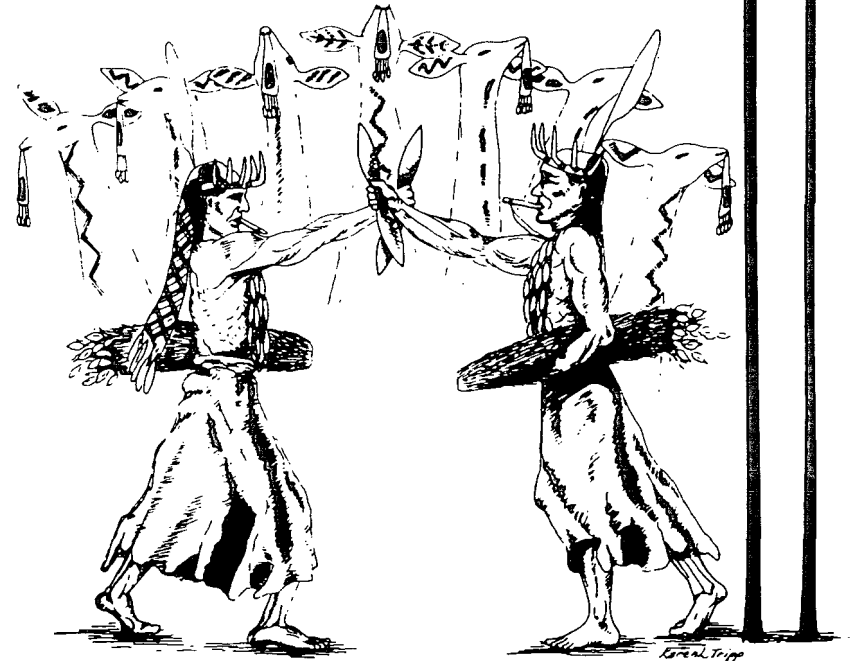


To President McCrone
with best regards and
wishes.

Bobby Lake
Native American Studies
A. S. U.

CHILULA

THE CHILULA
AND THE CHILULA



Robert G. Lake, Jr.

University of California
Santa Cruz, Calif.

UNIVERSITY
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D E D I C A T I O N

This monograph is dedicated to Rudolph Socktish, Minni Reeves, Louise Jackson, Fido Davis, Elmer Jarnaghan, Elsie Ricklefs, Maude McCovey, Charlie and Thelma Thom, Dewey George, Adrienne Drake; and the younger generation of Chilula-Hupa descendants.

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I would also like to thank my wife Tela for her domestic, cultural, and spiritual support which gave me the strength to complete the many years of research on this monograph.

And lastly, I dedicate this monograph to "Save the Redwoods League", Congressman Philip Burton, Senator Alan Cranston; and the ancient Redwood Trees which have an aboriginal right to live and flourish.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Bobby Lake, (Medicine Grizzly Bear), is an Associate Professor for Native American Studies at Humboldt State University, near Eureka, Ca. He was the original Coordinator for Ethnic Studies, author and developer of the Native American Career Education in Natural Resources Project, he has served as a consultant to H.E.W. and various groups for EOP, Special Services, Upwardbound, Headstart, JOM, and Title IV Programs; and he has been directly involved in the initiation and development of local, statewide, and national Indian programs which focus on education, culture, and economic development. Professor Lake has written and published several journal articles dealing with Native American culture, and he has several more journal articles presently under review by nationally recognized journals in the fields of psychology, anthropology, and folklore. Culturally wise he is deeply and actively involved in the Native religion and ceremonies both locally and nationally. Bobby is culturally recognized, verified, and supported as a qualified novice shaman by the proper hereditary headmen, ceremonial leaders, and traditional healers from various tribal groups across the continent. For example, Rolling Thunder, the famous Cherokee-Shoshone Medicine Man once stated in a letter to H.S.U. (6/12/81): "I have known Bobby for eight years and have found him to be trustworthy and intelligent. He has my full confidence. Because of this he has been allowed to study under me personally as an apprentice of traditional healing methods. He has passed all the tests. He has been a recipient of sacred knowledge..."



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Preface

Nineteenth-century works on American Indians include many discussions of the high civilization of the so-called "Mound Builders." These publications stress the construction of great mounds such as those at Cahokia, the working of copper, and sculpting of realistic effigy pipes as evidence of a lost early American civilization, a culture far higher than that which the English colonists met in New England and Virginia. The disappearance of the Mound Builders was considered a mystery. The concept of degeneration was then in vogue, and the Mound Builders were taken as another proof of such a cultural loss.

By 1930, papers on American Indians no longer referred to Mound Builders. The relics that had once been attributed to these people came to be affiliated with the designation "Hopewell Culture," named after an Ohio property owner. Degeneration theory was out of style; yet how to interpret the Hopewell mounds, artifacts, and burials remained unanswered by scholars.

In the last twenty years, small advances toward an understanding of Hopewell phenomena have occurred. The "Hopewell Interaction Sphere" label has been introduced and the view has become general that the cultural heights which were associated are best thought of as special occurrences, primarily related to mortuary behavior in a culture otherwise usually lacking signs of elegance.

However, present-day models for understanding Hopewell finds still leave much to be desired. Among the reasons for this lack of adequate interpretations of Hopewell may be a cultural bias by New World prehistorians, nearly every one of whom has come from a White Euro-American background. The models which have tended to be considered in looking at Hopewell data seem to mirror social stratification in one or another European context. If Native American stratification phenomena are consulted, they seem to fit poorly, possibly primarily because what is actually being considered are social organization patterns which existed long after European influence had begun directly and/or indirectly to change aboriginal practices.

A previously rarely-used Native American basis for contemplating Hopewell phenomena is what might be

called a "Yurok model," in which the Yurok tribe of Northwestern California serves as the major source of data. The literature on this tribe is extensive, although the "Yurok Narratives," produced by Robert Spott and A.L. Kroeber, are an especially cogent source. A Yurok model is also appropriate for, on the one hand, already by the late 1930s publications had begun to appear establishing a close similarity between a mortuary complex in California-Early Sacramento-and one that preceded the Hopewell in its home area-the Late Eastern Archaic; and, on the other hand, also about the same time the Culture Element Distribution lists, prepared under the supervision of A.L. Kroeber, documented that all of aboriginal California had had much the same basic system of social stratification, or perhaps one should say "system of prestige." Further, the Yurok of California are a tribe linguistically-and we must therefore conclude historically-related to the Algonquian groups of the eastern United States. Additionally, among the Yurok a key element of high social position is the seeking and acquisition of "power" through privation and vision quest, a pattern important among the Sioux, viewed by many scholars as descendants of those who constructed the mounds at Cahokia. A Yurok model is, indeed, appropriately considered in relation to Hopewell phenomena.

Central features of traditional Yurok ceremonial life were first salmon rites, based upon a spearing, seining, or fish dam, depending upon the locale. The building of the greatest Yurok fish dam brought together the maximum labor unit assembled by the Karok, Hupa, or Yurok. The accompanying ceremony probably produced the largest of all northwestern California Native congregations. Those who attended had to settle their disputes before arrival. Councils of men who had successfully gained a vision formed the boards of arbitration, or courts, of the Yurok.

Construction of dams to catch anadromous fish was so central to the Yurok that one can but wonder if the placement of the great mounds at Cahokia did not relate to the ability to seal temporarily with a fish dam the Mississippi River at the adjacent Chain of Rocks. The major southeastern Michigan mound complex is next to the mouth of the great River Rouge. Fish dams were not simple technological and/or economic constructs; major prayers and supplications were involved. The formulist for such a fish rite was a major figure of Yurok culture.

The Yurok had other localized ceremonies, each having its own formulist. Such formulist were men who had succeeded in their vision quest and afterwards had assisted an incumbent formulist and learned the ceremony.

However, even as localized as the Karok, Hupa and Yurok ceremonies and ceremonial rules were, there is alleged to have been a master calendric stick by means of which the dates for ceremonial sequence were set. A calendar stone survives in the Hoopa Valley, though the details of how it was used were lost with the death of a formulist nearly 20 years ago. There is an alleged calendric "woodhenge" at Cahokia.

Among the Yurok ceremonies were several of a type during which items considered to be symbolic of power and wealth-treasures-were displayed. Large obsidian blades were "danced"; interestingly, large blades, at least one of which shows a burnish thought to occur on flint long carried in a leather wrap, are known from one of the mound-building, copper-using cultures of the eastern United States, that associated with the so-called Wayne Mortuary Complex. One Yurok formulist reported that copper was a sacred substance and could only be worn or displayed by those with "power." A major Yurok ceremony with treasure display elements brings together major treasure owners; they bring treasures too valuable and rare to be danced in public; such items are shown only to co-treasure owners. Each item of treasure had its own history which was an inherent part of it. Loss of the validating oral aspect of the treasure caused Yurok to consider the piece "dead" and not appropriately displayed to any one; "dead" treasure was buried. When a treasure owner died, having not passed on the oral validation of a piece of treasure, the signs of his elegance were often buried with him.

It is in this context of the adjacent Yurok lifestyle that the present Chilula monograph may be considered. The Yurok saw Chilula as peripheral. Such a view seems to rest in part upon the lack of any major ritual or ceremonial site in Chilula territory. If the Yurok model has meaning in Hopewell terms, the Chilula might be thought of paralleling communities at the fringe of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere. Yet a few Chilula individuals held treasures that they brought for display at Yurok ceremonies. Such a person was Tom Hill, grandfather of Lake's interviewees

Minni Reeves and Louise Jackson, a man who lived at the falls of Redwood Creek, a fine salmon-taking place, and whose kin intermarried with Yurok. Interestingly, the 1900 census shows one of the Hill kin in the same household as the formulist for the great Yurok fish dam.

So we may place the Chilula of this monograph as representative of a group somewhat away from the religious, esoteric life style of the Yurok. And yet, as Lake so adequately documents, the Chilula were not devoid of the mystic, the sacred, the religious. They were a series of small worlds, each with its own locally-oriented esoterica. Lake's discussions of village sites help to recreate how Chilula supernaturalism once was.

Some way it seems startling that at this late date a monograph would appear so rich with the substance of the articulation between the mundane and the supernatural, of how the everyday life of a Native American group was pervaded by the religious. Such an occurrence can only be viewed as a major contribution by the author.

To appreciate The Chilula a few comments on Robert Lake, Jr. are necessary. I first came to know of Lake some years ago when he sent me an early draft of the present monograph. Even then its unusual combination of ecological/economic fact and belief data was present. Also obvious was Lake's skill as a writer and ethnographer.

As time passed, I came to know how such an unlikely document as The Chilula evolved. Lake was born in Baltimore of a part-Cherokee mother and part-Seneca father. Upon occasions, in the summer, he visited either his Cherokee or his Seneca relatives in the more rural environs of their traditional homelands. There he came to know something of the belief systems of those two tribes of the eastern United States. This was all before the emergence of the Red Power movement of the 1960s and the general occurrence of Ethnic Studies programs.

About 1970, an Ethnic Studies unit was established at Humboldt State University, Arcata, northwestern California. Lake was employed first as an administrator to develop the minority programs then as a Professor to teach Native American courses in that

academic division. He rapidly moved to become an expert in the local ethnography, choosing the Chilula as his focus. Lake converted his oral history tapes and notes to a monograph. As he came to know of northwestern California Indian religion, he came to revere it, and was selectively chosen for training in the esoteric from the major traditionalists and shamans among the Chilula, Hupa, Yurok, Karok, and Wintun. During the mid-1970s, he met and married Tela Spott Donahue, a descendant of the sister of Robert Spott and also of the sister of Fannie Flounder, both Spott and Fannie Flounder having been major consultants for both Kroeber and Erik Erikson. Tela was a very traditional devotee of northwestern California religion. Together the Lakes became significant Indian traditionalists, and now highly respected curers.

So it is that Lake brings to the monograph both the knowledge of an insider in the Native American religions of Northwestern California and the comparative eye of a Native American who has roots in distant Cherokee and Seneca cultures. The product is a tribute to both Lake and his northwestern California Native American friends and relatives.

Arnold R. Pilling, Anthropologist
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan
June 30, 1981.

CHILULA MESSAGE

The redwood trees are sacred. They are a special gift and reminder from the Great Creator to the human beings. The Great Creator made everything, including trees of all kinds, but he wanted to leave a special gift for his children. So he took a little medicine from each tree, he said a prayer and sang a powerful song, and then he mixed it all with the blood of our people. Then he created this special redwood tree from this medicine. He left it on Earth as a demonstration of his love for his children. The redwood trees have a lot of power: they are the tallest, live the longest, and are the most beautiful trees in the world. Destroy these trees and you destroy the Creator's love. And if you destroy that which the Creator loves so much, you will eventually destroy mankind.

Minni Reeves
Chilula Tribal Elder and
Religious Leader
Hoopa Indian Reservation,
California



Figure XIV Minni Reeves

XVI

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. Introduction

It was in 1850 that the Chilula first came in contact with the White people, and it was in 1914 when Goddard published the only monograph, brief as it is, on the Chilula exclusively. Like Goddard, I am also confronted with the problem of presenting a well rounded sketch when the Chilula descendants are so long removed from the era before White invasion.

Time and change serve to compound the problem because archaeological sites are rapidly disappearing while native descendants are culturally assimilating into Hoopa tribal life, and/or the mainstream of the American society.

