TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY

JOHN P. HARRINGTON
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,

Sir: I have the honor to submit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California," by John P. Harrington, and to recommend its publication, subject to your approval, as a bulletin of this bureau.

Respectfully,

M. W. Stirling, Chief.

Dr. C. G. Abbot,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.
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24. Pa’uhsípnu”uk, muëápíppar vúr ‘u’ýfk’utí’, kari púva tákkkúhahiti’, kari takúkk’rpux, the tobacco basket together with its cover before they are cleaned out, not cleaned out yet.

25. Pa’uhsípnu”uk karu pakaháuhsípnu”uk, the tobacco basket and the upriver tobacco basket. a, Pa’uhsípnu”k patupíkyá’rahiti’, pamuëápíppar ‘umhitaráric’rha’, the finished tobacco basket with its cover tied on. About natural size. b, Pakaháuhsípnu”uk, ‘a’u kunsáríphiti’, the upriver tobacco basket, they use iris twine for hazel sticks.
26. a, Kahápxa'^n, 'i'ök'a 'ápiv 'ukrixavkuti', upriver hat with a bunch of feathers on its top [National Museum specimen no. 24075, Klamath woman's hat, see p. 127, fn.]. b, Kahápxa'^n, upriver hat [National Museum specimen no. 19293, McCloud River woman's hat, see p. 129, fn.]. c, Va; vura kumakahápxa'^n, 'uhsip-nuk?ikya'y, the same upriver hat being made into a tobacco basket. d, Va; vura kumakahápxa'^n, patu-píkyá'rahiti pa'uhsi'pnu'^k, the same upriver hat when already made into a tobacco basket.

27. Payi0úva k'ó'k mit kuma'uhra'^m, the different kinds of pipe that there used to be. a, Yuxtcananitcůtitat-kurihavaraxavic'úhra'^m, abalone inlaid arrowwood pipe (Nat. Mus. No. 278471, collected by F. E. Gist. 5¼ inches long. See pp. 165–166.) b, Faöip'uhramík-k'ó'tar, manzanita pipe with a stone pipe bowl. Specimens made by Yas and bought from Benny Tom. 5½ inches long. See p. 166. The detached bowl of this pipe is the whitish specimen shown in Pl. 32, c. c, Xavic'uhramík'ó'tí'pux, xavic'úhná'm'ítc, arrowwood pipe without stone pipe bowl, little arrowwood pipe. Made by Hackett. 3½ inches long. See p. 165. d, 'Uhrá'm apxantiníhitců'úhra'^m kunic kuniýá'ttíhat', pipe made like a White man pipe (Nat. Mus. No. 278473, collected by F. E. Gist, "cut entirely from wood, the form representing a hand holding the bowl." 3½ inches long. See p. 136, fn.). e, Xavic'uhramík-k'ó'tar, 'uhnamxanahyá'atc, arrowwood pipe with a stone pipe bowl, a slender pipe. Made by Fritz Hanson. 4 inches long. See p. 165. [Specimens a and b are also shown in Pl. 30].

28. Yuxt cánnanitc karu yuxtá'an, small and large abalone pendants. ½ natural size. a, Yuxtá'an, va; pay k'ó'k kumayuxtá'an payáfsusak 'ukrixavkó'hiti', abalone pendants, the kind that are hung on women's [buckskin] dresses. b, Yuxt cánnanitc, va; pay k'ó'k 'ifuní-ha'íppanite kunic k'áskó'ttí pa'asíktá'vansa', abalone pendants, the kind that the women bunch at the end of their hair [braids].
29. Payiθ0uva kʷa:k mit kuma'uhra;m karu yθ0a x'é'hva'as, iḵxurikəe-mitcək?u'ssurapu pe'kxurik, different kinds of pipes that there used to be and one pipe sack, copied from an old book [reproduction of Powers, The Indians of California, Fig. 43, opp. p. 426, accompanying his chapter on "Aboriginal Botany." Reduced ½ from Powers' figure. These pipes and pipe sack have been identified by the author as follows: No. 1 = Nat. Mus. No. 19301, McCloud River, Calif., collected by L. Stone = Mason, Pl. 16, No. 69 = McGuire, Fig. 33 (mistitled by McGuire "wood and stone pipe"). No. 2 = Nat. Mus. No. 21399, Feather River, Calif., collected by Stephen Powers = Mason, Pl. 15, No. 62 = McGuire, Fig. 26. No. 3 = Nat. Mus. No. 21400, Potter Valley, Calif., collected by Stephen Powers = Mason, Pl. 15, No. 64 = McGuire, Fig. 27. No. 4. Diligent search fails to find this in the Nat. Mus. collections. No. 5 = Nat. Mus. No. 19303, McCloud River, Calif., collected by L. Stone = Mason, Pl. 15, No. 61 = McGuire, Fig. 25. No. 6 = probably Mason, Pl. 15, No. 66 = McGuire, Fig. 30. No. 7. This pipe sack can not be located in the Nat. Mus. collections. No. 8 = possibly Nat. Mus. No. 21306, Hupa, Calif., collected by Stephen Powers = possibly Mason, Pl. 16, No. 72 = McGuire, Fig. 36.

30. Xavic?uhamikyav; tó'tarukahina'iti su?; 'ippankam takun'iыватьramni pa'aθkúrit; ká'kum tó'tá'vahina'iti 'avahkam; karu pi;θ pa'úhra;m tupíkyà'rahiti'. Yθ0a faθip'úhra'*m, arrowwood pipes in the making; they have been dug out; oil has been spilled in on top; some of them have been dressed on the outside; and four finished pipes. One is a manzanita pipe, the third from the right-hand end. [Fourth from last and last specimen are also shown in Pl. 34; third and second from last specimen are also shown in Pl. 27.] ½ natural size...

31. 'Ikθó'rá'as, Pipe Bowl Rock

32. a, Pa'asaxús'as Ka'timı?imn'astìjip vá'as, the Soft Soapstone Rock by the river at Katimin. b, Va; ká'n pakukìnsürótï pe'kkθó'rr Pa'asaxús'asavahkam, where pipe bowls have been pecked off on top of the Soft Soapstone Rock. c, 'Axxak pe'kkθó'rr, 'axxak vura asáxxu;ps po'kyà'rahiti', two pipe bowls, both made of soft soapstone. Pipe bowls ¾ natural size. The whitish appearing specimen is that of the pipe shown in Pl. 27, b.
33. a, Pahu't kunkupattárukkahiti pakunníhař, payúv kuni-
hyákkurihe'cifak, how they dig out the arrow where
the foreshaft is going to be inserted. Shown for com-
parison with digging out of pipe bowl. b, 'Ipám̄'aⁿ̄n, 
sinew thread [such as is used for sewing pipe sacks].
c, d, Yíóóúva kuma'íppań, various kinds of sinew:
c, 'Ipamkē'mítcas, ordinary sinews. d, 'Apsih'íppań, 
leg sinew. e, 'Ipamxíppuⁿ, connective tissue of 
sinew. b, c, d, e. ¾ natural size. 

34. Xe̱'hvaⁿ̄s, pipe sacks. ¾ natural size. a, 'Ikritíptipa-
hitihanxé̱'hvaⁿ̄s 'ührá̱̱m 'uhyá̱rahití', fringed pipe 
sack with a pipe in it [pipe and pipe sack made by 
Tcákítchaⁿ]. b, Pa'úhraⁿ, the pipe. c, Xe̱'hvas̄k-
kyav, tuvúyáhití', pipe sack in the making, that has 
been cut out [to fit the pipe shown as b of this plate]. 
d, Pavastáran, pamukíccapárahe̱c, the thong that it 
is going to be tied with. e, Paxé̱'hvaⁿ̄s, 'ührá̱̱m su? 
'úkriⁿ̄, the pipe sack with the pipe [that is shown as b 
of this plate] inside it. [Pipe sack made by Imk̄an-
ván.] Specimens a (the pipe) and b are also shown in 
Pl. 30. 

35. 'Ińe̱xyá'vráñ̄ 'uómyúricrihití', Tintin is making a fire 
with Indian matches [fire sticks].

36. Tcirkx̄xuⁿ, ceremonial buckskin bags. Models made by 
Mrs. Mary Ike. a, Large bag, 7¾ inches long, 2¾ inches 
wide. b, Small bag, 3¼ inches long, 3 inches 
wide. c, Small bag, 2¾ inches long, 2¾ inches wide. 

TEXT FIGURES

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63044°—32—3
PHONETIC KEY

VOWELS

Unnasalized vowels:
- a, a' 'árá'tas, people.
- æ, æ' yá'ha, well!
- e, e' peh'raha', tobacco.
- i, i' pihnî'tcî'cas, old men.
- o, o' kohomayâ'tc kô', the right size.
- u, u' 'ú'ú'ukrâ'm, out in the lake.

Nasalized vowel:
- å' hâ', yes. The only word that has a nasalized vowel.

Diphthongs¹:
- ay, a'y 'uvûrayvut'i', he is going around. 'áta'y, salmon eggs. ta'øy, much.
- oy, o'y hó'øy, where?
- uy, u'y 'uyccârahiti', it is mixed. 'ú'y, mountain.

CONSONANTS

Laryngeal:
- 'as, stone. 'u'ámti', he is eating. ?² su', inside. Ka'timî'n, Katimin.³
- h² hâriñay, year. 'akrâ'h, eel.

Radical:
- x, xx xas, then. 'u'ux, it is bitter. 'áxxak, two.

Dorsal:
- k, kk kâri, then. 'u'ákkti', it tastes.

Antedorsal:
- y² yav, good.

Frontal:
- t, tt tayâv, all right. kunkupîtti', they do that way. 'îttaím, to-day.
- θ, θθ oûkkinkûnic, yellow. yîθa', one.
- s, ss sârûm, pine roots. 'a's, water. vâssî', back (of body).
- c, cc tu'ycîp, mountain. 'îcca'hà', water.

¹ w is represented in this paper by v, with the result that there are no diphthongs having w or "u" as second element.
² Does not occur long.
³ We use the two symbols merely for convenience in writing the various positions of the glottal elusive.
Frontal—Continued.

tc, ttc — tcô:ia, let us go. pilnî-ttcpî, old man.

r
tcO-fa, let us go. pînûhîtc, kidney

Labial:

p, pp — pay, this. 'ippi', bone.
f, ff — 'feei', foot. 'ííuó, behind.
v — víra, it is. 'ávan, male, husband. 'iv, to die.

m, mm — ma'ag, heavy. 'á'm'ma, salmon.

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FIGURE 1.—The Karuk phonems

DIACRITICALS

Length:
Unmarked: short
: long

Pitch:
: high
: middle
: low
`` : final atonic, lower than `.

3 r does not begin words, or double.
4 Does not occur long.
Level and falling tones:
  Unmarked: short or level
  \~: high or middle falling
  ^: low falling
  ^: low falling atonic
Additional marks:
  \_: inlaut form of \~
  \_: inlaut form of ^
  \_: inlaut form of ^
  .: indicating detached pronunciation of t.s and t.c
  .: indicating vowel nasalization
TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

By John P. Harrington

I. Pitapvavaøtcúpha'

INTRODUCTION

Knowledge and practice of the California Indians with regard to tobacco has up to the present time been insufficiently explored. There is practically no literature on the subject. Furthermore, the method pursued by others has been wrong. A constant basing of the study upon language is the only path to correctness and completeness. Every act and status must be traced through language to the psychology and mythology behind it. Without the linguistic method, error lurks near in every item of information.

Starting with the picturesque Karuk tribe of northwestern California, whose tobacco knowledge constitutes the present section of this presentation, we shall formulate our gleanings from carefully selected tribes of several diversified areas throughout the State. For each tribe the presentation will include quoting of previous literature; determination of the variety of the tobacco used; description of gathering, curing, and storing; infumation, its instruments, appurtenances, procedure and customs; other uses of tobacco; other plants mixed with or used like tobacco; other plants smoked; tobacco as materia medica, in shamanism, in ceremony, in mythology; tobacconal vocabulary, expressions and proverbs. Finally, at the conclusion of these findings there will be a summing up and building together, difficult to write until the details from the varying areas have been duly worked over and presented.

The first section, here printed, records the tobacco knowledge of the Karuk, the second tribe encountered as one proceeds up the Klamath River from its south. This tribe centers about Orleans, Katimin, Clear Creek, and Happy Camp, in Humboldt and Siskiyou Counties. The tribe or language is called Pehtsik or Arrara by Gibbs, Ara by Gatschet, Quoratean by Powell, Ehnek and
Ehnikan by Curtin, and Ká-rok, Ka'-rok, and Karok by Powers,1 evidently writing o by analogy with "Mo'-dok," for he spells very correctly "ká-ruk, up east," and misspells only the tribe name. Karok is the mutilated incomplete first half of the native descriptive term Ká'ruk Va'ára'á'rá, Upriver Person, or Ká'ruk Kuma'ára'á'rá, Upriver Kind of Person, a combination of words which can be, but scarcely is once in a lifetime, used to designate the tribe. The old and correct tribal designation is 'A'tcip Va'ára'á'rá (Áchip Vaárar) 18 or 'Ičćíanén?á-tecip Va'ára'á'rá (Ithivthanénachip Vaárar), Middle of the World Person; also expressions for "we," "we people," "our people," "our kind of people," and the like.

The information was largely obtained from 'Imká'ánvan (Imkánvan) (Mrs. Phoebe Maddux) (pl. 1) to whose linguistic genius and patient striving after knowledge the success of the present section of this paper is largely due, with the help of various older Indians: Ya's (Ya's), 'Uhtcá'mhatoire (Pete Henry) (pl. 2. a, b), Tcá'kítcha'án (Fritz Hanson) (pl. 2, c), 'İcxáyriópa'án (Hackett) (pl. 3, a, b), 'İthé'yá-vraá (Tintin) (pl. 3, c), 'Ásné'pitax (Snappy) ('asiktá'á'n, a woman) (pl. 3, d, e), John Pepper, 'Akramaníáhu'nu (Sandybar Jim), Kápitá'nu (Capitan) (pl. 3, f), Pasamvaró'ttín (Ned), and several others. The texts and Karuk words in this paper are all in the downriver dialect of Karuk as spoken at Ka'támin'i'n (Katimin), (pl. 4. a), on the southeast side of the Klamath River, and at 'Iccipícihak (Ishipishihak) (pl. 4. b), on the northwest bank of the Klamath opposite Katimin, Mrs. Maddux being of Ishipishihak ancestry and raised at that village.

Bearing out the policy of emphasizing the Indian language, we have also tried to retain in the English translation as much as possible of the Karuk English, a peculiar dialect of northern California English modified by the Karuk language. This Karuk English presents a rich and surprising field for philological study. Operating with a limited number of English words, which amount to the partial vocabulary of the farmers and miners who first settled in the country, with more modern terms and colloquialisms added, this dialect stretches the meanings of words, making them do double or triple service, and is molded by Karuk idiom and especially by the remarkable com-

1 Powers, Stephen, Tribes of California, Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Washington, 1877. The standard spelling adopted by Powers is Karok, with o to agree with Modoc, as shown by his listing of "Yu'-rok, Ka'-rok, and Mo'-dok" (p. 19); he thought the Karuk words had the same ending as Modoc. Gibbs, George, Bur. Amer. Ethn., MS. 846, collected on the Klamath River, 1852, under the letter T, has already "up (a river) kah-ruk," with the correct u.
Informants

a, b, Pete Henry; c, Fritz Hanson.
a. Katimin rancheria

b. Ishiplishhah rancheria
pounding of the Karuk language, with the result that occasionally English words are put together in a very original and poetic way. The rendering of Indian texts and expressions in this dialect is a valuable record, and to change it completely into “high English” would destroy this record and remove the translation far from its original form. One will therefore find in the following pages frequent lapses into Indian English, and retention of such words as “to pack,” meaning to carry; “to spill,” instead of to pour; “to mock,” instead of to imitate; “to growl,” for to scold. His wife is “his woman.” Mount Shasta is still “Shasty Butte.” A cradle is a “baby basket.” The sweathouse is contrasted with “the living house.” A woodpecker scalp is “a woodpecker head.” We here boldly keep “pipe sack,” “arrow sack,” “jump dance,” “kick song,” “acorn soup,” “pack basket,” “baby basket,” and many other compounds and choices of words, following the local dialect. The future is mostly formed by the auxiliary “going.”

A few Karuk words, such as names of persons and places, and other words which do not lend themselves readily to translation in English, have been given in the English part of the paper in simplified orthography, but the strict Indian original can also always be found.

The Karuk are closely identified in culture with the Yuruk Indians of the lowest stretch of the Klamath River and adjacent coast and with the Hupa of the lower Trinity River, the largest southern tributary of the Klamath. According to the Karuks’ own impression, Yuruk and Hupa are larger, fatter, redder Indians than themselves. The Indians of the upper Salmon River, another southern tributary of the Klamath, are felt to be quite different in culture, although more directly in contact with the Karuk than are the Hupa. The Shasta Indians, holding the Klamath for a long part of its course immediately upstream of the Karuk, belong in culture with the Salmon River Indians. The Smith River tribe, bordering on the Karuk to the north and west, were their enemies, and cut them off from intercourse with other tribes in that direction.

The Karuk know the names of a surprising number of other tribes, including some far to the east. All good things were believed to come down the Klamath River, and the tribe of Klamath and Modoc Indians at the head of the river, famed as warriors and as holders of the Klamath Lakes in the mud of which dentalium money was believed to grow and be obtained, were almost deified, and were held to be the dwellers of the northern end of the world. Even the White man came down the river from the great region of the Klamath Lakes, and horse is still occasionally called yuras-tcicce'ih (Klamath) lake dog, or kahtcicce'ih, upriver dog, instead of the usual mere tcicce'ih, dog. Occasion-
ally the Klamath were visited by Karuks. It was commoner for Karuk men to take a trip downriver, often as far as the mouth of the river. Of the location of the coast tribes the same adverb was used as when indicating position out in a lake or out in a river. The Humboldt Bay tribe was the farthest one south along the coast and the Smith River tribe the farthest north along the coast for which they had names.

The Karuk were typical river Indians, and many features of their life strike one who has made a study of coast Indians as very similar. Their houses were all "downslop," and faced the river, the door being commonly in the upriver portion of the front of the house. They were built of native hewn boards and were very warm and comfortable in winter. They were clustered in 'arárik, or rancherias, which contained in addition to the living houses, sweathouses for the men and boys, in which they slept, conversed, and told stories, and which they heated up for sweating at least twice a day. The living houses were reserved for the women and girls, and all the cooking and eating and storing of food and most other property was done in them. It is very rare for a living house or sweathouse to have a name; they are usually called by the name of the site where they stand.

The rancherias contained no rancheria chief. Whatever ruling was done was by the heads of the houses. Each house had its owner, often a leader of feuds between families. Each of the several sweat-houses of the rancherias also belonged to a family or was frequented only by members of certain families. The valuable fisheries along the river and the acorn plots upslope were owned by individuals and families.

Marriage was fixed up by older people, as it is to varying extent the world over. The common way to arrange marriage was for the man, who was the buyer of his bride, to send another man, called 'unáva^n, go-between, to the father of the girl, and if the price was right, she married (tuyáraraha', she marries), going a week or so later to the husband's house, where she reared her family, formed new friendships, and was buried when she died.\(^3\) A less usual method of arranging marriage was when the girl herself to só'm'va, goes as an applicant for marriage. She is accompanied by two men, the expedition being arranged by the girl's father, or the one who has her to sell. They go, after previous understanding that the girl will be accepted, to the house of the man to whom she is offered, the girl packing a pack

\(^3\) If a woman dies when on a visit to her parents' rancheria, her body is carried to be buried at the rancheria of her husband; if she is buried for any reason at the rancheria of her parents, payment has to be made to her husband or to his kin.
basket full of material and baskets for making acorn soup, and the men carrying a quiver each. On her arrival, the girl starts to make acorn soup, and if the arrangement is accepted, she is allowed to proceed, the men exchange their quivers for others, and go home the next day, carrying with them the payment for the girl and leaving her there as a married woman without further ceremony. There is another kind of marriage distinct from the above, in which it is said of the man tuvônfiir, he enters. By this arrangement the man goes to live at the house of the girl and the payment made for her is small, but some payment is always made. The reasons for such marriages are that the girl's family may be rich, she may be needed or desired by her kindred to remain at home and carry on the work of the house, or the man may be poor or homely or may have caused the girl to have a child without payment having been made. The girls by such a marriage belong partly to the wife's kin, and a man who marries in this way is not looked upon as a rich man.

At every rancheria there were rich men, called yâšâra, and poor men, called usually with disrespectful or pitying diminutive 'anana-kânnimítc. "As among the Whites," there were many more of the latter than of the former. Sometimes, however, a small rancheria would be noted for the richness of its few inhabitants.

Before the Whiteman turned his pigs upon the acorn patches and his firearms upon the deer and other game, and before his mines ruled the river and his canneries caught the salmon ere they could come upstream, the Karuk had an abundance of food and a great variety. So wholesome and harmless was food of all kinds that it could be given to young children. Pa'avaxhayécci'p, "the best food," and by this they mean the staple food, is acorn soup and salmon. Next after these in importance, the informants mention, with pleasure at the thought, puffec'i'c, deer meat. Greens, berries, Indian potatoes, nuts, and different kinds of game furnished a delicious diet.

The Karuk boys and men enjoyed all the freedom which white boys have at the old swimming pool. Their costume, or rather custom, was the most athletic and healthful possible, which was none at all. According to old Tintin: "Indian boy no more clothes on, he so glad of it he never will put 'em on." A man would start out on a trip in summer up or down the river with absolutely nothing on but his quiver, into which some lunch, his pipe in its pipe sack and perhaps Indian money or other small articles had been tucked; he visited various rancherias in this condition and the warm air of their sweathouses was his covering at night; he slept in them absolutely naked and without mattress under him or blanket over him, lying on the warm flagstones, and if bothered with sleeplessness he would go out in the night and jump in the river and return to have a delicious sleep, or he would take a smoke of the strong Indian tobacco and
go to sleep, or both bathe and smoke. The common clothing of the
women was a maple-bast petticoat, called pavirutva', the kind still
worn by doctresses at kick dances; this was replaced at times by a
“dress-up dress” consisting of a large and often heavy deerskin back
flap, called ýaffus, and an apron, called tán'ta*v, made of strings of
Digger Pine nuts (‘axyú's) or juniper seeds (‘ip).

Daily life started with the morning sweat and plunge into the river
or splashing of water over themselves at the spring by the men and
boys, while the women and girls, who slept in the living houses, got
up a little later and took their bath without sweating. The morning
meal or breakfast came rather late, at about 8 or 9 o’clock, after
which all went upon their chores or trips of the day. In the late
afternoon the men prepared to sweat again, and sweating and bathing
occupied their time until about sundown, or even later, when they
went to the living house for the second and only hearty meal of the
day. All ate together in the living house and considerable time was
spent over the meal, the acorn soup being sipped slowly, with much
conversation. Shortly after this meal the men and boys went over
to the sweathouse, where they conversed further, some of them some-
times sitting up until quite late before going to sleep.

The larger rancherias generally had more than one burying plot.
When a death occurred, the corpse was buried on the same or the fol-
lowing day. It was tied on a board soon after death with the face
up. Water, acorn soup, and acorn meal that had already been ground
up preparatory to making acorn soup which happened to be in the
houses of the rancheria were spilled out. On the day of the burial,
people of the rancheria who desired to eat carried food with them
across the river or across some water before eating. The grave is
dug by male relatives just before burial. The dead person is not
taken through the door of the house, but a board or two is removed
from the wall of the house to furnish exit. The dead person is
removed from the board on which he has been tied and is tied on
another board before burial. The person is buried with head upriver.
Shredded iris leaves, prepared for making string, are burned before
the grave is filled in, if the person is a man, but bear lily leaves,
prepared for basketry overlay, if it is a woman. The evening of the
day of the burial a basketry hopper is hung on a stick fixed so that it
projects by the door of the house where the death occurred, a coil of
bear lily leaves being placed on the stick so that they hung inside the
hopper, for the purpose of scaring the spirit from entering the house.
This hopper and coil were again hung in the same way the evening
of the fourth day after the death occurred. The grave digger or
diggers and the relative or relatives most immediately affected ate
apart from other people for four days after the death occurred, mak-
ing a separate fire upon the floor of the living house, aside from the
fireplace. Each evening as it got dark food was burned on the grave, a fire being built at the head of the grave, and acorns, dried salmon, and the like being placed on an openwork plate which is then put in the fire and burned. The fourth evening the belongings of the dead person were packed upslope and deposited somewhere to get rid of them; they were not burned. The morning of the fifth day after the death occurred the grave digger or diggers and the relative or relatives most in mourning, male and female, sweated themselves in the sweathouse, after which they bathed, and then applied brush medicine to their bodies and drank some of the same medicine.

The principal ceremonies of the Karuk were the spring salmon ceremony at Amekyaram, the jump dance at Amekyaram, and the new year ceremony at Clear Creek, Katimin, and Orleans.

The spring salmon ceremony was held at the beginning of the April moon, the medicine man officiating having stayed in the sweat-house for a month previous. It was called saruki'łamku'uf, downslope smoke, also širurāvahi, meaning what they get away from. The first salmon of the year was cut up and roasted by the medicine man. It was forbidden that anyone should look at the smoke which rose from this fire; even the medicine man himself and his helper did not look up. Of the smoke it was said: Kunnīha kunic u'ihya', pay-nanu'āvahkam 'upāṭtacakuti pa'āmku'uf, it is just like an arrow sticking up, that smoke, it reaches to heaven. Everyone was afraid to look at that smoke, from Requa, at the mouth of the Klamath, to Happy Camp, or as far upriver as it could be seen. The medicine man remained in the sweathouse for 10 days after making the smoke. Only after this ceremony was it permissible to catch salmon. The ceremony gives name to one of the months.

The jump dance at Amekyaram, held at the beginning of July, was much talked of and also gave its name to one of the months. Any jump dance is called vuvuhākk'äm, meaning big deerskin dance, but this jump dance at Amekyaram was called also by the special name širavahi. It was last held in July, 1895. It was danced every day and evening for 10 days. Two men sang and a row of men danced.

The new year ceremony was held in order to refix the world for another year. It was held at Clear Creek in August, and at Katimin and Orleans simultaneously in September. It is still held at Clear Creek and at Katimin, but has been discontinued at Orleans since 1912. For the first 10 days of the ceremony the medicine man builds a fire at a different shrine upslope each day, and as he goes up the hill there follows behind him a party of men and boys who target-shoot with arrows at different prescribed places along the route. This sec-

4 Referring to the smoke.
tion of the ceremony is called 'icriv, meaning target shooting. It is followed by an all-night vigil by the medicine man on the night of the tenth day, he standing by an altar and facing a mountain, while a deerskin dance or play deerskin dance is being performed. This part of the ceremony is called 'frahiiv. The medicine man remains in the sweathouse for five nights after the conclusion of the ceremony; for 10 nights if he is officiating for the first time. The medicine man takes his seat in the sweathouse when the target shooting ceremony starts.

Doctors acquired and kept their status by performing the ceremony of mountain pilgrimages, which were usually accompanied by the doctor dancing in the sweathouse. Women doctors have in recent times outnumbered men doctors, and this probably holds true for earlier times. Text material on the method of curing by doctors is presented in this paper.

The kick dance, a communal sing held for the benefit of a doctor who has been sick, is an interesting institution, since it calls forth the composition of songs with original words by various individuals. Indian men, women, and children, anyone that wants to come, assemble at the house of the doctor for an all-night sing. Formerly the meeting was held in a sweathouse. The room is dark. The doctor stands and dances. All others present sit and sing, kicking the floor in time to the song.

Myths (pikvah) were told only in the wintertime, at night, both in the sweathouse and in the living house. They were told mostly lying down. Sometimes a man and boy would lie facing each other in the sweathouse, and the boy would repeat the myth as it was told him by the man, a passage at a time. An old woman would teach a myth to a girl in this same way in the living house. Myths and the interspersed songs were transmitted in this way with considerable exactness.

Everything that the Karuk did was enacted because the Ikxareyavs were believed to have set the example in story times. The Ikxareyavs were the people who were in America before the Indians came. Modern Karuks, in a quandary how to render the word, volunteer such translations as "the princes," "the chiefs," "the angels." These Ikxareyavs were old-time people, who turned into animals, plants, rocks, mountains, plots of ground, and even parts of the house, dances, and abstractions when the Karuk came to the country, remaining with the Karuk only long enough to state and start all customs, telling them in every instance, "Human will do the same." These doings and sayings are still related and quoted in the medicine formulae of the Karuk. Several of the Ikxareyavs are known by name, such as 'Iłyarakpihri'tv, Across Water Widower. There is mentioned a special class of Ikxareyavs called Kitaxrihars, meaning
winged, which were savage or wild, and which petrified into various rocks. There is a group of these rocks at Katimin, representing several individuals, who sometimes cause visiting strangers to get hurt at the time of the new year ceremony. The Katimin Indians have medicine formulae for curing such individuals when they have suffered some accident. The majority of Ikxareyavs are known only by the name of the animal, particular rock (placename), or the like which they have been transformed into. The period of the Ikxareyavs is supposed to lie only a few generations back.

The Karuk were not farmers, and yet they were not without agriculture. I would scarcely know where to point to another region in all the world where people cultivated only one plant. And this sole position in Karuk agriculture was occupied, not by a food plant, but by a drug; not by a plant which has been lost in nature, but by one growing still wild all over the Karuk country, but which the Indians were cultivating and endeavoring to breed along a different road from the wild tobacco by always sowing seed taken from their tobacco gardens, solely for the purpose of making it "ikpíhań," strong.

They had as pets their dogs, bear cubs, raccoons, skunks, California Woodpeckers, but only one plant pet, which was tobacco. This tobacco was Nicotiana bigelovii of the tall northern California form, the plant mentioned in the account of Sir Francis Drake's visit among northern California coast Indians and first described as being raised in gardens by the Indians of Trinidad in the diary of the Bodega voyage. Their agriculture consisted of producing potash for raising tobacco by burning logs and brush at the site of the garden to be sometime previous to the sowing, of scattering the seeds at the right season, of harrowing the seed in, of weeding the plants, and of harvesting the leaves, stems and seeds with careful attention, extending over a considerable period. What they did not do was to till the soil about the plants, which was unnecessary and closely approached in process by their dragging a bush over the sown ground and by weeding, and to irrigate or water them, which was unnecessary.

The curing of the tobacco was less complicated than its cultivation, and the interesting point is that leaf tobacco and stem tobacco were segregated as separate products and assigned separate uses. The stem tobacco, weak and woody, a cheap by-product, pounded up to look something like leaf tobacco, is sometimes offered to some poor, low-caste visitor at a house to smoke, or is mixed with leaf tobacco to adulterate the latter. The strict and stingy money basis of northwest coast and California coast culture and the attitude of human religion in general are curiously illuminated by the fact that the chief use of this poor, cheap stem tobacco was as an "offering" to the Ikxareyavs made by hunters, priests of ceremony, doctors and others. The leaf tobacco was saved to be smoked by men; the
stem tobacco was thrown to the gods! And this with no belittling of the gods, but because it was the custom.

For storing tobacco, and leaf tobacco was the only kind to the storing of which any attention was paid, various containers were used, commonly a basket resembling the money or trinket basket of these Indians, but differing from it in some details. These baskets were distinct, and had a distinct name. Occasionally an upriver (Shasta) tobacco basket found its way among these Indians, or an upriver hat was transformed into a tobacco basket, although such a hat was never used by the Karuk as a hat, thus putting a foreign artifact to a modified usage for which it was not originally intended. An elk scrotum bag as a container for storing tobacco is also a unique feature.

Tobacco was never chewed, drunk, or mixed with lime. It was rarely eaten. Practically its sole employment was smoking.

Smoking pipes were made of three or more kinds of wood, one of these, the arrowwood, not only having suitable and handsome texture for a pipe, but being provided by nature with a hole of the right size which needs only to have its pith rammed out. The Karuk also had the playful custom of letting a dried salmon beetle larva, the kind which were so plentiful about the houses, do this ramming instead of the Indian, which with the larva, of course, assumes the form of eating. The pith was soaked with grease, as can be readily done in a short time, and the grub was imprisoned in the bowl, which is dug out early in the process of shaping the pipe for the reason that the wood is worked easier when green. Death or tunneling confronts the grub, who is tempted to do the latter, since the only place where he can find a bite of anything soft is at the one point where the pithy tunnel commences. The grub, if victorious, passes the pith through his body and comes out at the “mouth end” of the pipe. The “good” pipes had the bowl lined with a funnel-shaped piece of soapstone, inserted in the tobacco-containing end like an abbreviated stone pipe. This kept the pipe from burning out, and also increased its value and good appearance. The merits of different kinds of soapstone for this purpose were distinguished. The Karuk also had a soapstone pipe, made like the wooden pipes in shape but all of stone. Pottery pipes were not known. Wooden pipes were occasionally decorated with abalone inlay.

The “good” pipe was not complete without its pipe sack. This was made of buckskin and tailored to fit the pipe. It was a carrier both of the smoking tobacco and the pipe. The mouth end of the pipe was so tied that it protruded somewhat from the mouth of the sack, a custom which is explained on the pretense that when exposed in this way it does not get so much the taste of tobacco. The shape of the pipes should also be noticed as regards their tying in the pipe
sack. The pipe is slenderest toward its mouth end, but the mouth end is always larger than the slenderest portion, which has apparently the very practical purpose of keeping the pipe from slipping down inside the pipe sack as it is being carried around. In addition to the ordinary pipe sack made of deerskin, those of elk skin are reported, while the elk-scrotum pipe sack was considered as something "for an Indian to brag on."

The procedure of smoking consisted of taking the pipe out of the sack; of filling it in a certain way, accompanied by a "spoiling" of tobacco to the mountains; of lighting the pipe by several different methods; of variously holding the pipe while smoking; of smacking in; of taking the tobacco into the lungs, which was the culmination of the process and to which everything else was subservient; of taking the pipe out of the mouth; of repeating the act of smoking several times; and finally of putting the pipe back into the pipe sack.

Tobacco smoking entered into the regular daily life of the adult male Indians and the women doctors. Although tobacco was smoked on various occasions during the day, the first regular time for smoking came after eating the evening meal, while the men still tarried in the living house. There was not always smoking at this time, but there very frequently was. The second occasion was when the men went back into the sweathouse after their evening meal at the living house. It was then that smoking was regularly participated in, the pipes being passed around.

The Karuk did not know "the pipe of peace," but they knew the pipe of friendship. When men or doctor women met together on the trail or elsewhere it was the regular custom to offer each other their pipes, each himself smoking first in true Indian style. This smoking was regarded the same as a friendly embrace. But similar mutual smoking was not practiced when family feuds were patched up, although there was a definite ceremony of peacemaking, nor when an agreement was made after a fight with another tribe, which was, within the recollection of the informants, the Smith River Indians.

Tobacco was therefore used as a part of the day's routine and as an embrace of friendship. It was also used as a sedative, as a sleep producer. It was classed by the Karuk in this aspect along with midnight bathing. When a man could not sleep in the sweathouse he smoked and bathed.  

Tobacco was also regarded as good, since it gave its smell to the sweathouse.

Again it was recognized as a bummer of pain and used for ear-ache and toothache. It was also used occasionally as a poultice on hurts.

