

Hupa, Chilula, and Whilkut

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HUPA

Language, Environment, and Territory

Along the lower course of the Trinity River in northwestern California lived the Hupa (*ʰhō̌pu*), a small ethnic group numbering about 1,000 when first reached by White Americans in 1850. They shared a distinctive way of life with the adjoining and more populous Yurok and Karok of the Klamath River with whom they had frequent contacts and close relations. Similar customs and institutions were shared by the Wiyot and Tolowa but the Hupa had little direct intercourse with them.

Nothing is known of the Hupa past, for no systematic archeology has been carried out in their territory. Their speech, one of several Athapaskan languages in northern California, indicates that they originally came from the north; but how and when they arrived remain matters of speculation. Application of the glotto-chronological method to the speech stock demonstrates a surprisingly low time depth for the arrival of Athapaskan speakers on the Pacific Coast. Lexicostatistical dating suggests that the Pacific Coast languages broke off from the common Athapaskan body in the north only about 1,300 years ago, and that their movement south began almost at once and was essentially completed within three centuries (Hojjer 1956:232). The Hupa divergences from the northern idioms fall within a time span of roughly 900–1,200 years ago—or, by other estimates, about 1,300 to 1,700 years ago (Hymes 1957). If the movement into their historic seat took place so recently, acculturation of the Hupa to the specialized northwestern California culture must have proceeded at a rapid pace.*

Six-mile-long Hoopa Valley, sheltered and picturesque, formed the center of the Hupa homeland (fig. 1). Through it winds the swift-flowing Trinity River, the main tributary of the Klamath. Except for the level valley floor, one to two miles wide, the country is moun-

tainous and difficult of access. A moderate climate without lengthy periods of cold or heat prevails. Rain, totaling more than 40 inches annually, falls mainly between November and March. Ordinarily the remaining months are quite dry. Snow rarely reaches the valley floor though it often clothes the surrounding mountains during the winter months.

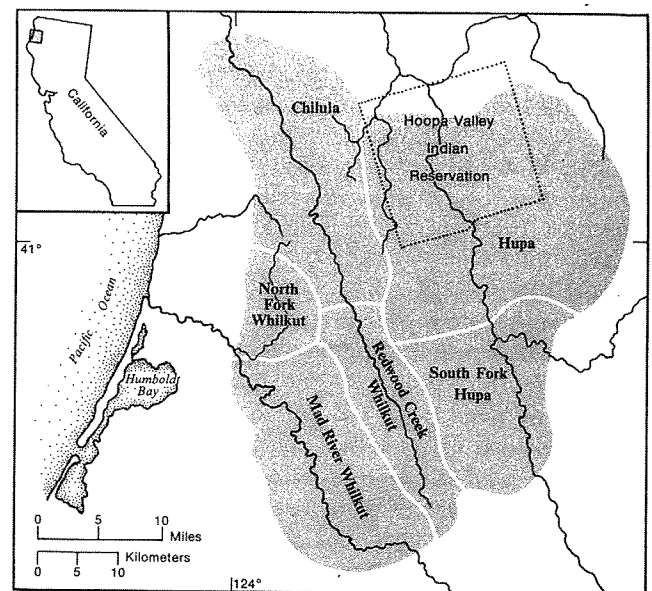


Fig. 1. Hupa, Chilula, and Whilkut territories.

Dense vegetation covers most of the region. Evergreen forests of pines, cedars, and Douglas firs overspread the mountain ridges and chaparral grows thickly on the lower slopes and in the less fertile sections of the valley. A varied and plentiful animal and bird life inhabits the region and the Trinity abounds with fish seasonally.

Subsistence

Many natural foods were available to the Hupa. Of these, two—salmon and acorns—provided the bulk of the native diet.

Salmon thronged the Trinity each spring and fall to spawn in its upper reaches. At these times the year's supply was taken by a variety of efficient devices (Kroe-

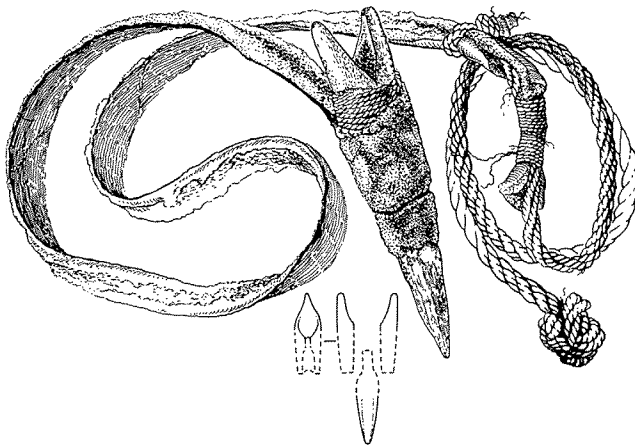
* Italicized Hupa words have been respelled by Victor Golla in the orthography described for the Hupa language in vol. 17. He has also provided translations of most of the village names. The names of all the Hupa villages occurred in his collection of linguistic data; however, the transcriptions of most of the Chilula and Whilkut village names are only educated guesses (the more doubtful ones being indicated by parenthetical question marks). Those names for which no respelling could be suggested are given in roman type.

ber and Barrett 1960). During the spring run fishermen, standing on platforms erected over suitable pools and eddies, dipped out the salmon with long-handled nets. When the river was low in the fall, a weir of poles and withes was built across it (fig. 2). Fish swarming against the obstruction were scooped up by men strategically positioned on small platforms along its top. The weir was constructed communally and placed in alternate years near one of two principal settlements. Other methods of capturing salmon included gill nets set in still pools and long dragnets hauled by groups of fishermen. Where water conditions permitted, salmon were impaled with bone-pointed harpoons (fig. 3).



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Fig. 2. Hupa salmon weir below Mill Creek. Photograph by Pliny E. Goddard, 1906.



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: 341274.

Fig. 3. Toggle-head for salmon harpoon, Hupa. Made from deer horn, wound with fiber thread and sealed with pitch, attached with elk hide leather strap to Indian-made rope. In use it is attached to a sapling. Inset shows construction of toggle-head. Length of head 9.0 cm, collected before 1928.

Quantities of salmon flesh, sliced thin and smoke-dried, were preserved for winter use. In this state it lasted for a considerable time. The commonest method of cooking fresh salmon was broiling on pointed sticks propped up before the fire.

Another fish of importance consisted of the steelhead, a sea-running trout that returned to the river to spawn. Sturgeon, valued not only for their mass of flesh but also for the glue obtained from their heads, were caught in fewer numbers. Lamprey eels, migrating upstream in the spring, were much relished. Surplus stocks of all three were preserved for future consumption by drying in the smoke of fires. Trout and other varieties of small fish present in the Trinity and its tributaries throughout the year were sometimes taken with hook and line. The river's swift current ruled out drugging.

Women harvested acorns when they began to drop from the trees in the fall of the year. Most esteemed were those of the tan oak, but in the event of a short crop, those of other species were collected. Gathered in conical baskets, each large enough to hold a bushel or two, the nuts were prepared for storage and eating (fig. 4) in the regular California Indian manner (Goddard 1903-1904:27-28). Acorn meal, cooked by heated stones and stirred about with a carved wooden paddle two to four feet long, was customarily served as a thin mush. Less often, dampened flour was baked into a cake on a hot stone. A wide range of other plant foods—nuts, seeds, berries, fruits, roots, and greens—gave variety to the diet.

Although their land was rich in game, the Hupa did not exploit this source of food extensively. Deer and elk were stalked in the forests, driven by trained dogs to waiting huntsmen, or forced into the river by shouting men and barking dogs, and then pursued in canoes. At times, a hunter disguised with deerhead and skin simulated movements of the animal in order to get within bowshot. A short, sinew-lined bow (fig. 5) with stone-tipped arrows was the standard weapon of the chase (Mason 1889:227-229). Nooses of strong iris-fiber rope were frequently placed along trails followed by deer or elk. Little attention was paid to lesser game. Rabbits, squirrels, and birds were shot with a simple bow and arrows lacking stone heads, or captured in snares or traps. Meat was roasted on coals, broiled on skewers, or stone-boiled. That not needed for immediate consumption was cut in strips and cured over a fire.

Not all potential food resources were exploited. The flesh of several species of birds and animals was not eaten because of religious taboos. All reptiles and amphibians except the turtle were shunned. The Hupa showed much repugnance to the idea of eating insects and larvae, delicacies to many native Californians.