I first became interested in the Redwood Creek area about 1973. As it is the custom of my own Iroquoian-Cherokee tribal people, I frequently hike into isolated parts of nature for spiritual development and religious practice. On my first trip into Redwood Creek I met two college students (Steve Brewer and Randy Stempler), who were camped at the Tall Trees Grove in Redwood Park. It was from them that I learned of the "Park Expansion Controversy" and the possible existence of Indian village sites. My interest in Redwood Creek was expanded through contact with Rudolf Becking, Professor of Forestry at Humboldt State University, and through contacts with local Indian people who I worked with on various Indian community programs. As a result of this interest I made six anthropological trips into the Redwood Creek basin over the next five years and four "spiritual" explorations into the area. I have spent quite a number of days talking to Minni Reeves, Louise Jackson, Rudolph Soctish, Sherlette Colegrove, General Lee Davis, Fido Davis, Elmer Jarnaghan, Jim Moon, Kim Yerton, and anonymous informants, who are all descendants from the Chilula tribe. In addition I have gained a lot of historical data from Jack Norton, a local Indian historian of Hupa and Cherokee ancestry; and a Yurok shaman and a Hupa Medicine woman who wish to remain anonymous. In addition, Charlie Thom, a Karuk religious leader, Chuck Donahue, a Karuk-Hupa traditionalist, and David "Doc" Pete a Hupa-Whilkut traditionalist were also interviewed because of their knowledge of sorcery, war

medicine, prayer formulas, and gambling medicine.

Minni Reeves is now 102 years old and her sister Louise Jackson is 96 years old. They are hereditary descendants from Noledin and Xowunnakut villages which are located in the Redwood Creek basin. Minni Reeves was born at Noledin and lived there until the age of six years old. Her sister Louise Jackson was born at Hoopa and spent most of her life in Hoopa Valley. Minni Reeves spent much of her early life in the household of Tom Hill, her mother's father and significant Chilula doctor. Dan Hill, the son of Tom, was a "medicine man." Both men are mentioned in Goddard's 1914 notes, Driver's 1936 Element List, and Arnold Pilling's 1978 Yurok study.

I made several attempts in 1978 to interview a Bessie Moon Latham age 86, who was born and raised in Socktish village until age 20 years old. She presently resides on the Chilula rancheria from which the tribe gained its anthropological designation. She is the daughter of Charlie Moon and Mini Tom; and as a result she is the granddaughter of Louise Tom and Doctor Tom (not to be confused with Tom Hill, the grandfather of Minni Reeves and Louise Jackson). Some information was provided indirectly by Mrs. Latham's granddaughter Kim Yerton, although I did not interview Mrs. Latham personally.

Thus the new information presented here was obtained by review of relevant archaeological and ethnographic literature, on site field study of village and ceremonial sites, and personal interviews with Chilula descendants and knowledgeable tribal informants whose interviews were tape recorded and/or transcribed by long hand writing. Sampling techniques and standard questionnaire forms were not utilized in order to create a more "informal" environment for the interview.

B. History, Population, and Language

According to Goddard (1914b:267), "the first mention of the Chilula is by George Gibbs, who passed directly through the territory in 1851." Chad Hoopes (1959:254) quotes Gibb's journal as follows:

Of the Indians of Redwood Creek, called by the Whites Bald Hills Indians, little was learned, and none of them could be induced to come in. They were termed Oruk by the Coast Indians, and Tcho-lo-lah by the Weits-peks. The general opinion is, that they are more nearly allied to the Trinity than to the Klamath tribes. The names of some of their bands, as given by an Indian, were, commencing at the coast, the Cherr'h-quuh, Ot-teh-petl, Oh-nah, Oh-pah and Roque-Choh.

Early White settlers who were attracted to this region because of gold began to travel by packtrain from mines located on the Klamath, Salmon and Trinity rivers to the towns of Trinidad, Union (now Arcata), and Eureka on the Pacific coastline, by route of Bald Hills and Redwood Creek area. Goddard (1914b:268) wrote:

Trouble soon arose from the suspicion with which each race viewed the other and the Indians began waylaying the travelers and robbing the packtrains. The White man in turn shot the Indians at sight.

Hostilities began to heighten between the Chilula and the White settlers as more and more packtrains encroached upon the Chilula territory. The situation eventually led to a series of small scale wars in which the Humboldt Times (July 11, 1853) reported:

One of the most desperate fights ever had with Indians in this section took place on Wednesday morning in Redwood Creek at Minor's place. The following account of the battle was written from the battleground, Thursday morning -

Manheim's train of 35 pack mules, escorted by Lieut. Middleton of Company C, 1st Battalion, California Mountaineers, with 18 men, went up Monday to Fort Gaston with a load of flour; on Tuesday morning they reached Redwood Creek, 18 to 20 miles from Fort Gaston and camped for the

night on the flat about midway between Fort Anderson and Miners Field. Here, Lieut. Middleton and Lieut. Hale of Fort Gaston and Mr. Booth left the train and pushed on for Arcata, leaving the escort in charge of Sergeant E.W. Day.

About half past three Wednesday morning, as some of the men were saddling the mules for an early start, they were surprised by a volley of rifles from two sides of the camp, taking them in front and rear, part from the undergrowth across the creek and part from a high bluff in the rear which completely commands the camp.

The Indians were in very large force, from 80 to 100, and pretty well armed with guns - not a single arrow was fired. They poured in volley after volley, wounding several early in the fight. After three or four hours of fight, five of the company succeeded in reaching the top of the bluff and driving them [Indians] off across the creek. They fought until noon when they reluctantly drew off, carrying their dead and wounded.

For a period of several months the Chilula warriors held off any further encroachment of White trespassers and the military from Fort Gaston. The effective defense of the Chilula, however, only served to generate more fear among the local White settlers. Town meetings were held on the coast and inland by the White settlers who decided to put more political pressure on the military in an effort to handle the "Indian problem." Jack Norton (1979:39) relates the historical sequence of events which eventually led to the entrapment and forced removal of the Chilula:

Their deceit and treachery was manifested on March 4, 1859, when the Chilula or Redwood peoples were invited by Gibbe's forces to J.P. Albee's Ranch for a peace conference. During the meeting the Indians were suddenly surrounded by Gibbe's forces. One hundred and seventeen Indians were made prisoners and were marched to Arcata. The next day, fifty-three more arrived. The Humboldt Times picturesquely summarizes the results of the white-men's glory. The article relates that, "the prisoner's, their grim visages and sulky demeanor clearly indicating their dissatisfaction, were placed aboard the bark Fanny Major, and on March 17, the vessel sailed its second consignment for

the Mendocino Reservation."

Local settlers and ranchers were still not satisfied with the military's solution to the Chilula problem as Goddard (1914a:268) exemplifies: "Although there were regular troops at Fort Humboldt on the Humboldt Bay and at Camp Gaston in Hoopa Valley, the settlers organized a company of volunteers for which recognition was obtained from the State. This company entered on a campaign of extermination and deportation, a step which the officers of the regular forces refused to take." Several weeks later the Chilula warriors found a way to escape from the Round Valley military camp where they had been interned, but their efforts to return home successfully were hindered by neighboring enemy tribes and the White "volunteer" army. The following is a Chilula version of their return account:

The War with the Lassik Indians

A war party went far south. All the Indians who used to live on upper Redwood Creek went with the party. All the people who used to live below Iaqui Butte¹ and at the big bend of Mad River went also. They met on the ridge south of the head of Redwood Creek and held the War dance. There were sixty men who had weapons. The dance line was so long that in two places a man stood in front of the line and danced. They shot with bows and arrows and with White man's guns. The party was two days and two nights on the way. They came to the village of Taike, at the mouth of Dobbin Creek, and fought with the Indians living there. Many bodies were left lying there.

They turned back and camped for the night. Some of them said there used to be very many Indians living in that neighborhood. Then we went ahead as scouts. When we had gone so far (about a mile) we came to a ridge, which we followed until we came to XoLokotcme, where they were camping. They were crying. Then we ran back south. The war party was coming from the south.

They surrounded the enemy and began shooting at them with bows and arrows. After they had fought for some time they began to shoot with White man's guns. "Bau, bau, bau," they sounded. They fled. They got

under a log which was lying on the side of a gulch. They began to fight in the morning and were still fighting when the sun was here in the west. They carried pieces of bark in front of themselves and went into the gulch to them and killed them all. Their missiles were all gone. Two men, brothers, were wounded. They fought until the sun was setting. We started back.

Wallace (1978:178) provides additional comment:

As hostilities continued, all travelers avoided Bald Hills and pack trains went to the mines over alternative routes. After some years the Indian agent at Hoopa successfully sought peace. The remaining families, with the exception of one or two, moved to Hoopa Valley. On the reservation they gradually lost distinctiveness of their language and fell into the ways of the Hupa. As a separate people the Chilula no longer exists.

In regards to original population data, Wallace (1978:173) indicates that the Chilula "when Whites first appeared, numbered between 500-600, but the Chilula were decimated in the first five years of California statehood." Baumhoff (1958:218), however believed that the Chilula population was originally 800-2,100. He did not consider the Chilula to be a separate cultural group but instead recognized the Chilula as a subdivision of the Whilkut. He identified the lower Redwood Creek Indians as Chilula-Whilkut, and the upper Redwood Creek Indians as Kloki-Whilkut, thereby allowing a higher population figure for the total Chilula people.

Goddard (1914), Driver (1936), Merriam (1955), Baumhoff (1958), Heizer (1954), Pilling (1968), Shipley (1978), and Wallace (1978) all agree that the Redwood Creek Indians are an Athapaskan speaking group.

Considerable controversy however, seems to have developed as to the correct name and origin of the Redwood Creek Indians. Merriam (1955) identified the Chilula as follows:

The Hoil'kut or Redwood Creek Indians (commonly called Chilula, Hwilkut, or Whilkut) were until recent years one of the dominant Athapaskan tribes of Humboldt County in Northwestern California.

Their territory consisted of the whole valley of Redwood Creek and the adjacent mountains from a point on the creek 10 or 12 miles above its mouth to Chaparral Mountain at the head of the creek, and included also the North Fork of the Mad River and a short stretch on the north side of the main Mad River between Blue Lake and Korbelt.

The proper tribal name as spoken by themselves is Hoi-^{ch}-let'-kah or Ho-e-^{ch}-kut-ka, usually slurred to Hoil'-kut. They also called themselves ho-e-^{ch}-kut-kew-yahn'-ne-ahm, meaning Redwood acorn eaters.

There are three small divisions or subtribes,² more or less distinct according to the point of view: Upper Redwood, Lower Redwood, and Blue Lake or North Fork Mad River Indians. In their own language they are:

1. The Ho-e-^{ch}-ke-e (from Ho-e-^{ch}-kut, "Redwood," and e'te, "north," the Northern or Lower Redwood Indians (Chilula Whilkut), inhabiting the valleys and adjacent slopes of Redwood Creek from its mouth upstream about 12 miles to Tom Blair Ranch at the junction of Minor Creek. Goddard thought this division was the whole tribe and called it Chilula adopting the term from the Hoopa, Polikla (Yurok) and Nererner (Coast Yurok) Indians, who however apply it in a wider sense to both upper and lower divisions of the Redwood Creek tribe.
2. The Ho-e-^{ch}-ki-e-nok (from Ho-e-^{ch}-kut, "Redwood," and e'nok, "south") the upper or southern Redwoods Kloki Whilkut), inhabiting the valley of Redwood Creek from Minor Creek (Tom Blair Ranch) up south-erly to the head of the river, near Chaparral Mountain. They also called themselves Klo-ke-ching'--ching-e'-nok, meaning "Prairie Place south."

The language is uniform throughout Redwood Creek Valley except for one or two slight differences of pronunciation.

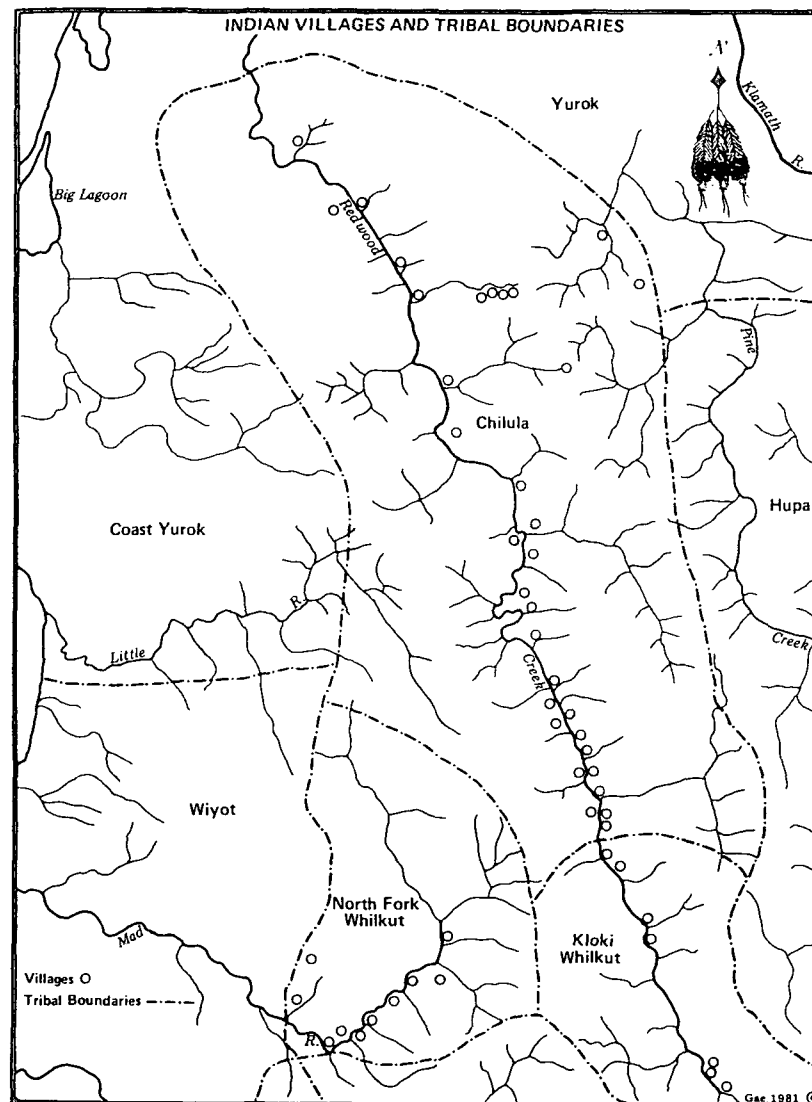
Locally, the Chilula are commonly referred to as the "Redwood Creek Indians," the "Bald Hills Indians," "Grasshopper Eaters," or "Chi-lu-la" as pronounced by the Yurok (Tcho-lo-lah or Tchee-lu-lah), and not pronounced as indicated by Wallace (1978:177) "chi-loolu." Dewey George (interviewed December 1976,