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5 See pp. 206-207.
Tobacco was also regarded as a poison or help to medicine which was being recited. It was smoked in this connection when one was in trouble, which was conceived of as one’s being bedeviled by one’s enemies. It was like a weapon and, together with medicine formula, was used by a winged Ikxareyav for overcoming even the power of the sun.

Tobacco smoke was blown and leaf tobacco and stem tobacco (usually the latter) were thrown to the Ikxareyavs. Karuk ceremony is completely permeated with this puffing and tossing of tobacco, and all pursuits where luck is strived for, such as hunting and gambling, have plenty of it, as do many kinds of curing and other medicine. For instance, at the annual new year ceremony the medicine man carried his pipe wherever he went and both puffed and threw tobacco in connection with his kindling of the daily fires. Even the young unpriestly target shooters paused to sit and pass around the pipe amid their shooting. The use of tobacco by sucking doctors, and of tobacco pipes as the instruments through which to do their sucking, is a subject of vast importance for comparative studies.

Smoking tobacco at a kick dance in the sweathouse, so that the smoke will fill the air and prevent the voices of the singers from getting hoarse through the night, is another purpose attributed to the use of tobacco.

The thoughts of the Karuk were so filled with tobacco that it entered the names of places and individuals, gave rise to the name of a bird and a basket design, figured in songs, and produced a color adjective.

As a result of careful and thorough experience with the material presented in the Karuk section of this paper, we can state that to the Karuk tobacco is merely and uniquely tobacco. The tube in which tobacco is burned is to the Karuk mind an escapement from the boredom of life and the entrance to a world of medicine, ceremony, myth—an entrance reaching out in various ways into the unknown. Tobacco was never smoked for pleasure, but always for some definite purpose, if only that of filling out the daily routine prescribed by the Ikxareyavs and followed by the ancestors. It was not medicine, it was not magic, it was not personified. Only its strength was sought; and it was used only in the way to produce the most acute poisoning. Custom and superstition entirely guided its use. There was no question as to whether it was good or bad to smoke tobacco, whether one should or should not smoke, if one were a man or a woman doctor. Practically all men smoked, and smoked at the same times and in exactly the same way. Women doctors smoked only because they were doing a man’s job and must do as men did. Women who were not doctors never smoked. Smok-
ing by boys was prohibited, smoking by youths was frowned upon. If prescribed custom made its use a habit, there was never any talk of its being a habit and there was little individual variation.

It is a curious fact that while the whites took over the material tobacco from the Indians, they took with it no fragment of the world that accompanied it, nor were they at first aware that there was such a world, and, again, that after all the generations which have elapsed since its introduction among the whites, it has woven itself scarcely at all into their psychology and mythology. Lady Nicotine is enshrined among the Whites only as a drug, as a taste, as a habit, along with the seeking after mild and tasty forms, while the Karuk make tobacco a heritage from the gods, a strange path which juts into this world and leads to the very ends of magic.

In the way of acknowledgments I can not help but think first of the patient Indians whose memories were ransacked for the study. The late W. E. Safford, of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture, assisted with many suggestions. To Mr. C. V. Morton, Mr. Paul C. Standley, and Dr. William R. Maxon, of the Division of Plants, United States National Museum, and to Professors W. A. Setchell and W. L. Jepson, of the Department of Botany, University of California, I am indebted for identifications and much valuable information, botanical and otherwise. To Prof. H. E. Bolton, Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California, and to Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, of Mission Santa Barbara, I am indebted for information along another line of California research, and for access to Spanish manuscript sources. The halftone illustrations are from photographs by the author. Drawings of the Karuk tobacco plant were prepared by Mrs. Mary Wright Gill and by Mrs. Agnes Chase, of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture, and Mrs. Gill's rare talent in this line of work made them lifelike, in addition to their correctness; but later on Prof. W. A. Setchell provided me with others more standard because made in connection with his special study of the California tobacco species, and these have been substituted for the drawings of Mrs. Wright and Chase and are here published for the first time. Mrs. George Mullen prepared with the greatest accuracy of detail the series of drawings illustrating the early stages of making a Karuk tobacco basket. I wish also to express my heartfelt appreciation of the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Reese, who assisted the work greatly, of Mrs. B. Shellenbarger, of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, of Mr. John T. Linkins; Mrs. Walther Kurze; and, last but not least, of Mr. F. W. Hodge and Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, former chiefs of the bureau, and of Mr. Matthew W. Stirling, present chief, for furthering this study in California aboriginal botany and the reachings around of plant custom.
II. Fā't pó·xxúrik'ahitihanik pakunctcuphúruuθunatihanik pananu-hē·raha'

(BIBLIOGRAPHICAL)

1. Pāmitva pakunctcuphúruuθunatihan patiθúva kuma'ávansas pana-nuhé·raha 'ō·k 'iθiθànæ·n'a·tcip

(MENTION OF TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK)

More lengthy mention of tobacco usage among the neighboring tribes can be cited than among the Karuk themselves. What we actually have directly on the Karuk usage in the form of published and unpublished documents is meager and is here presented.

1852

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts no. 846, stock Quoratean, language Arra-arra or Pehtsik, collector George Gibbs, vocabulary in notebook containing 23 pp., 4" x 6". Notebook has original title: Pehtsik Klamath or Arra-Arra.

"The only evidence of agriculture noticed is in the small patches of tobacco plants around many of their houses" [p. 5].

"leaves of trees . . . shráhn [under the letter L] [for sa'än, leaf]."
"pipe . . . oo-hoo-rahm [under the letter P] [for 'uhrām, pipe]."
"tobacco . . . e-héh-rah [under the letter T] [for 'ihg·raha', tobacco]."

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts, No. 130, stock Athapascan, Weitspekan, and Quoratean, language Hupa (Alikwa, Arra-arra, etc.), collector George Gibbs, in 1852, place Klamath and Trinity Rivers.

"Pipe [p. 40] . . . oo-hoo-rahm [p. 41] [for 'uhrām, pipe]."
"Tobacco [p. 48] . . . e-héh-rah [p. 49] [for 'ihg·raha', tobacco]."

UNDATED

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts, No. 209, stock Athapascan, Weitspekan, Quoratean, language Aliquah, Arra Arra and Hopah, collector George Crook, place Klamath River, Calif.

"Pipe [p. 45] . . . ooh-hoo-rāwm [p. 46] [for 'uhrām, pipe]."
"Tobacco [p. 55] . . . Mo-hāre-rah [p. 56] [for muh·raha', his tobacco]."
1853


"Pipe . . . Oh rahm [p. 442] [for 'uhra-m, pipe]."

"Tobacco . . . Eh he rah [p. 442] [for 'ihe-raha', tobacco]."

1860


"Hay-rah, Tobacco [p. 6] [for 'ihg-raha, tobacco]."

"0-ram, Pipe [p. 6] [for 'uhra-m, pipe]."

1877


"1.—Kaa'-rok. Obtained by Mr. Stephen Powers at Scott's Bar, California, in 1872, from Pa-chi'-ta, a chief. The Smithsonian alphabet is used [p. 447]. Powers' own vocabulary does not record words for tobacco and pipe, or any word bearing on tobacco.

"2.—Arra-arra. Obtained by Lieut. George Crook on the Klamath River, California, and is No. 398, Smithsonian Collections. It was transcribed by Mr. George Gibbs, in No. 358, and the Smithsonian alphabet used. The latter number is here given [p. 447]."


"[55. Pipe . . . [2. Arra-arra] u-hu-räm [p. 450] [for 'uhra-m, pipe]."

"3.—Arra-arra. Obtained by Mr. George Gibbs. It is Nos. 359, 401, and 403, Smithsonian Collections. No. 401 has been used here, as it was written in the Smithsonian alphabet [p. 447]."


"4.—Peh'-tsik. Obtained by Lieut. Edw. Ross, who says it is the language of the Upper Klamath, from the Indians of Red Cap's Bar. His spelling has not been changed. It is No. 318, Smithsonian Collections [p. 447]." "[53. Tobacco] [4. Peh'-tsik] heh-rah [p. 451] [for 'ihe-raha, tobacco]." "[55. Pipe] [4. Peh'-tsik] ag-hu-rähm' [p. 451] [for 'uhra-m, pipe]."
5.—Eh-nek. Obtained by George Gibbs, and published in Schoolcraft, Part III, page 440, from which it has been taken; the orthography is not changed. On page 422 of that volume, Mr. Gibbs says that "Ehnek is the name of a band at the mouth of the Salmon or Quoratem River" [p. 447]. "[53. Tobacco] [5. Eh-nek] eh-he'-rah [p. 451] [for 'ih-eraha', tobacco.]" "[55. Pipe] [5. Eh-nek] oh-rahm [p. 451] [for 'uhrâm, pipe.]

1878

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts No. 845, stock Quoratean, collector A. S. Gatschet (obtained from Joseph A. Thompson), place San Francisco, Calif., date Jan. 1878, remarks vocabulary, 6 pp. 10" × 14". (Also a copy.) [Does not contain any words bearing on tobacco. It is interesting in that it was obtained from a white man who had lived with the Indians.]

1889


"35. Pipe, of stone . . . ä'săhuram [p. 89] [for 'aso-ra'rm, stone pipe]." [This is the only word recorded bearing on tobacco.]

1906–1907


1907

Merriam, C. Hart, Names for Tobacco in 56 California Dialects, 1907, Bureau of American Ethnology MS. No. 1563. [Does not contain Karuk words.]

1911

section on the Karuk language [contains no words bearing on tobacco].

1921


"Thus we have Karok -hera [p. 30]." [Given as the Karuk word for tobacco; for the last three syllables of 'ihê-raha', tobacco.]

1923

Olden, Sarah Emilia, Karoc Indian Stories, San Francisco. 1923.

"Pipe . . . Ooharalun [p. 190] [for 'uhrâ-m, pipe]."

1925


2. Pâmitva pakuntcuhûrunatihat payîûva kuma'âvansa payû kuma'årârâs mukunîhêrâha'

(MENTION OF TOBACCO AMONG NEIGHBORING TRIBES)

Under the foregoing heading all the material available recorded by others bearing directly on Karuk tobacco has been assembled. Mention of tobacco among certain neighboring Indian tribes is here added for the sake of comparison. Most of these quotations are from well-known sources and no attempt at completeness or incorporation of linguistic material has been made, this being reserved for special treatment of the tribes in question later on. The quotation from Fletcher has been included here merely because it is the first mention of the species of tobacco used by the Karuk, the tobacco of Monterey Indians mentioned by Father Lasuen in his letter to Galves, 17—, discovered by the writer in the Bancroft Library, probably referring to Nicotiana bigelovii var. typica.

1628

It is interesting that the account of Sir Francis Drake's visit among the Indians of presumably Drake's Bay, California, June 17 to July 23, 1579, makes mention not only of their tobacco, but of both baskets and bags of it, and especially so in connection with the present paper, since the tobacco used by those Indians was the same species as that used by the Karuk, Nicotiana bigelovii var. exaltata, which
extended down the coast as far as San Francisco Bay and was the only species.\(^1\)

"The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnly a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliverie thereof many gestures and signes, mowing his hands, turning his head and body many ways; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered upon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called Tabdh. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he came into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recompenced him immediately with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliver the same, he could not be drawne to receive them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vertterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondering at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration ...\(^{1a}\)

"Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuited by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselues into the countrey, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of Tobdh for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods."\(^2\)

\(^1\) N. glauca, introduced from South America (see pp. 35–36), now also grows wild in this region. This makes two wild tobacco species, e. g., in Mendocino County, and both are used by the Pomo and neighboring Indians; formerly there was only the one species.


\(^2\) Ibid., p. 122.
1781

Fletcher, telling of Drake’s visit to a tribe considerably down the coast from the Karuk region and having quite a different culture, is the first to mention the tobacco species, *Nicotiana bigelovii* var. *exaltata*, also tobacco baskets and tobacco bags. Francisco Antonio Maurello, in his journal of the voyage of Juan Francisco de la Bodega, 1775, telling of Bodega’s visit to the Yuruk Indians of Trinidad, who had merely a seacoast variety of the Karuk culture, is the first to mention and describe the pipes used for smoking this species, and the gardens of it.

“They used tobacco, which they smoked in small wooden pipes, in form of a trumpet, and procured from little gardens where they had planted it.” *“*It need scarcely be observed that tobacco is an indigenous plant in North America, as it is also in Asia.”

1825

The following diary note on Indian tobacco in what is now Oregon was written by a Scotch botanist, David Douglas, when traveling in behalf of the Royal Horticultural Society, of London, England, at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, under date of Aug. 19, 1825. The specimen of *Nicotiana multivalcis* Lindl. described by him is one of several plant specimens collected on a trip made by canoe from Fort Vancouver down the Columbia River to the mouth of the Willamette (Douglas’s “Multnomah”) River and up that river to a point either 56 miles up that river or 56 miles from Fort Vancouver, and return, between the dates of August 19 and 30, inclusive, 1825. Miss Nellie B. Pipes of the Oregon Historical Society and Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology have assisted me at several points in tracing the route of Douglas.

The Willamette River has a northern and a southern mouth with Sauvie Island between them. The present town of Vancouver is situated on the north bank of the Columbia River about 90 miles from its mouth and between 5 and 6 miles upstream from the southern mouth of the Willamette River. Old Fort Vancouver, the starting point of the trip on which Douglas collected his tobacco specimen, was situated on the site of the present Vancouver Barracks, the United States military post, which adjoins the town of Vancouver on the east or upriver side. Fort Vancouver was founded by the Hudson Bay Company in 1824 and was their principal establishment until 1846. After that date it was occupied by the company’s clerk and a few men until its final abandonment in 1860.

Miss Pipes has been good enough to look up and trace for me the early applications of the name Multnomah as follows: Captain Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, explored about 6 miles of the Willamette River but designates the whole river by the name of Multnomah, stating that it was so called from a tribe of Indians of that name living on its banks. Samuel Parker, a missionary who was there in 1835, applies the name only to the section which flows down the southern side of Wapato [Sauvie's] Island, a distance of about 6 miles. Dr. Forbes Barclay, a physician of the Hudson's Bay Co. who came to Fort Vancouver in 1837, said it was the Multnomah from the mouth to the Clackamas Rapids (about 25 miles). However, the name Multnomah is now forgotten and the whole river from its source to its mouth is named the Willamette.

The falls mentioned by Douglas are Willamette Falls, and are situated in the Willamette River opposite the south end of the town of Oregon City, which stands on the east bank of the Willamette. Willamette Falls are 28 or 30 miles upstream from the southern mouth of the Willamette River.

It is impossible to tell from Douglas's account to what tribe the tobacco garden from which he obtained his specimen belonged. The Némalnómax (Multnomah), of Chinookan stock, had villages along the lowermost course of the Willamette, notably at Sauvies Island, formerly mentioned as Wapato Island and as Multnomah Island. The language around Oregon City and farther up the Willamette was Kalapuyan. The tribe was doubtless either Chinookan or Kalapuyan.

"(447) Nicotiana pulverulenta 4(?) of Pursh, correctly supposed by Nuttall to exist on the Columbia; whether its original habitat is here

4 "This must be a slip of Douglas's, as the only specific name in Nicotiana for which Pursh is the authority is quadrivalvis, Pursh, Fl. Am. Sept. i, p. 141." This footnote and the question mark in parenthesis following the reference to it are added by W. Wilks and H. R. Hutchinson, who edited Douglas's journal. The editors did not know that the locality alone is sufficient for determining that the specimen which Douglas obtained was not N. quadrivalvis Pursh but N. multivalvis Lindl.; Douglas was the discoverer of N. multivalvis Lindl. See my quotation from Setchell.
in the Rocky Mountains, or on the Missouri, I am unable to say, but am inclined to think it must be in the mountains. I am informed by the hunters it is more abundant towards them and particularly so amongst the Snake Indians, who frequently visit the Indians inhabiting the head-waters of the Missouri by whom it might be carried in both directions. I have seen only one plant before, in the hand of an Indian two months since at the Great Falls of the Columbia, and although I offered him 2 ounces of manufactured tobacco he would on no consideration part with it. The natives cultivate it here, and although I made diligent search for it, it never came under my notice until now. They do not cultivate it near their camps or lodges, lest it should be taken for use before maturity. An open place in the wood is chosen where there is dead wood, which they burn, and sow the seed in the ashes. Fortunately I met with one of the little plantations and supplied myself with seeds and specimens without delay. On my way home I met the owner, who, seeing it under my arm, appeared to be much displeased; but by presenting him with two finger-lengths of tobacco from Europe his wrath was appeased, and we became good friends. He then gave me the above description of cultivating it. He told me that wood ashes made it grow very large. I was much pleased with the idea of using wood ashes. Thus we see that even the savages on the Columbia know the good effects produced on vegetation by the use of carbon. His knowledge of plants and their uses gained him another finger-length. When we smoked we were all in all. S.’’  

1877

Powers tells of the eagerness of the Yuruk in asking for American smoking tobacco:

“Sometimes, when wandering on the great, ferny, wind-swept hills of the coast, keeping a sharp weather-eye out for the trail, I have seen a half dozen tatterdemalion Yurok, engaged in picking salal-berries, when they saw me, quit their employment with their fingers and lips stained gory-red by the juice, and come rushing down through the bushes with their two club-queues bouncing on their shoulders and laughing with a wild lunatic laugh that made my hair

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5 Celilo Falls, 14 miles east or upstream of The Dalles and about 105 miles up the Columbia from the site of Fort Vancouver. The Oregon Historical Quarterly for June, 1915, has a number of articles on Celilo and Celilo Canal.

6 Potash, rather.

stand on end. But they were never on ‘butcher deeds’ intent, and never made any forey on me more terrible than the insinuating question, ‘Got any tobacco?’”

Wedged in between Yokots information, Powers also gives one sentence of information furnished to him by A. W. Chase to the effect that “the Klamaths” raise tobacco and no other plant. That by “the Klamaths” the Indians of the lower Klamath River is here to be understood is indicated by the frontispiece of Powers’s book, which is a sketch of a lower Klamath River livinghouse and sweathouse, the exact locality of which has not yet been identified by me, but is surely in the Karuk-Yuruk area. The next sentence, following the dash, is evidently Powers’s own observation. The sentence following that, speaking of having seen tobacco growing on earth-covered lodges, may be a reminiscence of what Powers had seen when on the Klamath, which he had visited before visiting the Yokots, in which case the lodges referred to would be sweathouses, and the growing of tobacco on Karuk sweathouses has been mentioned by several informants and is described on page 78. The last sentence quoted refers again to the Yokots. I give the information from Chase in its setting, so that the reader can interpret for himself:

“Around old camps and corrals there is found a wild tobacco (pan), which Prof. Asa Gray pronounces Nicotiana quadrivalvis and Professor Bolander N. plumbaginifolia. It is smoked alone or mixed with dried manzanita leaves (Arctostyphilos glauca), and has pungent, peppery taste in the pipe which is not disagreeable. Mr. A. W. Chase, in a letter to the author, states the Klamaths cultivate it—the only instance of aboriginal cultivation known in California. I think the Indians never cultivated it more than this, that they scattered the seeds about camp and then took care not to injure the growing plants. I have even seen them growing finely on their earth-covered lodges. The pipe, pan’-em-ku-lah, is generally made of serpentine (or of wood nowadays), shaped like a cigar-holder, from four to six inches long, round, and with a bowl nearly an inch in diameter.”

Powers’s Fig. 43, opp. p. 426, accompanying his chapter on “Aboriginal Botany,” is reproduced as Pl. 29 of this paper, and shows northern California pipes and pipe sack; for the identification of these with Nat. Mus. catalog numbers, provenance of specimens, and for identification with illustrations run by Mason and again by McGuire see explanation of Pl. 29.

9 Ibid., section on aboriginal botany, p. 426.
In his report on the Ray collection made by Lieut. P. H. Ray at Fort Gaston on the Hupan Indian Reservation in 1885, Mason mentions tobacco as follows:

"PIES AND SMOKING"

"The Indians of northern California smoked formerly a wild tobacco, Nicotiana quadrientalis (Gray), N. plumaginfoliae (Bolander). It was smoked alone or mixed with dry manzanita leaves (Arctostaphylos glauca). Mr. Powers says that it has a pungent, peppery taste in the pipe, which is not disagreeable.

"The pipes are conoidal in shape, and are either of wood alone, stone alone, or latterly of stone and wood combined, as will appear further on. (Plates VIII-IX, Figs. 61-73.) The beginning of such a pipe would be a hollow reed, or pithy stem, with the tobacco deposited in one end. A plain cone of wood fitted for smoking starts the artificial series. (Fig. 61.) Rude pipes are cut out of one piece of laurel or manzanita and shaped like a fisherman's wood maul or one of the single-handed warclubs of the Pueblo Indians. (Fig. 62.) The length of stem is about 11 inches; length of bowl, 2 1/2 inches; diameter of bowl, 2 inches; of stem, 3/4 of an inch. The bowl is a cup-shaped cavity, very shallow. The whole specimen is very rude, looking as though it has been chipped out with a hatchet or heavy fish-knife.

"The next grade of pipes are of hard wood resembling the last described in type, but very neatly finished. The stem is about 14 inches long and 3/6ths of an inch thick. The head is spherical, 1 3/4 inches in diameter. The bowl is cup-shaped and the cavity nearly 1 inch in diameter. (Fig. 64.)

"A small pipe of soapstone is also used, in which the straight pipe is presented in its simplest form. (Fig. 65.) Length, 2 3/4 inches. "There are also pipes of fine-grained sandstone of graceful outline, resembling in shape a ball bat, 7 inches long, 7 1/2 inches wide in the thickest part. A very noteworthy thing about this pipe is the extreme thinness of the walls. (Fig. 63.) At the mouth part, where it is thickest, the stone does not exceed one-eighth of an inch, while through the upper portion it is less than one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness. The cavity does not present the series of rings which appear in stone that has been bored out, but innumerable longitudinal scratches fill the inner surface.

"The only solution of this appearance is that the interior was excavated by the use of a file or other hard tool. By the great size of its interior, this pipe is connected with the tubular objects from the mounds called telescopes by some, sucking tubes by others, and
pipes by others. (See Dr. Abbott's paper in Wheeler's Survey West of One Hundredth Meridian, Vol. VII, pl. VII and text.)

"The stone pipes were taken from old graves, and this kind are now no longer in use.

"We have, again, a little pipe no larger than some cigarette holders. (Fig. 66.) Except in its diminutive size and simplicity, it might have served as a model for the three to be next described or for the type specimen mentioned at the head of this list. Length, 2\(^{\frac{1}{4}}\) inches; greatest width, three-fourths of an inch; depth of bowl, \(\frac{3}{4}\)ths of an inch. (See Powers, Fig. 43.)

"They likewise use a tapering pipe of hard wood, 12\% inches long, 1\% inches wide at the larger end. What may be called the stem is 7\% inches long. The other portion is carved by a series of octagons and chamfers which give to the specimen quite an ornamental appearance. (Fig. 69.) The bowl is \(\frac{3}{4}\)ths of an inch wide and 2 inches deep. This example has been smoked a great deal, being charred very much in the bowl. (Collected by Livingston Stone. Compare Figs. 2 and 5, Plate IX, Dr. Abbott's paper in Wheeler's Survey West of One Hundredth Meridian, Vol. VII.)

"Other beautifully finished pipes of the same type, evidently turned in a lathe to please the Hupa fancy, are kept with the greatest care in leather pouches made for the purpose. (Figs. 71, 73.) They are made of different woods highly polished. The remarkable feature is the bowl of serpentine set in a tapering shouldered socket at the wide end of the stem, and the whole turned and polished. The bowl is a conical cavity in serpentine.

"The next example consists of a pipe and case. The pipe has a stem shaped like a club or ball bat, and a bowl of compact steatite. In general features pipes of this class resemble the cigarette holder, and they are found among the Utes and Mohaves, as well as in the mounds.

"When it is remembered that many Indians recline while smoking, it will be seen that this is the only sensible form of the pipe for them.

"Their tobacco pouches of basket-work are ovoid in form and hold about 1 quart. (Plate VIII, Fig. 67.) They are made of twined weaving in bands of brown and checkered grass, so common in the basketry of the Klamaths as to be typical. Six buckskin loops are attached to the rim of this basket in such a manner that their apexes meet in the center of the opening. A long string is fastened to the apex of one loop and passed through all the others serially to close the mouth of the pouch. Heights, 6 inches; width of mouth, 2\% inches."

Mason's plates 15 and 16 illustrate some of the same specimens figured by Powers (see explanation of Pl. 29 for identifications). The specimens not shown by Powers are identified as follows:

Mason, Pl. 15, Nos. 63 and 65 are all-stone pipes from southern California.

Mason, Pl. 15, No. 67 = Nat. Mus. No. 126520, Hupa, collected by Lt. P. H. Ray. = McGuire, Fig. 31.

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 68 = Nat. Mus. No. 76198, "Shasta," collected by Green. = McGuire, Fig. 32. (Mistitled by McGuire "wood and stone pipe.")

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 70 = Nat. Mus. No. 77182, Hupa, Calif., collected by Lt. P. H. Ray. = McGuire, Fig. 34.

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 71 = Nat. Mus. No. 77179, "Natano [=Hupa] Band, Hasha [sic] Valley, Calif.,” collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray. = McGuire, Fig. 35.

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 73 = McGuire, Fig. 37. This pipesack cannot be found in the Nat. Mus. collections.

1899

McGuire, in his interesting compilation on Indian tobacco and smoking, which lacks only the results of field work which would have made it many times more valuable, gives only the following on northern California smoking, which is only a paraphrasing and messing up of Mason's wording made more vicious by the fact that McGuire thinks he is talking about Hupa specimens when he is really talking about specimens from all over northern California.

"The Indians of northern California, according to Prof. Otis T. Mason, formerly smoked a wild tobacco, Nicotiana quadrivalvis (Pursh) N. plumbaginifolia, which they smoked alone or mixed with the dry manzanita leaves, Arctostaphylos glauca, said to have a pungent, peppery taste which is not disagreeable. The pipes of the Hupa are, as Professor Mason says, conoidal in shape, and are of wood alone, stone alone, or latterly of stone and wood combined. ... 10"

"Fig. 25 11a is simply a cone cut apparently from manzanita wood. It is 13 inches long with a greatest diameter of 2 inches, tapering gradually to 1 ¼ inches at the smaller end. If this pipe were sawed in two one-third of the way from the smaller end it could not be dis-

10 "The Ray Collection from Hupa Reservation, Smithsonian Report, 1886, pt. 1, p. 219."


11a From McCloud River, Calif.
tinguished in form from the elongated conical stone pipes usually
found in graves and burial places of the islands along the California
coast. This pipe appears to have been perforated by burning. The
walls vary from one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness at the smaller
end to nearly one-half an inch at the larger. The outer sides appear
to have been smoothed by means of sandpaper, though the same
appearance could be imparted to the specimen with any gritty sand-
stone or with sand alone. These pipes are made from any available
wood, those which best resist fire being preferred, one of the best and
most usual being the laurel.

"Fig. 26 is an all-wood pipe of Hupa manufacture, 13\% inches
long, that is of peculiar form. The bowl is 2½ inches in greatest
diameter, that of the stem being scarcely three-fourths of an inch
thick. The bowl cavity consists of quite a shallow cup, the specimen
having been rudely chopped out by means of an extremely dull tool,
which gives one the impression that it would be a difficult pipe to
smoke unless the smoker laid flat on his back.

"Fig. 27 belongs to the same type of all-wood Hupa pipes, and
is more carefully finished than the last specimen, its surface being
brought almost to a polish. It is 15 inches long, though the bowl is
less than 1 inch in depth, with a diameter of 1½ inches. Had the
preceding specimen been ground to a uniform surface, as these pipes
usually are, they would have had bowls alike, though among the Hupa,
to a greater degree than has been detected among other natives,
pipes have been made of a greater variety in shape than has been
observed to be the case with almost any other type with which we
are acquainted. They appear to be comparatively modern, and it is
strongly to be suspected that the multiform shape of the Hupa pipe
has been largely influenced by the outside demand for specimens as
curiosities. There is in no implement found in America a greater
observance of conventionalism of form than is the case among the
pipes, and in those localities where the greatest variety exists investiga-
tion demonstrates that the smoking habit itself has been adopted
within the last century. These varieties are most marked along the
Pacific coast among the Hupa and Baboons.

"Fig. 28 is a fine-grained tubular sandstone, showing unusual
mechanical skill in its manufacture, being 7 inches long, with a diam-
eter at the larger end of three-fourths of an inch; the walls of the tube
do not exceed one-sixteenth of an inch at the mouth of the bowl,
increasing gradually to one-eighth inch at the smaller end. The
outer surface is ground to a dull polish, and the interior shows striae
running the length of the implement, made apparently by means of a
file or similar tool.

\(^{11b}\) Really from Feather River, Calif.

\(^{11e}\) Really from Potter Valley, Calif.
"Fig. 29 differs in no material respect from the simplest form of conical tubes found throughout the continent, except in the slightly raised rim around the smaller end. It is made of steatite, and has a length of 2½ inches. This rim is similar to one on the bowl of the unfinished pipe from Cook County, Tennessee (fig. 19), and would indicate that it was intended simply for ornament and not for the attachment of a string.

"Fig. 30 is of wood, being the pipe used by the Hupas at the present time, and is 3 inches long, with a greatest diameter of three-fourths of an inch, the bowl being about seven-eighths of an inch deep from which there runs a narrow stem hole to the smaller end.

"Fig. 31 shows the shape of the tobacco bag of these people, and is made from strips of the roots of the spruce, split into strings and woven together; six buckskin loops are attached to its rim in such a manner that their apices meet in the center of the opening. A long string is attached to one loop and is serially passed through all the others, by means of which the bag may be opened and closed at will by drawing the loops apart or by drawing the string. This bag would be found to differ little, except in material, throughout the continent. Some would make it of skin, while others would weave it from suitable fibers, and others again would probably fashion it from birch bark.

"Fig. 32 is a wooden pipe, 11 inches long, the bowl of which is made in the hourglass form, similar in outline to certain tubes found in the Middle Atlantic States. The bowl has been cut with a dull tool, but upon the stem are a number of crossed lines, intended to add to its ornamental appearance. Fig. 33 is made of hard wood, the bowl of which is carved in a series of octagons, chamfers, and holes, which give to this specimen quite an ornamental effect. The tube is 12½ inches long, the bowl being seven-eighths of an inch in its greatest exterior diameter, and has a cavity 2 inches deep. Figs. 34 to 37, inclusive, show the most modern form of the Hupa pipe, which is made from different kinds of wood and serpentine. These pipes are most carefully polished, and are evidently made with modern tools. The remarkable feature of these pipes is shown in the serpentine bowl. Fig. 35 is set in a tapering wood socket, held in place by some kind of glue, the whole surface being subsequently ground and polished. Fig. 37 shows the pipe in its original skin case, with its strap for suspension. The American Indian pipes have always been most carefully guarded by their owners, in cases or coverings of skin, basketry work, bark, or woven rags."

The northwestern California pipe has been referred to by Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, quoting Col. Roderick McKee, as "a straight stick, the bowl being a continuation of the stem enlarged into a knob and held perpendicularly when smoking." In another place in his report McGuire states: "The great variety observable in the tubular pipes of wood from the Hupa Reservation suggests their being modern, and intended rather to supply tourists' demands than to comply with tribal conventionalisms."

McGuire's figures 25 to 37, inclusive, showing northern California pipes, pipesack, and tobacco basket, are merely Mason's cuts run over again; McGuire in his carelessness has been misled by the general title of Mason's paper to assume that all the cuts borrowed from Mason's paper show specimens collected by Ray at the Hupa Reservation and he adds this statement to every title; McGuire's Figs. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 33 are neither from Hupa Reservation nor collected by Ray, and Fig. 36 is from Hupa Reservation but collected by Powers.

Hupa tobacco is described by Goddard:

"Pipe Making and Tobacco Raising

"Smoking has been practiced by the Hupa from time immemorial. Their gods smoked. It is in fact a semi-religious practice. The pipe, kiñaigyan, was and is still made of selected wood of the manzanita or yew. The ordinary pipe (Pl. 17, Figs. 2 and 3) is about four and one-half inches long, and cylindrical in shape. The diameter at the smallest part is about three-eighths of an inch. A gentle curve gives the mouth end a diameter of five-eighths of an inch and the bowl end an inch. The pipes are worked down with sandstone and polished off with stems of the horsetail rush, Equisetum robustum, in so fine a manner that even Professor Mason was deceived, thinking them turned by white men in a lathe."

"Usually the pipe is faced with serpentine or sandstone. The face of stone (Pl. 17, Fig. 5) shows only about one-half an inch

15 Ibid., p. 627.
on the outside, but it enters the funnel-shaped wooden part so as to line the bowl of the pipe. The bowl is three-fourths of an inch deep. A shoulder is made on the wood of the bowl; then the soapstone is brought into shape with a knife. The pieces are constantly tried to insure a good fit. To make the joint perfect between the wood and the stone, a little sand is put in, and the stone is twisted to wear away any projections. The shaman’s pipe (Pl. 17, Fig. 6) is similar but much longer, some of them measuring 12 inches. Often narrow stripes of mother-of-pearl are neatly inlaid, lengthwise the pipe next to the stone facing. Pipes entirely of wood are also used. These are of the smaller size and are ornamented at the bowl end with carvings. The Hupa occasionally make pipes all of stone. (Pl. 17, Fig. 4.) Such pipes are frequently to be seen in use on the Klamath river. The pipe is carried in a little sack of buckskin (Pl. 17, Fig. 1) tied with a string of the same material. Tobacco is put into the bag and then the pipe is pushed in bowl first, not stem first, as Professor Mason has pictured it.17

"The tobacco used was cultivated, the only instance of agriculture among the Hupa. Logs were burned and the seed sown in the ashes. The plant appears to be and probably is identical with the wild Nicotiana bigelovii, but the Hupa say the cultivated form is better. The wild form found along the river they say is poison. It is believed that an enemy’s death may be caused by giving him tobacco from plants growing on a grave." 18

Goddard’s Plate 17 shows Hupa pipes, a pipesack, a pipe bowl, and firesticks in excellent reproduction.

1905

Dixon’s Northern Maidu information on tobacco is the following: "Stone pipes (Fig. 9, a, b) would seem to have been at all times objects of value, and to have been on the whole, somewhat scarce, a wooden pipe being far more common. All pipes were of the tubular form. In general, the stone pipes were short, ranging from ten to fifteen centimetres in length, and usually made from steatite. The pipe used by the pehei’pe, or clown, was larger, as a rule, and always made of soapstone. It has, moreover, a rim or ring about the mouth-end (see Fig. 66). The pipes were drilled by means of a piece of deer-antler, which was pounded with another stone, till, after a long time, the cavity was made. Sometimes sand was added, which accelerated the work. It is claimed that there was no twirling of the deer

17 "Smithsonian Report, 1886, Part I, Pl. XVI."

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antler, or other method of drilling. The details of the manufacture seem to have been to a considerable extent lost. It is also claimed that occasionally a pipe was found, just as were mortars. The pipes which were found were regarded as of mysterious origin, and were to be handled with great care. To drop a stone pipe of any sort, but in particular of this type, was very unfortunate, and bad luck or illness was sure to follow. As in the case of the mortars, the Shasta held the pipes as capable of independent motion, but this belief was not held by the Maidu.” [With picture of 2 stone pipes.]

“The clown then goes to the base of the main post, where his pipe is always placed. He fills it, if possible, from the shaman’s supply of tobacco, and then smokes, puffing out as much smoke as possible. Between the puffs he calls out, ‘I like acorn bread! I like deer-meat! I like fish! I like soup! Be good to me, be good to me, my old woman!’ ” [With picture of a steatite pipe.]

