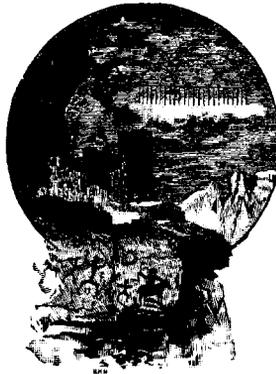


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OF THE
INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

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CHAPTER 8.

ATHABASCANS: THE HUPA, CHILULA, AND WHILKUT.

THE HUPA: Territory, nationality, and settlements, 128; numbers, 130; commerce, 132; plan of society, 132; daily life, 133; divinities, 134; great dances, 134; girl's adolescence dance, 135; wizards and shamans, 136. THE CHILULA, 137. THE WHILKUT, 141.

THE HUPA.

TERRITORY, NATIONALITY, AND SETTLEMENTS.

The Hupa, with the Chilula and the Whilkut, formed a close linguistic unit, considerably divergent from the other dialect groups of California Athabascans. They differed from their two nearer bodies of kinsmen largely in consequence of their habitat on a greater stream, in some fashion navigable for canoes even in summer, and flowing in a wider, sunnier valley. Their population was therefore more concentrated, at least over the favorable stretches, and their wealth greater. They were at all points the equals of the Yurok whom they adjoined where their river debouches into the Klamath, and of the Karok whose towns began a few miles above; whereas the Chilula, although reckoned by the Hupa as almost of themselves, remained a less settled and poorer hill people; while the Whilkut, in the eyes of all three of the more cultured nations, were a sort of wild Thracians of the mountains.

Most of the Hupa villages, or at least the larger ones, were in Hupa (or Hoopa) valley, a beautiful stretch of 8 miles, containing a greater extent of level land than can be aggregated for long distances about. Below or north of the valley the Trinity flows through a magnificent rocky canyon to Weitchpec, Yurok Weitspus. In spite of the proximity of a group of populous Yurok settlements at this confluence, the canyon, or nearly all of it, belonged to the Hupa, who now and then seem even to have built individual houses at two or three points along its course. Perhaps these belonged to men whom quarrels or feuds drove from intercourse with their fellows.

The towns in Hupa Valley, in order upstream, and with designation of their situation on the east or the west bank of the Trinity, are as follows:

- E. Honsading. Yurok: Oknutl.
- W. Dakis-hankut.
- E. Kinchubwikut. Yurok: Merpernerl.
- W. Cheindekotding. Unoccupied in 1850. Yurok: Kererwer.
- E. Miskut (Meskut). Yurok: Ergerits.
- E. Takimitding (Hostler). Yurok: Oplego. Wiyot: Talalawilu or Talawatewu. Chimariko: Hope-ta-dji. See plat in Figure 12.
- E. Tsewensalding (Senalton). Yurok: Olepotl.
- W. Totiltsasding. Unoccupied in 1850. Yurok: Erlern.
- E. Medilding (Matilton). Yurok: Kahtetl. Wiyot: Haluwi-talaleyutl. Chimariko: Mutuma-dji.
- W. Howunkut (Kentuck). Yurok: Pia'getl. Wiyot: Tapotse.
- E. Djishtangading (Tishtangatang).
- E. Haslinding (Horse-Linto). Yurok: Yati.

It is characteristic that while there is more level land on the western than on the eastern side of Hupa Valley, all the principal villages, in fact practically all settlements in occupation when the

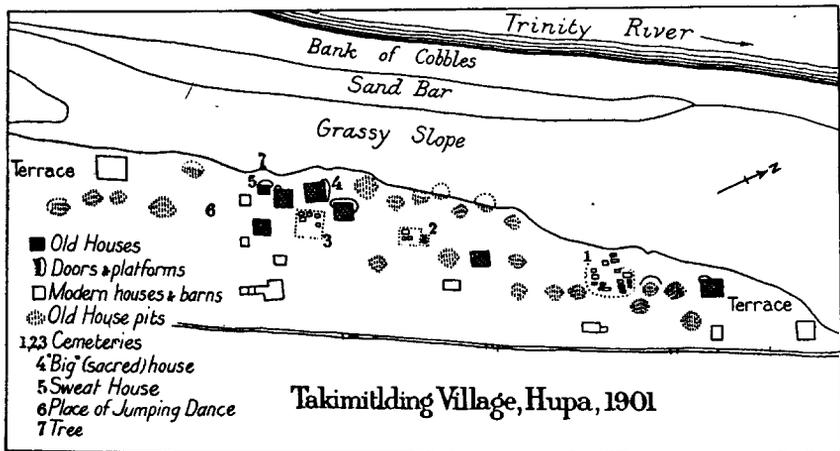


FIG. 12.—Plan of Hupa town of Takimitding.