Normally the Indians had plenty to eat; and sizable stores of dried salmon, acorns, and other foodstuffs guaranteed against want. But there were occasional lean



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Fig. 4. Mrs. Freddie, Hupa, pouring water from a basket cup into acorn meal being leached in a hollow in the sand. To her right is an acorn-collecting basket. Photograph by Pliny E. Goddard, 1902.

years when the yield of salmon and acorns was not up to expectations. At such times the people knew hunger, though probably never famine.

Material Culture

As with most aboriginal groups who were above all fishermen, the Hupa occupied permanent houses for a large part of the year. They lived in substantial rectangular structures built wholly of cedar planks. Overlapping boards covered the three-pitched roof. The interior contained an excavated pit, its sides retained by planks set on edge, with an elevated earthen shelf left between it and the house walls. Near the center of the pit lay a shallow depression bordered with stones for the fire. The doorway, at one corner, consisted of a circular hole just large enough to squeeze through; a notched plank served as a stairway down into the dug-out portion. Of-

ten a neat cobble pavement covered the ground in front of the residence.

Customarily a dwelling housed a single family. Here its members assembled for meals and here the women and children slept. Space on the earthen shelf next to the walls was utilized for storing stocks of food, firewood, and family possessions. Only briefly during the autumn acorn-gathering season did the family residence stand empty. When in the countryside for the harvest the families took to roofless brush shelters or camped in the open.

In addition to the family houses, every Hupa village contained several sweathouses. Smaller than the dwellings, these structures were built around a rectangular pit about four feet deep and lined with planks to prevent a cave-in. Only the pitched roof and the surrounding stone pavement were visible above ground. Entrance was through an opening in the roof with descent into the pit



Calif. State U., Humboldt.

Fig. 5. Big Willis, Hupa, with hunting equipment. He wears a breechclout of cloth instead of the traditional deerskin and a waistband of dentalium shells and perforated coins. Photograph by A.W. Ericson, 1890s.

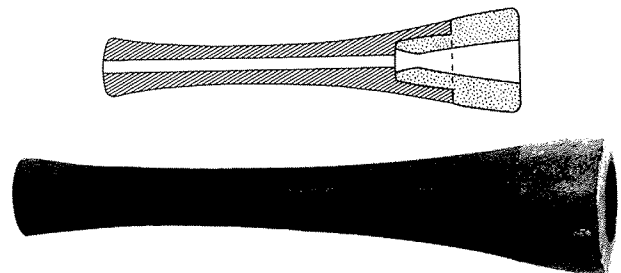
by means of a plank with cut footholds. Generally a sudatory was built and used by a group of men related to one another through the male line. It served not only for daily sweating but also as workshop, clubhouse, and sleeping quarters for men and older boys.

The generally mild climate made heavy clothing unnecessary. A breechclout of deerskin or of several smaller animal skins sewed together formed the only article of dress worn daily by males (fig. 5), and elderly men lounging about the sweathouse or wandering around the village commonly dispensed with even this. Female garb was more elaborate, comprising a two-piece buckskin skirt, extending from the waist to below the knees. The larger section, its border fringed, covered the back and hips, whereas a narrow piece, consisting of many strips attached to a belt, concealed the front of the body. For added warmth, men and women alike threw robes of deer or other animal skins over their shoulders or wrapped them around the body. Footgear was rarely worn, buckskin moccasins being put on only when departing on a long journey. Hunters and travelers passing through brushy country covered their thighs with knee-length leggings of the same material. Close-fitting, bowl-shaped basketry caps (fig. 4), designed to afford protection from the carrying strap of burden baskets and baby cradles, were worn almost constantly by women.

Both sexes wore the hair long. Males tied theirs in two bunches, which hung in front of the shoulders, or in a

single one behind. Females arranged the hair in two rolls, each held together with a thong. Women had three broad vertical bands tattooed on their chins (fig. 4) and sometimes marks were added to the corner of the mouth (Sapir 1936). The earlobes of all individuals were punctured for the insertion of shell ornaments.

Woodworking and basketweaving constituted the most important industries. Hupa men manufactured house planks, chests for the storage of ceremonial regalia, platters and bowls, low stools, and sweathouse headrests from cedar, a soft and easily worked material. Other articles, such as bows and tobacco pipes (fig. 6), were fashioned from harder varieties. The woodworkers achieved excellent results with a limited stock of tools.



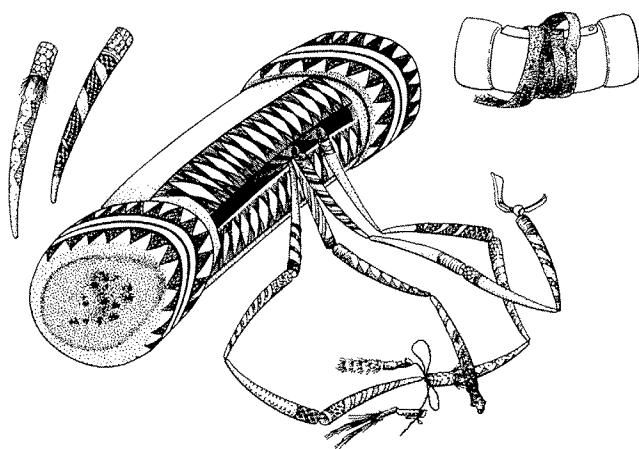
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Fig. 6. Hupa wooden pipe with steatite bowl. Inset shows construction. Length 11.0 cm, collected before 1913.

Basketweaving, carried on exclusively by females, provided most household utensils as well as storage containers, cradles, caps, and special dance appurtenances. The baskets were fashioned by one technique—twining. They were either closely woven so that the warps did not appear at all, or open, the twigs of the foundation being merely held in place by chains of wefts. Hazel shoots provided the warps for nearly all baskets; strong filaments from tree roots served as wefts. Ornamentation was achieved by overlaying with white bear grass and introducing geometric patterns in black maidenhair fern stems and giant fern stems, colored red with alder bark.

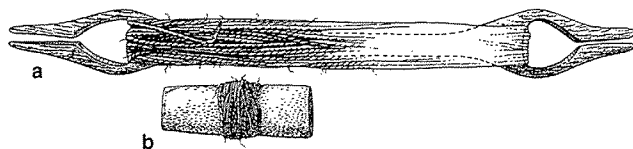
Men showed considerable proficiency in working horn, particularly elk. Large spoons were steamed and cut into shape. The spoons were used for eating solely by males; ordinary mussel shells sufficed for women. Additional horn and bone articles included money boxes (fig. 7), net-mesh measures, wedges, and stone-flaking tools. The men also manufactured arrowpoints and other weapons and tools of stone, braided rope and twine, wove nets (fig. 8), and tanned animal hides.

For water transport the Hupa employed canoes hollowed out of one-half of a redwood log. These were not made locally but obtained in trade from the Yurok. Such craft were capable of carrying five or six adults or sev-



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: Purse, 126521; Dentalium money, 21322.

Fig. 7. Hupa elk-horn purse (money box) with contents of strung dentalium. Purse is decorated with incised triangles rubbed with black pigment and grooved lines painted red. The exposed porous end of the elk horn is also red. Length 16.1 cm, collected 1883. Upper right shows manner in which purse opening was covered by splint and secured by its buckskin wrapping. The splint is made from an ivory scale for a centigrade thermometer, manufactured on the East Coast. Left inset shows detail of decoration on two of the dentalia. The left one is incised, and both are wrapped in reptile skin. Length of each 5.2 cm, collected 1875.



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: a, 131151; b, 341287.

Fig. 8. a, Hupa netting shuttle made of wood wrapped with length of two-ply fiber twine. Length of shuttle (needle) 39.7 cm, collected 1889. b, Hupa net winder, used for winding fish-net twine; made from section of rib bone wrapped with length of two-ply fiber twine. Same scale, collected before 1928.

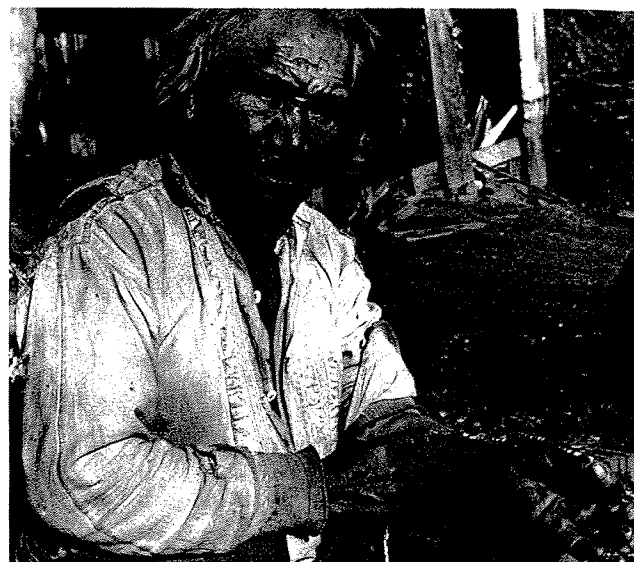
eral thousand pounds of cargo. They were propelled with narrow-bladed, square-ended paddles.

