

THE HUPA WHITE DEERSKIN DANCE

BY

WALTER R. GOLDSCHMIDT and HAROLD E. DRIVER

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
UC-AR	University of California Publications, Anthropological Records
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington Publications in Anthropology

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INTRODUCTION

THE WHITE DEERSKIN DANCE is a protracted ritualistic festivity engaged in by several tribes of northwestern California, and is peculiar to that region. It consists of a simple dance repeated frequently; the regalia utilized include most of the wealth objects of the society. The dancing takes place throughout an eight- to ten-day period of feasting during which the members of the tribe camp at the several successive dance grounds and are fed by those wealthy tribesmen who are initiating the dance. In the following pages we shall present the essential features of the ceremony, pointing out its ceremonial, religious, social, and socio-economic aspects.

A SUMMARY OF HUPA CULTURE

GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY

The Hupa Indians and their neighbors, the Yurok and Karok, possess a distinctive and well-developed culture. Hupa culture has typically Californian traits, yet it also has particular characteristics reminiscent of the Northwest Coast proper. The essential features of the culture in general are given by Kroeber in the first chapters of his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,¹ and a specific study of the Hupa is presented by Goddard in his *Life and Culture of the Hupa*.²

These Indians are an Athabascan-speaking people. They dwelt on the lower reaches of the Trinity River from near its confluence with the Klamath in the north to its confluence, farther upstream, with the South Fork of the Trinity. They are now concentrated on the Hupa Indian Reservation, which is roughly a ten-mile-square tract of land containing the major part of their original territory. It is essential to know that these people, though they roamed the hills for game and grass foods, were concentrated in the narrow, fertile valley of the Trinity River, separated from tribes to the east and west by mountain ranges passable only part of the year, and connected with the people below and above them on the river system by narrow gorges. These geographical circumstances brought about both concentration of population and geographical isolation; the latter was not so rigorous as to preclude cultural connections, but made the Hupa a nonwarring people. Concentration of population was made possible by the abundance of salmon in the Trinity and of tan oak in the neighboring flats; these adequately supplied the two staple foods. The most important part of the Hupa territory was about eight miles of valley bottom, and it is with the people of this area that the present paper deals.

¹ A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, BAE-B 78, 1925.

² Pliny E. Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, UC-PAAE 1:1-88, 1903.

The authors each saw one performance of the Deerskin dance, Driver in 1935 and Goldschmidt in 1937, while carrying out research projects for the University of California Department of Anthropology, and in the following account material will be drawn from both experiences as well as from informants' statements.³

The dance, which was briefly reviewed by Goddard,⁴ had first been reported by Dr. Chas. E. Woodruff (United States Army).⁵ It has never been described in detail, however, nor carefully analyzed. The present situation is such that if the dances are continued it will be only because they receive full commercial support, and hence their content will be somewhat changed. It therefore seems particularly pertinent to give an adequate description at this time.

HUPA SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Hupa have an amorphous society; there is no institutionalized governmental mechanism, nor are individuals linked to any sort of clearly demarcated functioning social group—neither clan nor class. For this reason the ceremonial life as a whole and the White Deerskin dance in particular are of major importance to an understanding of the social cohesion of the group, the character of which is so unusual as to be worthy of special consideration. Similarly, it is not possible to comprehend the organization of the Deerskin dance without an understanding of the social groupings as they exist.

Hupa territory is separated into an upper and a lower division, a geographical demarcation reminiscent of a moiety organization but entirely devoid of marital implications.⁶ Each half of the valley has one village of major and several of minor importance. The larger (towns) embrace about forty houses (and thus have a population of at least two hundred persons each); the smaller (villages) consist of approximately ten houses (at least fifty individuals). In each of these smaller assemblages there is usually one "sweat house" or semisubterranean men's lodge. This is "owned" by the most important personage in the village, but is used freely as sleeping quarters by the male population. The heads of the several dwelling houses are usually related to the sweat-house "proprietor," but the nature of the relationship varies, and includes brothers-in-law, nephews, nephews-in-law, sons, sons-in-law, and others more distantly related. We cannot assume that the village is simply an extended family, nor that the head is in any way the patriarch, but kinship is an important factor in the formation and cohesion of this basic village group. It is necessary to point out here that, although the Hupa are

³ Driver was in the Hupa valley in 1935 while on a field trip and witnessed the first four days of the ceremony. Goldschmidt spent the summer of 1937 making a study of Hupa economic life and witnessed this dance at the close of his stay. Musical notations are by Driver; details of the social aspects of the dance have been supplied by Goldschmidt; purely descriptive matter was done in collaboration. The final composition is by Goldschmidt, except for the section on historical speculations.

⁴ Goddard, *op. cit.*, 82.

⁵ Dances of the Hupa Indians, AA, o.s., 5:53 ff., 1892.

⁶ This division is reflected in group loyalties, and it was the line of demarcation between the two sides in the one major (postwhite) internecine war of the valley.

vaguely patrilineal and definitely patrilocal, a large proportion of the men have moved to their wives' houses because they were unable to pay the full bride price.

The towns are essentially four or five villages in juxtaposition, with separate sweat houses owned by individuals of importance and tenanted by men most of whom are in some way related to the owner. At Takmald η , the lower village, an additional factor is encountered; there is one house (a dwelling, not the men's lodge), known as Xonta nkyau, "Great House" (the only aboriginal dwelling still remaining on the reservation), which has particular ceremonial significance. It is often referred to with a measure of justification as the "church," and not only is it the pivotal point for most Hupa ceremonies, but also its heads were originally the leaders of the dances. Only one descendant from Xonta nkyau, S, now takes a leading ceremonial rôle, for which she is referred to as "the Queen." The younger men who are descendants of the Great House do not take particular interest in the religious affairs.

The leader of the dance is M, who took an interest in it from early childhood and who inherited property from his mother's father. This man had lived at the Metld η rancheria, and in addition to his inheritance from fairly well-to-do parents he acquired added ceremonial riches. He is now often referred to as "the Chief." To neither M nor S is accredited any lay control over modern Hupa by the Indians themselves, and there is no reason to believe that they have more than a somewhat augmented prestige which is as much a result as a cause of their rôle in the presentation of the ceremonials of the tribe.

There are other aspects of tribal life which must be briefly reviewed. The most important is the adherence of prestige to certain objects of wealth—a concept that is considered to be characteristic of the entire Northwest Coast culture area. Religious and economic activities are most obviously linked by the circumstance that the most valuable native goods were dance regalia, chiefly those specifically used in the White Deerskin ceremonial. The chief desire of any normal male Hupa was the possession of these objects, and this standard of values had a marked effect on his daily life as well as on his very personality. Wealth is definitely a correlate with social position and is more than a mere symbol of social distinctions, for in a society where its acquisition is a major social drive,⁷ where wealth buys specific privileges, it is an actual source of power and social status. Persons who possessed this native wealth were not simply in charge of the ceremonies, but actually presented them.

That wealth is actual power is shown more clearly by the Hupa legal code. There is no vested authority or tribunal; atonement for any infraction of justice is brought about at the instigation of the offended party or his family. There is no crime against the society, only against other members of the society. Settlements following acts of violence or insults are handled by a go-between. The Hupa is quick to take offense at an insult as well as to take action

⁷ Cf. Cora Du Bois, *The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture*, *Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, p. 49 (U. C. Press, 1936).

for a major crime, and his demand is always expressed in terms of money or native wealth. Though theoretically every infraction of justice has its set price in native goods,⁸ actually a man demands as much as he can according to his status in the society. This status cannot be dependent upon established position or title, which do not exist in the society, and is therefore based on wealth and following. These are closely linked, as the following circumstance demonstrates. When a wealthy man has children, he can afford to pay a large bride price for the wives of his sons and can demand a large price for his daughters (since the price is always determined by the wealth of the woman's family). Also, it is possible for a man to marry honorably by paying half the price and moving into the bride's home ("walking into the house" in Hupa, equivalent to the Yurok "half-marriage"). It follows that the rich person's chances of augmenting his following through the marriages of his children are greater than a poor man's, because there is greater probability that his sons will pay the requisite price and his sons-in-law move into the family.

THE DEERSKIN DANCE

ORGANIZATION

The White Deerskin dance is organized in the same anarchic manner as the society; persons of prestige and wealth are in control because they give the dance (i.e., because they have the requisite wealth to outfit the dancers and to feed the guests). There are two sides or "camps," one the upper or Metldɛŋ half of the valley, the other the lower or Tak.mɫdɛŋ half. The entire ceremony consists of individual dances put on by each side alternately. In each of these two major towns, persons who are wealthy enough contribute to the camp and take over leadership. Thus there is no set number of persons in charge; in 1935 there were five leaders, in 1937 four. Each leader, besides providing all the dance paraphernalia he owns or can muster for the occasion, also establishes a fire (we would, no doubt, call it a "table") at which his wife cooks food for anyone, dancer or onlooker, who wishes to be his guest. We have, then, a ceremonial division into two groups, and subdivisions of these according to the number of responsible men of wealth interested in presenting the dance.

One of the dance leaders is always the descendant of the house called Xonta nkyau—in the 1935 and 1937 dances this was M. Formerly the single dance leader belonged to this family, but in recent years this has not always been the case. So far as there was one single leader, that office was held by M. Besides maintaining one fire for the Tak.mɫdɛŋ camp, he took the initiative in deciding on the dance and in setting the date. In 1935 he was medicine man or ceremonial leader for the dance, but in 1937, because he was too crippled, he appointed another to serve in his place.

"The Queen" also served in a ritual capacity; for it was she who ceremo-

⁸ Payments were made in some form of wealth, usually dentalia (but recently white man's money), which has the property of divisibility. But payments in wealth objects, especially woodpecker scalps and flints, were not infrequent.

nially leached and cooked acorns at the commencement of the dance. She maintained one fire, aided by a hired helper in the cooking and by a man in handling her dance paraphernalia. In 1935 another fire had been maintained by H and her son, but in 1937 H had died and her son was ill so that this fire did not function.

