

THE JUMP DANCE AT HUPA, 1962

S. A. Barrett
Director, American Indian Films Project

The Indians of Northwestern California, the Yurok, Hupa and Karok, three distinct linguistic groups with a single cultural heritage, have long been recognized as the southernmost extension of the Northwest coast culture with its emphasis on the wealth complex. Nowhere is this emphasis more pronounced than in the ceremonies of these tribes, particularly in their two major ceremonies: the White Deerskin Dance and the Jump Dance, both designed to insure the general health and prosperity of the people as a whole and to guarantee the renewal of essential world forces.

These two ceremonies were celebrated with regularity in alternate years up to 1955. Then came a lapse of seven years during which neither ceremony was celebrated owing to certain local conditions. In 1962 it was considered by the formulist that these ceremonies could properly be resumed. However, the season was so far advanced that it was too late for the White Deerskin Dance. It was decided, therefore, that the Jump Dance should be held this year and that, beginning with 1963, both the White Deerskin Dance and the Jump Dance should be held each two years. As a result a call was sent out by the formulist for a Jump Dance to be held September 27 to October 7, 1962.

It so happens that the White Deerskin Dance has been rather adequately recorded in the literature (Goldschmidt and Driver, 1940; Kroeber, 1925; Goddard, 1903, 1904; Woodruff, 1892). The Jump Dance, on the other hand, has received only very meager treatment, and since this 1962 Jump Dance signals the revival of this ceremonial cycle here on the Klamath River and since we had a rather unusual opportunity to observe it, it may be worthwhile to record in detail what happened during this ten-day period.

Dancing Area

From the earliest times there were here in the Hupa Valley two major villages: Takimilding on the east bank of the Trinity, downriver from the center of the valley and Medilding, also on the east bank but far upstream from the center of the valley. The distance between them was about five miles. These were the permanent or winter villages. There were also other, more or less temporary villages or camps used as hunting, fishing or food gathering camps, but it was only at these two permanent villages that the centers of population and of ceremonial activity were to be found.

Neither of these old major villages has been occupied as a regular village for many years. Medilding is now a typical archaeological site, marked only by its old house pits. Takimilding has, in addition to old house pits, its rebuilt sacred house and sweat house, and its cemetery which is still utilized. In addition, there is a pit which is used for the Brush Dance whenever this is held. Figure 1 sketches a portion of this old village site with the sacred house, sweat house, "plaza" and the special Jump Dance area.

At Takimilding was located the center of the religious life of the valley in ancient times as well as the present. The sacred house was the hub about which all these activities revolved. In 1957 a heavy flood in the Trinity swept away the ceremonial house and its sweat house. The terraces in front of these buildings were undamaged and the buildings themselves were rebuilt two years later, but no major ceremonies have since been held. Brush dances have been held at the pit at the opposite end of the village site but these curative ceremonies have no specific relation to either the White Deerskin Dance or the Jump Dance.

Thursday, June 27, 1962

The first step in the Jump Dance is the preparation of the special dancing area. Shortly after sunrise on this first day the Formulist (Rudolph Stockfish) and his assistant (Jimmie Jackson) went into the forest-clad hills on the west side of the valley at a point opposite the sacred house. They made a considerable journey, perhaps two or three miles in search of the posts and poles needed to support the "fence," as they termed it, before which the dancing was to be done.

As a matter of fact this structure serves none of the purposes of a real fence. Perhaps a more correct term for it would be "screen." It is a background for the dancers and there seems to be some connection between it and the restriction against obstructing the view of the spirit people, who come to see the ceremony. Human spectators must not stand where they will interfere with the view of these assembled spirits. These are the "first people" who are still with us in spirit form and whom we must please if we are to live happily. In fact when humans put on a ceremony the whole procedure is really borrowed from them and "when we finish with it we formally return it to them for safekeeping." The ceremony is a devotion by the humans for the honor and pleasure of these spirits and naturally their view of the ceremony must not be obstructed. In the Jump Dance the spirits view it from the two ends of the area. Upon several occasions at this dance some of the older people were outspoken in criticism of any persons who stood at the ends of the dance area, and children who wandered into these spots were quite promptly called or led back from them.