1907

In his interesting brief paper on the culture of the Takelma Indians of southwestern Oregon, who bordered the Karuk on the north with only one intervening tribe, and are claimed by my informants to have had customs much like the Shasta, Sapir states the following about their tobacco.

The Takelma occupied the same position on the Rogue River as the Karuk did on the Klamath, holding neither the mouth nor the headwaters. Although not identified by Sapir, the Takelma tobacco was the same as that of their Shasta neighbors, Nicotiana bigelovii.

“The only plant cultivated before the coming of the whites was tobacco (p‘p’) which was planted by the men on land from which the brush had been burnt away. Smoking was indulged in to a considerable extent and had a semi-religious character, the whiff smoke being in a way symbolic of good fortune and long life. The pipes were made of either wood or stone and were always straight throughout, some reaching a length of nearly a foot. The custom prevailed, of course, of passing one pipe around to all the members of an assembled group.”

Dixon, in his paper on the Shasta, tells of finding a stone pipe in the region and describes the construction and making of arrowwood

20 Ibid., p. 317.
pipes, being the first to report on the boring of arrowwood pipes by means of beetle larvae. He also describes the use of pipes by doctors.

"Pipe-tips were either of serpentine, or other fine-grained stone. They were ground laboriously into shape, the hole being pierced by pounding with a piece of antler, aided by sand. What is apparently a portion of a pipe wholly of stone was picked up on the surface near Honolulu, on the Klamath River. (Fig. 69.) It is, however, different from the type of pipe used by the Shasta, and was regarded by them as mysterious, and probably endowed with great magic power. It is nicely finished on the exterior." [With illustration of a fragment of a stone pipe.] 22

"Except for their bows, the Shasta used wood for but few implements, the most important of which were spoons, pipes, and mush paddles. Spoons (Fig. 71) were made of both wood and horn. In type they are closely similar to those used by the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa, although, as a rule, they were less decorated by carving. The pipes (Fig. 72) used here were of the same character as those made by the three tribes just mentioned living lower down the river. The form was the usual tubular, trumpet-shaped one, varying from fifteen to twenty centimetres in length. The pipes are often so regularly and beautifully made as to suggest machine-turning. The method of boring the piece of wood from which the pipe was to be made was exceedingly ingenious, if we may believe the account given by several informants independently. As described, the method was applicable to only one variety of wood (unidentified), a variety which was quite hard, yet possessed a small, somewhat porous pith or heart-wood. A number of sticks of this wood were, so it is said, placed on end in a dish of salmon oil, first on one end, and then on the other. By this means, the pithy, porous heart-wood absorbed considerable oil, much more than did the remainder of the wood. This central core of heart-wood was then dug out at one end, as deeply as could be, with a fine-pointed bone awl. Then a small grub or worm, infesting the dried salmon as preserved in the houses, was placed in the excavation, and this was then sealed with a bit of pitch. The grub thus imprisoned is declared to have eaten the oil-soaked pith or heartwood, following the core, from one end to the other, finally eating its way out at the opposite end. Many of the grubs died, or did not take kindly to the oil-soaked pith; but, out of a dozen or more prepared sticks hung up under the roof during the winter, one or two were, it is claimed, generally found bored in the spring." [With illustration of a wooden tobacco pipe with stone pipe bowl.] 23

23 Ibid., pp. 394-395.
"Again she danced, and, speaking to those assembled, says, 'Kūs apsū'tohkwira' ('Now he reaches for his pipe'); then, 'Kūs kwa'ök-wahir' ('Now he smokes'). Then, after a longer period of dancing, the Axē'ki speaks to the shaman, . . ." 24

1916

Mrs. Lucy Thompson mentions tobacco and pipes among the Yuruk Indians of the central part of the section of the Klamath River occupied by them as follows:

"The Klamath people have the same kind of tobacco that grows over a large part of the United States, which, when it grows up has small leaves. They prepare the ground and plant the seed but will not use any they find growing out of cultivation. They are very careful in gathering the plant and cure it by the fire, or in the hot sun, then pulverize it very fine, then put it up in tight baskets for use. It becomes very strong and often makes the oldest smokers sick, which they pass over lightly, saying that it is a good quality of tobacco. The women doctors all smoke but the other women never do. Their pipes are made out of yew wood with a soapstone for a bowl, the wood is a straight piece and is from three to six inches long and is larger at the bowl end where it joins on to the stone, it is notched in so it sets the bowl on the wood, making the pipe straight. They hold the pipe upwards if sitting or standing and it is only when lying on the back that one seems to enjoy the smoke with perfect ease, however they can handle the pipe to take a smoke in any position. Some of these pipes are small, not holding any more than thimble-full of tobacco. My people never let the tobacco habit get the better of them as they can go all day without smoking or quit smoking for several days at a time and never complain in the least. The men, after supper, on going into the sweat-house take their pipes and smoke and some take two or three smokes before they go to bed. The old women doctors will smoke through the day and always take a smoke before lying down to sleep. All inhale the smoking, letting it pass out of the lungs through the nose." 25

"These plug hat men now select twelve or less boys and put them to making ribbons of bark which they stripe off very flowery by painting and carving, also making fancy Indian pipes, carving and painting them very artistically. These boys are called Charrah and the pipes and ribbons made by them are put on the top of long slim poles from

24 Ibid., p. 487.
25 Thompson, Mrs. Lucy, To The American Indian, Eureka, Calif., 1916, p. 37.
LEARNING TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS

'... and fancy carved Indian pipes that the boys made, ...' 27

1918

Loud, writing on the Indians about Humboldt Bay, gives the following mention of pipes and tobacco:

"Tobacco, Nicotiana sp." 28

"A species of tobacco native to California was the only plant cultivated, and has been mentioned in the Spanish account of the discovery of Trinidad bay." 29

"Stone pipes.—One clay pipe was obtained, which will be described under another heading, and two pipes made of steatite. The description of the stone pipes is as follows:

"Museum no. 1-18038 (pl. 17, figs. 1a and 1b), found in association with human remains no. 2. Length 240 mm., diameter 24 mm. Museum no. 1-18239 (pl. 17, fig. 2), found with human remains no. 19. Length 108 mm., diameter 22 mm.

"These pipes show great extremes in length, but are in no respect different from the majority of stone pipes found in northern California among the modern Indians. There are at least two species of tobacco indigenous to northern California, Nicotiana bigelovii and Nicotiana attenuata, both of which were used by the Indians. The Spanish discoverers of Trinidad Bay said that the Indians 'used tobacco, which they smoked in small wooden pipes, in form of a trumpet, and procured from little gardens where they planted it.'" 30

1925

Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California tells of Yurok tobacco as follows. In his chapter on the Karuk, pp. 98-108, no mention is made of tobacco.

"All the tobacco smoked by the Yurok was planted by them—a strange custom for a nonagricultural people far from all farming con-

26 Ibid. pp. 47-48, mentioned in the description of Kappel fish-dam ceremony.
27 Ibid., p. 52, mentioned in Kappel fish-dam ceremony.
29 See description of tobacco and tobacco pipes under the heading, "Objects of Steatite and Slate," p. 234.
tacts. The custom, which extends also to southwestern Oregon, and in the opposite direction probably to the Maidu, is clearly of local origin. Logs were burned on a hilltop, the seeds sown, and the plants nursed. Those who grew tobacco sold to those who did not. A woman's cap full or not full was the quantity given for a dentalium shell, according as this was of second smallest or shortest length—a high price. Tobacco grows wild also, apparently of the same species as the planted, but is never used by the Yurok, who fear that it might be from a graveyard, or perhaps from seed produced on a graveyard. The plant does seem to show predilection for such soil. Otherwise it sprouts chiefly along sandy bars close to the river; and this seems to have caused the choice of summits for the cultivated product.

"The pipe was tubular, as always in California. Its profile was concave, with the bowl flaring somewhat more than the mouth end. The average length was under 6 inches, but shamans' and show pieces occasionally ran to more than a foot. The poorest pipes were of soft wood, from which it is not difficult to push the pith. Every man who thought well of himself had a pipe of manzanita or other hard wood, beautifully polished, probably with the scouring or horsetail rush, Equisetum, which was kept in the house for smoothing arrows. The general shaping of the pipe seems to have been by the usual northwestern process of rubbing with sandstone rather than by cutting. The bowl in these better pipes was faced with an inlay of soapstone, which would not burn out in many years. Sometimes pipes had bits of haliotis inlaid next the steatite; others were made wholly of this stone. The pipe was kept in a little case or pouch of deerskin. It could be filled by simply pressing it down into the tobacco at the bottom of the sack. Pouches have been found in California only among the northwestern tribes. Tobacco was stored in small globular baskets made for the purpose. These receptacles are also a localized type. (Pl. 73, e.)"

"A few old Yurok were passionate smokers, but the majority used tobacco moderately. Many seem never to have smoked until they retired to the sweat house for the night. Bedtime is the favorite occasion for smoking throughout California. The native Nicotianas are rank, pungent, and heady. They were used undiluted, and the natives frequently speak of them as inducing drowsiness."

III. Fā't pakunikxúrìktihanik pekyā'varíhvā'nsa'  
(BOTANICAL)  
1. Yiðúva kuma'ihē'taha'  
(TOBACCO SPECIES)  

The Karuk country lies well within the area of the tall form of *Nicotiana bigelovii*. It is the only tobacco which grew, wild or sown, in the Karuk territory or probably in that of any of the contiguous tribes, and was the only tobacco known to the Karuk or known by them to exist.

Prof. W. A. Setchell, of the department of botany of the University of California, is our best authority on the botanical aspect of Californian and other American tobacco species, and his fascinating work of raising and thus further testing the various species is known to many of his friends. In the notes given below (pp. 38–44) we follow his important article in the American Anthropologist and other information furnished by Dr. Setchell, including the designation of the tall northern California form of *Nicotiana bigelovii* as var. *exaltata* Setchell, here for the first time published, although as a nomen nudum, with his permission. Dr. Setchell has been most generous in his assistance to the author in his tobacco studies in California, and deeply interested.

Of the 14 species of tobacco known to have been native to North America, there occurred in California 3 species, one of which has 3 forms, making in all 5 forms of tobacco in the State:

1. *Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson var. *typica*, occurring in a large area southeast of San Francisco Bay. This is probably to be called *var. typica*, since it is the taxonomic type.

2. *Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson var. *exaltata* Setchell. Professor Setchell has suggested to the writer that it may be well called *var. exaltata* since it is the tallest of all the forms of *bigelovii* and the most robust, reaching a height of more than 6 feet under favorable circumstances. This is the tobacco of California north of San Francisco and of southernmost Oregon. It is the tallest of the native tobaccos of California, exceeded in height only by *N. glauca*.

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1a In his article in the American Anthropologist Setchell still refers to this variety as *forma alta*.  

35
Graham, Tree Tobacco, a species of tobacco introduced from South America and now growing wild in California and other States.


4. *Nicotiana attenuata* Torrey, the species which occupies the area to the east of California and eastern southern California.

5. *Nicotiana clevelandii* Gray, which occupies the southern California coast.

The writer has knowledge that all of these forms were used by the California natives where they occur. It will be noticed that three of them are forms of *N. bigelovii*. Our Karuk tobacco, *N. bigelovii var. exaltata*, has the distinction of being the tallest native tobacco in the State.

Outside of California two other species of native tobacco occur so closely related to *bigelovii* as to form with it a single group: 1. *Nicotiana multivalvis* Lindl., sown by the Indians of Oregon, Idaho and Montana, and 2. *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* Pursh., a species which has been "lost" in nature, never having been collected in the wild state, but known only as cultivated by the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Indians of the Plains area. It is interesting that according to Setchell both of these eastern species are probably *N. bigelovii* derivatives.

The principal literature on *Nicotiana bigelovii* is presented in the following quotations.

1856

Torrey was the first to describe and name *Nicotiana bigelovii*, regarding it as possibly a variety of *N. plumbaginifolia*. The specimen was collected by Dr. John M. Bigelow, of the Whipple expedition, at Knight's Ferry, in the present Stanislaus County, Calif., in May, 1854, and is *N. bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson *f. typica*. According to Watson it seems that a specimen had already been collected by Fremont in 1846, but this is not mentioned or described by Torrey. *N. plumbaginifolia* Viv. is native to northeastern Mexico and crosses the Rio Grande into Texas.

"Nicotiana plumbaginifolia, Dunal in DC. Prodr. 13, pars. 1, p. 569. Var.? Bigelovii: annua; caule glandulosopubescente sub-simplici; foliiis oblongo-lanceolatis acutiusculis glabriusculis, in-

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2 Probably some neighboring tribes had it as well.

3 Torrey, John, Description of the General Botanical Collections, in Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-4, vol. 4, no. 4, House of Representatives, 33rd Cong., 2d sess., Executive Document No. 91, Washington, 1856, p. 127.
ferioribus in petiolam angustatissimis, superioribus sessilibus basi angu-istantis; panicula terminali laxiuscula; calyce glandulosi-pubescente, lacuniiis lanceolato-linearibus inaequalibus, corolla hypocret margina, tubo elongato calyce 2-3-plio longiore, limbi lacinii lato-ovatis obtusiusculis. Knight's Ferry, Stanislaus river; May. We are unwilling to propose this as a new species, since there are so many others of the same genus that are very imperfectly known. Our plant does not agree with any Nicotiana described by Dunal (l. c.) but it seems to approach the nearest to N. plumbaginifolia."

1871

Watson raises Torrey's questioned variety to a species, and indicates that since Torrey's publication (1856) Torrey himself had collected the species in California and that more recently Anderson had collected it in western Nevada. Goodspeed, of the University of California, is working on the inner and genetic relationship of tobacco species, and only such studies can determine how closely N. bigelovii resembles N. noctiflora of Chile, as pointed out by Watson.

"Nicotiana Bigelovii. (N. plumbaginifolia, Var. (?) Bigelovii, Torr. Pac. R. R. Surv., 4. 127.) Leaves sessile, attenuate at base; calyx glandular-pubescent, with unequal lance-linear lobes; corolla 2' long, tubular-funnel-form, the elongated tube 2-3 times longer than the calyx, the lobes broad-ovate, subacute; capsule obtuse, usually 4-6'' long, shorter than the calyx; otherwise much like the last.—Collected by Bigelow, Frémont, (481, 1846,) and Torrey, (355,) in California, and by Anderson, (268,) in western Nevada. Much resembling N. noctiflora, of Chili, but the leaves are more attenuate at base and the corolla-lobes are not at all obcordate. PLATE XXVII. Fig. 3, Extremity of a branch. Fig. 4, A lower leaf; natural size."  

1878

Gray's description of N. bigelovii presents practically our modern knowledge of the species, except that he fails to distinguish var. exaltata, following the type specimens which are var. typica and only a foot or two high, although he mentions the occurrence of the species from Shasta County to San Diego, and var. exaltata occurs in Shasta County. Var. wallacei had, since Watson's description, been described by Wallace and by Cleveland from southern California.

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4 Watson, Sereno, Botany, in King, Clarence, Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Professional papers of the Engineer Department, U. S. Army, no. 18, Washington, 1871, p. 276. Pl. XXVII is opposite p. 276. Watson’s Plate XXVII contains the earliest published drawing of N. bigelovii; the part of this plate containing the drawing of N. bigelovii is reproduced as Plate 5 of the present paper.
"N. Bigelovii, Watson. A foot or two high; leaves oblong-lanceolate, sessile or nearly so; the lower (5 to 7 inches long) with tapering base: the upper (3 to 1½ inches long) more acuminate, with either acute or some with broader and partly clasping base: infor-
escence loosely racemiform, with all the upper flowers bractless: calyx-teeth unequal, linearsubulate, about equalling the tube, sur-
passing the capsule: tube of the corolla 1½ to 2 inches long, narrow, with a gradually expanded throat; the 5-angled lobed limb 12 to 18 lines in diameter.—Bot. King, 276, t. 27, fig. 3, 4; Gray, Bot. Calif. l. c. 546. N. plumbaginifolia? var. Bigelovii, Torr. Pacif. R. Rep. iv. 127.—California, from Shasta Co. to San Diego, and eastward to Nevada and the border of Arizona.

"Var. Wallácei, a form of corolla smaller (the tube 12 to 16 lines long) and calyx-teeth shorter, but variable, sometimes hardly sur-
passing the capsule: upper leaves more disposed to have a broad and roundish or subordinate slightly clasping base; herbage, &c., more viscid.—Near Los Angeles and San Diego, Wallace, Cleveland.

" = = Ovary and capsule globular, 4-several-celled, at first some-
what succulent: the valves at maturity thin and rather membranous:
corolla with ampler limb and proportionally shorter more funnelform tube—Polydicia, Don. Polydiclis, Miers."\(^5\)

1921

It remained for Setchell to set aside from N. bigelovii var. typica, and ultimately to name, N. bigelovii var. exaltata of northwest Cali-
fornia, which sometimes attains a height of 6 feet.

"The third section of the genus Nicotiana is called the Petunioides-
section, whose corollas are typically salverform and whose color is
white, although often tinged with green, red, or purple. About twelve
species or well-marked varieties of this section occur within the con-
finess of North America or the adjacent islands, but only seven of them
are at all definitely known to me as having been used by the Indians.
There is a most interesting group of five species and varieties centering
about Nicotiana bigelovii (Torr.) Watson and one very widespread
species Nicotiana attenuata Torr. The five species of this section of
the genus which are not as yet known to have been in use by the
Indians are the following: Nicotiana acuminata var. parviflora Comes.
?, in central California; N. clevelandii Gray, in southwestern Cali-
fornia, possibly used by the Santa Barbara and other tribes of coast
Indians; N. repanda Willd., in southwestern Texas and adjacent por-
tions of Mexico; N. plumbaginifolia Viv., in northeastern Mexico
and crossing the Rio Grande into Texas; and N. stocktoni Brandegee,
on Guadalupe Island off the coast of Lower California.

"The Nicotiana Bigelovii-group consists of three very well-marked varieties of N. Bigelovii (Torr.) Watson, N. quadrivalvis Pursh, and N. multivalvis Lindl. There is such a close resemblance in so many details of habit and structure that it certainly seems probable that the five distinct genetic entities of the Bigelovii-group must have originated from one and the same stock, possibly through mutation, but probably also complicated by more or less hybridization. Their distribution in nature and under aboriginal cultivation reënforces this assumption with strong arguments. The three varieties of Nicotiana bigelovii are found native in three separate portions of California, N. multivalvis was cultivated by the Indians in Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, while N. quadrivalvis was similarly cultivated in North Dakota. The distribution of this group runs from southern California north through the entire State of California and well into Oregon, possibly also entering the southeastern corner of the State of Washington. From Oregon, it bends eastward up along the tributaries of the Columbia River, across Idaho and the continental divide, and descends the Missouri River into Montana and North Dakota. With these ideas as to the group and its distribution, the way is made ready for a consideration of its various members.

"Torrey was the first to call attention to Nicotiana bigelovii which he named N. plumbaginifolia? var. bigelovii. This was as early as 1857. In 1871 Watson raised the variety to a species and published a more complete description, as well as a good figure of it. The type specimens came from the Sierran foothills in central California and are low spreading plants, with short internodes, ascending branches, large and conspicuous white flowers, and prominent glan-dular pubescence turning brownish, or rusty, with age. S. A. Barrett found it in the general type region in use among the Miwok Indians and was kind enough to obtain seed for me. I have grown it in the pure line for many years and find that it retains its distinctive varietal characteristics from generation to generation. This plant, the taxonomic type of Nicotiana bigelovii, occupies an area in the very center of California which is definitely limited and also separated from the areas occupied by the other varieties of the species.

"The plant which has usually passed under the name of Nicotiana bigelovii, however, is the tall erect variety found in abundance in the dry washes of stream-beds to the north of San Francisco Bay, from Sonoma, Mendocino, and Humboldt Counties eastward to Shasta and possibly also other counties of California. This variety, which as yet has no distinctive name, may reach a height of as much as six feet, has long erect branches with elongated internodes, and with large flowers which are more separated than in the plants of the taxonomic type. In common with the type of the species, this tall and erect variety has a decided tendency toward a three-celled ovary
and such are to be found in most well-developed plants although in a small percentage of the total number of capsules matured. \(^{5a}\) Chestnut \(^6\) states that this variety is used for smoking and also for chewing by all the Indian tribes of Mendocino County, California. Thanks to P. E. Goddard \(^7\) and S. A. Barrett, I have perfectly reliable evidence that it is still used by the Hupa and the Pomo. The Hupa, at least, knew it both wild and cultivated, \(^8\) but the Pomo seem to have used only the wild plant. As to how far the use of this variety extended into Oregon I am uncertain, but I have the opinion that, towards its northern limits and beyond them, attempts were made to cultivate it, as certainly was the case among the Hupa. Northern California represents the limit of the spontaneous distribution of any coastal species of Nicotiana and in Oregon we find that the cultivated tobacco of certain Indian tribes was a nearly related species, or possibly derived variety, of \textit{N. bigelovii}, viz., \textit{N. multivalvis} Lindl.

"There can be little doubt that it was some form of the \textit{Bigelovii}-group of the genus Nicotiana which was used by the Indians whom Drake encountered in 1579, when he landed on the coast of California, somewhere in the vicinity of Drakes Bay. Wiener \(^9\) remarks on Drake's account as follows: 'That \textit{tobacco}, first mentioned in Hispaniola, should have found its way so far to the northwest, in addition to the rest of the continent, is a \textit{prima facie} proof that the distribution of \textit{tobacco} follows from its first appearance under Arabic influence, from Guinea to all countries where Spanish, Portuguese, and French sailors navigated via Guinea or after having taken part in Guinea expeditions.' The extreme improbability of \textit{Nicotiana bigelovii} hav-

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\(^{5a}\) [Professor Setchell has furnished me the following additional information on this point: "I have found that in the tall form of \textit{Nicotiana bigelovii} [sic] a small percentage of the ovaries are 3-celled. The occurrence of occasional 3-celled condition in this variety is to be contrasted with the situation in the variety \textit{Wallacei}, which, so far as the examination of several thousand capsules indicated, is constantly 2-celled, and gives some indication of the possibility of 4-celled and of many-celled varieties arising from it by simple process of mutation. I should say that this is not a matter of 'abnormal capsules' [quoting letter of J. P. Harrington], but an indication of a tendency within the species. The 3-celled capsules occur usually on the lower parts of the plant.'"]

\(^{6}\) "Plants used by the Indians of Mendocino County, California, \textit{Contr. U. S. National Herb.}, vol. 3, pp. 386, 387, 1902."


\(^{8}\) "Goddard, loc. cit."

\(^{9}\) "Loc. cit., p. 141."
ing originated in Guinea and having been brought thence to the State of California, the only place where it has ever been known, and through any human agency, takes away the effectiveness of this "prima facie proof" and yields another strong probability that the tobacco of Hispaniola may have been carried from Hispaniola to Guinea rather than that any species of tobacco may have been brought from Guinea to Hispaniola or any other portion of the American Continent.

"The third variety of Nicotiana bigelovii, the var. wallacei Gray, is found in a limited area in southern California and distinctly separated, in its distribution, from either, or both, of the other varieties of the species. Var. wallacei is a plant of medium height, erect, and much more slender than either of the two varieties of central and of northern California. It has a smaller flower with more slender tube and I have never seen a three-celled ovary among several thousand examined, all the ovaries, and ripe capsules, having been found to be two-celled. While it is very probable that this variety may have been used by the Indian tribes of the region where it occurs, I have been unable to obtain any direct evidence that such was the case. Its relations with Nicotiana clevelandii Gray, both botanically and as to aboriginal use, are still very uncertain.

"When Lewis and Clark visited the Mandan villages in North Dakota in 1804, they found the inhabitants smoking a kind of tobacco never seen previously by white men. They obtained specimens and seed for their collections as well as data for their report. The specimens brought back by them served as the type of the Nicotiana quadrivalvis Pursh and are now preserved among the collections of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. The seed, or some of it at least, was distributed so that it was the source of the plants grown in various botanical gardens in Europe and its descendants are still to be found in some such institutions. A few years ago, through the courtesy of the Anthropological Section of the American Museum of Natural History of New York City, I was enabled to obtain from George F. Will, of Bismarck, N. Dak., and from Melvin Randolph Gilmore, of Lincoln, Nebr., seed of this species, which was still being cultivated by a Hidatsa Indian. I have grown the descendants of the plants from this seed and in the pure line for several generations and find that it still comes absolutely true to type as described by Lewis and Clark and as represented by the Lewis and Clark specimens. The plants very closely resemble those of the type of Nicotiana bigelovii, but the flowers are neither

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11 "Flora Americae Septentrionalis. vol. 1, p. 141. 1814."
quite so large nor so graceful. The chief difference from any of the varieties of *N. bigelovii*, however, is to be found in the ovary. This is constantly 4-celled in *N. quadrijalvis*, while in *N. bigelovii* it is preponderatingly 2-celled, although 3-celled examples are frequent in the type and in the northern variety. *Nicotiana quadrijalvis* is not only the tobacco of the Mandan, but of the Arikara and the Hidatsa Indians as well. How they obtained it is not known, but it is not known outside of cultivation. This latter fact, taken in connection with the close resemblance to *Nicotiana bigelovii*, the only essential difference being the increase in the number of carpels as shown by the 4-celled ovary, makes it appear reasonably certain that *N. quadrijalvis* is only a derivative from some form of *N. bigelovii*. It may possibly have arisen by a single mutation or it may be a hybrid derivative from a cross between *N. bigelovii* and *N. multivalvis*. I have obtained forms very close to *N. quadrijalvis* as descendants of such a cross and such forms have appeared in the botanical garden of the University of California as the result of a probable spontaneous cross between the two species mentioned. It is of decided interest to find a *bigelovii* derivative so far from the *bigelovii* home and this interest is increased by the fact that *N. quadrijalvis* is connected in distribution with the Californian area by the area in which *N. multivalvis*, itself seemingly a *bigelovii* derivative, is found under aboriginal cultivation.

"The Hidatsa tobacco, which is fairly certainly *Nicotiana quadrijalvis*, has been the subject of study by Gilbert L. Wilson.\textsuperscript{12} He says that the Hidatsa cultivate tobacco, but does not mention the species. It is not used by the young men because it prevents running by causing shortness of breath. It is not planted near corn because tobacco has a strong smell that affects corn. In harvesting, the blossoms are picked first, the white parts (corollas) being thrown away, and the stems and leaves are picked last. Both blossoms and stems are treated with buffalo-fat before being stored. The Hidatsa name for their tobacco, according to Lowie,\textsuperscript{13} is ôpe.

"Melvin Randolph Gilmore,\textsuperscript{14} in treating of the uses of plants by the Missouri River Indians, writes as if they all used *Nicotiana quadrijalvis*,\textsuperscript{15} although he mentions specifically that his definite

\textsuperscript{12} "Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians, an Indian Interpretation, *Univ. of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 9, Minneapolis, 1917, pp. 121-127."


\textsuperscript{15} "Loc. cit. p. 59."
knowledge was of the Hidatsa tobacco only. He states that *N. quadrivalvis* was cultivated by all of the tribes of Nebraska,\(^\text{16}\) but was lost as soon as they came into contact with Europeans and so completely that not even the oldest Omaha had ever seen it in cultivation. It seems fully as probable that the Nebraska tribes, being nomads, may not have cultivated tobacco, but probably obtained it by trade. In this case it seems just as likely that they may have obtained *Nicotiana rustica* from Indians of the Eastern Woodland Area or *N. attenuata* from those of the Plains Area, as to have received *N. quadrivalvis* from any one of the three tribes of village Indians of North Dakota.

“*Nicotiana multivalvis* Lindl., the fifth and last member of the *bigelovii* group to be considered, bears a striking resemblance to the type of *N. bigelovii* and also to *N. quadrivalvis* in habit, leaves, and shape—as well as color—of the flowers. The corollas, however, is usually more than 5-lobed, varying to as many as 12 or more lobes. The ovary is the characteristic feature of the species. It is composed of two circles of cells, one within the other as in the case of the ovary of the navel-orange. The capsule of *N. multivalvis* bears fertile seeds in all, or at least in most, of its cells. Such a form of ovary as this is evidently monstrous, at least from the point of view of the normal ovary of Nicotiana, and may be supposed to have been derived from a form such as the type of *N. bigelovii* by a relatively simple mutation. An additional argument as to the possible derivation of this species from some simpler form is the fact that it has not been found outside of cultivation.

“*Nicotiana multivalvis* was discovered by David Douglas\(^\text{17}\) in August, 1825. The first specimen he saw of it was in the hands of an Indian at the great falls of the Columbia River, but, although he offered two ounces of manufactured tobacco, an enormous remuneration, the Indian would not part with it. The Indians planted it away from the villages so that it could not be pulled before maturity. They burned a dead tree or stump in the open wood and strewed the ashes over the ground to be planted. Later on, Douglas found one of the little plantations and helped himself to specimens. Soon after, however, he met the owner who appeared much displeased on seeing the plants under Douglas’s arm. A present of an ounce of European tobacco appeased him and the present of an additional ounce induced him to talk of the Indian tobacco and to answer questions concerning it. Douglas learned from the Indian that he put wood ashes over the ground because it was supposed that the ashes make the tobacco plants to grow very large. He also learned that this species of tobacco

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\(^{16}\) “Loc. cit. p. 113.”

grew plentifully in the country of the Snake Indians, who may have brought it from the headwaters of the Missouri River which they annually visited, and have distributed it from this region and in both directions east and west of the Rocky Mountains. This suggestion of the Indian probably represents a portion of the truth as regards the travels of this species, but the general trend must have been rather from the coast to the eastward and into the interior, if the botanical probabilities are duly considered.

"Through the kindness of Dr. Robert H. Lowie, of the American Museum of Natural History, I have been able to make certain that the tobacco which is of so much ceremonial importance among the Crow Indians is *Nicotiana multivalvis*. I have examined photographs of the tobacco gardens of the Crows, in which the plants showed their characters remarkably well, and also a pressed specimen of an entire plant concerning whose identity there can be no doubt. Dr. Lowie\(^{18}\) has since published his paper on the subject and brought forward much detail concerning the planting and ceremonial use of this species. In his preface, Dr. Lowie says that the Tobacco Society loomed large in the tribal life of the Crow, its ceremonial activities probably ranking next to the Sun Dance. The Crows insist that their tobacco is different from that of the Hidatsa (*Nicotiana quadricvalvis*), and botanically this idea is correct. In connection with the query as to whence the Crow, and the Hidatsa as well, may have obtained their particular types of tobacco, Dr. Lowie, in addition to the botanical evidence, calls attention to the fact that in the languages of several of the tribes using the *bigelovii* group of tobbacos, the root of the word for tobacco is *dp* or *up* and that the Diegueños, the Shasta, the Takelma, the Crow, and the Hidatsa agree in this, while the tribes using other species of tobacco apply terms from different roots.\(^{18a}\) This linguistic evidence is of decided interest and importance, especially when taken in connection with the close botanical relationship of the species and varieties concerned."

2. Pahú't 'uðvúyttí-hva pehô-raha'

*(THE NAME OF TOBACCO)*

'İhê-raha', tobacco, tobacco plant, means merely that which is smoked, being a -ha' derivative of 'ihê'-r, to smoke, just as 'avaha', food, is derived from 'av, to eat.

\(^{18}\) "Loc. cit."

\(^{18a}\) [Karuk 'u"h, tobacco, see p. 45, is the same word.]

But there is also another, old name for tobacco, 'u"ah, which corresponds to words of similar sound in a number of Indian languages of western North America,^9a and survives in Karuk as a preound, although the independent form of the word can be separated and restored by any speaker, and has very rarely been volunteered.^20 The following words, and some others, have it. It is felt to be identical in meaning with 'ihē'raha-, which can not be substituted for it in the words here given except in the case of 'uhsīpnu"uk, for which one may also say 'ihē'rahāsīpnu"uk.

(1) 'uhaľ, nicotine, the pitchy substance which accumulates in a Karuk smoking pipe. The literal meaning is tobacco excrement. Cp. siccaľ, semen; vīōaľ, mucus secretion of the vagina; 'a"af, excrement.

(2) 'uhaľāhâkûv, name of one of the days of the new-year ceremony, literally a going toward tobacco. (See p. 244.)

(3) 'uhiппи, tobacco stem, tobacco stalk. With -'ippi' cp., independent 'ippi', bone, and 'ippa', tree, plant. (See pp. 51, 89.)

(4) 'uhrā-m, tobacco pipe of any kind, -rām, place.

(5) 'uhsīpnu"uk, tobacco basket, = 'ihē'rahāsīpnu"uk, from āpnu"uk, storage basket. (See pp. 103-131.)

(6) 'uhtatvāra'ɭ, sweathouse tobacco lighting stick, literally tobacco [coal] tong-inserter. (See pp. 188-190.)

(7) 'uhaľ'ěrhām, mg. where they put tobacco, placename. (See p. 267.)

(8) 'uhtayvarāra"m, mg. where they spoil tobacco, placename. (See p. 267.)

3. Pakō-vúra pananuppīric puıyīpha xăy vura kunic va; kumē'kya-hara pehē'raha'ippa', vura tcicīhpuriʔippa kīte va; kūnic kumē-kyav, pa'apxanti-te 'īn takinippē'ɭr

(OF ALL KARUK PLANTS THE BLACK NIGHTSHADE IS MOST LIKE TOBACCO, THE WHITES TELL US)

The plant most closely related to tobacco botanically of those growing in the Karuk country is the Black Nightshade, Solanum nigrum L., called tcicīhpūriʔ, dog huckleberry. Of it is said:

'Imxāaakkēm. Puff'ăt vura 'ǐn 'āmtihaĮ. Kō'kaninay vur 'u'īťti'. Payēm vura va; kā:n ta;y 'u'īťti', pakā:n pīns kūn'ūhaľ mhițihiřak. Va; vura práč 'umuššāhiti', kūna vura 'axvīōṭiřar

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19a See quotation from Setchell, p. 44.
20 See p. 244, line 10.
63044°—32——6
'umússahiti paticihipúriθ, 'uxra-háθka'ý, pappíric kəâru vur 'ax-viθθirarkuθic. Vura puraθθáθ hâθa, 'túθx. Tciči: 'ata nik 'u:θm vûr 'u:ámîi', 'ikki:tc 'átâ, vôθvû-yti tcihipúriθ. they are sour, the leaves also are
dirty looking. It is good for
nothing, it smells strong. I guess
maybe dogs eat them, they are
called dog huckleberries.

4. Sahihé'taha karu mahihé'raha'
(DOWNSLOPE AND UPSLOPE TOBACCO)

Sah-, downslope, and mah-, upslope, are sometimes employed,
always rather irregularly, to distinguish river and mountain varieties
of an object. Thus xanθu'n, crawfish (*sahxánθu'θn is not used);
mahxánθu'θn, scorpion, lit. mountain crawfish. Xa'aθ, grasshopper
(*máhxα'θ is not used); sãhxa'θ, green grasshopper, lit. river grass-
hopper. 21 'Apxa'θn, hat (*sahápxa'θn is not used); mahápxa'θn, a
hunter's hat overlaid mostly with pine roots, also called taripaná-
θxa'θn, dipper basket hat, lit. mountain hat. Vuhvúha', (1) deerskin
dance in general, (2) jump dance; but sahvuhvúha', deerskin dance,
regular name of the deerskin dance, lit. river deerskin dance. 22

So also with tobacco. The Indians go beyond the botanist and
make what is for them a very necessary distinction. Sahihé'taha',
river tobacco, is applied only to the wild tobacco, self-sown. It is very
properly named, since wild tobacco is known to be fond of sandy
stretches of river bottoms and is rumored to be particularly vile.
But none of the informants had ever heard Goddard's statement
that such tobacco is poisonous. 23 River tobacco was never smoked,
but volunteer tobacco growing about the sweathouses was often picked
and smoked (see p. 78), and sweathouses were mostly downslope
institutions and so this comes painfully near to smoking river tobacco.

