists consolidated into one. Although no data obtained in this enumerative fashion can be wholly satisfactory, ideally authentic information involves visits to all sites and questioning of many people—a matter of weeks of study at least. The present data are at any rate much more orderly and complete, on internal evidence, than those which I tried to interpret in *Handbook of California Indians*, page 99.

The statement in the *Handbook*, page 100, that upper Karok speech was somewhat differentiated, is erroneous, and evidently refers to the territory above Happy Camp about Seiad, which is in dispute between Shasta and Karok. Both Ned, whose grandfather lived at Clear creek, and Mary Jacops, who was born at Utk, a few miles below, declared that the language of their natal districts was the same as that of the Karok downstream about Orleans.

## LIST OF SETTLEMENTS

(In order downstream. Unstarred, from Ned; starred, from Mary Jacobs. w, e, on west and east sides of Klamath. Marked with ‡, from Orvel M. Allen, a young Karok of Orleans; with †, from Grover Sanderson (Eaglewing), of Camp cr. Numbers in parentheses, houses according to Ned. Other matter in parentheses, Yurok or other data; C, Curtis, The North American Indian 13:222, with number of houses about 1860 in parentheses; Hdbk, Handbook of California Indians. Seiad valley district discussed separately below.)

- E Impu'rak (4), 1 m. above Happy Camp. \*Impu'rak. (C, Impurak, 0.)  
 w Nowi'rakan (3), opp. last.  
 w Iχwu'ruwūnup (0). (C, Yuχrupmuvonum, 0.)  
 † Kiri'tškan (4).  
 † Okurimšu'ruk (3), 100 yds. downstream, on creek.  
 w \*Asisuf-ti'širam. (C, Asisuf-tishiram, 2-3; 2 m. above Happy Camp.)  
 w Asisu'fu-wunum (7), at Happy Camp, on Indian cr. \*Asisu'f-ūnup. (C, Asisuf-wunupma or -uunuk, most populous.)  
 w Yuχtu'ivnen (4-5), ¼ m. below last, downstream from creek. \*Yo'χtoiēvnē'nitš.  
 E šiva'tin (2), opp. little creek. \*šiva'ti'imi.  
 E \*Ya'χurup-mo'vōnop, mouth of Elk cr. (By map, 1½ m. below Happy Camp.)  
 w \*I'šipiš-niavnēnitš. (C, Ishipisha-tishiram, 6.)  
 E Kaše'mirak (0), 3 m. below Happy Camp, 6 above Clear cr. \*Kašahimvi'rak. (C, Kasem-viruk, 2.) (The map shows canyon beginning 2½ m. below Happy Camp.)  
 E A'yunup (2-3), ½ m. below last. \*A'yunupum.  
 w \*Ikyi'riravōnop.  
 w \*Patsi'ririš, Oak Flat. Position of these 2 relative to next 3 not certain. (C, Pachichirish, 1 +.) (By map, 2 m. above Clear cr.)  
 E Iχtšunē'rim (0), 1¼ m. above Clear cr.  
 E Epuku'nsu'uf (0, but inhabited now), ½ m. below last.  
 w Akramu'ram (1), opp. last.  
 w Yu'χtui (saw 0, heard of 2), ¼ m. below last, ½ m. above Clear cr. \*Yu'χtui.  
 E \*Xansifi'kiri.  
 w Apaka'i'pan (7), on upstream (N) side of mouth of Clear cr., on 150-ft. (†) terrace. \*Apaka'i'pan.  
 w Ta'tšipiri'viram (7), on same terrace ½ m. up Clear cr. Ned's gr.f. lived there.  
 w I'nā'm (5), on s side Clear cr., on uphill side of road by little flat near bridge over creek. \*Inā'm. (C, Inam-sufkarom.) (Yurok Okonile'l.)  
 E Pipta'as (1, and summer camps for drying salmon), opp. last. \*Pi'pta'as, between Xansifi'kiri and Apaka'i'pan.  
 w Ta'yukunatš (3, never seen by inf't; his gr.f. told him that his br. had lived there); ½ m. up Clear cr. on s side, opp. first little ridge.  
 E Aχrašaviš (2), 2 m. below Clear cr. \*Aχarāša'viš.  
 E \*Aχari'vik.  
 w \*Ti'nχōmnepa, in plowed field by Jacobs house. (C, Tinχōmnipak, 3-4.)  
 E \*Tinik, diagonally opp. last.  
 w Taša'χa'ak (4), at school house, below Jacobs. \*Tašaχā'ak. (C, Tasaχaak, 2-3; opp. next.)  
 E Xumaru' (5), Ferry Point, opp. last. \*Xuma'ru. (C, Xumvaru, 9; Ferry Point.) (By map, Titus cr., 3 m. below Clear cr.)  
 E \*Pikiva'hatš.  
 w \*U'utk(i). (C, Utki, 0; 2-3 m. below Xumvaru.)