Two posts, each about eight feet in length by perhaps four to six inches in diameter must be secured: one must be of Madrone, the other of Tan Oak. Also a young fir sapling was needed, together with two poles twenty-five to thirty feet in length. In hunting for these great care must be taken. Neither the Formulist nor his assistant could touch a tree till the Formulist espied just the right one. If either had touched any other tree it would have had to be cut and used. This would have negated the efficacy of the whole ceremony. When the Formulist located any one of these five particular individual trees he laid his hand upon it and said that it should be cut. He also spoke a short formula. The tree was felled and the needed section was cut from it. All branches and twigs were trimmed off from the Madrone and from the Tan Oak so that they were entirely bare. The bark was, however, left on. The fir sapling was handled a little differently. The top ten feet or so of this were taken. The lower part was trimmed but the branches were left on the topmost three feet or so. The bark was left throughout its full length and the top section of the stem then had the bark peeled from a spiral line half an inch wide and running up among the branches to the very tip. These were the three essentials (the Madrone, the Tan Oak, and the Fir) for ceremonial reasons.

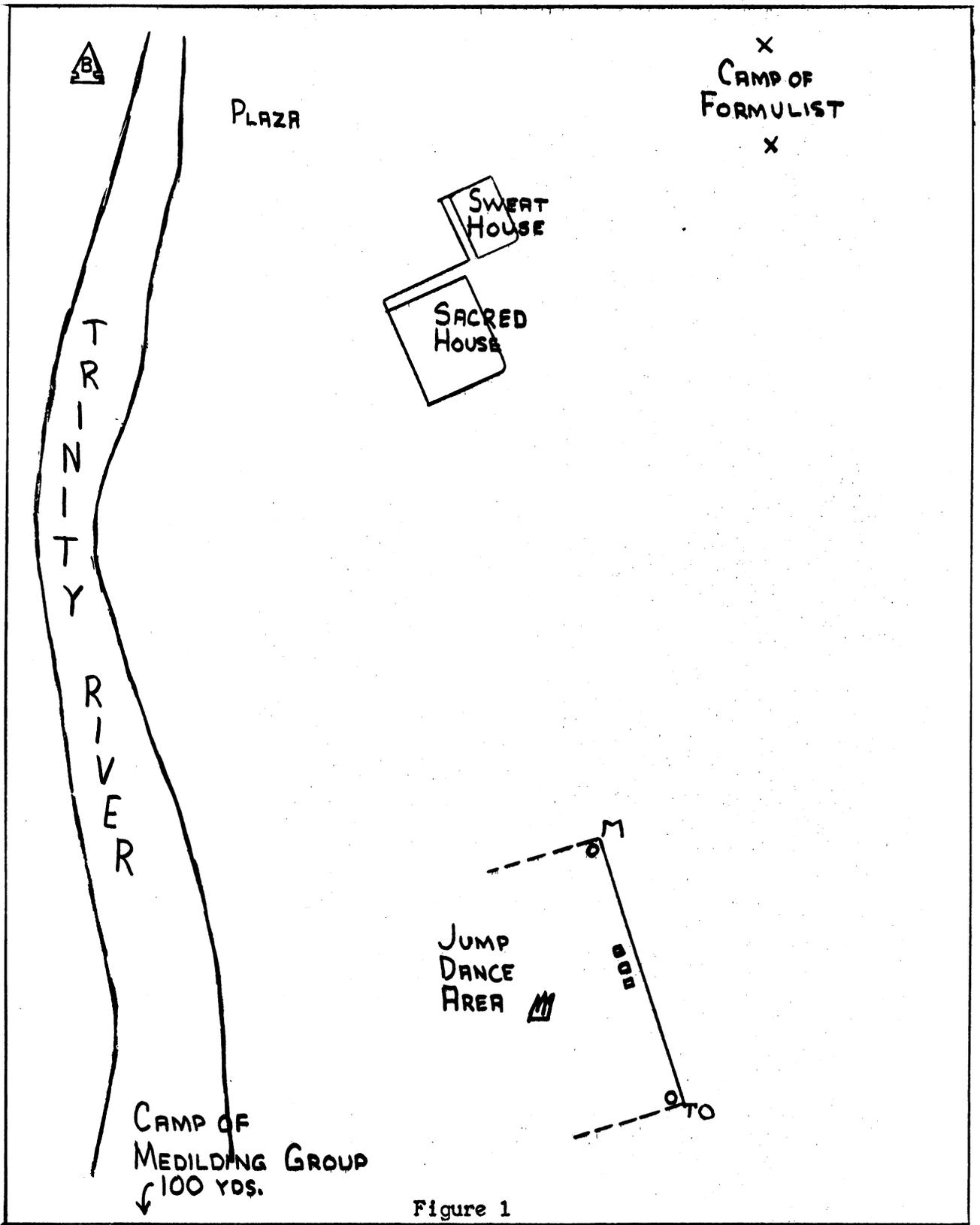


Figure 1

It was explained that the Madrone, which in the fall bears clusters of red or salmon-colored berries, represents all the fruit-bearing plants from which the birds and the mammals get their food. This Madrone is dedicated to the life and prosperity of all the lower species. As the acorns of the Tan Oak are the most prized food of man this Tan Oak post is erected to the trees and other sources of human food. These two symbolic trees are to insure plenty for both man and beast.

The fir with its special decorative top is erected to insure the health of all the people. The Madrone post and the Tan Oak post are planted firmly in the ground, but the fir sapling is not placed in the earth. It is bound to the Tan Oak post to symbolize the dependence of man's health and prosperity upon his bountiful food supply.

Together these three symbols, when accompanied by proper ritual and when handled with due reverence, constitute a supplication on behalf of the entire people for bountiful harvests, and for the health of the people. This is not for any one tribe or locality, but for humans at large.

The long slender poles are peeled and are destined to clamp and hold upright the slabs which form the screen. Also these two men gather enough (perhaps a dozen) hazel boughs to be used for tying these various members together to make the screen. Once secured, all this must be brought (by carrying and dragging) down to the river. Regulations prescribe that these items must never be left alone. They must be transported with due speed as a unit down to the river's edge. There is, as a matter of fact, just above the sacred house, a fairly deep pool in the river, perhaps a hundred yards in length. The poles, posts, etc. were brought to the water's edge at the upper end of this pool. Here they were placed in the water and with a tie made from one of the hazels, they were all bound into a kind of raft.