The leaders at the Metaldw camp were L and F. The former, though the younger of the two, seemed to have the greater authority, but there was no clear distinction. He had inherited his wealth from his paternal uncle, his mother being a Yurok woman. She was in charge of the preparation of food from his fire. The latter, on the other hand, was the son of a white man and had inherited his wealth through his mother. His oldest daughter cooked for him. This camp was more disorganized than the Takmaldw one, and in some particulars adhered less rigorously to tradition. Leader L was rather irresponsible, and failed to appear for some of the dances, which, therefore, were not executed. His mother used tables in serving food, an innovation disapproved of by the more orthodox old people. F did not assume much responsibility. Formerly he had owned a great deal of property, but in the summer of 1937 he was working for wages and did not present meals at all the dances, nor appear for every performance.

The dancers themselves form no delimited social group; anyone with the desire and the skill entered the dances. In 1937 the leaders found it difficult to get the requisite number of persons and had to beg the men to take part in the earlier and less dramatic performances. To be sure, only those who knew songs enough could be singers, and at present only old men are capable of leading the songs, though some of the young ones act as side singers. Then, too, the "flint carriers" are usually persons who have specialized more or less in that phase of the dance—usually young men, who perform this act with a swagger. It was said that not everyone would carry flints, because it is dangerous, "one has to know how to hold them or they might hit together or drop, and that would cost a lot of money."⁹ There was no evidence that the privilege now adhered only to the wealthy, nor was there any hint other than the statement just given that formerly this had been so.¹⁰

At the present time, various persons interested in the dance contribute some food, but the leaders bear the brunt of the expense, which is partly defrayed by a collection subscribed to by persons willing to donate to a common larder. The Hupa recognize that storekeepers in the valley profit from the presentation of the dance and expect them to contribute. White persons who vended food at the dance grounds either paid cash for the privilege or donated some of their goods to various fires. In 1935 no vendors were allowed, and one person who attempted a sale was sent away when the dance leader heard of the transaction.

During the first morning of the 1935 ceremony several men were construct-

⁹ Statement of informant Sam Brown.

¹⁰ Bastards were not allowed to dance, but no further statement of any choice of performers on the basis of such a distinction was made. Goddard (*op. cit.*, 82) mentions that only wellborn could enter Xonta nkyau, but does not define whom that includes. Undoubtedly some persons were excluded from certain of these ceremonial activities.

ing the annual fish dam below Xowōnkut, but it had no connection with the dance. The workers watched the performance and ate some of the food. The construction of the dam had not been begun at the time of the 1937 performance.

All Hupa are supposed to attend the dance; to stay away would cause sickness. It is said that formerly no gathering or hunting was engaged in during this period, though fishing was permissible, but now the men must continue to work at their regular jobs. Yurok people who were at the dance said that one who sees the first day of it must also see the last; otherwise ill luck will befall him.

THE INDIVIDUAL DANCE

We are now ready to examine the Deerskin dance itself. The plan of the dance ground at Xowōnkut is presented in figure 1, and shows the general relation-

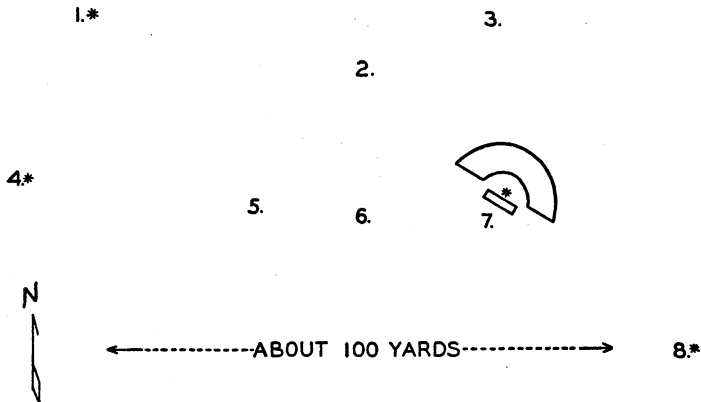


Fig. 1. Plan of the dance ground at Xowōnkut, drawn freehand from observations on the spot: 1, Takamāḷḷḷ daytime dressing place; 2, Takamāḷḷḷ camping and eating place; 3, Takamāḷḷḷ undressing place; 4, Metḷḷḷḷ dressing place; 5, Metḷḷḷḷ camping and eating place; 6, Metḷḷḷḷ undressing place; 7, dance ground (rectangle indicates dancing place, the arc the spectators); 8, Takamāḷḷḷ night dressing place. Stars indicate positions of ritual fires.

ship between the several places of importance. Each of the two camps puts on a dance alternately, starting and ending with the Takamāḷḷḷ side. A dance is made up of: (1) the medicine man, who sits by a fire in front of the line of dancers and burns angelica root to the accompaniment of incantations; (2) the singer, *kta''an*, who leads the song from the center of the line of dancers; (3) two side singers, who accompany the leader in chorus; (4) the four or more side dancers, *ya'd'lyε* or *tεḷkḷt djidi'lyε*, who carry the beat by rhythmic stamping; and (5) the four flint carriers, *hōdje'wana'wai*, who do a special dance in front of the line. At the beginning of each dance these performers are arranged as shown in figure 2, A.

The dancers are dressed by the dance leader and his helpers somewhere near the rack where the costumes have been placed. Then they line up before the medicine man in the order in which the leaders want them, and they receive their deerskins and the final touches to their costumes (dressing place illustrated in pl. 2, a). When everything is in order, they go through a short

rehearsal and then file to the dance ground. The rehearsal consists of two abbreviated songs, each lasting long enough for one pair of the flint carriers to cross in front of the line once. The medicine man led the Takma λ d η dancers to the ground; L led those from the Metald η camp. After encircling the dance ground, the dancers take the positions shown in figure 2, A. After a brief interval the song leader begins. He is standing, stooped slightly forward and clutching the pole, on which is hung a deerskin. He starts patting time with one foot, usually the right, and when all the men in the line are apparently in time with him, he starts his high, thin, somewhat plaintive melody. The two men flanking him sing in chorus (though frequently they appeared not to know the leader's song well enough to do so) while the others in the line stamp one foot, which they may alternate *ad lib.* They also emit a deep he' he', sucking a long breath audibly through their teeth between each two grunts.

After a few bars the dancers on one side raise their voices to a high whoop, which may be written ge'ge'u, the last syllable being drawn out and diminishing. The dancers of the opposite side repeat this call two beats later (see fig. 4), giving the effect of an echo. These calls are repeated throughout the song, their frequency apparently being determined by the attitudes of the dancers who may initiate them.¹¹ The first call of this type is the signal for two

flint carriers, one from either side, to arise and begin to dance back and forth in front of the line (fig. 2, A; see also pl. 1, a). They have whistles in their mouths, on which they blow a sustained monotonous note which lasts almost through three beats, interrupted by a short pause. Taking pains to remain in time with each other, with long gliding steps but keeping the torso quite erect they walk in time with the beats of the dancers. The ceremonial flints are held at arm's length in front of the eyes. In this way the two walk as close as possible to the dancers, passing each other on the left so close that the stones almost touch. As they turn to go back past the line of singers, their steps become short and jerky but without change in time, and they kick back the loose

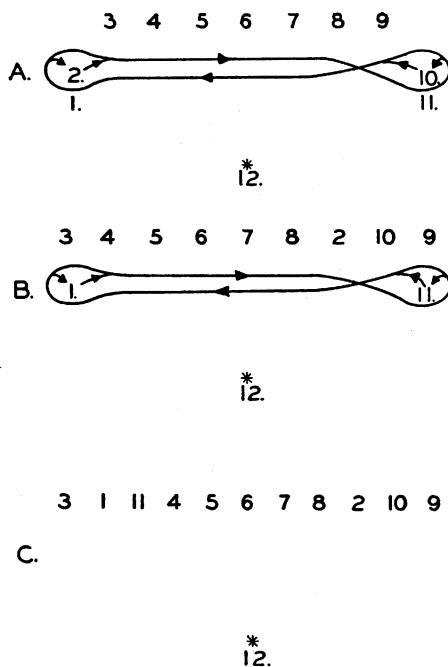


Fig. 2. Position of dancers at various phases in the dance: A, position at beginning of the performance and circuit described by flint carriers; B, positions during the fourth, fifth, and sixth dances and the circuit of the other two flint carriers; C, position of dancers during the last two songs. Stars indicate positions of ritual fires.

¹¹ Some of the boys were shy, others seemed to delight in taking an active part.

soil with their feet. They always turn inward, or toward the dancers. The song leader usually stops his song after the dancers have each passed the line three times, but sometimes after the second or fourth time.

Separated by brief pauses during which the three singers sit on the boulders placed as seats for them, a second and third song, with accompanying dance, are sung. After the third, the two flint carriers who have been dancing in each of these songs take their position together on one end of the line, second from the end (see fig. 2, B). Here they join in the dance with those already in line, holding their flints easily in front of them in both hands, flat against the abdomen. At the end of the next three songs, in which the other pair of flint carriers functions, they (the second pair) take the corresponding position on the opposite side (see fig. 2, C). There follow two songs, with the accompaniment of the side dancers but without the flint-carrier element. The singer saves his best songs for the last, presumably because he is then truly the main feature of the performance. If the crowd is responsive and calls for an encore, or if the medicine man wants one, there may be a third song. This usually happens at the last dances, and in the last of the 1937 performances some white men offered the dancers a tip to present a second encore.

The medicine man may exhort the dancers to "rake up the acorns,"¹² whereupon the dancers chorus a single, high, sustained note. This was done during the interval between songs, while the three singers sat on their stone seats. The dancers might produce this monotone while filing to or from the dance place, and occasionally would initiate the sound while the medicine man was haranguing the audience.¹³

The picture thus far given is an attempt to portray the individual dance as it is put on by one side. The variations of this quite formal procedure were minor and may well be considered as aberrances.

Each song lasts from fifty to sixty seconds; the rest period, about thirty seconds.¹⁴ The set of songs takes about fifteen minutes. Ordinarily there are three such routines in the afternoon, three in the evening, and formerly there was one in the morning. The entire eight-day period is made up of such units, with the exceptions of the boat dance and the mock dance; the latter takes place on the first night and again after the boat dance, and it will be described in its place in the progression of the dance.

