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THE HUPA

THE Hupa, a shoot from that wide-wandering stock, the Athapascan, are unique among California Indians in that they occupy a reservation which includes within its boundaries nearly all the land they ever controlled. The nucleus of their territory, the land where their villages formerly stood and where they now live and cultivate their farms, is the valley that bears their name, a narrow strip on both sides of Trinity river in Humboldt county. The valley is about six miles long and runs northwestwardly. The reservation itself, comprising128,142 acres, is approximately square, and extends from the junction of Trinity with Klamath river about twelve miles up the former stream, which winds its way in a general direction a little west of north across the middle of the reserve.

The mountain ridges enclosing Hoopa valley are from two thousand to six thousand feet high, and generally densely timbered with pine, Douglas spruce, and oaks of several species. Slopes covered with impenetrable thickets of manzanita are of frequent occurrence and a source of some bitterness to the Indians, who are prevented b y the Forest Service from following their old practice of burning off the brush in order to facilitate hunting, as well as to cause the sprouting of new shoots of hazel brush and Xerophyllum grass for basketry, and to restrict the increase of rattlesnakes. The Trinity is a stream of considerable size, and within the valley a number of typical mountain creeks rush down the slopes to feed it. Altogether Hoopa valley is so beautiful that it is mildly astonishing that Indians have been allowed to remain in possession.

South of the Hupa, from the valley to South fork of Trinity river, were another Athapascan group, closely related to them in culture and language. These have been so generally classed with the Hupa as to have no name in ethnological literature. The Hupa, with whom they combined in war and in the Deerskin and Jumping dances, called them Hléluhwe (*hlel*, the convergence of two streams; *hwe*, the usual termination signifying people), and their principal settlement in the angle between South fork and the main stream, Hléltin. Also to the south, on the upper course of Redwood creek, were the Whilkut, popularly

known as Redwoods; and westward, on the middle course of Redwood creek, were the Chilula, noted for their warlike character. These two Athapascan tribes, particularly the latter, were uniformly friendly to the Hupa. The Chilula regularly visited the valley in the salmon season, and were welcome, not only because they brought good arrows and herbs for barter, but because they were so childishly simple and credulous that they offered good sport. It was a favorite joke to regale them at their first meal with huge quantities of fat salmon, and then laugh at them when later in the night they began to disgorge; and the next day everybody would ostentatiously offer the visitors more salmon. The Chilula were also frequent participants in Hupa ceremonies.

Southeast of the Hupa, on Trinity river and the lower part of New river, were the Chimariko, a tribe now extinct, but classified as a member of the Hokan linguistic family. They were esteemed as redoubtable warriors, and their services were on at least one occasion purchased by the Hupa. In the mountains to the southeast, east, and northeast, on New river and on Salmon river above the forks, were various Shasta bands, but the difficulties of the intervening country prevented intercourse with them.

Northward, on Klamath river from the ocean to a few miles above the mouth of the Trinity, were the Yurok, and above them on the same stream, extending northward beyond Happy Camp, the Karok. With the exception of two districts, both of these alien tribes were friendly to the Hupa. The exceptions were the Yurok at the mouth of Klamath and the Karok at the mouth of Salmon river.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a bitter war with the Yurok at the mouth of Klamath river, the cause of which was the killing of an old woman by the Hupa. The salmon were not running in the usual numbers, and a party of men from the Hupa village Takimilding went down to the Yurok settlement of Rekwoi to demand that the shaman who was supposed to be holding back the fish release them. They inquired who was doing it, and the Yurok pointed out an old woman. When the Hupa ordered her to let the salmon go, she said, "I will not do it unless you pay me." With an insulting remark she turned to go into the house, and the Hupa shot her in the back. Then they returned home. The Yurok of course organized a large party at once, including in the number some of the Tolowa, their Athapascan neighbors on the north. They attacked Takimilding at dawn, killed a

considerable number, burned the houses, and took away all the booty they could find, including the very valuable dance regalia. As they returned down the river in their canoes, they stopped frequently to dance in their new possessions. About six months later the Hupa prepared to attack Rekwoi, and in order to insure a successful operation they purchased the services of the Hléluhwe and the Whilkut fighters. As they proceeded down the river on foot, they stopped at every settlement of the Yurok and appropriated weapons and canoes, so that when they approached the mouth of the river they had about fifty canoes and large quantities of arrows. They divided into several bands, which at the signal of a wolf-howl from the Hléluhwe leader attacked the village from different sides. It was just daylight. They killed nearly all the inhabitants, including the head-man himself, who vainly hid in a new grave and covered the pit with a board. They took no heads, but with great quantities of spoils returned home; and from that day the Hupa and the Coast Yurok have been enemies, and even now never visit each other.

With the Karok at the mouth of Salmon river there was a war some time before the trouble with Rekwoi. A Hupa man travelling up Klamath river was killed by the Salmon River Karok without good reason from the Hupa point of view. They sent a messenger to demand indemnity, but he found a cold reception. Then the Hupa organized a war-party, which attacked the village and killed several people, but did not burn the houses. The Karok made no attempt at retaliation.

The earliest record of the Hupa is that of the ethnologist George Gibbs, who in his report of 1852 mentioned the "Hopah." The original form of the word is Húp!â, which is the Yurok name for Hoopa valley. That this is a genuine Yurok word and not a foreign term adopted by them, is indicated by its phonetic resemblance to the name of the Yurok village Hâ'páu.

It was not many years before Gibbs that the first white men, fur-traders, passed through the country, and not until 1850 was there a white man resident in the region. This condition was so rapidly changed that five years later it was deemed advisable to station a body of troops in the valley in order to give the Indians some measure of protection from the high-handed conduct of the miners, and in 1864 Congress authorized the establishment of a reservation.

About 1866 or 1867 there was trouble between Tsewenalding and

Takimilding, the two most southerly villages of the northern division of the Hupa. A soldier hired a young man of the latter village to secure a woman for him, but the Indian either did not understand his commission, or he was unable or unwilling to carry it out, and that night two soldiers came to the village and inquired for him at the sweathouse. His attempted explanation availed nothing, and they commanded him to accompany them. Naked as he was, he went along. The next morning his body was found in the brush with the throat cut. The people of Takimilding decided that the reason for the murder was that a short time before this a woman of Tsewenalding had stabbed a soldier, who was attempting to rape her. As reprisal of this sort was quite in accord with their customs, they made no attempt to secure justice from the military, but demanded indemnity from Tsewenalding. The chief of that village, however, maintained with better logic that his people were not responsible for the misdeeds of the soldiers. For a long time the men of Takimilding tried to take him unawares, but he was very cautious. One of his wives was visiting at Medilding, and he would sometimes go to pass a night there. This his enemies learned from some of the Medilding people, and one night five of them lay in wait along the trail. As the chief passed, one of them fired, and he fell over the low bluff; but lying there on his back, he drew his pistol, and when one of his assassins peered over the edge, he shot him through the head, and the body plunged down beside him. The others then rushed down upon the wounded chief, killed and dismembered him, and cast his entrails into the stream. Their dead companion they took home for burial. From that day there was enmity between the two villages, and the Takimilding especially devoted all their efforts to working magic and purchasing the services of other shamans, particularly those at Redwood creek. There were no further overt hostilities, but the rapid extinction of the Tsewenalding people is believed by the Hupa to have been due to this sorcery. There are now only two survivors of that village, a girl and the woman who stabbed the soldier. But apparently the sorcery reacted also on those who used it. According to the narrator of these incidents: "The head-men of Takimilding became no good. They thought only of killing, and although Takimilding is the principal place for religious dances, they turned into bad men and their chief died insane a few years ago."

