

A.L. Kroeber

HANDBOOK
of the
INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., February 18, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "Handbook of the Indians of California," by A. L. Kroeber, and to recommend its publication, subject to your approval, as a bulletin of this bureau.

Very respectfully,

J. WALTER FEWKES,
Chief.

DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

III

faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

THE BANKALACHI.

This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

THE GIAMINA.

The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").

CHAPTER 43.

SERRANO DIVISIONS.

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THE SERRANO GROUP.

The fourth and fifth Shoshonean tribes inside the Sierra, the Kitanemuk and the Alliklik, are in the same region of the head of the San Joaquin-Kern drainage as the preceding groups. With the Kitanemuk, however, an entirely new division of Shoshoneans is entered: the southern California branch of the stock.

The Kitanemuk and probably the Alliklik (the latter are extinct) belonged to a northern section of the southern Californians to which the generic appellation "Serrano" has been applied. This is an unfortunate name. Not only is there this Serrano group and the Serrano tribe proper within it, but the name means nothing but "mountaineers"—"those of the Sierras," to be exact. In fact, the Kitanemuk do not know themselves as Serranos, but extend the epithet to their neighbors the Kawaiisu, quite correctly in an etymological sense, since these people happen to live higher in the mountains than they. But an ethnological designation is necessary, however arbitrary. It is in the fertile portion of southern California that the term "Serrano" has acquired a definite ethnic meaning as the name of the people in the San Bernardino Mountains. Their dialect is close to that of the Vanyume and Kitanemuk; Alliklik speech was probably similar; and so "Serrano" is here used also in the wider sense as the name of the division.

THE KITANEMUK.

RANGE.

The Kitanemuk lived on upper Tejon and Paso Creeks, whose lower courses are lost in the Yokuts plains before reaching Kern River. They held also the streams on the rear side of the Tehachapi Mountains in the same vicinity and the small creeks draining the northern slope of the Liebre and Sawmill Range, with Antelope Valley and the westernmost end of the Mohave Desert. The extent of their territorial claims in this waste is not certain. The population perhaps resided more largely in the smaller San Joaquin part

of the Kitanemuk area; the bulk of their territory was over the mountains in southern California.

A synonym of Kitanemuk is Kikitanum or Kikitamkar. All these words are perhaps from the stem *ki-*, "house." The Yokuts know the Kitanemuk as Mayaintalap, "large bows"; the Tübatulabal call them Witanghatal; the Chemehuevi, Nawiyat; the Mohave, Kuvahaivima—Garcés's "Cuabajai"—not to be confounded with Kuvahye, the Mohave designation of the Kawaiisu. The Americans are content to call them Tejon Indians, which would be satisfactory but for the fact that the former Tejon Reservation contained a little Babel of tribes. Most of the neighbors of the Kitanemuk to-day frequently refer to them as the Haminat. This is not a true designation but a nickname, a characteristic phrase of the language, meaning "what is it?"

It is necessary to distinguish between Tejon Creek, Tejon Rancho, and the old Tejon Reservation, all of which were in Kitanemuk territory, and Tejon Pass and the former Fort Tejon, which lie some distance to the west on the Cañada de las Uvas in Chumash habitat.

A few Serrano place names have been reported. Their present principal village, where Tejon Creek breaks out of the hills, is Nakwalki-ve, Yokuts Pusin-tinliu; Tejon ranch house on Paso Creek is Wuwopraha-ve, Yokuts Laikiu; below it lies Honewimats, Yokuts Tsuitsau; on Comanche Creek is Chivutpa-ve, Yokuts Sanchiu; Tehachapi Peak or a mountain near by is Mavin, perhaps Chapanau in Yokuts.

The Mohave or "Amahaba" of the Colorado River were known as "muy bravos" and were welcome guests among the Kitanemuk, penetrating even to the Yokuts, Alliklik, and perhaps Chumash. They came to visit and to trade. It is characteristic that the local tribes never attempted to reciprocate. Their range was not as confined as that of the northern Californians, but they still had no stomach for long journeys to remote places inhabited by strange people. The Mohave refer to the Tehachapi-Tejon region in their myths; it is not known and not likely that the Kitanemuk traveled as far as the sacred mountains of the Mohave even in imagination.