- E \*I'švinip-yē'nipanaš. The position of these 3 relative to the unstarred settlements between Xumaru and Aχašuruk is not clear.
- (E) Ašiviti'šram (4, not seen by inf't), "up Elk creek"; had sweat house. (Elk cr. is not here, but above Clear cr. But Independence cr., a large stream, comes into the river from E about here, viz., 5 m. by map below Clear cr.)
- (E) Xopariši'širam (3), c. 2 m. farther up Elk cr.
- (E) U'š'i'ivi (3, not seen by inf't), c. 1½ m. farther up Elk cr.
- E Šuruku'nwū'nup (2 heard of, not seen).
- W Iχtarina'ī'pan (3), little below last. (C, Ishtarinaapun, 1.)
- W Aχā'šuruk (4), little below last. \*Aχā'šuruk. (C, Aχasuruk.)
- W Išwi'rip (7), opp. Ehrhardt ranch; above Blue Nose bridge.
- E Yu'χna'm (1), diag. opp. last. Yuχna'mit is the mt. opp. Išwirip, a little upstream (approximately Ukonom mt. of our maps, pron. Yukanam, for Yuχnam.) (Ukonom cr. by map comes in from E 9 m. below Clear cr.)
- \*Jacobs data give 9 names here, perhaps all "wards" or parts of Išwirip-Yuχnam, viz.: E \*Yuχna'mit, E \*Tknī'mitš, W \*Tši'muyāš, W \*Puri'pirik, W \*Isvi'ript, W \*Pikiva'ī'nats, E \*Yu'χnam, W \*U'ruhaš, E \*Ašata'n'anitš opp. last. (C however lists 6, viz.: W Pahipas-tishiram, 1; E Iknimich; W Chimuyaas, 10-12; E Yuhunam, 2-3; W Uruχas; E Asatannanich, 2-3.)
- W Kašaχā'ni'ik (4), at Alberry cr., below it. \*Kašaχā'nik. (C, Kasuχannik, a little below Cottage Grove.) (By map Alberry is 2 m. below Cottage Grove and nearly 4 below Ukonom cr.)
- W Šomorōkā'kuk (5), at Dillon cr. \*Ša'murokā'kuk. (C, Samvaru-Kakukam, just below Tailings cr.) (By map, Dillon cr. 2 m. below Alberry cr.)
- (W C, Ishiviript, 1½ m. below Cottage Grove.) Cf. under Yuχnam above.
- W Xumni'pak (5), upstream from bridge. \*Xūmni'pak. (C, Xomnipak, a little below Samvaru-Kakukam.)
- E Ša'rum-ihvunvirak (3), downstream from bridge; mining claim. Position relative to next 2 not clear. (C, Sarumihi-vonuviruk.)
- E \*Inni'nats.
- E \*Atsi'ptsinik.
- E Paši'ru'u'vura (5), 1½ m. below Šarum-ihvunvirak. \*Paši'rūra. (C, Pasiruvvara, a few houses.)
- W \*Avi'širihirak.
- E Tī'i (7), Tea bar, 1 m. below Paširu'uvura. \*Tī'i. (C, Tii, T-Bar cr.) (By map, Tea cr. is 4 m. below Dillon cr. and 2 m. above Eyese. Tea bar stretches along the river nearly a mile.)
- E \*Ti'hiyurukam (= "Ti'i-downstream"; a suburb?).
- E Aša'mmi (2, perhaps more), 2 m. below Tī'i. \*Aša'mmi'iš, put below next. (C, Asamiif, 2; below next.)
- W Sufka'ro'om (6), at Rock cr., 1 m. above Ayis (according to map). \*Sufka'ro'om. (C, Sufkarom, Rock cr.)
- E Aχva'itš (2), 1 m. below Ašammi. \*Aχva'itš. (C, Aχvaich, 2-3.)
- W Ayi'īs-irim (5), opp. last. \*A'yis. (C, Ayisthrim, many houses; at Iyis.) (Yurok Ra-yoik.) (On map, Eyese bar.)
- E \*Ipū'nvaram. Possibly a suburb of Ayis. (Cf. C, W Asapivtunuvak, 2; between Ayis and next.)
- W Ukuramki'rik (4), 2 m. below Ayis. \*Kura'mki'rik. (C, Ukurumkirik, 3.)
- E \*I'npī'it. (C, Inpiit, a few houses.)
- W Iširāmhī'rak (inf't saw 3, heard of 6), 2 m. below Ukuramkirik. \*Iširā'mhirak. (C, Tishiram-hiruk.)

