1. Description

- **1.1** Name of society, language, and language family: Hupa, Athapascan. Shifted to English. Language revitalization effort in progress.1
- **1.2** ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): hup
- **1.3** Location (latitude/longitude): 41.06434N 123.68271W (2)
- **1.4** Brief history: Nearly extinct as of present day; An Athapascan tribe formerly occupying the valley of Trinity river, California from south fork to its junction with the Klamath, including Hupa valley. They were first mentioned by Gibbs in 1852; a military post was established in their territory in 1855 and maintained until 1892; and a reservation 12 miles square, including nearly all the Hupa habitat, was set apart in Aug. 1864. The population in 1888 was given as 650; in 1900, 430; in 1905, 412. They are at present self-supporting, depending on agriculture and stock raising. When they first came in contact with the whites, in 1850, the Hupa were all under the control of a chief called Ahrookoos by the Yurok, whose authority is said to have extended to other peoples southward along Trinity river 2. The Hupa have neither migration myth nor legends relating to a time before their coming to the region. 3
- **1.5** Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: Hupa have Athapascan neighbors on the south and west. Those to the south live along the Trinity River. Strictly speaking there are no tribes on the coast of California. The divisions are natural and of varying degrees, rather than political and well marked. To the west are the Redwood Indians. Cut off by snow for several months of the year, their speech remains well marked in dialect as compared with Hupa tongue. There are marked differences in religion between these tribes as well. The Hupa and the two tribes on the Klamath held frequent intercourse, traded with each other and attended one another's dances 3
- **1.6** Ecology: The Hupa live in a valley about six miles long and from a mile to two miles wide. 3 On the west, the mountain ridge is about 4000ft high. The westerly slope of this ridge is mostly open and the Trinity side heavily wooded. The eastern side of the valet culminates in a horse-shope-shaped mountain 6500 feet high on which winter snow falls from twn to twenty feet. There are an abundance of creeks and a plethora of flora. 3 **1.7** Population size, mean village size, home range size, and density: 8 (1998 J. Brook), decreasing. Ethnic

population: 223 (2000 census)

2. Economy

- **2.1** Main carbohydrate staple(s): Acorns constitute the staff of life for the Hupa. The Hupa use the bulbs of many plants, mostly the members of the lily family. These have the generic name yinetau. 4
- **2.2** Main protein-lipid sources: The Hupa depended on the deer and elk of the mountains and the salmon and lamprey of the river. 2
- **2.3** Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?: The yew bows they used to make, only about 3 ft long, strengthened with sinew fastened to the back with sturgeon glue, were effective up to 75 yards and could inflict serious wound at 100 yards. Their arrows, made of syringa shoots wound with sinew, into which foreshafts, of juneberry wood were inserted feathered with three split hawk feathers and pointed with sharp heads of obsidian, flint, bone, or iron, sometimes passed entirely through a deer. The Hupa took deer also with snares of a strong rope made from the fiber of the iris, or chased them into the water with dogs and pursued them in canoes. 2
- **2.4** Food storage: The houses of the Hupa were built of cedar slabs; these doubled as the storehouse for the family goods. Smoking preserved meat and fish. Salmon were caught in latticed weirs stretched across the river or in seines or poundnets, or were speared with barbs that detached but were made fast to the pole by lines. Dried acorns were ground into flour, leached in a pit to extract the bitter taste, and boiled into a mush. 2 On the banks of earth on three sides of the room the winter's supply of food is stored in baskets 4
- **2.5** Sexual division of production: The gathering of vegetable food is the duty of the women. The women dug the bulbs in former times with pointed sticks, the men sometimes accompanying them with their stones knives to renew the points when necessary. It was the man's duty to make the fire-sticks
- 2.6 Land tenure:
- **2.7** Ceramics: They are noted for the beautiful twined baskets produced by the women and the fine pipes and implements executed by the men. 2
- 2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