A curious and unexplained belief prevails among all the tribes in the Kitanemuk neighborhood, as well as among the Mohave, namely, that there is in this vicinity a tribe that in speech, and perhaps in customs too, is almost identical with the Mohave. Sometimes the Kitanemuk are specified, sometimes the Alliklik, or again ideas are vague. The Mohave themselves speak of the Kwialta Hamakhava or "like Mohaves" as somewhere in this region; they may have meant the Alliklik. There is no known fragment of evidence in favor of this belief; but it must rest on a foundation of some sort, however distorted. Perhaps it is the presence of an Amahavit group among the Serrano, as mentioned below.

CUSTOMS.

Garcés in 1776 found the Kitanemuk living in a communal tule house, which differed from that of the lake Yokuts in being square. His brief description is best interpreted as referring to a series of individual family rooms surrounding a court that had entrances on two sides only, at each of which a sentinel—compare the Yokuts *winatum*—was posted at night. Each family had its door and fireplace. The framework of the structure was of poles; the rushes

were attached in mats. The modern Yokuts deny that the Kitanemuk or any hill tribes built community houses, but Garcés's testimony is specific.

He mentions also the eating of tobacco. The leaves were brayed with a white stone (lime) and water in a small mortar, and the end of the pestle licked off. Even some of the natives swallowed the mess with difficulty. The avowed purpose of the practice was the relief of fatigue before sleep.

Seeds, possibly crushed to meal, were scattered in the fire and over sacred objects. The Pueblo sprinkling of corn meal is inevitably suggested.

The priest also tells of vessels, apparently of wood, with inlays of haliotis, "like the shellwork on the handles of the knives and all other manufactures that it is said there are on the Canal" of Santa Barbara—that is, among the Chumash. They trade much with the Canal, he adds, and suspects, though erroneously, that they may be the same nation. He had not himself been with the Chumash.

The Kitanemuk seem to have been at war at the time with the Alliklik, for Garcés mentions their killing a chief on the Santa Clara, and the Alliklik did not conduct him into Kitanemuk territory. Toward the Yokuts, also, there seems to have been no friendliness; he could not get a Quabajáy guide to the "Noches" because these were "bad"—except a Noche married among them.

The Yokuts of to-day declare that the Kitanemuk interred corpses. They danced differently from the Yokuts, and lacked the rattlesnake rite and the *Heshwash* doctor ceremony. They did have a memorial burning of property for the dead, when "clothing was stuffed" to represent them; and they practiced an initiation ritual with Jimson weed, which drug, or its drinking, they called *pa-manít*. The southern California deities to whom the Yokuts pray seem to have had their origin among the Serrano proper or, more likely, the Gabrielino; the Kitanemuk would in that case have been the transmitters.

Basketry (Pl. 55, c) seems to have been of the San Joaquin drainage type rather than southern Californian.

THE ALLIKLIK.

Bordering the Chumash, on the upper Santa Clara River, there lived a Shoshonean tribe that was probably of Serrano affinities, although the two or three words preserved of their speech allow of no very certain determination. They can not have been numerous. Taken to San Fernando or San Buenaventura missions, they dwindled rapidly, and the few survivors seem to have been so thrown in and intermarried with people of other speech that their own language became extinct in a couple of generations. In fact, there is nothing

known about them except that they held the river up from a point between Sespe and Piru, most of Piru Creek, Castac Creek, and probably Pastoria Creek across the mountains in San Joaquin Valley drainage and adjacent to the Yokuts. The location of a few of the spots where they lived is shown on the Chumash map. (Pl. 48.) Alliklik, more properly P'alliklik in the plural, is the Ventureño Chumash name.

THE VANYUME.

The Vanyume are the Serrano of Mohave River. Dialectically they stand nearer to the Kitanemuk than to the Serrano of the San Bernardino Mountains; but all three idioms appear to be largely interintelligible.

Except perhaps for a few individuals merged among other groups, the Vanyume are extinct, and the limits of their territory remain vaguely known. Garcés makes their habitat begin some few Spanish leagues east of the sink of Mohave River, perhaps a third of the way from it to the Providence Mountains; and Chemehuevi accounts agree. From there up to Daggett or Barstow was undoubted Vanyume land. Beyond, there is conflict. The well-traveled Mohave describe the Vanyume as extending to the head of the river. An ancient survivor not long since attributed the upper course of the stream to the brother tribe, the Serrano proper. Garcés, the first white man in this region, who rode from the sink of the river to its source, does not clear the problem, since he designates the Vanyume, the Serrano, and evidently the Alliklik by a single epithet: Beñeme. The point is of no vital importance because of the likeness of the groups involved. Political affiliations may have conflicted with linguistic ones. The Mohave and Chemehuevi were at times friendly to the Vanyume, but hostile to the Serrano of the San Bernardino Range; there could well have been a division of the Serrano proper settled on upper Mohave River and allied with the Vanyume. The whole relation of Serrano proper and Vanyume is far from clear.