Though water travel was the preferred form of transport, there was considerable foot traffic. Well-worn pathways linked the villages, and trading trails led across the mountains to the coast and elsewhere. Along the trails were traditional stopping places where passersby removed their packs and rested. Special trees into which arrows were shot for good luck and votive spots where a traveler dropped a stick or stone and offered a prayer for safety on his journey lay along the routes (Goddard 1913).

Exchanges of commodities took place chiefly with the Yurok inhabiting the coast near the mouth of the Klamath. In return for dried seaweed, which yielded salt, surf fish, and other marine products, the Hupa supplied

the coastal dwellers with acorns and additional inland foods. Considerably less trade was carried on with the riverine Yurok and Karok, because the products of these people were too much like those of the Hupa to allow for extensive bartering. Sporadic commerce was also conducted with other Indian groups.

Instead of bartering for them, products were sometimes purchased with dentalium shell money (fig. 7). Each of the thin, tubelike shells, which came from the waters off Vancouver Island, was evaluated according to its length, with examples less than an inch and one-half long not considered as currency. Standardized ways of measuring the dentalia included matching five strung shells of equal size with one of a series of marks tattooed on the inside of a man's left forearm (fig. 9).



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Fig. 9. Mr. McCann, Hupa, measuring dentalium shell money against tattoo marks on his forearm. Photograph by Pliny E. Goddard, 1901.

Social and Political Organization

A minimum of conventional organization characterized Hupa society. The family formed the fundamental unit. Typically this numbered six to seven persons and was composed of a man, his wife, their children, and an unattached relative or two; however, social ties extended beyond the immediate family and linked several patrilineally related households together into a larger informal grouping. The families resided near one another and cooperated in many activities. The men built and occupied a common sweathouse.

Generally several such groups of near kin shared a village site though the inhabitants of a smaller community were sometimes all blood relatives or nearly so. The village had no real solidarity and its members were likely

to act together only if they were kindred. Regular village chiefs and councils were wanting.

The 12 main Hupa settlements were strung out along the banks of the Trinity, each separated from its neighbor by less than a mile (fig. 10). Almost without exception, they lay near a spring or tributary stream from which drinking water could be obtained. Near at hand too was a sandy stretch of river bank, suitable for beaching canoes. The villages had no discernible planned layout.

Above Hoopa Valley is the "Sugar Bowl" whose bottom harbored Haslinding, the southernmost of the principal settlements. A few miles farther upriver in little patches of valley were two additional permanent settlements, both quite small. Others were mentioned in early sources as being in this region.

Communities differed considerably in population, having from 50 to 200 inhabitants. The number of houses varied from 6 to 28 (table 1). Each village had its own name, taken from a landmark ('deep-water place'), peculiarity ('place of canoes'), or mythical incident ('place where he was dug up').

Table 1. Hupa Villages

Village	Number of Houses			
	1851	1852	1903	1956
<i>xonsahḏiŋ</i>	9	9	11	
<i>dahḵisxa-ṉq̱iḏ</i> ^a			7	
<i>ḵiŋc̱i-w̱q̱iḏ</i>			8	
<i>če-ŋinḏigoṯḏiŋ</i>			12	
<i>mis̱q̱iḏ</i>	6	6	9	
<i>ta-ŋḵiŋmiṯḏiŋ</i>	20	20	14	
<i>ce-wina-lḏiŋ</i>	10	10	6	
<i>toł̱ca-ŋḏiŋ</i> ^b				8
<i>mi-ŋḏilḏiŋ</i>	28	28	22	
<i>xowang̱q̱iḏ</i>			14	
<i>ḏiŋŋsta-ŋ-ŋa-ḏiŋ</i>		9	13	
<i>xahslinḏiŋ</i>		6	9	

SOURCE: Cook 1956:100.

^a Inhabited until about time of military occupancy of Hoopa Valley.

^b Deserted in 1850; estimated figure.

A loose arrangement of settlements into upriver and downriver divisions existed for the purpose of holding important religious ceremonies and for constructing the communal fishweir. Certain regional loyalties may also have been involved since the two supplied the opposing forces in the valley's only major internecine war (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940:104). There was no unit above these geographical divisions. Like peoples everywhere, the Hupa were conscious of their identity as a separate division of mankind, sharing the same language and customs. But they did not see themselves as a political entity and felt no obligations or allegiances toward their fellows.

The complete absence of tribal-wide political authority and leadership did not mean that there was no law and order, for a precise code of rules that regulated individual conduct had been worked out. Its key principle was that every wrong, intentional or not, had to be compensated for, preferably in money, though the threat of force and blood revenge was always present. Offenses were against the individual and initiative to bring action rested with the injured party or his family. An impartial go-between, employed to settle a dispute, negotiated with the principals until satisfactory redress was agreed upon. Prolonged haggling was customary because the aggrieved had to show tenacity in insisting upon his rights or he lost face. The law did not have everywhere the same force, since the numbers, wealth, and power of the kin groups involved, as well as their resolution, figured heavily in the settlement.

Many person-to-person quarrels arose, but it was usually possible to settle them by mediation so as to avoid any exercise of force and resultant bloodshed; however, violence occasionally flared up, most often in reprisal for an unatoned killing or to avenge an illness or death believed to have been caused by witchcraft. Normally hostilities concerned only a few individuals and took the form of blood feuds between Hupa kin groups or with corresponding divisions among a neighboring people (Wallace 1949). Rarely, an entire village community became involved but never the Hupa as a whole.

Fighting weapons included bows and arrows, short stabbing spears, stone knives, and ordinary rocks. For protection a few warriors wore corselets of vertical wooden rods or heavy elkhide shirts. Shields were unknown. Generally the conflicts were short-lived and the casualties few, but a rather protracted war with the Yurok, which took place sometime between 1830 and 1840, resulted in a heavy loss of life on both sides (Kroeber 1925:50-51; Spott and Kroeber 1942:202-209; Sapir 1927). Ambushes and surprise raids were the preferred tactics. Hostilities ended with a formal peace-making ceremony arranged by an intermediary. Each death and injury suffered was paid for separately and recompense was made for all property taken or destroyed.

The Hupa and their immediate neighbors were unique among California Indians in their extraordinary preoccupation with wealth and social position. Wealth meant, in addition to shell currency, skins of albino or unusually colored deerskins, large chipped blades of imported black or red obsidian, scarlet-feathered woodpecker scalps glued to wide buckskin bands (figs. 11-12), and a number of lesser valuables. These rare and precious things, proudly displayed at group festivals, formed the basis of a person's fortune and consequent social position. They exchanged hands only in important transactions such as payment of a bride price, a shaman's fee, or an indemnity for a killing. Certain other forms of private