Although the Hupa were as peaceable as the average white com-

munity, and the possibility of serious encroachment by settlers had been eliminated by the creation of the reservation, a detachment of soldiers continued to stand guard, as useless as the Russian sentry walking his post around the rosebush in the palace garden. Worse than useless, they were the greatest possible menace to the moral well-being of the Indians. But at last in 1892 the little post was abandoned, after thirty-seven years of occupancy in a district where after the turbulent mining days an Indian uprising was never even threatened.

The Hupa are progressing. They are capable workmen, and take pride in their little valley ranches (though they wish these were larger), and in their cattle and horses. They numbered 639 according to the census of 1910, compared with 650 reported by the agent in 1866.

In material culture the Hupa far surpass the Indians of central and northern California. We here pass into the specialized cultural area of northwestern California, which shows marked similarities to that of the North Pacific coast, with great stress laid on the acquisition of wealth as the necessary and only basis of rank. Wood-working becomes of importance, salmon is a food not less staple than acorns, slavery in a modified form is an institution, ceremonial life is highly developed.

The equipment of warriors comprised armor, bows and arrows, and short spears. The commoner type of armor was a corselet of small wooden rods arranged in two vertical tiers and held tightly together by iris-cord twining; it extended up around the neck and down below the waist. Comparatively few fighters had this protection. Even more rare, and in fact possessed only by the leaders, were long elk-hide tunics of single or double thickness. Bows for war and for hunting were made of yew. Deer sinew was glued to the back of the green wood and bound by cord wrapping, so that when the wood became seasoned the unstrung bow had a permanent reverse curve, which added greatly to its pull. Arrows were tipped with barbed heads of flint or obsidian, and the shaft was a syringa shoot into the lower end of which was set a foreshaft of service-berry. Short spears with large obsidian blades were used in thrusting at close quarters.

Implements of the chase were the bow and arrow, the deer-snare, and a sling with which waterfowl were sometimes killed. Arrows with a longer and pointed foreshaft, and lacking the stone point, were used for small game.

Fishing, more productive than hunting, was carried on by means of hooks, spears, traps, and nets. The hook was a sharp bone attached by wrapping to a small wooden shaft, which in turn was made fast to the iris-fibre line. It was used for trout, and generally on a multiple-hook set-line. The spear was of the common type, with a long, forked shaft on each prong of which was socketed a detachable, barbed bone point connected with the shaft by a stout cord. The construction and use of fish-weirs, traps, and nets will be described later in connection with methods of hunting and fishing.

Cedar trees were felled and logs cut by making two narrow, parallel grooves two or three feet apart and splitting off the intermediate material in slabs or large chips. The implements were a curved elk-horn wedge, or chisel, and a spool-shaped stone hammer. Fire also was frequently employed. With these simple tools planks were rived for the construction of houses, and the finishing touches were given with an adz made by binding a short blade of elk-horn or mussel-shell to the end of the longer side of an L-shaped stone handle, and with a smoothing stone. Because of the dearth of redwood in their country, the Hupa purchased all their canoes from the Klamath River Yurok.

Hupa baskets are exclusively twined work, and the usual materials are hazel rods for the warp (and sometimes for the weft), digger-pine or yellow-pine roots for the weft, and Xerophyllum grass for white overlay, maidenhair fern bark for black, and fibres from the stem of Woodwardia fern, dyed in alder-bark juice in the mouth of the workwoman, for red. Xerophyllum is also dyed by immersion in a decoction of yellow lichen.

Burden-baskets were conical, but broader and less pointed than those of central California. The open-meshed form with hazel-rods for warp and weft was used in gathering acorns and fuel; the tight-meshed one, with pine-root weft, for seeds. The seeds were beaten from bush or weed into the basket by means of a circular, open-work, all-hazel instrument with a handle of the same material. Seeds and shelled acorns were stored in *ch!élo*, a very large, squat, tightly woven basket with the top considerably smaller than the bottom. This type could well be described as pear-shaped, were it not that the broad bottom is quite flat. *Kaichínt*, for the storage of unshelled acorns and dried salmon, was open-meshed. Seeds were parched by shaking them rapidly in a large, shallow, basketry bowl containing live coals, which were constantly

blown upon to remove the ashes and keep them glowing. Both seeds and acorns were reduced to meal by pounding with a cylindrical pestle on a flat stone. The meal was prevented from scattering by a basketry hopper, shaped like a bottomless bowl, which the workwoman held in its place by resting the weight of her calves on it, as she sat on the ground and manipulated the pestle between her knees. In sifting the meal she used either a shallow or a deep basket, which she gently shook and tapped with the finger so as to cause the fine meal to trickle over the edge, while she kept drawing the coarser product back. The cooking basket, in which boiling was accomplished by heated stones, was broad-bottomed and rather globose, and similar but smaller ones were used as individual food dishes. Nearly flat, open-work plates were provided for dry food, such as salmon and acorn bread. Cradle-baskets were open-work, and may be described as somewhat resembling a boat with a high, over-decked bow (the foot of the cradle), a narrowing stern cut squarely off (the head), but the gunwale at the stern unimpaired and forming the handle above the infant's head.

Men ordinarily wore nothing but a deerskin breech-cloth, and, like most of the far-western Indians, elderly men very commonly dispensed with even this. In travelling through woods and fields the feet were protected by deerskin moccasins with elk-hide soles, and the calves by leggings. Fur robes made of the skins of deer, civets, wildcats, coyotes, raccoons, or other small mammals, were thrown about the shoulders in cold weather.

The garb of women was more picturesque. The upper part of the body was bare, except in cold weather. Hanging from a girdle about the waist was a knee-length fringe apron, made by stringing the shells of pine-nuts on cords braided with Xerophyllum grass. The shells were arranged in several horizontal bands, between which the straw-colored Xerophyllum showed. Tied about the waist was a deerskin skirt, open at the front so as to reveal the apron. The bottom and the drooping upper edge were heavily fringed. Aprons and skirts for special occasions were profusely adorned with bits of clam-shell and abalone-shell. Robes, moccasins, and leggings were worn in the same manner as by men. A bowl-shaped basketry cap completed the costume.

Both sexes parted the hair in the middle and arranged it in two ropes which hung in front of the shoulders; but some men gathered it in a single rope behind. Men and women of the better class wore ear-

ornaments of shells. Some of these were dentalia hanging on strings and with red woodpecker-feathers protruding from the larger end; others were abalone-shell discs, and yet others were a combination of these two forms, with bits of abalone-shell pendent from one or two dentalia. Vertical lines were tattooed on the chins of most women, and men had various short lines tattooed on the left arm and the leg for the purpose of measuring dentalia, which were their standard of value, and canoes.

With their high regard for wealth the Hupa had a system of valuation more exact than that of other California Indians, except the other tribes of the northwestern area. The longer dentalia, *tínkyehit* ("four piece"), passed for five dollars each in the early days of trade. *Kíketukuthwe*, shorter by a mere fraction of an inch, were worth about a third as much. C*hwólahit* ("five piece") were equal to one dollar each, and *hostánhit* ("six piece") were less than two inches long and valued at twenty-five to fifty cents each, according to the ability of the trader. The shells were strung on cords, point to point and base to base, and spirally wound with narrow strips of fish-skin. From the base of those at the ends of the string a little tuft of red woodpecker-feathers protruded. As the strings were uniformly about two feet in length, it follows that the number of dentalia per string varied according to the size of the shells. In order to safeguard his interests, every man of wealth had tattooed on his left forearm certain lines indicating by their distance from the tip of his thumb the length of five shells of each size. Dentalia smaller than "six piece" had only an ornamental use.

Objects of such great value must be kept in a safe place. A rich man therefore had a very neat purse made by cutting an oblong hollow in a piece of elk-horn six or seven inches long. A thin horn cover was held in place by thongs, and the outer surface of the box was artistically ornamented with conventional designs.