Americans arrived except Howunkut, were on the eastern side of the river, with exposure to the warm afternoon sun.

Above Hupa Valley is the small "Sugar Bowl," whose bottom harbored the little village of Haslinding. Some miles farther up begins a string of patches of valley to where Willow Creek comes in. Here there were two permanent settlements, Kachwunding and Mingkutme. Sehachpeya, Waugullewatl, Aheltah, Sokeakeit, and Tashuanta are mentioned in early sources as being in this region: most of these names seem to be Yurok. And still farther, at South

Fork, where the river branches, was the town of Tledging—whence the “Kelta tribe”—with subsidiary settlements about or above it. The farthest of these was Tl'okame, 5 miles up the South Fork. These southerly Hupa were almost out of touch with the Yurok, and held intercourse with the Wintun and Chimariko. Their outlook on the world must have been quite different, and it is known that their religious practices were distinctive. In implements, mode of life, regulation of society, and speech they were, however, substantially identical with the better known people of Hupa Valley. And the Yurok knew Tledging, which they called, with reference to its situation at the forks. by the same name as their own town of Weitspek.

The Hupa derive their name from Yurok Hupo, the name of the valley. The people the Yurok knew as Hupo-la, their speech as Omimoas. The Hupa called themselves Natinnoh-hoi, after Natinnoh, the Trinity River. Other tribes designated them as follows: The Wiyot, Haptana; the Karok, Kishakewara; the Chimariko, Hichhu; the Shasta, Chaparahihu. The Hupa in turn used these terms: For the Yurok, Kinne, or Yidachin, “from downstream”; the Karok were the Kinnus; the Shasta, the Kiintah; the Chimariko, the Tl'omitta-hoi, the “prairie people”; the Wintun of the south fork of the Trinity, the Yinachin, “from upstream”; the Wiyot of lower Mad River, Taike; the Whilkut, Hoilkut-hoi; the Tolowa language was Yitde-dinning-hunneuhw, “downstream sloping speech.”

That something of an ethnic sense existed is shown by a gender in the Hupa language. One category included only adult persons speaking the tongue or readily intelligible Athabascan dialects. Babbling children, dignified aliens, and all other human beings and animals formed a second “sex.”

NUMBERS.

The population of the Hupa as far as the South Fork of the Trinity may be estimated at barely 1,000 before the discovery. There do not appear to have been much more than 600 Indians in the valley proper. Even this gives a higher average per village than holds through the region. The first agent in 1866 reported 650. In 1903, a careful estimate yielded 450. The Federal census of 1910 reckons over 600, but probably includes all the children of diverse tribal affiliation brought to the Government school in the valley. In any event, the proportion of survivors is one of the highest in California. This may be ascribed to three causes: the inaccessibility of the region and its comparative poverty in placer gold; the establishment of a reservation which allowed the Hupa uninterrupted occupancy of their ancestral dwellings; and an absence of the lamentable laxity of administration characteristic for many years of the other Indian

reservations of California; which fortunate circumstance is probably due in the main to this reservation having been long in charge of military officers.

In 1851 the Yurok listed to the Government officials 99 Hupa houses, distributed as follows:

Honsading.....	9
Miskut.....	6
Takimitlding.....	20
Tsewenalding.....	10
Medilding.....	28
5 other villages in and above Hupa valley, not positively identified.....	23
Tielding.....	3
Total.....	99

The enumeration may not have been complete—it would yield only 750 Hupa; but even a liberal allowance for omission of small settlements would keep the entire group within the 1,000 mark.