It must also be remembered that there are some Kawaiisu claims to a possession of Mohave River about where it emerges from the mountains.

Vanyume is the Mohave name, whence Garcés's "Beñeme." The Chemehuevi seem to call them Pitanta. The group has also been designated by the term Mühineyam, but this appears to be not so much an ethnic designation as the name of one of the local groups into which the Serrano proper were divided: Mohiyanim. The word Vanyume seems to go back to the radical of our "Panamint," which in turn is a synonym for the Shoshoni-Comanche group called Koso in this work.

The Vanyume population must have been very small. Garcés mentions a village of 25 souls and a vacant settlement on the river

between Camp Cady and Daggett. Then there was nothing until a short distance below Victorville he encountered a town of 40 people and a league beyond another where the chief resided. These may have been Vanyume or Serrano proper. In the mountains, but still on their north slope, the rancherías were larger: 70, 25, and 80. These were probably Serrano proper.

The river carries water some distance from the mountains, and seepage beyond; but in much of its course it is only a thin line of occasional cottonwoods through an absolute desert. The people must have been poor in the extreme. At the lowest village Garcés found some bean and screw mesquite trees and grapevines; but the inhabitants had nothing but tule roots to eat. They were naked, and a cold rain prevented their going hunting; but they possessed blankets of rabbit and otter fur. Their snares were of wild hemp. At one of the upper villages there were small game and acorn porridge; and where the chief lived, welcome was extended by sprinkling acorn flour and small shells or beads. The latter were strung in natural fathom lengths.

A punitive expedition against the Mohave in 1819 traversed Vanyume territory and names the following places and their distance in leagues from Cucamonga: Cajon de Amuscopiabit, 9; Guapiabit, 18; Topipabit, 38; Cacaument, 41; Sisuguina, 45; Angayaba, 60. The first three names are in a Serrano dialect; the fourth seems to be; the fifth is doubtful; the sixth Chemehuevi. Their locations fall within the territories assigned respectively to the Vanyume and the Chemehuevi on the map.

THE SERRANO.

HABITAT.

The Serrano proper, or "mountaineers" of the Spaniards, are the last of the four bodies of people that have here been united, on account of their similarity of dialect, into a "Serrano division" of the Shoshonean stock.

Their territory was, first the long San Bernardino Range culminating in the peak of that name, and in Mount San Gorgonio, more than 11,000 feet high. Next, they held a tract of unknown extent northward. In the east this was pure desert, with an occasional water hole and two or three flowing springs. In the west it was a region of timbered valleys between rugged mountains. Such was the district of Bear Lake and Creek. In the third place they occupied the San Gabriel Mountains or Sierra Madre west to Mount San Antonio. This range is almost a continuation of the San Bernardino Range. In addition, they probably owned a stretch of fertile lowland south of the Sierra Madre, from about Cucamonga east to above Mentone and halfway up San Timoteo Canyon. This tract

took in the San Bernardino Valley and probably just failed of reaching Riverside; but it has also been assigned to the Gabrielino, which would be a more natural division of topography, since it would leave the Serrano pure mountaineers.

There is another territory that may have been Serrano: the northern slope of the Sierra Madre for some 20 miles west of Mount San Antonio, the region of Sheep, Deadman, and Big and Little Rock Creeks. But this is uncertain. The Kawaiisu may have ranged here, in which case this Chemehuevi offshoot no doubt owned the whole western Mohave Desert also, and cut off the two western Serrano divisions, the Alliklik and Kitanemuk, from contact with the two eastern, the Vanyume and present true Serrano. In support of this view is a reference to the "Palonies—a subtribe of the Chemehuevi" as the northern neighbors of the Gabrielino.¹