The other, sown, people's tobacco was called in contradistinction
mahihé'raha', mountain tobacco, although the term was seldom used.
Tapasihé'raha', real tobacco, was felt to be a more proper distinction,
or one could say 'araré'hé'raha', people's, or if you will, Indians',
tobacco.

The term for any volunteer plant is píffapu'. This is applied to
either sahíhē'raha' or tapasihé'raha', provided the tobacco has not
been planted by people. All native tobacco is píffapu' now.

It is thought that the seeds of sahíhē'raha' float down from upriver.
This gives it a foreign, extraneous aspect. Any tobacco growing

21 Cp. again káhxα'θ, upriver grasshopper, a species living at the
Klamath Lakes, said closely to resemble sãhxa'θ.
22 The writer has many additional examples of this distinguishment.
23 “The wild form found along the river they say is poison.”
Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, p. 37.
upslope tends, on the other hand, to be identified with tapasihé'raha'. It is inferred that it has escaped from the plots, or to have perpetuated itself as a volunteer crop at some long abandoned plot. They realize that this volunteer tapasihé'raha is not as robust and strong as when it was sowed in ashes, weeded and tended, but it is, nevertheless, tapasihé'raha'.

It is said that even today, when both kinds are growing wild, one can distinguish them instantly:

Pu'ikpihanhara pasahihé'raha', That river tobacco is not strong, if a person smokes it. It grows xá't vá:j 'ár uhē'e'r. 'Asti:p vur by the river in the sand. They 'u'i-ftí yuxná:m. Vúra pu'uh-
thá:mhítihap. Vúra yántcip kúk-
ku:m vura ká:nu tupísčf-prín. 'Ará:r 'u:m vúra pu'ihérátihara pasahihé'raha'. They realize that this volunteer tapasihé'raha

Kuna vura patapasihé'raha But the real tobacco is pithy, 'u:m kunic 'axváhahaf, tít'kan it makes a person's hands sticky 'ar uváhahiti patu'áfficahak pátapasihé'raha'. Tírhca pamú-
pífírc, 'ikpihan, 'imxaå:takkë'em.

5. Pehétahá'ippa mupik'utunváramu"u, karu kó:vúra pamúñvuy.24 But the real tobacco is pithy, (morphology of the tobacco plant) if a person smokes it. It grows (the plant)
Pírfírc means (1) leaf, (collective) foliage, (2) plant of any kind, except that when applied to trees, which are termed 'ippa', it resumes its meaning of foliage, referring either to that of the entire tree or to a branchy or leafy sprig or piece of the tree. Pírfírc is also the common word for bush or brush, being used in the plural equivalent to pírfírc'k, brush, brushy place. Pírfírc is commonly used of the leaves of the tobacco plant (see p. 52), but can also be applied to the tobacco plant as a whole; it is sometimes employed contemptuously, e. g. 'íp nímmáhat pamihé'rahappírfírc, I saw your good for nothing tobacco weeds; or with reference to the plant or leaves when first pricking above the soil: Yá:n vur 'u'íkk'úsúnútihtác pehétahappírfírc, the tobacco is just

24 Or pehétahá'ippa pakó: 'uóvúyttríhva pamucvitáva. Pamupi-
k'utunváramu"u, its joints, is applicable to the parts of a plant, and is the proper term, but can not be said of the parts of a one-piece object, like a pipe, of which pamucvitáva, its various parts or pieces, must be used.
starting to come up. The diminutive of píric, píricanammaha'tc, pl. pinictunvē'ttecas, is used especially of grotesque or useless leaves or plants, or of little weeds coming up, e. g., in a tobacco plot.

Tree is 'ippa', although this can also be applied to smaller plants, and the compound 'ihē-raha'ippa', tobacco plant, is actually volunteered.

Vine is 'atatūrā-n' nar, one that grows all over.

Garden plants are distinguished from wild ones by such an expression as 'uhōsamhako-kfā'ttecas, different kinds of planted ones. Vegetables are 'uhōsamha'avaha', planted food.

A tobacco plant is usually called merely 'ihē-raha', tobacco; but one may also say 'ihē-raha'ippa', 'ihē-rahappific, or 'uhippi'; the last properly meaning tobacco stalk, can be used of the entire plant. (See p. 51.) 'Ihē-raha'ippa' is sometimes used of the stem. (See p. 51.)

The topmost part of the tobacco plant is called 'ihē-raha'ipaha'ippapīc ('ippapīc, top). The top in contradistinction to the root is called pamupplpīc, its stalk or plant, or pamupplpific, its foliage. The last word is used, e. g., of carrot tops as contrasted with the roots.

The base or lower part of the tobacco plant is called 'ihē-raha'ipaha'āffiv (affiv, base).

The following general observations were volunteered on habits of growth of the tobacco plant:

'Ālya-te vur uvē'hrim'va po-=
'ifti' pehē-raha".25 Kō'mahite
vura po=vē'hpāvuti pamūpti"k.

Pehē-raha'ippa 'u;m vura 'ivāx-
ra kunic kō=vūra, pu'assarha'a,
sākri'v. Pehē-rahā'pītī'k, pa'u-
hippi sākri-vca', puyā-mahukite
kupē'pāttahitiha'a. Patakik-
ya'ha"k pa'uhippi', takunvupāk-
si'priń.

Kā'kum vura 'ālvāri po='ifti',
karu kā'kum vura 'āpuniće. Va;-
vura 'a'varittāpas 'u='ifti"26 pa'a-
vanasa'āvahkam vari tu'ifhaa"k.
Va; 'u;m vura hitha'a'n 'aranē-
vā'yyāri va; kō' vá'rāmashiti'
Vā'tamas.

25 Or pehē-raha'ippa'.
26 Or va; vur 'upifyīmmuti', the highest it ever grows.
Reproduction of Plate XXVII of Watson's Report, 1871, First Illustration of Nicotiana Bigelovii
Nicotiana Bigelovii (Torr.) Watson var. exaltata Setchell. Drawings of 2-valved Specimen, W. A. Setchell
NICOTIANA BICЕLOVII (TORR.) WATSON VAR. EXALTATA SETCHELL. DRAWINGS OF 2-VALVED SPECIMEN, W. A. SETCHELL
Nicotiana bigelovii (Torr.) Watson var. exaltata Setchell, Drawings of Exceptional 3-valved Specimen, W. A. Setchell
MRS. PHOEBE MADUXX AT FORMER TOBACCO PLOT UPSLOPE OF GRANT HILLMAN'S PLACE, ACROSS THE RIVER FROM ORLEANS, CALIF.
The following sense characteristics are attributed to the tobacco plant:

a'. Pahu-t 'u'iftakantakkanti'  

(FEELING)

Xú's kunic 'ár u'iftakankó'tti patu'áfficaha'ak, tobacco is smooth and sticky when one feels of it.

b'. Pahu-t 'úmxá-óti'

(SMELL)

Karu vura pehé'raha vur imxaáakké'm. Há'ri vura 'aváhkúhaha-haha pató'msákkara'ak. And tobacco stinks. Sometimes it makes a person's head ache when he smells it.

c'. Pahu-t 'u'akkati'

(TASTE)

Tobacco burns a person's mouth, it tastes bad.

They say when anything tastes bad: "It tastes bad, it tastes as bad as tobacco." My mother used to say when anything tasted bad: "It tastes as bad as green tobacco."

Sometimes when they taste of acorn dough, when they are still soaking it, they say: "The acorn dough tastes as bad as smoking tobacco yet."

d'. Pahu-t 'umússahiti'

(SIGHT)

Payá'n vur 'u'iftiha'ak puxxwíte ñuikkinkuníc, pehé'raha'ippa', pateim 'ümtúppe'caha'ak, va' kari tavátavkuñic.  

When it is just growing, the tobacco plant is real green, when it is already going to get ripe, it is then light-colored.

For the turning yellow of tobacco leaves, see page 100. For observations on the color of tobacco flowers, see page 55.
Chemically changed tobacco plant material would be designated as follows:

'Ihe-rakah-mnak, tobacco charcoal.
'Ihe-rakah-ama*p, tobacco ashes.

c. Pehetaha'uhoh-amsa' (TOBACCO PLOTS)

A tobacco plot, and now any garden, orchard, or plantation, is called 'uhoh*a*m, whence 'uhoh*ma, to plant, to sow. Here 'uh-
is not the old word for tobacco, but to be connected with 'uhic, seed; -a*m, to put. More specifically: 'ihetarahauhoh*a*m, tobacco plot. Also 'ihetarahauhohamifam, tobacco garden; pamitva 'ihetarahauhoham-
hrama,nik, former tobacco plot. Of any place where tobacco grows, sown or unsown, one may say: pehetahauftitifat, place where tobacco grows. Plate 10 shows 'Imnak'at at a former tobacco plot.

In contrast to the above words, should be noticed piffapu', any volunteer plant; 'ihetapapapapu', volunteer tobacco plant or plants. One should note also sahihetarahah, used for distinguishing the wild from the sown variety of tobacco. (See pp. 46-47.)

d. Pa'epumu*m (ROOT)

'Ihetarahaeppu*a*m, tobacco root, from 'eppu*a*m, root. Rootlet is called 'eppumtahama,tc, pl. 'eppumtunve*etc. The bottom of the root is called 'eppumafivitetc, from 'afivitetc, bottom. A corresponding 'eppumpannfetc, top of the root, would scarcely be applied. Only for bull pine roots used for basketry is the special term 'ictcatorp, and 'eppu*a*m is not applied.

e. Pa'uhippi' (STALK)

The commonest word for the stalk of plants is suf, fish backbone, which also means pith. (See p. 52.) Or 'ahuup, wood, stick, can be used. Thus of a sunflower stalk one can say muusu*auf, its fish backbone, or muahuup, its stick. But of the backbone of animals other than fish sufa$a must be employed; while the backbone of a deer from which the ribs have been cut is called 'iktoorahahah. Leaf stem is never called suf (see p. 53), but flower stem is regularly so called (see p. 56).

Another equally curious term, which has to be applied to certain stalks, is 'avan, husband, male, applied (1) to the leafless stalks of scouring rush in contradistinction to the leafy ones, which are called
'asiktáva"n, woman, female; (2) to stalks which are bare, like a sprout, but have a bunch of leaves at the base, in this case the leaves being designated as the female. The idea is that the bare stalk resembles the undressed Indian male while the leafiness or leaves suggest the Indian woman with her dress. In enumerating these stalks called 'ávan, the series of cardinal numerals with -'ávan post-pounded, meaning so and so many men, can not be used, but one must use the ordinary cardinals; thus 'ítaharáván, 10 men, but 'ítrá-hyar pa'áván, 10 stalks.

A young, succulent sprout or stalk, especially one which has just come up and is still leafless, is designated as kúppat'.

None of the terms for stalk or stem above listed can be applied to the tobacco stalk or stem, the latter being called by the special term 'uhíppi', tobacco bone. The prepond is for 'u"uh, already discussed as the old designation of tobacco in the language, while 'íppi' is the common word for bone. Cp. súf, fish backbone, applied to the stalks of other plants. Neither súf, 'áhu^, nor 'ávan, discussed above is applied to the stem of tobacco. The reason for the special term is because the harvested and prepared tobacco stems were a commodity and also had use in religious performances; otherwise we should probably find no special terminology.

'Ihérähahíppa', meaning strictly tobacco plant, is sometimes applied to the stalk.

A joint in a stem, such as is conspicuous in the scouring rush, is called 'ik'utunváramu"a, and this word is also loosely applied to the internodes between the joints, e. g. váramas pamu'ik'utunváramu"a, the sections between its joints (lit. its joints) are long. Here again in the case of tobacco there is no application of the word.

'Ápti"k is the common word for limb or branch, such as a tree has. The same word is applied to the branches or stemlets which leave the main stalk of the tobacco. The tendency would here be to say 'ihérähahíptikrutvénē'tcäs, little tobacco branches, putting the word in the diminutive: or muptikutvénē'tcäs, its little branches. From 'áp'ti"k is derived 'áptík'aỹ, it has many branches, it is branchy, used about the same as 'úptí-khiti', it has branches, limbs.

The following remarks were made with regard to tobacco stems:

'Unúhyátcäs pa'uhíppi, su? kunic 'árunsä'.28 'Ákóí'pkűnic, 'ak-thip'íváraxra', pa'uhíppi', patuvaxráha"k.

The tobacco stems are round [in section] and empty inside. They are like 'ákóí"p [grass sp.], like dry 'ákóí"p, the tobacco stems, when they get dry.

28 'Ussúrvárvářihi', it is hollow, 'ussuruvárśihi', they tpl. are hollow, suggests a larger cavity than the tobacco stems have. It is well known to the Karuk that the stems are hollow.
f. Pamúmmà’n

(BARK)

The general term for skin or bark is ma’*n. Thus the same word is applied to the skin of a person or the bark of a tree. Múmmà’n, its skin or bark; ’ummmá-nhiti’, it has skin or bark.

The shreddy bark of cedar and grapevine is called the same; one may say of it 'imyá’t kúnic 'upiyá’tunvárámó’hiti’, it is like fur all compressed together.

The peelings (consisting mostly of bark) of hazel sticks and willow sticks used in basketry are called by the special term Gariiffe’*p. About the first of May these sticks were gathered and at once peeled, resulting in big piles of the peelings. These peelings were sometimes spread on the floor of the living house as a mattress for sleeping; they were used as a rag for wiping things; and among the Salmon River Indians a dress was sometimes made of the peelings to be worn by a girl during the flower dance.

The outside of the tobacco stem is regularly called múmmà’n, its skin or bark, although botanically speaking tobacco has no bark.

g. Pamiissu’uf

(PITH)

The pith, e. g., of arrowwood, which is removed when making an arrowwood pipe, is called súf, fish backbone, the same word that is applied to the stalks of plants, since the pith lies in the stalk or wood as the backbone lies inside the fish.

The tobacco stem is said to have pith: pehe'raha’íppa ’usú’hiti su?, the tobacco plant has pith inside.

h. Pamiussa’*n

(LEAF)

The most general term for leaf is pi'ic, which also means plant, as fully discussed above. (See pp. 47-48.)

Another general word for leaf is sa’*n, already recorded in the Gibbs vocabulary of 1852. Sa’*n also means maple tree, which is noted for its useful leaves. (See p. 53.)

Tender, young green leaf of plants, when they first come up, is called by the special term xi'it. 29

All of the above terms may be applied to tobacco leaves. The forms with the word for tobacco prepounded are 'ihé rahappi'íic, 'ihé rahás*a’*n, and 'ihé raháxxi’it. One can not say *san’ihé rahá or *piric’ihé rahá for leaf tobacco; only 'ihé rahás*a’*n.

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29 For color description mentioning the xi'it of the tobacco plant, see p. 267.
The corresponding verbs used of such leaves being put forth are púriča', sánha', and xí'tha'.

Leaf stem, called petiole scientifically, and also leaf branch is called sanápt'k, leaf branch. Piricápt'k is not a very good term, since it suggests the branch, limb, or twig of a piece of foliage, e. g., from a tree, rather than leaf stem.

Leaf stem is never called su'wf, although flower stem is so called. (See p. 56.)

A maple leaf stem is called by the special term 'ápsi', leg: sanpíric múpsi', maple leaf its leg; or sanápsi', maple leaf leg. Maple leaf stems come into prominence from their use in pinning and tying maple leaves together into sheets. (See footnote 32.) As far as can be explored, this terminology is never actually applied to any other kind of leaf stem, but can easily be extended as is done in the text below, second paragraph.

Of tobacco leaves in general, the following was dictated:

'Asív'ávahkam 'a'rávanmhite xas pospírichiti 30 pamuíhërahassá'enz, 'áffiv 'u'm vura piricci'ppux Pehë-rahassa'ën tinëhyät'ttca's, và'packunuihë'rati'. Và'ramsa', 'îpän-îttctica' pehe-rahappíric. Piriciyà'matcas, xûtnàhitca's, tinìhyà'tcas, 'îpànyít'ttchica', tì-mx'û's-ùkùnicas.31 'Ànkùnic su? 'usâsíppi't'vva', 'à'tcip 'ànkunic 'u'icîp-vàrà'hit', kòvúra vo'kupitti pamupíric, 'à'tcip 'ànkunic 'u'icîp-vàrà'hit'. Pu'îmyàttarasha'ë. Pehë-rahassá'ën xús'kùnic 'io'vá-y-kò'makam, kò-mahite vur 'u'áx-vahahithatc pehe-rëthasansvâ-sihk'úmkám.

Pamupíric vura pu'îvràràs-sùrûtihàrà, săkîv'tca pamúpsi', 'îppam kùnic pamupíric'âpsi',32 pak'à'n 'u'iscúrû-tìhiràk săkîv'tca'.

The leaves do not fall off, they are tough leaf-stemmed, their leaf-stems are like sinew, where the leaves grow off [from the stem] is tough.

30 Or poz'så'nhit'.
31 Or xu'skùnicas pamût'f'm.
32 A term carried over from maple leaf nomenclature. The maple leaf stems, which are stuck through the leaves and tied together in making maple leaf sheets, look just like a leg with a little round foot at the bottom, and are regularly called san'ápsi', maple leaf foot, while one could also say sa'än múpsi', maple leaf its foot.
On the differing characteristics of leaves at the different sections of the plant, the following was volunteered:

'Ipansiinnukite va; k'än payép-ca', ipki'han pehé-raha', kunič 'ar u'iftakankó-tti', va; pehé-rahahayép-ca k'än vári.33 'Affi vári 'u:m pu'ifyayépcahara pehé-ra, 'umvä;yti', 'imtcáxháhmá' karu vura 'umvä;yti', karu vura paóh-hámáwuk, paóh-hámá' karu vura 'umvä;yti'. Va; 'u:m yìthu kunvé'crí-hvúti', patakunikyá-ha'wuk.

Toward the top they are good leaves, it is strong tobacco, like it would stick to a person, they are good tobacco leaves that side. Toward the base the tobacco leaves are not so good, they are wilted, they are wilted with the sunshine and also with the rain, with the rain also they are wilted. They put it apart when they work it.

i. Pamuxváha

(GUM)

'Axváha', pitch, also any gum, also asphalt, and bitumin, now that they know this substance through the Whites. Much attention and mention in conversation is given to tobacco gum, it being called 'axváha', gum, 'ihé-raha-xváha', tobacco gum, or muxváha', its gum. From 'axváha' is formed tó-xváháha', it is gummy.

Va; kunippitti': "'Imxa6akkS'm, 'ikplhan, peheTaha'xváha'."

Va; karixas kunxúti tómtu pehé-raha', patákunma tó-xváhaha', Xás top'ppíp: "'Tcimi nictükke'w, tó-xváhaha'."

They say: "It stinks, it is strong, the tobacco gum."

Then they know the tobacco is ripe, when they see it is gummy. Then one says: "Let me pick it, it is gummy."

j. Pe-thríha karu pahú-t 'uëvúytí-hva pamusvitáva

(THE FLOWER AND HOW ITS VARIOUS PARTS ARE CALLED)

Any flower is called 'iöriha', and from this is formed 'iörihaha', to bloom, often contracted to 'iöriha'. The diminutive is 'itcniháhi'tc, e. g., a child will say 'itcnihahí:tc nicänvúti', I am packing little flowers. Willow catkins can be called 'iöriha', but there is also a special term for them, sáprü'wk, olivella, they being likened to the ocean shells known to the Karuk through trade; thus kufípsapru'wk, catkin of kúffíp, Arroyo Willow. Corn tassel is called kó:níöriha', corn flower. Flower is never applied to "sweetheart" as it is among some Indians, uxnháhítc, strawberry being used instead. Nani'uxnáhítc, my girl, lit. my strawberry. Tobacco flower is called 'ihé-raheöriha'.

33 Referring to that part of the plant.
On tobacco flowers in general the following was dictated:

'Thē-rahe-ôriha', vupxaráhsa', t'ôrihaxaráhsa', 'Arara'i'n k'unîc 'immû-stihap pehē-re-ôriha'.

Tobacco flowers are long necked, they are long flowers. The tobacco flowers are like somebody looking at you.

The tobacco has pretty flowers, white ones. They are strong smelling ones.

The people's tobacco flowers are not as white as the river tobacco flowers. The people's tobacco flowers are not very white.

Any bunch or cluster of flowers intact on the plant is called piktcus, the same term which is applied, e. g., to a bunch of grapes. Thus t'ôrihapîktcus, a bunch of flowers. 'Aypîktcus, a bunch of grapes. Tā'k páyk'u:k papiktcus, give me that bunch.

But 'akkấn, a bunch of things picked and assembled, e. g., a bouquet of flowers. 'Ôrîha'ákkấn, a bunch of [picked] flowers.

'Upiktcus-kâ'hiti pamuôriha pehē-ratha', the tobacco flowers are in a bunch. Pehē-ôriha 'upiktcusahina-ti', the tobacco flowers are in bunches; this refers to several bunches, for a tobacco plant never has just one bunch on it. 'Thē-ôriha-ôrihapîktcusar', a place where there are bunches of tobacco flowers, e. g., on one or on many plants. Pehē-ratha va; tu'kupa'îfhaha pamuôriha; 'upiktcuskô'hiti', tobacco flowers grow in bunches. Payâv tu'kupa'îfhahak k 'upiktctuskô-hiti pamuôriha', when it grows well it has bunches of flowers all over. 'Thē-ratha'îppa pamuôrih 'upiktcuskô-hina-ti', the tobacco plants have bunches of flowers all over them.

One set of expressions for bud are derived from 'úru', (1) to be round, (2) egg. These are: (a) 'úruha', lit. to put forth something round, (1) to bud, (2) to lay an egg. E. g. pakûslip tu'úruha', teim uppi-rîche'c, the willow trees are budding, they are about to leaf out. This verb is never used of young seed pods. (b) 'Urûkku''u', to bud, lit. knob is on. This is used both of buds and of young seed pods being on the plant, especially of the latter in the case of tobacco, since the growing seed capsules are more conspicuous and of greater interest to the Indian who is about to harvest them than the flower buds. Tu'urûkku''u, teim 'ûrîhahe''c, there is a bud on it, it is going to blossom. Tu'turûkku''u, tu'ûhicha', there are young seed pods on it, it is going to seed. The noun for bud is simply 'úru, round thing, although this usage is rare and restricted to a very limited setting of other words. See the sentence given under "Phases of Flowering," 'Urûkku' also can be used as a noun, better with more narrowly
defining preponds: 'i'triha'urükku', tanimmâ, I see a flower bud; 'uhič'urükku'; tanimmâ, I see a budding out seed pod. Tobacco flower bud is 'ihē-rahe'ōriha'urükku'q, tobacco bud is 'ihē-rahe'ūrükku'q.

Another way of referring to some buds is to call them 'axvā'q, head, the same term that is sometimes applied to anther and stigma. The bud at the top of a wild sunflower stalk at the stage when it is picked for greens is called mxvā'q, its head, or 'imk'axvā'xvā'q, wild sunflower head. The wild sunflower buds are broken off and thrown away as the stalks are gathered, "they won't pack them into the house." To'xvā'ha', it has a bud, lit. a head. This term is used of buds surmounting a stalk, which look like a head, but can not be applied to tobacco buds.

One also says of a bud va' kā'n po'ūrihahe'q, where it is going to flower.

Flower stem is called 'i'triha'assā'uf, flower fish backbone. 'Ihē-rahe'ōrihâssā'uf, tobacco flower stem.

Flower stem and also flower branch can also be spoken of as 'i'triha'pti'lk, flower branch.

Of the calyx or base of the flower may be said 'i'triha'astāv, dim. 'itcniha'astāvitc, flower base, but more naturally might be said of it: Va' kā'n po'uhiche'q, petcniha'astāvitc, that is where the seed will be, at the baselet of the flower.

Sepals may be called 'i'trihе'āxūppar, flower cover. The sentence, the flower has its cover on yet, was rendered by: Yā'n vūr 'u'uttā-trihvūtī', it is about to burst.

There is no standard word for petal. A natural way to speak of a petal is yīθθ 'i'trihahè-cvīt, a piece of a flower. One old Indian volunteered of the petals of a flower merely: 'Itrō pamutcāntcā-ťkunicitcas 'uvē-hcūru', it has 5 white ones sticking out. Cp. similar expressions for stamens and pistil. Of the 5 lobes of the gamopetalous corolla of the tobacco these same verbs are used (see p. 57): 'Itrihapīric, or 'i'trihâssā'q, both meaning flower leaf, would not be likely to be applied to the petal, but would convey rather the idea of a leaf associated with a flower, or of the leaf of a flowering plant.

Of stamens and pistil nothing would be likely to be said further than such expressions as the following: 'A'tcīp 'utnīccuktī' or 'A'tcīp 'uhyarīccuk, they are sticking out in the middle. Va' kā'n po'ühiche'q kō'vūr e-īriha'ā-tcīp 'uvē'ūnīccukvač, they are sticking out in the middle of every flower where the seeds are going to be.

It also does the language no violence to say of stamens 'i'trihā-pmarāxvā', flower whiskers, 'i'trihā'q, flower threads, or even 'i'trihē-myā'q, flower hairs. Corn silk is regularly called kō'nīap-

34 Or 'uvē-hmūtī'
maráxvu', corn whiskers, and of fuzziness or hairs on a plant resembling body hairs one may say 'imyä't, body-hair, or 'úmyä'-thiti', it has body-hairs, the latter ones having been volunteered of the hairs of the plant called puffitcti', meaning deer's ears.

Of knobs on stamens and pistil is said: 'İppan 'unuhyä-te 'úkri-v-küti', there is a knob, lit. a little round thing, at the top. If it is broken off and handed to a person one might say yáxa pay 'unuhyä'-te, here is a little knob. On other occasions the term 'axvä', heads, is pressed into service for anther and stigma. Thus it happens that both of the terms used for flower bud (see pp. 55–56) are also applied to anther and stigma.

Pollen is called 'iéririhä-mta*p, flower dust. It is not called *iéririhä-xvi00iň, flower scurf, or anything but 'ámta*p, dust.

The following textlet was volunteered after examining carefully stamens and pistil of a tobacco flower:

'Itröppakan pakú:k 'uvé-h-müti pamu'{riňha', karu 'itröppakan po-xuvahiti po-ve-hçúro-hiti kuná'-tecíp. Kó-vüra po-xuva-hinä'-ti va: ká'n itçámahite 'u'iccípmahiti pamü'ä*a*n. ‘Ä vári xas po'-ifcúro'-tii,36 'i'tró-p patti:m po'-ifcúro'-ti su?. Yf00a37 'á-tecíp vura po'-ieципrivti pa'ahic 'u'i-rîrak va: ká'n po'-i-fréiç, 'áxakana pa'ahic 'u'i-thra su?. 'Áxak tûppitcas 'u'annukühi-hate pamu'än{ippaňite, kuna vura pa'-tecíp 'i-thyan va: 'u:m vura yîtté-pate pamuxva*. 'Iéririhä'-tecíp 'uvé-hrifcukva pamuxva*

The corolla has 5 lobes and 5 sinuses between the lobes. There is a stamen opposite each sinus. They stick off high up, 5 stick off around the sides. And one [the pistil] grows up in the middle, it grows out of the ovary, which has 2 cells. Two little round things [cells] surmount each stamen filament, but the middle one [the pistil] has an undivided head. Anthers and stigma are peeking out of the flower.

The common term for honey is picpiciňha*44, yellow-jacket excrement, the term for the yellow jacket, piepiçi', having been extended to apply to the white man yellow jacket, i. e., the honey bee, and the yellow jacket's food is extended to the honey bee's food. Of the honey in a flower, however, an old Indian volunteered merely: Vüra 'u:m kite 'ikpïha, 'ar u'iftakankô-ttí, it is just strong tasting, it is sticky. It was stated by the informants that tobacco flowers have honey because they know that other flowers have. In this statement they

35 Or 'uvé-hçúro-hiti', both mg., it sticks off.
36 The stamen frees itself from the wall of the corolla approximately halfway up from the base of the corolla.
37 Not distinguished in name from the stamens.
are correct, although the honey is scant and is secreted at the base of the corolla where access of insects to it is prevented by the slenderness of the tube. 'Ihē-rahe-ôriha 'u:ûn su' 'upicpirîh?â-ôhiti', tobacco flowers have honey.

\[a'.\] Pahû-t 'ukupe-ôrihahahiti pe-ôriha'.

(phasess of flowering)

Of the phases of flowering may be said:
Pûva xay vura 'ûruha', it has not budded yet.
Yâ:ûn vur 'u'ûruhiti', it is starting in to have buds on it.
Pamu'ûru tu'ûttûtûrîhvâ', its buds are bursting to flower.
Tôôrîhaha', or tôôrîha', it is blooming.
Kar uôrihahiti', it is still blooming.
Tôôrârâsur pamuôrîha', its flowers are falling off.
'Apun tôôrârasûr, they are falling to the ground.
Tapûffat pamuôrîha', its flowers are all gone.
Tôôrârasurâffip, they have finished falling off already.

\[k.\] Pa'ûhiē

(seed)

'Ôhiē, seed, is applied to all seeds with the exception of (a) the pits (i. e., single large seeds) of fruits (the native fruits having these perhaps some 10 in number), pits being called 'as, stone; and (b) large edible seeds of the kind classed as nuts and acorns, also borne by perhaps some 10 species of plant, to such nuts the term xuntâppaû, which is usually translated as unshelled acorn, being applied.

The cut-off tops of the tobacco plants, containing seed capsules with seeds in them, kept hung up in the living house for sowing in the spring (see pp. 89–91) are always called 'ihē-raha'ûhiē, tobacco seeds, or 'ihē-raha'uhîhïkyaû, tobacco seeds that they are fixing, although the tops include much more than the seeds.

Pit is called as in English usage 'as, stone. Native pitted fruits and the compounded forms designating their pits may be listed in part as follows:
Pûn, wild cherry; pûn?as, wild cherry pit.
Pûràf, a kind of blue-colored berry, also called 'axôâypu'n, ground-squirrel's wild cherry; purûf?as, 'axôaypûn?as.
Fa'ô0, manzanita; fâô?as.
'Apûnfa'â0, ground manzanita; 'apunfâô?as.
Faôûruhsa', manzanita sp.; faôûruhsá?as.
Pahâ?v, black manzanita; pahâ?v?as.
In imitation of these and helped along by the English usage so also: Picaš, peach; pitečas, peach stone.
‘Aprikots, apricot; ‘aprikóts, apricot pit.

More than half the varieties of nuts for which the Karuk have names are acorns. Beyond acorns, there are only hazelnuts, chinquapin nuts, and pepper nuts. Xuntappan is applied to unshelled acorn of all species of oak and to these three other species of nuts. Xiiric is applied to shelled acorn of any oak species, with or without xuntappan compounded before it, but when applied to shelled nuts which are not acorns the tendency would be to always compound xuntappan before it: thus, e. g., xunyavvxúric or xunyavvxuntapanxúric, shelled tanoak acorn; but 'ašišxuntapanxúric (never 'ašišxúcíc), shelled hazelnut. Passing over the subject of acorn designations, which involves considerable terminology, we list the other species of nuts and their forms with xuntappan postpounded:

Hazel is distinguished by two sets of designations, one derived from su'n, hazelnut, the other from 'aš0i0, hazel withé. Thus hazel bush is called either sûríp (sur-, nondiminutive prebound form of su'n, here preserved; -ip, tree), or 'aš0i0'ippa' ('ippa', tree). *sunxuntappan is never used, but 'ašišxuntappan is common for hazelnut.

Sunyi00i', chinquapin nut, app. thorny hazelnut (sun-, hazel nut; y00i', probably connected with yá00a', sharp pointed); sunyi00h-xuntappan, chinquapin nut.

Pàh, pepper nut; pahxuntappan, pepper nut. When pepper nuts get old and wilted inside, tó-sún'ha', they are hazel-nutting, they are turning like hazel nuts, is said of them. Hazelnuts are usually dry and partly empty inside, hence the expression.

'Ihë-raha'úhič, tobacco seed.
'Úhicha', to go to seed.

Of tobacco seeds is said:
Tú-ppitcásitc pa'úhič.38 'Ikkxánnamkunicitcas pa'úhič. Ká'kum pu'ikkxarámkunichiravasahařa, ká'kum kunic 'ámtá-pkunicaš.
'Uhiphhíppananitc tu'urukku" va' ká'n po'úhiče;e su'. Xas to'kké'citcasha', pa'úhipcú-víchitcas.39 Karixas tuváxra', pató-m-túp. Karixas taxánnahicíc tumátxâ-xvá.40 pa'ássipitc. Va' vura pa'úhič tu'ahâ'sha', patumátunussaha'4k.

The seeds are very small. The seeds are little black ones. Some of them are not so black, some of them are gray.

38 The seeds of Nicotiana are very small, few seeds being smaller. They are little developed when shed.
39 Or pa'úhipcú-vitč, the seed bags, or pa'úhipcú-ássipitč, the little seed baskets, or pa'úhipcva-sšitč, the little seed blankets.
40 Or tumátunusútnuš.
At the top of the tobacco stems they swell out round ones [the seed capsules] where the seed are going to be inside. Then they get bigger, the little seed capsules. Then they get dry, when they get ripe. Then after a while the seed capsules burst. Then the seeds scatter all around, when they burst.

There are three expressions for seed capsule:
'Uhícv'^s, seed capsule, lit. seed blanket.
'Uhicpú-vičt^c, seed capsule, lit. seed bag.
'Upá-vichitchina-ťi patu'úhicha'^sk, it has little bags when it goes to seed.

'Uhic?ássipit'^c, seed capsule, lit. little seed basket ('ássip, bowl basket).

Of two seed capsules grown together resulting from coalescence of flowers is said: 'Áxxak 'uhícv'^s 'uplktcu'skahiti', two seed capsules are bunched together.

Pa'uhicpú-vicitcas su? 'axák-yá'n po'í-töra yiθθukánva pa'úhič, há'-ri kuyráka'n po'í-töra yiθθukánva pa'úhič. Pasutmpú-yá'tcha'^sk, kar umátxa'xtúti' pa'úhic su'úḳ̖̈ r-inné'rak, pa'úhic 'á-pun tó-vrafič.

Patcimikun'úhó-mhe'caha'^sk, 'ıppankam 'úḳ̖̈ n̓v'kúthate tinh-yá'^tc, va' takunścvťt.cur, karix-as va' pa'úhic tík'än, tó-yv̓ y-ricuk, karixas takunmútpí-thva'.

Inside the seed capsules the seeds are inside in two different cells, rarely in three different cells. When they get good and ripe, the seed capsules burst, the seeds fall to the ground.

When they are going to sow them, there is a flat thing on top [of the seed capsule], they pull that off [with the finger], then the seeds spill out onto the hand, then they scatter them.

a'. 'Uxrah?ávaha'

(FRUIT)

Any kind of berry is called 'uxrâ-h, but this word can not be applied to pitted fruits, for which there is no general name, each being called by its own special name. Thus the huckleberry is 'uxrâ-h, but the manzanita berry, with its pit, is to the Indians not a berry.