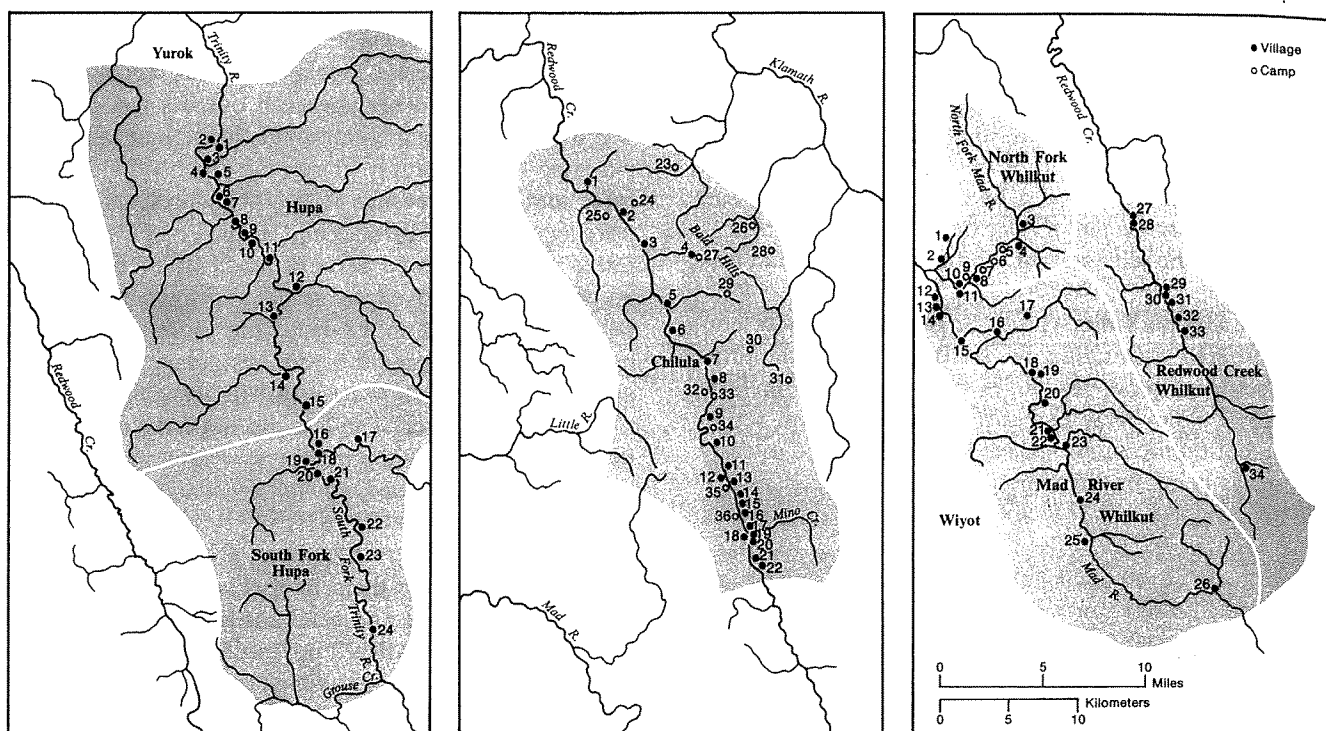


Fig. 10. Villages and camps of the Hupa, Chilula, and Whilkut.

Hupa villages. 1. *xonsahd̥iŋ* 'water is deep-place'. 2. *dahR'isxa-n̄q̄id* 'a tree grows above-on'. 3. *R'in̄c̄-iW̄q̄id* 'its nose-on'. 4. *č̣e-ŋnd̄ḡoid̄iŋ* 'it wiggled out of the ground-place'. 5. *mis̄q̄id* 'cliff-on'. 6. *taR'imild̄iŋ* 'one prepares acorn mush-place'. 7. *ce-wina-l̄diŋ* (not translatable). 8. *tott̄a-ŋd̄iŋ* 'seepage-place'. 9. *mi-ŋd̄il̄diŋ* 'boat-place'. 10. *xowan̄q̄id* (not translatable). 11. *diȳsta-ŋ'a-d̄iŋ* (or *žiȳsta-ŋ'a-d̄iŋ*) 'diȳs-promontory-place'. 12. *xahsl̄ind̄iŋ* 'eddy-place'. 13.-15. Hupa names uncertain. 16. *ta-R'iwe-l̄c̄il̄q̄id* 'it squats into the river-on'. 17. *miȳimi* 'taboo place-in it'. 18. *te-l̄diŋ* 'confluence-place'. 19. *d̄il̄c̄ihs̄žid̄iŋ* 'little pine tree-place'. 20. *č̄il̄te-l̄diŋ* 'bed mat-place'. 21. *q̄osta-nd̄iŋ* 'basket hat-place'. 22. *h̄č̄iW̄d̄iŋ* 'sand-place'. 23. *to-q̄mi* 'salmon-in it'. 24. *da-č̄an-ŋd̄iŋ* (or perhaps *dah̄c̄-in-ŋd̄iŋ* 'gooseberry-place').

Chilula villages and camps. 1. *xowana-ŋid̄*. 2. *nol̄th̄d̄iŋ* 'falls-place'. 3. *ŋo-ž̄imi* 'small glade-in it'. 4. *k'it̄k'ohlay* 'big timber-point, summit'. 5. *k'it̄yik'a-wm̄iŋwah* 'timber which is big-near it'. 6. *yisi-m̄iŋ'aȳq̄id* 'downhill ridge-on'. 7. *č̄in-sila-d̄iŋ* 'bones lie there-place'. 8. *to-nd̄inand̄iŋ*. 9. *yinaŋino-mice-d̄iŋ* 'upstream door-place'. 10. *xontih̄mi* 'flat-in it'. 11. *ŋo-ž̄iŋid̄* (?) 'little glade-on' (cf. 3.). 12. *h̄č̄iWina-W̄d̄iŋ* 'dust, sand flies-place'. 13. *q̄ayliW̄tah̄d̄iŋ* 'among the willows-place'. 14. *q̄ayliW̄č̄e-ŋ'e-ŋd̄iŋ* 'willows stick out-place'. 15. *sik'it̄č̄-iŋmitah̄d̄iŋ*. 16. *R'ina-xontah̄d̄iŋ* 'Yurok house-place'. 17. *R'id̄ina-tah̄d̄iŋ* (?). 18. *xowan̄q̄id* (not translatable). 19. *dah̄č̄ina-l̄diŋ* (?). 20. *dah̄saŋž̄iŋid̄* (?). 21. *m̄ismi* 'cliff-in it'. 22. *q̄a-xistah̄d̄iŋ* 'arrow-wood among-place'. 23. *č̄id̄ilye-d̄iŋ* 'ceremonial dance place'. 24. *ŋo-ž̄xoda-wil̄ind̄iŋ* 'little glade-water flows down hill-place'. 25. *yici-ne-ŋid̄č̄iŋ* 'toward downhill'. 26. *t̄ih̄s'aȳq̄id* 'sticks into the water-on'. 27. *ce-na-l̄ma-d̄iŋ* 'stones in a circle-place'. 28. *R'id̄th̄wis̄q̄id* 'fire drill-on'. 29. *ni-wil̄cowm̄iyth* 'ground bent-under it'. 30. *R'iž̄iw'na-me-d̄iŋ* 'its ear swims around-place'. 31. *č̄an'xa-l̄'a-d̄iŋ* 'dung sticks up-place'. 32. *m̄iŋq̄id̄iŋ'e-yima-n̄č̄in-ŋč̄iŋ* 'lake to the West'. 33. *xodah̄d̄ini* (?). 34. *ŋoh̄day'xa-l̄'a-d̄iŋ* 'wild oats-stick up-place'. 35. *gaW̄k'oh̄mi* 'redwoods-in them'. 36. *xosdaž̄imi* (?).

Whilkut villages and camps. 1. *ŋo-ŋiž̄* (?) 'little prairie'. 2. *Kawchosisht̄intang*. 3. *xayah̄mi* 'fishing claim-in it'. 4. *č̄e-yR'ina-di-wil̄wo-ŋd̄iŋ* (?) 'brush (?)-place'. 5. *nol̄th̄mi* 'waterfall-in it'. 6. *R'isday'ŋid̄* (?). 7. *q̄ayliW̄d̄iŋ* 'willows-place'. 8. *Hootsoehookah*. 9. *Katsiatoo*. 10. *m̄ik'e-ŋd̄imi* 'its tail (mouth of creek)-place'. 11. *ta-k'iW̄č̄in-ŋd̄iŋ* 'sweathouse-toward-place'. 12. *Djinakhoeten*. 13. *d̄il̄gaȳd̄iŋ* 'whitish-place'. 14. *č̄e-n̄č̄e-d̄iŋ* 'it blows out from somewhere-place'. 15. *m̄ik'oh̄d̄iŋ* 'its bigness (grizzly bear)-place' (?). 16. *ŋa-di-ž̄la-n-č̄e-wil̄ind̄iŋ* 'many grasshoppers-pour out-place'. 17. *yidaŋnol̄th̄d̄iŋ* 'uphill waterfall-place'. 18. *k'a-ŋ-dah̄sila-d̄iŋ* 'skirts-they lie on top-place'. 19. *Whotsdjotach̄et̄in*. 20. *ce-d̄itis̄d̄iŋ* (?) 'stones on top of one another-place'. 21. *d̄il̄c̄i-ŋyiw̄q̄id* 'underneath the pine tree-place'. 22. *xod̄inte-l̄mi* (?). 23. *Yinalinowhot*. 24. *miȳimi* 'taboo place-in it'. 25. Whilkut name unknown. 26. *ce-na-n̄iŋ'a-d̄iŋ* 'rock stretches across the river-place'. 27. *č̄it̄q̄an-ŋd̄iŋ* 'one roasts it-place'. 28. *yinah̄č̄iŋ-di-ȳs̄d̄iŋ* 'upstream toward-(?)-place'. 29. *Estishchemmeh*. 30. *č̄in-d̄il̄gaȳmi* 'white bones-in it' (?). 31. *Mestat̄im̄teng*. 32. *ta-na-na-ŋid̄* (?). 33. *č̄ime-no-ŋ'a-ŋid̄* 'fir tree lies extended to there-on'. 34. *na-yisWa-l̄q̄id* 'it hooks (fish)-on'. The following five villages cannot be mapped, although they probably belong in this order between nos. 33 and 34: *ce-na-da-ŋaȳq̄id* 'rock stands up-place' (on the east side of Redwood Creek, far up, near Chaparral Mt.), *h̄ž̄ma-ŋid̄* 'clay-on' (formerly on the ridge on the east side of Redwood Creek), *me-me-ŋid̄* 'fern-on' (former big village on Mamakut Creek), *ŋiwW̄to-mi-ŋd̄iŋ* (?) 'snake-water in-place' (formerly on the east side of Redwood Creek), and *na-s̄q̄a-na-ŋid̄* (?) (formerly high up on Redwood Creek).