The dwelling-house, *hónta*, was supported on eight upright wooden slabs, one at each corner, two in the rear wall, and two in the front. Each was deeply notched in the upper end. The two plates were planks running from the front to the rear and resting in the notches of the corner posts, and the two ridge-beams, one a little higher than the other, were similarly supported by the two pairs of posts in the front and rear walls. A double course of roof-boards extended from each plate to the nearer ridge-beam, and shorter boards were laid across the

space between the two ridges, resting on the ends of the longer ones. Thus there were three planes in the roof. Some of the middle row of roof-boards could be pushed aside with a pole, so as to let out smoke. The wall-boards were upright, with the bottoms set into the ground, and the tops were held in place by a pole passing through holes in the slabs that supported the plate. Horizontal poles, one on the inside and one on the outside, at both front and rear, were bound together by grapevine withes passing through holes in the planks, and so kept these walls from collapsing. All timbers were cedar, and the planks were as much as two feet wide and two and a half inches thick.

The average house was eighteen to twenty feet square, six feet high at the peak, and four feet at the eaves. The central portion of the enclosed ground, a space ten to twelve feet square, was excavated to a depth of four to five feet, and the walls were retained by a plank lining. In this cellar-like room the family activities were carried on, and the women and young children slept. Overhead were pole racks on which fish and meat were hung to dry in the smoke of the fire, and on both sides and in the rear the broad shelf of the natural earth was crowded with storage baskets, hunting and fishing implements, and the basketry materials of the housewife. On the fourth side, the front, this shelf was in most houses lacking because of a partition thrown completely across the interior at the edge of the pit. In one corner stood a notched plank, which served as the stairs by which the occupants mounted from the living room through the partition into the long, narrow entry-way, where fuel and oddments were stored. The exit, which was closed by a board on the inside, was a circular opening in one of the front boards, and was just large enough to permit a full-grown man to creep through. It was placed near the ground and always in the second plank from the right-hand corner (to one facing the house), and one had actually to crawl on all-fours to pass through. The difficulty of such an exit is attested by the common practice of providing just outside of it two cylindrical stones, firmly embedded, by grasping which the departing individual was able to drag himself forth more easily. In front of the house was a solid pavement of stones, and a narrow wall of stones was heaped against the base of the side walls.

In the house were found various utensils and implements. Besides the baskets previously mentioned, there were mussel-shell and antler spoons, obsidian knives, some of them hafted on short handles, bone

awls for sewing, brushes of soap-plant root fibres for brushing meal from the mortar. The furniture was simplicity itself. The inmates slept either on deerskins or on expensive tule mats purchased from the coast people, which were spread on the floor around the central fire-pit; and by day they either squatted on the floor or sat on low circular sections of a log. Wooden blocks hollowed on the upper side served as head-rests.

The *hónta*, although the entire family gathered there at mealtime, was largely reserved to the use of women. The sweat-house was particularly for men. This subterranean, plank-roofed structure was either approximately square or oblong, and the dimensions approached fifteen feet. The excavation was four feet deep. In its centre was a forked post about seven feet high, from which extended in opposite directions two sloping beams, the lower end of which rested either on the edge of the pit or on posts. These formed the ridge-beam. In each corner stood a heavy forked post, slightly higher than the depth of the pit, which supported the plate, and at the bottom these posts were connected by round poles set into mortises. Behind these horizontal poles and the plates was a wall of upright planks, the purpose of which was to retain the earthen walls. The roof consisted of two or more layers of rough boards extending from the front and back plates to the ridge-timbers, with sections of an old canoe laid along the peak so as to shed water. The walls were banked up with stones and earth, and the lower part of the roof was covered with earth. A stone pavement surrounded the structure. In the front, facing the river, was a rectangular opening, through which the descent was made down a notched slab. But this could not be used as an exit immediately after the sweat, because the heat a few feet above the floor was too great. Consequently, at one end, near the floor, there was a tunnel just large enough to admit the passage of a man on hands and knees, which led into a stone-lined pit about four by six feet in cross-section and four feet deep. From the pit one could easily leap up to the ground. A circular board with a handle fitted closely into the mouth of the tunnel when it was not in use, and the pit was covered with boards, so as to exclude rain. The fireplace, near the centre of the room, was lined with stone, and a stone pavement surrounded it and led to the tunnel. The rest of the room was floored with pine slabs.

Men and boys spent very little time in the *hónta*. Almost immedi-

ately after the evening meal they went to the sweat-house, where they all slept naked, lying on a bare, smooth, stone pavement without covering, with their heads supported on blocks of wood. No fire burned at night, but as the room was nearly air-tight the warmth was of such a degree that sometimes a sleeper would wake perspiring, and would go out to plunge into the river. Early in the morning a fire was built, and the men and boys squatted about the edge of the fireplace in the smoke. After the fire had burned down, all ran out to the river, except one who remained behind and swept all the ashes into the pit and left everything clean and orderly. In the sweat-house, though quantities of good fuel lay close at hand on the riverbanks, they burned only "luck wood," which was large fagots of brush brought some little distance from the hills by boys and youths, who performed this labor as an act supposed to impart good luck. After the morning bath, they sat about talking and smoking, until the women announced breakfast in the *hónta*. After the meal they returned to the sweat-house for such work as could be done indoors, or went about in various outdoor occupations. One sweat-house sufficed for the males of several dwellings, and its inmates were generally related.

The Hupa had the wide variety of vegetal foods characteristic of California. The all-important acorn, prepared in the usual way by drying, crushing, leaching, and boiling, furnished the mush that constituted the indispensable staple. Less commonly it took the form of bread, the character of which is suggested by the name "slap-on-coals." It was baked on a hot stone and was used by travellers and hunters. Pine-nuts, chinkapins, and hazelnuts were eaten without preparation. Like many other Indians the Hupa frequently ate pine-nuts without shelling them, a practice which, if the nuts are properly roasted, is not half as bad as it sounds. Next in importance to acorns were the seeds of certain grasses and of other plants, such as tarweed, which, parched and crushed in the mortar, became the so-called pinole, a nutritious and palatable food.

Young green stalks of angelica, anise, and other plants were eaten fresh, and dried seaweed (Porphyra) purchased from the Coast Yurok was boiled. Many fruits, such as salmon-berries, elderberries, blackberries, huckleberries, manzanita-berries, and grapes, were eaten fresh, but madroña-berries were shaken in a parching-basket with hot stones, and laurel-berries were roasted in ashes. Manzanita-berries were also

dried and pulverized, and the meal was eaten so or stirred in water. Chief among numerous bulbs and corms were those of soap-plant, which were subjected to a long process of steaming in a pit.

The principal sources of flesh food were deer and elk. Smaller animals such as rabbits, raccoons, ground-squirrels, tree-squirrels, woodrats, gophers, and skunks were collectively important, and occasionally a black bear was secured. Among edible birds were quail, grouse, pheasants, coots, ducks, and geese. Through channels of trade came various sea-foods, such as abalones, clams, cockles, and mussels; but of the greatest importance were the salmon and other fish, and lampreys, taken in Trinity river. Many forms of animal life commonly eaten in California were declined by the Hupa. Among these were birds of prey and carrion-eaters, carnivorous mammals both terrestrial and aquatic, reptiles, insects, and larvæ.

Deer and elk were stalked by a hunter wearing on his head the skin of a deer-head with natural antlers, and were captured in noose-snares hung at the proper height in the trails. The snares were heavy ropes of iris-fibre, and required a great amount of time and patience in the making. The noose was held open by small, easily broken strings, and the end was fast to a strong but resilient sapling so that the plunging captive could not break the rope. Only a rich man could possess these valuable snares, and he made just division of the catch among those who assisted in the drive. The men themselves carried home the game, instead of sending their women for it, as many Indians did. Men on snow-shoes sometimes drove elk from the open into the deep drifts of the mountains, where the animals were nearly helpless.