McKinleyville), a ceremonial Yurok leader from Sregon village on the Klamath River, states that the name Chilula derives from the Yurok usage; he said the term means "people from over there, within the Redwood Trees." Minni Reeves, (interview November 1976, Hoopa Reservation) stated that their tribal name was Kixunai-ho-e-ch-ket which she interpreted as "people from within the redwood tree." She believes her people originated from within or "came out of a large hollow redwood tree when the world was first created." This belief is consistent with Goddard's (1914a:361) Translations XVI which refers to the "northern end" as the place of origin for the Chilula, and Goddard (1904:123-368) which refers to the original Indian people as Kixunai. Rudolph Socktish (interview November 1976) states the name is Ho-el-ch-kut-et. He claims the Kixunai are spirits. I am still not sure whether this word for "people" is the same for Hupa and Chilula, or whether it is somewhat different for each. The Hupa and Chilula language appears to be very similar in sound, accent and pronunciation but Rudolph Socktish claims the Chilula language has a somewhat different accent on some words. At any rate, Goddard's research on the Chilula language indicates that they are more related to the Hupa. This is further evidenced by their similar belief or origin which claims that they came from within a hollow tree, or hollow log via the "Underworld."

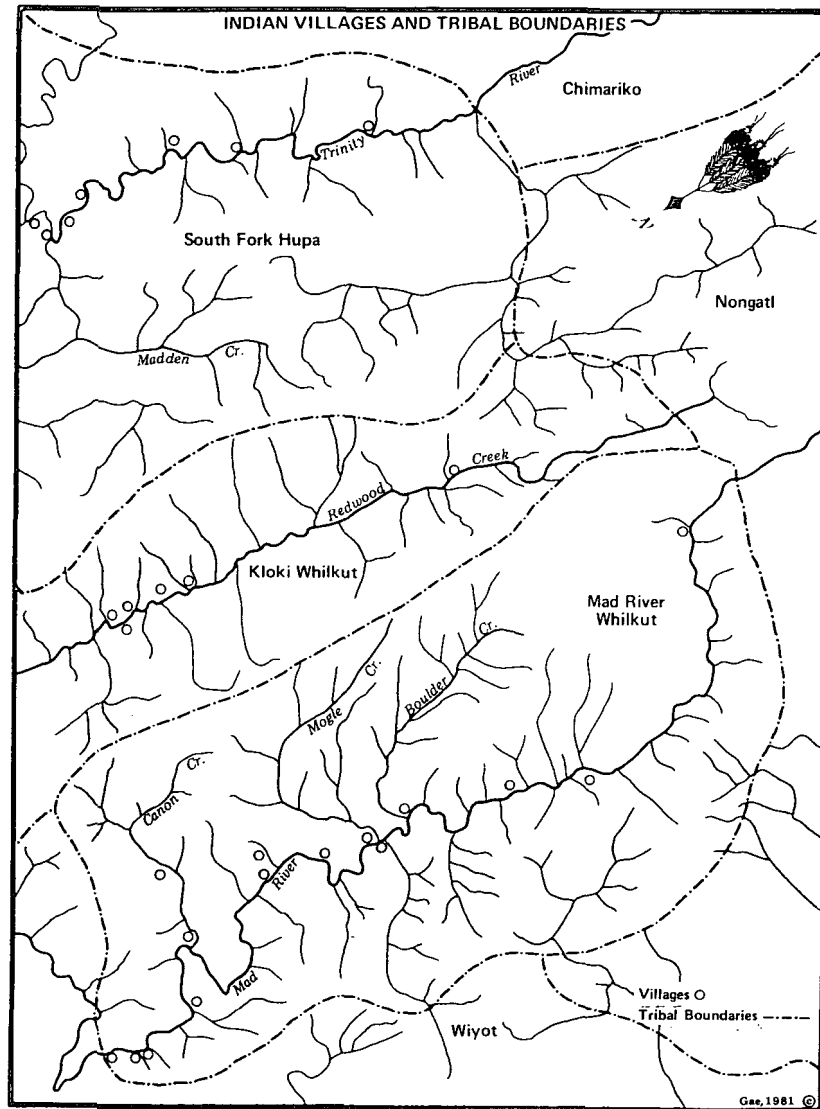


FIGURE #1 Medicine Rock
Faces Southwest overlooking Redwood Creek
and the Pacific Ocean Coast

MAP 1-A



MAP 1-B



C. Territory and Villages

Goddard (1914b:266) and Wallace (1978:171) state that the Chilula formerly occupied a number of villages along the lower portion of Redwood Creek, Humboldt County, California. This stream, which is too small to be classed as a river, flows nearly straight in a northwesterly direction toward Orick, and turns westward to the ocean. It is separated from the valley of the Trinity River on the east by a ridge nearly 4,000 feet high and from the Mad River and the coastal plain on the west by ridges from 2,000 to 3,000 feet high.

The Chilula territory includes approximately the area within the boundaries shown in maps 1-A,B,C. This region runs along Redwood Creek from near Orick on the northwest, to the area locally called Stover Ranch, on the southeast.

It includes the adjoining slopes along the creek, adjacent prairies and mountains from Roger Peak on the southwest and Coyote Peak on the east, toward the Hupa territory and/or reservation.

The western neighbors of the Chilula are the coastal Yurok which Goddard (1914b:267) refers to as "Teswan" and "the traditional enemies of the Chilula." On the north are the Klamath River Yurok; on the east, the Hupa tribe; and on the south, near the Mad River, the Whilkut. (Refer to maps 1A and 1B)

The climate is characterized by minimal fluctuations of temperature. Cool summers and mild-damp winters result in a mean temperature range of only 20 to 30 degrees fahrenheit. Within the Redwood Creek basin fog generally persists throughout the year, usually in the early morning and late evenings. Although during the winter months it occasionally snows upon adjacent mountain ranges including the Bald Hills, very little if any snow actually falls upon the creek basin. Rains are frequent during the fall, winter, and spring months and precipitation is normally high. Torrential winter rains regularly swell the Redwood Creek; although the long, rainy winter season has occasional periods of cool clear weather. The deep canyon, steep slopes, and inland creek type of basin combined with the inclement weather, all serve to make the redwood trees a dominant environmental factor for the culture of the tribe. With a longevity of more than 2,000 years, redwood trees are far longer-lived

than the other species found within the region (including Douglas fir, alderwood, tan oak, black oak, madrone, and pepperwood to name a few).

Whether it was a matter of convenience, abundance, practical knowledge³, spiritual affiliation, or a combination of all factors, redwoods were the identification mark of the Chilula, and served to be the main foundation of their culture. This is particularly true in regards to construction of village dwellings and lifestyle.

Village Sites

Goddard (1914b:272-276) identified approximately eighteen village sites (see Map 1-C). Baumhoff (1958:218) indicates 23 Chilula Whilkut villages and 16 Klocki villages; and Wallace (1978:172) claims that: "Communities were quite small, the average strength being 30 persons." In the past few years I have been able to locate the archaeological traces of only four of these villages. I have not been able to relocate physical evidence of the remaining 14 sites due to clear-cutting, logging, and extensive modern regrowth of the ground cover. The following is a description of the four villages examined.

1. Xowunnakut: Goddard claims the site of this village could not be located with certainty, however he (1914b:272) stated that:
...it was probably situated about a mile east of Redwood Creek on a small flat south of a ridge along which the Trinidad trail used to run.

I have found that particular village site to be located near a section which I call "Hidden Prairie" near "G" Creek, approximately two miles down from Count's Prairie, and 1/2 mile up from Redwood Creek. There is evidence of three house pits (each approximately 16 feet long by 12 feet wide, and a depression of three feet deep) and one sweathouse pit approximately 4 feet by 8 feet long, and 2 feet deep located between a small prairie, a large hollow tree, and the creek, which is less than 100 meters distant. Next to the small creek is a large hollow redwood tree that was formerly used by the Chilula inhabitants for praying. The hollowed out tree is large enough for several

people to sleep in or camp in. Minni Reeves (interview November 1976) claims that such a tree house was used for medicine-making and probably used by her forefathers as a form of temporary residence. Examination of the tree house reveals a very old fire pit and I speculate that this could be the Hollow Tree described in Story #4 of this monograph.

If a person approaches the village site from its southeast, climbing up the slope from Redwood Creek, one will pass a small outcrop. It is obscured by oak trees, and has in it the entrance to a very small cave, which is approximately 3 feet in diameter. Erosion collapsed most of the cave but I would like to speculate that this may have been the first cave, although not the main "cave" that Tom Hill hid his family in for protection during the Chilula war against the voluntary militia.⁴ According to Chuck Donahue, Karuk-Hupa traditionalist, formulist, and gambler, (interviewed in McKinleyville, December, 1976); as well as other Hupa-Yurok and Chilula descendants who asked to remain anonymous, this outcrop was called "Panther Rock" and it was, and still is, used to make "little medicine." It was thus used to make special prayers in the form of "bad power," "bad wishes," "gambling power," and "protective medicine."

Approximately two hundred yards east of this small outcrop (Panther Rock) is "Hidden Prairie" and within 100 feet adjacent to the south of it is a trail leading to another rock. I call this site "Medicine Rock"⁵ because it was and still is used by a select group of local Indian people for protective medicine, good hunting luck, and warrior power (refer to figure #1). Examination of the religious property indicates evidence of past "seats" used for vision and power quests. There is also evidence of one seat in particular, in the middle of Medicine Rock, which allows sufficient room for "dancing, questing, and lamenting." The rock is approximately 30 feet wide, 20 feet high, and projects westerly out overlooking the creek. Halfway up the rock and in the center is a dancing spot approximately ten feet in diameter with another rock "seat" approximately two feet high by three feet wide. On the ledge overlooking the outcrop are two small seats, which are apparent by the depression and characteristics often associated with the Yurok "tsektse" seats. Local Indian religious leaders claim that such

places can be identified by the above description, and verified by using Indian doctors to "trace the source of power." In December of 1976 I hired one local shaman and one shaman apprentice to "trace" the kinds of powers alleged to be in these rocks. Both claimed that they "communicated with the spirits" endogenous to the prayer rocks, and as a result, they confirmed the purpose and function of the various sites in question.

Minni Reeves (interview, September 1976) said she was told by her relatives that "a medicine rock of some kind" existed (northwest) past Noledin, and it had a trail running past it to another village where her great uncle once lived. Goddard's (1914b:272) original research indicates that Tom Hill's oldest brother originally lived at this village near the same trail.⁶

Recognizing that Tom Hill was an "Indian Doctor" (or shaman), chances are that he may have utilized this particular rock. As a consequence, it is possible that the Hill family wished to keep its location a secret, and hence did not reveal the exact location of the "rock" and his village site to Goddard.

2. Noledin: Goddard (1914b:272) states that:
The village derived its name and perhaps its existence from a hole or waterfall, a short distance up the stream.

Minni Reeves confirms this interpretation and pronounces it Nole-din. Minni Reeves and Louise Jackson consider Noledin Falls to be the "center of the world" for the Chilula. (Interview during November 1976).⁷

On three different occasions I have visited the village location. It is approximately two and 1/2 miles down from Bald Hills Road and directly below Count's Prairie. An old homestead marked by a partial chimney and a decayed wood structure resides approximately one half mile above Noledin Village. This old residence was probably once occupied by the Hill family, after acculturation had its effect. There is also evidence of two large house pits and one sweathouse site. The general village location is now torn up because of earthquake activity. Directly below the village is a waterfall. Examination

of the "falls" indicates that it was once at least fifty feet high and approximately 200 feet wide. Near the falls and below the village is another significant rock facing southwest. It was known as "Fish Medicine Rock". It was used for making "fish medicine" during the eel and salmon runs.

Minni Reeves and Rudolph Socktish (a Chilula descendant and Hupa hereditary religious leader interviewed October, 1976, Hoopa), state that Noledin Falls served to be the main cultural center of the Chilula. It was used as a focal point for community fishing of steelhead, salmon, and lamprey eels. According to Minni Reeves and Rudolph Socktish (October 1976) it was also a prayer site and training grounds used for the acquisition of strength, healing power, gambling power, Deerskin and Jump Dance wealth, and ceremonial songs. Some informants claim that is one of the actual Jump Dance and Deerskin ceremonial dance grounds for the Chilula.

3. Lotcimme: Goddard (1914:273) claims this locality was a former village about a mile upstream from the last and seventy-five yards east of Redwood Creek over an opening of about an acre wide. Obscure housepit like depressions were seen on the north side of the glader near a stream which furnished drinking water. Weirs designed to catch lamprey eels were originally built in the Redwood Creek nearby this village.