Calif. State U., Humboldt.

Fig. 11. Hupa participants in the White Deerskin Dance displaying paraphernalia indicating wealth. Photograph by A.W. Ericson, before 1897.

property—house sites, the choicest and most productive fishing spots, hunting and gathering places—also possessed great economic value. In contrast, little monetary value attached to ordinary utilitarian objects.

Individuals were ranked according to the amount of wealth they possessed. This led to a series of intergrading social positions. Theoretically it was possible to better one's station in life by industry, extraordinary ability, or luck. Actually, because property was difficult to accumulate and was passed on in family lines, a man poor in worldly goods was likely to remain so. Rank distinctions were evident in the deference paid to a rich man, in the valuation placed upon a person involved in a legal suit, and in dozens of other ways. Clustered about a wealthy man was a group of kinsmen, close and remote, and various hangers-on, who were willing to follow his advice and do his bidding out of respect for his riches and personal prestige and for his support in time of need or when embroiled in a dispute. Such a man's influence did not extend beyond his immediate followers and he was in no sense a village chief or headman.

A form of slavery was recognized, though it was scarcely important. Enslavement came solely through debt. The usual cause was failure or inability to pay a fine levied in a legal case. A man held in bondage performed work similar to his master's and did not suffer maltreatment. If an owner liked and respected his slave,

he might buy him a wife (Driver 1939:414). The bondsman and his family retained the privilege of purchasing his liberty.

Life Cycle

Certain critical periods in the cycle of life—birth, girls' puberty, and death—were accompanied by traditional magical and religious observances. Marriage was treated in a more matter-of-fact manner, in many ways like a business transaction.

As soon as she knew a baby was coming, a woman fell subject to many regulations to keep it from harm (E.S. Taylor 1947). She had to be careful of her diet, avoiding meat and fish and eating sparingly of other foods. Magical formulas were recited over her to insure an easy birth and the well-being of her unborn child (Goddard 1904:275-277). Aside from being obliged to refrain from sexual intercourse, the husband was immune from restraints.

With the first labor pains, the mother-to-be retired to the seclusion of the dwelling, attended by an older kinswoman. During parturition she assumed a sitting position and held fast to a leather strap attached to a roof beam. If the delivery proved difficult, a special formula was said. Immediately following the birth, the midwife cut and tied the navel cord. Next she bathed the infant



Calif. State U., Humboldt.

Fig. 12. Hupa participants in the Jumping Dance at the Yurok town of *pek'on* on the Klamath River. By A.W. Ericson, 1893.

and steamed it over a cooking basket containing a decoction of boiling water and herbs.

For 10 days the mother lay in a pit lined with heated stones covered with damp wormwood or sand to hasten her recovery from the effects of childbirth. Meat, fresh fish, and cold water were excluded from her diet. The father too ate no meat and for 10 days did no hunting or gambling. When the remaining stub of the infant's umbilical cord dropped off, he deposited it in a gash cut into a young pine. It was believed that as the tree grew, so grew the child.

The newborn was not nursed for the first few days of life. Instead it received a thin gruel of mashed pine nuts or hazelnut meats. Thereafter it was given the breast whenever it manifested signs of hunger. Nursing continued for two to three years. On the tenth day following its birth, the baby, wrapped in a soft deerskin, was strapped into a basketry cradle of the sitting type, and here it remained, except for bathing and exercising periods, un-

til it learned to walk. No personal name was bestowed until the child reached the age of five years or more. Up until that time it was addressed as "baby," "little girl," or by an affectionate term.

Children were left pretty much to their own devices and most of their time passed in play; however, they were carefully instructed in etiquette and morality with particular attention devoted to correct eating habits (Wallace 1947). Necessary technical and economic skills were acquired gradually, largely through seeing and doing. Disciplinary methods were mild, the usual punishment being a reprimand. At the age of eight or thereabouts a boy joined his father and male kinsmen in the sweathouse.

A pubescent girl was considered unclean and her glance contaminating, so she remained secluded for 10 days. Precautionary measures to protect others included covering her head with a deerskin when it became necessary for her to go outdoors. The menstruant was put

under the usual food taboos and was permitted to drink only warm water. Scratching with the fingernails was prohibited, a nicely carved piece of bone (fig. 13) being provided for this purpose. As the girl's actions at this time supposedly influenced her future behavior, her mother and other female relatives, who visited her daily, urged her to keep clean and be good-tempered and industrious. In families of high station a girl's coming of age was celebrated with a public ceremony. No observances marked a boy's arrival at adulthood.

Marriage took place at 15 or 16 for a girl, a year or two later for a boy. The choice of a mate was limited by blood relationship. Near kin, whether on the father's or the mother's side, could not marry. Unions between young people from families of corresponding social status were preferred. Negotiations were initiated by the boy's relatives through an intermediary and a bride price in shell money and other valuables agreed upon. Even though closely bargained, the sum finally settled upon was generous because the social standing of the couple and their offspring depended upon it. A bride brought a dowry of essential household goods to the marriage. No wedding ceremony was held, merely a feast and an exchange of gifts between the two families. As a rule the young married couple settled in the husband's village.

For a youth whose kindred were too poor to afford the bride price or unwilling to raise it, there was the less prestigious "half-marriage." Under this arrangement part of the purchase price was paid and the groom went to live in his father-in-law's house. Various other situations, such as a family having no sons or a parent being unwilling to permit a daughter to leave home, also led to this alternative form. Children of half-marriages belonged to the wife's family.

Polygyny was permissible but only a few rich and prominent men could afford more than one spouse. Relatively few conventional regulations governed relationships between relatives acquired by marriage. A man could talk freely to his wife's mother and his bride to his father.

Sexual relations between husband and wife were se-

verely limited by the many occasions, including the pursuit of wealth, that required continence, and the practice of maintaining separate sleeping quarters for males and females. Cohabitation was confined largely to the late summer and fall when the family camped out together. Understandably it was during this period that practically all conceptions occurred.

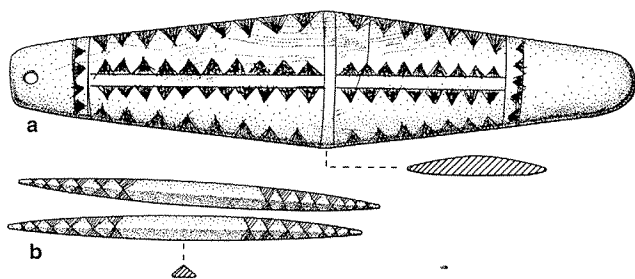
If a matrimonial alliance failed, it was usually quickly dissolved. The male partner who sent his wife back to her people for legitimate reasons (laziness, ill temper, barrenness, or infidelity) demanded refund of the full purchase money if the union had been childless. A woman could leave her husband for just causes, such as maltreatment or unfaithfulness. Again, if there were no offspring, the entire bride price was returned.

Hard, steady labor on the part of both males and females characterized adult life; however, time was set aside for visiting, games, story telling, and other diversions. The hand game, played with a bundle of sticks, one marked with a black band, was a favorite of the men. Women wagered on the toss of four mussel-shell disks. Athletic contests included wrestling and a rough type of shinny. Story telling helped pass many a long winter night. Smoking furnished a bedtime relaxation for males. Tobacco grown in small gardens near the village was smoked in a short tubular pipe fashioned from hardwood, with a soapstone inset (fig. 6).

When someone died the body was disposed of as soon as burial arrangements could be completed. The corpse, wrapped in deerskin and tied to a board, was carried out through a hole in the house wall and lowered into a shallow plank-lined grave. A board placed on top made a complete box, which was then covered with earth. No large amount of personal belongings was placed in the grave, but utensils, implements, and clothes, broken or torn to render them useless, were deposited on top of it. Bereaved relatives in attendance at the burial expressed their grief in loud wailing.