Most families possessed hunting preserves, from which all others were excluded, and these rights were never sold nor pawned. The favored tracts were those on the sloughs along the river, but other claims were held far up on the heights of Trinity summit, fifteen to twenty miles distant. Poor men who had no game preserves would request permission to accompany the more fortunate, who were always glad to have assistance in a game drive.

In the main, fishing is still carried on in the aboriginal manner. As the run of spring salmon comes at a season when the river is too high for the construction of a weir, they are taken in dip-nets, *mihltástei,* which are used in eddies. Such places attract the fish because of the easier progress, and the slow, upward current also enables the fisher-

man to hold his net with the opening down-stream. The bag is about seven feet deep and four feet square at the mouth, which is held open on a triangular frame consisting of two divergent poles about ten feet in length and a six-foot pole joining them at the base. From each of the two uprights a rope extends to a stake driven into the ground at the edge of the river, by which the unwieldy contrivance is prevented from being dragged out of the hands of the fisherman, who stands or sits on a board projecting over the water and resting on a structure of logs and rocks. From the mouth of the net to his hand extends a cord, at a light jerk of which he lifts the net, strikes the enmeshed fish on the head with a club, and places it in a net bag.

For the dip-netting season the southern division of the Hupa used to assemble at Sugar Bowl rapids in the southern end of the valley, while the northern division camped at the cañon north of the valley. Each fishing station was the hereditary possession of some family. Men who owned no station begged the use of one from those who were either tired of fishing for the time or had enough salmon for their present need. For this privilege they did not necessarily pay, but usually they brought a fish or two for the owner.

In summer, long before the fall run of salmon begins, a weir is thrown across the river, which at this season is at a low level. The northern division build their weir in alternate years at a long riffle near Takimilding, and the southern division erect theirs in the other years just above Medilding. As the proper time approaches, the chief sends word to the people that on a certain day the weir will be constructed, and on that day they all move down to the place and the men go into the woods for poles and hazel withes. The heavy work falls upon comparatively few, but everybody makes at least a pretense of working, even women and children bringing a few sticks, so that they may have the right to share in the catch.

Pairs of stakes, crossing near the top, are driven into the bed of the stream, and in the resulting crotches a line of substantial poles, or small logs, is laid. On the up-stream side strong stakes are driven at an angle and lashed to these poles, and finally a comparatively tight fence of poles and withes is constructed in the intervals between the stakes. Several narrow openings are left, and at each one a platform extends below the weir. The fishing is done with dip-nets called *mihlnóhliwal,* which are just like those used in eddies, except that they have no

signal-cord and are not moored to stakes. The fisherman stands on his platform, lowers his net into the water, and draws it out at random. The men take turns at the work, and the catch of the night and day is piled on both banks. In the evening the men and women assemble, and the salmon are divided in proportion to the number of their dependents. If fish are scarce, they are sometimes necessarily cut into pieces. When such was the case in former times, the chief would magnanimously go home empty-handed, and his people would feel very proud of him, to say nothing of his own sentiments. Occasionally a few of the people from the other division of the Hupa would come in their canoes to spend the night in fishing, and would take their entire catch home for common distribution.

Where the water was sufficiently tranquil the Hupa used to set a seine about fifty feet long, with perforated, discoidal stone sinkers and wooden floats, and the fish were driven into it by men in canoes.

Only one form of fish-trap was used. This was a receptacle of poles and withes, about ten feet long and four feet wide, which was placed in a riffle below the weir, with the floor of the middle section raised slightly above the surface of the water. Salmon on striking the weir would turn back, and those that entered the trap quickly found themselves carried by the current and their own momentum into the lower end of the trap, whence they were unable to escape. This device was placed also at the down-stream angle of two converging lines of fence, one of which extended quite to the bank, while the other left a channel around its upper end. Salmon swimming through this passage were driven back into the triangular area between the two wings, and so down into the trap. Trout also were captured in similar fashion, but bone hooks, and dip-nets suspended on triangular frames of sticks, were more commonly used. Lampreys, migrating up-stream in the spring, are caught at night in the large dip-nets, and sometimes a sturgeon is taken. Salmon, sturgeon, and lampreys are dried on racks, formerly in the underground dwellings, and stored in baskets.

The commonest process of cooking fish and meat, whether cured or fresh, was to broil it on skewers. Meat was also boiled in baskets, and fresh meat was sometimes seared by laying it on coals. Dried fish was very often eaten without further preparation. The old practice of cooking is now superseded by the use of stoves and the usual accessories.

For transportation the Hupa had cedar canoes purchased from the Yurok, and as few of their activities took them far from the river, they needed no other means. Dogs that plainly showed their coyote lineage were domesticated long before the advent of white men, and are said by some to have been used for running deer.

Pileated woodpeckers, the red feathers of which were, and are, highly valued, were caught in small nets, which were held over the mouth of their burrows, and were kept captive in a section of a hollow tree. In the spring they and their young were relieved of their scalp feathers, which with those from the breasts of certain yellow-breasted birds and the green feathers of mallard drakes were twisted in alternating bands on sinew cords. These ornaments were used in dancing.

The Hupa have only a few games. The guessing contest played by men is called *kin* ("stick"). Each of two players has about one hundred very thin, round sticks, one of which is distinguished by a black band. These are obtained in the mountains, in order that they may be lucky. A player puts his hands behind his back and separates the sticks into two lots, brings them forward, and holds them beside his thighs, while his backers beside and behind him, who have wagered their valuables on his success, beat a drum and sing. The other studies his opponent's face, then suddenly claps his hands and makes a gesture indicating which hand, in his opinion, contains the black-banded stick. If the guess is successful, the inning passes to him; but if unsuccessful, the player takes from the space between them one of twelve tally-sticks. The entire number of sticks must be in possession of one player or the other, in order to decide a wager. When a player has ten of them, the "dealer" announces, *"Nah hwumhl* ['two left']*!*" Then a successful play on his part concludes the game.

Women gamble in a dice play called *kyúlimut* ("clap hands together"). Two small and two larger mussel-shell discs are dropped on a skin from the hands, which are forcibly brought together palm to palm and then separated. The method of count is the same as in the similar game elsewhere to the south: one point if the discs of one pair match (that is, lie with inside or outside exposed), two points if both pairs individually match. It is not necessary that the pairs match with each other.

An exceedingly rough athletic contest, especially as played in former times, is *kitétkich,* colloquially known as the stick game. The name describes the tossing of the missile, which is a pair of short sticks joined by a thong. The players use stout throwing-sticks, and oppose one another in pairs as in hockey. The game is a contest between villages or tribes, and develops great rivalry. Originally almost any tactics short of murderous assault were permitted, and even now the players wrestle desperately.[1]

Wrestling used to be a favorite inter-village sport, and large wagers were laid on the result. Boys would toss a ball of grass into the air, and then wait, with upraised, double-pointed sticks, and try to impale it as it fell. Archery contests were always in progress. Several salmon vertebra threaded on a short cord attached to a pointed skewer were given an upward swing, and caught on the point. String games were played for the amusement of children.

The Hupa were an aggregation of villages dotting the banks of Trinity river through Hoopa valley. One of them indeed was three miles up-stream from the southern end of the valley. There were two divisions, the Nátinuhwe, who inhabited all the settlements from Tsewenalding northward, and the Tinúheneu, in the villages from Medilding southward. The principal settlement of the northern division was Takimilding, on the right bank of the river just above the mouth of Hostler creek. Those who have not permanently settled on their allotments still reside in this place, which is colloquially known as Hostler ranch. As the scene of the annual ceremonial acorn feast, which was observed jointly by all the Hupa, it was the most important of all their villages. Medilding, also on the right bank and about a mile above the mouth of Supply creek, which flows past the present school site, was the principal seat of the southern division, and is the only settlement now inhabited by them. It is called Matilton ranch.