THE BOAT DANCE

The boat dance takes place on the close of the third day, beginning at the place called Tsemeta. There are four boats, two from each camp. Crouched in the bow of each are two flint carriers, wearing all their lesser regalia but without

¹² This was the translation given me. I was unable to get the text for this request (W.G.).

¹³ Concerning the medicine man see below. The youths who initiated this note while the medicine man was speaking apparently did so in an effort to drown him out; his haranguing was not popular.

¹⁴ An accurate check was made by Driver. The variations far exceeded the accuracy of the mode of timing, simply by the second hand of a pocket watch. Actually, it was learned that the song is brought to a close as the flint carriers turn around, and that these do not start at the instigation of the singer. Furthermore, they may cross in front of the line of dancers two, three, or four times. We must not read too much formality into these aspects of the dance.

the deerskins, otterskins, and flints. Their faces are painted solid black, and as they sit they hold paddles across the boat prows to keep them abreast and together. The dancers move their heads around slowly, perhaps in imitation of the sea lion, and they blow on their whistles. One paddler propels each boat from the seat carved in the stern, and the medicine man rides in one of the boats.

Behind the flint carriers stand the singers, the first leaning on a stick planted against the bottom of the boat, the others leaning on the shoulder of the man in front (pl. 1, *b*). In 1935 there were four dancers in each boat; in 1937, only two. This may have been due to an increased loss of interest, or it may have been simply a precaution against overloading the aging boats, which had capsized on the previous occasion. The dance consists of a rhythmic bending of



Fig. 3. Boat-dance song.

both knees to the beat of the song. None of the more valuable objects are worn in the boats, probably because of the danger of losing them.

The four boats take off abreast at the same time from a certain large rock on the shore. Five (said sometimes to be ten) times they paddle out about ten yards and return backward. After the third false start, the two Takmaldŋ boats, which until then have been on the right side, change to the left. On the sixth (or eleventh) take-off they proceed downstream. On approaching a certain rock in midstream the boats switch around again so that the Takmaldŋ pair pass on the right side of it. The two pairs then join just below the rock and finish the course together. Five (or ten) false landings are made, the crews disembarking the sixth (or eleventh) time. The audience, which follows along the shore, awaits them as they disembark. A short mock dance on the beach follows.

The boat-dance song is sung over and over continuously from the first false start to the final disembarking. The song is said to change when the pairs of boats change sides, though Driver thought positively that the melody did not (see fig. 3).

MUSICAL ANALYSIS

The musical aspect of the Deerskin ceremonial is distinctive, and several elements may be shown to exist. The relation of these elements is indicated in figure 4.

A. The fundamental beat is given by the stamping of either foot, usually

starting with the right. The knee of the stationary leg is bent a little as the other foot descends, giving the whole body a bobbing motion. The three center deerskins are moved slowly from side to side over an arc of more than ninety degrees, and all are raised from a horizontal to almost a vertical position as the flint carriers go past. The chief singer leads the movements, the others following. All men in line stamp their feet throughout the duration of each song.

B. The side dancers accompany the fundamental beat with a grunting, a breathy staccato he' he' without definite pitch. This sound is emitted as the

♩ = 110

A. STAMPING

B. GRUNTING
HE'HE'

C. MELODY
(C O N T I N U O U S)

D. CONCLUDING SIGNAL
HA'AAA

E. FALSETTO WHOOPS
LEFT SIDE OF LINE
f
GE'GEU

RIGHT SIDE OF LINE
f
GE'GEU

F. WHISTLING

G. SUSTAINED INITIAL NOTE
HO

Fig. 4. Rhythmical relations of musical elements.

foot is picked up from the ground. According to the dancers, it is as though stamping the foot against the ground forced out the grunt; that is, the grunts are instantaneous not with the placing of the foot on the ground, as would seem more natural to us, but with the lifting of the foot. After each second he', the breath is sucked in audibly between closed teeth.

C. The melody is continuous except for one or two measures' rest between phrases. The variations in pitch and rhythm were too complex to record directly by ear. The range is at least an octave, and the pitch high, about from G above middle C to G below, beginning in the higher part of the range and descending. It is sung in a natural (not falsetto) voice. The quality is throaty and whiny and the volume feeble as judged by European standards. The songs are without words and appear to be sung in a less stereotyped fashion than is the European custom, especially with respect to pitch.¹⁵

¹⁵ Driver, who has a trained ear, could discern no variations in the tonal pattern, but there can be no doubt that there were many distinct songs recognizable to the native. Numerous statements obtained by Kroeber as well as by Goldschmidt bear this out.

D. There is a definite ending of each song. Just as the obsidian carriers complete their last circuit, the three singers render a descending and diminishing ha'a'a'a' or ho'o'o'o', which sounds like the low-pitched whinny of a horse, and the song is ended.

E. Falsetto whoops by the side dancers are an occasional element. The first in each song is a signal for the start of the flint carriers, but they are initiated thereafter by anyone in the line of dancers except the singers. The regular grunts are dropped temporarily for this louder element. When repeated to the ethnographer, it was pronounced ge'ge'u. These whoops have no consistent pitch either in relation to each other or to the melody; they are usually dissonant, and slide down a half or a whole tone as the volume diminishes. They are by far the loudest element in the performance.

F. Each of the obsidian carriers holds a whistle in his mouth and blows it as he glides back and forth in front of the dancers. The whistles were originally made of cranes' legs, but today cheap toy whistles are used. There are now no crane's-leg whistles in Hupa and none were used during the dance, though someone is said to have brought some from the Klamath River country. The present whistles are of varying pitch and maintain a single note. There was no opportunity to examine the native whistles for pitch and there is no evidence that one is preferred to another for its musical qualities.

G. We have already referred to the sustained note produced by the side singers and called "raking up the acorns." It is produced at any time when the song is not going on, either between performances or when the singers are on the way to or from the dance ground. It has no true relation to the song, though it sometimes appears to be the tonic or dominant of the melody that follows and is pitched near middle C. Sometimes the participants produce a harsh major or minor second, which no doubt results rather from their lack of ability to sound off in unison than from intent. This note is sustained for four or five seconds.

The boat-dance song was recorded by Driver by ear. The melody has been arbitrarily written in the key of C. It was lower, about G or F.

CHRONOLOGICAL PROGRESSION

The period of festivity lasts from eight to ten days, during which in earlier times the entire population camped at the several successive sites. Goddard has briefly indicated these, but for the sake of completeness it seems desirable to describe the events of the dance in their chronological order. The several sites are scattered along the river, the last dance place being on Bald Hill at the north end of the valley. Originally the people went from place to place by boat, as they did when Goddard was there (at about the turn of the century), but now they go in cars and truck their food and paraphernalia from one place to another. The moving has become still more of a burden because now they use the white man's food and dishes, whereas formerly the cooking and eating required only a variety of baskets. The week is one of very tedious work, as well as of considerable expense, for those who present the dance, and more especially for the women in charge. These women and their aides, who are

relatives and work from duty, or are hired helpers paid as much as ten dollars for the week's work, must cook for and serve thirty or more individuals once or twice a day. They prepare acorn mush as well as cabbage, potatoes, beans, and similar modern foods. Dried or cooked salmon was rare because the season was poor, and there was no venison in 1937. In addition to the labor of preparation, the women in charge must constantly pack and unpack their food and utensils.

For the men there is the problem of unwrapping and rewrapping the dance regalia, which is carefully put away in trunks (formerly hollowed wooden boxes) and carried from one place to another. This job is made more difficult by the fact that each person's belongings must be kept separate. Dressing places were frequently changed between performances or while they were going on.

Not only are the dance grounds definitely established; the exact spots for dancing, for each dressing place and each practice dance, for the fires and eating places, are also known to the dance leaders. Thus the dance ground at Xowǎnkut (see figure 1) was mapped by both Driver and Goldschmidt, and had the same arrangement both times. Mistakes are occasionally made, but not without murmurs of dissent from informed members. For example, in one practice at Xowǎnkut the Takmǎldǎŋ dancers faced in the wrong direction. Again, the tortuous uphill path by which the dancers ascend from the dressing place to the last dance ground was cleared along a somewhat incorrect route by the medicine man, and the Takmǎldǎŋ leaders were displeased by this, though nothing was done to remedy the situation.

Table 1 gives the progression of dances.

To summarize briefly the course of events and thus to illuminate the table, let us follow through the events of the dance of 1937.

On Saturday, August 7, the medicine man arrived in front of the Great House at about dusk, and the dance leaders of the Takmǎldǎŋ side came in a car shortly after dark, about 8 P.M. The Metǎldǎŋ people do not enter into this performance, and no one else showed up. There was supposed to be a short mock dance, "a time when the boys get together to have some fun, and start the dance off." Three of the deerskins were unwrapped inside the house and left there overnight. At least one dance leader was supposed to spend the night there; but, because of the discomfort involved, none of them did, and for lack of dancers the group dispersed shortly after 9 P.M. without giving a performance.¹⁸

The dance was to start on the following morning. At that time S (it will be remembered that she is one of the dance leaders and the only remaining active member of the Great House) went to a sand bar near the village of Metǎldǎŋ, where she ceremonially leached the acorns which she fed to her guests. In the course of the morning the camps were set up across the river near Xowǎnkut, and the several women who were tending fires prepared to feed the people.

¹⁸ One must remember that under native conditions this dance was given in front of the leader's own dwelling in the middle of the town. The dance served as a formal announcement that the ceremony was beginning. Its character was informal, like that of the mock dance described below.

Meanwhile the group gathered slowly. M, with the aid of his cousin and of X (who took care of S's dance paraphernalia), unpacked his goods at the appointed place, while F and L each took out his own things. Men loitered about these dressing places, but women were forbidden to go near. The women sat around the fires and talked.