The following report of the population in 1870 is of interest:

	Males.	Females.
Honsading.....	25	30
Miskut.....	32	49
Takimitlding.....	51	74
Tsewenalding.....	14	31
Medilding.....	75	100
Howunkut.....	31	39
Djishtangading.....	14	36
"Sawmill".....	16	24
	258	333
Total Hupa.....	641	
Chilula, Nongatl, Wiyot, etc.....		233
		874

These figures may not be taken with too much reliance. There is nothing that has so great an illusory accuracy as the census of an Indian reservation as it has been customary to make them. In the same year another agent reported only 649 Indians on the reservation—301 males and 348 females. But the figures, like those that precede, give some conception of the relative importance of the villages, with Takimitlding and Medilding, the religious centers of the two halves of the valley, far in the lead. And they indicate that 20 years of contact with the Americans had been heavily disastrous only to the Hupa men. Bullets, not disease, killed in these first years.

But native practices also contributed. About the late sixties a feud arose between Takimitlding and Tsewenalding. A woman of the latter place was assaulted by an American soldier and stabbed him. Not long after, either in

resentment or for some other cause, soldiers killed a Takimitlding youth. The Takimitlding people could not or dared not revenge themselves on the military, but holding the woman ultimately responsible for the loss of their man, sought reprisals among her relatives of Tsewenalding. In the "war" that followed the people of the smaller village suffered heavily. The aggregate losses of both sides were about 20. The towns belonged to the same division and stood a scant mile apart on the same side of the river.

Dams were built across the river to catch salmon in alternate summers at Takimitlding and Medilding. There is in this arrangement a wise adjustment between the two largest and most sacred towns and the rights of the upper and lower halves of the valley.

COMMERCE.

The Hupa traded chiefly with the Yurok. From them they received their canoes, which their own lack of redwood prevented them from manufacturing; and dried sea foods, especially surf fish, muskels, and salty seaweed. Most of their dentalia probably reached them through the same channel; although this money, however hoarded, must have fluctuated back and forth from tribe to tribe and village to village for generations. The articles returned are less definitely known, but seem to have consisted of inland foods and perhaps skins. With the Karok the Hupa were in general friendly, but the products of the two groups were too similar to allow of much barter. The Tolowa seem to have been met at Yurok dances. The Chilula were close friends, the Whilkut disliked. There was very little intercourse with the Wiyot, Nongatl, or Wintun, evidently because other tribes intervened.

° PLAN OF SOCIETY.

The following account of Hupa society also applies to all the northwestern tribes.

A typical family consisted of the man and his sons, the wife or wives of the man, the unmarried or half-married daughters, the wives of the sons, and the grandchildren. To these may be added unmarried or widowed brothers or sisters of the man and his wife. The women of the first generation are called by the same term of relationship by the third generation whether they are great-aunts or grandmothers. So, too, the old men of the family were all called grandfathers. All the children born in the same house called each other brothers and sisters, whether they were children of the same parents or not.

The ultimate basis of this life is obviously blood kinship, but the immediately controlling factor is the association of common residence; in a word, the house.

Continuing, with omissions:

The next unit above the family was the village. These varied greatly in size. Where a man was born there he died and was buried. On the other

hand, the women went to other villages when they married and usually remained there all their lives. The inhabitants of a village were related to each other, for the most part, on the side of the males. They had other relatives scattered through different villages where their daughters and sisters had married.

Each village had a headman who was richest there. Besides riches he had hunting and fishing rights, and certain lands where his women might gather acorns and seeds. The men of the village obeyed him because from him they received food in time of scarcity. If they were involved in trouble they looked to him to settle the dispute with money. As long as they obeyed whatever he had was theirs in time of need. His power descended to his son at his death if his property also so descended.

The villages south of and including Medilding were associated in matters of religion. There was no organization or council. The richest man was the leader in matters of the dances, and in war, if the division were at war as a unit. All to the north of Medilding constituted another division. The headman of the northern division because of his great wealth was the headman for the whole lower Trinity River. He was the leader when the tribe, as a tribe, made war. This power was the result of his wealth and passed with the dissipation of his property. He was the leader because he could, with his wealth, terminate hostilities by settling for all those killed by his warriors. There seem to have been no formalities in the government of the village or tribe. Formal councils were unknown, although the chief often took the advice of his men in a collected body.