The division of the Hupa into two groups is apparent mainly in ceremonial life and in the privilege of obstructing the river with a fish-weir in alternate years; but even this is a pseudo-religious event, attended with prayer and the repetition of sacred formulas for good luck. The South Fork Athapascans joined the southern Hupa in the

1 The game is described more fully in the Wiyot chapter

jumping dance and the Deerskin dance, but they did not participate in the acorn feast, although they had no similar ceremony of their own.

Wealth was the indispensable foundation of chiefship, or rather, chiefship inevitably followed the possession of wealth. The rich men did no labor, such as driving deer and building fish-weirs, but spent their time in the house making arrows and ceremonial costumes, which they sold at high prices. Thus they acquired their wealth. The position of chief was hereditary, passing along with his property to the decedent's eldest or most capable son or other male relative. Only lack of ability and opportunity prevented any man from acquiring property and becoming a man of influence, or even the preeminent man of his community. The chief gave orders to the people when concerted action was necessary, as when the fish-weir was to be constructed, when war was to be waged, when dances were to be celebrated, and his orders were obeyed. Except on such occasions, which of course were generally so much a matter of routine that the people needed only a word to go about the business, the chief had little to say. It is true he, or in fact any other influential man, was the one to act as mediator between two disputants, whether of the same village or not, and to effect an agreement on the amount to be paid by the offender. But he had no authority to compel mediation; the initiative was with the injured person. Payment of adequate damages compounded any crime, even murder. Rich men had several wives, who spent their time collecting food, to be used for the purpose of maintaining the influence of their husbands by feeding the populace. Visitors always found welcome in their houses, and the local poor could always secure food there. The head-man of the southern division of the Hupa lived at Medilding, and his authority was recognized among all the small settlements of that division; and the headman at Takimilding was the chief also of the villages lying north of that place.

A modified form of slavery existed. If a person of poor family stole from a rich man and the property could not be recovered, he, or one of his dependents, became the rich man's servant. If after some years his relatives or friends were able to redeem him by paying for the stolen property, they had that privilege. Vagabonds from other tribes sometimes attached themselves to the families of chiefs in the capacity of dependents, and growing boys or girls of very poor families were occasionally purchased. For an exceptionally good slave his master

might buy a wife, and the two lived in a small hut close to the chief's dwelling. Children of such unions were slaves. These dependents were treated more like poor relations than bondsmen.

It has been stated heretofore that all men and boys slept in the sweat-house. This applies to married men as well as to bachelors. The permanent houses however were occupied for only a few months in the winter, and with the coming of clement weather everybody moved into camp along the streams or near the food preserves. This was regarded as the proper season for sexual intercourse, but generally it was only hunters and men of great self-control who, under the influence of religious taboos, strictly observed this rule. For two days after cohabitation men and women ate no meat, and during that time they ate their fish and acorn mush out of individual dishes, not from the common vessels. Nursing women did not indulge themselves, and a man who had many children of tender years became ashamed, and endeavored to remain apart from his wife for at least two years. Venison was never carried into the house through the door, because that was used by the people, and especially by women, and therefore to carry venison through it would have meant bad luck in hunting deer.

A pregnant woman restricted herself in the quantity and kinds of food she ate, and at frequent intervals she repeated formulas addressed to different animals, in which were mentioned the first pregnancy of the animal and the ease with which she bore her young. Childbirth took place in the *minch,* if it was a well-built structure or if the weather was mild; in other circumstances, in the dwelling. When her time came, the woman sat on the floor and grasped a thong suspended overhead, to assist in the birth of the infant. After parturition she lived, or, as in most cases, at least took her meals, in the *minch,* for a period varying from ten to sixty days, avoiding fresh fish and meat. The purpose was to regain her health, and the course ceased when it was considered that this had been accomplished. Disregard of the taboo on meat would have made it impossible for the husband to kill game. Immediately after the umbilical cord was severed, earthworms were crushed and applied to the stump in order to "rot" it and cause it to slough off quickly, which it did in about five days. The father or the grandfather then tied up the free portion in a small deerskin bag, which he carried to a mountaintop and bound with sinew between the points of the split top of a young Douglas spruce, in order that as the

tree grew, so might the child. Or the bag might be hung for a time at the head of the infant's basket, or about its neck, before being tied to the tree. In some cases the bag was worn by the infant or kept in the house until the baby had become a growing child, no longer threatened by mysterious influences. It was then safe to use this navel-cord for wounds. The shrivelled bit was pounded up and mixed with water, which was swallowed, a very potent cure. Of course the cord was not so used while the child was still very young, for that would have been equivalent to threatening its life; and if the cord were simply thrown away after dropping off, some animal might eat it and then the infant would waste away.

The Hupa did not regard the birth of twins as a misfortune visited upon the parents by some malign power.

During the child's first ten days measures were taken to insure strength and long life. Someone who understood the charms crushed certain herbs, placed the mass in a basket of boiling water, and held the child in the steam while repeating the story of the origin of these practices among the race which was believed to have preceded the Indians.

Long before Wordsworth, the Hupa were convinced that heaven lies about us in our infancy. Babies were looked upon as supernaturals, who if harshly treated would take their departure.

Although there were no regular schools for instruction, such as existed among some of the tribes to the south, the individual training of Hupa children began at an early age. Myths and the legendary origin of customs, moral precepts, the practice of hunting and fishing, were the burden of the old men's discourse to boys; and under the tutelage of the women, or in quick imitation of them, little girls played at weaving baskets and preparing food. Sometimes a man would carry a little boy, fast asleep, to the river and throw him in, so as to harden him. Youths, rising in the middle of a winter night, would run naked through the rain up along the riverbank, leap into the water, swim back to the village, and return to the sweat-house. The Hupa had not the custom of sending their youths to fast and watch in the hills in search of supernatural aid.

The puberty ceremony for girls was observed as late as 1914. and possibly since then. It had been opposed and nearly stamped out by the authorities, because, in response to the inquiries of soldiers at the post, an old Indian, doubtless wishing to curry favor by entertaining

them with obscenities, informed them that on such occasions all the men had access to the girl. Such a statement of course is unfounded. The ceremony was held very sacred.

At her first menses a girl retired, under the charge of an elderly female relative, for ten days of seclusion in the menstrual house *(minch),* an underground hut not larger than eight feet square. As a rule every family group had its own *minch*. The girl's distinctive garment was a kilt of shredded bark, and about her neck hung a bone spatula with which she scratched her head and body. On no account were the fingers to be so used. Every morning at day-break she ran some little distance down the river, bathed, ran back to the hut, returned midway to the first place and bathed again, and once more ran back to the hut. In the same way she took two baths up-stream. Other than this her only activities were the fetching of a quantity of fuel. During the entire period of ten days, water is said to have been taboo, but inasmuch as her single daily meal consisted of acorn mush, the prohibition of water was not incredibly severe. Furthermore, four baths a day gave the system considerable moisture by absorption; and if a few drops happened to splash into the mouth of the girl, panting from her run, she probably did not feet guilty of transgression. Most Indian taboos are elastic.

Each night a dance, or rather a "sing," was held in the family house. Men were the principal performers. As many as ten sat around the fire, facing one another. Half of them wore a circlet of sea-lion teeth about the head; and down the back, suspended from the head, hung a broad, woven band of iris-fibre twine with geometrical designs painted on it and feathers dangling at the lower edge. The others, alternating with them in the circle, had on the head a broad, circular band with woodpecker-feathers appliqué. The girl sat in a corner, shrouded in a robe, for during her seclusion she was not to look at anyone; and the women occupied the earthen ledge above the pit. Other men entered and stood behind those sitting around the fire. Each of these carried a long syringa baton with the upper end split and shaved down into several thin, limber switches, which served the same purpose as the split elder batons of central California. Deerskin caps with standing feathers and painted deerskin trailers on their backs composed their costume. After a song, they withdrew, to return in similar fashion several times before midnight. At the conclusion of the last night's singing at dawn, the men cast their batons on a robe stretched above the girl's

head, and she ran to the river for her last bath. At every recurrence of their menses girls and women occupied the menstrual hut for ten days, preparing their own food and having nothing to do with their families. They ate no meat nor fresh fish, but the taboo did not extend to dried fish, vegetables, and the use of fire; and the bone spatula was used in scratching the head and body.