The first dance began at 2 P.M. and the second at 3 P.M., each lasting about

TABLE 1
PROGRESSION OF DANCES
(August 7-16, 1937)

Day	Time	Place	No. of dances given	No. of dances required
Saturday	Night	Takmald η , in front of Xonta nkyau	0	Mock dance
Sunday	Afternoon, night	Xowankut, near Metald η	3	5
Monday	Morning	Xowankut	0	1
Monday	Afternoon, night	Tsemeta, at confluence of Hostler Cr. with Trinity R.	4	4 or 5
Tuesday	Afternoon	Tsemeta	4	4
Tuesday	Afternoon	Tsemeta, down Trinity R. to opposite Misqut	Boat dance	Boat dance
Tuesday	Afternoon	Across Trinity R. from Misqut	Mock dance	Mock dance
Wednesday	Afternoon, night	Tselund η , on the Norton field	3	5
Thursday	Morning	Tselund η	0	1
Thursday	Afternoon	Tceendeqotdi η , at confluence of Soektish Cr. with Trinity R.	Games	Games
Friday	Afternoon, night	Near Tselund η , on the Norton field	3	6
Saturday	Morning	Near Tselund η	0	1
Saturday	Afternoon, night	Naltukalai, up Bald Hill, away from Trinity R.	5	5
Sunday	Morning, afternoon	Naltukalai	5	5
Monday	All day	Near Tselund η	Games	Games

fifteen minutes. Before the dance the medicine man lighted a fire ceremonially at the practice ground and crumbled angelica root into it; later he ignited a fire at the dance ground with a brand taken from this fire. During the dance he harangued the people about various matters. After these two dances everyone ate at one of the three separate places. Through the rest of the afternoon most of the men surrounded a card game; the women cleaned up, and sat silently or talked quietly.

The Takmald η side put on a dance about 9 P.M., but the Metald η people did not have another performance because L had had trouble with his car and did not get back to the dance ground. The other dance leaders spent the night at the grounds, but the rest of the population returned to their homes. This was one of the most important days because it fell on a Sunday and the people did not have to work.

The following morning there should have been a dance, but none of the morning dances was held, since almost all the Hupa men are now working for wages and cannot get away at that time. The camp was moved in the morning and set up where Hostler Creek flows into Trinity River. This location, in contrast to the former one, was well shaded, and there was an abundant supply of water from the spring branch that ran between the two camps. Otherwise this camp was the same as the preceding one. M put on a dance in the afternoon, but neither L nor F was present, so that further ceremonies were dispensed with and the food prepared. Again after dark the men assembled at the M dressing place, and presented a dance about 9 P.M. The Metld η group also gave one performance, and the crowd disbanded about 10 P.M.

On Tuesday the group remained at the same place, so that there was little activity during the morning. About 3:15 P.M. the dancers were assembled around the M dressing place and a dance was presented. The L side, after some difficulty in getting its quota of men, also put on a dance, and about 4:30 P.M. the M side presented the third dance of the day. Meanwhile a large crowd had assembled, for everyone particularly enjoys the boat dance. White employees of the reservation do not spend much time at the Deerskin dance, but several came to witness the more spectacular boat dance.

After dining, the men prepared themselves for the boat dance while the camps were packed into trucks and the people drove or were ferried across the river. The sun was already dropping behind the western rim of the valley before the boats actually got under way. The dance, as already described (p. 110), takes place along the river for several hundred yards. At the place where the dancers disembarked they lined up on the bank facing the river. Some were given cheap deerskins, others merely poles, while the flint carriers picked up flat pebbles from the beach. They presented a mock dance in high good humor, accompanied by calls from the audience such as "We want Sam to sing." After this dance the crowd dispersed and the camps were set up for the night.

On Wednesday morning camp was again moved, this time to the lower end of the valley near Tselund η , where in the afternoon the dispirited attitude which had been evident earlier was intensified by the extreme heat and the lack of shade. There was one poorly attended dance in the afternoon; two late at night. In the afternoon at this dance place the medicine man sprinkled water on the dance ground to protect the bare feet from the hot earth. It is against the rules to wear shoes while dancing, but the dancers frequently wore them to the grounds and took them off before dancing. It was also against the rules to sprinkle the dance place; to do so was said to bring rain before the end of the ceremony. However, there seemed to be no objection to the medicine man's sprinkling the grounds, though he had refrained from doing so up to this time.

The next morning, again without the scheduled morning performance, the entire group broke camp and established themselves farther upstream just above the confluence of Socktish Creek and the Trinity. The Metld η side made camp on the east, the Takamld η on the west side of the river. No dancing is scheduled for this place, the day being given over to gambling games.

The afternoon was spent in playing for small sums with the multiple-stick guessing game, the two camps playing against each other.

On Friday morning the camps were moved back to the Norton field, but at a point farther downstream than before. Here again the activity was without spirit; there were two dances in the afternoon and a third performance after dinner. This last one was late at night, and this time it was M's camp that failed to execute its scheduled dance because both his helpers were on errands and M was not active enough to manage it himself.

The following morning, without first dancing and without breaking fast, the camps packed and the equipment was trucked up Bald Hill for the final dances. Formerly they packed the regalia and food on their backs, but now they drop some of the equipment off the trucks a few hundred yards below the dance grounds. Some of the men assembled there for a practice, and then filed up to the regular dance place. Both camps dressed this first time at the same spot, then took specific (but separate) routes to the ceremonial grounds, where all the rest of the dances were given. There were three dances in the afternoon, and two at night, ending about 10 P.M. A meal was served after the third dance. That night the leaders all camped at Bald Hill and the next morning the largest crowd of all appeared, individuals coming from Yurok and Karok country to enter the dance or to watch it. Many brought their regalia with them, and the prize flints of the entire region were brought from Requa at the mouth of the Klamath River for the last performance. There seemed to be a more marked feeling of veneration at this place, and nerves seemed keyed to a somewhat higher pitch, the whole, as Kroeber says, working up to a climax. On this last day no meal was served and everyone nominally fasted until all returned to the river bottom, where supper was to be prepared after the ceremony. Actually there were vendors near the grounds, and some persons brought lunch, but everyone was asked to eat away from the dance ground itself. The final performance was over about 4:30 P.M., dances having started in the early afternoon. Five were given that day.

Monday was given over to playing games, both the stick game and gambling games. This is not a part of the actual dance, but the people stay there and eat up all the food, none of which may be taken home. The Monday festivities were not witnessed, as it was not possible to stay longer at Hupa.

REGALIA

To wealth adhered not only prestige but also social position, and the Hupa elite consisted of those individuals having the most property, especially that which was purely for display: the dance regalia. Not all wealth consisted of dance goods; fishing, hunting, and gathering territory, and boats were individually owned, and a true money existed. Nor were all the finest dance regalia worn for the Deerskin performance. Nevertheless, the display of property was an important if not the most important aspect of the White Deerskin dance. The paraphernalia have already been described by Goddard¹⁷ and Kroeber,¹⁸ but we present the pertinent data here (table 2).

¹⁷ Goddard, *op. cit.*, 83.

¹⁸ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 55.

The deerskins, flints, and otterskins were of greatest value, about in that order. The albino deer were most prized, though the "black" (actually dark brown) deerskins were of almost equal value. Prices ranging around \$100 were asked for them in the early days, but now they are seldom exchanged, few persons being interested in collecting these symbols of native wealth

TABLE 2

DANCE REGALIA

(Dance groups are pictured by Goddard, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, and by Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pl. 3. See also plates 3 and 4, a, c, d, below)

Object	Native name	Material	How worn	Worn by
Blanket, single	te ¹	Deerskin	Around waist	Dancers, singers
Blanket, double ^a	te ¹	Deerskin	Around waist	Flint carriers
Fur skirt ^b	kalhauخته	Civet cat	Around waist	Singers (important dances only)
Beads	Various names for different kinds	Dentalium, seed, haliotis, olivella	Around neck	All performers
Deerskins		Deerskin	Held on pole	Singers and side dancers
Wolfskins	qy:qena' duwal	Strips of wolf tail on buckskin	Around head	Singers and side dancers
Feathers	Various names for different kinds	Artificially made of skin, feathers	Stuck in holders at back of head	All performers
Head nets ^c	quse' oqot mas' qe' k (small) and nakyuu (large)	Knitted or netted twine	Over head to waist	Singers and flint carriers
Hooks	kwo ¹	Sea-lion teeth set in buckskin	Around head	Flint carriers
Quivers	lo' qiy: tdi' lye	Otter hide	On left arm	Flint carriers
Flints	tse' lne' wan, to' ne' wan	Red flint, obsidian	In right hand	Flint carriers
Whistle ^d		Cranes' legs, modern toys	In mouth	Flint carriers

^a Kroeber, *op. cit.*, fig. 3, p. 77.

^b Goddard, *op. cit.*, pl. 8.

^c *Ibid.*, pl. 7.

^d *Ibid.*, pl. 18, no. 4.

under European standards of civilization, especially since the advent of the automobile. Goddard states that the deerskins were nontransferable,¹⁹ but certainly they were at least occasionally sold. At present the Hupa speak of having bought and sold skins and consider them to be private property, though Goddard maintains that they formed a sort of public domain. Although it is true that many skins were kept by M and L for other individuals, many skins were kept by the owners, and not once was the claim to ownership forfeited. Indicative of the possessive attitude is the statement: "You are supposed to keep it a secret when you buy a deerskin. You can go to a close neighbor to

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, 84.

borrow money, but it must be kept secret so that people will be surprised when it comes out. They fear that people will get jealous and do something [if they hear you have a skin]."²⁰ One person brought out a new deerskin on the last day of the 1937 performance without previously letting anyone know of its existence. Skins are often left with persons who are in a position to watch over them, because the Hupa are afraid they will be stolen. These deerskins are decorated with the scarlet scalps of the woodpecker in a variety of patterns, usually on the ears, the legs, and the artificial buckskin tongue. The ears are made to stand up with the aid of wooden stays and the heads are stuffed with grass to preserve their natural form.

One skin was of particular interest because neighboring Chimariko Indians had killed and beheaded the animal before the Hupa heard of it. The story was given by an informant as follows:

At Burnt Ranch there was a Chimariko Indian named *tewe'aga* [Robin] who caught a four-point white deer in a snare. This he brought home after cutting off the head and legs. Word reached *Metldɨ* that such an animal was killed and the *ya'wa'diŋ* family took up a collection from among their relatives. One *dicta'wa'diŋ* put in some Indian money, but the *ya'wa'diŋ* man named *nini'tjequt* put in the most. One man who put in less money kept the skin because he was more interested in dances. The people who collected this money and property went after the hide and made an artificial head for it. Shoemaker John's mother's father was the one who made the false head. The owner's sister fell heir to the skin and she married into the Simpson family. Now L [Simpson's daughter's son ?] has it.