There are here male ownership, patrilinear descent, and well-defined laws. There is no trace of exogamous clans, of hereditary power as a part of society, of political machinery. The stage seems all set for these institutions. A slight increment and we can imagine them developing to luxuriance. But the growth would have involved a total change in outlook—the sort of change that comes slowly and which affects at once the subtlest and deepest values of a culture.

DAILY LIFE.

The daily life, not only of the Hupa but of all the northwestern tribes, has been well described in the following passage:

At daybreak the woman arose and went to the river for a complete bath. She then took the burden basket and brought a load of wood for the house fire. She was expected to have finished her bath before the men were astir. They too were early risers. The dawn was looked upon as a maiden. She would say: "I like that man. I wish he will live to be old; he always looks at me." The men always bathed in the river on rising. A light breakfast was eaten by the family in the house and each went to his day's task. The older men preferred to do most of their work before this meal. In the afternoon, the old men, and the religiously inclined young men, took a sweat in the sweat-house, followed by a plunge in the river. After the bath they sat in the shelter of the sweat-house and sunned themselves. As they sat there they engaged in meditation and prayer. In the evening the principal meal was served. The men ate very slowly, looking about and talking after each spoonful of acorn soup. The women sat in silence without caps and with hidden feet, that they might show

great respect to the men. A basket of water was passed after the meal that the men might wash their hands. When they were through they retired to the sweat-house, where they spent several hours in converse.

DIVINITIES.

The greatest divinity of the Hupa is Yimantuwingyai, "the one lost (to us) across (the ocean)," also known as Yimankyuwinghoiyan, "old man over across," believed to have come into being at the Yurok village of Kenek. He is a sort of establisher of the order and condition of the world and leader of the *kihunai*, or preceding race; a real creator is as unknown to the Hupa as to the Yurok and Karok. They can not conceive the world as ever different from now except in innumerable details. Yimantuwingyai seems to be a combination of the tricky and erotic Wohpekumeu and the more heroic Pulekukwerek of the Yurok.

A suggestion of the latter god is found in the Hupa Yidetuwingyai, "the one lost downstream." A myth concerning him tells of the time when the sun and earth alone existed. From them were born twins, Yidetuwingyai and the ground on which men live. This sort of cosmogony has not been found among the Yurok or Karok and may be supposed to have reached the Hupa through the influence of more southerly tribes.

Yinukatsisdai, "upstream he lives," is the Yurok Megwomets, a small long-bearded boy who passes unseen with a load of acorns and controls or withholds the supply of vegetable food.

GREAT DANCES.

The Hupa made two ceremonies of the new year or first fruits type, both, of course, with the recitation of a mythological formula as the central esoteric element. One of these was performed at Haslinding by the people of the Medilding division in spring at the commencement of the salmon run. The first salmon of the season was caught and eaten. In autumn, when the acorns first began to fall freely, a ceremony for the new crop was made for the northern division at Takimitlding, "acorn-ceremony place." The reciting formulist took the place of the divinity Yinukatsisdai. The new acorns were eaten by the assembled people. The stones used in cooking the gruel were put in a heap that has attained a volume of 200 cubic feet and must be adjudged to have been at least as many years in accumulating, or more if tradition is true that the river once swept the pile away. A lamprey eel ceremony was also enacted at the northern end of the valley by a Takimitlding man each year. It was a close parallel of the salmon "new year," but much less important.

The Hupa held two Jumping dances and one Deerskin dance; in former times annually, they say; in more recent years biennially. These are all associated with Takimitlding, and at least one if not two are connected with the first acorn ceremony there.

The Deerskin dance, *honsitlchitdilya*, "summer dance," or *hunkachitdilya*, "along the river dance," came about September. The formula was spoken at Takimitlding, it appears, or begun there. The dancers then went upstream in canoes, and on 10 successive afternoons and evenings danced at Howunkut, below Takimitlding, at Miskut, below Kinchuhwikut, upstream again opposite Cheindekotding, then at the foot of the valley, and finally at Nitlukalai, on the slope of the mountain overlooking the valley from the north. On the fourth day, at Miskut, the dance was made in three large canoes abreast, which ten times approached the shore. This spectacular performance, with its peculiar song, recalled to the old people their dead who formerly witnessed the dance with them, and they were wont to weep, deeply affected.