- **2.9** Food taboos: After birth, if the child were a boy she was obliged to eat by herself for forty days. She was forbidden meat and fresh fish. For a girl baby the term of isolation was fifty days, and sixty for a miscarriage. 4
- **2.10** Canoes/watercraft? The Hupa chased deer into the water with dogs and pursued them in canoes. 2
- 3. Anthropometry
- 3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):
- 3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

4. Life History, mating, marriage

- **4.1** Age at menarche (f): While yet a mere child the girl begins to show signs of approaching womanhood. She is carefully watched until the first menses appears. She is then placed under the care of her grandmother or some other female relative. During the ten days she is not allowed to look up at the world about her nor is she allowed to look any one in the face. The girl who has passed this period of life is called keLtsan, "virgin." 4
- **4.2** Age at first birth (m and f): The prospective mother during the first four months of the term "made medicine" for herself and observed certain things regarding the food she took and her manner of taking it. The object assigned for these practices is that the child may be small but strong at the time of its birth. When the end of the term drew near, the woman carried in her basket, when she went for wood, a white stone knife. Sometimes she returned with her child instead of the load of wood or in addition to it. 4
- **4.3** Completed family size (m and f): A typical family consisted of the man and his sons, the wife or wives of the man, the unmarried and half-married daughters, the wives of the sons, and the grandchildren. To these may be added unmarried or widowed brothers and sisters of the man 4
- 4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):
- 4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):
- **4.6** Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: If the woman had previously received attentions from a man she was not allowed to speak to him after her marriage. If her husband was not pleasing, she sat on the smoky side of the fire that her tears might be assigned to smoke. She must endure until she learned to love her husband. 4
- 4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:
- **4.8** Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?: Courtship often extended through a summer and a winter. The marriage took place at the beginning of the summer season. The father or some other relative of the young man visited the male relative of the girl who had the right to dispose of-her. 'The subject was broached and a sum of money was exposed to view. This was left with the girl's guardian while the match was being considered. The sum paid varied according to the social standing of the parties and the girl's attainments. She herself might or might not be consulted. After the paying of woodpecker scalps and several strings of shell money, varying in total value from \$30 to \$100, completed the bargain great preparations were made by both parties. 4
- **4.9** Inheritance patterns: Father/Chief power descended to his son at his death, if his property also so descended. On the other hand any one who by industry or extraordinary abilities had acquired more property might obtain the dignity and power.
- **4.10** Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: The grandmother, if one lives in the house, ties a small dentalium shell to the ankle of the baby. This remains until the mother's relations with her husband are resumed. The mother is taught that ill luck will come to the child if the shell be allowed to remain longer. It is therefore a sign to the old people that the law, which separates a nursing mother from her husband during the first year, is being kept.
- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):
- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized?
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows")
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)?
- **4.16** Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape: Her male relatives killed her assailant in case of rape. A seducer was obliged to marry his victim. Sometimes the girl tried to avoid disgrace by inducing miscarriage, often perishing in the attempt. In that case her betrayer, if known, was strangled before the corpse. 4
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

- **4.18** Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?: She was not allowed to be alone with a man either in the house, or out. She was told the results of wrongdoing and severely punished by beating if she were remiss 4
- 4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring
- 4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?
- 4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females
- 4.22 Evidence for couvades
- 4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)
- 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?
- 4.24 Joking relationships?
- 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations
- 4.26 Incest avoidance rules
- **4.27** Is there a formal marriage ceremony? When the appointed day came the bride was conducted to her husband by a band of maids and young men from her village They made the journey in canoes in which were placed the presents. The departure was timed so as to arrive toward night. They had a great feast that night. The party remained for two days. The young women went with the bride to bring wood and the young men accompanied the groom and assisted him in bringing sweat-house wood. On the third day those who accompanied the bride returned, carrying back as many presents bestowed by the groom's family as they had brought.
- 4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?
- **4.29** Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?): The Hupa and the two tribes on the Klamath sometimes intermarried 4
- **4.30** Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)? Parents agree on a bride price.
- **4.31** Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who:

Warfare/homicide

- **4.14** Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:
- **4.15** Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: Accidental injury or the most remote contribution to the result is held as much a grievance as if the act were directly committed with intention. A child was burned to death in a fire a woman had built for heating wash-water out of doors. Although the woman was in no way at fault, the life of her son was sought as recompense.
- **4.16** Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: Personal injury and homicide, intentional or accidental, may be settled when the offended approaches the other party and suggests a settlement. After the settlement is accomplished the parties must be friends, even if the one has murdered the other's brother. Settlement, however, may be refused and life for life demanded. In this case the life of the head of the family to which the offended belonged, or that of any member of it, was sought without regard to the real perpetrator of the crime. If the feud was between villages or tribes, the death of any male member of the village or tribe atoned for the injury. This principle was applied to the whole white race. If a white man killed an Indian, a white man's life was due in return.
- **4.17** Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): The divisions are natural and of varying degrees, rather than political and well marked. To the west are the Redwood Indians. Cut off by snow for several months of the year, their speech remains well marked in dialect as compared with Hupa tongue. There are marked differences in religion between these tribes as well. The Hupa and the two tribes on the Klamath held frequent intercourse, traded with each other and attended one another's dances 3
- **4.18** Cannibalism? No evidence of cannibalism, though Some sort of a dance was held before setting out on an expedition and at times just before they went into action. This consisted partly of yelling and a discharge of weapons. A dance was also held over the trophies after a victory. Scalps were not taken. Some California tribes took the whole head as a trophy, but there is no evidence that the Hupa did so.

5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

- **5.1** Mean local residential (village) group size:
- **5.2** Mobility pattern: (seasonality): The tribe occupied the following permanent villages: Cheindekhotding, Djishtangading, Haslinding, Honsading, Howungkut, Kinchuwhikut, Medilding, Miskut, Takimilding, Tlelding, Toltsasding, and Tsewenalding. Powers

- **5.3** Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes): The position of chief depended on the possession of wealth, which usually remained in the family, causing the chieftainship to descend from father to son. 2
- **5.4** Post marital residence: The space beyond the fire from the entrance is the post of honor, reserved for guests and the male members of the family. The women occupy the places on either side of the fire. The space next the door is for the slaves or menials of the family.
- **5.5** Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): Hupa have Athapascan neighbors on the south and west. Those to the south live along the Trinity River. Strictly speaking there are no tribes on the coast of California. The divisions are natural and of varying degrees, rather than political and well marked. 4
- **5.6** Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): In feasts and dances a division of the Hupa into two parts is manifest, but this division seems to have no validity outside of religious matters. 2
- **5.7** Special friendships/joking relationships:
- **5.8** Village and house organization: The houses of the Hupa were built of cedar slabs set on end, the walls being 4 ft high on the sides and rising to more than 6 ft at the ends to accommodate the slope of the roof, inclosing a place about 20 ft square, the central part of which was excavated to form the principal chamber, which was about 12 ft square and 5 ft deep. The entrance was a hole 18 or 20 in. in diameter and about a foot above the ground. This was the storehouse for the family goods and the sleeping place of the women. 2
- **5.9** Specialized village structures (mens' houses): The Hupa women slept in the xonta, while the men occupied the sweat-house. This applied to the married men and women as well as to the unmarried. When the weather became warm in early summer brush shelters were erected along the river. In these the people lived until the cool weather of fall when the hunting season began. During the summer only was cohabitation allowed.
- **5.10** Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? After the men withdraw at night the women spread their beds by the fire. These beds consist of deer-skins, or if the family is rich, of tule mats imported from the coast. 4
- **5.11** Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc: Each village had a headman who was the richest there. His riches consisted in weapons of war and chase, dresses, skins, and dance regalia. Besides he had hunting and fishing rights, and certain lands where his women might gather acorns and berries. The very fact of his wealth gave him the power of a chief and maintained him in that power. The men of the village obeyed him because from him they received food in time of scarcity. If they were involved in any trouble they looked to him to settle the dispute with money
- **5.12** Trade: Was carried on especially with the Yurok who held not only the lower Klamath but the mouth of Redwood creek and the coast south beyond Trinidad. From them, the Hupa bought canoes smelt and other saltwater fish mussels and seaweed. In return they gave acorns.
- **5.13** Indications of social hierarchies? Man's standing in the world depended on the amount of money, which had been paid for his mother at the time of her marriage. If the sum were large he was the peer of any in the tribe. If his mother had been "half bought" he was considered as not well raised. It was not expected that he would be a discreet and truthful man. A child born without the payment of any price was called tintailtowen, "he was made in the woods." He was a social outcast and usually a slave. He was spoken to as they spoke to their dogs. No money could be exacted for his death or injury. He was not permitted to enter the sacred sweat-house. He could marry only with his kind. His children would be bad and likely to do wrong. 4