This site is almost a mile southeast of Noledin Falls. In 1977 there were still two housepits amongst some oak trees with a small prairie on each side. The general area has been destroyed by earthquake fractures and as a result the village location is now inconspicuous.

4. Kinkyolai: Goddard (1914b:272) states:
A large and important former village situated on the eastern end of a ridge above Jonathan Lyon's ranch house and about a mile east of it. There is timber nearby on the northern slope of the ridge. In the edge of the timber is a spring which furnished the village with water. Besides the sweathouse site, seventeen house pits were counted. This village was the home of the Socktish family, many of whom are now living in Hupa. The head of the family at the coming of the white people was a man of influence and a

noted warrior. His name was Kiltcil, 'crazy'. His wife was a Hupa woman and perhaps for that reason they family moved to Hoopa Valley.

To visit this village site in the late 1970's, one leaves the Bald Hills Road just below Schoolhouse Peak, through Schoolhouse Pasture, past Dancing Doctor Rock heading toward the creek. I could still identify 10 housepits, two small sweathouse pits, and one large sweathouse pit which was used for the "Doctor Training" or "Kick Dance Ceremonies". (Also verified by interview with Rudolph Socktish, July, 1977, Hoopa).

This village is about 1300 feet elevation, near the east fork of Cooper Creek and to the southwest of "Dancing Rock." The man who owned, or managed the Lyon's Ranch in 1976, Joe Russ, did not like people trespassing on or near the village site. He preferred to keep it preserved and isolated, in part out of respect to the Indian people and for domestic reasons.

I think it is important to note that Rudolph Socktish is a hereditary descendant from the "Socktish Village" referred to above. "Kiltcil," a man Goddard formerly referred to as the hereditary leader for this village, was, according to Rudolph, his grandfather. Rudolph's father's name was Joe-Richard-Socktish and his mother was a Hupa woman named Mary Baldie. Although Rudolph was born and reared in Hoopa Valley, he demonstrated to me that he is very knowledgeable about the history, culture, and religious practices of both the Chilula and the Hupa people.

Locally, the Socktish family is well known and respected by all hereditary Hupa, Yurok, Karok and Tolowa leaders. The Socktish family is well known for their ceremonial status and religious ability because of this "high status" lineage from Redwood Creek.

Although Goddard (1914b) mentions the existence of fourteen other village sites and summer camps I have not attempted to validate these locations because of the mess from clear cutting and overgrowth.

Cultural Properties

Goddard (1913:702) wrote an article for the American Museum of Natural History in which he identified certain cultural properties that were considered

"sacred" to the Chilula. In the article titled "Way-side Shrines in Northwestern California"⁸ he stated:

In northwestern California there are numerous spots of more or less sacred nature. In all cases noted they are by some well-traveled trail. Several of them are on the crest of ridges and a few in the neighborhood of springs. The ceremonial requirements are perhaps different for each sacred place. Many of them are called resting places where the traveler is expected to seat himself for a few moments, smoke, and rest.

In the case of these particular places it is not certain that much that is sacred or religious is attached to the localities. It seems rather that a convention, a social habit, requires one to stop at these places. In the myth and tales of the region it is almost invariably the custom to mention that those passing stopped at such points to rest. The reason given for the existence of these resting places is that the culture hero or some other important person stopped to rest at these places in mythical times. Such a resting place is mentioned in the upper or sky world in a Chilula medicine formula.

There are various places where the traveler is expected to shoot with bow and arrows. The explanation of such places is usually that in mythical times competition in long-distant shooting occurred at these places, between travelers who met there by chance. The celestial resting place mentioned above was of this sort since the formula mentions the shooting.

Near Korbel as one begins the ascent of the mountain from the North Fork valley stands the stub of a redwood tree. Into this tree in early times any Hupa who passed shot an arrow. In recent years it is the custom to insert a twig of a tree or a small piece of brush instead. There were formerly two such trees. One of them was cut for lumber some years ago. The Indians claim the tree left died from sympathy. Near the trail from Bair's on Redwood Creek to Hupa on the ridge which separates Minor Creek from North Fork Creek is a place of offering. Each passer must drop a stick or stone and pray. He says, "I am going into the country of the

enemy. May I return in safety." On the return journey the prayer is a thanksgiving. "I have been to the country of the enemy. I am glad I am returning alive." This spot seems to mark, the Hupa on the Trinity River and Redwood Indians on the Redwood Creek.

In order to synthesize the aforementioned material I believe it would be appropriate to identify what I call "cultural properties," and which Goddard (1914: 278) refers to as "local points of interest." These include "prayer rocks," "ceremonial sites," and "legendary and historical localities," all of which contribute to history, religion, beliefs, and maintenance of the Chilula culture. In particular, prayer shrines such as Dancing Rock, Noledin, Medicine Rock, Eagle Rock, Panther Rock, and Coyote's Cradle, all have "tangible meaning" in the Chilula belief system. Other prayer sites are discussed below:

Dancing Doctor Rock: This was probably the most important religious site in Chilula territory. It is "a rocky point on the top of the ridge about a mile northeast of Lyon's house...used as a dancing place for those who were training to become shamans." (Goddard 1914b:278). The site was known as Dancing Rock because novice and practicing shamans were required to fast, seek a vision, lament for power, then sing and dance upon this sacred rock in order to acquire the "doctor pain" necessary for healing power. (See Kroeber 1925: 64-66; and Spott and Kroeber 1942:219-223, for relevant Yurok accounts.)

Minkkutminnaxowaldin: Goddard claims the site was located, on the crest of the main ridge are three associated objects of mythical and ceremonial interest. There is a depression about twenty feet wide and sixty feet long, evidently a pond in wet weather, as its Minkkutminnaxowaldin, indicates. The girls during their adolescence ceremonies used to run around this depression contraclock wise. A stone on the north side marks the starting place. If the girl was able to run around once without taking a breath she would become a good basket-maker. (Refer to illustration #5.)

Coyote's Cradle: Goddard relates that Coyote's cradle is situated, on the headwaters of Coyote

Creek, not far from a cold spring and a favorite summer camping ground, is a stone called Coyote's cradle. Coyote hollowed this stone out to receive his child, and said that if any one put his child in the depression for only a short time the child would grow fast. Coyote Rock is located directly on Coyote Creek, 100 yards from the K and K road. (Refer to map #3).

Yimantuwiniai's Stone: Goddard indicates the location was, about two hundred yards north, it is a boulder six feet by four, and about two feet high. It is split into two parts and has a depression near the top. This stone is called Yimantuwiniaixotse, Yimantuwiniai's Stone. The culture hero is said to have hidden behind this stone when in passing he observed some maidens digging bulbs on the ridge south. The depression is the mark of Yimantuwiniai's hand and the crack is an opening which allowed the passage of his member of distant girls, who were soon surprised to find themselves pregnant. Yimantuwiniai said that young girls who did not wish children had better keep away from this stone in the future, but that woman who desired children should sit and fondle it. (Refer to figure #6).

Women's Good Luck Stones: Goddard relates that Chilula women also had an opportunity for good fortune, on the south crest of a higher part of the main ridge are a row of stones making a fairly straight line about one hundred and ten yards long. The direction is roughly east and west. The individual stones are about two feet high and eight or nine inches in thickness and width. They appear to be of purely natural origin, being of the thickness of the outcropping strata. Yimantuwiniai is said to have placed them here to attract the attention of the maidens mentioned above. They were babies at first, or so they appeared to the maidens to be. Yimantuwiniai said those who cared for him should set up any of the stones which might fall and that the person who gave them this care would become wealthy in consequence.

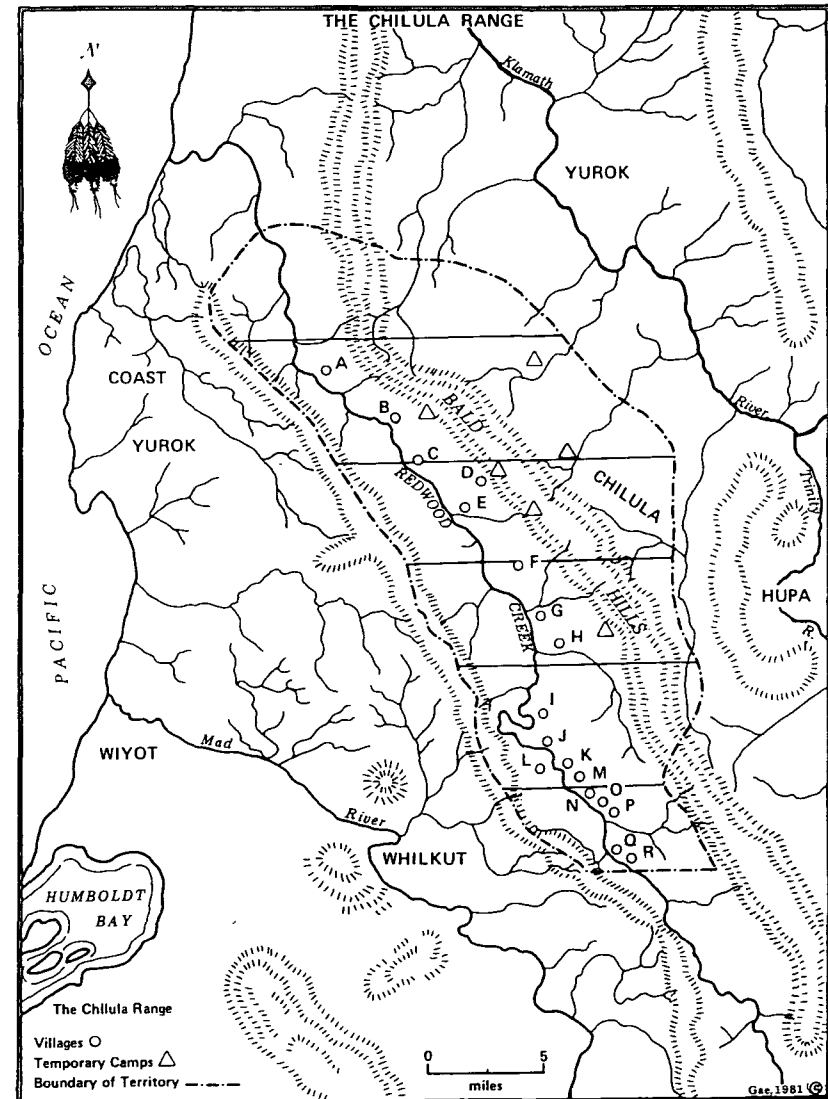
Bad Place: This rock is located on a small prairie next to Coyote Creek. It is a large round rock one half mile up from K and K road and approximately one half mile on the left, just before Coyote Rock. According to Chuck Donahue and various Chilula descendants, the "Bad Place Rock" and Coyote Creek

area was used for training in witchcraft. It was considered "bad luck to bathe in or drink any water from Coyote Creek near this rock." (Refer to Figure #7).

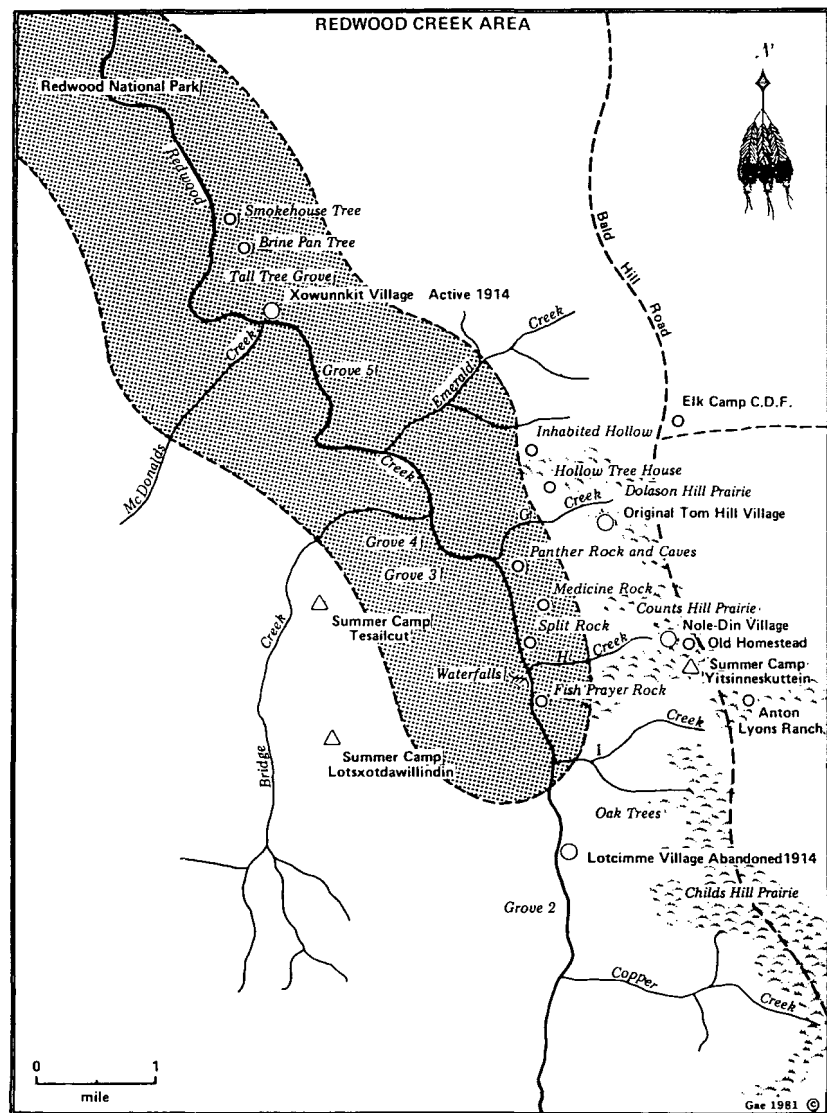
Eagle Rock⁹: I have not located any reference to this prayer site in Goddard's or other researcher's writings. It is situated in the southeastern part of Chilula territory between Garrett Creek and on the left headwaters fork of Lacks Creek at approximately 2600 feet elevation. As the name implies, Eagle Rock was noted for its abundance of eagles during the molting period. According to Chilula Fido Davis, the young men originally went to Eagle Rock in pursuit of "eagle feathers", "visions", and "spiritual contact" in an effort to acquire "wealth or warrior power." Fasting, adherence to strict tribal laws concerning sex abstinence, were mandatory prerequisites to the site visit, with acquisition of eagle feathers, and a vision or ally as the end result.