The imitation was clever. The eyes and mouth had been formed with woodpecker scalps. This in no way affected its value; as a matter of fact, the specimen rather stood out in native memory because of the unusual circumstance.

Other regalia are owned by individuals in the same way and sometimes are left in the care of the persons who act as dance leaders. Those persons who keep their own goods bring them to the dance leaders with whom they feel in allegiance. One couple came to the dressing place of the *Takamɨdɨ* side with two deerskins from a man who was ill, saying that the yellowish (less valuable) one was for M, the bluish one for S.²¹ Though none but the old persons knew who the owner of the deerskins was, and only those few who were at the dressing place and S knew which persons were placed in charge of the skins, the formality of presenting them was preserved.²²

Finer regalia were often brought from neighboring tribes, and the finest pair of flints (they always come in pairs, the two dancers who carry them at the same time holding paired specimens) were brought to the *Metldɨ* side from a man at Requa. They were very finely chipped and more than two feet in length. (For illustrations, see Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 2.)

The dance leaders and their helpers were held responsible for the goods, and they spent hours unpacking and packing, wrapping and unwrapping the specimens, always with great care. They were also expected to know to

²⁰ Shoemaker John, informant.

²¹ Women did not come to the dressing place. The ethnographer was at the time standing where the skins were being unpacked. "Bluish" and "yellowish" refer to discoloration; the terms were used by the natives.

²² The bluish skin was brought formally before S. That the owner had specified which specimen was to go to which was indicated by the fact that the man corrected his wife when she offered them in the wrong order.

whom each object belonged, which was no small task. It was interesting to notice the care that was lavished on the specimens; the flints were always in separate handmade boxes; the feathers, also, often in boxes of the same kind; the deerskins wrapped with strips of cloth and kept each in a cloth bag, usually an old pillow slip (pl. 2, *b*). The poles and ear stays were cut fresh each year according to rule, and though unseen were nicely finished. The woodpecker headdresses (used in the Jump dance) were often rolled around a large wooden spool, feathers inward (pl. 4, *b*). Angelica and a native weed were used for moth-proofing the trunks in which the articles were stored.

The skin "blankets" were roughly tanned buckskin, depilated. There are no longer any painted ones at Hupa. The flint carriers wear two sewn together; the rest of the performers, single ones. The wolfskins were made of strips split from the tail of the wolf, sewn on the upper and lower edges of a band of buckskin, and were worn so that the hair covered the eyes (pl. 4, *c*). The flint carriers did not wear these, but in their stead had the "hooks," eight (usually) sea-lion teeth set into sockets of buckskin on a buckskin band (pl. 4, *d*). They turn upward from the face and make a striking headpiece.

Beads are not worn in great numbers, usually only one necklace at a time, and each consists of about half a dozen to a dozen strands (pl. 3, *a, b*). Most beads are of shell. The seeds employed are from Shasta County, and no identification could be made. Beads of small dentalia are most common. Occasionally, singers wear beaded cloth plaques around their necks, but the style of these is certainly recent. The feathers are of several types. The simplest ones are brown and white feathers, usually two hafted to a stick cut to represent the quill (pl. 3, *d*). A large white feather is made by piecing feathers together on a stick, and is usually decorated with a line of red feathers down the center. The third type is more elaborate, and is not worn until the last few dances, and then by the singers only. Red, green, white, and blue feathers, and fur, are tied around a stiff but flexible piece of sinew with sinew-fiber threads. Three such rods are attached to one stick. The feathers are held on the head by a holder made of a bundle of straw tied together with string or strips of rag and tied around the head.

The quivers are used in several different dances. In the Deerskin dance they are worn fur side outward, but in other dances the fur is worn on the inside (pl. 3, *c*). The tail is split open and is decorated with large haliotis pendants and woodpecker scalps. For the Deerskin dance the quivers are filled with brush, freshly cut each day from river cedar.

The "flints" are of two kinds: a red obsidian that presumably comes from the south, and a black obsidian that comes from the Shasta region in north-eastern California. They are about equally prized, their values varying more directly with size. No Hupa remembers seeing any other Hupa make these flints, though some have seen a Karok man make them.

RELIGIOUS MANIFESTATIONS

Many of the actions and much of the regalia of the Hupa White Deerskin dance seem symbolic, and occasionally we have suggested what this symbolism

might be, but there is no clear evidence that the actions or materials of the performance have any ritualistic associations. Nevertheless, the dance is definitely part of the ritual calendar that makes up the religious life of the tribe and it expresses the supernatural sentiments of the people in their most poignant form.²³ The very purpose of the dance is to wipe out the evil brought into the world by members of the society who have broken taboos. In this way it is a purification or world-renewal ceremony as no other Hupa dance is. There are other rites to renew specific foods, salmon, acorns, or eels; the Jump dance to ward off illness, and the Brush dance to cure the sick, but only the White Deerskin dance wipes away the evil brought on by those who have spoiled the world.²⁴

If you do things that you shouldn't according to Indian law you spoil the world (*n'nes'aŋ tewŋ Ta'witŋ*), and they give the Deerskin dance for that. . . . Last year they danced the White Deerskin dance at Arcata [as part of the annual "Days of General Grant" celebration] and that spoiled the world. If a [pubescent] girl runs around or eats [tabooed] things she will spoil the world.²⁵

This leads us to consideration of the fact that the Hupa have a veneration for *n'nes'aŋ*, the world. Kroeber mentions that the Yurok have a regard for the sanctity of the place,²⁶ which may or may not be the same thing, whereas Goddard makes no mention of this concept, though he indicates Hupa reverence for trails.²⁷ The concept *n'nes'aŋ* was variously translated as the earth, mountain, or the place; a better translation is "environs," or the German *Ort*. This personification of the *Ort* perhaps explains in large measure the attitude ascribed to the Yurok toward "hallowed places"; certainly it is correlated with the importance of the exact placing of Hupa ceremonials.

Though the general attitude of the Hupa as they were observed during their last two Deerskin ceremonials was rather in keeping with a social gathering, certain intimations of religious feeling did exist. The contrast between the comparative orderliness of this protracted ceremony with the fighting and debauchery of the same persons at a Yurok (nonreligious) Brush dance was striking. This difference was no doubt largely a result of the restrictions on conduct during the Deerskin festival. Swearing and rough conduct are forbidden; one is not supposed to shout. The audience is usually quiet.

Certain beliefs are more specific. No one is supposed to stand behind the dancers, because the spirits watch from there. These spirits dance at Bald Hill during the night after the last dance and brave Indians are said to go there sometimes to watch (or rather hear) them dancing. Certain breaches of rule or etiquette, as giving the dance at the wrong spot, chewing (native) gum in front of the dance, eating on the Bald Hill dance ground on the last day, or sitting while the ceremony is taking place, spoil the world.

²³ Goddard, *op. cit.*, 87, indicates that their religious beliefs are manifest throughout their everyday existence.

²⁴ P. E. Goddard, *Hupa Texts*, UC-PAAE 1:220, 1904. Text 18.

²⁵ Pedro Freddy, informant. Most of the modes of spoiling the world are the breaking of the dance rules themselves.

²⁶ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 55.

²⁷ Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, 88.

THE MEDICINE MAN

If these facts are not enough to confirm the sacred character of the festivity, then the activities of the medicine man and the ceremonial leaching of acorns are conclusive. Goddard dignified these activities so far as to designate the medicine man as priest, the woman who leached the acorn as priestess.

The medicine man is leader of the dance and nominally conducts its procedure. During the 1935 ceremony M served in this capacity, but for the 1937 dance he hired another to act in his stead. The medicine man's chief duties are to prepare the dance places, to kindle the sacred fires, to burn angelica root while reciting incantations or formulas, and to exhort the people to act according to the rules of the society. His tasks included procuring the angelica root, hoeing the dance ground, and remaining at the dance from beginning to end. He is supposed to abstain from water and all food except thin acorn soup.

The person who acted as medicine man in 1937 expressed his activities in the following words:

I clean off the dance ground, build a fire in front of the dance place, burn doctor roots [angelica], and talk to the people. If anything is bad I tell the people; I tell them not to swear or drink, and I try to keep peace. I don't eat with anyone or drink any water. I learned how to do this from the old people. M did it last time; before that K, and before that I, myself. A young girl is supposed to cook for me and to pack wood in the basket [but nobody acted in this capacity in 1937]. Neither of us is supposed to eat with anyone, just acorn soup and dry salmon [?]. I am not supposed to eat or drink water until after the dance each day. I am not supposed to drink [liquor] or fool around [with women]. I should smoke Indian tobacco. The medicine [i.e., the proper incantation] is lost. I am supposed to wear buckskin tanned with hair on and paint my face and arms with soot mixed with marrow.

Presumably the medicine man is a descendant of Xonta nkyau, and certainly from the Takmaldɔ half of the valley. Some of those who held the position as formulist created an anomalous situation. One, at least, was a half-breed, hence bastard by native standards, which was aboriginally a true bar sinister in Hupa values. He did not know the proper formulas, nor was he a descendant of the proper family. His only qualification was his willingness to undertake the task, with which fact he rebuffed the full-blooded Indians who taunted him openly for his lack of requisites. His unpopularity in the position was apparently caused more by his strongheaded attitude toward what he believed to be right against the will of persons in charge, than by his lack of personal prestige. The 1937 medicine man seemed to lack the formulist's essential characteristic of attention to detail. His exhortations were frequently met with open derision, and were criticized because he used English instead of the prescribed Hupa. The specific rule against using any foreign language is probably native, as non-Hupa (especially Yurok, Karok) had always been present at the dance. The harangues sometimes were homely philosophy embodied, for the most part, in the simple phrase, "Be good," but frequently were specific admonitions: do not chew gum or eat on the dance ground; do not sit while the dance is in progress; do not go behind the line of dancers. Occasionally the white people present would be brought into the harangue, as in the request that cameras be taken away from the dance ground.

On the first morning the medicine man recounted his dream of the previous night. He had dreamt of a foot with a nail in it, and inquired if anyone had had a sore foot, directing his remark particularly to the women. At this time also he moralized on the gossip that certain individuals, especially M, were profiteering on the dance (see below).