Marriages always occurred in the summer, for the reason that men and women slept in separate houses during the winter. Negotiations were carried on between two men representing the two families, and a payment of shell money was made at once to bind the girl's parents. Since most of the inhabitants of a village were related on the male side, the majority of marriages were between members of different villages. At the appointed time the bride's party set out in canoes laden with property of every kind, arriving at their destination in the evening in season to partake of the wedding feast. In return for their presents they received articles of equal value.

A considerable sum was paid for a girl of good family. However this custom may have originated, the Hupa in later times had not the feeling that the woman was actually purchased, like any article of commerce; the payment was made in order to give rank and dignity to the woman and her children. It was in fact a sign of formal marriage, as much so as our marriage license. When the bridegroom's relative carried to the bride's house the shell money and woodpecker-scalps composing the wedding payment, the people assembled to witness the transaction, and the woman's future standing depended on the amount. A woman for whom only a small amount was given was regarded as scarcely married at all; her husband lived in her house, and was called *hónta-yechuwínya* ("house goes-into"). The woman treated him like a servant, ordering him hither and yon in the performance of menial labor. Those who lived together without the payment of anything at all were considered not to be married. The children of these "half marriages" and illegitimate unions were dishonored for life, and generally became slaves.

The bride's family kept intact the amount of her wedding gift until her first child was well grown. They were then permitted to do with it as they desired. If before that time the woman proved unfaithful and left her husband, they had to restore the property to his family. Thus the payment was a pledge for her good conduct.

There was no taboo on conversation between a man and his mother-in-law.

The dead were invariably buried, never cremated. As soon as life had departed and the death-wail had been raised, the corpse was lashed to a board and laid behind the fire with the head directed southward. This orientation, inconsistent with the belief that the home of the departed was westward across the ocean, was probably taken with reference to the river, and points perhaps to an earlier home on the Klamath, which for a short distance below the Trinity flows westward. Or, more probably, there may have been an underlying feeling that, as the river flowed to the sea, its course was the natural one for a ghost to follow.

A male relative of the departed one, with stick and tray basket, dug a grave about thirty inches deep, and covered the bottom with sand. Then the corpse was taken out, feet foremost, through the side wall and laid beside the grave. Here followed an unusual proceeding. The grave-digger, after washing the face, made a perforation in the lobe of each ear and the septum of the nose, and placed in each hole two dentalia, one impaled on the other. Four relatives then lowered the body into the grave, head southward, and laid a board over it. Dance costumes and shell money were buried with a rich man for his use in the jumping dance, which was constantly in progress in the spirit world. Weapons were provided for warriors and hunters, and clothing and ornaments for women. All these articles were broken or torn so as to render them useless and untempting to the living.[2] Loud lamentation accompanied the placing of these articles in the grave, and when the earth was replaced and heaped up, various garments and utensils, torn and broken, were deposited on it. Four conical baskets, inverted at the corners of the grave, were rendered valueless and fixed in place by driving stakes through the bottom into the soil. No food was supplied for the ghost. Many of these practices are still followed in this region, especially on Klamath river, where baskets, pots, pans, shirts, hats, and what not, hanging on the picket fences that surround modern graves, present a scene at once dismal and pathetic.

2 The practice of breaking articles exposed with the dead probably originated in the desire to release their spiritual counterparts.

Men, women, and children cut off the ends of the hair to indicate the loss of a relative, and widows sheared it close to the scalp. Members of the immediate family wore about the neck a loose band of braided Xerophyllum grass, which remained until it wore off.

Immediately after a burial there followed five days of purification for the family and for all who had touched the corpse, especially the grave-digger, because not only had he touched the body but in digging the grave he had necessarily handled many bones of persons formerly buried in that spot. All assembled in the house, where a medicine-man solemnly mumbled certain myths regarding the origin of death among the pre-human people. He then pounded up an aromatic root, *kihlmákekyo* (an Umbellifera), and mixed it with water, into which he dipped a bunch of pine sprigs and asperged the mourners and the house. On each of several small flat stones beside the fireplace lay a small quantity of powdered anise-root, *muhháche-holen* ("root plentiful"). From time to time the medicine-man took a pinch of the powder and blew it from his fingers into the fire. The rising incense was regarded as a prayer. Occasionally they inhaled the smoke of Douglas spruce boughs and buckbrush. Finally they all went to the river, where after another aspersion they bathed. On the next two days there was a continuation of the recital of myths, and the crushed roots of angelica, *hónsihl-sáluhw* ("summer shoots"), were mixed with water for the aspersion; and the conclusion of these rites marked the end of public mourning. For five days longer however the grave-digger had a small fire of his own in the dwelling house and prepared his own food.[3]

The taboos connected with death are still numerous and stringent. Such words as corpse, grave, and dead are rarely spoken. For all such concepts there are euphemistic expressions. "Grave" is *hotiyán-hosin* ("something made"). "He died" is *tahoáchitiyô* ("some-

3 Some of these incidents differ from Goddard's account of the purification rites of the Hupa as given in *University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology,* vol. I, no. 2, 1903. It should be remembered that in all such religious observances individual practice varied rather widely.

thing he did"). "Corpse" is *chénunhutse-tlakonásaan* ("it-fell-out he-is-lying-there" that is, the soul has departed but the body remains). The utterance of the name of a dead person is a deadly insult to his people, and even words that are only components of such names are taboo. When the dead are necessarily mentioned, cautious circumlocutions are employed. The prohibition in some cases endures for many years. Goddard noted that *nátiyô,* shell money, was replaced by *mihlkyóhet* ("with buy"), because the former was the name of a prominent man then dead. The word was still taboo fifteen years later. Formerly, if in a brief time several deaths occurred in the same house, the structure was demolished or burned.

Spirits travel westward to "dead place" (*chíntintah*), a word rarely uttered. Through the middle of a valley flows a river. One shouts to the ferryman, who comes silently in a canoe. Once in the canoe, there is no returning; but those who are not surely dead turn back before embarking. In the other world the people dance constantly.[4]

To obtain a clear idea of Hupa religious beliefs and practices (and this applies also to the Wiyot, Yurok, and Karok), one must understand that according to their conceptions the world was formerly inhabited by the *kyihúnnai,* a race human in form but preternatural in character. Whatever these persons did became by that fact the predestined custom of the unborn Indian race. In this way all human institutions, industries, and arts, even the unimportant details of daily life, were determined. In the course of time the human race was due to appear on the scene. With its origin Hupa mythology is not concerned. It simply appeared, and, aware of its coming, the *kyihúnnai,* their work accomplished, fled across the ocean.

A large part of Hupa religious practice consists in the repetition of the myth, which usually is brief, accounting for the origin of the act now being performed. The feeling is that this causes the act to have the desired result. As a rule some root or herb is used at the same time, either as incense, as aspersion water, or as an internal medicine. The

4 This does not harmonize with Goddard's picture of the Hupa spirit world, but is more consistent with the custom of providing the ghost with dance regalia, valuables, and implements.

pleasantly odorous roots of angelica, dried and powdered, are the commonest incense. The acts necessarily accompanied or prepared for by these rites are innumerable; they are connected with all ceremonies, with birth, death, hunting, fishing, gambling, procuring food — in fact, with every phase of life.

Four principal personages were active in the world of the *kyihúnnai*. They correspond so exactly in name and character with the supernaturals of Wiyot and Yurok mythology, and are so unlike anything in the mythology of other Athapascans, that one is left in no doubt of the immediate, if not of the ultimate, source of the Hupa religious system.