The diminutive of 'uxrâ-h, 'uxnáhič, has taken on the special meaning of strawberry. To express little berry one must say

41 Cp. mahyanává'^ns, paunch or rumen of the deer, lit. stuffed blanket.
42 Even in talking English a Karuk will say of seed capsules, e. g.: It was just hanging like little sacks all over.
42a See List of Illustrations, Pl. 9, exceptional three-valved specimen of N. bigelovii var. exaltata.
'uxnahPavaha', lit. berry-food, is now used to cover all kinds of White man fruit, as a translation of "fruit." The tobacco having no fruit or berry does not employ the above words in its terminology.

1. Pah'ut 'ukupa'ikk'uruprava-hiti'.

Its seeds fall on the ground. The dirt gets over them. Then after a while, when it gets rained on, the seed sprouts.

2. Paj'suva kuma'ippa' (CLASSIFICATION OF PLANTS)

'Ippa', tree. Also any plant, when the plant name is prepounded, thus 'ihêtaha'iippa', tobacco plant; mu'tmut'iippa', buttercup plant.

P'ríc, primarily leaf, foliage, is used of any kind of plant, grass, or bush, with exception of trees. When applied to trees it is understood to refer to their foliage. From its application to verdure is derived prick'úníc, green.

Atatūra'n'ar, or 'atatura'amappîric, vine.
Imk'ān'va', greens of any kind.
Asaxx'em, moss or lichen of many kinds.
Xayví'c, applied to many kinds of mushroom.

Tobacco is classed as p'ríc, although it is called by its specific name, 'ihêtaha', and p'ríc is rarely applied. The compound 'ihêtahappîric means tobacco leaves, or when applied to the plant is suggestive of contempt. Uncompounded 'iippa' can never be applied to tobacco, but 'ihêtaha'iippa' is the common word for tobacco plant and is sometimes used for 'uhippi', tobacco stalk.
7. Payiθúva kuma'ávaha'

(Classification of Foods)

Food is classed as follows:

'Arara('a)vahé-ciṈp, lit. best food, applied to salmon and acorn soup, regarded as the best food for Indians.

Má'kam ku'k va'ávaha', lit. upslope food, applied to the meat of mammals and birds.

'A's va'ávaha', lit. water food, applied to all kinds of fish.

'Imk'ança'ávaha', lit. greens food, applied to greens of all kinds.

Píric'ávaha', lit. brush food, applied to all kinds of pinole.

'Uxrah'ávaha', lit. berry food, applied to all kinds of pitless berries and to White man fruit.

Tobacco is not classed as food. Neither is it classed as 'án'nav, medicine. It is regarded as sui generis in Indian life.
IV. Pahú't pakunkupá'í-fmašahitihanik pa'ipahahtunvé'etc

(KARUK AGRICULTURE)

1. Va; vura kite mit pakunúhèa-mhitihan pehè'taha'

(THEY SOWED ONLY TOBACCO)

The Karuk were acquainted with all the processes of agriculture. Although they raised only tobacco, they (1) fertilized for it, (2) sowed it, (3) weeded it, (4) harvested, cured, stored and sold it. They did not till it, and their nearest approach to a knowledge of tillage was (1) that weeding was advantageous, and (2) that the breaking of the ground when digging cacomites made tiny cacomites which were in the ground come up better.

For tobacco being the only cultivated plant, see the statements by Gibbs, page 14, and by Chase, page 22.

For early mention by Douglas of the fertilization of tobacco plots of certain Columbia River Indians by burning dead wood, apparently referring to setting fire to brush and logs preparatory to tobacco sowing, see p. 21.

2. Pahú't mit pakunkupa'ahíc'h-vahitihan

Panu; kuma'árá-tás 'um'kmun mit vura pupiyúró ravutihaphat', pumit 'ikyútrí-hthihaphat', pufá't vura mit 'uhèa-mhitihanaphat', va; vura kite 'ihè'taha'. Va; mit vura kite kunkupítthahat pakunúahíc-ríhvúthath papírcík yióthuku-nèk, yakúna 'um'yè'pc 'ú'ífti pako'kít'tcas.

Va; 'um'ym yè'pc 'ú'ífti pappú-ríth, 'irámxi', kuníppénti 'irám-xít.1 Karu passúrip, passárip kumá'i'ti takunúá'hkaha'k, 'axakhárinay 2 xas kuníctú'ktí, va; 'um'ym yè'pea', sarípyè'pea', tusak-

HOW THEY USED TO SET FIRE TO THE BRUSH

Our kind of people never used to plow, they never used to grub up the ground, they never used to sow anything, except tobacco. All that they used to do was to burn the brush at various places, so that some good things will grow up.

That way the huckleberry bushes grow up good, the young huckleberry bushes, they call them 'irámxi'. And the hazel bushes, when they burn them off for hazel sticks, they pick them

---

1 Any kind of a young berry bush.
2 They burn the hazel brush in summer and cut the "sticks" the second summer afterwards.
nivháyf-tehâ'. Karu panyúra
vâ; kâ:nu kunhãhieric-hvutî', yân-
teci:ph'âm xas kunhãetu:kti ku-
mapímnâ:n'îni, 'ahvarâkkû:ra',3
kâi panyúraar kunhãetu:kti'.

Pe-kravaph'ëppâ karu pata-
kunhãhku'm, yakûnva 'u:m yê:pc 
'uirâ pe-kravappu'. Má:ninay 
yi'nuhãhieri:hvutî'.

Há:ri xunyé:pri:k karu kun-
'hãhieri:hvutî', xay piricri:k pa-
kunhãfiké:cp paxuntâpa:n. Pu-
xúthâp kiri u'î:nk'a puxû:te, kun-
xuti xày 'u'î:nu pâ'ippâ.

Karu há:ri vâ; mit k'â:nu kunhãhieric-hvuthât pî:ê:p, tam-
yûr mit kuniyà:ttihâf, pátâ:yi 
takunmá:ha:k 'â:pun paxuntâpa:n, xunyé:pri'k, kunhãhieric-hvuthât mit. Vûra 'u:m pü-
hãhieric-htânmâ:htihâp. Fà't xàs 
vûra kumâ:lii kunhãhieric-hvutî'.

Karu pakâ:nu pe-hetera kun-
hûhâ:mhe'ec, vâ; kârú kunhãhier-
ic-hvutî'. Vâ; 'u:m pûvura yâ-
kie:ti:p pakâ:nu 'ik'ukattay, vâ;
u:m ta:y 'âmta'p, pe-k'ukatt-
'ay tu'înk'hâ:ka'k vâ; 'u:m ta:y pa'âmta'p 'âpun. Vâ; 'u:m yàv 
'â:pun pa'âmta'p, 'i:barip'iykukau-
i'înkû:tam, vâ; 'u:m 'axvâhâhar 
po'înkû:ti'.

Pímmâ:ni pakunhãhieric-hvutî 
papiric'k, pe:vaxrahâri; kâri, vâ; kârú payâ:kipa'hãhieric-hvâ, pîc-
yâp'îc kârú papûvapa'ri'. Pa-
araramâ'kkâmminay pakunhãhier-
ic-hvutî'.

two years, then they are good, 
good hazel sticks, they get so 
hard. And the bear lilies also 
they burn off, they pick them 
next summer, in July; that is 
the time that they pick the bear 
lily.

And the wild rice plants also 
they burn, so that the wild rice 
will grow up good. They burn 
it far up on the mountains.

And sometimes they also burn 
where the tan oak trees are, lest 
it be brushy where they pick up 
acorns. They do not want it to 
burn too hard, they fear that 
the oak trees might burn.

And sometimes they used to 
set fire there long ago where they 
saw lots of acorns on the ground, 
in a tanbark oak grove, they 
made roasted unshelled acorns. 
They do not set the fire for 
nothing; it is for something that 
they set the fire for.

And where they are going to 
sow tobacco, too, they burn it, 
too. It is the best place if there 
are lots of logs there, for there 
are lots of ashes; where lots of 
logs burned there are lots of 
ashes. Ashes are good on the 
ground, where fir logs have 
burned, where pitchy stuff has 
burned.

It is in summer when they set 
fire to the brush, at the time 
when everything is dry, that is 
the time that is good to set fire, 
in the fall before it starts in to 
rain. At different places up back 
of the people's rancherias they set 
the fires.

3 They burn the bear lilies in summer and gather the grass stalks 
the second summer afterwards.
Vúra 'ihe-raha kite 'úhó-mhiti-hánik. Piceip vâ; kâ'n takun-tháic márük, pinma'n'ni, pimpâni kva'n takun'áhie, 'ikk'úk takun'a-hku'. Pukut'sra tó-tiháp pakun'áhkó'tti'. Hârivurava vúra pakun'áhko'tti', pimpâ'n'ni. Pa-vura márük kunifyükktú'ti', pâ-piccet te takúnma yâ'k 'ihe-ra-ho' samhírâm, payâ'k tákunma, vâ; kâ'n takun'ahku' pé-kkk'úk.

Karu vâ; kari patapasa'apsun pamárük takun'ívii'hra'sa, kun-hippíti vâ; karu vura kumâ'i'i pakun'ahícítvutihánik, pa'ápsun vâ; kunupé-kk'aráhitihanik.

Kà-kum pakuma'íppa vâ; kari yê'peca patamit 'u'í-nk'áha'sk, vâ; kari yê'peca tô-pppif. Kuna vura ka'kum pakuma'íppa patu'í-nk'áha'sk, vúra tákó'; pukúkkú'm vâ; kâ'n yi1'i-itíhâra.4 Pafá-thíp vura pupí-ftíhârâ yi1, patu-ínk'áha'sk, pataxxâra vâ'íppa vâ; 'u'm yí1'v yê'pe u'íftí káru. Xunyép karu puyâvha'ra, patu-ínk'áha'sk, vâ; vura tu'iv pa'íppa'. Patakun'ahícítvutihâ'sk, kunxúti xáy 'u'ín pa'íppa'.

3. Vura nik mit vâ; kuná-pun-mutihat pa'úhic u'ísfe'ec.

Nu' vúra pakuma'ára'ras vura pu'fá't 'úhic 'ípcárúkítiháphanik, xà't márük kunifyükktihánik. Kuna vura vâ; kuná-punmutihaniahik pa'ára's, ho'y vúrava pa'ú-hic po-kyívícírah'sk, vâ; vúra 'ikkíte 'úísfe'ec, kuná-punmutihanihik vúra vâ'. Kuná-punmutihaniahik vura nik pa'úhic nik vura kunsánpi'évutihánik pakó-k-fá'ttcas.

Tobacco was all that one used to sow. First they set fire upslope, in the summertime, in the summertime they set fire there; they set fire to logs. They do not go by the moon when they burn it. They burn it any time, in the summer. When walking around upslope first they see a good place to plant a tobacco garden; when they see a good place, they burn the logs.

Then too the rattlesnakes go upslope; they say that that also is what they set fire for, to kill snakes that way.

Some kinds of trees are better when it is burned off; they come up better ones again. But some kinds of trees when it is burned off disappear, another never comes up again. The manzanita, another one does not come up, when it is burned off. An old tree bears way better, too. And the tan oak is not good when it is burned off, the tree dies. When they are burning, they are careful lest the trees burn.

(They knew that seeds will grow)

Our kind of people never used to pack seed home, I do not care if they had been going around upslope. But the people knew, that if a seed drops any place, it will maybe grow up; they knew that way. They knew that seeds were packed around in various ways.
Hāri ' axiomik vura fatta:k tākunma va; vura ttay pāta-yi’t, xas su? patakun’u’pvakuri. Yané’kva vura 'u’m tāy sū?. Hāri va; kān vura muppf’mate tākunma 'aküpuntun’ecivāxra’ 'a’pun ‘iëvēnanēnsūrūk. Fāt va; vura va; pāva; kupiterihān, man 'at axrā’s. Vura fā’tvava vura pāva; kupiterihān, su? ‘iëvēnanēnsūrūk usanpf’ovūti’.

A. ‘Aikrē’npīkva


Sometimes they see at some place a lot of Indian potatoes, and then they dig in under. Behold there are lots underneath. Sometimes nearby there they see lots of wild oat straw under the ground. It is something that is doing that, maybe a gopher. Something is doing that, is packing it around down under the ground.

(THE STORY ABOUT SUGARLOAF BIRD)

And in the myths Gopher did that same thing; he did it already when he was an Ikxareyav yet, he packed ‘u’pva’amāyav [tubers] around; he packed them around. ‘Aikrē’n brought them in from Scott Valley, he brought some in for his younger brother. He said to his younger brother: “Do not let my wife see you when you are eating the ‘u’pva’amāyav, do not let her see you eating them.” And that is why he used to eat it upslope, upslope then, Gopher. It came up, every place he went; those were the only places where there was ‘u’pva’amāyav, the places where he went.

And the soaproot, only upslope of Ishipishrihak is there soaproot. That is as far as it goes, there is none just a little downstream [of Ishipishrihak]. On the Katimin side there is none, on the other side of the river. Only on one side of the river there is soaproot, along every place upslope of the rancherias. Upriverward it just runs far, I do not know to where, only on the Ishipishrihak side.
Across-water Widower thought: "I do not want to be transformed alone. Let me travel along the river. They say there are many Ikxareyav girls being raised upriver. I wonder whom I am going to be transformed along with. Let me go. Let me look for them. I am an Ikxareyav, too." He had heard said that there were flats scattered all over, and that those flats were full of girls.

He just took down his basketry quiver. He put nothing but acorn bread and his pipe into his basketry quiver. Then he traveled. He was traveling along, he was walking upriver. All he was thinking was: "I wonder where the flats are." He rested everywhere at the people's resting places. Everywhere he rested, Tan Oaks came up from it, wherever he ate his acorn bread, wherever the crumbs of his acorn bread fell on the ground.

Then he was far along. Then all at once, at Xepanippan, he looked over. He looked upriver direction. Behold they were dig-

5 For the Ikxareyav maidens that he has heard of.
6 From where it was hanging up or tucked in.
7 Place on the old trail, upslope of Camp Creek. Patcvanayvatašif am, a New Year ceremony fireplace, is downriverward from this place.
8 Or: va' kunkupítti'. Both s. and the more grammatical dpl. are used in this construction.
When the girls who were strung out standing and sitting as they were engaged in digging roots.

Then he thought: "I am an Ikkareyav, too. Let me go and see them." He thought: "That is the Orleans Flat." Then he walked over toward where they were digging [roots]. Then he went to the midst of them. Then he got there. Then he laid his basketry quiver on the ground. Then he thought: "Let me sit down in the midst of them." Then he put his arms around the girls on both sides of him. Then they said: "Ugh, we do not like you. Where did this so nasty Ikkareyav come from?" Then one of them said: "Ugh, we think you are nasty." Then after a while he thought: "I would better travel. They think I am so nasty." Then he traveled again. He was traveling.

He was doing that way, traveling; at all the resting places everywhere he would sit down. Then he would always take out his pipe and smoke. And he would take out his lunch, too. It was acorn bread, his lunch. He did that way when he was traveling, all that he did was to smoke at all the resting places. And he would eat his acorn bread. And it was that Tan Oak trees came up. When the bread dropped in little pieces as he ate, Tan Oak trees came up, that is what they say, Tan Oak. There are still lots of Tan Oak trees way downriver. Across-water
xunyë'tp. Vura 'u'm kărîm uxúti po'ahô-ti 'Iyuarukphiri'v. Po'ahô-ti va'x vur uxúti: "Vûra pukâ' na'ipahovicafa. Tamit kanatqacka"a't." Va'x múra'x vûr uxúti: "Vûra pukâ' na'ip 'ahô-vicáfa, Papanmithicra'm, panipnúppaha'xk." Vur utô-xvi.phâ. Va'x 'úpâ'nîik 'Iyuarukphiri'v: 'Panamnihasik-távâmsa vura 'araratekakayân-sâhe'c, payâ'sâr u'innâeri-hâ'xk.11 Va'x kunkú'phâ pîcê'te pakunmah, kô'vûra 'úpas kunuyhsûru",12 kô'x ânta kunctackây.

Xas 'uôttîmî'nî 'Aśîufticra;m13 kâruttau'y pa'ifâppîttca'. Viri va'x kâ'n po'vâ'tamutî. "Xå'tîk va'x kuna kâ'n kanatqacka'y." Tävavra tâyî'v 'u'û.m. Kûk-kû'm va'x kâ'n vo'kù'pha', kûk-kû'm va'x kâ'n vo'kù'pha', 'axmây vura xas 'utvâ-vnuuk.14 Yânava sûrakum kunic 'uérîk'vâ pâttîca'm. Va'x múra'x uxúti: "Na' x kâ'r Ikxareyav." Kârixas kûjk u'û.m. Karixas úxuxs: "Kâruma tânî'û'm Pa'śîufticra'm." Yânava vura 'âxyâr pa'ifâppîttca'. Karixas úxuxs: "Tcimi k'ûjk kânî'û'mîl." Kârixas kûjk u'û.m. Yâ'ñ yi'nmûșîte 'u'ûmmûti'. Tâma kô'vûra 'în kunîmmû'sî'tî. Yi'qûnas upîtti: "Na' u'm nani-ávanhe'c." Xas úxuxs: "Na' hinupa kîc 'Ikxareyav."15 Xas

Widower felt bad when he was traveling. As he was traveling along that was all that he was thinking: "I am not going to pass through there. They thought me nasty." All he was thinking was: "I am not going to pass through Orleans Flat, when I go back downriver." He was mad. That is what Across-water Widower said: "Orleans women always will be thinking that anyone comes to live there." They did that way, spit, they thought he was so nasty.

Then he heard that also at Aśîufticram there were lots of girls. Then he was heading for that place. "Let's see if they think I am nasty again." Then he got far. He did that same way again, did that same way again, all at once looked over. Behold it looked as if there was a flat right under him downslope. He just thought: "I am an Ikxareyav, too." Then he walked toward there. Then he thought: "I have reached Aśîufticram." Behold it was full of girls. He thought: "Let me go over there." Then he went there. He walked on a little way. They all looked at him. Each said in turn: "He will be my husband." Then he thought: "Behold I am the only

11 Orleans and Redcap girls had the reputation of being proud, rejecting even rich suitors from other parts.
12 Just spit saliva out on the ground in disgust, as he sat there between them.
13 The flat at Doctor Henry's place at Happy Camp.
14 As he had done on reaching Orleans Flat.
15 Referring to his sudden seeming good luck.
Then "re'hen, right hu'... Va; po'xaxana-ti', pakun'asirī-hvānā". Teavura kūmate'tc po'kxāramha', xās va; vura kā'n kunikvē-crihvānā". Hū' teimī vūra po'i'nne'sc. Teavura xākkarai vūra pō-pūtūrāy'-vā. Pāyk'ukmas upātti: "Nā pay 'ōk ni'assive'sc." Virī vo'kū'pha pakunipēimeuru"u, pakun'asirī-hvānā". Teavura kūmate'tc 17 hū't va; vūra tu'īn 'īyarukpīhri'v, kunic tō-kūhā'. Nikīk tō'xus kiri nīkvi-thā'. Va; kīc xe xūs 'u'iruvō-ti Panamnīhtīrcara"m. Va; kīc uxxūti: "Kiri nippāv'am. Ka'n u'c mā'īn vūra usūpā-hītī'. Xās 'u'pēnvana"x: "Tānipvā'ram. Nā' nixxūti na; vūra nani'īfram nīl'pmē'e'sc." Ta'ittam pamuvik'k'ap upē'tēcipp-re'he'ecn, to'pūvā'ram. Vīrī pāssāru kū'k' upēttī'mā'. Mā' pakū'k' upēttī'm'mā'.18 Va; kīc po'xāxānā'ti', pakun'īvunti'. "Nā' vūra tanipvā'ram." Kīc uxxūti: "Nā' vūra tanipvā'ram." Vā' kīc kuni'pītti: "I, nanu'āvan to'pūvā'ram," pakun'īvunti'.

Ta'ittam kūkku'm vūra vo-īppahō'he'ecn pamitv o'āho'cot. Kūkku'm vūra varihul; um u'ippahu"u. Vūra hū'tva tu'īn. Vūra tō-kkūhā', po'āhō'ti'.

Teavura yīv tu'īpma', yīv tu'īpma'. Teavura teim 'u'īp-

16 Gesturing at positions near Across-water Widower. They slept right there in the flowery field.

17 In the early night, after he lay down.

18 As he was climbing the hill by Doctor Henry's place.
mée Panamnihticra’ám, xas ux-
xus: "Teimi ’ōk tanikrièrehi’,
tcimi k'ânhé’n. 'Ick’i vúra va;
ká:n ni'i'ppahô-vic. Teimi k’sani-
he’èn." Karixas uhé’èr. Xas ux-
xus: ""I'U:ä vári vura ni'i'ppahô-
vic." Xas pò:pihé’râmar, “Teimi k'án'i'ppahu” Nani i'fra:m vura ni'i'pmé’èc.” Viri pamá’ka pay
ukú’pha’,20 Yánava vúra va;
kun'ú'pvana'ti’. Viri taxánnah-
icite uhyârihié. Karuma ’ip
uxússa’ät: “Vura 'ïck'i ni'i'ppahô-
vic.” Viri taxánnahicite vura
kunic tuyúnyû-nhâ’. Mu’âvah-
ham xas kunic pakun?úvri-n-
ná’ti’, pakunpakú ri'hvûtì’, pak-
un'ú'pvana’ti’.

Song by the Orleans maidens

'I i i i ’a,
'I: nani’ávan,
Tó:kpiáríhrûp,
'Í'yarákpihri’iv.

’Uxxus: “Na’a vúra nani-
'i'fra:m ni'i'pmé’èc, na’ vura pu-
má’ka né'trippâ'tihe’cârâ. Táhi-
nuá puná'i'pmárá.” Vura tóx-
ráratí kítc. “Xá:'ik nipará-
tánmá’hpâ’, va’ vura kítc úxxús.
Karixas 'uparátánmá’hpâ’. Papp-
ícir tu'axayteákkíé.21 Tu'úm-
teúnkíé.22 Sá’mvánnihite xas

back to Orleans Flat, he thought:
“Let me sit down here, let me
take a smoke. I am going to
walk back through there fast.
Let me take a smoke.” Then
he smoked. Then he thought:
“I am going to pass around river-
ward as I go back.” Then as he
finished smoking, [he said:] “I
would better travel. I am going
back to where I was raised.”
Then he looked upslope back of
the flat. Behold they were dig-
ging. He stopped and stood
there for a little while. He had
thought: “I am going to walk
fast.” For a while it was as if he
was crazy. It seemed as if it was
on top of him when they mounted
in the high parts of the song as
they sang [root] digging.

Song by the Orleans maidens

'I i i i ’a,
Oh, my husband,
Is walking downriver,
Across-water Widower.
He thought: “I am going back
to where I was raised, I am not
going to look upslope back of the
flat. I can not get back home.”
He was just crying. “Let me
return back,” was all he thought.
Then he turned back. He gras-
ped the brush. He pulled it out.
He fell back downslope. Then

19 Am going to skirt the flat on its outer or riverward side so as to
avoid the supercilious girls.
20 Viri pamá’k utrippâ’ti’, looked upslope back of the flat, is omitted,
but understood, here.
21 To keep himself progressing upslope when he felt his sudden weak
spell.
22 He pulled the bushes that he was grasping out by the roots, so
strong was the formula of the Orleans girls to make him return to
them.
tupikyívic. Karixás uxxus: "Na: mit vura takanatcákka; ty'ok." Kán 'u:um yú-nnąkamitc po'pík-fú-krá', vura tapu'
äh-tihara ku-
úc. 'Apsi; karu vura to'-mirá-
hina'.

Xas ká:n u'ipma. Vura va; kunpakúri-hvúti pa'ifáppi-
tca'. Xas yjöha pámitva 'fn kun-
tcákka't, yí'múmsite yá:jn u'ip-
páhö'-ti', tamó-kfú- kkírá'. Xas 
uppíp: "'I; nani'ávan ti'ippak. Káruma mit na: va; nixúsa'tt: 'Xá: t hóy variva 'f'u:um, va; vura 'ippake'c.'
' Xas I'oya-
rukphíriv uppíp: "Tceem, na: vura 'j:n xákka'ñ nupké-vicri-
he'c.' Viri 'u:um va; 'I'yaruk-
phíriv 'u:um vo-kúphá'n:nik. Xas 
úpá'n:nik: "Ya:sára hinupa vo-
kuphé'c. 'Asiktáva; nuta-
pukúp paha'kö, 'uxxussé'c, 'táni'ív, Ya:sára.'

4. Kúna vúra mit puhari 'úhic 
'ipcá-nmitihaphat'

Puráfá't vúra káru kuma'úhic 
'údá-mhitihaphaniñ, vura 'ihé-
tha'úhic kítc kunikyá-ttihañik. 
Puráfá't vura káru kuma'úhic 
'ínnák tá-yhitihañik, vur 'ihé-
thá ha kítc, 'ihé-tha'úhic vúra kítc. 
'Tórfhar karu vura pu'ínnák 
tá-yhitihañik. Páxi-ttítcas kítc 
u'umke vura tav 24 kunikyá-tti-
hañik, kunvi-kthihañik pe-ôrihar 
'á:mmú'k, aksanváhi'tc, kar 'ax-
páhe'knikínatc, karu tiv:axnu-
kuxnúkkuhi'tc, xas va; yúppin 

23 The formula of the girls was too much for him. He turned and 
walked back to the Orleans girls.

24 The stems of the flowers are twined with a single twining of 
string, just as the feather vizor used in the flower dance is made.

he thought: "They made out I 
was nasty." As he was walk-
ing up the hill a little downriver 
of them], it seemed as if he could 
not walk. His legs were bering-
ing him, too. Then he went 
back there. The girls were sing-
ing. Then the one who had 
said that he was nasty, before he 
had gotten back close yet, put 
her arms about him. Then she 
said: "Oh, my husband, you have 
come back. I thought: 'I do 
not care where you go, you will 
come back.'" Then Cross-
water Widower said: "All right, 
we will be transformed to-
gether." That is what Cross-
water Widower did. Then he said it: 
"Human will do the same. If 
he likes a woman, he will think, 
'I am going to die,' Human 
will."
wore as their hair-club wrapping, wearing them as wrapping all day, and some of them wore a vizor on the forehead. It did not get wilted all day. They felt so proud, those girls.

(PRACTICES BORDERING ON A KNOWLEDGE OF TILLAGE)

The only thing that they did not do was to work the ground. They thought the ashy earth is good enough.

But they knew indeed that where they dig cacomites all the time, with their digging sticks many of them grow up, the following year many grow up where they dig them. They claim that by digging Indian potatoes, more grow up the next year again. There are tiny ones growing under the ground, close to the Indian potatoes.

They also knew that it was good to drag a bush around on top after sowing.

And they also knew that it is good to pull out the weeds. Root and all they pull them out, so they will not grow up again, and by doing this the ground is made softer.

25 These clubs come from above the ear at each side of the head and are worn on the front of the shoulders.

25a For illustration of vó'fh, digging sticks, see Pl. 11, a.

26 These tiny “potatoes” are called by the special name xavin'áfri".

27 See p. 9.
6. Va vura kic pakunmámaharatihanik Pe'kkxaréyavsa


All did the same, the way that the Ikxareyavs used to do. And what the Ikxareyavs ate, that was all that they ate. They told them: "Ye must eat this kind." The Ikxareyavs ate salmon, they spooned acorn soup, salmon along with acorn soup. And they ate deer meat. And they claimed that the Ikxareyavs had two meals a day, and they also did only that way. When the whites all came, then they said: "They eat poison, poison food, world-come-to-an-end-food." The middle-aged people were the first to eat the white man food. When they liked it, they liked it. They told each other: "It tastes good." They said: "He never died, I am going to eat it, that bread." But the old men and old women did not eat it till way late. We are the last ones that know how the Ikxareyavs used to do, how they used to eat, the way our mothers told us. And even we do not eat any more what they told us to eat. And what will they who are raised after us do?

28 In the New Year's ceremony there is little mention of deer meat in the ritual, but many observances regarding salmon and acorn soup.
7. Pahú't kunkupamáahanik pehértaha'

Vúra va; Pe’kxaréyav kunípp- pán’nik. Va; vúra pappíric kunípceamkíre'n'nik, kó'vúra va; fa;t pappíric, pananuppíric. Kó'vúra va; pappíric kuníppánik 'ánnav-he'c. Víri va; pakuníppa'n'nik: "Va; Payásí'ára kunínakkírí- tihi'ec.'

Xas va; pe hé'taha', yiθ10a Pe’kxaréyav 'asti'p 'upippátciciraith- ník sah'ihértaha'. "Kúna vúra Yásí'ára púva 'ihértátihe'cafa, pasah'ihértaha'." Xas kúkküm1 yí100 'upipátciciraithanik tapasíihé'- raha. "Yásí'ára pëy 'ú;m vúra va; pay 'uhertátihe'c, pe'hetáh- ayé'ca' Yásí'ára 'ú;m va; pay 'u'uhéa'mhitíhe'c, pamuhértaha'. Yásí'ára mumma'kkam 'u'uhéa'mhitíhe'c, pamuhértaha'. Yakún va; 'ú;m 'ikpshanhe'c. Yásí'ára 'ú;m 'u'uhéa'mhitíhe'c, pamuhértaha'. Yakún va; Túy- cip 'upákkihtihe'c pamuhér- raha'." Va; kuníppa'n'nik Pe’kxaréyav. Yakún ká'kkum Túy- cip kunpáricicraithanik, Pe’kxaré- yav.

Víri va; kumá'ti pe'hértaha' kunú'héa'mhéti', yakún 'ú;mkun Pe’kxaréyav kunipípciciraith- ník, Pe'hértaha'.

8. Paká'ñ kuma'á'pun va; mi tákunxus va; ká'n panú'uh- thá'mhe'c

Pé’kkúkaínó'ýram va; yé-p- cecip 'u't-fú. Tičnamhihte 'ú;m vúra pu'uhéa'mhitiha. Máruk 'ipútri;k xas pakunú'héa'mhití'.

(ORIGIN OF TOBACCO)

The Ikxareyavs said it. They left the plants, all the plants, our plants. They said the plants will all be medicine. Then they said: "Human will live on them."

Then tobacco, one Ikxareyav threw the downslope tobacco down by the river bank. "But Human is not going to smoke it, that downslope tobacco."

Then again, he threw down another kind, real tobacco. "Human will smoke this, the good tobacco. Human will sow this, his own tobacco. Human will sow it back of his place, his own tobacco. Behold it will be strong. Human will sow his tobacco. Behold he will be feeding his tobacco to Mountains." They said it, the Ikxareyavs. Behold, some of them became mountains, the Ikxareyavs did.

So this is why they sow smoking tobacco, behold the Ikxareyavs threw it down, the smoking tobacco.

(THE KIND OF PLACE CHOSEN FOR PLANTING TOBACCO UPSLOPE)

Where logs have been burned the best ones grow. They never sow it in an open place. Upslope under the trees is where they sow it.

Where the tanbark oaks are, near the foot of a ridge, not under the trees, but near the trees, where the sunshine hits them, that’s the place that they plant it. They don’t plant it in a brushy place. Where the log has been burned, there the best ones grow, grow tall, the tobacco has wide leaves.

9. Pakuma’ára’r pehé’râha ’u’úh-thâ’mhitihânûïk
  Vura pukó’vûra pa’árâ’re ’uho’á’mhitihap pehé’râha’. Vûra te’fmitc ’u’mkun pa’uho’á’mhitihansa’. Payîõthakan kuma’òlivëän-nâ’n vura te’îmitc vura ’u’mkun pa’uho’á’mhitihansa’. Pa’tmâ’k pa’a’ivarîh’âansa vá; pa’uho’á’mhitihan pehé’râha’. Vûra pe’hërâha takun’úhóamhara’ak, vûra ’u’jm po’karâ’ë’hihihàp, mabhí’tunhatc vûra pa’tuvâ’îm, ’avíppux, pu ’akára vûra ’apun-mutihàra. Vûra ’u’m kó’vûra yiõõkkanva pakun’úhóamhi-na’ti pâ’a’r. Pày k’u kâru ’u’m vûra yiõõk mu’uho’à’sm. Vûra pu’âxxak yîttca’çc ’uho’á’mhitihàp. Mârûk pamukunjakkù kùmam, pamukunmáruk, vá; ká’n pakun’úhóamhitihap pe’hërâha’. Pamukun’û’m, pamukunjëvëän-ëmë’në’n, vá; ká’n pakun’úhóamhitihî’, vûrá ’u’jm payõõthuk uho’á’mhitihap pe’hërâna’òlivëàmë’në’n.

10. Puyîttcekanitc hitihà’n ’uho’á’mhitihapanañk
  Pá vá; ká’n hitihà’n ’uho’á’mhitihap, háti yîõõkànva kun-pûhó’mpûtî, yîõõkànva kunpik-yâtti pa’uho’amhitam.

(Who sowed)

Not all the men [of a rancheria] plant tobacco. A few only are planters. From a single rancheria only a few plant. It is the head of the tobacco planter. When they go out to plant tobacco, they never tell anybody; in the early morning they go without breakfast, nobody knows. All the Indians have different places where they plant. Each person has a different place. They do not plant as two partners together. Upslope, at their own acorn place, upslope of their own places, there is where they plant tobacco. That’s their own, that’s their land, that’s the place they plant, they do not plant in other people’s ground.

(THEY DO NOT SOW AT ONE PLACE ALL THE TIME)

They do not sow at the same place all the time, sometimes they sow at a different place, they make a garden elsewhere.
11. Há:ri 'umuk't-hk'ar pakun-
\[\text{Karu há:ri mit vúra 'ivíf-h-
\[\text{pl.-}
\[\text{mit k'ar u'i-fíhát. Tapámp-
\[\text{na}^{29} \text{rin mit kunyá-
\[\text{róvartíhat}, kári mit kunkó-hat}
\[\text{pa't-hk'am kunúhá-mtí}. \text{Mi}
\[\text{takunpi-\'p: "Xáy k'uxápteákkíc
\[\text{pe'hera'ha."}]

12. Kakumní:\'k va:\'ká:n 'uh\[\text{am}
\[\text{thi mhrámhánik}
\[\text{(some of the places where they used to sow)}

The locating and mapping of the tobacco plots belongs to the subject of Karuk placenames rather than here. A number of them can still be located, together with something in regard to the former owners. Some of them are identical with acorn gathering places. (See below.)

A specimen of the kind of information still obtainable along this line follows, telling of two plots in the vicinity of Orleans.

The tobacco plot upslope of Grant Hillman’s place, across the river from the lower part of Orleans, where the tobacco still comes up annually of its own accord (see pl. 10), was until some 20 years ago sown by and belonged to 'Asó-so' (Whitey), and Vakiráyav, his younger brother, both of Káttíphi\[\text{r}á:k rancheria (site of Mrs. Nellie Ruben’s present home, just upriver from Hillman’s). These men were Katiphira\[\text{rá}:rás.