- E Afta'ram (3; anciently many), little below last. \*Afta'ram. (C, Aftaram, 3; Stanshaw cr.) (If Aftaram is at Stanshaw cr., it is only 1½ m. below Ayis instead of 4 as stated by Ned (his distances added together); 4 m. brings one to Horseshoe Bend, Iramni-hirak.)  
 (C follows with: E Kochiif, 1, 1 m. below last; but cf. Kotsi' and his Kochvo below.)  
 E Xavara'mnik (4 heard of), 1 m. below last. \*Xavara'mnik. (C, Xavaramnik.)  
 W \*Iramni'hirak. (C, Iramni-hiruk, 3-4; Horseshoe Bend.)  
 E Ik'i'snihatš (3). \*Ik'i'sni. (C, Ikihišnihuch.)  
 E \*Kō'tšivis-yā'ra. (C, Kochvo-koskum.)  
 W Kō'tsi' (4). \*Kō'tši'ivi. (C, Kochvo.)  
 W Akuvati'iv (3), 4-5 m. upstream from Katimin. \*Akwativi, given below next. (C, Akuvat-tiif, Reynolds cr.)  
 E Yu'χip (3). \*Yuχχip. (C, Yuχunammit, 2; put, however, above last.)  
 W Inū'χtakatš (5). \*Eyiñi'χta'kitš. (C, Inutakuch, 3.) (By map, opp. Offield cr.)  
 W \*šamsiri'hirik. (C, Samsirihiriik, ¼ m. below next.)  
 W A'ššipak (3), ½ m. below Inuχtakatš, 2 m. above Išipiši. \*A'šip(a)k. (C, Asipuk, 6; Ten Eyek cr.) (Yurok Hohkutsor.)  
 E \*Ivirati'ri. (C, Iviratiri, 2.)

Here begin the large clusters, called Katimin on E and Išipiši on W side of the river, at a rough riffle or rapids. Ned gave Išipiši first and Mrs. Jacobs Katimin (more upstream), but the difference is technical, as the 2 towns face each other. Neither gave Katimin as a town name, but listed its parts or wards.

- W I'šipiši (7). \*Ti'širumātspi, \*Išipi'šiak, \*Uutška'mits, \*Uunuktē'mitš, \*ša'va'ri, evidently all parts of Išipiši. (C, Ishipishi-rihuk; and Tishiram-aachip, its upper end.) (Yurok Kepar. Hdbk. pls. 12, background, 22, right.)

E (Katimin, as follows):

Ašapē's-i'pan (3), at upper riffle, opp.

Išipiši

Atšivi'v-hi'rak (2), downstream

Yu'χtuyurup (16), downstream

Ikiri'v-rukan (14 with Ma'hinu), last uphill houses of Yuχtuyurup

Mā'hinu, uphill from last, close to wagon road

\*Ats(i)vi'v-hi'rak

\*Yu'χtuirup, "many sweat houses here"

\*Mā'kava'ri

\*Kitaχrea'reiχkam

\*Kiri'vi-rukan

\*Xavi'šti'imi

\*Išwiri'pmām

\*Ikiri'fakuna

\*Ikiriru'pōno

\*Ivi'šip

\*Wēn'aram (Hdbk. pl. 12)

\*Yu'uti'mitš

\*Aχā'i'pan

\*Mā'hinu

\*Mā'hinu-va-yuva'ra

"All this is Katimin, but I have forgotten some sweat houses."