The best parts of the Serrano land are shown in the southern California map, Plate 57, which includes place names. Many of the latter no doubt originally denoted villages; but it is usually impossible to determine. The Indians of this region, Serrano, Gabrielino, and Luiseno, have long had relations to the old ranchos or land grants, by which chiefly the country was known and designated until the American began to dot it with towns. The Indians kept in use, and often still retain, native names for these grants. Some were the designations of the principal village on the grant, others of the particular spot on which the ranch headquarters were erected, still others of camp sites, or hills, or various natural features. The villages, however, are long since gone, or converted into reservations, and the Indians, with all their native terminology, think in terms of Spanish grants or American towns. Over much of southern California—the "Mission Indian" district—the opportunity to prepare an exact aboriginal village map passed away 50 years ago. The numerous little reservations of to-day do in the rough conserve the ancient ethnic and local distribution; but not under the old circumstances.

NAMES AND NUMBERS.

The most frequent name for the Serrano among their neighbors to-day is some derivative of Mara or Morongo. Thus, Luiseno: Marayam; Chemehuevi: Maringits; they call themselves Maringayam. These terms are derived from the name of one of the Serrano bands or groups discussed below, the Maringayam or "Morongo," formerly at Maringa, Big Morongo Creek, whence the designation of Morongo Reservation near Banning, on which Serrano are settled among Cahuilla. A similar word, Mara, is the native name of the oasis at Twenty-nine Palms.

¹ Recent inquiries by Mrs. Ruth Benedict, as yet unpublished, put Serrano groups in the canyons on the northern face of Mount San Jacinto, in territory assigned in Plates 1 and 57 to the Pass Cahuilla.

Tahtam has been given as the name of the Serrano for themselves: it means merely "people." Kauangachem is of unknown significance; Kaiwiatam is only a translation into Indian of Spanish "Serrano."

The Mohave know the Serrano as Hanyuveche, the "Jenigueche" of Garcés.

The population must have been rather sparse; 1,500 seems an ample allowance in spite of the extent of the Serrano range. A part of the group may have kept out of the exterminating influence of the missions; yet few seem to survive. The census of 1910 reports something over 100.

SOCIAL SCHEME.

With the Serrano, the exogamous and totemic moieties of the Miwok and Yokuts reappear. Associated with them is a new feature, a series of bands or local subdivisions.

One moiety is called *Tukum*, "wild cats," after *tukut*, its chief totem. It has as other totems *tukuchu*, the puma or mountain lion, older brother of wild cat, and *kacharwa*, the crow, his kinsman.

The other moiety is known as *Wahilyam*, "coyotes," and has as associate totems coyote's older brother *wanats*, the wolf or jaguar, and his kinsman *widukut*, the buzzard.

The word for "totem" is *nikrüg*, "my great-grandparent," or *ningaka*. The creator established the institution. Moieties joke each other; members of the first are reputed lazy and dull, of the second swift and perhaps unreliable.

The bands offer more difficulty. Some are not assigned to either moiety in the available information. All of them are mentioned as localized within certain districts. Their recorded appellations are mostly either place names or words appearing to mean "people of such and such a place." For some districts a single band is mentioned, for other regions pairs of intermarrying bands.

In general, it would appear that the Serrano bands are not so much clans, as has been conjectured, as they are the equivalents of the "village communities" or political groups of northern and central California—what might be called tribes were they larger in numbers, set off by dialect, or possessed of names other than derivatives from one of the sites inhabited. Each of these Serrano groups or bands owned a creek and adjacent tract; its "village" or most permanent settlement usually lay where the stream emerges from the foothills. Each group was also normally or rigidly exogamous: and there was at least a strong tendency, if not a rule, for particular groups to intermarry. Each group or band was either Wild Cat or Coyote; but it appears that group and not moiety affiliation determined exogamy, since some of the regularly intermarrying bands are assigned to the same moiety.