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

- **6** Time allocation to RCR: It was not only on dance occasions that the Hupa's religion manifested itself. Every day and all through the day he maintained a pious frame of mind. When he awoke in the morning he greeted the dawn with a silent prayer that he might see many of them
- **6.1** Specialization (shamans and medicine): For the diagnosing and treating of diseases there are professional shamans, who practice their art after a season of training. There are two classes of these: the dancing doctor, tintatcinwunawa, who determines the disease, its cause, and the steps necessary for recovery; and the sucking doctor, kitetau, who removes the pain by sucking the part affected **6.2** Stimulants: Smoking has been practiced by the Hupa from time immemorial. Their gods smoked. It is in fact a semi-religious practice. The pipe, kinaigyan, was and is still made of selected wood of the manzanita or yew. 4
- **6.3** Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal): A salmon feast is held by the southern division in the spring and an acorn feast by the northern division in the fall. In death, if the deceased was a husband, the widow might step between his legs and thus release herself from her marriage vow. Otherwise she was bound for life, and infidelity to the dead would bring ill luck

- **6.4** Other rituals: A candidate who wishes to become a professional shaman must spend several months, and sometimes a year, under the direction of some old shaman. The candidate is not permitted to drink water, and his food is confined to the vegetable kingdom, being mostly acorn soup, which supplies the liquid absolutely essential. Much bathing is prescribed. They formerly celebrated three dances each year: the spring dance, the white-deerskin dance, and the jumping dance.
- **6.5** Myths (Creation): The imagination of the Hupa has peopled the region east, west, south, and above with mortals known as Kihunai. The underworld is the abode of the dead. Their creator or culture hero, Yimantuwingyai, dwells with Kihunai across the ocean toward the north.
- **6.6** Cultural material (art, music, games): A game used to be played with the vertebrae of salmon strung on a string, which is tied to the larger end of a pointed stick. The trick is to catch the bones on the stick. The woman's game is played on the pavement in front of the xonta with four disks of mussel shells. Two of these are about an inch in diameter and the other two a little smaller. The shells are dropped from the hands held palm against palm. Two points are counted when all four are down or up, and one point when two are up and two are down. The score is kept with small sticks, all of which are at first in the pool. They must all be won from the pool or from the opponent. These games are often played during the days and the nights of the celebration of the dances. With these games shooting at a mark held a high place as an amusement
- **6.7** Sex differences in RCR:
- **6.8** Missionary effect:
- **6.9** RCR revival:
- **6.10** Death and afterlife beliefs: The underworld is the abode of the dead. When a Hupa had died a great wailing commenced. It was the duty of the nearest male relative to care for the body and to dig the grave. This was considered the greatest favor one could do for another.
- **6.11** Taboo of naming dead people? The Hupa are free in criticizing one another to the face, but any statement implying crime or disgrace, any disrespect to dead relatives, or any expression of a desire for ill luck or death is strongly resented. After the first angry encounter the parties do not speak to each other. After a time the aggrieved party goes to some prominent man, usually the head of the village, and puts his case in his hands. This man approaches the other party and suggests a settlement. If there is no difference of opinion in regard to the facts of the case, the sum of money to be paid is fixed by a mutual agreement of the parties concerned effected through the intermediary, or is left to him to decide.
- **6.12** Is there teknonymy?
- **6.13** Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.): The chief divinity of the Hupa is called Yimantuwinyai, "The one who is lost across the ocean," or Yimankyuwinxoiyan, "Old man over across." Hupa mythology is very inconsistent when taken as a whole, for not only did each village have its own versions, but each family had myths which, being seldom told outside of the family, came to differ from those told in the same village.