The funeral over, grave diggers, corpse handlers, and the deceased's family underwent ritual purification to remove the polluting effects of death. Close relatives, men and women alike, cropped their hair as a sign of mourning. In addition, members of the household wore twisted grass necklaces to ward off dreaming of the dead. To utter the departed person's name in the hearing of a kinsman constituted a serious offense. It often happened that the name contained a word for some common animal or object and a new designation had to be invented at least for use in the presence of the bereaved (Goddard 1901). A widow was expected to marry one of her dead husband's brothers, though this was not strictly enforced. Similarly, if a wife died without bearing children, her family substituted a sister or other kinswoman.

Before journeying to the land of the dead, an individual's soul was believed to haunt the village for four days, endeavoring to reenter its former residence. On the fifth



Dept. of Anthr., Smithsonian: a, 77198; b, 77199.

Fig. 13. a, Hupa scraper for crushing hair lice; elk bone with design incised and filled with dark pigment; length 19.0 cm, collected 1885. b, Hupa bone hairpins, also incised, collected 1885, same scale.

day it descended to a damp, dark underworld. Only the spirits of shamans and singers in the major ceremonies followed a trail to a more pleasant abode in the sky. Disembodied souls were thought to reappear at times to plague the living, particularly relatives.

Religion

Religious beliefs and practices played an important part in everyday life. An almost endless series of taboos had to be scrupulously observed, daily supplications made for health and wealth, and preventive acts performed to bring luck. Too, each person was supposed to maintain a devout frame of mind throughout the day, particularly during important group rituals when reverent thoughts by participants and onlookers were considered essential for its successful accomplishment.

The most colorful part of Hupa religion centered around two group ceremonials designed to revitalize the world for the coming year and to ward off famine, disease, and other disasters (Woodruff 1892; Kroeber and Gifford 1949). Enacted by men, they were held annually in the late summer or fall and each lasted 10 days. Providing regalia for the occasions was the privilege of certain influential families or kin groups, thus affording them an opportunity to exhibit their major treasures, for much of the paraphernalia consisted of objects of high value. The traditional procedures for the two public spectacles were precisely prescribed and inseparably linked to particular hallowed spots or localities. Recital of a long narrative formed the most sacred part of both. This told how the ritual had been established by an ancient race of supernaturals. Recounting the actions of these beings and their ensuing effects supposedly produced like results.

Although the two world-renewal and wealth-display ceremonies—the White Deerskin and Jumping Dances—conformed in many of their essential features, each had its own dance steps, songs, and finery. Performers in the White Deerskin Dance held albino or other oddly colored deerskins aloft on long poles (fig. 11) or carried obsidian blades wrapped around with a piece of buckskin (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940). The distinctive Jumping Dance appurtenances consisted of woodpecker-scalp headbands (fig. 12) and tubular baskets containing straw to preserve their shape (Barrett 1963).

Less elaborate observances were held each year to sanctify the first eating of acorns and salmon, and thus to insure a continuing supply of the two foods upon which Hupa livelihood rested. The Acorn Feast was celebrated in the autumn when the nuts began to fall from tan oaks; the First Salmon ceremony took place when the spring run of fish began (Goddard 1903-1904:78-81; Kroeber and Gifford 1949:57-60). The acorns or salmon were obtained and ritually cooked by a regular officiant who also repeated a lengthy for-

mula, said prayers, and executed various sacred acts. Until these procedures were completed, no one ate the food. The first eel taken in the spring received similar treatment.

When pestilence threatened, a 10-day dance was performed to keep it away. Another class of rites comprised those conducted for the benefit of an individual, a sick child, a pubescent girl, or a novice shaman. Regalia were not elaborate but singing and dancing were featured.

The Hupa believed in the existence of a myriad of supernatural beings but by and large they received little ritual attention. A divinity born of the union of sun and earth was invoked by young men seeking wealth. The vegetable world was controlled by a bearded dwarf and the people were careful not to offend him by wasting food. Spiritual beings tended the deer, and hunters prayed and sang at the time of embarking on an expedition to keep them content. Numerous local spirits had their abodes in mountains, rocks, raffles, and other features of the landscape. Passersby offered prayers to these supernaturals to ensure safe passage or success in the task at hand.

Diseases and Cures

Illnesses were ascribed mostly to supernatural causes and there were professional shamans to diagnose and treat them. Shamanism took on a unique aspect among the Hupa and their nearer neighbors in that the practitioners were predominantly females. Men could become healers, but few males followed the calling. A medicine woman received her extraordinary power from swallowing a "pain," a semianimate object described as being an inch or two long. Normally this was placed in her mouth by the ghost of her mother or other close female relative, formerly engaged in the profession. Usually this occurred unexpectedly in a dream but a few women deliberately sought power through nightly vigils in lonesome places. After acquiring a pain, the novice learned to control it during an arduous period of instruction under the direction of an experienced medicine woman. A public dance terminated her training and announced her readiness to minister to the sick.

A pain, caught out of the air or shot into the body by an evilly disposed person, produced illness in an ordinary individual and had to be removed by a shaman. Called to treat a patient, the doctor smoked a special pipe before applying her lips. She sucked with great force until the harmful object became dislodged.

Medicine women charged high fees, payable in advance, for their services. If a patient failed to show improvement or died within the year, the charge was refunded. An unsuccessful shaman was not killed unless she refused to make restitution. Medical practitioners were people of consequence and exceptionally powerful ones were known far and wide.

Lesser disorders like an upset stomach or headache were treated with spoken formulas, almost always accompanied by herbal medicines. The medications were administered in such minute quantity or in such a way as to have little or no effect. Relief was supposed to stem from the words uttered rather than from the plant substances. Medicine formulas, handed down in family lines, represented a valuable form of property since a stiff charge was made for their recital.

Certain formulas, sometimes repeated over and over again, could be used to destroy an enemy or to cause him to fall ill. Sorcery could also be worked by burying a person's nail parings, a lock of his hair, or a piece of his clothing near a grave or in a damp spot, or by introducing "poisons" into his food or tobacco (Wallace and Taylor 1950). The most terrifying doers of black magic were those who, under cover of darkness, struck down their fellows with invisible missiles loosed from a miniature bow shaped from a human rib and strung with sinew taken from the wrist of a recently interred corpse. Evil could be worked by anyone who knew the correct procedures but was believed to have been employed most often by males.

Literature, Art, and Music

Hupa mythology recognized an ancient era definitely set apart from the recent period. At this time the earth looked much as it does today. On it lived the Kixunai (*K'ixinay*), human in form and nature, but endowed with supernatural powers. It was in this early epoch that Hupa customs, industries, and arts were founded, many by the Kixunai leader, Lost-across-the-ocean (Goddard 1904:123-134). Through trickery he liberated deer and salmon from their owners. Lost-across-the-ocean also instituted the modern method of childbirth, women having previously been cut open at the time of delivery. Among his other exploits was the destruction of several cannibals. This culture hero was not wholly good and altruistic. He constantly sought sexual gratification and his actions were frequently governed by his elation or chagrin as he succeeded or failed with a woman.

When smoke on the mountainsides signaled the coming of mortals, the Kixunai, fearing contamination, fled in canoes downriver and across the ocean to dwell forever in a land beyond the bounds of the known world. The appearance of humans was not attributed to a special creation: they merely sprang into existence. Lost-across-the-ocean remained behind briefly to teach the people how to live. Since their ancestors were believed to have come into existence within their own territory, the Hupa had no legend of migration from another land.

Besides the myths a great many stories of a less serious nature were told. Adults and children alike showed a fondness for adventures of the mischievous trickster, Coyote. Coyote tales, not particularly numerous, tended

to be short and simple. Of a different order were narratives which referred to the Indian world. Some told of recent happenings; others, into which mythical or supernatural elements had crept, dealt with the more distant past (Wallace 1948).

The Hupa shared a purely geometric art with the Yurok and Karok. Designs were carved into the handles of wooden mush paddles and horn spoons and incised upon dentalium money purses (fig. 7) and minor articles of bone (fig. 13) and horn (Kelly 1930). Art also found expression in basketry decoration. Combinations of triangles and other figures in black and red were woven against a white background (fig. 4). Basketry patterns were more varied and complex than those seen in carving or incising. Although named from supposed likenesses to living and nonliving things, they had no symbolic meaning. Painted designs embellished a few utilitarian and ceremonial objects.

Music was primarily vocal. A distinctive and peculiar singing style was held in common with the Yurok and Karok. This showed a more rhythmical pattern and a wider range of intonation and richness than that of other Californians. Instruments used to accompany singing included a wooden clapper, a bone whistle, and a deerhoof rattle. Young men played on a wooden flute for amusement or to serenade a lady love. In aboriginal times the Hupa knew no drum. A plank, stamped upon or kicked, served as a substitute. A drum made from a box and with a cover of hide came into use during the historic period. It was beaten in time with gambling songs.