The plot at the site of Mrs. Phoebe Maddux’s house at 'Asáthu-
\[\text{rávahkam, near Big Rock, on the south side of the river just}
\[\text{above the Orleans bridge, and some 150 feet upslope, where tobacco}
\[\text{also still comes up, was sown by and belonged to 'Uhrí\[\text{v, alias}
\[\text{’Imkíya\[\text{ík (Old Muggins) and Márýe\[\text{c (Rudnick), his son-in-law,}
\[\text{of Tc\[\text{f’n Nate, the large rancheria at the foot of the hill there. They}
\[\text{were Tcinate\[\text{rá}:rás.}

'Ápsu\[\text{n, Old Snake, a resident of Ishipishrihak, had his tobacco}
\[\text{plot at the big tanbark oak flat called Na’mkířík, upslope of the deer}
\[\text{lick that lies upslope of Ishipishrihak. The garden was among and}
\[\text{partly under the acorn trees. Garden and grove belonged to him;}
\[\text{other people gathered acorns there, but it was necessary to notify}
\[\text{him before doing so. 'Ápsu\[\text{n even had a sweathouse at Na’mkířík,}
\[\text{which he used when camping there.}

\[\text{Sometimes they used to sow}
\[\text{near the houses) And sometimes they used to plant outside the living house. Near the living house, near the sweathouse too it used to come up. But later on the hogs used to spoil them, and they then quit planting it outside. They used to say: “Do not step on the tobacco.”}

\[\text{Or nakic.}]

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13. Tá'yhánik vura pehér'aha 'iknivnamp'm'mate pehér'aha-pítamáhapu tá'yhánik vura 'arárik.'

14. 'Ikmahatenamp'm'mate karu vura 'upí-ftíhanik 'iftamáha-puhbasahínik

'Ikmahateramp'm'mate há't u'íftí', karu há't ikmahátera'm 'ávahkam. Paká'n tu'íffahák pí'm'mate vá: 'u'm vura kun'tá'tcitèhití', kunxuti yér'pca', thá'-kinkú'unic puux'wítce pamússaa'en, vá: 'u'm kán 'ikxaramkúnic páy.wav, 'ikmahateramp'm'mate, vá: 'u'm vura kunìctú'ktí'.

15. 'Ahtúy k'aru vur upí-ftíhanik papíffapu'

'Ahtúy30 mit k'aru vura tá'y 'u'íftíha'. Vá: kán pa'ámatap karu kuniyvé'érí'hvutí'. Vura 'u'm puyávha'sa, puva: 'ihérati-háp takuniptá'y'va, 'áhum'ká'kun'táktí'. Puxúthhap kiri vá: n uhé'tér, kun'táy'tí', pu'a'púnmuthiap vura hó'ya pa'úbic 'u'aramsf'priví ti'.

16. 'Axviiínnshak karu vura 'u'í-ftíhanik há'ti

'Axviiínnshak tāpa:n há't u'íftí'.31 Nu: vúra puva: kínxútí-

Much used to be coming up every place about the houses, the tobacco did, but they never used that, the tobacco near the houses, the volunteer stalks.

VOLUNTEER TOBACCO BY THE SWEATHOUSES

Sometimes it grows by the sweathouse and sometimes on top of the sweathouse. When it grows around there, they like it, they think they are good ones, its leaves are very green there on the black dirt, by the sweathouse.

(VOLUNTEER TOBACCO ON THE RUBBISH PILE)

Much grew also on the rubbish piles. They throw the ashes there, too. It is dirty; they do not smoke it; they spoil it, they hit it with a stick. They did not want to smoke it; they were afraid of it, they did not know where the seeds came from.

(TOBACCO SOMETIMES IN THE GRAVEYARDS ALSO)

It even grows in the graveyard sometimes, too. We do not want

30 The 'ahtú'y, rubbish pile, was usually just downslope, riverward of the living house, a large constituent of it was ashes. It was also the family excrementory.

31 For association of the tobacco plant with graves compare: "Tobacco plant grew from grave of old woman who had stolen
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17. Há’ri vura máru kunikyá-tti-hanik papíílapu’

Paxuntápan ‘u’íffikitìha’k nañh kyú’smít, va; ká’n há’t ihé’ra mit ‘ustúl’tíhát, pahó’yva tö’m-máha’ak, mit ‘usúnmøt’tíhat pamukríva’am. Mit ‘usuváxrá-h-tíhát.

Pehe’rahapíílapu pe’krivram-pí’m ‘u’í’ftíha’ak, va; u; m vura pu’ikyá-ttíháp.

18. Paká’n mi takunú’uðha’-mhiti-hífak, va; ká’n ‘upí’étanmá’hí kari.

Payé’m vura va; ká’n kar u’íftí’, pataxaravé’tta ká’n kunú’há’-mhitihañik, xá;t káru vura kuyrakitaraharahinaray vé’ttak mit kunkó’hat paká’n kunú’há’-mhiti’.

tobacco to be growing in the graveyard. That is not right for us when it grows in the graveyard. They knock it off with a stick if it grows there. They say it is poison, that it is poisonous tobacco, that it is dead person’s tobacco. They say it is poison, when tobacco grows in the graveyard. They never smoke it. They think that mice packed the seed there. People never go around a grave. If they go near the grave they, indeed, then have to bathe down in the river.

(Volunteer Tobacco Sometimes Picked Upslope)

When my deceased mother used to pick up acorns, sometimes she would pick some tobacco, any place she would see it, she used to bring it home. She used to dry it.

The volunteer tobacco growing about the rancheria they do not pick.

(Volunteer Tobacco Still Comes up at Former Planting Plots)

It nowadays still grows up there at the former planting plots, even though it has been 30 years since they quit planting it there.


32 Or Páva yá’hahaña, that is not right.

33 Or takun’ákkwu’u.”
And when it burns over at the former planting plots, it just grows up all the more again too, even though it burns over. It must be the seeds do not burn. I guess they are under the ground, and that is why they do not burn. It comes up again itself there where they used to plant.

34 Or kumá'í'i.
V. Pahāt pakupa'úhōa-mhahitihanik, karu pakunkupe'ctúkkahiti-hanik pehē'raha' 

(*HOW THEY USED TO SOW AND HARVEST TOBACCO*)

1. Pa’ó-k 'iśivōnān'ā-tecip vakusrahūvū'ý

(*THE KARUK CALENDAR*)

The Karuk háriñay, or year, had 13 moons. Va: 'iθahárínay 'itrāhyar karu kuyrākkūsra', in one year there are 13 moons. Ten moons, beginning with the moon in which the sun starts to come back, December, have numerical names, although descriptive names tend to replace or to be coupled with several of these. Sometimes both numerical and descriptive name is mentioned in referring to double-named months. Thus 'Itaharáhā, Karuk Va(írā)kkūsra'; 'Itáhārāhān, 'Irākkūsra'; 'Itaharahánkūsra', Karuk Va(írā)kkūsra'; or 'Itaharahánkūsra', 'Irākkūsra', for designating August. The remaining 3 moons, September, October, and November, have no numerical names and are said to begin the year, preceding the sequence of the 10 numbered moons. September is named from the downriver new year ceremonies at Katimin and Orleans. October is unique in having an unanalyzable name. November is the acorn-gathering moon. Possibly the cumbersomeness of forming numerical names beyond 10 accounts for the failure to number all 13 moons, a task which the language apparently starts but would be unable to practically finish. *'Itrāhyar karu Yiθā-hañ, eleventh moon, would for example be so awkward that it would never be applied.*

Nanuharáinay tu'ām, our [new] year has arrived, and similar expressions, are used of the starting of the new year ceremonies. Ideas of refixing the world for another year permeate these ceremonies. Mourning restrictions of various kinds practiced during the old year are discontinued and world and year are restarted. The new year of the upriver Karuk starts a moon earlier than that of the downriver Karuk, as a result of the Clear Creek new year ceremony starting 10 days before the disappearance of the August moon, and the Katimin and Orleans new year ceremonies, which are simultaneous with each other, start 10 days before the disappearance of the September moon. The Karuk year begins therefore in each of the two divisions of the tribe at a point in a lunation, whereas the Karuk month starts with the sighting of the new moon.
Therefore both the downriver Karuk and our Gregorian calendar start with nonnumerically named moons and have numerically named ones at the end. And the -hań suffix of Karuk numerals to form moon names is as anomalous as the -bris of our Latin Septembris, etc.

The downriver Karuk moon names follow. To change these to the upriver Karuk nomenclature, the 2 terms given in the list for September are to be applied to August, and September is to have its descriptive term changed to Yū'm Va('irā)kkū'srā', mg. somewhat downriver (new year ceremony) moon (to distinguish from *Yūrūk Vākkū'srā', which would mean the Requa to Weitspec section moon).

The Karuk are still somewhat bewildered in their attempts to couple their lunar months with the artificial months of the Gregorian calendar. Most of their month names now have standard English equivalences, but occasionally they hesitate. There is also a tendency to replace most of the month names by the English names when talking Karuk while the most obviously descriptive ones, such as Karuk Vākkū'srā', are retained. Before the spring salmon ceremony of Ameykaram was discontinued, Mrs. Nelson informed the Indians for several years by her Whiteman calendar the dates of March 1st and April 1st, which were substituted for the appearances of the new moons of 'Irō'ppahań and 'Irōvivkiha'än, respectively.

1. (a) 'Ō'k Va('irā)kkū'srā', mg. here moon (of the 'frahiv, new year ceremony), so called because the Katimin and Orleans new year ceremonies began 10 days before this moon disappears, and lasted 15 or 20 days. (b) Nanu('irā)kkū'srā', mg. our moon (of the 'frahiv, new year ceremony). "September."

2. (a) Nā'ssē'p, no mg. (b) Nā'sé-pkkū'srā', adding -kū'srā', moon. "October."

3. (a) Pakuhákkū'srā', mg. acorn-gathering moon. They stayed out formerly about a month gathering acorns. (b) Pā'kkuhiv, acorn-gathering time, is sometimes used synonymous with the name of the moon. "November."

4. (a) Yīıkah-sañ, mg. first moon. (b) Yiθa-hánkū'srā', adding -kū'srā', moon. (c) Kusrahkē'em, mg. bad moon, called because of its stormy weather. (d) Kusrahkē'mkū'srā', adding -kū'srā', moon. "December." This is the month in which the sun enters for 5 days inside the "kusrīv." In this month men run about at night when the moon is not shining, bathe, pronounce Kitaßrīha'f formulas, and thus obtain luck and strength.

5. (a) 'Axakah-sañ, mg. second moon. (b) 'Axaḵhánkū'srā', adding -kū'srā', moon. "January."

6. (a) Kuyrā'khań, mg. third moon. (b) Kuyrakhánkū'srā', adding -kū'srā', moon. Also loosely identified with "January."

7. (a) Pi'váhań, mg. fourth moon. (b) Pi'vahánkū'srā', adding -kū'srā', moon. Tcānimansupá'hákkə*e'm, Chinaman big day, for-
I.

a. Digging sticks

b. Woven bag in which picked tobacco is carried home

c. Disk seats

d. Stem-tobacco pestle
Bundle of picked tobacco leaves tied in Douglas Fir twigs and then in Bracken leaves, preparatory to carrying home.
merly cocelebrated by some of the Karuk at Orleans and other Chinese contact places, falls in this month. "February."

8. (a) 'Itrö'ppähän, mg. fifth moon. (b) 'Itrö'pahänkū'sra', adding -kū'sra'. "March."

9. (a) 'Ikrivkikha'an, mg. sixth moon. (b) 'Ikrivkikha'nkū'sra', adding -kū'sra', moon. (c) 'Amekyārānkū'sra', mg. Amekyaram moon, so called because the spring salmon ceremony of Amekyaram begins at the new moon of this month. (d) 'Iruravāhīvkū'sra', mg. moon of the 'irurāvāhīv, spring salmon ceremony. "April."

10. (a) Xakinivkikha'an, mg. seventh moon. (b) Xakinivkikha'n-kū'sra', adding -kū'sra', moon. "May."

11. (a) Kuyrikivkikha'an, mg. eighth moon. (b) Kuyrikivkikha'nkū'sra', adding -kū'sra', moon. "June."

12. (a) 'Itrö'paticā'mniha'an, mg. ninth moon. (b) 'Itrö'paticā'mniha'nkū'sra', adding -kū'sra', moon. (c) 'Ahvarākkū'sra', mg. moon of the 'ahavarāhīv, special name of the jump dance held at Amekyaram starting at new moon of this month and lasting 10 days. "July."

13. (a) Itaharahän, mg. tenth moon. (b) Itaharahanku'sra', adding -kū'sra', moon. (c) Karuk Va('irā)kkū'sra', mg. upriver moon (of the 'irahīv, new year ceremony), so called because the Clear Creek new year ceremony begins 10 days before this moon disappears, and lasts either 15 or 20 days. (d) 'Irakkū'sra', mg. new year ceremony moon, used when it is understood which one is designated.

2. Pakumākū'sra pakun'ūhē'am-hiti karu pakumākū'sra pakun'īctū'kti'

Xättikrūmpa pakun'ūhē'am-hiti pe-hē'raha', 'Itrö'ppahān pakun'ūdra mhihtī', kunxutī kiri va; màk 'u'āsha paxatikrupmapāthī, kiri teete 'u'ūnnupraw kunxutī'. Vura va; kān 'uvhari'hva tátnūvikkāk, pa'úhie, 'axmay ik vüra tapurasāttak, hmupa takun'ūhē'amhē'en. Papinictunvēttas tu'īcfp, va; kari pakun'ūhē'am-hiti. Va; kari pakun'ūhē'am-mhihtī pe'kmaháctra'm tāha'k pafatavēnna'an, 'ikriripan'ikmahátcra'am.

(SEASONAL INFORMATION AS TO SOWING AND HARVESTING)

It is in the springtime that they sow the tobacco, it is in March when they sow it; they want the spring showers to wet it, they want it to come up quick. They are hanging there on the rack, the seeds, then all at once they get no more; it is that they have planted them. When the little weeds are coming up is when they plant it. They plant it when the fatavennan is in the sweathouse, in the Amekyaram sweathouse.

1 Or takun'ūhē'amhahe'en.
When they sow it, it comes up quickly; in 10 days it grows, pricks up.

When we used to gather hazel sticks, at the end of April, we saw the tobacco already growing; that was the time we saw it, when we were picking hazel sticks.

It is halfway grown at the end of July.

Sometime about August they first pick the tobacco leaves, they pick them downward, they start in at the base of the plant. They are afraid the leaves will get dry. When it is green yet, they pick it, so the tobacco will be strong. By August it is already blooming and it is already well leaves out.

Then they wait again; they keep looking at it, then they pick it again. As long as the leaves are good yet, they keep going to pick it.

Then they wait again until the tobacco leaves on top get bigger, those are the good ones; the tobacco leaves on top are pitchy. Then in September they pick it again. That is when they finish, when it is all ripe, yellow; in September they finish.

Then after the new year ceremony they gather the seeds. That is when anybody picks it, sometimes they [the owners] do

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2 I. e., they pull them off from the stem in downward direction as they pick them.
payé-pea'. Payé-pea kóvúra takunikyâ-install.

Xas Na'assè-p 'icâ-pfîttite va; kari vura hitha'n 'upaerí-hití'. Va; kari mupíci-p takunikyã-rûfip pehé-raha', pa'uhíppi k'áru vura, káru vura pa'úhiè.

3. Pahú't kunkupa'úhèá-mhití'

Pehé-raha takun'úhèá-mha'èk, va; ká:n takunsâma pa'úhic-rippa'. Va; vura tkumú:k kün'àkkà'tì, pa'úhicrypta'. Kárixas kunktinusutnûssuti,2a takun-kùhèá-mha'èk, takummûtîpìva pa'amtapnihitè.

4. 'Thé-raha'úhèá-mha'

Pehé-raha pakun'úhèá-mhití virí va; kunvénaispkò'ti pa'úhiè, takunipt: "Hú-kka hínûpà 'ì'm, Òk 'i'évànén'a-ôc cèp Ve'kxaré-yàv. 'Ì'm va; pay mihé-raha 'úhèá-mhàràhànìk. Virí na'ìn nû'apûnmùti'." 'Virí pay nanu-ávahkam 'i'ífrûppànè;e pe'íffahà'sk, 'ì'm vê'ppân'nik. 'Yà's àra va; pay 'u'úhèá-mhàràtì-hè;èc, ta'ì'n nà'á-pûnmàhà'èk,"3

5. Pahú't pakunkupe-ôrârraku-rimàshhití pa'úhiè

Patakunipmûtîpìvämarahà'k pa'úhiè, xas piríç takun'úpÈ; xas va; 'avahkam takunìyûru-libhà'n pàppîfìc, va; 'ù'm pa'úhiè yûxsùruk 'uvràákùkùrihe"èc.

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2a For further detail on breaking the covering off the seed capsules when sowing, see p. 60.

3 Imkàvanvan used this formula recently when planting string beans. "'Growing mayst thou grow to the sky,' thou saidest it." They grew so high that Imkàvanvan could hardly reach to the top.

4 Any kind of bush is used, the first loose one they see.
Karu hári 'avahkam takuntat-
tuycur kict pírcmũ'uk. 'A pun
takuntatuytattuy pa'ípa ká:n
kun'úha'mhát. Xé-tcitenihítc,
'amápnihítc, pamitva ká:n 'íkkšú
kunáhko't.

6. Pahú't kunkupavitríppahí'ti'

Xas vā' vura kunímusándó'ttí
tcémuyátcva'. Kunvítríptí payʃo
kumápípič, xay vo'íʃca'. Vúra
pu'íkxáyxá'ytíhâp, kunvítríptí
vúra kict.

Vā' 'um ká:n púttatay i'-fíthara
papíncitunvë'te, paká:n pékkšú
kunáhko'ftíhámik. Vā' vura kict
pakaťášíp,5 xá't karu vura hú'tva
kó' kunáhku'n, vā' vura 'ú'íftí
pakaťášíp.

7. Pahú't 'ukupa'íffahí'ti'

Hári puyáv kupayífáffahítahára.
Pakunic 'íváxra pe'hé'ráha'íppa',
kari tákunípí:' "Pu'ýe'peca'ecará
pe'hé'ráha', sárip kšunic tu'ífça-
nahsí'pínnátc."6 Pakupátaká-
ša tu'íffahá'sk, vā' pakun-
xútí yé'peca', tcémuyá:tc 'útí-khi-
ná'tí'. Xas kunípítíi: "Vā' pehé'ráha
yé'peca'hí'te, Kunínc
'aftíkkrárãíhëc, tá'yhéc pamús-
sa'n. Vā' pehé'ráha yé'peca'hí'te;
kuípitíi, patákúnmá-
hàk kupaťákk'ímsa'.

on top of it with brush. They
sweep over where they have sown.
It is soft ground, it is ashes, where
they burned the logs.

(WEEDING)

They go and see it often. They
thin out the other weeds, lest they
grow up with it. They do not
hoe it, they just weed it out.
The little weeds do not come
up much where they have burned.
Only bracken comes up. I do
not care how much they burn it
off, the bracken is growing there.

(HOW IT GROWS)

Sometimes it does not grow
good. When the tobacco plant
is kind of dry looking, they say:
"It is not going to be good, it is
going to be coming up slender
like hazel sticks." It is when they
have big [large diametered] stalks,
that they think that they are
good ones [good plants], that
they will soon be branchy. Then they
say: "They will be good tobacco
plants. They will be branchy,
they will have many leaves. They
will be good tobacco plants,"
they say when they see the fat
stalks.

5 The kind of fern used for wiping off eels.
6 An old expression.
7 They like to see the tobacco growing branchy, for it indicates
that it will have many leaves. But when gathering hazel sticks for
basketry they do not want the hazel to be branchy: Passárip 'u'ím vā;
pataptí'kkyráásha'k, tapúvé'vetsk'ítháp, the hazel sticks, when they
get branchy, they no longer pick.

9. Hāri takunpi’ctukahiti pamūsa’am

’Tupimx’an, tapimx’an panāniheōraha,’ t’i-n takunpi’kk’ar, ‘um vura vā; tapupi’fraprapa fa, tu’i vura.

(TOBACCO SOMETIMES KILLED BY THE COLD)

Sometimes they say: “The cold killed my tobacco, it is wilted down.” It is touched by the frost or cold, it is burned to the ground, the cold killed it. It will never come up again, it just dies down.

(PICKING THE LEAVES)

The broad leaves come out first near the base [of the stalk]. They watch it as to when they are going to pick the leaves off. When the leaves get ripe above the base of the stem, then they pick for the first time. They watch it. It is about August when they pick it the first time. From above the base they pick the broad leaves, the tobacco leaves. From the base of the stalk they pick them off. They never touch the top. When they [the leaves of the top] are bigger then they will pick them.

Then they wait until the leaves come out big again. Then they will pick them again, the tobacco leaves. They pick the leaves from time to time as they get big, they pick them, proceeding upward. Then again in September, when it is going to rain, when the fall of the year is going to come, then they pick [lit. fix] it all, and the seeds too. Three times it is they pick it, or sometimes they pick it twice. When it rains on it, it does not taste good any

8 The old expression for going to pick tobacco is, e. g.: Thē’rah ip ustūkkañat, he has gone to pick tobacco.
By the end of September they try to get through with everything.

When they are going to tie the tobacco leaves up, they hunt some Bracken. They spread it on the ground. Then they stack the tobacco leaves on top of it, in may be 3 piles; they stack them high, they stack them up in there good. Then they wrap Bracken around them outside. Then they tie it up, with twine, or with anything they tie it up. They fix it good.

They do not want it to get dry. It gets broken up when handled if it gets dry. Then they put it in the network sack, sometimes two bundles. Two bundles is about all that a network sack will hold.

Sometimes they tie Douglas Fir needles outside, outside the Bracken [leaves], they are afraid it might get wilted. They carry it (the net bag of tobacco) in their hands or on their back. They

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9 Bracken, *Pteris aquilina* L. var. *lanuginosa* (Bory) Hook. They spread Bracken leaves on the ground, stack tobacco leaves on them side by side, then wrap the stacks with Bracken leaves, then tie the bundle by wrapping iris twine or other tying material about it. Such a bundle is sometimes 6 inches high and as long and wide as the leaves make it.

10 For illustration of *Ouxri*"v, network sack, see Pl. 11, b.

11 The term for bundle is *kicap*. *'Iakiccap pehe-raháassa"n*, one bundle of tobacco leaves.

12 For bundle of tobacco tied with both Bracken and Douglas Fir, see Pl. 12. The dimensions of this bundle are 14" long, 6½" wide, 4½" high.

13 Or payváhe:"m.
11. Pahú't pa'úhíppi kunkupe'ctúkkahiti'

Pukaru vura va kitc 'ikyá-tiha pamússa'n, vura pa'úhíppi ká'aru vura kunikyá-tti há-ri, patuvax-ráha-k pa'úhíppi'. 'A'rúmnihite vura patakunik-paksará" yuhúrrimmú'uk. Va',m kári mit vura sìmsí,m taku-nishru-vtiha'at pámí'tva naè nimmá-hat. 'Ipénsúnnikáctas vura taku-nípkápak. Xas kunkíccapvuti pa'úhíppi ká'aru vúra, 'ánmú'uk, fá't vúra va; mú'k takunpíccap. Takunsuváxra', 'ínná-k takunsuváxra'. Takunikyákovú-vúra patapícayaíviríha"k pamú'ippa káru vura takuníkyav, víri va; pa'úhíppi'. Va; hóy vura va; takunsuváxra yó-ram 'a? pa'úhíppi', 'a? takun?aká-tá-ku"u.

12. Pahú't pa'úhic kunkupe'ctúkkahiti'

Xas patu'úhicha'uk, vura pu-pícínárvíhútihap pa'úhíc paku-níkyá'vic. 'Ipánsúnnikite taku-nípkaksúru". Kári 'asxayá'te vura patunikyá'ttí, kun?á-pálmú-tí 'ínná-k xas ik 'uvaaxráhe"c. Puxxár íkra'ntíha', kunxuti xáy 'úhrup pa'úhíc. 'Ipánsúnnikite taku-nípkaksúrtí', va; vura kité kuníppé'nti 'úhíc, pehé-ráha-úhíc, há-ri vura va; kuníppé'nti pehé-ráha'úhícikyav.¹⁵

¹⁴ Or takunnáhyán.
¹⁶ See p. 58.
They wrap them [the stems with seeds on them] up in a buckskin so the seeds will not drop off. In small bunches they tie them up, they always dry it that way.

Then they take the seeds home, they dry them in the house, they hang them up in the yó-ram, sometimes a couple of bundles, sometimes more. They hang them on the rack, top down, the seeds get awfully dry there, and sooty too. They say it will be strong, that tobacco, when it hangs by the fireplace all winter, that the tobacco will be strong when they plant it. The seed is turned downward when they are drying it.

They cut off the tops, the tobacco plant tops, when they are going to save the seed. They tie them up in buckskin in small bundles, with Indian string. They hang it up in the living house, in the yó-ram. It hangs there all winter.

They hang them there. When they are ready to sow it, then they touch it, then they take them down. They are kept there. When they are about to plant they take it down.

Sometimes the poor people pick it over again, when the owners have finished with it. They "fix" the stems, too, sometimes, the poor

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Lit. a little at a time.
pakkánnimitcas pa'ára'rr. 'Ú'ráhá'nsa', kúníc takunsí'tva'. Tá-
kunxus: "Xáy 'u'á'sha', tí vúra naž kánsí'tvi'." Vá vura karu
há'ri kunsí'tvúti', takunńe'ttecur
tatnakarará'mvak, fá t vúrava ta-
kunńe'ttecur patakunmáha'ák, fá t
vúrava kum ahavická'n'va.
people do. They are lazy ones,
they just like to steal it. They
think: "It might get wet, I might
as well steal it." And sometimes,
too, they steal; they take off of
a trap, take anything if they see
it, any kind of game animal.
VI. Pahú't kunkupé'kyá'hití pehér'aha patakunpíctů'kmaraha'ak

1. Pahú't pakunkupasuvaxráha-hiti pehér'ahássan

Patákunți'pmaha'ak, 'ikmahátča'm vura takuníóvá'a. Ká'nx xas takunsuváxra mańf'm'mitc.

Takunpíppur. Xas takunsuváxra. 'Í-vhárak takunómpi'óva. Pa'í-vhartíriha'ak, kuvra'k 'u'áhó'hití takunómpi'óva', karu pa'í-vhartíců'yìítica'ak, 'áxxa kítc vür 'u'áhó'hití'.

Karu há'ri pattá'ya'ak, 'ímná'k vura takunpávar 'imvaramtíří, tánnípraľ. 'Imvárvak suľ takunómpi'óva', ta'y vür 'u'áhó'hití 'imvárvak suľ.'

Pa'í-vhar pakunsuváxra-hkírrtí, 'ikmahátča'm kunsarávrá'óvútí', 'fkk'yam vur utá'yhití pa'í-vhár. Vál 'užm puká'nx pusuváxrahtíhap pamukunč'íňóvárák.1

Há'ri vura pu'í-vhárak suváxrá'htíhap, há'ri vura 'imvárvak karu vura pusuvár'áhtíhap. 'Asapatapríhak vúra kunsuváxrá'htí', patč'ímmíčhá'ak.

Kuynaksúppáhtíce vura pakunsuváxrá'htí'. Tamé'kuváxra'. Váľ vura ká'nx kuníphi'kkírrtí',

(HOW THEY CURE TOBACCO AFTER PICKING IT)

(CURING TOBACCO LEAVES)

When they reach home, they pack them into the sweathouse on their backs. Then they dry them there in the mańf'm'mitc.

They untie them. Then they dry them. They spread them on a board. If the board is broad, they spread it in three rows, but if the board is narrow, in two rows.

And sometimes when there are lots [of the leaves], they get from the living house a wide openwork plate basket, a tánnípraľ. They spread them on the plate, many rows on the plate [in concentric circles].2

The boards that they dry them on they pack into the sweathouse, there are always some boards outside. They do not dry them on their sleeping boards.

Sometimes they do not dry it on any board or openwork plate basket. They dry it on the rock pavement [of the sweathouse], if there is little [of it].

It is three days that they are drying them. Then they get dry. They are sweating them-

1 Or pamukunč'íňóvárák.

2 'Ikravapuť'ın'nap, cakes of black oat pinole, are spread in concentric circles on a basket in the same way.
va; kumá'i'i pattcęte 'uváxrá-hhti'.


2. Pahfá-t 'ikmahátcaràm kun-kupe'kyá-hiti pappífic, kuna vura 'ínná-k 'ikrívrá-mak xas po'ttá-yhiti'

'Ikmahátcaràm vura pakuníkyá-ttiiv. 'ínná-k 'u'm vúra pu'íkyá-tthiap, kunxití: "Xáy 'átvak 'úkíyí'mnání pe'hé-raha'."

Ma'tí-mític 'u'm vura hitíhañ pakunsuváxrá-hhti'. Va, 'u'm káñ vura pu'ífeyéfyúkkutihip ma'tí-mític pa'ára't. Yóram 'u'm két'eri'k, púva; káñ suváxrá-tthiap, va; káñ 'u'm kunifyúkkuti.

Húntähite papu'íkmahátcaràmtá-yhitihip pamukun'ihé-raha'. Vúra va; pamukun'íkyá-hànnk vura puffát 'íkmahátcaràm 'avaha ò'éra. 'Ikmahátcaràm kuníkyá-tti pamukun'ihé-raha', kuna vura 'ínná-k utá-yhiti'.

It is in the sweathouse that they work it [the tobacco]. They do not work it in the living house; they think: "It might fall in the food."

The ma'tí-mític is where they always dry it. The people do not go around there so much, around the ma'tí-mític. The yóram is a bigger place, but they do not dry it there, they go around there.

It is funny that they do not keep their tobacco in the sweathouse. It is their old custom that they do not put any food in the sweathouse. They work their tobacco in the sweathouse, but they keep it in the living house.

3 One may also say 'avahak.

6304-1—32—9
When they were talking in the sweathouse how Human was going to do, how he was going to live, then Coyote said: "Woman is not to stay in the sweathouse. Woman is going to smell strong too. Man will be out of luck if he smells a woman. Woman will not walk ahead on the trail, she has a vulva-smell. A woman will walk only behind. She will do thus. And Woman will do it, will make baskets. She will make a lot of trash, with her basketry materials. She will be scraping [with mussel-shell scraper] iris, too. Man is doing it, making twine. Man will be buying Woman." That is what Coyote gave Woman so hard a job for. Woman will therefore stay only in the living house.

Coyote said: "What is woman going to be lazy for? They are going to pay lots for Woman. She will be worth woodpecker scarlet. And sometimes she will be worth a flint blade. Money too she will be worth. She will be raising children in the living house."

4. Pa'ah't pa'uhippi kunkupé'k-tcáurahi'ti'

Karíxas, pakunikhróvicahá'k pa'uhippi, 'ikrivkírakt ⁴₈ akunvup-pákpa'kki. Vá; vura táya'n vura pakunvupakpákiri'ti', karu vá; vura pakuniktcunkíriti pe'krivkírak. Karu há'ri 'ássak a'. Tóf'mite vúra patakunsán'sip pa'uhippi, patakunsási pa'uhippi, takuni-táránkiti pe'krivkírak, 'áppap kun'axaytcákúkícirti pa'uhippi, karu 'áppap yuhúrimmá: kunvupákpa'kti'. Tupíteasám-mahítc pakunvupaksúrótí, tál'piticas pakunvupaksúrótí'.

Páva; takunvupákpa'kmara-há'k 'ikrivkírak, xas 'ák 'ahímpak takun'é'cjripa, xas 'uhipi-ávahkam va; takuniyúruθun⁶ patakuntásúnti, va; kunkupasuvxaráháhíti'. Pa'á'h kun?é'tti 'ávahkam. Pa'áhupkam pakun-axaytcákúkícirti'. Puyava’ patémfr pa'uhippi, pavupak-pákkapu', kárixas 'ák takuníp-tháñkim, pá'a'nh.⁵

Kárix'as patakuníkteur, vá; vura ká'ñ pe'krivkírak takuniktcúnki, 'íknavanánamahate pakuniktcúraráti'. Vá; vur əθ-vúyti 'uhipihítcúrar ⁵₈ pa'as. 'Íváxra pa'uhippi, pusakrí-vháha. 'Icyánnihite vura takunkiyáv, patakunítcúrahá'k. Puyava’ patécyánnihíchá'k, xas takunínxuk. Xas tí-kmá'k takunkíptu'y'rar, xas takunkíccap táf-

(POUNDING UP THE TOBACCO STEMS)

Then when they want to use the stems, they cut them up on a disk seat.⁴₈ Lots of times what they cut them up on and pound them up on is a disk seat. Sometimes they do it on a rock. They pick up a little bunch of the stems, they hold it down on the disk seat; they hold one end of the stems, and cut the other end off with a flint knife. They cut off a little at a time; they cut it off into little pieces.

When they finish cutting it up this way, they take a burning coal from the fire, then above the tobacco stems they move it all around, as they stoop down over it. They pack the fire on top of them. They hold it by the wood end [by the side that is not burning]. Then it gets hot, the tobacco stems, that have been cut up. Then they put the coal back in the fireplace.⁵

Then they pound it up, they pound it up on that same disk seat, with a little pestle. It is called tobacco stem pestle,⁵₈ that rock. The stems are dry, they are not hard. They make it fine when they pound it. Then when it is fine they rub it between their hands. They brush it together with their hands, then they tie it up in a piece of

⁴₈ For illustration of 'ikrivkír, disk seats, see Pl.11, c.

⁵ For illustration of the same method used for drying flaked leaf tobacco preparatory to putting it into the pipesack. (See p. 180).

⁵₈ For illustration of 'uhipihítcúrar, stem tobacco pestle, see Pl. 11, d.
firâpûhmû'k. Va; vura kita mû' kunikîcâpî'. Xas takun-pîcûn'va. Va; vura kita kunîp-pêmâ 'uhippi'. Hári va; 'ihê-ràha kunîycânti', xas va; 'kunîhê-râti'.

Pa'ûhippi vûrá kita paku-nîkctûnti'. Va; 'u; m vûra pu-îkctûntiha pappîric. Va; vura kita pakunîpîtî pûnîxtûnti. Pa'uhippi vûrâ kita pu'îkctûntiha pappîric tû'kmû'k. 5

5. Pé-kîrivkiř

Pa'âvansas 'u'mkun vûra nik 'îkrîvkiř kuni.krîv.kîrîttî-hvânik, 'âhupsîkrîv.kîrîhanîk vûra, 'âhup vûrâhânîk pamukunîkrîvkiř. Hári k'aru vûra pa'avansâxít-tîtccâs vâ; kâ'n takunîp'ûntâkîc. Pamukunîffüpmû'k sîrik'ûnicâs ta pe'krîvkiř. Va; kâ'n to'p'k'ûntâkîc pamukunîkrîvkrâk patuhê-râha'k pa'âvansa'. Vur o'xûti': "Na; vûra 'aflâ'âri", pate'krîvkrâk 'up-k'ûntâki'criha'k, patupihê-râ-hâ'k. 'Asiktâvâ'n pûvâ; k'ûntâ-kûthihrâ pa'âvansa mukrîvkiř.

Pamukunîkrîvîrâm'mâk 7 va; kâ'n 'u; m pe'krîvkiř 'utâ'yêhîtî', yôtâm 'îmmâ'k. Hári vûra 'îm takunîtêvrûpûk pe'krîvkiř vâ; kâ'n 'îm takunûntâk. 8 Hári va; kâ'n 'îkrîvkrâk 'a; 'âvansâ 'axîtîc tô'stà'k'îsîp. Karu hári va; takunîkctûnîk pa'ûhippi 'ik-rîvkrâk.

Pe'krîvkiř 'u; m vûra pu'ihru-v'tîhap 'ikmâhâtcerâ'm, va; vûra kunîhru-v'tî papatûmkîtâ, va; vûra kunîkîvîrîttî pamukunîkmâ-

buckskin. That is all they tie it up in it. Then they put it away. They just call it tobacco stems. Sometimes they mix it up with tobacco, to smoke.