INFORMAL ASPECTS

Up to this point we have presented a somewhat formal account of the procedure of the ritual period, but much that went on during and prior to the performances of 1935 and 1937 does not lend itself to a formal discussion. No description could carry the flavor of the Hupa dance which omitted reference to the constant gossiping, bickering, and quarreling which accompany it and which are indicative of many social attitudes.

In discussing these bickerings over insults we must go back to 1933, when a Metldɛŋ man had been thrown bodily from the dance ground because he arrived drunk. The Metldɛŋ people bore a grudge against the opposite group as a result of this incident, maintaining that the person's dignity had been insulted, and demanding compensation. As no settlement had been reached, the Metldɛŋ group refused to enter the 1935 dance. Since this would have prevented the ceremony from taking place, the Takmɛldɛŋ people collected five or ten dollars to pay the insulted person and thus made the ceremony possible.

A second example of this quarrelsome attitude, and one of greater consequence, was an incident occurring on the next to the last day of the 1935 performance. A Metldɛŋ boy accidentally knocked down a girl on the opposite side while playing. This girl ran crying to her mother, her nose bleeding. The mother called the boy to her to get the particulars and ended by striking him in the mouth with a flashlight. The boy ran to his parents and told them what had happened and in a few moments news of the trouble had spread to everyone on the dance grounds. A dozen or so adults of both sexes from the Metldɛŋ side descended in a body on the camp of the Takmɛldɛŋ group, kicked dirt into their food, and trampled their dishes. The women in charge of the attacked camp defended it as best they could with fists and sticks until a federal officer broke up the scuffle. The dance went on but the affair was not settled until much later by means of a go-between and a payment, the native means of settlement. The agreement was: the family of the Takmɛldɛŋ side must pay fifty dollars to the F family of the opposite division for the damage done to the child, and the F family must pay the Takmɛldɛŋ family ten dollars for the damage they had done to the latter family's goods. "Outside of Indian law" this latter family paid a dentist's bill of seventy-five dollars for the F child, according to the go-between.²⁸

It is noteworthy that the bickering of the 1933 dance almost prevented the 1935 performance because the dispute had never been officially settled, whereas the really consequential fight which had been settled by due process

²⁸ Case material received by Goldschmidt from the go-between. He was blind and had never before acted in this capacity.

of Hupa law received no mention during the 1937 ceremonial. There was not even mention of it in the gossip which came to the ethnographer. This gives us a valuable insight into the manner in which native law functioned. It may be added that the go-between cautioned the collecting family that they would be liable for twice the sum if they should ever originate a similar dispute.

This incident is a good example of the general attitude of ill-feeling and distrust, of which there were many manifestations. The strife was not merely between the opposite sides, but rather among all persons who took part in the ceremony, each finding fault with the action of others, and it represents a display of mutual distrust between separate personalities rather than any rivalry between two social groups. Though frequently the alignment of sentiment goes according to the geographical dichotomy, we see that in the dispute discussed above the settlement was made between the individual families involved, and not between the populations of the two halves of the valley. But let us examine some of the minor undercurrents of sentiment.

In the first place there was objection to the date set for the dance. This date had been fixed upon by M after consultation of a calendar, but presumably the dance was originally held in the seventh month. (The calendar count started "at Christmas," i.e., at the winter solstice.) It was so timed that the dance was divided between two "moons," that is, was held during the dark of the moon. However, modern social and economic conditions rule that the first and last days of the dance (the first night's mock dance and the day of games at the end are not counted as part of the dance) should fall on a Sunday, and this determines the exact date. M and other older men wanted to hold the dance in July, but many of the actual dancers wanted it delayed a month so that the weather would be cooler. In this matter M's ruling was final. He maintained that the seventh month was correct, and that the dance was formerly held when the weather was hot so that visitors could sleep on the river beaches. S wanted more time to prepare her dance regalia, but she could not persuade M to change the date he had set.

Less explicit was the objection to the medicine man M had chosen. Although he was not disliked by the Hupa, he was not highly esteemed. He did not know the proper formulas or procedure, and had no property, nor had his mother had any. The attitude in this matter was one of open scorn rather than of objection over a matter which appeared to be, after all, entirely M's own affair. When the medicine man later failed to follow the rules correctly, some of those who knew the proper procedure, especially S and X, were incensed, and they objected to his unwillingness to admit his errors and correct them. It may be noted that here resentment was between members of the same camp.

Most clearly indicative of the lack of cooperation and trust were the results of attempts to photograph the dance. In this regard the experience of Driver is pertinent. He paid three and a half dollars to a man of the Takmaldm division with the understanding that he would be permitted to take photographs of the entire ceremony. On the first day he obtained a few shots of the dance before being stopped by M, the leader of the Takmaldm side, who explained that since the leader of the Metldm group had received no money from Driver

his dancers would refuse to continue the dance if the photography did not cease. The man who took the money had not divided it with other leaders and had no authority over the dancers of both sides. The recipient finally refunded one dollar, citing a former occasion when someone had paid two and a half dollars for the privilege of taking pictures for a single day.

Armed with the knowledge of this experience, which was still in the Indians' minds, Goldschmidt attempted to pay M a lump sum for permission to take photographs throughout the dance. This was an acceptable procedure, since the stores in the valley all contributed to a common fund to be divided among the several leaders to help defray expenses. But M, who felt that the sum was adequate, suggested that the deal be made immediately before the dance, with all recipients present, to prevent any distrust. This was done, but though each of the several men separately agreed that the sum proffered was acceptable, they could not bring themselves to admit their satisfaction openly and hence permission was never obtained.

The entire matter took a humorous turn when on the last day, after some dispute about the stealing of photographs by unscrupulous persons, one of the dance leaders came up to the ethnographer and asked that pictures of the dancers on his side be "stolen," saying somewhat as follows: "My sister can't be here and I would like to send her pictures of my dance. I was kind of sober the other day and had to say 'No,' but I'm telling you how I feel, now that I have had a few drinks."

The whole matter of photography had taken on large proportions because of a piece of gossip which apparently was entirely unfounded. It was openly stated by various Hupa prior to the dance that M had set the date to satisfy some Eureka man who wanted to take motion pictures, for which M had received a payment of two hundred dollars. Many people firmly believed that this transaction had taken place, and some thought that the ethnographer (Goldschmidt) was the man involved. Several dancers stated that they would leave the dance place if they saw anyone taking pictures. When, at the last day's performance, a man from Eureka did pay M fifteen dollars for the privilege of taking motion pictures, and others were snapping stills, feeling ran so high among the leaders and dancers that it seemed for a while that the last three performances would not be given and everyone would leave the dance ground. After a while, cameras were ordered off the grounds and feeling subsided so that the dance could be brought to a close.

But hostility was not the only motif in the feelings displayed throughout the ceremony, and however striking it appeared to the ethnographer, one must not conclude that the entire ceremony was a period of bickering and strife. The general tenor was that of a protracted picnic, and this was most evident on Sundays and the day of the boat dance.

For the old women who were in charge of the cooking it was a period of work, as has already been stated. But even for them the dance was not entirely drudgery; long hours were spent leaching acorns or preparing food together in a leisurely way, talking or playing dice or guessing games which consisted in making figures in the sand and guessing how they were made. The

capacity of the women for sitting silently doing nothing, not even talking, was notable and rather astonishing to the whites, unused to such complete inactivity and repose. On the whole the women were friendly with one another, but, as has been shown, they entered into the arguments when feeling ran high. S was the only woman who had any vested authority.

Some of the dancers took an active part in the affairs of the dance, but most of them spent their time loitering about the dressing places. Some of the Indians wanted to be asked to dance; others refused to enter into the ceremony. They talked less than our own people would under similar circumstances. Both men and women entered readily into discussions or games, but did not as a rule take the initiative.²⁹

Games form an important part of the dance. One entire day was given over to gambling, the two camps pitted against each other in a multiple-stick guessing game. The two sides play each other, but each person bets as much as he cares to. On other days card games were in progress. Occasionally, women played the dice game, using four rounded pieces of haliotis. The day after the dance was also given over to games, double-ball shinny being the chief diversion. Games, along with dancing and eating, formed the major activity of the ceremonial period.

There was also drinking at the 1937 performance, though little boisterous drunkenness. Though there was no drinking aboriginally, there is no reason to doubt that courting was always an unofficial part of the dance. It is well to remember that there is and was frequent intermarriage between the Hupa and the Yurok and Karok, and that originally such ceremonials as the Deerskin dance were the chief occasions for persons to visit neighboring tribes.

CONCLUSIONS

HISTORICAL SPECULATIONS*

Since more field work on Northwest California ceremonialism is part of the future program of the University of California Department of Anthropology, a detailed discussion of inferential historical development need not be attempted here. Rather a single new interpretation will be suggested.

A cursory survey of the ceremonialism of the area suggests that the dance elements of the White Deerskin ceremony are most similar to the dance elements of War dances and Brush dances.³⁰

Because the Brush dance has the same distribution—Yurok, Karok, Hupa—as the White Deerskin dance, historical inferences concerning the priority of the common elements in either type of ceremony cannot be drawn from distributional evidence.

²⁹ The ethnographers loitered among the Hupa, sometimes talking, at other times remaining apart and little noticed. There seems little probability that their presence inhibited the free activity of the natives. Whites have been present at every dance within the oldest Hupa's memory, and some have taken part in the dance itself.

* This section is by Driver.

³⁰ The parallels with the Brush dance were brought to my attention by Philip Drucker.

This is not true of War dances, however. War dances⁸¹ with routines and objects similar to the White Deerskin dance occur over a wider area than the latter ceremony (table 3). From this evidence it would seem that the common elements were associated earlier with War dances and later were introduced into White Deerskin dances directly from War dances.