(C, Yuhtuyirup, about 15 houses; Katimin, level field 200 yds. below; Xavishtim, on hill, ¼ m. below.)

(Yurok: Apyu, probably Yuhtuyurup; Shegwu', prob. Ikirivrukan-Ma'hinu; and Katimin as a whole. Hdbk. pls. 10, 12, 22 left.)

(E) šaki'ripirak (3), on N side Salmon r., below bridge.

(E) šiχti'ri (4), up Salmon from last. \*šiχti'ri. (C, Sihtiri, below bridge.)

(E) Yuχku' (4), up Salmon from last. (C, Yuχku, just above Somea.)

(Curtis gives other settlements up the Salmon, which are cited below.)

E Aša'nnamkarak or Yu'timi'n (8), below mouth of Salmon r., at Ike's Falls. \*Ašannā'-mkarak; \*Apuuva'nik and \*Tu'yukirik evidently parts thereof. (C, Asannamkarak, 7; he also mentions, upstream, Asaouyu, 200-300 yds. below the Salmon.) (Yurok Ikwane. Hdbk. pls. 6, 7.)

W Aša'mmām (7) opp. last, and Eχripa'ipšuruk (9), ½ m. below adjoining, constitute Amekiara. \*Aša'mmām, \*Amē'kiā'ra, \*Ven'a'ram, \*Taχyē'makam, \*Eχripahipšuruk, \*Aχtuišu'nukitš, \*šū'hinu, sweat houses in Amekiara. (C, Asammam, and across a creek from it, Amaikiyaram.) (Yurok: Tunitl for Ašammam, and Enek for Eχripa'ipšuruk and Amekiara. Hdbk. pl. 7, background.)

(Here Ned's information ended.)

(W C, Kugiv-χomnipak, 1.)

(E C, Tishiram-sa, 1.)

W \*Xavna'mihiti. †Xavna'mihitš, Knudson ranch, opp. Whitmore cr., c. 4½ m. above Orleans. (C, Xavnammihich, 3.)

(E C, Vitsha, 4.)

E \*Taχasu'fkara. †Taχašū'fkara, Perch cr., 1 m. above Orleans. (C, Taχa-sufkara.)

E \*šarū'k-hinu, near last.<sup>1</sup>

E \*Aχye'm-šurip-šu'ruk.

W \*Kaša'nnukitš. †Kasa'nnik, opp. Perch cr. (C, Kasannukich, ½ m. above Orleans.)

E \*Tši'natš. †Tši'naš, opp. Orleans. (Sims Ferry; perhaps Yurok Tsaano.) (C, Chinnuch, on west side, above Orleans bridge.)

E \*Tsi'nats-i'š'i'ip, evidently near last.

W \*Pana'menik, Orleans. †Pana'mnik. †Panamnik, from hotel and Brizard store ½ m. downstream along the flat. (C, Panamnik, 12.) (Yurok Ko'omen.)

W \*Imtaχaō'skam, \*Ma'kavari, \*Ikiri'kirēni may be parts of Panamenik.

E \*Ka'tip-hirak. (Yurok Tsano.) (C, Ukaramipan, below Orleans bridge, and Katiripak, practically part of last.)

W \*Tiša'nnik. †Tiša'nik, mouth of Camp cr. †Tiša'nnik, at mouth of Camp cr.; beginning on a flat-topped point up river from the creek (which point was mined away except for a ceremonial house), the houses extended around and up the creek nearly ½ m. Until the placering deflected its course, the river flowed close to the present road instead of ¼ to ½ m. away. (Yurok Olege'l.) (C, Tishannik, opp. below last; Kushripish-amayau, a little below.)

E \*Tšamikini'natš. †Tšimikni, Wilder place. †Tsa'mikninitš, Wilder place, ½ m. below Camp cr. Not a town, but where the boat dance ended and the audience stood. (Yurok Oketur.) (C, Chamikninuch, Wallace ranch.)