The stems are all they pound. They never pound the leaves. All that they do is to crumple the leaves between their hands.

(The Disk Seats)

The men used to sit on disk seats, on wooden disk seats; their disk seats were of wood. Sometimes the boys sat on them, too. With their skins 6a the disk seats get to look shiny. A man sits on his disk seat when he takes a smoke. He thinks: "I am all it," when he sits up on the disk seat, when he takes a smoke. A woman does not sit on the man's disk seat.

It is the living house where there are lots of disk seats, in the yôram of the living house, sometimes they pack them outdoors, they sit on them outside. Sometimes a man [sits] on a disk seat and holds a child. And sometimes they pound up tobacco stems on the seats.

They never use disk seats in the sweathouse; what they use is pillows, what they use to sit on is their sweathouse pillows.

6 See p. 93.
6a I.e., with their bare human skins, not referring to any skins worn.
7 Or Pe'krîvrâ'm'mâk.
8 Or takunîkrîvkiř.
hatc rampatūmkiṟ. Xā,s vura hitīhuaṅ takunikrīrihi, karixas vaṅ kāṅ takunikrīvkiṟ. Háʔri k'aru vura vaṅ kāṅ vura takunikrīvkiṅ pakunkupapatumkūrahiti'. Karu háʔri 'tīc vura pataunikrī'ri', kunćeivīpī'va 'ikmahātērā;m 'tī-rīcāk. Vaṅ vura karixas 'aʔ'kunīkṛīrihi'ī patakunīhē'ri. Vaṅ vura kāntu kū; u;būnām te. Háʔri vaṅ kunīppēntī papatūmkiṅ 'ikmahateramīrkīvkiṅ. Vaṅ kunippēntī 'ikmahateramīpatumkiṅ kāru 'ikmahateramīrkīvkiṅ.

Kuna vura 'āpūnīte pakunkūrahiti paʔasīktāvā'nsā', purasāt vūra 'ikrivkīrītīhāp, tapāra vura kīte kuni krīvkrīthānika paʔasīktavā'nsā'. Vaṅ vura kāriñas 'aʔ'vāri kunirukū'ntā'kū'u, paʔasīktāvā'nsā', pasipūkām kunvi'ktiha'ak. Háʔri karu vura vura 'aʔ kuniyāřī, pāteīm upūthōcāhā'ak.

6. Pa'uhhipihtēcūr

Háʔri pakunxūtiha; kirītta'gy, 'ikrāvāramūk takunikteūr. Vaṅ kūmā'ii'ī pakā'kkum tūppitecas pekrāvar. Pāy kō'sāmītacā pekrāvar kā'kkum. 'Uhipihtēcūr rār vaŋ pō'vū-yti', 'iknamanatunvē'ute. 'Ik rivkīrak 'aʔ takunītīvitak pa'uhippī. Xas yuhrimmūk takunikpākpa'. Xas 'iktecuramūk takunikteūr. Vaŋ 'u cm vūra xūn pu'ikrāvaratīhāp pektēcuramū'ak, 'ukē'nmicahe'c pa'xūn, 'ūxhē'c. Vaṅ vura kīte kumā'ii'ī kunīhrū-vti pa'uhippī kunikteūrāti. 'Imxa'akkē'm, pa'as, pa'uhippī takunikteūrā-

Most of the time they tip them over on one side to sit on. And sometimes they sit down on them just as they use them for pillows. And sometimes it is the floor that they sit on; they sit around in the sweathouse on the floor. That is the only time they sit up whenever they smoke. The way they do is to lie around, when they are in the sweathouse. Sometimes they call the pillow the sweathouse's seat. They call it the sweathouse's pillow and the sweathouse's seat.

But the women just sit low; they do not use any kind of seat. The tule petate was all that they used to sit on. The only time the women sit on a high place is when they are weaving a big storage basket. Sometimes they even stand up when they are finishing it.

(THE TOBACCO STEM PESTLES)

Sometimes when they want [to make] lots, they pound them with a pestle. That's what they have some small pests for. Some pests are only this size [gesture at length of finger]. 'Uhipihtēcūr those little pests are called. They put the tobacco stems on a disk seat. They then cut them up with a flint knife. Then with a little pestle they pound them. They never pound acorns with that pestle, it would poison the acorns, it would taste bad. That's all they use it for, to pound tobacco.
raha'7a k, xára vura 'ó-mxá'iti'.
Yó-ram vùrà 'à? takunìpëà'ntàk.

stems with. It smells strong,
that rock does, when they pound
the tobacco stems [with it], it
smells strong for a long time.
They keep it up in the yó-ram.

An old tobacco stem pestle obtained from Yas,8a which formerly
belonged to his father, is of smooth textured gray stone, 7 inches long,
1½ inches diameter at butt, 1¾ inches diameter at top. The top is
slightly concave. There is a decoration consisting of two parallel
incised grooves §-inch apart spiraling downward in ant clockwise
direction, circling about the pestle 7 times. A single incised line
starts at the top and spirals down irregularly in the space between
the double lines, ending after it circles the pestle twice.

Yas stated that a pestle with such decoration is never used by
women. It is called 'ihë-raha'ahupihùkùrcùr, or 'ihë-raha'ahupihùk-
navanà'anamahàìc.

Of the design Yas said: 'Uvuxi0kururhuvapaøravurùkkunihvahiti',9
it is incised spiraling downward. From 'uvuxi0kururhuvà', it is incised,
e. g., as some big money dentalia are. Or more carelessly, leaving out
the idea of spiraling: 'Usàssipppùkùëvà pe'kteùr, 'utàxxitepà-
ðahiti', the pestle has a line going around it, it is incised around.
Also 'uòmyàkkùrhuvà', lines it is filed in; 'uòmyòmmì'hvà', it is filed
in running downward.

Yas volunteered of the pestle: 'Ikxariyà'hiv ve'kteùrarahàùìk, it is
a [tobacco stem] pounder of the time of the Ikxareyavàs.

7. Pahù'pt Pihnéffìtc po'kyà'n'nik,
pa'ávansa 'u'ìm pu'ìkrá'mîthùì-
càrà 'ìkrávaràmù'7a'k

Pihnéffìtc múpà'ppuhaùìk:
"Asiktàavàìn 'u'ìm pó'ìkrá'mîti-
hè'òc.' Kunteù'phìna'thìhàìnìk 'ik-
mahàtèrì'em hù't 'ata Payà'sìra
kunkupìttìhe'òc, fà't 'ata pakun-
ùmùthìhe'òc. Kó'veùra pànù'à'mtí
kò'vùrà Pe'kxaréyavà và; muku-
ùpìppùhàìùìk, Yàsìra và; pày
kunà'mùthìhe'òc. Xas kunìpìtì-
haùìk: "Kunìkrà'mùthìhe'òc pàxxùn

(How Coyote Ordained That a
Man Shall Not Pound with
An Acorn Pestle)

It was Coyote's saying: "It is
woman who is going to pound
[with a pestle]. They were talk-
ing over in the sweathe house
what Humans are going to do, what
they are going to use as food.
Everything that we eat, all of it
the Ikxareyavàs said Human will
eat. Then they were saying:
"They will be pounding up acorns,

8a For illustration of this pestle see Pl. 11, d.
9 Or 'utaxitck'ururhuvapaøravurùkkunihvahiti'. Ctx. 'upvapíròppf-th-
vuti' pa'ippà', 'a? upvo'turànnàtì', he (a goatsucker) spirals up the
tree.

Humans will be pounding up acorns.” Then one said: “Why can not a man be doing it, be pounding?” Then Coyote said: “No; a man will have something long sticking off in front. It will be sticking off long. He will make a child with that. Where is he going to turn it to [to get it out of the way]? He might hit it. Let it be a woman that will pound. A woman in no way can hit herself. A man will be looking around for something to eat along with acorns; he will be hunting; he will be fishing for salmon, too. He will be getting together river food to eat along with the acorn soup.”
VII. Pakumé'mus pehë'tahás-sa"n pakó; 'ìkpíhan kuru vúfa
1. Pahú't umússahiti pehë'tahás-sa"n

Pakarixi'ðha"k va; kári pakuníctú'k'ti'. Pamusanímvy va; káru vura hári kunitúksántî'. Pe'hé'rakahítsa"n va; kité kúníc pakunxúti kírih.

Pe'hé'raha patakunswáxrá-ha"k, kúníc tapppiháša'. Xá's kúníc vura 'ìkxáramkúnic kúníc kumapplíc. Pamússá'ñ 'ù'm vura píríc'úníc, su' sá'ñmak 'ánkúnic 'usasíppí'vá'va; 'ù'm kúníc váttavkúnic. Va; vúr ukupe'vaxráháhti'. Va; kári tasanímváy'úníc paxára tótá-yhíthá"k. Hári vura xár utá-y-hití', hári kuyrakháríny 'utá-y-hití', patta'y takunikýá'ha"k.

2. Pakó; 'ìkpíhan pehë'raha'

Pe'kípihanhá"k, pehë'raha ta-kunpi'p: "'Ákkat,' 2 'ákkat pu-x"ite pehë'raha''. "'ìkpíhan, 'ákkat,'" va; mit vura kíte 'áxxak-fi'te pateú'pha kunihrú-vtíhát', pámítva kunihé'rátihtá'. Púmit 'ipítíhaphat 'ú'ux. Púmit 'ipítíhaphat 'ú'ákkatti'. Kúna vura paffa'x 'amakké'm takunpakát-káttaha"k, pakúnic xú'n puvávahá"k, takunpi'p: '"'ú'ux, 'ú'ákkatti'."

(COLOR AND STRENGTH OF LEAF TOBACCO)

(COLOR OF LEAF TOBACCO)

When the leaves are green yet they pick them. Its yellowing leaves also they sometimes pick with the others. But the green tobacco leaves are those they want.

When they dry the tobacco it gets stiff as it were. Then it is pretty near dark green color. The leaf is green, inside the leaf stringlike it runs along, that is lighter colored [than the leaf]. It dries that way. The longer they keep it the yellower it gets. Sometimes they keep it a long time, sometimes three years they keep it, if they make lots.

(HOW TOBACCO IS STRONG)

When tobacco is strong they say: "It is strong-tasting, the tobacco is very strong-tasting." "It is strong, it has a bad taste," were the only two words they said. They never used to say 'ú'ux. But when they taste anything unsavory, like acorn soup that is not [leached] good yet, they say: '"'ú'ux 'u'ákkatti'."

1 Referring to the veins being lighter colored than the body of the leaf.

2 'Ákkat is also used of strong coffee, etc. It is the stem of the verb 'ákkat', to taste intr. used as an interjection.

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Hâ'-ri va; kunipîtti: "Pehê'-rah e'-kîhanîhakâ'îhê'-rahaa', mahî'tnihate'îmtcâxhaâ' 'úmkû'-kkûtí', mahî'tni- 
hate'îmtcâxhahaha 'úmkû'-kkûtí pehê'-raha'úhêa"m."

Sometimes they say when tobacco is strong: "It is morning 
sun slope tobacco, the morning 
sun has shined on it, the morning 
sun has shined on that tobacco 
garden."

When they are broad tobacco 
leaves, when they are green ones, 
then they say: "They are good 
ones, it is shady place tobacco, 
they are good ones, they are broad 
leaves."
VIII. Pahú't pakunkupa'iccun-vahiti pehè'raha’

1. Pahú't ukupatáryahahiti 'inná'k

Kárixas 'inná'k takumnáhayan 'uhsípnu-’kkáin.¹ Yò-ràm à? takuntákcaráñ. Va; 'u’m su? 'uváxrá’híthê’èc. Pamuûxúppar 'utarupramtcäkkiciriwa vastárânmú'uk. Va; 'u’um pússú? 'ikré-myà 'újmmúthàrà, sákriy 'utárúprâvahiti’. Hári táffirâpù 'avahkám takunf’xò'ráriv, sipnu'k'avahkam, va; 'u’m vúra su? 'uváxrá’híthê’èc, va; 'u’m púpasxáypréccara su?.

Vúra ník 'uváxrá’hti’, kuna vura puv^axnaháyáitchihàrà, puváxrá’híthihàrà pùxx'ité. 'Uváxrá’hti vúra ník patakunmàhyàñ su?, 'ífíu patakanpin'm7'us. Yanékva tupásxáyápà’. Vúra pu’á'ytihap puxutihap 'uvaxnahinmûve’èc. Va; kumá’i’i pakuñcù’ti’kti pàkàrixí-thà’”k, va; 'um vura puvaxnahinnúve’èc. Kumípíti pakúnic ’axváhahiti ‘avahkañ va; kumá’i’i pavura hitíhañ kunic 'ásxà'’y. Va; vúra kíte kun?áy’tí xáy ’úpasxà”y. Va; kumá’i’i kunf’xò’rârimiti va;s pasipnu”uk.

Pu’áxaxay’ikyà’ttihap pehè’raha’, pà’u’mkùn kunkúpítí pa’apxantinnihité?avanas, 'a’s kun-’i-vúrukti pamukunñìhê’raha’.

Vúra pe’dán ‘ihè’raha takumnáhayàmnaravahà’k-fâ’t vúraña, (HOW THEY STORE TOBACCO)

(HOW IT IS KEPT IN THE LIVING HOUSE)

Then they put it into a tobacco storage basket in the living house. They hang it [the basket] above the yó-ram. It will be drying in there [in the basket]. Its cover is laced down with buckskin thongs. So the air will not get to it, it must be laced down tightly. They put a buckskin over it, over the basket, so it will be dry inside, so it will not be damp inside.

It gets dry, but it does not get too dry, it does not get very dry. It is dry when they put it in [in the storage basket]; when they look at it again it is damp. They are never afraid it will get too dry. That is what they pick it [the leaves] while still green for, so it never will get too dry. They say that because it is pitchy outside is why it is always dampish. The only thing they are afraid of is that it will get too damp. That is why they cover the basket with a deerskin.

They never dampen tobacco as the white men do, who put water on their tobacco.

If they put tobacco in anything once, they do not use it for any-

¹ For description of the tobacco storage baskets see pp. 103–126; for description of the upriver hat storage basket see pp. 127–131.
Roots of Jeffery Pine for Basketry

a, first splitting; b, second splitting; c, third splitting; d, strands prepared ready for weaving.
California Hazel Sticks for Basketry

a., The ordinary hazel sticks; b., hazel stick tips salvaged from finished baskets, used for weaving small baskets.
Bear Lily Plant
a, Braid of Bear Lily leaves, prepared for sale or storage; b, coils of Bear Lily strands prepared for weaving overlay; c, maidenhair leaf
vura puffāt kāru vura kumā'ī'i thing any more. The thing pihru-vtīhāp. 'Imxaṭakkē'ém. They put it away all in different places, the leaves in one place, the seeds in another place. vura kumī'i thing any more.

Patakunčecunva kō-vuра yiθ-θukánva pa'uhíppi kuru yiθ0uk, kuru pehe'raha yiθ0uk, kuru pa'uhíc yiθ0uk.

2. Pa'uhísipnu'uk

(THE TOBACCO BASKET)

Most people do not know that the principal material that builds a Karuk basket is lumber. It is the shreds of the roots of the Jeffrey Pine (Pinus ponderosa Dougl. var. jeffreyi Vasey) that weave the basket, holding the foundation sticks together, faced in places with more delicate strands, white, black, or red, to produce the decoration. The process is a simple 2-strand twining, varied occasionally with 3-strand twining where strength is needed. The name of the pine-root strands is sārum. (See Pl. 13.)

The foundation consists usually of carefully chosen shoots of the California hazel (Corylus rostrata Ait. var. californica), gathered the second year after burning the brush at the place where it grows.²

The hazel sticks are called sāřip. (See Pl. 14.)

The black overlay which the Indians call "white" is done with strands prepared from the leaves of the Bear Lily (Xerophyllum tenax [Pursh] Nutt), called panyúfar. (See Pls. 15; 16 a, b.)

The hazel overlay is the prepared stalks of the Maidenhair fern (Adiantum pedatum L.), called 'iknitāpič. (See Pls. 16, c; 17.)

The red overlay, which is not used in the tobacco basket the making of which is here described, is the filament of the stem of the Chain Fern (Woodwardia radicans Sm.), which has been dyed by wetting it with spittle that has been reddened by chewing the bark of White Alder (Alnus rhombifolia Nutt.).

Pe'hē-rahasípnu'k va vura kunkupavikk'ahiti pasipnú'kkiθ like they do a money basket. They make a tobacco basket kunkupavikk'ahiti'. Pasipnú'kkiθ kisak 'u'm 'axruh 'u'ururā'mnīhvā', 'imēttap kuru vur 'u'ururā'mnīhvā', pavūra kō. kīma'ü'p pamukun'upficē'pacā'. Vara 'u'm 'ikxurik'ākka'm kuni-kvātī pasipnú'kkiθ. Ha'ti vura 'atikinvā'anammahatc 'uēxūp-parahiti pasipnú'kkiθ.

² See pp. 63–64.

But they do not put big patterns on the tobacco basket. They just vertical bar it and diagonal bar it. It is patterned with pine roots together with Bear Lily, or with Maidenhair stems, with "dead people's Maidenhair stems." A tobacco basket has vertical bar Bear Lily pattern, or a diagonal bar one. That is the way they make a tobacco basket. I never saw a fancy-patterned tobacco basket.

A. Pahú't yiitóó'va 'uovúyttí:hva pamucvitáva pasípnu:w.k
(NAMES OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BASKET)

Sipnuk'íppapâ:n, the top of the basket.
Sipnuk'ípânní'te, the rim.
Sipnuk'ípâma^'n, the mouth of the basket, the aperture. Sipnuk'ípâmâ:n'nak, in the mouth of the basket.
Sipnuk'ípteipi, the sides of the basket.
Sipnuk'ífâllîv, the bottom of the basket.
Sipnuk'ífâvî'te, the base, where the basket is started.
Pakân to'pîvâram'ni, where the sides start upward.
Sipnuk'í't'c, the body of the basket, used of the central part of the basket in contradistinction to the top and the bottom; also the surface of the basket. Sipnuk'í't'cak, on the body or surface of the basket.
Sipnuk'rávahka:n, sipnuk'rávahkâmka:n, the outside of the basket.
Sipnuk'só'ka:n, sipnuk'só'kâmka:n, sipnú'kkan su?, the inside of the basket.
Sipnuk'í't'xíppapâ:n, the cover of the basket.
Sipnuktaruprávâr, the tie-thong of the basket.

B. Mitva pakumapififin'ítcitcas pa'uhsípnu:k kuntâ'rahitihat.
(WHAT OLD MEN HAD TOBACCO BASKETS)

In practically every house in the old times there was to be seen hanging one or more of the tobacco storage baskets. Imk'ânvan remembers distinctly the tobacco baskets of the following Indians of the older generation.

3 Or kuntti:ptci:phîkk'ó'ttî'.
4 The last two words are added in fun, to point out the fact that Maidenhair fern was sometimes called dead people's Maidenhair fern.
5 Sipnuk'ípâmânti"'n, the lips of the basket, would not be used.
6 Sipnúkti"'m would hardly be used.
Near Hickox's place

Yurih'íkkič, no mg., Tintin's father, at 'Akvatťìv, at George Leary's place upriver from Hickox's.
'Asamúxxáv, no mg., Hackett's father, at 'Iynúttâkâtc, just upriver of Hickox's place, downslope from Snappy's place.

At Katimin

'Ittecáray, no mg., at Katimin.
Tamte'írik, no mg., at Mâ·tin'va, site of Fritz Hanson's store, at Katimin.
'Afkuhá'anammahátc, mg. roots of some unidentified plant sp., at Yuhxavramnîhâk, at Katimin.
'Araráttcu'y, slim person, Old Henry, at 'Astâ·m'mitc, at Katimin.

At Ishipishrihak

'Ápsu'n, mg. snake. Old Snake, at Ticrámâ·tciíp, site of Abner's house at Ishipishrihak.
Simyá'ítc, no mg., at Ticrámâ·tciíp, at Ishipishrihak.
Xutnássák, name of a bird sp., at Yunuktí'm'mitc, at site of Fritz Hanson's house at Ishipishrihak.

At Yutimin

Ye-fippa'n, no mg., Ike's father, at 'Asána·mká rak, at Yutimin Falls.

At Amekyaram

Sána's, Yas's paternal grandfather, at Amekyaram.
Nú·káł, no mg., at 'Asámmá·m, at Amekyaram.
'İtí·v'ráá, mg. invisible, at 'Asámmá·m, at Amekyaram.
'Áhup ñí·üssahitihaán, mg. looks like wood, at 'Ahtuycunnuítc, at Amekyaram.
Paxvanípiñíítc, mg. little bush of the kind locally called "wild plum," Amekyaram Jim, at Amekyaram.

Near Orleans

'Asó·so'o', no mg., at Kátítipííkâ, Old Ruben's place, near Orleans. Vakiráyav, mg. gets there good, Old Ruben, at Kátítipííkâ, near Orleans.
'Atráxxipux, mg. having no arm (his arm was cut off at the sawmill formerly at the mouth of Perch Creek), at Taxaóufkára, the flat upstream of the mouth of Perch Creek.
'Iktú·kkâricuí, no mg., Sandy Bar Bob's father, at Ticánni'lk, Camp Creek.
Vurá'n, hooker with a stick, Sandy Bar Bob's paternal uncle, at Ticánni'k, Camp Creek.

Hutchutckássał, mg. having his hair like a nest, Sandy Bar Bob, at Kasánnukić, Sandy Bar.

At Redcap

'İtxu'utc, no mg., at Vúppa'n, at the mouth of Redcap Creek.

C. Pahú't payé'm 'u'm vára yiθ takunkupe'kyá'hiθi pa'uhisp-nu'uk

Payváhe;m sárip vura ká:kum kunvikk'arati', sarípmúrax vífa, kuniptítí 'ihé'rahasinpu'uk. Kun-xútí kiri kínikváric. Púvá;i vura 'u'm pi'ëp vavikk'ahara.

D. Pa'uhispnk'ëxúppar, pahú't ká:kum yiθóüva kumé'kyav pa'uhispnk'ëxúppar

Ká:kum tinhya-ättcás pe'ë-xúppar, karu ká:kum 'afivyít-tcìhsa' 'atikinvatunvë-te 'úʊvũ-y-ytí', 'uhispnk'ëxúppar. Karu ká:kum múnnukite kunic, kunic múnnukite. 'Ávahkam vura kunic kicte 'uũ'vú'tkku'uk, múru kunic po'tćeívtako'otc.7 Vá:vura kunic kunkupe'ëxúppahiti kipa vura murukmä'k takuniëxúppaha;̂k sipnúkká'm'mák.

E. Pahú't kunkupe'ëxúppahitiha-nik pa'uhispnu'k taffirapúhm'uk

Hári pe'ëxupáříppùxhá'uk, táf-firapu 'ávahkam 'uëxúppárahiti'. Sometimes if it [a tobacco basket] has no cover, they cover a piece of buckskin over it.

(HOW NOW THEY ARE MAKING TOBACCO BASKETS DIFFERENT)

Nowadays some people weave hazel sticks, just nothing but hazel sticks; they say it is a tobacco basket. They just want to sell it. It is not an old style weave.

(The TOBACCO BASKET COVER; HOW TOBACCO BASKET COVERS ARE VARIOUSLY MADE)

Some of the covers are kind of flat ones, and some with sharp top, which are called little pack-basket tobacco basket covers. And some are like a little plate basket. The plate basket rests on top, is just on there? They cover it in the same way that they cover a big storage basket with a plate basket.

(HOW THEY USED TO USE BUCKSKIN AS A COVER FOR A TOBACCO BASKET)

Sometimes if it [a tobacco basket] has no cover, they cover a piece of buckskin over it.

7 Mg. that it does not fit over top of the sides of the basket but just rests on top of the mouth.
F. Pahú't kunkupé-krú'ppahahiti-tihanik táfirapu pa'uhship-nuk'ippankam.

Hári sipnuk'ippankam táfirápu 'úkrú'ppahahiti'. Pá-víć kunic 'úkyá-hahiti pa'uhshípnu"k. 'A'kam tafírapuhpávitíc, 'áffivkam 'úm sipnu"k. 'Ippankam 'úkrú'pkahiti pamukíccapař.

Sometimes a piece of buckskin is sewed around on top of the basket. The tobacco basket is made like a sack. The top is a buckskin sack, the bottom is a tobacco basket. At the top its tiestring is sewed on.

G. Pahú't kunkupavíkkahiti pa'uhshípnu"k

(WEAVING A TOBACCO BASKET)

The Karuk-Yuruk-Hupa type of basketry is described by Goddard and by Kroeber, but a detailed account, in Indian, of the making of one of these baskets is here presented for the first time. This account was dictated by Imkn'avan as a tobacco basket was actually made, from the time the warp sticks were first held together to the tying on of the finished cover, and so is doubly valuable, since mistakes and misunderstandings were avoided. The basket which was madé is shown in its finished stage in Plate 25, a, and in its making in Plates 18 to 24, inclusive. The texts here included form part of a large group of texts covering completely the subject of the basketry of these tribes.

a. Pahú't kunkupa'áffé-hiti pa'uhshipnu"k, pahú't kunkupatáyi'phahahiti' (HOW THEY START THE TOBACCO BASKET, HOW THEY LASH THE BASE)

Plates 18 to 22, inclusive, illustrate the method of starting the tobacco basket, the lettering in the plates corresponding to the letters heading the sections below.

A

'Áxxak taníphí'c picífte pasárip, xákkarari k'ú'k "u'ilik'ú' with their tips pointing in oppo-

vūti', va kunkupa‘affe‘hitī'. Xas kūkkū'm 'āxxak tanip‘fca'i, va vur ukupitti', va vur ūpān-tūnvūti kūkkū'm, kūkkū'm vura va xakkara ri kū'k 'ūipānhi-vutī'. Kūkkū'm vura va tan-i-k‘upeph‘c'rihaha', piθ tu‘arihīc. Sakri;v ni‘axaytcakki ricihti', xay 'upiccānnā-n'vā. Kūttutukam ni‘axaytcackkicrihti'.

B

Then I put four more on top of these, crosswise, these four lying together in the same way, running different directions. They put four crosswise on top. Then there are already eight, then I am going to put the pine roots over them. Four will be inside [the basket], and outside [the basket] there will be four. I put four on top and four underneath.

According as they make them short [referring to the overlapping], so will the bottom be. When they want to make a small storage basket, they make the hazel-stick bottom short ones. They splice long sticks in there, where they [the butt ends of the sticks] are pointed, i.e., their tips in the case of hazel sticks, pointed in a certain direction. Cp. hūka kun‘ikkx‘uvūti', which way are their heads pointed?, e.g., asked as one enters a strange house in the dark where Indians are sleeping on the floor at the time of the New Year ceremony, for fear one might step on somebody's head.

10 Lit. they have their heads, their tips in the case of hazel sticks, pointed in a certain direction. Cp. hūka kun‘ikkx‘uvūti', which way are their heads pointed?, e.g., asked as one enters a strange house in the dark where Indians are sleeping on the floor at the time of the New Year ceremony, for fear one might step on somebody's head.

11 Or 'u'ikkx‘uvūti', the two verbs are used as synonyms.

12 The overlapped section of the 8 sticks is usually considerably smaller than the bottom of the basket.
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teras pa’affiv. Kuníppénti ’afivkif. 13

C

Va; pícci:p niynakavárrati papí’th passárip va; po’sú’kam-he:ç passípnu’ak.
Tanítáyi’öha’ 14 ’ássak taní-púó’ar passá çış pasarum’ixxa-xapu’. ’Ý-k’um po’áshítiha’ak, va; ká’ñ tanípúó’ar. ’Ýnná’k ’ássipak ’a’s niúriníti’, teé-m-yáteva ’a’s nípí-vúruke pavik. Xas yíótho tani’ú’ssip. Pava-ramé-ciç passá sıı’ ká tani-táyav.
Kíxxumípí: kam passárip va; ká’ñ tani’aramsí prin pataniynakavára’. Tívap kú;’k tani’icçipma passá sıı’.

D


13 Special term for the area of overlapped hazel sticks at the bottom of a basket, lit. what they make the bottom on. E. g., somebody asks where my hazel sticks are, and I answer: ta’ip va; ni’áfivkifat, I already started to make the bottom on them. Ct. ta’ip va; ni’áffiv, I already started the bottom of a basket. ’Afivkif is synonymous with sarip’áffiv, hazel stick bottom.

14 Lit. I make a cacomite, Brodiaea capitata Benth. Why this term is applied to the act of lashing the base of a basket together is not known; possibly the result looks like a cacomite bulb.

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the overlapped sticks] come to an end, the short ones never run up [the side of the basket]. They call them [the overlapped sticks of the bottom] affvikir. [See Pl. 18.]

C

First I lash together the four sticks that are going to be on the inside of the basket.
I lash the base. I soak the pineroots, the pineroot shreds, in water. I soak them outdoors at the spring. I have water in the house in a bowl basket. I put water on them every once in a while. Then I pick one up. I choose a good long one.

D

Then it runs underneath four, I take in all four hazel sticks. Then I run it diagonally across again on top. [See Pl. 19.]
E

Then I run it around one stick, the first stick. I put it through between the first and the second sticks. [See Pl. 19.]

F

Then I turn it [a quarter turn] to the left. Then I run the pineroot strand straight across. I put it through between the first and the second sticks. [See Pl. 19.]

G

Then I turn it over. Then I put it across diagonally. I insert it between the second and third sticks. [See Pl. 19.]

H

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it straight across again, I run it around [through] again. [See Pl. 19.]

I

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it diagonally across, then I insert it between the third and the fourth sticks. [See Pl. 20.]

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15 Or tani'ú-v'raθ, I pass it under.
16 Or tu'iccipk'ar, it runs across.
17 Lit. next to the first stick.
18 Or vo'kupa'ahɔ̌-tì', it runs.
19 Here used to indicate not from corner diagonally to corner, as it has previously been used, but diagonally from the interstice between first and second sticks on one side to that between second and third sticks on the opposite side.
20 Or tani'phyā-kkàŋ, but this usually refers to larger objects.
a, Twined bunch of maidenhair stems; b, iris twine for twining same; c, stick with split end through which maidenhair stems are pulled before they are split; d, bunch of reddish backs of maidenhair stems, split from the fronts and to be thrown away; e, bunch of fronts prepared for weaving; f, bundle of maidenhair stems, not twined
Stages in Weaving Tobacco Basket
Stages in Weaving Tobacco Basket
STAGES IN WEAVING TOBACCO BASKET

Diagram showing the stages in weaving a tobacco basket.
Stages in Weaving Tobacco Basket
J
Xas kúkkú;m tanipú-v’rin. Xas iǰyáruk tanii’iccipk’ar. Xas kuyrakansárip piǰvakansárip xák-k’n mukún?á-tecip taníyú-nnupri’.

b. Passú’kam vassárip va; takuniyakavára’m’mar
Sú’kam tanipikya’r, panitá-yi’-thiti’. Sú’kam tanipikya’r, panitá-yi’-thiti’.21 ’Avahkam kuna tcimí-he’c,22 pakú’kam ’u’avahkam-he’c pasípn’u”k. Payěm vúra va; hitihax’n va; kú’kam ’u’avahkamhithe’c. Pakú’kam na’avahvutili’. Puna’ávrinatihafa vura payvá-he’c.m.

c. Xas va; vura kuniyakavá-ra’ti k’úkkú”m

K
Kúkkú;m tanipú-v’rin. Tcimi niyakavá-ra’-víc pa’ávahkam pi’k ’íkk’ukarátiha’n.23 Tívap tanii’iccípma’. Karixas va; papicci’te muppi’mate passárip taníyú-nnupri’.

L
Kúkkú;m va; kari tanipú-v’rin. ’Itcyú-kinuyá-te tanii’iccipk’ar. Papici’csárip muppi’mate va; ká’n taníyú-nnúp’ri.

M
Karixas kúttutúkam kú’k tanípyú’-n’ma’.

J
Then I turn it over again. Then I run it straight across. Then I insert it between the third and the fourth sticks. [See Pl. 20.]

(TEYFINISH LAshING THE INSIDE STICKS)
I have finished lashing the inside [group of sticks]. The outside [group of sticks] I now in turn am going to lash, where the outside of the basket is going to be. The side that is up now is going to be the top of the basket. That side faces me now. I do not turn it over any more.

(HOW THEY CONTINUE LASHING)

K
Then I turn it over again. I am about to lash the outside four that run across. I run it diagonally across again. Then I insert it between the first and second sticks. [See Pl. 20.]

L
Then I turn it over again. I run it straight across. Between the first and the second sticks I insert it. [See Pl. 20.]

M
Then I turn it a [quarter of a turn] to the left. [See Pl. 20.]

21 Ct. pani’áffivti’, which although used as a synonym of panitá-yi’-thiti’, when referring to starting a basket, means to weave the entire bottom, not merely to lash the base.
22 Or kúnahče’c for kuna tcimíhe’c.
23 Or pa’ávahkam kumáppí’pa’íkk’ukarátiha’n.
Karixas tani'ū-v'rin. Karixas kūkku;m 'ītyū kū:k tani'iccipma', tanīyūn'ma.

Then I turn it over. I run it across again, I put it through. [See Pl. 20.]

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it across still another time, so it will be flat. Sometimes some of the pineroot strands I am putting around are too high, not flat; that is why I lash it around twice. Sometimes I run it around a second time where I ran it around before, in case it does not look good the first time, if it is not right-sized the first time. [See Pl. 21.]

Then I turn it over again. Then I insert it diagonally across, between the second and the third sticks.

Then I turn it over again. I run it straight across. [See Pl. 21.]

Then I turn it over again. I run it across another time, so it will look better. [See Pl. 21.]

I turn it over again. I insert it diagonally across, between the third and the fourth sticks. [See Pl. 21.]

24 Or 'axákya"n, two times.
Tobacco Among the Karuk Indians

Karixas kúkkú'm tanipû'v'rin. 'Iøyû-kyate\textsuperscript{25} vura tani'ìcícip'ar. Pakú'kam 'usú'kamhitihítê'c, payêm va; 'ávahkamta.

d. Pa'ávahkam vassárip kúna takuniynakavàrâ'm'ar

Xas 'ávahkam va; kúna tanipîkya'x passárip panitáyî'hitî', pâpî'ò pakú'kam 'u'ávahkamhitihítê'c.

e. Yîthâ takunipvîkkirô'piôv'â', pî'ò passárip takunipîrrîtê's'rar U V W. (See Pl. 22)

Karixas kúkkú'm tanipû'v'rin. Pakú'kam 'u'ávahkamhitihítê'c, payêm va; 'ávahkamta, hitî-ha'n 'u'ávahkamhitihítê'c.

Karixas 'i'ðân nipvîkkirô'pîôv'utî pîtvâmamahîte nipîcîvîkk'asràtî passárip. 'Itcâ'nnîte vûra va; tanik'ûpâ'vîkrô'v'â'. 'Itcâ'nnîte vûra 'upvâpirî-pîôv'utî', tanipvîkkirô'pîôv'â. Pî'ò nipîcîvîkk'asràtî', pî'ò vûra passárip. 'Itcâ'nnîte vûra nipvîkkirô'pîôv'utî'.