A call to the other side of the river brought a young man who swam across and, as he swam back, he towed the raft to the other end of the pool. Here it was beached and its parts carried by several men up to the place of assembly on the level ground a short distance from the river. Here again we encounter one of the rules of procedure. Once any piece has been lifted up off the ground it must be carried to the place of assembly before it is put down. Under no circumstances may it be allowed to touch the ground in transit. Once the person reaches his destination he may drop it in any manner, even to throwing it down carelessly or violently. There seems to be no feeling of reverence or any special care involved. Only continuity is necessary.

While everyone knew in a general way where the dancing area was, it took the formalist and another older man some minutes to probe around and locate the two post holes at the ends of the line of the former screen. These are M and TO in Figure 1. They are the same post holes which have been utilized from time immemorial for this purpose. When the last "fence" was taken down these holes were filled with stones to permit them to be located with relative ease. At M the Madrone post was placed and firmly tamped to hold its lower two feet firmly. At TO the Tan Oak post was firmed into place.

Before setting in the Madrone post here at the northern end of this line the formalist recited a short formula while breaking some angelica root into fine pieces which he scattered on the ground near the posthole. The post at the opposite end received no such formal treatment. Apparently the one prayer and sacrifice sufficed for both.

With these posts in place two men set to work twisting hazel withes to break and separate their fibers so that they could be easily wrapped around the building material and, in fact, tied into knots. One of the long peeled poles was then bound to these two posts at the height of about five and a half feet from the ground. There should have been wide hand-riven slabs to lean against this pole. Time was not available to make the old hand-riven slabs, so sawed lumber from the mill was used. These boards, each about a foot wide by about ten feet long, were stood on end and leaned against the horizontal pole from the east. When the space from post to post was filled in completely, the second long, peeled pole was bound to the first. This completely clamped the upright boards. As bracing for this screen there were placed at each end two longer boards running almost at right angles to the screen.

This whole area in front of the screen was heavily overgrown with weeds and grass. It all had to be cleared and watered down. As the clearing progressed three large, flat rocks were uncovered near the middle of the screen. These were stone blocks used as seats by the dance leaders and his two assistants.

The minimum number who can participate in any one dance is seven. These consist of the leader whose position is the middle of the line. He has on either side one assistant. These three sit on these stone blocks. The other dancers on either side, regardless of number, must sit on the ground.

With the arrival later in the day of some of the dance costumes from various owners, preparations were made at the sacred house for the first of the dances. These costumes were brought to the formulist and all went into one common stock which he kept in the sacred house or in a tent at his camp nearby. None of the costumes or parts were marked with identification tags so far as we could see, yet when the ceremony ended everyone received the articles he had contributed as loans for the ceremony.