	Hupa	Wiyot	Yurok
1.	Tĕnoñko-chĭstai ("above he-dwells")	Kudiqtát-kaqĭhl ("above old-man")	
2.	Yimán-tuwĭnyai ("across-ocean he-went-away") Yimán-kyuwĭnoyan ("across-ocean old-man")	Adak-sorá-hlûkihl ("down-toward ocean he-went")	Wâhpĕku-mâu ("oceanward widower")
3.	Yinûka-tuwĭnyai ("south he-went-away") Yinûka-chĭstai ("south he-dwells") Hotlá-tĭchhwil ("buttock blunt")	Puchúri-ghûrrû ("pointed buttock")	Pulúkuhl-qĕrrĕq ("far-down-stream pointed-buttock")
4.	Coyote	Coyote	Coyote

Above-he-dwells plays a slight part in Hupa mythology. In Wiyot he is the creator, but the Hupa have no story of the creation. Nevertheless they revere him today, and therefore rarely utter his name. He is said to control vegetal and animal food.

The most important character is Yimán-tuwínyai, who travelled from the ocean up the Klamath and the Trinity, changing the natural features of the country to their present condition. Wherever he found people (*kyihúnnai*), he demanded their prettiest maids. If they were complaisant, he improved the river and the adjacent country for them, so that forever there would be plentiful fish and other food; but if they refused him, he made changes that rendered the place an undesirable residence. He was the one who released the fish and the game animals, which had been penned up by certain malevolent beings. When at last his work was finished and the Indians were ready to make their appearance, he disappeared across the ocean, whither the *kyihúnnai* had preceded him. Some informants say that Hotlá-tichhwil ("buttock blunt") is simply another name for this character.

Yinúka-tuwínyai came up the river from the ocean, killing all the numerous monsters that inhabited the earth, some of them in the form of harmless, inanimate objects. He passed to the south, where he now

lives beyond the edge of the world.

Coyote is a mischief-making buffoon, the sly hero or discomfited victim in many a spicy story. Less than any of the others does he exhibit the characters that make it possible to use the word deity in describing him.

The religion of the Hupa was on a higher plane than that of some of the tribes to the south of them. The dances were all of a sacred nature, and there were various religious customs practised about the house. Thus, at night, before going to bed the men who smoked would fill their pipes and then blow upward from the palm of the hand the small residue of tobacco, and pray: "May we live well. Look after us, you who are above." Or: "We will have success in whatever we undertake. We will have much money, which will come to us from other places." Or: "Sickness, go away from us. Draw all the sickness away from us." These supplications were directed to Above-he-dwells, who however was not addressed by name.

Shamans acquired their power by dreaming and dancing. A man, or even a youth, would tell of dreams in which some spirit had given him songs, which he sang in his sleep. Unable to cease dreaming and singing, and having little desire for food, he became very thin. He smoked much, and ate little. Then the people said, "He is going to be a shaman." During the day he had fainting spells. The people began to say: "We shall have to make a dance for this man. He cannot live this way always." So a dance was arranged for a certain night. Everybody attended, for such an occasion was greatly enjoyed. They sang all night in the sweat-house while the man danced about the fire as long as he was able, making gestures as if he were catching the "pain" out of the air and putting it into his mouth. This was done on ten nights, after which a feast was held in the house, and again the man danced. This might all be repeated at intervals for a year. If he was to be a sucking doctor, one of that profession was hired to train him. This shaman blew his magic "pain" into the novice's mouth or threw it into his body. If it passed through without causing sensation, the candidate could never become a shaman; but if it caused pain, that was a sign that he would be a good one. If the candidate did not soon become satisfied, that is, relieved of whatever was causing him to dream and sing, he went to the summit of Tsé-titmilkut ("rock rolling-off"), Telescope peak, near the present school, with two companions, one of whom might be a

woman, and there danced and prayed. Many shamans were women.

The so-called dancing doctors were not numerous. They pretended to have clairvoyant power, and would tell where lost people or lost property would be found. Called to a patient, they told where they saw the sickness in his body, and when and under what circumstances it had entered. They then advised the family to summon a sucking doctor.

The Hupa believed in sorcerers, *kitónhwe*, who were simply malevolent shamans, and formerly, it is said, they sometimes killed persons suspected of witchcraft. When illness was ascribed to sorcery, a shaman was called to suck out the "pain," and the men of the village gathered outside the house, waiting with bows and arrows. When the shaman captured the pain, he brought it outside, laid it on a block of wood, and covered it with a basketry cap. He called out the name of some person suspected of guilt, and lifted the cap. If the object were still there, that person was innocent, and another name was called. So it went until the pain had disappeared, and the one whose name was last called was assumed to be the guilty sorcerer. He was then given his choice of breaking the spell and renouncing his magic, or of being killed. An informant says that his father told him of the following instance, which came within the father's own observation:

A woman was jealous because one of her son's two chums was rich. One day they went swimming, and on the way home something jumped out of the bushes and frightened them. Two of them ran home and dashed into the sweat-house, but the other, the woman's son, did not come for some time. He was sick. A shaman was called, but he could not catch the pain and left it to the boy's mother herself, for she was a good shaman. She pretended to secure the pain and lay it under a can, and called out various names. But the pain did not disappear. Then a man came up and took hold of it and held it up. He said, "Look at this pain; it is only a red rag!" The people perceived that she was deceiving them, and that she was afraid to bring out the pain, because it would disappear when her own name was mentioned. They led her down to the river and were going to kill her, because she had previously promised to renounce sorcery. But a man stopped them, and said, "She must give it up." And at last she promise again to do so.

Shamans were paid in advance for their work, but if the patient died from the sickness within a year the money was refunded.

Besides clairvoyants and sucking doctors there were individuals, both men and women, who possessed one or more of the numerous secrets of curing minor ailments, warding off misfortune, and winning good luck. They employed herbs, mostly those of a pungent or an aromatic nature, and repeated the story of the first use of this medicine by the pre-human people. There was a charm for every conceivable contingency.

The healing ceremony called *hón-nawe* ("fire carry") has been recently performed. It is colloquially called the brush dance, from the fact that the dancers carried bunches of brush, and was usually held for the benefit of a sickly child, to dispel whatever malign influence was interfering with its health.

A man or a woman who understood this rite was hired to officiate, and with an assistant spent the entire day ceremonially securing and preparing the appropriate "medicine," which consisted of pitchy strips of Douglas spruce and pine-bark. That night the people assembled in the house, and the healer, after crushing and boiling the pine-bark, took his place at the feet of the child and stationed his assistant at the head. Then both of them waved over the patient blazing spruce sticks to which bunches of salal-leaves had been tied. This, like the preparation of the medicine, was accompanied by softly muttered references to the ancient practice of the *kyihúnnai*.

About this time a number of male dancers entered, formed a circle, and with arms interlocked danced slowly to the right. Each held before his face a bunch of brush. After performing thus to several songs they withdrew, and later returned to dance to other songs. Thus it went through the night. On the second day following, the medicine-man again sought his medicine in the woods, and dancing of the same sort occupied the night. But by this time, the news having travelled up and down the river, a large concourse had assembled, including even Yurok visitors from Klamath river; and the dancing was by groups from the northern and southern divisions respectively, and, if there were enough of them, from the Yurok. It was probably to give these distant ones time to arrive that the second day passed without action. The house being too small to accommodate all, wide openings were made in the walls so that spectators could observe the proceedings. For the last dance the performers donned whatever ornamental costumes they possessed or could borrow, and substituted bows and

fur-quivers filled with arrows for the bunches of leafy twigs. Inside the circle at the same time a youth and a virgin danced forward and back, passing and repassing each other, and holding aloft the two baskets that contained the medicine. Then the medicine-man washed the child with the liquid, and, the day having dawned, the family served breakfast to all who remained.