In closing the section on cultural properties, I would like to emphasize the point that there is a direct relationship between the symbolic meaning of such religious properties and the Chilula belief system. The "intangible" tribal belief was directly related to, and dependent upon, "physical properties" including the Giant Redwood trees which the Chilula considered very sacred, and for which they depended upon for survival. The redwood trees had a direct bearing on the meaning and practice of the religion, as Translation XVI, "The Coming of Indians", (Goddard 1913a:361) clearly indicates, and hence acted as symbols to validate physically and spiritually the Chilula religion.

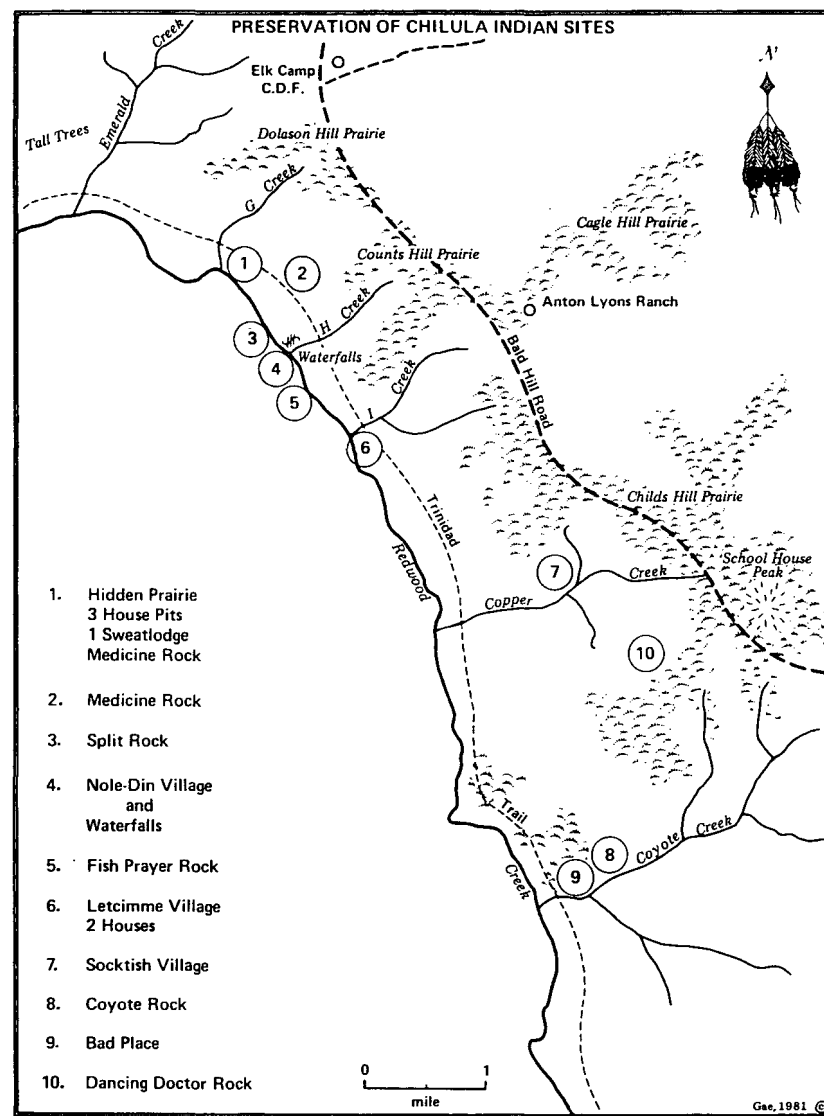
MAP 1-C



MAP 2



MAP 3



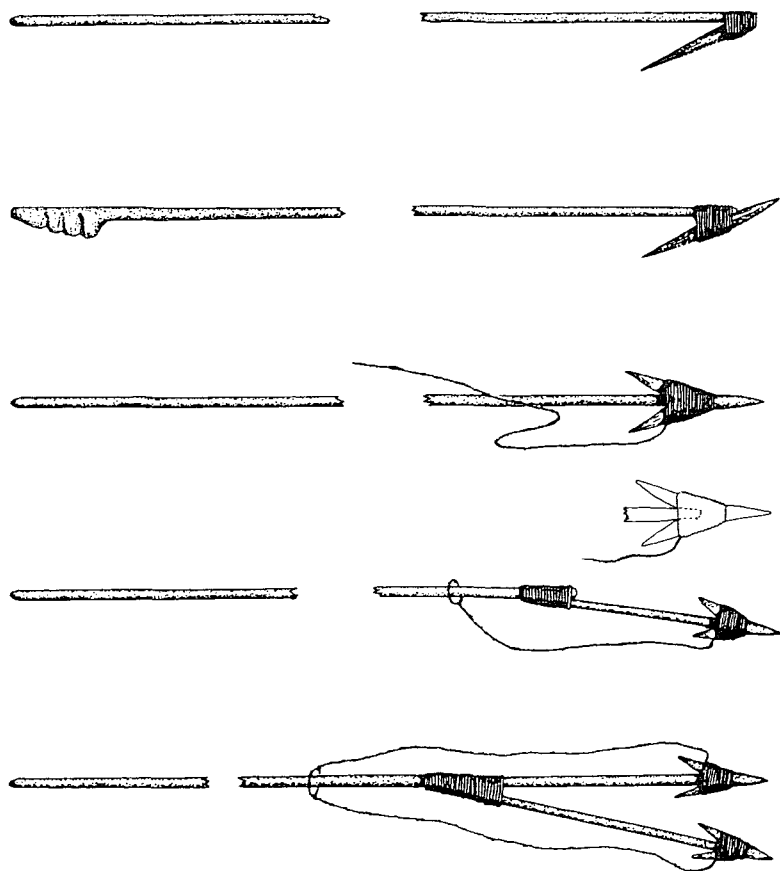


FIGURE #1
Harpoons

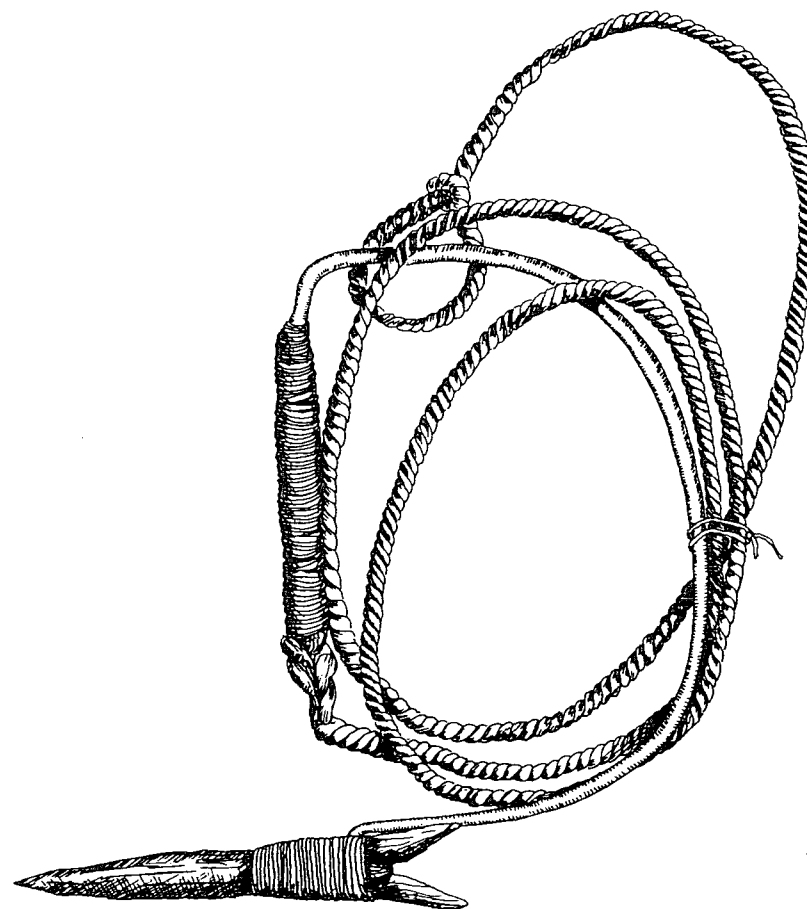


FIGURE #2
Harpoon and line



Tom Hill and his wife--Hereditary
Leader and Medicine Man for the Chilula
(Photo Courtesy of the Lowie Museum)

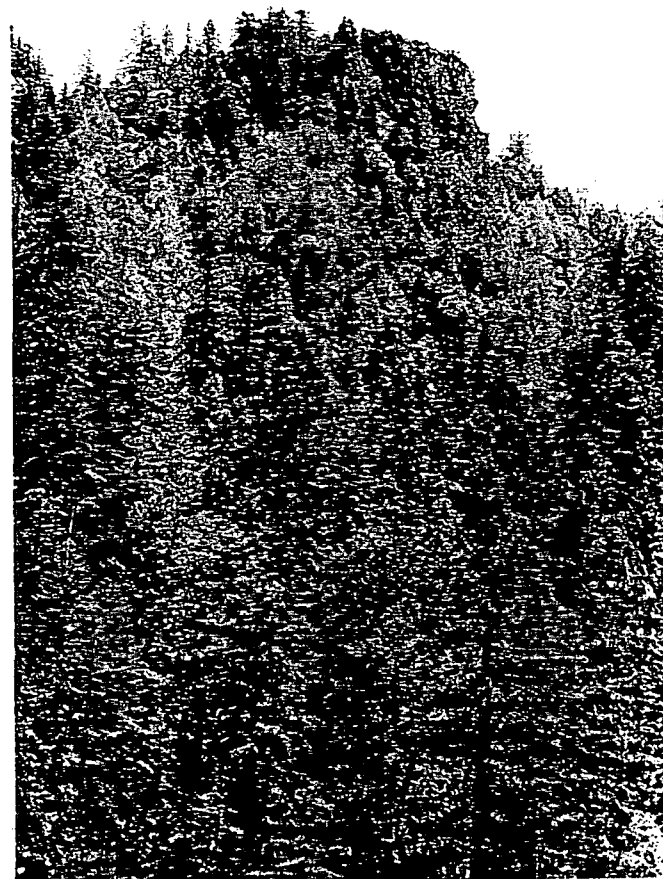


FIGURE #4
Dancing Doctor Rock
Used by the Chilula for doctor training and power quest



FIGURES #5 and 6
Women's moontime pond used in puberty rite.
Yimantuwiniai's Stone used by barren women for
good luck and pregnancy quest.



FIGURE #7
Bad Place Rock and Coyote Rock area
Used for sorcery and protective medicine.

CHAPTER II

SUBSISTENCE

A. HUNTING:

The Chilula was more of a hunting and gathering society, in comparison to their neighbors, the Yurok, and Hupa, which were primarily fishing societies. Goddard (1914b:270) states:

The Chilula are reputed to have surpassed the Hupa as hunters and this may have been the case. The heavy redwood forests to the west were frequented by herds of elk and the half timbered ridges to the east were especially favorable for deer.

According to Socktish and Reeves, (interview October 1976, Hoopa) elk, deer, and acorns were the main staple foods of the Chilula. Elk hunts were frequent and usually conducted in family or group sessions. Although acorn patches were regarded as family property, elk and deer hunting grounds were considered community property and hence shared by the entire tribe. Most of the elk hunting parties were conducted by respected group or family leaders who were well known to have "hunting power and knowledge." Only the men could hunt, and leaders were frequently accompanied by young boys who were "trained" to hunt in the proper manner.

The men always used the sweathouse to "purify" themselves before a hunting trip. Inside the sweathouse, older men taught the boys proper hunting techniques, they explained the religious laws concerning the preparation and handling of deer and elk which were considered sacred, they taught the boys how to pray for good luck in hunting, and they explained ancient hunting stories which focused on conservation practices and religious laws associated with hunting. (As an example refer to Goddard 1914a:257, "Deer Medicine", and figure #8,9).

Men were expected to be "clean" before and during hunting trips, (Driver 1936:311). They were not allowed to have sex, nor even think about sex, for it was believed to spoil their luck (Goddard 1914b:358). All bows, arrows, flint knives, scrapers and hunting

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paraphernalia were kept clean and pure. According to Louise Jackson (interview October, 1976) women were not allowed to touch or handle the men's hunting tools, weapons, or hunting material, especially when they were on their "moontime" (menses).