A Jumping dance, *tunkchitdilya*, "autumn dance," was held, also for 10 or more days, half a month or so later, before a board fence or hut erected near the sacred sweat house at Takimitlding. At least on the last day, the Medlding danced against the Takimitlding division, that is, in turn and in a competition as to excellence of song and step and particularly as to sumptuousness and value of the regalia displayed.

Another Jumping dance, *haichitdilya*, "winter dance," seems to have come in spring. It was not associated with any first-fruits ceremony, but seems to have had as its purpose the driving away of sickness. Its season, however, is that of the first salmon rites of Medlding and of the Karok, and it is not unlikely that the dance once rested upon a similar ceremony made at Takimitlding. For 10 nights the dance went on in the "great" or sacred dwelling house which was believed to have stood in that village since the days of the *kihunai*. Then followed 10 days of open-air dancing at Miskut. The apparel and conduct were the same as in the autumn Jumping dance.

GIRL'S ADOLESCENCE DANCE.

The Hupa stand one slight grade lower than the Yurok in the scale of civilization by one test that holds through most of California: the attention bestowed on the recurring physiological functions of women. The influence of their hill neighbors may be responsible. At a girl's adolescence, when she was called *kinatldang*, 10 days' observances were undergone by her which are very similar to those followed by the Yurok. In addition, there was a nightly dance in the dwelling house which the Yurok did not practice, although they knew it among the Hupa, and similar rites were followed among the Karok, Tolowa, and Wiyot. A number of men wearing feather-tipped caps of buckskin from which a flap falls down the back entered several times a night to sing about the blanket-covered girl. They vibrated long rattles which are a modification of the clap stick that is used in dances throughout central California. The end of the Hupa stick is whittled into five or six slender and flexible rods. These rattles were not used by the Yurok. One dancer wore a headdress belonging

to the Deerskin dance; another, one from the Jumping dance; both carried small thin boards cut and painted into a rude suggestion of the human figure. In the intervals, seated women sang and tapped the girl with the rattles. After the tenth night, the girl finally threw off her blanket, went outside, and looked into two haliotis shells held to the south and north of her, seeing therein the two celestial worlds.

WIZARDS AND SHAMANS.

It is in keeping with the peculiar form which shamanism assumes in northwestern California that the doctor and the witch are more clearly separated in the native mind than in the remainder of California. Disease was caused by the breaking of some observance of magic, perhaps sometimes was thought to occur spontaneously, or was brought on by people who had become *kitdonghoi*, in Hupa terminology. These were not shamans of avowed training, but men of secret evil proclivities. They did not control animate "pains" or spirits, but operated through material objects possessing magic powers. These objects were also called *kitdonghoi*. A favorite instrument was a bow made of a human rib with cord of wrist sinews. From this, after the proper mythic formula had been recited—the Hupa or Yurok can imagine nothing of real consequence being done successfully without a formula—a mysterious little arrow was shot which caused almost certain death. These devices, or the knowledge of them, were secretly bought by resentful and malicious people from men suspected of possessing the unnatural powers. The *kitdonghoi* might sometimes be seen at night as something rushing about and throwing out sparks. His instrument enabled him to travel at enormous speed, and to turn himself into a wolf or bear in his journeys. This is the only faint suggestion in northwestern California of the bear shaman beliefs that are so prevalent everywhere to the south.

It is evident that the northwesterner distinguishes black magic and curative doctoring rather plainly—much as superstitious Europeans might, in fact. The central and southern Californian, it will be seen hereafter, deals essentially in undifferentiated shamanism, which can be equally beneficent or evil. This contrast is connected with several peculiarities of northwestern culture. The Yurok and Hupa are far more addicted to magic in the narrower sense of the word, especially imitative magic, than the unsophisticated central Californians. The formulas with which they meet all crises rest essentially on this concept; and there are literally hundreds if not thousands of things that are constantly done or not done in everyday life from some motive colored by ideas that are imitatively magical. Though the world is full of deities and spirits,

these also are approached by the avenue of magic, by the performance of an action which they like and which compels their aid, rather than by any direct communication as of person with person. As already said of the Yurok, the idea that the shaman owns guardian spirits and operates through communications with them, is feebly developed and expressed only indirectly. Shamans work primarily through "pains"; and these, although alive, are material objects. A true "bear doctor," as the Yuki and Yokuts know him, is therefore an impossibility among the Hupa. Finally, it is no doubt significant in this connection that the professional shaman in the northwest is normally a woman, the *kitdonghoi* or *uma'a* more often a man.