Kroeber was also impressed by these similarities in routine when he wrote that the Yurok dance of settlement was "performed by each side standing abreast, very much as in the great dances."⁸²

In a description of the Karok ceremony, obtained by Driver,⁸³ the informant definitely labeled such a dance "War dance." Unfortunately my description

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF WAR-DANCE ELEMENTS

Elements	To	Ka	Yu	Hu	Ch	Sh	Wi	No	Ma	Si
Male dancers	+ ^a	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dancers abreast in single row	+	+	+ ^b	+ ^b	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dancers stamp one foot only				b		+				
Walking back and forth in front of row . .	+		b	b	+	+	+			+
Whistle blown	+			b		+	+			
Double-pointed obsidian blades carried . .			+ ^c	o		+	+ ^d			
Bow and arrow or quiver carried	+	+ ^b	+ ^b	b		+	+	+	+	+
Shouting occasionally (war or death cry)				+		+	+			
Regalia: deerskin apron						+	+			
Decorated feathers, upright on head . .		b	+ ^b	b	+	+	+			
Fur headband							+			
Valuables displayed (for compensation . .										
in dance of settlement)			+ ^b	b						

Sources for this table are: Kroeber, Handbook; Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa; R. B. Dixon, The Shasta, AMNH-H 17:381-498; and Driver, Culture Element Distributions: X—Northwest California. The following are the tribal abbreviations used: To, Tolowa; Ka, Karok; Yu, Yurok; Hu, Hupa; Ch, Chilula; Sh, Shasta; Wi, Wiyot; No, Nongatl; Ma, Mattole; Si, Sinkyone.

^a Plus sign indicates that trait is present.
^b Trait occurs in Brush dance.

^c Short spear carried in Brush dance.
^d Knife or dagger, details unknown.

(given in table 3) of the dance held in connection with actual war is too poor to establish its relationship to the Deerskin dance. The strongest support of the view taken here is Dixon's data on the Shasta and my own on the Wiyot. These tribes have no White Deerskin dance, so informants could hardly have confused traits specifically belonging to it with the true War dance. A further bit of evidence is this: the only reported occurrence of a boat dance apart from the White Deerskin dance (except for the Karok world-renewal ceremony at Inam) is in connection with war. A Hupa informant said the Yurok danced a boat dance on their way home down the Trinity in celebration of a war victory over the Hupa.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Some informants for some tribes differentiate War dances of incitement, victory, and settlement. Others run them all together into a single series of dances continuing over the entire period of dispute. Here they are combined into a single unit.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, 50.

⁸³ Culture Element Distributions: X—Northwest California, UC-AR 1:297-433, 1939.

⁸⁴ Description of the war in Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 50-52.

World-renewal or first-fruits rites, as shown by Gunther,⁸⁵ are widespread rituals—probably of considerable antiquity—which demand no special historical explanation for occurrence in a particular area forming a continuous part of a larger area. Rites of this character occur in northwestern California.

The dancing itself has a much more limited distribution, and its dominant features are wealth display and entertainment, not world renewal. The fact that the dancing is not directly concerned with world renewal, which in native belief is the primary purpose of the ceremony, strengthens the theory that the dance is historically later.

The true War dance is assumed to be older than the use of a similar routine in the White Deerskin type of ceremony, not only because it is more widespread, but also because the common elements have a more specific native meaning in a war context. The carrying of weapons would be a necessity in time of war until settlement was complete. The display of wealth objects would prove that settlement was desired and perhaps tempt the enemy to settle quicker. The linear formation and the parading in front of the line of one or two individuals are reminiscent of the war tactics of those tribes south to the Pomo which spent more energy in vituperation, taunting, and showing off than in actual fighting. At a dance of settlement of the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa, each side performs in full view of the other, at first at a distance, then gradually closer until both sides dance together. If hostilities do not break out anew, compensation is made by the exchange of valuables, including ceremonial objects as well as dentalia, and the feud is terminated.

World-renewal as opposed to the war-dance features of the White Deerskin type of ceremony are most clearly differentiated by the Karok, who label the actual dance "War dance." The Yurok and Hupa conceptualize the two as a single ceremony.

If the White Deerskin dance actually developed as suggested in the foregoing, this illustrates the evolution of a behavior pattern from one ideological context to another of a very different character.

RECAPITULATION AND SPECULATIONS CONCERNING FUNCTION*

The threads of this account of the major ceremonial of the Hupa Indians have necessarily been so multifarious that the reader will have had difficulty in making out the pattern of the whole. For this reason we offer a brief recapitulation of the salient features and present the aspects, real or presumed, of their social import.

The dance is an eight- to ten-day festival including dancing and feasting at several separate but clearly marked loci throughout the Hupa valley, culminating in a climax marked by larger attendance, higher feeling, and finer regalia. It presents important ceremonial, religious, social, and socio-economic aspects.

The performance is made up of repetitions of the same simple dance except for the aberrant boat dance and the two mock dances. The routine, the word-

⁸⁵ A Further Analysis of the First-Salmon Ceremony, UW-PA 2:129-173, 1928.

* This section is by Goldschmidt.

less songs, and other elements of the music are all constant characteristic features.

The religious element is subordinated to the social, and probably was never as deeply significant as might be expected in a primitive ceremonial. Nevertheless a medicine man chanted formulas to purify the world, and also admonished his hearers to moral behavior and adherence to custom. The dance itself is hedged about by specific religious taboos and there is a particular feeling of veneration for the exact place of action. Even now, fear of spirits and fear of failure to comply with the regulations of the dance are occasionally observable, though there are no outward manifestations of a feeling that the world is actually purified by the dance performance.

More important is the purely social character of the festivity, of which feasting is only a part. The dance is a time when the tribe as a whole as well as many people from neighboring tribes gather together, and when various social activities take place, activities which range from the picnics of pre-adolescents, through the courtship of the young people, the dancing and gambling of the middle aged, to the quiet visiting of the older persons. It still is, and presumably it formerly was to an even greater degree, a memorable social event that marks off specific days from the ordinary rhythm of the workaday world. This fact cannot be overemphasized.

The socio-economic aspects of the ceremonials⁸⁸ of the Hupa are perhaps the most important of all. It seems clear that this ceremonial, as to a lesser degree other Hupa dances, presents the mechanism for the formation of social groups in this otherwise amorphous society, and by the display of wealth and prestige makes public the relative social status of these unformalized social groups. This function is important because the Northwest California society, apparently originating out of a band or lineage social form common to all their immediate neighbors, has no well-formulated and formal social groupings. This is so despite the complexity of their material culture, their sessile nature, and especially despite their concentrated population, all of which are usually accompanied by clans or other formal social units. In this connection we may point out, without invoking any "culture stage" theory, that the Hupa society suggests a transitional mechanism in the formation of a clan or moiety from a simple lineage society, and thus may give us some insight into the formation of such groups. It is also possible that the form of Hupa society was inspired by Northwestern clans and moieties, the idea having lost its clear-cut character in the transition, and in that event the ceremonial form of unity may be rather a substitute for true clans than an intermediate point in an arrested developmental sequence. There is some reason to believe that true clans have an advantage over the looser form in making for greater stability and closer cohesion, both these characteristics being little developed among the Hupa. Let us review the clues which bring us to this opinion of the importance of the Hupa ceremonials.

⁸⁸ Our opinion does not rest on the assumption that the Deerskin dance is of greater importance than other ceremonials, but it does seem that of all the Hupa religious affairs this dance is the most important in socio-economic function. This may be due to its historical origin, as suggested in the preceding section.

The dance regalia are provided by whoever possesses them. Those who have much of this wealth and are so inclined may take the initiative in presenting the dance. These persons then prepare food and act as hosts to all who wish to attend. Most of the regalia are concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, but some are owned by the heads of many Hupa families; those who own a small amount of these valuables present them formally but unceremoniously to the dance leader whom they wish to honor. The dance leaders with their own property and with that which has thus been lent to them cooperate in presenting the ceremonial. The participants form two groups which are coextensive with the two geographical halves of the Hupa valley, each half represented by a "camp" made up of several "fires" initiated by the individual leaders. The camps are ceremonial rivals. The two persons who have the greatest authority derive this in part through inheritance, and their position is largely one of ceremonial (i.e., religious) leadership. They do not have any appreciable measure of actual authority over the dance and certainly have no delegated power. The control of the dance lies with the several leaders, who may refuse to undertake the dance or may withdraw their goods from the ceremony at the slightest provocation. The dancers themselves represent no organized or informal group; they may dance for either or both camps, and are merely men who enjoy this form of activity. They acquire little or no social status by performing, and none is required for participation.

We have already suggested that this agglutinative character of individual groups reflects the entire social organization. It will be recalled that there is no governmental institution, but that each person pledges allegiance to anyone he chooses and that small compact social groups are formed with an informal leader in some person of substance. Further, social justice is the result of no tribunal, but of a show of force between these social groups; and this force may be a physical threat or, through the well-established system of money payments, a financial threat.

Now it seems apparent that this is not a simple reflection of the social organization, nor even just a symbolic representation of it, but that this dance and similar Hupa ceremonials have a definite function in establishing cohesion in the group. By repetition of ceremonials of this kind these pseudo-familial social groups asserted their positions, though perhaps unconsciously, and they did so in the name of their leaders. The regalia they could muster were at the same time a show of their wealth and a show of their strength in numbers, as for many reasons already indicated the two went hand in hand. At the same time, persons of lesser wealth displayed their allegiance to one or another of these outstanding personages and thus also to one or another of the two camps which represented true antagonistic factions in Hupa society. Still, to a noticeable degree, each separate group acted individually, just as each maintains a separate fire at the ceremonial. In this way the display of wealth loses the aspect of a conspicuous display generally assumed for this type of ceremonial and becomes a show of potential power with primary functional significance. Further, this ceremonial allegiance created social groups, albeit loose ones, for which there was no provision in the institutional organization of the tribe.

The invocation of taboo and the play upon religious emotions naturally increased the feeling of fear and hence respect for the authority which asserted itself at the ceremonial, and religious feeling in this way played an important rôle in the awakening of the national consciousness of the group.

It may be stated that the opinions of the social function of this dance among the Hupa and of its historical origin in the War dance, as expressed in the preceding section, were derived independently by the two authors, and that these two opinions lend each other mutual support and greater credibility.

If, then, it is true that the dance is a reassertion of symbolic and actual power by the elite of the society, it only remains to state that this dance was an important factor in the social cohesion of a tribe of Indians whose social system was marked by an almost unprecedented lack of organization and by extreme individualism and mutual distrust.