Rudolph Socktish, (interview October, 1976) explains the Chilula concept of hunting:

The men had to smoke themselves with douglas fir boughs or purify themselves in the sweathouse prior to the hunt. During this time they fasted on acorn soup; stayed away from women (obtain from sexual intercourse and social interaction), and prayed for good hunting luck. A prayer formula was made to the spirits of the deer, or the spirits of the elk, depending upon the game to be hunted. Tobacco or (angelica) roots were burned and offered as payment to the spirit of the animal to be hunted, in exchange for that animal's life. (Refer also to Driver 1936:311).

Most of the elk hunting was conducted on the western slopes and thick redwood forest above and adjacent to Redwood Creek, especially in the Bridge Creek, Devils Creek, and Panther Creek areas.¹ On occasion, elk hunting parties entered the northwestern slopes and ridges in an area which is now called Emerald Creek or John Weir Creek.

Deer hunting grounds were normally located near tan oak stands and prairies. These sites were more commonly located on the northeast, north, and eastern slopes and mountains above Redwood Creek. (Refer to figure #10). The area now known as Bald Hills was considered a choice location especially for rare white-deer. Deer hunting trips could be individual or group oriented, depending upon family needs or personal desire. In the late fall, men often hunted deer while women gathered acorns.

Freshly killed elk and deer meat was usually roasted over an open fire, but remaining portions of the meat were smoked and cured in a smoke house.

The meat was cut into strips approximately 2 inches wide and three feet long, and tied to racks which allowed the strips of meat to hang down and drip-dry. Alder and oak wood was used to "smoke" the meat, hence curing it for storage. Thus, a lot of smoked

meat could be preserved for winter and spring months, and later used to feed the people at sacred dances, ceremonies, and special "Indian doings."

Almost every part of the elk and deer was used because it was considered a tribal violation against nature to waste food. As an example, all hides were skinned, scraped clean, and tanned with the animal's brains and a mixture of oak ashes. Hides with the hair on one side were used for winter cloaks and blankets; while the sacred Jump Dance and Deerskin Dance regalia was made exclusively from deer hides. Hides scraped clean and devoid of hair were tanned into buckskin and used to make women's dresses, blankets, winter moccasins, hair ties, knife sheaths, berry winnowing sorters and various religious paraphernalia such as head-dresses. All sinew from the deer was saved as thread for sewing of material, and used as domestic string during the making of personal materials. Elkhorns were converted into tools, money purses, and spoons for the men. Ankle and lower leg bone sections were used for Indian needles and awls. Thus, seldom any part of the deer or elk was ever wasted.

The Chilula philosophy of hunting included an even greater sense of responsibility. As mentioned previously, men who were not "clean" could not hunt.

Men who "dreamed" of deer or elk prior to a hunt usually had good luck. Men who experienced unexpected ejaculation, or men who dreamed of women prior to a hunt were considered unlucky and therefore unworthy to hunt. This belief is verified by Goddard (1914a:360) Translation XIV. Like all other human beings however, there were a few who deviated from the customs and laws of the tribe. Such men invented psychological excuses and spiritual medicine making techniques to compensate for their inadequacy.² As an example, Goddard (1914b:281) states that in 1901 he visited an Indian by the name of Molasses who regularly served as his interpreter. The following is a story about Mollasses and one of his hunting episodes whereby he used "deer medicine" to cover up his own impurity:

At the time of our arrival Molasses was away hunting, but he returned during the day. He brought in a large deer with the head still on, the horns being in velvet. The eyes of the deer had been dug out and a withe of douglas spruce was firmly twisted around its muzzle.

The interpreter, O'Haniel Bailey, explained that the withe was to keep the dead deer from smelling. The Hupa customarily puncture the eyes of a deer as soon as possible after its death.

The hereditary medicine women for the Hupa tribe did not agree with Goddard's explanation of Molasses' deer hunting techniques and use of deer medicine. She claims that some men do punch the eyes out of the deer and/or cut and leave the head off, but only as a form of "cheating" (interview December 1976):

These men were probably unclean when they went hunting and thought they could cover up their abuse of the deer. You see, it's our spiritual belief that after the kill, the deer spirit follows the hunter home in order to gather up his bones, and to "see" if he is being handled properly. So men who poke out the deer's eyes are really trying to blind the deer, hoping its spirit won't follow them home. In Goddard's story, Molasses made medicine against the deer to hide his own impurity and wrong doing. Such an act is a violation against the Indian law and the Creator's Law. It is no wonder that so many of our people today have poor eyesight and need to wear glasses; just look how they and their forefathers have been mishandling that deer which is sacred. These kind of people are coyotes, they are only fooling themselves and hurting their own people!

B. FISHING: Although hunting was the primary source of subsistence for the Chilula, fishing was also an important contribution to their diet and survival.

The main species of fish life available to the Chilula include fall run King Salmon, Steelhead, cutthroat, trout, candlefish, and lamprey eels. The primary water stream in Chilula territory is Redwood Creek, and because of its small size only simple fishing techniques could be built and/or utilized. (Refer to Kroeber and Barrett, 1960:21-22) The small stream flowing into Redwood Creek provided opportunity for trout and steelhead fishing, while salmon and eels usually spawned in the mainstream of Redwood Creek. Since the Chilula did not have an elaborate system like the Yurok and Hupa, fishery resources were exploited by the use of a dam, dipnets, weirs, and plant poisons.

The dam was a simple but practical structure con-

sisting of a wooden brush barrier spread across each side of a small platform. Hewes (Kroeber and Barrett 1960-21) indicates the platform was made of redwood bark slabs which were tied with hazel wood rope, and it did not require posts or braces for support. Although Kroeber claims, "it could be built by anyone and without ceremony," on the contrary, Mrs. Minni Reeves (interview November 1976, Hoopa) replies that:

It had to be built with ceremony by a headman who used sweatlodge prayer, fasting, and who adhered to strict Indian laws. Pepperwood was burned in the fire as a prayer offering while the leader fished, no sex was allowed during fishing, and no man could fish when his wife was on her moontime (menses). Our people were very religious, you know, and performed a ceremony for everything.

Minni Reeves (1976) further related that fish dams were also located a couple of miles past Noledin Falls, near stream entrances, and further behind Noledin, all the way down toward Stover Ranch. She believes approximately five dams and/or weirs were used up and down the creek during the fall fishing season.

Dipnets were made from hazelwood and young fir saplings which were seasoned and hardened over a fire. The dipnets and simple loop net bags were made from iris grass fibers. Iris grass blades are usually gathered by women but prepared by the men. The blades are scraped over a sharp musselshell, flint, or rock, and the silken fibers removed. The fibers are twisted into string by an experienced older man who rolls the fiber upon his upper thigh into lengths of two to three feet. The strands were usually made into 2 or 3 ply string of considerable strength, then interwoven into a net form. (Refer to figure #11).

Harpoons were occasionally used by the Chilula for fishing at Noledin Falls, various portions of upper and lower Redwood Creek, and its adjacent streams. Single and double toggle harpoons were both employed. Fish harpoons were made from deer and elk antler, rawhide leaders and iris fiber cords served as toggle lines: (See illustrations #1-4).

Hewes (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:22) describe another fishing technique called a weir which was used to catch eels:

At some point on a small stream, perhaps twenty feet wide, where the water was three to five feet deep, heavy posts were driven vertically into the stream bed at about six feet intervals. Braces were set and bound on either side of each of these posts, the upstream brace forming in each instance a crotch in which the horizontal top log rested. Next a matting, woven of split sections of poles, was rolled out on the upriver side of this framework, and finally leafy boughs weighted with stones were placed along the bottom of the weir.

Out near the middle of the dam, and on the downstream side, were usually placed two small platforms from which the eel nets were manipulated. For each platform a vertical post was driven out in the stream a few feet from the weir. A slab of redwood bark ran from the post over to the weir, and horizontal poles made a separating fence for each platform. A rock or stool served as a seat.

The weir was constructed in such a manner so that two men could fish at the same time. They used a small, closed mesh, A-frame lifting net, and normally dipped at night when eel runs were at their peak.

Kroeber and Barrett (1960:22) indicate that some form of religious practice went into the handling of the weir although it was minor in comparison to the Yurok fish dam at Kepel (Kroeber 1953:58):

Little ceremony and few restrictions marked the building of such a dam. The headman devoted himself to prayer during the days the dam was being constructed. However, during the first five days of the life of this dam the lampreys caught must be cooked and eaten on the adjacent stream bank. If it was deemed necessary to dry some, the drying must be done at home or at least well away from the dam. After these first five restricted days lampreys could be dried anywhere.

Eels were also caught with "eel-hooks" or gaffs (see illustrations #3 and #5) and eel pots. Eel pots are a form of basketry traps made from hazel and willow sticks woven into a large basket shape. Kroeber and Barrett's (1960:70) research indicates further:

...such a trap is provided on one side with several reinforcing sticks which rest on the

gravelly river bottom and protect the trap from wear. In setting this type of trap, the fisherman baits it, places it on its side, with the funnel downstream, and weights it down with several stones. Then a grapevine anchor line (sometimes two) is run several feet upstream to a stake or to a cross-tree to keep the trap securely in place. The fisherman always chooses a shallow spot in the river where the current is strong, but not too swift, and where the bottom is gravelly, the sort of place favored by the lampreys for spawning. The lamprey builds a kind of nest by carrying pebbles with its suckorial mouth and dropping them where its eggs have been deposited until it has built up a small gravel mound. The lamprey, particularly the male, tends to travel chiefly at night and to spend its days attached to or concealed among rocks on the river bottom. The eel pot is, therefore, an ideal place for the lamprey to seek shelter.

Eels also like to hide among rocks and as a result eelhooks (gaffs) were used to "hook the eel out" and "sling him up on the bank." In December 1976, an example of "eeling" was observed near the mouth of the Klamath River at Requa, at which time Yurok Merkie Oliver was interviewed on the topic. Pitch torches were used to provide light during the night time eeling. Some light was necessary in order to identify eels that were still lurking within rocky crevices. The younger boys and older men did most of the gaffing while more adept fishermen used weirs and eel pots.

It would be of interest to note that the making of harpoons, nets, eel pots, fishnet bags, Indian string, and other fishing/hunting gear was considered to be strictly men's work. They made most of their material in the sweathouse during the winter months. Women were never allowed to handle or to touch the men's hunting or fishing material. Men were not allowed to fish with a bow and arrow, nor was a man allowed to fish during his woman's menstrual period. It was believed by the Chilula that "all entities were endowed with a spirit and all food was considered a sacred gift." As a result men were expected to be "clean" when hunting, fishing, and praying.³ Rudolph Socktish claims that tribe-law was an important aspect of the Chilula religion: "To break tribal laws would cause bad luck to the individual and possibly bring misfortune to the tribe. Hunting, fishing, and gathering was more than survival, it was a religious way

of life."

While fishing poles and hooks were made and used by the Chilula, this method of fishing was at a minimum. Hewes (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:85) indicates the Chilula used a ten to fifteen foot pole, a very small gorge hook (1/2 to 3/4 inch long), and grasshoppers for bait.

On one of my field trips into Redwood Creek, I found a small blue-flowered, medicinal plant which I later identified as "soaproot." My Chilula interviewees related that this plant was mashed with water into a soapy substance and dropped into creek holes to poison fish. Hewes (Kroeber and Barrett, 1960:86), also noted this data. Small trout, suckers, cutthroat, and eels were poisoned⁴ in the water, (usually quiet, deeper pools of water) until stupefied, and netted out with a dip net. The fish were then carried home in net bags and baskets to be cooked immediately or dried and preserved for later consumption.

In closing the section on fishing techniques, I would like to further indicate that the Chilula traded with the Coastal Yurok and Wiyot for mussels, seaweed, clams, and abalone. These additional food sources served to supplement their diet, and the shells were saved for tools, spoons, jewelry, and religious regalia. While the Chilula were not as elaborate as their neighbors in regards to fishing methods, they did depend upon fishery resources for subsistence. It should also be reiterated that since the Chilula were a very religious people, tribal laws and religious beliefs governed their acquisition and consumption of fishery resources, with conservation being a key ingredient.

C. GATHERING: Gathering activities were directly related to residence. In reference to gathering of food Goddard (1914b:271) explains:

The permanent houses of the Chilula appear to have been of the same sort as those occupied by the Hupa. During the summer months the Hupa were accustomed to sleep in brush shelters near the villages. The Chilula seem to have regularly left their villages in the summer and fall and to have lived in regular and definitely located camps on the higher portion of the ridges. These camps were near some spring or cold stream and in the

neighborhood of some special vegetable food for the gathering of which the camp was maintained. In summer various bulbs and the seeds of grasses were sought. In the fall camps were made for gathering acorns. The latter were especially abundant on the western ridge where the tan oaks grow among the redwoods.

Although the Chilula were a sedentary tribe they did not plant and cultivate a garden per se like the Hopi Indians in Arizona, or the Seneca Indians in New York. Domestic gardens came into effect only after contact with the White settlers when acculturation made an impact upon the tribe. Prior to European intrusion, Chilula plant foods were gathered by hand. Acorn bearing oak stands were territorial and usually belonged to a particular family. Tan oak trees were harvested by the women and young girls in the late fall around the western and eastern slopes of the Redwood Creek basin. Usually in late September and during the month of October, temporary camps were constructed at each family's "acorn grounds." Temporary houses were similar to the Yurok style but different than the Hupa construction.⁵ (Refer to figure #12). In some instances brush huts were also built but these huts were primarily used for women on their moontime (menses) who were required by law to remain "isolated" for a period of ten days in order to purify themselves. (Refer to Driver 1932:353).⁶

D. FOOD SOURCES: The very essence of the Chilula's survival depended on their knowledge and ability to gather food and herb resources efficiently. The Chilula's practical knowledge of botany, ecosystems, biology, herbology, natural agronomy, and harvest techniques could possibly equal that of modern scientists. To be an efficient gatherer required a vast source of knowledge on the growth cycle of numerous plant species, a keen understanding of the use and mixture of medicinal properties, effects of weather on growth production, and at least good knowledge of habitat conditions. The following is an indication of the Chilula's knowledge and ability to effectively utilize their environment.