History

The Hupa remained secluded in their remote valley until near the middle of the nineteenth century. Fur trappers, passing through to other destinations, were the first outsiders to enter their country. More sustained contacts came in 1850, following the discovery of gold on the upper Trinity River. White and Chinese miners prospected in Hoopa Valley and several gold-bearing gravel bars were discovered, but these were soon worked out.

A few miners took up land and homesteaders slowly drifted in. Troubled conditions and fearful rumors led to the stationing of federal troops at Fort Gaston, established in Hoopa Valley in 1858. It was not until 1892, long after the need for it had passed, that the little military post was abandoned. The idle soldiers constituted a continuing menace to the Indians' well-being and their presence resulted in a large infusion of Caucasian blood into the native population.

In 1864 Congress authorized the setting aside of almost the entire Hupa territory for a reservation (E. Anderson 1956). White settlers were reimbursed for their land and improvements and forced to move out. Uninterrupted occupancy of their homeland greatly benefited the Hupa. It helped to make the proportion of survivors

one of the highest in California (table 2); and, in combination with the remoteness of their country and the absence of White settlers, it slowed down the disruption of native life. Old customs dropped out and were replaced so slowly that the people were able to adjust to changing conditions. Pressures from American civilization did not lead to messianic movements as they did elsewhere in California. Though they knew the 1870 Ghost Dance, accepted by their Yurok and Karok neighbors, the Hupa took no part in it, presumably because their traditional religion still had so powerful a hold (Du Bois 1939:24).

Gradually the Indians settled into a rural American type of life and became self-supporting. They began to till small plots of valley land and to keep livestock. Some found employment at the fort or on the reservation, in seasonal work on nearby ranches, in logging, and in other occupations. A boarding school and government-run hospital were set up on the reservation. Organized missionary activity commenced and some Hupa became converted to Christianity.

Today the Hoopa Reservation is the largest (87,000 acres) and most populous in California and has the greatest accumulation of tribal funds (California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs 1966:91-92). The reservation is very rich in timber. When trees are felled by private lumbermen, the Indians are compensated. Tribal revenue exceeds \$1,000,000 a year. A portion of this income is distributed semiannually to the more than 1,100 persons on the tribal rolls (in 1970) with a \$1,000,000 reserve maintained.

Prosperity and modernization followed World War II. The postwar lumber boom created an abundance of well-paid jobs in the woods and in the four mills. New businesses added to the number of goods and services available to the community. Most of the businesses are owned and operated by Whites, several hundred of whom moved into the valley. The shift to a wage economy and dependence upon tribal timber funds brought an end to virtually all farming and stock raising. The standard of living, though not high, is far superior to that of most California Indians. Increasingly the Hupa are managing their own affairs through the tribal council. Their offspring attend public schools with White children.

Notwithstanding the overwhelming preponderance of alien content in their contemporary culture, the Hupa retain a strong sense of ethnic identity (Bushnell 1968). The native language is still spoken, though many of the younger Indians know only a few words and phrases; and even most older people who speak it well feel more at ease in English. Efforts are being made to perpetuate or revive some of the cherished aspects of the aboriginal life. This growing concern for the fate of their legacy has little, if any, reference to the generalized pan-Indian movement. The Hupa insist that the traditions be kept just as they were given to their ancestors by the Kixunai

and Lost-across-the-ocean and not mixed with imports from other tribes.

Table 2. Hupa Population 1851-1962

<i>Date</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Source</i>
1851	1,000	Based on 7.5 persons in a household (Kroeber 1925:130)
	2,000 ^a	Based on 10 persons in a household (Cook 1956:99-100)
1870	641	U.S. Indian Bureau reservation census (Kroeber 1925:131)
1906	420	C.E. Kelsey reservation census (Kroeber 1957a:220)
1910	639	U.S. census (Kroeber 1957a:222)
1962	992	Estimate (California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs Progress Report 1966:56)

^a This figure, based on a higher house count and average occupancy, can be rated as much too high.

Synonymy

The term Hupa is not a native word but a rendering of the Yurok designation for their territory (Kroeber 1925:130). Like so many other tribal peoples, the Hupa had no name for themselves as a group. They have also been called Nabiltsé, Natano, and Trinity Indians.

SOUTH FORK HUPA

Directly south of the Hupa lived a group of Indians closely affiliated with them culturally and linguistically. These people have been so generally classed with the better-known Hupa as to have no accepted name. They have been treated as a separate unit under the designation Kelta (Powers 1877:89) and have also been referred to as the Tsaningwha (Baumhoff 1958:210). It is said that the Hupa called them the *le-lx"e*, from *le-l* 'the convergence of two streams', and *x"e*, the usual termination signifying 'people'. Locally they were known as the South Fork Indians.

Their territory embraced the South Fork of the Trinity River, from the junction of the South Fork with the main Trinity to Grouse Creek, a distance of about 15 miles. The land is mountainous and forested and the streams flow in deep canyons; nevertheless it seems to have been rather well populated. There were at least nine villages, all situated on high benches overlooking the canyons (fig. 10). At South Fork, where the river branches, stood the principal settlement, the town of Tleding, which figured prominently in Hupa myths.

South Fork culture was substantially like that of the Hupa, although of less complexity and intensity. The important differences lay in religious matters (Goddard 1903-1904:7). The language diverged only slightly from that spoken in Hoopa Valley.

The South Fork inhabitants maintained close contacts with the Hupa, whom they regularly visited, and the Chilula. They were almost out of touch with the Yurok and Karok. Trading and social relationships existed with the Wintu and Chimariko.

Those South Fork Hupas remaining were taken to the Hoopa Reservation shortly after its founding in 1876. Here they merged with their compatriots.

CHILULA

Language, Environment, and Territory

Flanking the Hupa on the west were the Chilula (*ch'i'lōōlu*), who were almost indistinguishable from their eastern neighbors in speech and differed from them in customs mainly in such matters as resulted from variations in their respective habitats. In a few particulars the Chilula shared the culture of groups farther south rather than that of the Trinity River.

The Chilula occupied most of the lower portion of Redwood Creek to a few miles above Minor Creek and the Bald Hills district. They were shut off from the sea-coast by a Yurok group, known to them and the Hupa as "Teswan," who occupied villages at the mouth of the stream. Redwood Creek is confined on either side by steep hills. The western valley wall is heavily forested with redwoods, among which stand many tan oaks. On the eastern side the slope is broken by the valleys of numerous small tributaries, separated from each other by short transverse ridges. The higher portions of these ridges and much of the main range are devoid of timber and for this reason are called the Bald Hills. South of Bald Hills the stream is bordered by a series of flats on which many of the important native villages were situated.

Subsistence

Chilula economy was based primarily on the resources of Redwood Creek; but because this stream was less bountifully endowed with fish than the Klamath or the Trinity, greater emphasis was placed upon the exploitation of other products. Salmon were generally taken in the small branches by spears or at the base of natural waterfalls by means of dip nets (Goddard 1914:270). Large dragnets and gill nets appear not to have been employed (Driver 1939:312). A temporary brush fence was thrown across the creek to catch steelhead as they came back downstream after spawning (Kroeber and Barrett 1960:21). The fish were too emaciated for drying though still suitable for eating fresh. A more elaborate weir was erected for taking lamprey eels. Fishermen manipulated dip nets from two small platforms built near the center of the barrier. When the water was low, wad-

ers threw stones to drive fish toward waiting men and women who scooped them up in baskets. Other methods included angling with hook and line and catching with the bare hands. In the dry season when there were pools with little flow between them, suckers and trout were drugged with soaproot.

Great dependence was placed upon vegetable foods. Various bulbs and seeds of grasses were sought during the summer and acorns were gathered in the fall.

The Chilula are reputed to have surpassed the Hupa as hunters. Meadows in the redwood forests were frequented by herds of elk and the half-open and half-timbered hills on the east attracted deer. The hunting techniques duplicated those of other northwestern tribes.

Material Culture

Typical northwest California rectangular wooden houses and small square sweathouses were built by the Chilula in their permanent villages. Two settlements contained large circular dance houses, evidently like those common in the central part of the state. Structures shaped like the regular dwellings, but without a pit and enclosed with bark instead of split lumber, were set up at acorn-gathering camps.

No basic differences separated the Chilula from the Hupa in dress and technology; however, minor dissimilarities in a few of the industrial arts did exist. For example, the Chilula knew and sometimes prepared headbands of yellowhammer quills, such as were worn ceremonially by central Californians. They did not make or use the dugout canoe; Redwood Creek is too small a stream to be navigable except in times of torrential floods.