The Hupa distinguished the *tintachinwunawa*, the dancing or singing doctor, who diagnoses by clairvoyance or dream, and the *kitetaru* or sucking doctor, who removes the disease object. Often the same shaman performed both operations, but there were dancing doctors who never attempted to extract a "pain." This differentiation of function has been reported from groups in several other parts of northern California. The dancing doctor sometimes used a deer-hoof rattle.

Illness is also treated by *kimauchitlchwe*, people who know formulas that they have been taught by an older relative. In connection with such a recitation an herb is invariably employed, although almost always in such a minute quantity or so indirectly or externally applied that its physiological effect must be insignificant. Pregnancy and childbirth were always so treated, but of actual diseases apparently only a few, of chronic and annoying rather than alarming character.

THE CHILULA.

The Chilula, who constitute one larger ethnic group with the Hupa and Whilkut, are almost indistinguishable from the Hupa in speech, and were allied with them in hostility toward the Teswan or Coast Yurok and in frequent distrust of the Yurok, Wiyot, and Whilkut, and differed from them in customs only in such matters as were the result of habitat in an adjacent and smaller stream valley. Like all the Indians of the region, they lacked a specific designation of themselves as a group. Chilula is American for Yurok Tsulu-la, people of Tsulu, the Bald Hills that stretch between Redwood Creek and the parallel Klamath-Trinity Valley. Locally they have always been known as the Bald Hills Indians.

The Chilula villages lay on or near lower Redwood Creek from near the inland edge of the heavy redwood belt to a few miles above Minor Creek. All but one were on the northeastern side of the stream, on which the hillsides receive more sun and the timber is lighter. A few were as much as a mile or more from the creek, but the majority

conformed to the invariable Hupa, Yurok, and Karok practice of standing close to the stream. In summer the Chilula left their permanent homes, near which they fished, and dwelt chiefly on the upper prairielike reaches of the Bald Hills ridge, where seeds as well as bulbs abounded and hunting was convenient. This is a much more distinctively central than northwestern Californian practice. Some of these summer camps were on the Klamath or Yurok side of the range, so that in this rather unusual case the boundary between the two groups was neither a watershed nor a stream. In autumn the Chilula either continued their residence in the Bald Hills or crossed Redwood Creek to gather acorns on the shadier hillsides that slope down to their stream from the west.

Eighteen of their former villages are known. These are placed in Figure 13. The towns there designated as *A* to *R* were, in order, Howunakut, Noleding, Tlochime, Kingkyolai, Kingyukyomunga, Yisining'aikut, Tsinsilading, Tondinunding, Yinukanomitseding, Hontetlme, Tlocheke, Hlichuhwinauhwding, Kailuhwtahding, Kailuhwchengetlding, Sikingchwungmitahding, Kinahontahding, Misme, Kahustahding.

Five of the principal Chilula settlements are reported to have been called Cherr'hquuh, Ottepetl, Ohnah, Ohpah, and Roquechoh by the Yurok. From these names Cherkwer, Otepetl, Ono, Opau, and Roktso can be reconstructed as the approximate original forms.

On the site of six of the identified settlements, 17, 7, 4, 2, 4, and 8 house pits, respectively, have been counted. This ratio would give the Chilula a total of 125 homes, or about 900 souls. As Hupa and Yurok villages, owing to all house sites not being occupied contemporaneously, regularly contain more pits than houses, and the same ratio probably applied to the Chilula, or if anything a heavier one, the figures arrived at must be reduced by about a third. This would make the Chilula population when the white man appeared some 500 to 600, and the average strength of each settlement about 30 persons. This is less for the group than for the neighboring ones, and less, too, for the size of each village; as is only natural for dwellers on a smaller stream.

The trails from Trinidad and Humboldt Bay to the gold districts on the Klamath in the early fifties led across the Bald Hills, and the Chilula had hardly seen white men before they found themselves in hostilities with packers and miners. Volunteer companies of Americans took part, and desultory and intermittent fighting went on for a dozen years. Part of the Chilula were placed at Hupa, others captured and sent to distant Fort Bragg. These attempted to steal home, but were massacred by the Lassik on the way. The Chilula remaining in their old seats and at Hupa avenged their relatives by several successful raids into the territory of their new Indian foes.