Acorns were gathered, dried in the open or in the temporary house, and later cracked, shelled, and pounded into flour by the women. Acorn nuts and flour were stored in large baskets made from willow shoots, willow roots, spruce roots, red bud fern, maiden hair fern,

and in some cases bear grass. Acorns were ground in an acorn grinding basket (see figures 14 & 15) with a stone pestle. The basket had a hole in the bottom and was placed upon a round flat rock. The inner, lower edge of the basket, where it rested on the shallow cavity of the nether cobble, was packed at the base with yellow tree moss so that particles would not be lost in the grinding process. At a later date when acorn gruel was needed, the dried flour was leached by pouring cold water over the flour which was inside a leaching basket. (Acorns could also be leached in a natural sand creek basin.) After all bitterness had been removed, it was then prepared for soup or mush. Special water tight acorn cooking baskets were used, whereby small blue stones from the river were heated in a fire, then later transferred to the water retaining baskets. This process would cause the water to get hot enough to "cook" the acorn flour into a soup.

Black oak acorns were sometimes gathered by people who preferred an "occasional" treat. Black acorns were gathered and usually buried in a small stream for approximately four to six months. These acorns were naturally leached while still in the shell until properly seasoned. Black oak acorns were also shelled, ground into a cereal, and cooked with hot stones in a basket. Sherlette Colegrove, Louise Jackson's granddaughter, (interview October 1976, Hoopa), said the "black oak acorns have a foul smell", in comparison to tan oak acorns, "but they are sweeter."

The local wild potatoes were dug in the autumn with seasoned madrone or hazelwood sticks. The Indian potato, (grandfather of the so-called Irish potato consumed by modern man), was small and bulb like. It was cooked or eaten raw. The majority of Chilula however, normally roasted the potato by laying it directly in coals of a hot fire. Indian potatoes were usually found and gathered upon the north and eastern slopes on and above the prairies now identified as Dolason Hill, Counts Hill Prairie, Bear Prairie, and Coyote Peak area.

Indian lettuce, commonly referred to as miner's lettuce, was gathered from the same hills and slopes. This was eaten raw, and the roots were considered to be of medicinal value.

Clover was gathered for tea and for use as a salad. Bulbs and seeds of the Indian wild oats and wild

grasses were gathered from the prairies in the fall and cooked or eaten raw depending on one's choice at the time. Evidence of this food can still be found in a place that I have labeled Hidden Prairie, near "G" Creek. (Refer to Maps 2 and 3). Unfortunately, most of the original Chilula gathering places have been destroyed by the White man's cattle, farming, logging practices, and defoliant spray; as a result, native plant life originally used for subsistence is very difficult to identify and validate.

Indian celery, Indian licorice, "abalone" (or herba buena tea), wild onions, and horsetails were also gathered only by the women and prepared raw.

E. PLANTS, HERBS, MEDICINE, AND OTHER MATERIALS:

Princess pine and Oregon grape were used by tribal elders but more commonly gathered and prepared by medicine men or medicine women. The roots were prayed to with a certain formula, cooked into a tea, and consumed by the patient with the hope of purifying his/her bloodstream. These two plants were also used in the same manner for kidney ailments, gallbladder trouble, liver infection, urine infection, boils, rashes, and as a periodic cleansing agent for other internal organs.

A plant called "wormwood", which has large green leaves shaped like human fingers, was gathered near water holes and springs. It could often be found near creek and stream slopes and in some prairies where moisture was prevalent. It has a strong medicinal odor and was considered to be a very sacred plant for "doctoring." The leaves were boiled, and a special prayer song was sung over the patient, and the sick person had to inhale the foggy vapors as a means to relieve congestion and be purified. This plant was inhaled to combat colds or bronchitis, taken orally as a tea for arthritis, rheumatism, or sore throat problems; and it was also used externally as a poultice for boils and for blood poison, redwood sliver poison, and skin infections.

Mullein which was commonly found above and within the prairies near Bald Hill road was also used for colds and bronchitis problems. It was boiled and inhaled, or boiled and drank internally. In most cases the medicine maker prayed to the plant and had the patient smoke it in a pipe like tobacco, as a remedy to combat asthma or respiratory problems. In addition,

the roots were pulverized, boiled into a thick syrup, and administered to a patient for a cough.

Mountain balm, commonly called Yerba Santa, was found and gathered from the high slopes near Bald Hills mountain range. It was considered a very sacred plant for the treatment of colds. After contact with the White man it was used to treat flu and asthma, bronchitis and tuberculosis. The plants were gathered in the early fall, dried upside down, and boiled into a strong tea. Sometimes it was mixed with mullien, Oregon grape roots, and Douglas fir tips. It could also be chewed like gum or smoked in a pipe like tobacco.

Ferns of every kind were abundant within the Chilula territory and were used extensively within the culture for food, basketry, refrigeration, and medicine. The most common fern species are braken, sword, wood, deer, sensitive fern, California polypody, and horsetail. The men wrapped their fresh meat and fish in sword, wood, deer, and braken ferns to keep it fresh whenever they had long trips to make. It was also used like a towel to wipe out blood and internal parts of the deer and elk after gutting had been performed. Sometimes fresh meat and fish were stored in small caves, hollow trees, cracks, and rocky crevices whereby the meat was wrapped in ferns as a form of temporary refrigeration.

The women gathered maiden hair fern for basket making. California polypody, sensitive fern, and bracken were used as a common food supplement and during an emergency. Only the young plants were gathered and eaten because older plants were considered poisonous. Sometimes the young sprouts were boiled until tender and eaten like asparagus. Often times the white center was baked in hot coals until it became soft and doughy. The pulp was dried and stored for later consumption in the form of soup or ground and rebaked into a bread. Sword fern and wood fern was boiled and used for cuts, sores, and dandruff. Thus, it was also used as a shampoo and mixed with the Indian soap bulb for scalp and hair treatment.

Horesetail ferns commonly found around water holes were used for internal and external purposes. The young shoots were boiled and used for a tea. Others used the stocks for a soup. The raw fern parts were a form of sandpaper used to smooth tools and

weapons, or to polish various artifacts and materials. In some cases it was known to be used as a toothbrush.

Wild licorice was scarce and it was considered a delicacy. The plant was chewed raw, boiled into a tea and used for a relaxant or roasted in hot coals and eaten as a candy.

Mint teas in the form of vine tea or abalone tea were common and can easily be identified in the woods above Noledin village. It was used as a cure for headaches, a love potion (if one knew the proper prayer and song), used as a herb in burial ceremonies,⁷ and when not boiled and taken internally, could be chewed raw as a mouth refresher and thirst quencher. (Refer to figure #16).

Wild onions were sometimes gathered as a food source and often used as a poultice. It was boiled or eaten raw, or applied to insect stings and bites.

Poison ivy/oak was not much of a threat to Chilula Indians who evidently built up a resistance to its poisonous leaves. However, in the event, a tribesman or young child did get a rash, then the young poison oak shoots were gathered and cooked in the food for an antidote. Small doses over a period of weeks soon helped the patient develop an immunity. In later years, when many of the Indians were taken to Hoopa and forced into poverty, several of the people developed ringworm or a rash similar to herpes. The more intuitive or spiritual Chilula tribesmen are alleged to have used the poison oak as a poultice to cure the foreign skin diseases.

The use of thistle was not commonly known by members of the tribe but it is alleged to have been administered as a contraceptive by the medicine women to a patient in need. The thistle plant was prayed to with a special formula, cut and boiled, and drank as a tea. The women often took this medicine during the "Chilula Wars" when they were frequently raped by White men.

Yarrow is another medicinal plant found in abundance. It was gathered anytime during the year dependent upon need. Common tribesmen used it as a poultice for wounds, cuts, sores, rashes, earache, and bloodpoisoning. When it was to be used externally, it was prayed to, boiled, and then applied directly to

the wound. Sometimes it was roasted, dried, and pounded up into a powder and placed into the cut. When it was to be taken internally it was boiled into a tea, sung over by medicine women, and administered to a female patient experiencing menstrual cramps. Yarrow was also used as a stimulant to promote a menses by women who were experiencing a late monthly period.

Minni Reeves and Louise Jackson both indicate that their Chilula mother's father (Tom Hill), as well as their Hupa step-father (Big Willis Matilton), raised their own Indian tobacco. I have searched the Chilula territory during the early and late fall, but I have never found evidence of the plant. It may not have been indigenous to the area, and could have been traded to the Chilula by the Yurok and Hupa neighbors. If tobacco was native to the region, it might have been exterminated by cattle grazing. Minni and Louise related the following tobacco cultivation process:

Grandfather burned a section of land near the forest and prairie. He gathered up pieces of old dry logs, small branches, and dry grass. After several days of burning, the area was allowed to cool, and seeds were scattered among the ashes and decayed logs. He did this in late October before the winter rains started. Almost a year later, sometime in August - September, he would go back to the garden and gather his plants. He separated the seeds, and saved them for replanting. He then tied the plants together in bundles and hung them upside down in the sweathouse to be cured and spiritually purified. He never wasted any part of the sacred tobacco.

Tobacco was regularly used by the Chilula for spiritual and medicinal purposes. It was ground up and used as a poultice for cuts and wounds, smoke was blown into an infected ear to cure earaches, the sticky juice was used for insect stings and bites; and tobacco was smoked as a prayer offering to the Creator and Spirits during times of hardship and sickness. The "smoke" was believed to be a signal to the "unseen beings in the spirit world." Indian doctors smoked tobacco in pipes as part of their curing ceremony. Tobacco was dropped into sacred fires during dance ceremonies, and prayer formulas accompanied the ritualistic invocation. It was also used as an agent to pray for gambling power, hunting luck, and fishing

luck. In addition, tobacco was smoked to induce dreams, and hence cultivate one's power, particularly during a "Kick Dance Ceremony." And lastly, it was often used as an ally to ward off evil forces by the deceased soul as he/she left this earth and traveled to the spirit world of the dead. Thus it was placed in the hands of the deceased at burial.

Berries were another food source harvested by the Chilula. Huckleberries, salal berries, strawberries and salmon berries were gathered during the late summer and early fall. Women were responsible for gathering, sorting, cooking, and preservation of berries. Men used young huckleberry shoots for arrows and hence it was their responsibility to gather arrow wood during the early winter. Berry roots and leaves were used for herbal medicine and taken orally as a tea. It was used as a medicine for constipation, varicose veins, and blood poison.

In addition to the above, George Mead (1972) provides the following ethnobotany list of Chilula plants:

1. Mimosoideae Pod was used for food when in season. The Chilula name is si-cing-al.
2. Adenostoma sparsifolia, locally called in English, greasewood. The Chilula used the seeds for food, made rabbit clubbing and hunting sticks from the wood, and the twigs were dried and steeped into a tea in order to induce vomiting and bowel relief. The Chilula name is sanka.
3. Adiantum pedatum, commonly called maiden hair fern, is still used by the women for decoration and design in baskets.
4. Agavaceae, commonly called mescal, was gathered in early spring. The cabbage like leaves and stalks, which are full of sap, are roasted and eaten. The fibers of the plant were also used to make rope and bowstrings, little brooms, and hair brushes.
5. Angelica root is believed not to be indigenous, although the root is highly prized. It was acquired through trade with the Hupa and Yurok. It is still used for prayer, protection (warding off evil people and forces),

and sacred ceremonies. The body was washed with root for deer luck, and in doctoring ceremonies.

6. *Arctostaphylos glauca*, commonly called manzanita, had berries which were eaten as a fruit, used as a medicine for diarrhea, and the bush stems were used in house building. The roots were carved into men's spoons; and the young branches were burned for wood in the sweat-house and sacred ceremonies.
7. *Artemisia heterophylla*, the English name is wormwood or mugwort. It is used as a tea for internal pains and infections. The steeped solution is heated in a basket with hot stones and vapors inhaled for bronchitis. It is also used as a hot poultice on wounds, bruises, sores, and aching bones. Chilula also considered it "baby medicine" whereby the newborn was bathed in a tea like substance for cleanliness and protection during the first ten days after birth.
8. *Artemisia ludoviciana* (wormwood), stems from both uprights and moving weft of baskets. Used as a thatching in roofing on houses. Possibly used for arrows during a time of urgent need when regular arrow-wood could not be obtained.
9. *Asclepias Mexicana* (milkweed), the sap was used for chewing gum and glue, and as a medicine to heal warts.
10. *Astragalus* (rattlesnake weed or rattlesnake - tail grass). The seeds were used for food spice, similar to American pepper.
11. *Atriplex lentiformis* (salt sage) seeds were used for salty spice in food. The seeds were ground into a powder like material and could be stored over long periods.
12. *Baccaris glutinosa* (eye tea), was used as a tea for sore eyes. The Chilula name is pi-ki.
13. *Ceanothus integerrimus* (buckbrush, deerbrush). It is used to fumigate the dead body prior to burial preparation (Refer to Goddard

1914a:377). It is also used as hunting medicine whereby it is burned as an offering to the spirit of the deer, then carried for good luck as a charm to attract the deer to the hunter.