Social and Political Organization

Social and political practices very closely paralleled those of the Hupa. Wealth received emphasis and rich men exerted considerable influence. One striking difference in property ideas apparently prevailed: fishing places do not seem to have been individually owned (Driver 1939:316). Hunting land, advantageous spots for snaring game, and seed-gathering tracts were privately held.

Communities were quite small, the average strength being 30 persons. Names and locations of 22 villages have been recorded (Goddard 1914:272-275; Baumhoff 1958:203-207). All but two lay on the eastern side of Redwood Creek (fig. 10), where the hillsides receive more sun and the timber is lighter. A few were situated as much as a mile from the stream.

Temporary camps were established annually at certain localities. In the summer the people dwelt chiefly in the grassy Bald Hills, where seeds as well as bulbs abounded and game was plentiful. In autumn they con-

tinued to reside in the Bald Hills or crossed Redwood Creek to harvest acorns on the shadier hillsides that slope down to the stream from the west. Sites of 14 camps are known (Goddard 1914:276-278; Baumhoff 1958:203-207).

Religion

Chilula religion seems to have been much less complex than that of the Hupa, at least in its public aspect. No certainty exists that these Indians followed the ceremonial pattern of their more affluent neighbors. They are said to have once performed the White Deerskin Dance, but neither the form of the ritual nor the spot at which it took place is remembered. In more recent times the Chilula participated as guests and contributors to the Hupa world-renewal dances; possibly, but not certainly, they did so in the past.

No special acts were carried out when salmon entered Redwood Creek each year. Likewise, no ceremony celebrated the ripening of the acorn crop. Specific rites were not held over the first catch of eels, except that lampreys had to be cooked and eaten on the adjacent stream bank during the initial five days of the life of the weir. Conversely, drying had to be done at home or at least away from the dam.

Ritual observances designed to promote the welfare of a pubescent girl were much like those of the Hupa. The menstruant remained confined to the dwelling, but only for five days, avoided meat, salt, and cold water, and employed a bone scratcher (Driver 1939:351-353). A public dance ended her seclusion. No special ceremony seems to have been performed over a sick child but a doctor-making dance was held.

In broad outline, magico-religious practices concerned with death and burial conformed to those of the area. The body awaiting burial was addressed as follows: "You are going away from me. You must not think of me" (Goddard 1914a:378). Evidently the purpose of this brief supplication was to discourage the deceased's spirit from lingering about the village or returning from the land of the dead. After a funeral, the principal mourners, pallbearers, and grave diggers had to be ceremonially cleansed from defilement. Formulas were recited, but the ritual bath in the river, an important part of Hupa purification, was not permitted.

Diseases and Cures

Concepts regarding illness and its cure varied little, if at all, from those of the Trinity and Klamath River Indians. Again most shamans were women. They acquired their curing ability in the same manner, through swallowing and learning to control a semianimate object of the kind that caused sickness.

Herbalists handled minor complaints. Their treatment included the reciting of a formula and giving medicine internally.

Literature

Chilula myths and tales show only small differences from those of the Hupa (Goddard 1914a). Exploits of the culture hero figure prominently in the stories.

History

The population when Whites appeared numbered 500-600, but the Chilula were decimated in the first five years of California statehood. Soon after mining opened on the Klamath and Salmon rivers in 1850 gold seekers and pack trains carrying their supplies began to pass through the Bald Hills, which were crossed by trails from both Trinidad and Humboldt Bay. Trouble soon arose and the Indians began waylaying miners and robbing pack trains (Gibbs 1853:124). Whites in turn shot them on sight.

Settlers organized a volunteer company and entered on a campaign of extermination and deportation. A large party of Chilulas, peacefully assembled for a council with the volunteers, were rounded up and removed to Humboldt Bay. Following a long delay, the captives were put on board ship and taken to Fort Bragg on the Mendocino coast, where they were placed on a reservation. While attempting to return home, all but one or two were massacred on the way by Lassik Indians. Chilulas who had not been taken prisoners, joined by several Hupas and Whilkuts, avenged their fellows by making several successful raids into Lassik territory (Goddard 1914a:351-352).

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

Synonymy

Chilula comes from the American rendering of the Yurok *čulula*? and *čulula*? 'they frequent Bald Hills, they pass through Bald Hills' (*čulu* 'Bald Hills') (Kroeber 1925:137; Howard Berman, personal communication 1973). Local settlers always called them Bald Hills Indians.

WHILKUT

In the eyes of their Chilula and Hupa neighbors, the Whilkut (*h'wilkut*) represented a poor, backward, and

less-settled hill people, to be treated with condescension. Their speech formed a fairly well-marked dialect as compared with Hupa in both pronunciation and vocabulary (Goddard 1903-1904:7).

The Whilkut lived along the upper course of Redwood Creek, above the Chilula. They also occupied the middle stretch of the Mad River, 10 miles or so from the mouth, and the North Fork as well. Apparently they had a settlement or two across the divide to the east in the Trinity drainage. The country is broken, rugged, and forested.

Very little can be said about the customs of these Indians for there is next to nothing in the way of ethnographic information. While they may have been influenced somewhat by their Wintu and Nongatl neighbors on the east and south, they maintained a manner of life quite like that of the Chilula. In spite of holding a considerable extent of territory, they cannot have been very numerous, perhaps totaling 500.

Subsistence

The placement of their villages in proximity to the banks of Redwood Creek and Mad River reflects dependence on the produce of these streams. Salmon, steelhead, and lamprey eels must have supplied a large proportion of the Whilkut food supply. It can be safely assumed that like the Chilula they too drew heavily upon the plant and animal resources of the land. Acorns and venison must have been staple articles of native diet.

Material Culture

Whilkut houses were rectangular in groundplan. But they were constructed of bark slabs instead of planks and were without a pit. Board-covered sweathouses like those of their northern neighbors were not built. A round structure, presumably dirt-covered, was erected for holding indoor ceremonies. This structure is the central California earth lodge or dance house.

Basketmaking formed one of the more, if not the most, important handicraft. The baskets were primarily twined, though a few coiled containers were used. The coiled ware was probably acquired through barter.

Social and Political Organization

The names and locations of 16 Mad River villages and an additional six on the North Fork (fig. 10) have been recorded (Baumhoff 1958:203-209). On upper Redwood Creek sites of eight settlements are known. The designations for five more have been reported but their precise locations remain uncertain. The size of the individual communities is problematical; each must have been quite small.

Hostilities with the Wiyot, who lived to the west, occurred with some frequency. Wiyot women caught har-

vesting acorns in groves that the Whilkut considered as their own property were often killed (Curtis 1907-1930, 13:68). Their kinsmen retaliated and petty feuds ensued.

Religion

Marked differences in religious practices are said to have set the Whilkut off from the Chilula and Hupa (Goddard 1903-1904:7); however, no details of their supernaturalism have been reported.

History

The Whilkut suffered heavily in the same strife with the Whites that destroyed a large part of the Chilula. The routes of pack trains lay through their territory; and conflicts, which took a large toll in Indian lives, repeatedly happened. The survivors were taken to the reservation at Hoopa soon after its establishment. After 1870 they drifted back to their traditional homes where they continued to live. In 1972 only a remnant is left, perhaps only 20 to 25 individuals.

Synonymy

The name Whilkut is derived from the Hupa designation (*x"iyłqidx"e*) for the group (Kroeber 1925:141), the meaning of which is obscure. The Whilkut are also called Redwood Indians, the popular local name for them.

SOURCES

The Hupa rank among the best studied of California Indian groups and there has been a steady flow of literature on their language and culture. The best general work remains Goddard (1903-1904). Goddard (1904) supplements this monograph with a good sampling of myths and formulas. Powers (1877), Kroeber (1925), and Curtis (1907-1930, 13) contain chapters on the Hupa as does Wallace (1963). Driver (1939) includes two Hupa culture trait lists.

A series of articles dealing with particular aspects of the native life has also appeared (Murdock 1960:77-78). As for manuscript material, field notes include Sapir's (1927) linguistic texts, O'Neale (1930) on basketry, Gifford (1940-1942) on ceremonialism, and Wallace (1945-1949) on the life cycle.

By contrast, the cultures of the Chilula and Whilkut are very poorly documented. Goddard (1914) is the standard source for the Chilula, and Goddard (1914a) gives some myths and medicine formulas. Driver (1939) has one list of traits for the Chilula but none for the Whilkut. Only brief notes on Whilkut life and customs have been published (for example, Kroeber 1925:141). Information on Chilula and Whilkut settlements collected between 1910 and 1920 by C. Hart Merriam has been organized and published (Baumhoff 1958).