The coming of dancers was voluntary. The formulist exerted no pressure on them. It was probably nine in the evening before activity immediately in front of the sacred house indicated that a dance was coming. Finally the formulist began to hand out articles of costume.¹ Seven dancers participated in this dance. Each wore one of the gorgeous woodpecker scalp headbands with its loose floating ends. Most of these were made of the large, piliated woodpecker scalps, far more valuable than the smaller scalp of the California red-headed woodpecker. Beneath this and covered by it was a cord carrying the small grass bundle into which the end of the eagle feather plume is thrust and which holds it erect at the back of the head.

The rest of the costume consisted of necklaces of beads, of shell (largely dentalia) and seeds. In ancient times each dancer would have worn a clout or apron of buckskin. Trousers are now substituted for these. Regulations prescribe that each dancer must wear no foot covering of any kind. The only other item of apparel worn is the deerskin skirt. This is merely wrapped about the loins and hangs down usually well toward the ankles. This garment is purposely never fastened. Its two top corners are firmly grasped by the left hand. This skirt must be loose this way so that it can be easily laid off by the dancers in the second section of each dance set.

The only dancers who ordinarily have anything else in the line of costume are the three center men. Usually each wears a snood-like head-net.² This is a very closely woven piece of knotless netting which ties tightly about the head

by a thong running along its upper edge and which hangs down the back about to the waist. Its bottom edge is fringed with a line of feathers. One type is so tightly woven that its outer surface is solid and this bears a painted geometric design of one form or another. It is not restricted to these three central dancers. Upon some occasions all the dancers in the line wear these head nets.

The right hand carries the special Jump Dance basket. This basket is of a very special shape. It may vary greatly in size and in pattern of ornamentation. It is grasped by the middle of its upper edge and is raised high in the air as each jump is made. It has no other function and contains nothing.

The dance starts from the angle made by the meeting of terrace of the sacred house and that of the sweat house. In this angle is a flat stone. The dance leader must start with his right foot on this stone. He leads the dancers in a succession of Jump Dance sets (with short pauses between) until ten such sets have been danced. (Ten is the sacred number.) The progression in each set is only slight, just enough so that at the end of the tenth the north edge of the "plaza" has been reached. Incidentally, we will see that at the very end of this ten days of dances this same progression in the plaza, only in reverse order, is danced. This time the leader finishes with his foot on this same stone. With this ending the dance is "returned to the spirits from whom it was borrowed for the ceremony."

From the north edge of the plaza the dancers, led by the formulist march, their three lines, over to the entrance at the north side of the dance ground. The formulist, carrying in one hand a fire brand, goes on to the small fire which is already burning here in front of the screen. This fire brand he adds to the fire. In his other hand he carries some angelica root. This he breaks into fine pieces and scatters in the fire while saying a short prayer. Angelica has a distinct and pleasing odor which, as it burns, pervades the whole dance area.

Meanwhile the dancers at the entrance dance several (usually three) sets of the Jump Dance. Then they march in, single file, and seat themselves in the order in which they are to dance before the "screen." At a nod from the leader they start the characteristic Jump Dance, raising high the baskets carried in their right hands when the foot is raised for the first jump. It is a rather slow and measured step and either foot may be used in the jump. Most frequently it is the right foot. However, some dancers use the left foot quite often. From watching the dance frequently it would seem that the best form calls for the use of the feet alternately. In making this jump the dancer raises his foot to a point almost level with the other knee, and then brings it down forcefully on the bare ground and with a resounding whack. The whole motion is as if the dancer were taking a long step forward, though he actually does not move out of his place. This is done by the entire line in unison and in time to the music which is made by the singing of the entire line of dancers. Usually one, or sometimes two, of them sing the melody, the others coming in with an undertoned burden. The whole effect is rather pleasing musically, however.

This section of the dance goes on till they have made the desired number of jumps. Then at a vocal signal from the leader they stop. The number of jumps varies but an average of thirty is usual. The dancers then seat themselves, the three (leader and two assistants) on the three stone blocks in the center of the line, all the rest on a sloping embankment extending out to the sides from these center blocks.