W \*Tū'yuvuk(u). †Tū'yuk, †Tuyuvuk, Ullathorn cr. (C, Tuyivuk.)

E \*šaχuvu'rum. †Savu'ram, †Saχvu'rum, downstream side of Boise cr. (Yurok Operger.) (C, Sahavurum.)

W \*Vönvi'rak, \*Suffā'tšpi, \*Vonvi'rak-yuruk are evidently parts of one town. (C, Vonviruk, 3.) (Yurok Aperger.)

W \*Ava'χirik.

W \*Iktšu'nnam.

W \*Wu'ppam. †Wu'pam, †Wu'ppam, opp. Redcap cr. (Yurok Opegoi.) (C, Vupum.)

<sup>1</sup>The late Lieutenant Governor John Daggett told me of "Sar-nee-pa" on the w side at Sandy Bar. The Yurok call this Sandy Bar settlement Wetsits-iko.

w \*A'htšaha-i'pin (atš), part of Wuppam.

w †İsra'mam, on upstream side of mouth of Slate cr. (C, Ishiramam.)

(E C, Ishputuch.)

(E C, Ininnuch, 3-4.)

(Curtis' list of Karok settlements on the Salmon, in order upstream: right bank, Sihtiri, below bridge); r., Imkanvirasuf; left, Yuhuihti-hiruk, at Somes; r., Yaçku, just above Somes; l., Ishivinnipich, Three-Dollar Bar; r., Vunçaruk, Oak Bottom; r., Sipiri; r., Tiish; l., Itirovuti-hiruk; r., Sumnannuk, at forks of Salmon, Karok and Shasta.)

## GROUPING

Geographically and functionally, this array of settlements organizes about as follows.

1. Upper district, with 2 foci of concentration:

a. Happy Camp or Asisufunup subdistrict: from Impurak to Ayunup; 29-31 houses.

b. Clear creek or Inam subdistrict: from Içtšumerim to Elk cr.; 48 houses, of which 23 in and about Inam at the mouth of Clear cr., and 11 up "Elk" (†) cr., off the river. Inam had a world-renewal ceremony.

2. A long stretch of "Middle" district follows, without large towns, but with a total of about 85 houses. This perhaps groups into the following 5 subdistricts:

a. İšwirip, Yuçnam, etc., 17 houses.

b. Xumnipak, etc., 17 houses.

c. Ti'i, etc., 12 houses.

d. Sufkaro'om, Ayis, etc., 19 houses.

e. Aftaram, etc., 20 houses, incl. Ikišni and Kotši.

3. Mouth of Salmon district, with a total of 91 houses and 2 world-renewing ceremonies, at Katimin and Amaikiara. There are 4 clusters:

a. Ašipak, etc., above Katimin, 14 houses.

b. Katimin and İšipiši, at rapids above Salmon, 42 houses.

c. On Salmon r., off Klamath, 11 houses.

d. Ašanamkarak and Amaikiara, at falls below Salmon, 24 houses.

4. Lower or Orleans district, number of houses unknown; dividing probably into:

a. Orleans proper, Panamenik, Tišanik, etc., with a world-renewal.

b. Redcap, Wupam, etc.

## POPULATION

These data allow of some inferences concerning population. My estimate of 1500 persons, in the Handbook, p. 101, is evidently too low. The 254 houses on the three upper reaches of the river yield, at the York figure of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  persons per house, 1905 persons, if the houses were all occupied simultaneously. This leaves the fourth or lower district to be added. Ned's list averages almost exactly 4 houses per settlement.<sup>3</sup> The Jacobs list names 23 settlements in the lower stretch, but, with allowance for suburbs and parts of towns, these may