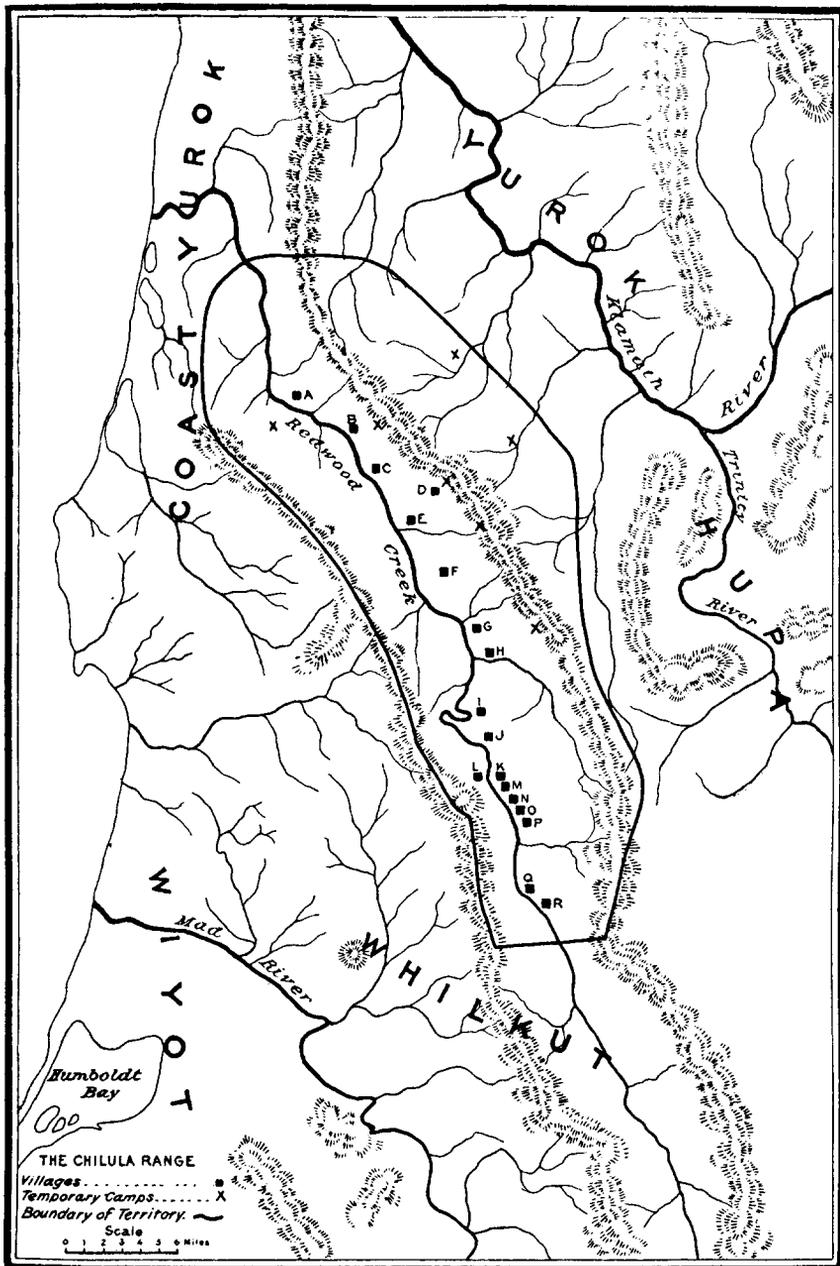


FIG. 13.—Chilula land and towns. (After Goddard.)

On one of these parties, they still mustered, with their Hupa and Whilkut connections, 70 men. Nongatl Indians closely related to the Lassik also once were confined on Hupa Reservation, which led to further troubles. Other fights took place with certain Yurok villages. Thus the Chilula wasted away. As a tribe they are long since gone. Only two or three households remain in their old seats, while a few families at Hupa have become merged among their kinsmen of this tribe, in the reckoning of the white man, and practically in their own consciousness.