After a rest of a minute or two, and at a given signal by the leader, all rise. At another signal the baskets are raised and the first jump is taken. This, however, is accompanied by a loud "hū" from all the dancers. Then comes another thirty jumps after which the dancers seat themselves again. At the end of three (sometimes four) such sets of dances each dancer takes off his deerhide skirt and upon it he places his basket. This is put on the ground a foot or two out in front. He then sits down as usual.

When next the signal is given to rise the dancers do so, each with two free hands. Each man grasps the hand of his neighbor on either side. The fingers are interlaced (lion's paw fashion). Now, as the first jump is made, these pairs of hands rise in unison, and come down again with a loud "hū." The singing starts and the dance proceeds for another series of jumps. The hands remain clasped but hanging at the sides. The only time the hands are raised is upon the occasion of the first jump. At the end of this series of jumps the dancers seat themselves as before for a minute or two.

They perform three of these sets and then, picking up, each his skirt and his basket, the line files out in reverse order to that of entry. They return to the dressing area in front of the sacred house. Here they divest themselves of the dance regalia and return everything to the formulist.

This was the only dance held on the first day.

Friday, September 28, 1962

A fairly heavy but intermittent rain prevailed throughout most of the day and in consequence there was no dancing.

Saturday, September 29, 1962

There was only one dance today. It came in the early evening and was in every respect similar to that described for the first day. Again seven dancers participated.

Sunday, September 30, 1962

Two dances were held in the early afternoon, one at one, the other beginning at two-twenty. By three o'clock a drizzle had set in and everyone repaired to the leafy protection of a couple of large oak trees where a wichli game was played for a couple of hours. In the evening another dance was held beginning at about 7:30, after the cessation of the rain.

Monday, October 1, 1962

During the night of Sunday there occurred the death of an elderly lady. In accordance with well-established custom this put a stop to all dancing or other such activities. Custom prescribes that before any such activities can proceed the relatives of the deceased must be "paid for their loss." There is no prescribed fee, but some compensation must be forthcoming. Sometimes one or two persons of means may provide this compensation. Sometimes a collection is taken. This fee is tendered to the bereaved, and if considered insufficient it may be refused. In that event more must be added. When it is finally accepted the dance may proceed. There was no dancing at all on this day.

The only other activity of importance was the establishment of a second "camp" here at Takimliding. On the twenty-sixth the formulist (Rudolph Stock-tish) had moved down and established his "camp" near the sacred house.

One of these "camps" is much more than the term might imply. Everyone, participant or visitor, at one of these ceremonies must be provided with food furnished by the local leaders of the ceremony. Such a "camp," therefore, includes extensive culinary provisions and plenty of service utensils. Rudolph had a large open fire with a wide iron grille for open-air cooking. Here salmon were roasted; meat and vegetables were cooked. Hearty meals were served in many baskets. Not the least of such a repast is the acorn mush. This acorn meal must be ground, leached and cooked some days in advance.

Up to this time Rudolph's "camp" had furnished all with refreshments, and his table was frequently filled. Now his nephew, Gene Colgrove, moved in and established this second "camp" in order to share this dispensing of hospitality. At the present time, as is expectable, all sorts of foods are served. In former times the repast is said to have consisted of acorn mush and bread, salmon and deer meat, with water only as a beverage.

Also in the afternoon today, two other "camps" were established upriver from the dancing area. These were at a considerable distance and were by people of the upriver or Medilding group. One of these "camps" was that of Amos Little. For many years Susie Little, a leader among the Medilding contingent in the valley, had always had a camp and had upheld the prestige of her group. Two years ago she passed away at an advanced age. Now, her son, Amos, functions as formulist for them and has the camp where food is dispensed to everyone.

The coming of this upriver contingent introduced the competitive element into this ceremony. It is customary at any of these ceremonies to have the two groups vying with each other to put on the finest display of costumes, in other words to parade the greater amount of wealth. When the dancing really gets under way the groups dance alternately and each time a group comes out to dance it tries to show more and finer costumes. This is particularly noticeable at a Brush Dance, where individual dancers in successive appearances may display more and finer individual items of costume. In the Jump Dance there is less chance for individual variation, for the costuming is quite exactly prescribed. In fact, about the only variability comes in the snood-like head-net. Also that more necklaces may be used. Any major addition to the wealth display comes in increasing the number of dancers except at the very last dance on the last day which will be detailed later.

Tuesday, October 3, 1962

Owing to the fact that it rained all day this competitive dancing by alternate groups did not get underway today. In fact there was but one dance, held late at night after the rain had stopped. This was by the same downriver group which had done all the dancing thus far.