<sup>3</sup>For 15 towns the Ned and Curtis lists both name exact numbers of houses. The aggregates are 60 and 57-60, average 4. The Jacobs list, which dwells more on parts of towns as if they were separate—typical Yurok usage, also—would presumably run lower: 3 houses or a little less to the named settlement. I add the numbers for the 15 towns, to illustrate the variability, which is probably not so much in individual memory as in the period referred to, and therefore has bearing on the question of ratio of occupied houses to house sites which is discussed in the next paragraph. 4:0; 0:0; 0:2; 4:2-3; 5:9; 3:1; 1:2-3; 2+:2; 2:2-3; 4:3; 3:3; 5:3; 3:6; 16:15; 8:7. It is apparent that, for any particular settlement, no precise figure, even by a good informant, is very reliable unless based on an enumeration of



reduce to about 15 settlements<sup>3</sup> of 4 houses each, or 60: say, 450 population. The local resident cited in the Handbook (Sheriff Mac Brown, a great friend of the Indians) estimated 425, plus 1500 more Karok upstream. The McKee-Gibbs expedition of 1851 counted 69 houses in the mouth-of-Salmon and 37 in the Orleans area. The Ned list adds up to 91 for the former; the ratio would yield 49 for the latter, or 367 persons. The district is some 15 miles long and its concentration may not be rated too low, both because it made a world renewal and because of the importance it had in Yurok eyes. Some 50 or 60 houses and around 400 population must be allowed it. This gives, with 1900 in the three upper districts, a gross total of 2300.

But some reduction is necessary. Among the Yurok (Handbook, p. 18), two occupied houses may be reckoned for each three house sites recognized when full detailed data are in hand. They are obviously not detailed for the Karok. Yet the frequency in Ned's list of items like, "I saw no houses there," or "I heard of 6, saw only 3," indicates that some reduction is in order. We may estimate it at one-half of the maximum, or a sixth instead of a third. This would take 400 from our gross of 2300, leaving us with an actual Karok total of about 1900 in native times; in round numbers, not much below and almost certainly not above 2000.<sup>4</sup> The corresponding Yurok figures are 2400 and 2500.

#### THE KAROK-SHASTA BORDER

The Klamath from Happy Camp nearly to Hamburg is in doubt between Karok and Shasta ownership. Shortly above Happy Camp, the river flows through a sheer canyon which would have been uninhabitable for several miles. The modern river road climbs a rather high mountain to avoid this canyon. Here would have been a natural boundary between Karok and Shasta, especially as the stream valley changes. Below, it is precipitous; flats are few, even at creek mouths; a really level acre may be miles from the next; town sites are mostly on narrow terraces or benches, usually more or less sloping; the river, flowing from north to south, is a succession of riffles and rapids. Above Happy Camp, the river flows from east to west, rippling along much more evenly as regards depth, breadth, and speed. It is bordered, not continuously but frequently, by low flat land sufficient to be profitable to American farmers; the bordering hills rise farther from the shore. These qualities continue with little change up at least as far as Hornbrook, while the Karok type of setting extends downstream through Yurok territory virtually to tidewater. The ethnic maps have all set the Karok-Shasta boundary at the natural barrier of Happy Camp mountain.

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named houses. But for a larger series of settlements the particular variations, resulting from changes of residence or difference of times referred to, tend to cancel one another out and to yield comparable and fairly reliable totals.

<sup>3</sup>This reduction seems fair. From Impurak to Amaikiara, exclusive of settlements up "Elk" cr. and Salmon r., Ned lists 56 towns, Curtis 59, but Jacobs 80 plus 19 sweat houses at Katimin and Amaikiara.

<sup>4</sup>Curtis estimates 2000.

However, Mary Jacobs began her list of Karok settlements with this statement: "At Seiad and up to Hamburg they talked this our language. It was their main language; but they also spoke Kahi [Shasta], as at Redcap downstream they also speak Weitchpec [Yurok]." She then gave a list of these upper Karok towns. There is no corroboration from Ned because he declared himself too unacquainted with the country above Happy Camp canyon to give information, just as he stopped downstream at Amaikiara. In Seiad valley I encountered only Schuyler Phillips, a half-breed approaching middle age, born in the valley, fully coöperative, but too American in his ways of life to help very much. He did give as his opinion that Mary Jacobs was right, and recognized some of her names of settlements.

This is the Jacobs list, in order downstream, with the side of the river indicated by E and W as before, though S and N would be literally truer. (P) indicates recognition, (P ?) its lack by Phillips. C is Curtis as before.