A Chilula who had killed a Hupa, or who was held responsible because his kinsmen were involved in the killing, attended a brush dance at the Yurok town of Kenek after the American was in the land. His foes attacked, and while his hosts apparently scattered to keep out of the way of harm to themselves and possible claims arising from participation, he resisted. He was shot, but evidently only after a little battle, since several bullets were found where he had put them in his piled-up hair ready for quick loading. He had no doubt come to the celebration prepared for a possible attempt on his life. His companions were probably outnumbered and ran off. The next day word was sent from his village that he should be buried at Kenek and payment would be made for the favor. The risk of ambush to the party bearing his corpse home was seemingly considered too great to brave. This was a private or family feud, such as would now and then occur among the Hupa themselves, and was hardly likely to disturb the amicable relations between other members of the two groups. The scale of the affair was probably typical of most of the "wars" of the region, except when most of the embittered Chilula stood desperately together for a season against the American and the native foes instigated by him.

The Chilula built the typical northwestern plank house and small square sweat house in their permanent villages. (Pl. 13.) They were the most southerly Athabascan tribe to use this type of sweat house. In addition, two villages contained large round dance houses of the kind characteristic of the region to the south, but not otherwise known in northwestern California. It is conceivable that these may have been built only after the white man indiscriminately commingled northern and southern tribes, or after the ghost dance of the early seventies. While the Yurok and Tolowa received this revivalistic cult from the east, it spread also northward from the Wintun, Pomo, Yuki, and southern Athabascan groups, and may have penetrated to the Chilula. When the Chilula camped in the hills they erected square but unexcavated houses of bark slabs of the type used for permanent dwellings by the Whilkut. They knew or occasionally attempted the art of sewing headbands of yellow-hammer quills, such as are used by the central Californian tribes. (Fig. 20, *d*.) Thus, as compared with the Hupa and Yurok, some first approaches to southerly customs are seen among the Chilula.

Their lack of the redwood canoe proves less, as their stream would have been unnavigable except in times of torrential flood. There is a

tradition that they once practiced the Deerskin dance, but neither the form of the ceremony nor the spot at which it was held is known. They no doubt participated, as guests and contributors of regalia, in the Hupa dances, as they do now; and possibly also in those of the Yurok at some villages, though many of the Yurok have been their enemies both before and since the arrival of the American.

THE WHILKUT.

The Whilkut are the third division of the Athabascans speaking dialects of the Hupa type. They held Redwood Creek, above the kindred Chilula, to its head; and Mad River, except in its lowest course, up to the vicinity of Iaqua Butte. They also had a settlement or two on Grouse Creek, over the divide to the east in Trinity River drainage. To the south they adjoined Athabascans of a quite different speech group, the Nongatl. On the west and east they were wedged in between the Wiyot and Wintun.

Those of the Whilkut on Redwood Creek almost merged into the Chilula on the same stream, but that there must have been a consciousness of difference is proved by the Hupa regarding the latter as kinsmen and the Whilkut at least as potential foes.

The Whilkut are practically unknown. The general basis of their culture must have been northwestern, but they lacked some of the specific features, and probably replaced them by customs of central Californian type. Their houses were of bark slabs instead of planks, and without a pit, and must therefore have been smaller and poorer than those of the Chilula, Hupa, and Yurok. They also did not dig out the small, rectangular, board-covered sweat houses of these northern neighbors, but, at least since the American is in the land, held indoor ceremonies in round structures, erected for the purpose and presumably dirt-covered. This is the central Californian earth lodge or dance house.

A very few coiled baskets have been found among them. These may have been acquired, or the art learned in the alien contacts enforced on them by the Americans. If coiling was an old technique among the Whilkut, it was followed only sporadically.

As to former population, villages, and the size of the latter, we are also in ignorance. In spite of a considerable extent of territory, the Whilkut can not have been very numerous—perhaps 500. The Government census of 1910 reports about 50 full-blood Whilkut, besides some mixed bloods; but Chilula and members of other tribes may have been included in these figures. The Whilkut suffered heavily in the same struggles with the whites which caused the Chilula to melt away; and similar attempts were made to settle them on the Hupa Reservation, but without permanent success. Their name is of Hupa origin: Hoilkut-hoi.