Wednesday, October 3, 1962

There was one dance in the afternoon and another late at night, both by the downriver group. This day also saw the arrival of several Yurok from the mouth of the Klamath river. Among them was Alice Spott who has a large and valuable store of dance paraphernalia and always loans it for one of these dances. Her costumes were turned over to Amos.

Thursday, October 4, 1962

In the forenoon there was one dance in which seven downriver men participated.

Another dance by nine downriver men began at 2:45 P.M. This one we timed with a stop watch. From the time that the men began dancing in front of the sacred house until they returned there and divested themselves of their dance costumes a total of forty minutes had elapsed. During this time they danced three sets in front of the sacred house, another three sets at the entrance to the dancing area. Then there were three in full costume and three more without the skirts and baskets; a total of twelve complete sets together with the intermissions. It should be noted that this dance was in sets of threes. In some others there were sets of fours.

Shortly after this the first group of the upriver or Medilding dancers appeared. The camps of the Medilding people were too far upriver from the dancing area for convenience so a special fire was built at a point about a hundred yards upriver from the dancing area. This became the dressing spot for the Medilding dancers.

There now appeared seven of these dancers, led by Amos Little, but with Rudolph Stocktish serving as their formulist. They did not approach the dancing area directly, but took a circuitous route through the weeds toward the east. Many of these weeds were armed with sharp spines so that each participant wore his shoes as a protection. When the line of dancers had reached a spot perhaps seventy-five yards east of and opposite to the dancing area the group halted and did a preliminary series of three or four sets of dancing. Then they turned directly westward and came to the entrance of the dancing area. Here they removed their shoes before dancing at the entrance prior to taking up their positions before the screen. Some of the same men who had danced with the TakimiLding group participated with the Medilding dancers, but there was a new head singer for this group and a very good singer he proved to be.

Still another dance was held later today. This was a dance by the TakimiLding group in which thirteen men participated.

Friday, October 5, 1962

Today there was another burial here at the cemetery located in the center of the TakimiLding site. Otherwise there was no activity till evening. Then there were two dances. The first was by the TakimiLding group, eleven dancers participating. Here again the stop watch showed that twenty-five minutes were consumed in the dancing in front of the screen. Also the number of jumps in any one set were counted. They varied from thirty-five to forty-two. Here again we had three sets in full costume, followed by three sets without the skirt and basket. This dance started at about 7:30 P.M.

The second dance which was by the Medilding group began at 10:00 P.M. and consumed a trifle less than fifteen minutes before the screen. It had the same number of sets as the preceding dance, but there were fewer jumps per set, though no exact count was taken.

Saturday, October 6, 1962

It rained considerably during the entire afternoon. By 2:00 P.M., however, the weather was fair enough so that the TakimiLding group danced. Eleven men participated." This dance was the same as those of the days past up to the point where the men laid down their deerskin skirts and their baskets. When the dancers moved into the dance area two girls in elaborate buckskin dresses³ with long fringes and very beautifully decorated with shells and beads had walked into the area and had taken up a position near the formulist at the fire.

Now, when the line of dancers had divested themselves of their deerskin skirts and their baskets, and had seated themselves before the screen, the two girls stepped over, one to either end of the line of dancers. Each girl passed behind the two dancers at the end of the line and stepped in between the second and third man from the end as he sat in place. When the men rose and clasped hands with those on either side each girl clasped the hand to her right and to her left. At the signal from the leader the men's hands went high in the air, as before, and came down with the usual "hū," with the exception that any hand which held a girl's hand was never raised. Those arms were left hanging down at all times. If a dancer forgot himself and started to raise a hand holding one of the girl's hands the error was quickly corrected. The men used the same steps, including the jump, as usual. The girls, however, merely rose on the balls of both feet as the men's knees came up and, as the men's feet came down in the jump step, the girls came down onto their heels. At the end of the last of these sets the men dancers filed out. The girl near the south end of the line stood still until the two men beyond her had passed. Then she fell into the line behind the last man. The entire line passed beyond the second girl, who then fell in behind the first.

The men passed on out the entrance of the dancing area and went single file, back to their dressing place. The two girls, however, went only as far as the entrance to the dancing area. Here they turned left and doubled back to their original position before the fire. They may remain here till the next dance of their group or they may go out to be with friends among the spectators.