- E Vū'nva'raivak, 2 m. below Hamburg (P).
- E Taχpū's, 2 m. below (P).
- E Ara'kχat (P ?).
- E Tsara'i'tšu'uf, 1 m. below last (P ?).
- W Šā'mai, Seiad (P). (C, Sammai.)
- W Aša'pitiunup, 3 m. below (P: Grider cr., flowing in from S at lower end Seiad valley).
- W Avaχi'širamū's, ½ m. below (P: Portuguese cr.).
- W Šiti'pkuru, 3 m. below (P). (C, East side, Sitipkyuru, O.)
- W Ši'tipitš, 1 m. below (P ?). (C, Chipich-vunupma, O.)
- E Ašaχé'm-i'šanatš (P ?).
- W Takiri'p (P ?).
- E Išnā'm'iš, diag. opp. last (P ?).
- W Aša'χva'am (P: a creek).
- E Ahupuru'χku.
- E Impu'rak, etc., as before. (C, Impurak.)

Professor R. B. Dixon has kindly examined his original Shasta notes on the point. His principal informant, Sargent Sambo, a native Rogue River Shasta, later living above Oak bar and recognized about 1900 as leader of the surviving Klamath Shasta, gave A'awa, in Kunz flat, 3 miles below Hamburg on the S (=E) side, as the last Shasta village downstream. This coincides very closely with the Jacobs statement from the Karok side. But Kimolly, a Shasta at Hamburg, about 70 years old 30 years ago, continued Shasta villages actually to Happy Camp. This of course is going too far, and suggests that he may merely have run on obligingly to the limit of his personal knowledge, without considering speech change as worth mentioning. This is Kimolly's list:

- A'awa (as ante), 1 m. below Mill cr.
- Kwā'suk, a large settlement, 2¼ m. down.
- Xarō'kwi, Walker bar.
- A'raχiko, Grider cr.
- Sū'mmaikaho, Seiad valley.
- Asō'uru, Sinek bar.

Utū'tsu, ½ m. below, N side.  
 Kwē'rantig, 2 m. below.  
 Tšitatōwā'ki, 3-4 m. below.  
 O'tira, a little below.  
 A'ukni (â=ó †), 6 m. above Happy Camp, S side.  
 U'ssini (ü=a †), ditto, N side (viz., opp. †).  
 Nu'patsu, Happy Camp.<sup>5</sup>

This list is in Shasta, as the preceding is in Karok. There are no sure correspondences except Šamai and Summaikaho for Seiad.

This much is clear: there was a stretch of the Klamath from a little above Happy Camp to a little below Hamburg, with permanent settlements but probably only a moderate population, which some Karok and some Shasta claimed as places of their people, whereas others assigned them to the opposite tribe.<sup>6</sup> This can only mean that the intermediate group was essentially bilingual.<sup>7</sup> Whether they were Shasta who had also learned Karok, or the reverse, I will not presume to decide. Of the two lists of their towns, one is obviously Karok, the other Shasta. It is possible, but seems hardly likely, that the Karok moved into former Shasta territory after the whites came. Such an event should be remembered 50 to 70 years later, but no informant on either side suggests it. The alleged upper Karok dialect (Handbook, p. 100) is evidently the somewhat altered Karok which the bilingual border group spoke.

The exact Karok-Shasta ethnic boundary must thus be left in doubt.

#### ETHNIC NAMES

(From Ned)

Wati'iru, the Shasta.  
 Tī'murinai, Shasta farther up Klamath (Hdbk, 99, Kakamichwi-arara).  
 Tišra'var, Scott River Shasta (Hdbk, Tishrawarara).  
 Imti'pahai, people across ridge to N, different language. Ned's wife of them.  
 Si'sunan, people farther N.  
 Ikira'kpi, Rogue River Indians.  
 Ašafu'nkanpī'ša, another tribe, to W.  
 Iškē'skan, people W of here on a large stream N of Smith r., near Rogue r.  
 Yuχ'a'ra, Smith River people (Tolowa), also Requa Yurok (Hdbk, Yuhara-hi).  
 Yu'rukvār, Yurok.  
 Kišakēvar, Hupa (Hdbk, Kishakewarara).  
 Mašuxa'ra, Forks of Salmon people (Hdbk, Mashuarara).