The known groups, in west-east sequence along the southern edge of the San Bernardino Range, were the Wa'acham of San Bernardino, Redlands, and Yucaipa; the Tüpanukiyam (?) at Tümunamtu between El Casco and Beaumont; the Pavükuyam at Akavat near Beaumont; the Tamukuyayam of Pihatüpayam (*sic*: the name seems that of a group) at Banning Water Canyon; perhaps a group at Nahyu, Hathaway Canyon; one at Marki (Malki),

the present reservation near Banning; the Wakühiktam at Wakühi on Cabezon Creek; the Palukiktam in Lyons Canyon; the Wanüüpuyam at the mouth of Whitewater Canyon; three groups, the Maringayam, Mühiatnim (Mohiyanim), and Atü'aviatam, more or less associated at Yamisevul on Mission Creek, Türka on Little Morongo Creek, Maringa on Big Morongo Creek, Mukunpat on the same stream to the north, and at Kupacham, the Pipes, across the mountains. Of these, the second, eleventh, and twelfth were Wild Cat, the fifth and sixth not known, the remainder Coyote.²

Other groups were the Tüchahüktam (Coyote moiety) of Tüchahü at Snow Canyon or One Horse Spring at the foot of Mount San Jacinto, on the south side of San Gorgonio Pass; the Coyote moiety people of Mara, Twenty-nine Palms, northeast of Big Morongo Creek; the Yuhaviatam or Kuchaviatam of Yuhaviat ("pine place") in or near Bear Valley, moiety unknown; the Pauwiatum, Coyote; the people of Kupacha, Wild Cat; the people of Kayuwat, Wild Cat (?)—these three in or north of the San Bernardino Mountains. The Mawiatum are described as east of Kayuwat on Mohave River and the people of Amahavit as east of these. Both of these would be Vanyume rather than Serrano proper, by the classification here followed; and Amahavit suggests Hamakhava, Mohave, and reminds of the rather close relations between this people and some of the Vanyume. Some Serrano also list the Agutushyam of the Tehachapi Mountains, that is, the Kawaiisu, as if they were one of their own bands. This is in line with certain Kawaiisu claims, already mentioned, to ownership of part of Mohave River and the northern foot of the Sierra Madre.

Each group possessed a hereditary chief called *kika*. This word is from a Shoshonean stem meaning "house" or "live." Associated with each *kika* was a hereditary *paha'* or assistant chief with ceremonial functions. The Luiseño have the same official and call him by the same name. Ceremonies were held in special houses built of tules, not in an open inclosure as among the other southern Californians.

The moieties, at least as represented by the Maringayam and Mühiatnim, partly divided and partly reciprocated religious functions. Each tended the dead of the other before cremation. The Mühiatnim *paha'* named the children of both clans after their dead ancestors. The Maringayam *kika* ordered ceremonies, and his people built the tule house and acted as messengers. The Mühiatnim cooked and served food to the Maringayam at ceremonies.

Acorns were fairly abundant in the western part of Serrano territory, but the eastern bands got their supply from the western ones, or substituted other foods. Storage was in outdoor basketlike caches raised on poles. Houses were covered with mats of tules, which are said to grow along all the streams, even those that lose themselves in the desert. The modern ceremonial house at Banning, apparently kept up for a fragment of an annual mourning, is tule covered. A sweat house that stood there until recently—it may have been built

² The list is incomplete and may be supplemented and corrected by the unpublished Benedict data already referred to.

by a Pass Cahuilla, but was probably Serrano—was small, earth-covered, and had a center post (Pl. 60). Pottery was made by the Serrano, but rarely if ever decorated. No specimens have been preserved.

COSMOGONY.

The Serrano origin begins with Pakrokitat, from whose left shoulder was born his younger brother Kukitat. Pakrokitat created men. Kukitat wanted them to have eyes in the back and webbed feet, and quarreled constantly. It was he that caused death. Pakrokitat finally left him this earth, retiring to a world of his own, to which the hearts of the dead go after first visiting the three beautiful Panamam on the island Payait. This island and its goddesses were also made by Pakrokitat. Before the separation of the brothers, the human race, led by a white eagle, had come from its origin in the north to Mount San Gorgonio. After Pakrokitat's departure, men, under the influence of Kukitat, began to divide into nations, speak differently, and war on one another. They finally became tired of Kukitat and decided to kill him. The frog accomplished this end by hiding in the ocean and swallowing the god's excretions. Kukitat, feeling death approach, gave instructions for his cremation; but the suspected coyote, although sent away on a pretended errand, returned in time to squeeze through badger's legs in the circle of the mourners and make away with Kukitat's heart. This happened at Hatauva (compare Luiseño Tova, where Wiyot died) in Bear Valley. People continued to fight, until only one man survived of the Maringayam. His Kayuwat wife bore a posthumous boy, who was reared with his mother's people, but returned to his ancestral country, married two Mühiatnim sisters, and became the progenitor of the Maringayam or Serrano of today.