7. Adornment

- **7.1** Body paint: All adult women were tattooed with vertical black marks on the chin and sometimes-curved marks were added at the corners of the mouth.
- **7.2** Piercings: The nose was not pierced, but in the ears were often worn dentalium shells with tassels of woodpeckers' feathers.
- **7.3** Haircut: Women, except widows, wore their hair long and tied in queues that hung down in front of the ears, and were ornamented with strips of mink skin, sometimes covered with woodpeckers' crests, and shell pendants, and sometimes perfumed with stems of yerba buena.
- **7.4** Scarification:
- **7.5** Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.): Bands of deerskin, sometimes ornamented with woodpeckers' crests, were worn about the head in dances, and occasionally feathers or feathered darts were stuck in the hair. Small dentalium and olivella shells, pine-nut shells, and small black fruits were strung for necklaces. A robe of deerskin or of wildcat fur was worn with the hair next to the body as a protection against the cold and in rainy weather with the hair side out.
- **7.6** Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: The dance robes of the men were made of two deerskins sewn together along one side, the necks meeting over the left shoulder and the tails nearly touching the ground. Panther skins were

sometimes used. The hair was tied into two clubs, one hanging down on each side of the head, or into one, which hung behind. He skirts worn in dances were ornamented with strings of shell beads, pieces of abalone shell, and Hakes of obsidian fastened to the upper and of shells of pine nuts inserted at intervals in the lower fringe. The apron for common wear was made of long strands of pine-nut shells and braided leaves attached to a belt. The dance aprons had strands of shells and pendants cut from abalone shells.

7.7 Sex differences in adornment: The men wore ordinarily a breechclout of deerskin or of skins of small animals joined together, and leggings of painted deerskin with the seam in front hidden by a fringe that hung from the top, which was turned down at the knee. Moccasins of deerskin with soles of elk hide were sometimes worn. Women wore a skirt of deerskin reaching to the knees, with a long, thick fringe hanging below and a short fringe at the waist. When soiled it was washed with the soap plant. At the opening of the skirt in front an apron was worn underneath.

7.8 Missionary effect:

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: A close fitting cap of fine basketwork was worn on the head almost constantly. This gave protection to the forehead from the leather-carrying strap of the burden and baby baskets. Many of the women still wear these hats in connection with civilized dress.

8. Kinship systems

- **8.1** Sibling classification system:
- **8.2** Sororate, levirate:
- **8.3** Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

- 1. The hunter, disguised in the skin of the deer or elk, the odor of his body removed by ablution and smoking with green fir boughs, simulated so perfectly the movements of the animal in order to get within bowshot that a panther sometimes pounced upon his back, but withdrew when he felt the sharp pins that, for the very purpose of warding off such an attack, were thrust through the man's hair gathered in a bunch at the back of the neck. 2
- 2. The Mwimnn measure of value among the Hupa was the decorated dentalium shell. Since all hands and arms are not of the same length it was necessary for the man, when he reached his maturity, to establish the values of the creases on his hand by comparison with money of known length as measured by some one else. He also had a set of lines tattooed on the inside of the left forearm. These lines indicated the length of five shells of the several standards. This money was strung on strings that reached from the thumb nail to the point of the shoulder. 4

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