14. *Chenopodium Californicum* (soap root). The roots were used as a purifying soap and skin cleanser. Particularly important for preparation of the deceased body during burial preparation. (Goddard 1914a:377) The fisherman mashed the roots into a powder, sang a formula, and sprinkled the powder into the creek or stream in order to poison fish.
15. *Chenopodium fremontii* (pigweed, kit or goose-foot) seeds were ground into flour and baked into bread.
16. *Chlorogalum pomeridianum*, another form of Chilula soap whereby the root fibers were made into a small brush-like wisk broom and used to sweep the acorn flour off the rock after grinding and pounding. It was also baked and eaten as a food on occasions.
17. *Condalia parryi*, commonly called oot berry, was pounded into a meal and used as mush.
18. *Corylus cornuts*, commonly called hazelwood. The nuts were dried and eaten. The stems are used for making baby baskets, eel pots, and it was made into rope for dipnet frames. The nuts were also ground into a powder, mixed with water, and used as a milk substitute during the breast weaning of infants.
19. *Cucurbita foetidissima* (wild squash). The root was crushed, and the soapy mixture used as a poultice on sores.
20. *Datura meteloides*, commonly called jimson weed was powdered and made into a tea for psychic hallucinations. It was therefore used to develop "seeing power," acquire visions, etc. *Datura* was also used as a poultice on serious cuts and wounds. The Chilula name is ki-ki-sa-u-il.

21. *Descurainia pinnata* (peppergrass), the seeds were ground up and made into mush.
22. *Elymus condensatus* (rye grass), it was woven into a rope and used to bind the frames in house construction.
23. *Ephedra nevadensis* (joint pine), the twigs were used for Indian tea. It was considered a blood purifier.
24. *Eriogonum fasciculatum* (wild buckwheat), the leaves were boiled into a strong tea and drunk for headache, stomach pain, and also used as an eyewash.
25. *Fouquieria splendens* (ochotilla), the blossoms and fruit were eaten as a food supplement.
26. *Aplopappus palmeri*, used the leaves and twigs bound around the feet, along with creek stones, to relieve swelling pain. A prayer formula had to accompany the application.
27. *Holodiscus discolor* (cream brush), the small fruit was eaten raw, usually by hunters, who were fasting and traveling long distances on a hunt. The green stems were carved into gambling sticks, called "Indian cards", a hand guessing game. (Refer to figure #17).
28. *Isomeris arbores* (bladder pod), the pods were gathered and cooked in a small hole in the ground. Hot stones were used to heat the food source.
29. *Juncus* (tule-grass, basket brush), the young shoots were eaten raw like celery, the leaves used for wrapping, and it was dyed and used in basket making for decoration.
30. *Juniperus occidentalis* (juniper berry), the fruit was eaten raw when ripe, or used as an oral and douch medicine for vaginal problems.
31. *Lorrea Mexicana* (creoste brush), a small insect causes a deposit to be formed on the bark. The substance was used as glue on domestic material and leaves were boiled into bowel medicine. The Chilula name is a-tu-kul.

32. *Lasthenia glabrate* (compositae), the seeds were gathered, pounded into flour and eaten dry. The Chilula name is al-lo-kal.
33. *Marah fabaceus* (man root), the root was pounded into a fish poison.
34. *Leptolaenia Californica*, (gingseng), the roots were used to cleanse and purify the body of deceased people.

F. TREES: Obviously, the redwood tree was the prominent feature and basis for the Chilula ecosystem. The ancient and gigantic trees provided shelter and habitat necessary for the tribe's survival. It was considered extremely "sacred and a special gift to the Indian people from the Great Creator." In addition to aesthetic and spiritual values it had a practical worth. Redwood trees were burned at the base and felled for splitting into planks. The raw redwood slabs were split, shaped, and constructed into square houses, round Kick Dance houses, and rectangular sweatshops used by the men. Chilula men used elkhorn wedges, filing adzes, and flint scrapers as their tools for construction. The houses were built in pits more like those of the upper Klamath Yurok rather than that of the Hupa.⁸ (See figures #12 and 13).

Left over pieces of redwood were used for the construction of smoke houses, made into salmon roasting stakes, and carved into small oblong medicine boxes wherein eagle feathers and other religious articles were stored, and even used for drum frames. (Refer to figure #18).

I will defer until later my lengthy discussion of other ways redwood was part of the Chilula ecosystem and would now like to consider the Chilula use of Douglas fir. (Goddard 1914a:376) relates:

A celebrated Douglas spruce stands on the south side of the ridge which approaches Redwood Creek from the east, on the south side of Coyote Creek. It is known as neskin-ilxun-niltewin, "Douglas spruce sweet it smells." The tree is about six feet through and is usually fragrant. The Chilula and Hupa used its branches to smoke their bodies. It gave good luck for salmon, deer, and wealth.

The Douglas fir, or Douglas spruce as it is commonly called, thus had a spiritual, medicinal, and practical property worth nothing. Its green fir tips were picked, boiled, and used as a tea to combat colds. It was used as an internal purifier to cleanse the bloodstream and other organs, and the bark was split open and the sap extracted for chewing gum.

In religious uses the Chilula men dug a pit into the ground approximately six inches deep and approximately six feet long. Dry wood was burned until a bed of hot coals had been established, the fir boughs were placed on top of the coals, and the trainee then laid down on these boughs to smoke himself. The practice was used during religious training prior to entering a secret power place; and it was also used prior to gambling, hunting, and after a funeral. Chilula believed that the Douglas fir had the potential to "purify" the human of his bad smell, thoughts, and interruptions. Hence, this tree was not only used to bring good luck and eliminate human odor, but it was also a purifying agent designed to help man meet the spirits in a clean and proper manner (Goddard 1914a:377).

Indian doctors were also known to use this tree during healing ceremonies whereby they would "smoke" themselves for protection and/or purify the patient before doctoring. It was further believed that improper handling of this sacred tree would bring death or disease to the user. Sacred formulas, songs, and knowledge regarding the proper handling of the fir boughs was an essential part of its utilization, and caution was advised regarding its use in spiritual matters.

Madrone was another tree used by the Chilula for spiritual and medicinal matters. The wood was gathered and burned during all sacred ceremonies and sweatlodge practice, and was used in the sacred fire during the Deerskin and Jump Dances. In addition, bark was peeled from the tree, after speaking a special prayer, and then used as a poultice to heal cuts, wounds, burns, and blood poisoning. The following story is an example of the Chilula use of madrone for healing purposes:

Minni: One time I helped my brother-in-law drive cattle to Trinity Summit. The horses, were so used to going after the cattle, and they wandered off the road. This horse I had I didn't know anything about. It wandered off

so fast after the cattle that I got hurt in the brush. So my brother-in-law chewed madrone leaves, with his mouth. I know he never washed his teeth, but he put it in the cut across my knee. He put it in after he chewed the leaves and it never blood poisoned me. Madrone healed my wounds completely.

Louise: That's what they say when you're out in the mountains, you take the madrone medicine. If you see that, and if you cut yourself or something, you take that madrone and chew it and pray on it and put it in there (the wound), and put the leaf on top of it, and wrap it, (like a poultice) for the healing. You notice madrone, if you cut (the bark) it all heals up, you notice all over it heals.

Yes, so there's worth to these things, but there is a proper prayer that goes with it when you fix that (heal a wound with madrone leaves or bark).

Oak trees were fairly abundant and used in a variety of ways by the Chilula. Tan oak trees produced acorns which were the main staple food of the tribe. Acorns were gathered in the late fall by the women and brought down from the slopes into the house for storage. Black oak acorns were occasionally gathered, properly prepared, and consumed for a food supplement. The bark from the tan oak and black oak wood was used as a tanning formula for animal hides. Rotten and aged oak wood was used for smoking and curing of fish and meats.

Maple wood was originally used to make bark dresses for the women. The bark was peeled in the spring, pounded into a thick clothlike material, and sewn into a summer dress. Maples are found along creek and stream beds.

Alder tree wood was used to smoke fish and meat. Rotten alder wood which had the potential to "smolder" was preferred. Alder bark was used as a red dye for basket making material. Acorn paddles were carved from alder wood and used to stir acorn soup while cooking.

Yew wood, commonly found on the western slope, was cut in the late fall-early winter period and converted into hunting bows, Indian hand game sticks,

and walking canes for the elders.

Ironwood and orangewood were used to make Indian pipes. The young, straight, slender saplings were cut in late fall and/or early winter months. Tobacco pipes were similar to those used by the Hupa and Yurok. According to Chilula Minni Reeves the soft xylem center was bored out by a worm which was placed at one end and temporarily sealed off. The worm had no choice but to "eat his way out to the other side."

Pepperwood trees commonly referred to as California laurel, myrtlewood or bay trees were utilized for spiritual, medicinal, and practical purposes. Pepperwood nuts were gathered in the late fall, roasted, and preserved for later consumption. The nuts were believed to have "power" and were taken internally before a hunting trip for good luck, eaten prior to a war battle for protection, and taken orally to cure internal sickness. The leaves were gathered and used in the home and sweathouse to ward off evil spirits, bad luck, and insects. The leaves were also burned during sacred ceremonies to call in the good spirits, promote spiritual protection, and offered as a prayer to the Great Creator during invocation. The leaves were burned as a prayer offering to one's ally when requesting gambling luck, placed behind the "dealers" for protection during "Indian cards" (hand games), and burned during funeral rights. It was also the most common medicine used by the Indian doctors during their training; it was burned in a sacred fire at the Kick Dances, and used by the Indian doctor to affect a cure upon his patient. One example of its use is related by Mrs. Louise Jackson:

One day you could hear him (a sick relative) hollering right from the first house on the other side of the creek (in Hoopa). You could hear him clear at the bridge. So my brother-in-law, he told me, he said, "could you get your grandfather to make me medicine?" And I said "Yes I think so." So those days you had no car or nothing you know, so I walked from here clear down to where I live now. I walked down there (to her grandfather's house), and I went and got my grandfather. He was blind. I went to him and I told him, "I come after you grandpa." I said, "Pliny wants you to make medicine for him, he's pretty sick." "Well", he said, "if we can get the things I need we can go up." He said

there used to be a pepperwood tree standing up on this creek. He said, "get this knife here." (I'll never forget, he had a little old knife that the blade looked all worn off on the end.) You know he had it in his pocket, he gave me that. "You just cut a little piece of that bark", he said. "Just a little bitty piece, not any bigger than that", he said, "the size of your fingernail." He says, "You go up there and get it."

So I went up there and I cut, you know, a piece of that bark, cut off a little piece, you know. I cut it off and brought it back to him. So he stuck it in his pocket and I led him clear up here (to our house). He said, "you put me behind some brush or house or something where I can pray and make this medicine," and he prayed, he said. So I put him behind the woodshed, there was a woodshed off ways from the house, so I hid him back there. Then he said, "You go get a glass with a little water in it. Just a little bit water, he said, not very much, just a little bit." He said, "You bring it out to me." So he set there and I brought it out. He was blind. So pretty soon he said, "you get a rock and pound that pepperwood bark up, you know, pound it up real fine," he said. He said, "You pick it up and put it into the water, Put it in that water." So I did, I did what he told me to. So he took out his pipe, his Indian pipe, you know, a regular one, those with the stone on the end. And he had a little stick with it that he always cleans his pipe out with. He took that stick and he cleaned that nicotine out. There was just a little bit on the end of it. He said, "You take that little bit on the end, you see", he said, "put it into that water with that pepperwood." Then take that pepperwood and put it in there. You stir it all up good", and then he started to praying.

Now if I had any sense at all, I would know that prayer today. I'd know what he said, and then he prayed. Well he said, "You take this in to him," he said, "This little water with that nicotine and that pepperwood," you can figure what it must taste like, you know. So he told my brother-in-law, he said, "put your teeth together like this, and he said, "You drink it." (The concoction of pepperwood, nicotine, and water).

So grandfather, he says, "If he vomits that up, he

is not going to live," so my brother-in-law took it and drank it, least it was awful, but he drank it and he lived to be 89 years old. And all the other doctors gave up on him. Now that wonderful medicine, if I had sense enough to put it down the way he talked to it, you know, like he said Way-na-ha-ha- uphill, (and that means the person that created us here on earth, I'm talking to him).

Well we had all of them doctors (healers and seerers) and we had tracers, and we had some that could make medicine, you know. Oh, that's all gone now. That's what I always say when I see some people suffering from something. We had all that in Indian doctors.

So ends this account of the Chilula use of pepperwood as related by Minni Reeves and her sister Louise Jackson. In that story they stressed how the Indian medicine man formerly healed Indian people, even when the White physicians had failed. They said that their tribal doctors acquired their healing power from within the Redwood Creek area.

Willow trees which grew along small streams and portions of the Redwood Creek were exploited in a number of ways. Dried willow roots, a tool for starting camp fires, were rubbed and drilled by hand. Spring shoots and roots were used for making baskets, rope and eel pots. The young saplings were often constructed into "moonhuts" for women, temporary shelters, or made into smoke houses.

In closing the section on wood resources it should be noted that the Chilula did practice some form of controlled burning technique. According to Elmer Jarnaghan (interview, May 1977, Hoopa) certain small portions of the forest on the northern and eastern slopes, along with mountain tops were burned in the early winter. The purpose of burning was to eliminate undesirable insects, promote the new growth of basket making materials and herbs, encourage foliage for game hunting, and reduce fire hazards. Burning was also employed to harden wood instruments, tools, and fishing-hunting implements. Wood materials for the latter use were heated over a small fire until the sap was sealed and self-hardened the tool.



FIGURES 8 and 9
Hupa Sacred Sweathouse and Takimildin Village
used as an example for Chilula sweathouse which is
very similar to the Hupa style.