Certain religious rites always occurred before any individual dared eat of the new acorn crop or the new run of spring salmon.

Takimilding, as its name ("cook-acorns place") indicates, was the scene of the acorn feast. The priest in charge personated the mythological character Yinúka-tuwínyai. He wore a mink-fur head-band and painted his face and arms with a charred root. While he was thus engaged, several women appointed by him were finishing the work of pounding a large quantity of acorns. He then draped a deerskin over his head, so that the people might not behold the face of Yinúka-tuwínyai until the rites were actually in progress, and carrying a tray basket on which lay a tobacco pipe he proceeded to a certain spot on the bank of the river, where he built a fire. The women followed him, heated water at the fire, and leached their meal; and the priest started another fire in which they heated stones for boiling the mush. He then threw upon a long mound of stones those that had been used for cooking the mush at the previous annual feast,[5] and led the entire assemblage to the river's edge, where he tossed two or three small stones into the water, and expressed the hope that salmon would be abundant. The men did likewise, and all bathed. When the food was ready they took their seats on certain stones, partially embedded in the soil[6] and arranged in a circle, and solemnly and thoughtfully ate the mush and dried salmon.

5 It might seem that the approximate length of Hupa residence in the valley could be estimated by comparing the number of cooking stones used in the acorn feast with the quantity in the pile. Such a comparison however gives rather a shorter time than the actually known period. Too many uncertain factors are involved. They may not have observed this custom at the time of their appearance here, or they may have used but few stones in the earliest times.

6 Fixed stones, to mark the spots where certain acts in the rites established by the prehuman race were performed, are a regular feature of Hupa, Yurok, and Karok ceremonies.

Finally the priest expressed the wish that all crops might regularly return, and that the people might be satisfied with little.

In the spring a priest went from Medilding to Sugar Bowl rapids and caught a single salmon, which he cooked and ate with much ceremony in every act, and constantly repeating the myth about the three *kyihúnnai* who first did this.

The Hupa had two public ceremonies of a spectacular, but deeply religious, character: the so-called White Deerskin dance and the jumping dance. The former was known under three names: Tílla-huch-mihl-chitílya ("fawn with ceremony"), Hónsihl-chitílya ("summer ceremony"), and Hánuke-chitílya ("along-river ceremony"). There is a Wiyot myth to the effect that the son of Adaksorá-hlúkihl (the Wiyot equivalent of Yimántuwínyai), gambling at Eel river with a supernatural whom he chanced to meet, won the Deerskin dance and the necessary costumes. He took them home to his village on Mad river and the people danced once. For some reason he decided that it should not become an institution there, and gave it to the Yurok.[7]

The ceremony occurred about the end of August or the beginning of September. The time was not definitely fixed. The performers with their costumes left Takimilding, principal village of the northern division, and paddled up-stream to Howungkut, a short distance above the chief seat of the southern division. The first dance was held that afternoon. The dancers, at least nine in number, took their position shoulder to shoulder facing the priest in charge, who sat on a stone behind a little fire which he had built, and on which from time to time he threw powdered anise-root. The song-leader, who stood in the middle of the line, wore a deerskin head-band with animal hair attached to it, and across the top of his head was tied a band of netting with feathers dangling from its lower edge at the level of his shoulders. His kilt was made of small furs, preferably civets, with the tails attached. His fellows wore deerskins belted about the waist, and a headband like that of the leader. Each held a long staff which extended up through the neck of an entire deerskin, the head and neck of which

7 The reader is referred to the Yurok account of the ceremony

were stuffed with grass. Some of these skins were albino, others nearly black, and some mottled. The highly valued red scalps of woodpeckers were attached to the eyes, ears, and nose; and from the mouth, representing the deer's tongue, hung a strip of deerskin ornamented in the same fashion. At each end of the row of dancers and slightly advanced beyond the others stood a man who carried a large blade of red obsidian. His head-band was embellished with nine sea-lion-teeth projecting outward and with the curving points upward. Tied across the crown of his head and hanging down his back was a broad knitted band, with pendent feathers and geometrical painting. This was the same ornament that was worn with the sea-lion-tooth head-bands in the puberty dance. His garment was a robe made by sewing together two deerskins, and it was worn with the neck parts meeting over one shoulder, the other being uncovered.

Rhythmically with the singing the dancers struck the ground with the left foot, and holding the deerskins upright pushed them forward with a lunge of the body. The celt-bearers, holding their ceremonial blades before them in the right hand, and sounding frequent notes on bone whistles, marched toward each other, passed, turned at the end of the line, and passed again, thus repeatedly describing a long ellipse. They were succeeded by two men similarly dressed, who carried black obsidian blades. After a number of songs, the dancers retired, while the priest remained in his place waiting for the representatives of the other tribal division to make their appearance.

The entire company spent the night there, and repeated the dance in the morning. Taking then to their canoes, they returned down-stream, passed Takimilding, and disembarked at a place between Hostler creek and Miskut, where they repeated their afternoon and morning dance. Here they reëmbarked, but this time they wore their costumes and danced as the canoes floated down the river. The craft were ranged side by side, and were held in line by extending paddles from one to the other; and standing one behind another the dancers sang and swayed their bodies. Opposite Miskut they performed both afternoon and morning, and proceeded then to a place in the great bend of the Trinity at the northern end of the valley. It was now the afternoon of the fifth day. After the usual dancing here, they went up-stream to a spot just below Miskut, and on the seventh afternoon they turned back to the extreme northern end of the valley and landed

at the foot of Bald hill. Here again the afternoon and morning dancing took place, and they moved up the hill a short distance on the afternoon of the eighth day, where the dancing was brought to a conclusion on the morrow. From here they moved to another hill a short distance westward, to feast and rest, and thus the prescribed period of ten days was filled out.

In following this itinerary, as in the actual dancing, the performers were simply imitating the *kyihúnnai* who instituted the ceremony. Its purpose was to guard the public health and increase game and fish. Goddard offers the plausible suggestion that, as it was "held at the end of the period of cohabitation," it "purifies the people for the hunting season."

The jumping dance is called Tánka-chitílya ("autumn ceremony"), or Méunasitán-mihl-chitílya ("woodpecker-head-dress with ceremony"). It was held at Takimilding within a few weeks after the Deerskin dance, and lasted ten days, or sometimes, if the attendance was large, twelve days. When pestilence was deemed imminent, the ceremony might be held in the early winter, as it was in 1899. The dancers wore the head-dress used by some of the performers in the puberty dance — a wide band of deerskin with rows of red woodpecker crests sewn on it, and a narrow edging of white deer-hair. The head-dress is called *méunasitan,* or *yáhouhw.* A deerskin robe was worn as a kilt, and of course each dancer displayed all his wealth of shells and beads. In the right hand they carried straw-stuffed basketry cylinders with a slit-like opening from end to end. The significance of these objects is not known, but the shape and the gestures made with them in the dance suggest a canoe.

Behind the dance-ground was erected a high board wall. The Yurok, who regard the Deerskin and jumping dances as component parts of one ceremony, used a wall in the former, but not in the latter. They say that it was a relic of a dressing house destroyed by a freshet.

As in the Deerskin dance, the priest in charge sat behind an incense fire, and the performers stood in front of the wall in a row facing him. In the middle of the line was a powerful man, the dance-leader, flanked on each side by one who both sang and danced. The line was filled out by young men, youths, and boys, gradually diminishing in stature. One of the two singers started a song, and the dancers struck the ground with the left foot while swinging their basketry cylinders

with a vigorous forward and upward movement. After each song-leader had given one of his songs, the dancers grasped hands and jumped violently up and down. With brief intermissions, during which they walked backward to the wall and squatted there resting, they performed the jumping ten times, and then marched away to their dressing place. After an interval the representatives of the southern division danced in the same fashion.

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