<sup>5</sup>A further complication is made by Dixon's map (AMNH-B 17: pl. 49, cited in Hdbk. 100), which puts Nupatsu apparently below Happy Camp, Aukni above it on the opposite side, Ussini upstream on the north side (at China cr. †), and has Shasta villages begin only above, at Thompson cr., with Teitatowaki.

<sup>6</sup>Curtis evidently also encountered this conflict of testimony. When treating of the Karok, p. 222, he gives Sammai (Seiad) as a Karok town. Under Shasta, p. 232, he lists as the first two divisions of this nationality the Katiru from Happy Camp to Seiad valley; and the Kammatwa, now extinct, on the Klamath (from the Katiru) up to Scott r., with villages at Aika, Hamburg, and at Assupak at Scott bar.

<sup>7</sup>A Karok told me in 1902 that at Shammai, up river from Happy Camp, they spoke both Karok and Shasta

## DISTANCES AND ELEVATIONS

I add, as an aid to further geographical study in this region, the mileage *along the river*, and its heights above sea level, from Sheets A and B of the U. S. Topographic Plan and Profile of the Klamath River. Unfortunately the mileages there given are reckoned not from the mouth but from an arbitrary point 0.9 miles below a proposed Tully Rapids Dam site. Nine miles above this point the Trinity river comes into the Klamath, and this is my zero datum.

*Yurok Stretch* (6, plus 40-odd miles downstream)

Trinity r., Pekwututl, E side diag. opp. Weitchpec), 0 miles, 175 feet

Bluff cr., w, 6

*Karok Stretch* (60 miles)

Slate cr., w, 7, 250

Redcap cr., E, 9.1, 275. Wuppam

Boise cr., E, 12.2, 325. Saχvuram

Ullathorn cr., w, 12.8. Tuyuvuk

Camp cr., w, 13.5. Tišannik

Orleans (BM 399), w, 15.5, 355. Panamnik

Perch cr., E, 16.5. Taχasufkara

Ikes cr., E, 21.5, 425. Ašanamkarak (falls) ;

Amaikiara diag. opp. below

Salmon r., E, 22.8, 450

Auitš peak (Sugarloaf, 1265), E, falls at, 23

Išipiši, w, 23.5, 500

Katimin, E, 23.5-23.7

(Ten Eyck cr.), w, 25, 530. Ashipak

Offield cr., E, 25.8, 540. Inuχtakats

Rogers cr., E, 29.2 (Yuχip, below; Akwa-tiiv opp.)

Horseshoe bend, c. 31

Irving school (BM 675), E, 32.2, 600. Xav-aramnik ?

Stanshaw cr., E, 34, 620. Aftaram

Eyese cr., w, 35.4, 640. Ayiis

Rock cr., w, 36.3, 660. Sufkaro'om

Tea Bar cr., E, 37.4, 670. Ti'i

Dillon cr., w, 41.8, 720. Xumnipak

Alberry cr., w, 44, 750. Kašaχani'ik

Cottage Grove, w, 46

Ukonom cr., E, 47.5, 800. Yuχnam; Išwirip opp.

Independence cr., E, 51.5

Ferry Point, Titus cr., E, 53.3, 900. Xumaru

Clear cr. (BM 975), w, 56.5, 930. Innam

Wingate cr., w, 57.4, 940

Oak Flat cr., w, 58.5, 960. Pachiririš

Benjamin cr., w, 62.6, 1025

Elk cr., E, 63.6

Happy Camp (BM 1088), Indian cr., w, 65, 1060. Asisufunup

Reeves ranch, w, 66.4, 1075. Impurak opp.

*Doubtful Between Karok and Shasta* (25-30 miles)

River in winding canyon, c. 71-76, 1120-1170

Thompson cr., N (=w ante), 81, 1275.

The Klamath here ends its w flow to turn s

Seiad cr., N, 88, 1350

*Shasta Stretch* (40 miles, plus 15-20 above Shasta r.)

Hamburg bar, s, 98.5, 1500

Scott r., s, 100.3, 1530. (Scott bar, 3 m. up, c. 1650)

Beaver cr., N, 118, 1735

Humbug cr., s, 129, 1925

Shasta r., s, 134, 2010