PLATES

PLATE 1

a. Deerskin dance in progress at the Bald Hill site. The man in the center foreground is a flint carrier and he holds a blade in his extended hand. The mode of wearing sea-lion-tooth hooks, wolfskin bands, head nets, and feathers is indicated on the various dancers. Skins are worn over the trousers, but the shoes have been removed.

b. A boat dance as it approaches the bank, before landing. Four native boats are used, paddled from the rear. None of the highest valuables, such as white deerskins or flints, are in the boats. At the prow of each boat are two men with blackened faces wearing the costumes of the flint carriers.

*a**b*

Deerskin dance; boat dance.

PLATE 2

a. Dressing place at Bald Hill. The dancers are seen from behind, their regalia almost completed. Two helpers are taking care of the finishing touches. At the right is the scaffolding against which the deerskins are leaned, and trunks and suitcases in which they are stored.

b. L's dance paraphernalia. He kept his regalia in the two large trunks. Spread out are the woodpecker rolls (foreground and extreme left) and several albino deerskins. Hanging over the trunk are quivers, hooks, and wolfskin bands. The material was packed away very carefully.

*a**b*

Dressing place; dance paraphernalia.

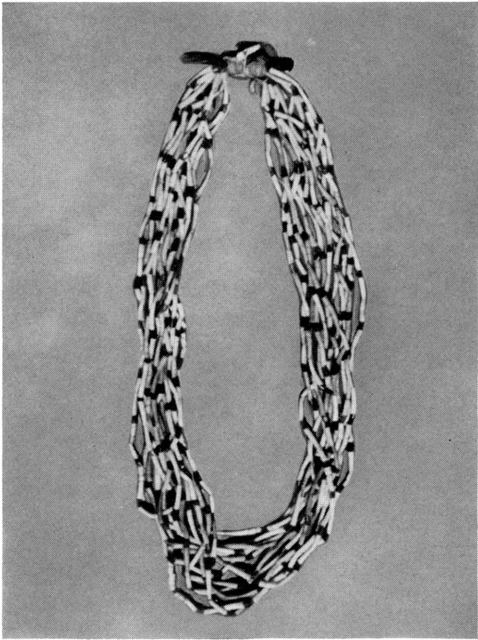
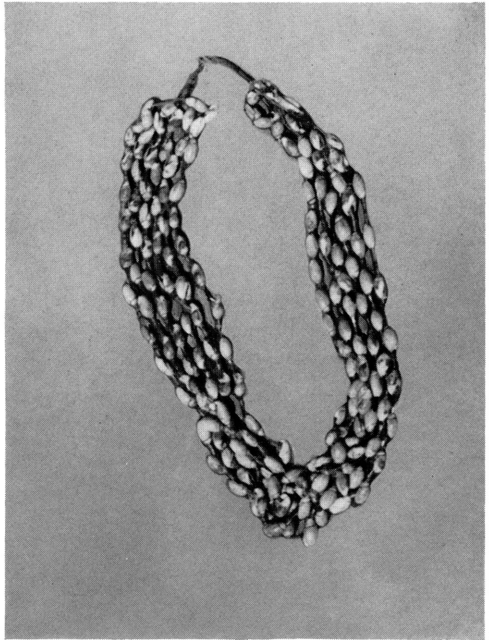
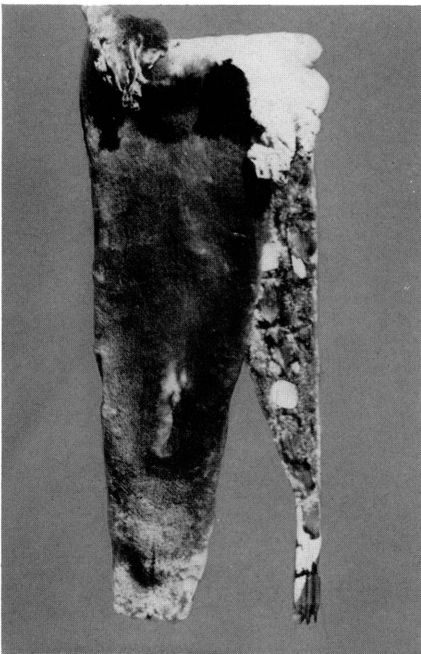
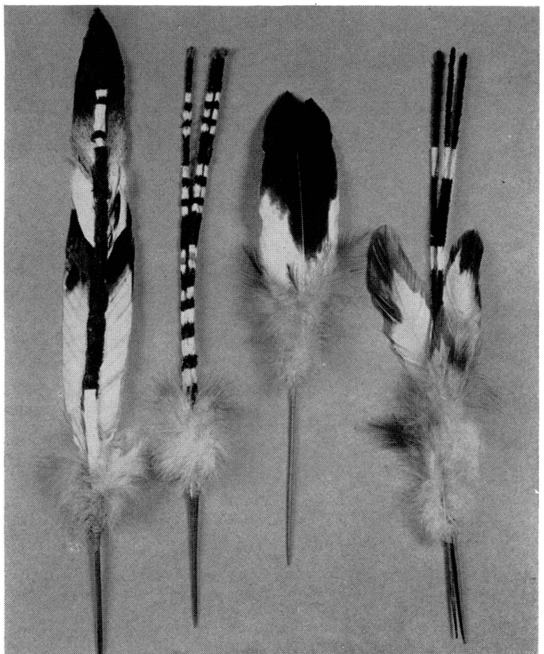
PLATE 3

a. String of dentalium beads. Such a string is worn by the flint carrier (pl. 1).

b. String of olivella beads.

c. Otterskin quiver, in which fresh river cedar brush is carried during the Deerskin performance. The quiver is worn fur side out (for other dances it is worn fur side in). The tail of the skin is split and decorated with disks of haliotis and the end is adorned with braided grass.

d. Composite feathers worn for the Deerskin dance. They vary in length from about 15 in. to almost 3 ft. The stems are of wood. The specimen is made up of several feathers, with a center strip of deer fur and woodpecker-scalp feathers. The second consists of three rods of feathers and fur attached to flexible sinew by sinew threads. The color patterns vary and include white, red, green, blue, and yellow. The third, the simplest and cheapest kind of feather, consists of two feathers attached to a single stick. On the extreme right are two feathers, showing the way they are frequently worn. (Museum Catalogue 1 numbers of specimens from left to right are: 1036, 11566, 1523, 1522, 9431. Negative catalogue: 15-11544.)

*a**b**c**d*

Dance paraphernalia.

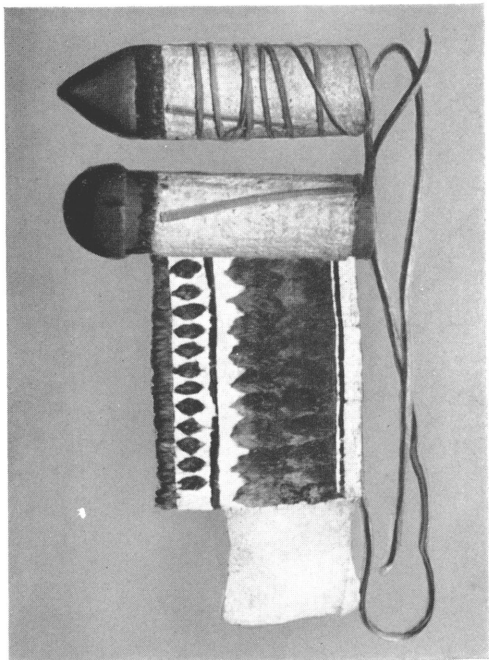
a. Detail of an albino deerhead showing decorated ear, woodpecker-scalp eye, and decorated buckskin tongue.

b. Two woodpecker rolls (used in the Jump dance), one completely rolled on the wooden spool, the other partly unrolled to show nature of decoration. The thongs serve the purpose of tying the band on the head of the dancer, and they are carefully wrapped around the roll so that they will not twist. The staves on the back of the rolls keep them upright when worn. These objects are of great value and are handled carefully.

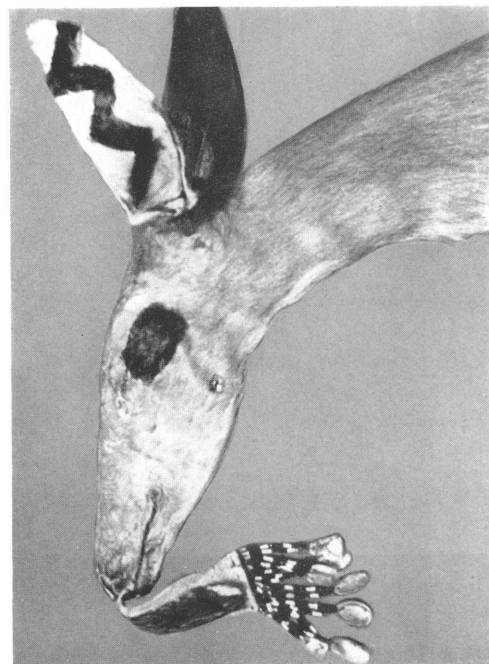
c. Sea-lion teeth set on a buckskin band; worn by the flint carriers (Mus. spec. no. 1-1159; negative, 15-781).

d. Wolfskin band with painted decoration (Mus. spec. no. 1-2064; negative, 15-4831).

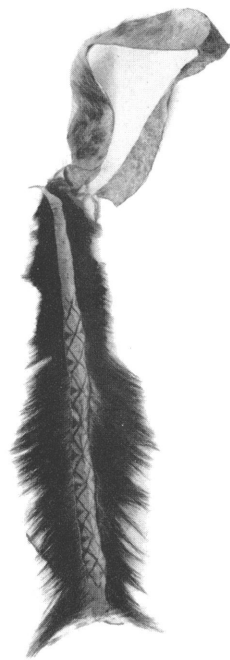
[GOLDSCHMIDT-DRIVER] PLATE 4



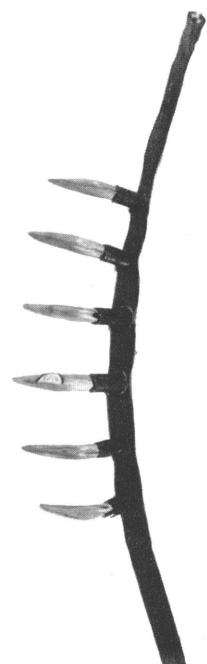
b



a



d



c

Dance paraphernalia.