At about 3:30 P.M. a second group, also of eleven dancers, this time from the Medilding contingent, came up by the road along the river, swung around at the north end of the dance area and entered by the entrance used by all. They performed the same dance as the former group and in the same sequence. Two girls from their group joined in at the same juncture and performed in exactly the same way as those of the preceding group. The only notable difference between the dancing of the two groups was in the time consumed. The TakimiLding group consumed twenty-five minutes, making about forty jumps per set. The Medilding dancers did the same number of sets in fifteen minutes but using about twenty-five jumps per set.

Sunday, October 7, 1962

The Jump Dance is supposed to last ten days. It should end today, with five dances, but it began to rain about 9:00 A.M. and rained continuously all day long. Another one of the rules governing this dance is that once started it must be finished. If anything, like weather, makes it impossible to finish by the tenth day it must be held over and finished when conditions permit. The net result of the entire day was zero; not even a wichli game. It was too wet even for that.

Monday, October 8, 1962

It rained a good part of last night, but by noon the weather had cleared. At 1:00 P.M. the first of the final day's dances was held. Nine men and two girls from the TakimiLding group participated and the details of the dance were as those of the one last above described. There was then an intermission of perhaps half an hour. This was followed by a dance by nine men and two girls from the Medilding contingent. In this dance every man wore one of the snood-like hair nets.

There were all told five girls from this group, all beautifully attired in elaborate buckskin dresses. They all stood in a group at the fire, but only two of them participated in the dancing. The others apparently served no other purpose than the display of additional wealth.

It was noted that in this dance there were some variations. Some danced in a lackadaisical manner while others jumped with force; almost extravagantly. Some dancers jumped with the same foot; others alternated their feet. Face painting (always in black) was rather elaborate in this dance.

At about 3:00 P.M. the third dance, with eleven men and two girls, was held. This was by the Takimilding contingent and was the last dance in which girls took part.

It was explained that the fourth and fifth dances are combined. They are sure to be lengthy and to involve a large number of dancers. In such a case the girls would be in the way of the orderly progression of the combined dances. The girls remain in the dancing area, standing near the fire, but do not actually enter the lines of dancers.

The next two dances are the fourth and fifth for this last day. These combine into what might be termed a grand finale, a real parade of wealth.

The fourth dance was by the Medilding group. When they came to the dance area the line of men was accompanied by four men not in costume. Each of these men carried a large flat basket upon which he had all the extras of one or another item of dance paraphernalia: woodpecker scalp headbands, dance baskets, deerskin skirts, necklaces, hair nets, and eagle feather plumes. Not only was each dancer very fully dressed, but these baskets were piled high with extras; added wealth for everyone to see. Holding their baskets so that everyone could gauge their contents, these men knelt near the fire.

When this group of dancers had finished they left the line in front of the screen and marched, not out the entrance as usual, but turning left at the entrance, they circled over in front of the fire where they knelt or sat till the fifth dance was finished. As soon as these dancers knelt their formulist (Amos) began to call up people from the audience. To each he handed one or more of these items of dance apparel to be put on and worn in the grand finale. Any surplus items which went begging for wearers were left in the baskets and were carried back in the parade.

The fifth dance was a repetition by the Takimilding group of the fourth. Rudolph and his assistants brought in baskets full of extra dance costuming which was later distributed just as has been above described. At last, when this fifth dance and its distribution of extras was finished, then both groups of dancers each followed by those wearing the extra regalia, circled the dancing area and then filed out and retired to the two dressing areas.

I followed the Takimilding group to the plaza in front of the sacred house. Here was danced in reverse the same set of dances with which the whole series started ten (or rather eleven) days before. Starting at the farther side of the plaza and approaching the terrace in front of the sacred house the dancers danced in short stages toward the same stone used as a starting point. This ended when the dance leader placed his right foot on this stone.

This last progression should have been in ten short stages. However, it began to rain and the formulist ordered these cut to five stages instead of ten.

This last series of dances here in the plaza, we are told, was in order to "return the dance, the whole ceremony, to the spirits from whom it had been borrowed." The ceremony ended with the dance leader's right foot on the same flat stone in the corner where the two terraces join.

ENDNOTES

1. The costume of the present-day Jump Dance has not changed even slightly from that worn by these Indians in the past. Goddard (1903:pl. 29) shows a line of these dancers taken late in the last century.
2. See Goddard, 1903:pl. 7. Both types are shown.
3. See Goddard, 1903:pl. 5.

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