Panitáyî'haratî va; vûr usâm-kûtî', va; vûra nivîkk'â're'c. Va; kà'n 'upihyâurprântî tî'm passá-rûm.\textsuperscript{26} Karixas yîthâ kuma tanih-yâkkuri passá-rûm. Kunic taniy-pûthîpû' 'àxxax vûra yîtta'c'te passâ-rûm, 'i'ðân vûra pataniy-pû-thîpû', va; 'u'm puntabánnâ'mhitihata, karu va; 'u'm pu 'ipvî'nûpramhitihata. Pa'îpa mû'k ni-

\textsuperscript{25} Or 'îtcû'yînuyâ'tc.

\textsuperscript{26} See T, pl. 21.

Then I turn it over again. It is straight across that I run it. What is going to be the inside of the basket is on top now. [See Pl. 21.]

(They finish lashing the outside sticks)

So I finish lashing the other outside warp sticks, the four that will be outside of the basket.

(They weave one course, taking in four sticks at a time)

Then I turn it over again. What is going to be the outside of the basket is on top now, it is going to be on top all the time [from now on].

Then I two-strand twine once around taking in four sticks at a time. I two-strand twine around thus just one course. It takes in four sticks at a time, I weave around once. I take in four at a twining, four sticks. I just two-strand twine around once.

What I am lashing with is not all used up, with it I am going to two-strand twine. The pineroot strand sticks out at the corner.

Then I introduce a new pineroot strand. I twist the two pineroot strands together, just one twist around, so it will not show (where I introduced the second strand) and so it will not come loose again.
I make firm the newly introduced pineroot strand with the same strand that I lashed with. The one that I lashed with runs underneath [the four sticks] at the first taking-in, the one that I introduced runs across on top. One pineroot strand runs across on top of the four sticks, and one underneath. One strand goes under and one over, that is the way I two-strand twine, one goes under the Hazel sticks, one goes over, the two pine root strands run along.

At the corners, I cross the strands. Then the pine root strand that was underneath [in the previous taking-in] runs on top, when I cross them, and that which was on top runs underneath.

I two-strand twine once around in this manner, then I start to three-strand twine. (See Pl. 22).

(THEY WEAVE TO THE RIGHT)

I always weave to the right. Sometimes some people weave to the left. I only knew two who wove that way. Mahó'n'nin was one, and 'Asúttcañate was one; they say there used to be several that wove to the left. All of them produced poor weaving.

27 It is a matter of chance which strand goes across on top and which underneath. Sometimes the twisting is omitted.
28 Or to'ssú'kam.
29 Or pa'ípa.
30 Old Karuk as well as Eng. way of expressing the direction of the weaving = in clockwise direction.
31 Of obscure mg., Sally Tom.
32 Mg. packing a heavy load of water, Lizzie Abels.
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Pahú't picç'tc kunkupa'árava-
hiti'

X Y Z (See Pl. 22)

Paká'n tanipvíkkiró'piövaha'sk, va; ká'n pani'áramsi'privti'. Kix-
summípa; k ni'áramsi'privti'.

Paká'n ni'áramsi'privti picç'tc,33 va; ká'n pe'pvikmüramhe'tc. Pé-
pvikmúram tanipví'kmaha'sk, va; vura kárixas nick'áxxicrihti',
paniv'ktíha'sk. Va; vúra karixas
nick'áxxicrihti pate'pvikmüram-
ha'sk. Pahó'tahyák tanik'ô-
ha'sk, papuva né'pví'kmaha'sk,
va; kari kunipítti' puyá'ha'ra 'in
napiçevihe'te, 'ikxáram 'uvikk-
evítc pananivik.34

Paká'n tani'áramsiop, sárip karu
sárum taniýakkuri k'á'n. Yítha
kúkku'm taniýakkuri passárum,
kuyrá'k tu'árihič. Va; ká'n pa-
nihýakkurihti pa'áxxa kumá'á-
tcip passárum. Pataniýakkuri-
ha'sk, 'áxxak nipiçíkk'asrárati
passárip

(HOW THEY TWINE WITH THREE
STRANDS THE FIRST TIME)

X Y Z (See Pl. 22)

Where I finish going around
once, that is where I start to
twine with three strands. I
always start to three-strand
twine at the corner.

Where I first start to three-
strand twine, that will be the end
of the courses. When I get to
the end of a course, that is the
only time I can stop working,
when I am working on a basket.
I stop at the end of the course.
If I quit in the wrong place,
before I weave to there, they
say a dead person will help me
weave, he will weave on my
basket in the night.

Where I start to three-strand
twine, I always insert both a
hazel stick and a pine root
strand. I introduce another pine
root strand, that makes three.
I insert it between the two other
pine root strands. When I in-
troduce a new hazel stick, I
always take in two hazel sticks
together by the twining.

33 Or paká'n picç'tc ni'áramsi'privti'. Where the course of two-
strand twining starts really determines the end of the courses, but
since where this starts is inconspicuous while the start of the three-
strand twining is readily seen, the latter is considered by the Indians
to determine the place.

34 This belief, that one must reach the end of a course, tends to
make the basket work progress faster. When another matter calls,
diligent work is put in to reach the goal, the end of the course. Then
if the distraction is not pressing, one weaves a little beyond—with
the result that one is again course-end bound through a mighty
superstition. The work progresses. This is the informant's own
amusedly volunteered observation.
The bases of the hazel sticks and pineroot strands, as soon as I introduce hazel sticks, stick out inside the basket.

I chew the butt ends of the hazel sticks so that they will be soft when I clean out the inside of the basket. And another thing, they do not slip back out, if I chew them.

That way three pineroot strands are sticking up on top all the time. I take the hindmost one all the time, and pass it around [a warp stick]; it goes over two sticks and passes under one. Every once in a while I pull it tight, I make it solid. That is the way they twine with three strands.

Whenever a pine root strand gets short, I put another in.

The first course I only insert one [warp stick] at each corner. After that I introduce many, I pass it around two [warp sticks] at a time whenever I introduce a [new] warp stick. Whenever there seems to be a gap, I introduce one [warp stick] again.

When still working on the bottom, that is the time when I introduce the most sticks. After I start up the sides of the basket, I stop introducing them, just sometimes I introduce one again. One can tell the originally inserted sticks, they are long ones, and stouter sticks. Some are introduced warp sticks, and some are called sticks that one starts with.

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35 Or panicrik'urí-vuti'.
36 Or nírcíkk'uríhti', I pass it.
I twine with three strands four times around, then it is strong. Some people twine with three strands several times around; then it is a little better. Sometimes they three-strand twine a lot, and sometimes just a little.

(how they hold the basket as it is being woven)

I hold the basket with its inside down, I hold its inside upon my thigh. When I do not yet hold it against my knee, when I have not started up the sides yet, it lies mouth down on my thigh. When I start up the sides of the basket, I hold it against my knee; and if it is big, it sets on the ground, in front of me, on its side.

(how they finish out the bottom)

Then I start to make patterns. I stripe it vertically with bear lily, I twine with two strands.

37 The basket while the bottom is still being worked on is held bottom up on the (formerly bare) thigh just above the knee, not on the knee. In basket work the new warp sticks and woof strands are regularly introduced with the right hand; the left thumb is constantly used to press the strands down and make the work firm.

38 Or taniśři'c, I set it.

39 The impractical shape of the bottom of a certain tobacco basket, which bulged in the center so that the basket would not set flat on its bottom, was blamed on the use, or too early use, of bear lily overlay on its bottom. Papanyurar 'uvikk'arahiti'ak pa'affle, 'u;m vura u'iřřečuvuti'. Xas pu'iřřečirũthi'arna, passipnu"ak. Po'iřřečukahiti'ak, pu'iřřečiriũthi'ara. Pavikk'ay̱e'eca 'u;m kun 'affle sãrum kunvikk'aratī'. If the bottom is woven with bear lily, it "comes back out" [sticks out]. Then the basket does not set up [good]. When the bottom sticks out, it does not set up [good]. The good weave is to make the bottom with pineroot strands only.
The three-strand twining comes to an end.

I "tie down" one pineroot strand [one of the three strands that I have been twining with] inside. I twine with two strands. It [the end of the dropped strand] must always stick off inside.

The bear lily strand I always introduce just after [i. e., beyond, in a direction away from the weaver] the pineroot strand [that is to be dropped]. The bear lily strand goes on the back of [i. e., on the outside of] the pineroot strand all the time. The bear lily strand is on top all the time. The bear lily strand is lined with the pineroot strand.

Then I twine with two strands around twice with solid bear lily, lining both bear lily strands with pineroot strands.

Then I twine with two strands twice around, having one strand faced with maidenhair and the other with bear lily, it runs around vertical barred a little [referring to the vertical bar thus produced].

Then after that I two-strand twine twice around with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar pattern three times around, bear lily and pineroot strands together.

Then when I am pretty nearly ready to start up the sides of the

40 Or sú'kah.
41 Or panivíkk'are'c, that I am going to twine with two strands.
'arava'átcip. Xas kúkkum và ká'ñ tanippára, yi00a kúkkum tanippára.

Xas 'arava'ávahkam tanip-xúripírįv'o'n, kuyrákya'ñ tanip-xúripírįv'o'n.

Xas 'áxxak tanipvi-krįv'v pan-yuraramūnna'xicte.

Xas pfį nikucitcēvāsiiha', 'ápp pa panyūra, 'áppap sārūm. Va'nik'upakucitcēvāsiihahiti', pata-nipvi-kmaha'ak, va' kari tanipíc-vítrip panyūraix, 'áppapkam va' tanipihyåkkúri.

j. Pahu't kunkupatakrahahiti sú'kão', karixas takunvik-kvúra'ak41a.

Karixas papiccl-tc tanipikril,42 patcimi nivikk'urā'xic, vīrī va' kari su' tanitákra, yi00a sārīp mū'k tanítákra. Va' ká'ñ pata-nikucitcēvāsiiha', vīri va' ká'ñ patanítákra, pakucitcēvasihasunúkya'ntc. Vura kē'cîte passārip patani'ũssip, xas va' sú' tanikkkvúmnán'mi.

Xas panivy'ktiha'ak, há'nhma-hite va' niptáspů'nvuti patakrah-

basket, then I twine with three strands. I twine with three strands once around. Then I two-strand twine once around with bear lily one side and pineroot on the other, with the three-strand twining in the middle. Then I three-strand twine there again, I three-strand twine once around again.

Then on top of the three-strand twining I vertical bar pattern around, I vertical bar pattern three times around.

Then I two-strand twine twice around with pure bear lily.

Then I diagonal bar design with a bear lily strand and a pine-root strand. The way I make the diagonal bar design is that when I have two-strand twined once around, I break off the bear lily strand, I introduce it into the other [pineroot] strand.

(How they apply a hoop on the inside before they weave up the sides of the basket) 41a

When I first hold it against my knee, when I am about to start up the sides of the basket, then I apply a hoop. I apply a hazel stick as a hoop. Where I diagonal-bar, that is where I am applying the hoop, inside of the diagonal bar designing. I select a rather stout Hazel stick, I bend it around inside.

Then when I weave, every once in a while I lash in the hoop, I

41a See Pl. 23, a. 42 See p. 117.
fix it good, I fasten it inside firm.

I apply the hoop, so that it will not be limber, where I start up the sides of the basket; the basket would be poor if I did not apply the hoop.

When I finish the basket, then I rip the hoop out.

**How They Weave Up the Sides of the Basket**

When they finish out the bottom, then they hold it against the knee.

Then I weave around three times with pineroot.

Then I vertical bar design four times around with pineroot and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine four times around with pineroot.

Then I vertical bar design again, I vertical bar design four times around.

Then I two-strand twine around twice again with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar design four times around with maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine twice again around with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar design six times around.

Then I diagonal bar four times around with maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine three times around with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar design five times around.
1. *Pahút ká-kum kunkupapí-pvahiti passárip, pa'ip-panváritáha'*ák

Kárixas pata'ippavanáriha'*ák, kari k'á-kum passárip 'axákmanáhite tanipírik'ásrá'n'va, va: 'yó'um 'ippan 'upnínnámiteputi', pa'ıffu tanípvríkro'ov, kari tanípíepá-tsár 'ıtcémmahité, yió'ó'a va; tanípíepá-trip, pa'ipa'axxak nipírik'ásráfááat.

Pa'umsuré'p va; kunkupé'vú-yá'nnahiti saripvikkík. Há'ri vura va; kunphríru'vti', va; kunvikk'áratí sipnukanamahatcró-xúppař. Há'ri va; vura takunkíccap, va; kunhru'vti fá; takunpíxáxař.

Passárip vura 'ippan uptá'p-pítcasputi' patanívikk'urá-ha'*ák.

2. *Pahút va; vura kunkupavíkk'urá-hiti'*

Karixas kuyrákya'n tanípvríkro'v panyunanamúnnaxite vúřa.

Karixas pí'ó tanikuteitcavássíha', 'ıkritápkir panyúrar xákka'á'ñ.

Kárixas pí'ó tanípvríkró'v panyúfar.

'Itró'p tanípxúriphiro'or.

Karixas kuyrá'k tanípxúríphiro'ov, 'ıkritapkıramú'k karu panyúfar.

Panyunanamúnnaxitic xas tanípvríkro'ov, 'axákya'á'n.

Karixas tanípxúripípha pí'ó tanípvríkro'ov.

(How they break off some of the warp sticks when they have progressed well toward the top of the basket)

Then when I have progressed well toward the top of the basket, then I twine some of the sticks two together, so that the upper part [of the basket] will become slender, then in the next course I break them off one at a time, breaking off one wherever I twined two together.

The broken off tips they call "sticks that have been woven with." Sometimes they use them, weave a cover of a little basket with them. Sometimes they tie them in a bunch and use it to clean things with.

The warp sticks get slenderer anyway as I weave upward.

(How they keep on weaving up the sides of the basket)

Then I two-strand twine three times around with nothing but bear lily.

Then I diagonal-bar four times around with maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine four times around again with bear lily.

I vertical-bar five times around. Then I vertical-bar three times around with maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine twice around with bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine four times around with vertical bar design.
n. Pahú't kunkupe'pəñoahiti pa- uhsípnu" k 42b

Karixas patcimi nipñoθe' e'.
Kariothas taní'arav yîθa'.

Karixas 'ikrívi tanipvíkpaθ; 43 sárummâ' k pa'árvamú k 'usák- ri- vhi'.

Karixas tanípç. 'Ipamíceví-t- tâtemú k tanipicíkk'uri. Hári 'aráará'ánnmú' k takunpicíkk'uri, há- ri k'aru vára vastáranmû' k. Va; vára ká' n xas nick'áxxicrihtí' pe-pvíkmuâram. Pa'áxxaki; te so- sâmkáha; k pavi'kro'v pakári nipñoθe'e'. va; kári pa'íppam tanítâspur sârippak, 'ávahkam 'uvârará'ívha pamu'íppan. Xas pakári tanípvi'kmá ká zn pe-kvík- muâram, va; vára nivikcántí pa- 'íppam passârippak. Karixas pan- tanípvi'kmáha; k pa'ifutétimítc- víkro'v, karixas va; ká zn pa'ípa nitaspúrirak pa'íppam, taníyá'nú- pri 'áxxak vára passárum, xas sárur tanicrá' rúni pa'íppam, tanicíracíracírací. Karixas taní- vússur pa'íppam pamu'íppankam. Pupippúntíhra, páva; taxiníc- caha' k. Patanikryptáraricî- ha' k, 44 hári 'á? 'upimødথatksíp- rînati'.

(HOW THEY FINISH THE TOBACCO
BASKET) 42b

Then I am about to finish it.
Then I three-strand twine once around.
Then I two-strand twine six times around with pineroot, the three-ply twining holds it [this final two-strand twining] up.

Then I finish it off. I fasten it with a little thread of sinew. They sometimes fasten it with Indian [iris] twine, and sometimes with a buckskin thong. I always stop at the end of a course. When only two rounds remain before I finish, then I loop a sinew [filament] over a hazel stick, the ends of it [of the sinew] hanging down outside the basket. Then when I two-strand twine another course around to the end of the [previous] course there, I two-strand twine the sinew together with the warp stick. Then when I finish the last round, then I put the two pineroot strands through the looped sinew, then I pull the sinew downward; I tighten it down. Then I cut off the ends of the sinew. It does not come undone when I do this way to it. If I sew it down, maybe it will come undone [lit. it will come undone upward] again.

42b See Pls. 24 and 25, a.
43 Special verb used of last rows of two-ply twining at the rim of a basket.
44 Most baskets are finished nowadays by sewing a few stitches with modern commercial thread instead of following one of these old methods.
Then I make the cover in turn. I make the same designs on it as the tobacco basket has.

First I start it, I lash the base. Then I weave around once.
Then I start to three-strand twine, introducing [new] sticks. I three-strand twine three times around, and then two-strand twine around three times with pineroots.
Then I vertical-bar three times around.
Then I two-strand twine twice around with the pineroot.
Then I vertical-bar three times around again.
Then I vertical-bar twice around with maidenhair.
I two-strand twine around once with pineroot.

Then I three-strand twine, I three-strand twine once around.
Then I two-strand twine twice around with pineroot.
Then I vertical-bar just once around again.
Then I diagonal-bar three times around.
Then I two-strand twine four courses of bear lily.
Then I vertical-bar three times around with the maidenhair.
Then I two-strand twine twice around again with bear lily.
Then I diagonal-bar three times around with pineroot and bear lily.
Then I three-strand twine once around carrying one bear lily strand along with two pineroot strands.

Then I two-strand twine once around with solid bear lily.

Then I diagonal bar once around, maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine three times around with solid bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine three times around with nothing but pineroot strands.

Then the next, the last course, I hook the sinew over.

Then when it is the last round, it is larger pineroots that I weave around with. I select bigger pineroot strands when I weave the last course. That way it does not rip.

Then I draw it downward, then I cut if off close to the body of the cover. That is the way I fasten the ends.

Then I break off one by one the projecting hazel sticks; I trim them off.

(How They Tie the Cover On)

While I am weaving, every once in a while I try the cover on the basket, so it will fit it good.

Then when I finish the cover, I cut a buckskin thong; then I sew it on, all around; the thong zigzags around. At seven places I sew it on, with sinew. It is a little below the top that I sew it on, at the three-strand twining.

45 Or va; kári ké-cíticas vura mûk passárum pataníví-kró'ov.
46 The old verb denoting the process of breaking them off.
47 See Pl. 25, a.
a. The tobacco basket, with bottom finished, with temporary hoop inside

b. The tobacco basket as its sides start up
The Tobacco Basket and Its Cover, Finished but not yet Cleaned Out
a. The finished tobacco basket with its cover tied on.

b. Limber upriver style of tobacco basket, with foundation of iris twine instead of hazel sticks.
a, Upriver woman's hat with bunch of feathers on its top.  
b, c, d, Three stages of making an upriver hat into a tobacco basket: b, the upriver hat; c, the same partly sewed up; d, the same made into a tobacco basket, hung up with thong. Only a small opening left at the top, otherwise closed with sewed-on buckskin strip.
súnnukite va; kà:n patanikrúp-kúrihvá", 'arávak.

Hàrî suI vura 'u'ik'urúpri-hva pataruprávar, 'ípec'ñkinatcas vura pavastáran 'u'ik'urúpri-hva, súl'kam 'usú/pifahina-ti'.

Xas yítha vá'ram tanikrúp'ka', vastaranxára, 'árippapu', pamá-kuninhitáricrihe'c péxúpparà. Karu hári paká:n tanipikrup-kó'm'mar, va; vura tani'it.eur vá'ram 'unhíccuru" 48 pa'áripápu pamú'ippankaí, va; karu vura níhró-vic.

Hàrî vúra yítha po'hyárup-ramít 'atcipyâ'k 49 kunpinhk-kó'ti pataruprávar. 50 Hó'y vúra va kunpinhtíttunvuti'.

Karixas patéimi nipíméticaaráricrihe'c, tanipíxúpù, karixas páxáripúráhíthan pavastáran tani'üssíp, xas va; mú'k tanitarúpraV.

Picefc'tc 'ítyú'kkínuyá'tc vur 'unhí'kk'áráti', va; kà:n po'tarup-rávahiti', va; kà:n taninákka'sr, pupux'xtc 'ícrihiphtíhaáp.

Karixas yi00ukuna taníyü'nnupri', karixas 'ítyú'kkínuyá'tc kúk-ku'm taninhi'kk'af, 51 yi00ukuna taníyü'nnupri'. Karixas 'ítyú'k tani'íccipk'ar 52 kúkkú'm.

Karixas yi00ukuna taníyü'nnupri'.

Karixas pa'avakhkamíccipív-raían va; taninákka' po'sak-rivhikkíre'c.

Karixas ta'ífutetfímite tanipíyú'nnupri', taniptarúpra'm'mar.

Sometimes they run the tie-thong through [the basket], short pieces [each making one loop], knotting them on the inside.

Then I sew a long one on, a long thong, a cut strip, to tie the cover on with. Or where I finish sewing it on, I let the end of the thong stick out long; I shall use it.

Sometimes they tie the tie-thong on the middle of one of the loops. They just tie it together any place.

Then when I am going to tie it on, I put the cover on the basket; then I take the sticking out thong; then I lace it with that.

First it goes straight across and laces through there; I make a knot there; it is not drawn tight. Then I insert it through at another place, then it runs straight across again, and through another [loop]; then it runs across to the other side.

Then I put it through another one [another loop]. Then I pass it around one [thong] on top so it will be tight.

Then I put it through the last loop, I finish lacing it. Then I

48 Or 'uxári-peuruti', or 'uxári-peurahiti'.
49 Lit. on the middle of one that is sticking out.
50 This word is also applied to the tie-thong of a baby basket.
51 Or tó'nhí'kk'af.
52 Or 'u'íccipk'áráti', or tu'íccipk'ar, it runs across.
Karixas pa’avahkam’ecippivr’aťan va;‘ musaträkam taniyuu’nüpî’i. Karixas taninh’ec ’avahkarn.

Va;’ kâ’n ipanît’e ’unhecuur; vastâťan, va;‘ mú’k takuntakkarari’ă’. Há’ri vura pufâ’t ’inhe- curô’ta, yi’î xas vura takuninhîc- cuî, pamû’ kuntułkkuřarıhe’c.

Plate 25, a, shows the finished tobacco basket woven by Imk’avánvan, the making of which is described above, with cover tied on. Mason, the Ray Collection from Hupa Reservation, Plate 15, No. 67, shows a tobacco basket, which is Nat. Mus. No. 126520, Hupa, collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray; see also his comment on this basket, which we have quoted, p. 24.

q. Tusipû’nvahiti pakó’h pa’uhsipnu’k

(MEASUREMENTS OF THE TOBACCO BASKET)

The tobacco basket made by Imk’avánvan, the making of which is described on pages 107–126 of this paper, measures 8 inches in diameter, 6½ inches high, and 4½ inches across the mouth. Attachment points of loops of tie-thong are ca. 2½ inches apart. Projection of loops from basket ca. 2½ inches. Free end of thong 32 inches long. Cover 2½ inches high, 5½ inches diameter. The basket with cover on is 8½ inches high. The finished basket is shown in Plate 25, a.

3. Pakah?uhsipnu’k

’U;m kun karu vura ’uhsipnu’k kuntâ’rahiti pakah’arahsa’, va; vura kunkupavîkk’ahiti pánnu; vura sipnu’k nukupavîkk’ahiti’, va; vura kunkupé’kxúrk’ahiti’. Vûráma ’u;m kunxûnmutîc, pu- sarîpsâriphîhâp, ’a’n kunsârip- hiti’. Há’ri va; vura kunsârip- hiti pa’avahkam kunvîkk’arati k’aru vura. Kê’ttcs karu vura kunikyâ’tti’, k’aru vura tâ’pîpit- caś. Va; vûrá pamûxúppar kunkupé’kya’hitî’, pavura nu’ nanu- ’uhsipnu’k ’u;mkun karu vûrva va; kunkupé’kya’hitî’.

(BULL. 94)
4. Pakahapxan'uh sipnu'u'k
Pakaháras 'a:n kunsáriphiti pamukun'ápxa'nv. Kúnnutítas pa'ápxa'n, vura kuniyúmxum-ti'.

A. Pakahápixán' pakumé'nuus


B. Pakahápuxán'íkkúrík

Xá:s vúra kó-vúra pakaháp-pxa'n 'íkkurikaxárahsa',4 cóvúr 'a: kunivyí'uurá:n pamukun'ík-kúrík. Xá:nt karu vura bá-t vúra va; kumé'kkúrík, va; nukupe'ví-yí'nahiti kíte kahapxan'íkkúrík.

C. 'Añóúfvó'nnupma Va'áróras 'umkun káru va; ká'kum kunví'kti kuma'ápxa'nv

Pananúvik yí:y yúruk vúra va; kunkupavíkk'ahiti', káruma 'um-kun yí'ta pamukuntéc'pha', yúhi'.

(upriver hat tobacco basket)
The upriver Indians have hats with twine for hazel sticks. They are soft hats. One can bend them together.

(what the upriver hats look like)
The hats of the upriver people are tall hats. They are limber. Twine is used for hazel sticks. Sometimes on top there is a bunch of feathers. Sometimes the middle of the top of the hat is painted red. Sometimes they sew dentalia on the top of the hat, four. The small end of the dentalia is to the top, they sew four on, with the small end to the top. But our hats are just right size [height].

(patterns of upriver hats)
Pretty near all the upriver hats are long patterns, their patterns slant up. No matter what the pattern, we just call it upriver hat pattern.

(some happy camp people weave that kind of hat too)
Our basket works go a long way downriver; though they talk different, Yuruk, they make our

53 A Klamath hat in the National Museum, no. 24075, has several iridescent tail feathers of the tcítta'at Magpie, Pica pica hudsonia (Sabine), tied to its top. It was collected at Klamath Indian Reservation, Oregon, by L. S. Dyar, Agent and was accessioned July 20, 1876. Dimensions: 7½ inches diameter, flat top 4½ inches diameter, height 4½ inches. The longest feather projects from middle of top of hat 11½ inches. See Pl. 26, a.

54 =xá:s vúra kó-vúra pakaháp-pxa:n vá'tamas pamukun'ík-kúrík.
Karuma vura va; kári kunkupavíkk’ahiti pananúvik. Káruk ‘u;m vura ‘aðiúfvo’núpm u’ippanhití pananúvik. ‘Aðiúfvo’núpm va; kumaka’m 55 ‘u;m unk ta;ío pamukún’vík. ‘Aðiúfvo’núpm Va’aru’ras va; vura kari kunkupavíkk’ahiti pananúvik, kuna vúra va; ká;m kák’um takunví’k’iti pakahápxa’an. ‘Aðiúftícra’m Va’aru’ras ká’um ‘u’mkun va; ká;m vúra takunví’k’iti ‘a’n takunsáriphiti’, va; ká;m vúra káru takunvíkk’árati ‘ákxa’p. ‘Icví taták’aráhsa’.

D. Pahú’t mit kunkupítthíhat pakunípíra’nvutihaímit mit punnu;kumá’ará;ras Pakahráráhsa kó’va, kah ‘Inná;m pata’iráhiv-há’šk

Kó’vúra kumá’ráhiv ‘u’irankó’ttíhaník ‘Inná;m pàmitá natíta’št. ‘U’atirá’nnátíhaník ‘axak’áttiv pa’assíp kari pe’númá’ram, kari pataripa’an, vo;pirán-vútíhaník papá’s, ‘aráráva’an,56 karupakahápxa’an, kari pa’ip, pa’vúra kó’kumá’u’p pakáruk vá’u’p. Kin’č’htíhat mit há’tí pakahápxa’an, púva’kiníxú’nnátiha’ra, punanúvá’há’ra.

E. Tcimi nutcuphuruú’úne;ç pakahápxan’uhšípnu’úk

Há’tí va; kahápxa’an takin’č’káruk, víri va; pa’avansa há’tí tó’kyav ‘uhšípnu’úk. ‘A’tcíp takunpíkrú’pvar ‘apxánápma’n’áak.

kind of basketry. And our basketry extends upriver to Happy Camp. But upriver of Happy Camp they have different basketry. The Happy Camp people make our kind of baskets, but some among them make upriver hats. The Happy Camp people, some of them there too weave with twine for hazel sticks, they there also weave with ‘ákxa’p. They are already halfway upriver people.

(HOW OUR KIND OF PEOPLE USED TO TRADE WITH THE UPRIVER PEOPLE AT CLEAR CREEK NEW YEAR CEREMONY)

Each new year ceremony my deceased mother would go to Clear Creek to attend the new year ceremony. She would pack upriver two pack basket loads of bowl baskets and openwork plates, and dipper baskets; she would trade them for blankets, Indian blankets, and upriver hats, and juniper seeds, for all kinds of things, upriver things. They used to give us those upriver hats sometimes, but we did not wear them, it does not look right on us.

(TELLING ABOUT THE UPRIVER HAT TOBACCO BASKET)

Sometimes they give us an upriver hat upriver, and then a man sometimes makes a tobacco basket out of it. They sew the hat

55 Or kumakárúk.
56 They used to make many buckskin blankets upriver.

F. Pahú’t kunkupe’kyá:hití pe-he-rahamáhyá:nnarav kaháp-xá’ñ1 68a


When they are going to sew with sinew, then they soak it for a while. They do not soak it too much either. They soak only as much as they are going to

mouth together in the middle. They cover it with a buckskin strip, and sew it together, with Indian twine they sew it. They do not sew it all up, one end is left open, where they will put the tobacco in. They just stuff a buckskin in on top in the hole. At the other end they put on a piece of buckskin as a patch. They do not put much tobacco in it. It is an old one that they use, that they make into a tobacco basket; it is already an old hat. The patterns can no longer be made out when they use it. It spills out good, whenever they get it out. That is what they like it for: it does not stick [to the basket]. They just tap it [the basket with a stick] and it spills out good. An upriver hat tobacco basket is what they call it.

67 They double a buckskin strip over the edges.
68 Or taffirapu’icvítta:tc.
68a For purposes of study, an “upriver hat” in the national collections was made into a tobacco basket by Imk’anvan. The specimen thus converted is National Museum Spn. No. 19293. Hat collected at McCloud River, Shasta County, California, by Livingston Stone, accessioned July 20, 1876, flat top 4½ inches across, estimated original height, 3½ inches. Dimensions of finished tobacco basket, 10% inches long, 3½ inches wide; opening 1½ inches long, ¾ inch wide; loop 1½ inches long. (See Pl. 26, b, c, d.)

Pataxánnahicite ’upúðaharihita-ha’ak, xas va; ’icvit takuníexá’y-cu’ri. Xas takunívusúús. 59 Xas takuntáxvi.e. Xas takuníxxax. 60 Takunéakikíkki’n. Takunpapputeáyá’tcha’. Xas ’apkúrukkan takunparcerič’ha’, yíttete vúra. Va; vura ko’samáyá’tcás takuníyav pakó’š kunikruppare’t’ěc.


Xas ’icvi tínihyá’tcé takunúppaksur patáffirapu’, pakuníncap’téakḱará’ec po’súrukka’hití ’áp-papka’m, pávo’áffivhe’ec. Va; vura ko; utirihi’i takunúppaksu’, pakó’ po’surúprímahiti’, va; ko; takunússui. Karixás va; takuníncap’téak, ’áp-papakam takuníf-vk’á’. ’Íppámmá’k vura yav takunkúpe’krú’pká’hà.

59 Or takuní-vuxávux. These two verbs have the same meaning. They also sometimes do this to the sinew just before they put it in the water.

60 Or takuníxxaxávára’áa.

to use. If they soak too much, it gets soft, it breaks in two.

After it has soaked a while, they rip a piece off. Then they bend it repeatedly. They clean off the fat or meat. Then they pull off shreds. They run it through the mouth. They chew it good. Then they twist it on the thigh, just one ply. They make it the size they are going to use.

They pinch together the rim of the hat. Both ends are gap- ing. They make a knot in one end of the sinew thread. Then they make a hole through with the boneawl. They poke the thread through. Then they pull the thread through. Then they pass it back to the other (first) side. They do not sew it with top stitch. They keep sewing that way. All the middle part they sew together. They keep moistening it with the mouth when they are sewing with it.

Then they cut a widish piece of buckskin to patch the hole with at one end, where the bottom is going to be. They cut it as wide as the hole is, so wide they cut it. Then they patch it, they put it on one end. Then they sew it on with good sinew.
Then they cut a narrow piece of buckskin, then they sew it in the middle of the hat. They sew it double in the middle. They keep turning it from side to side as they sew it, just as they sewed it before.

One end is open, where they put the tobacco in.

Then they cut a strip of thong. They sew it on looped, with sinew; they fold it on itself in the middle; they sew it on by the mouth. They are going to hang it up with that. Their tobacco outfit, their tobacco receptacles, they never leave them on the floor; they hang everything up, they take good care of them.

With a little cut-off piece of buckskin they stuff the hole. They think it might get damp. They spill it in and they spill it out through there, the tobacco.

With a little cut-off piece of buckskin they stuff the hole. They think it might get damp. They spill it in and they spill it out through there, the tobacco.

(ELK SCROTUM TOBACCO CONTAINER)

And sometimes they just dry an elk scrotum. They put tobacco in it sometimes. They call it an elk testicle tobacco container. First they skin it off whole. Then they dry it, they brace the skin inside, with [cross] sticks, so it will not collapse

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61 Or takunipišxūppať, they cover it with.
62 Lit. it is made a little hole.
63 To make the loop.
64 Or takunipičvečap, they plug it. The plug of a spn. prepared was only 3½" long by 1½" wide. The plug is called kifutcákkař. 
kiqůtvutihara, 'ahuaptunvé-te-
mâ'k. Va; vur ukupé-vaxrá-
ahiti'.

Fâ-t vura va; kunmáhyá-nnâ-
râmti patuváxráha's'k, síkí k'aru
vura sú? kunmáhyá'nñaramti'.
Yôram kíxxumnípa'k takunták-
karâri.

'Ápsun kuyrá:k mit pamuc-
yuxéirixx'o'ón, 'înná:'k mit
'uvarárí'hvát, yô'ram kíxxum-
nípa's'k. Síkk 'umáhyá-nnahiti'.
Sikihmáhyá'nñaramsa mit.

together, with little [cross] sticks. They dry it that way.

They put anything inside, when it is dry, spoons too they put inside. In the corner of the yoram they hang it up.

Old Snake had three elk testicles [i.e. scrotums], they were hanging up in the living house, in the corner of the yoram. Spoons were in them. They were spoon holders.
IX. Pahōt mit va; kunkupāpe-h-vāpirovahitihat pehērāha'

When a person has lots of food, when he knows that he can not use it all up, then he sells some; they buy it from him. It is the woman that they buy the food from. They tell one: "No; buy it from the woman in the living house." Then one buys it from that woman in the living house. She always counts how many storage baskets of food there is. Sometimes the man does not know how much food he has.

But the man is the one that sells smoking tobacco; they buy it from the man. He measures the tobacco with a basket hat. They pay him a pirovāva dentalium for a hat full of tobacco. They figure it that way. And for half a basket full they pay a kuynā'-kkite karu kunōrihi'.

When a person has lots of food, when he knows that he can not use it all up, then he sells some; they buy it from him. It is the woman that they buy the food from. They tell one: "No; buy it from the woman in the living house." Then one buys it from that woman in the living house. She always counts how many storage baskets of food there is. Sometimes the man does not know how much food he has.

But the man is the one that sells smoking tobacco; they buy it from the man. He measures the tobacco with a basket hat. They pay him a pirovāva dentalium for a hat full of tobacco. They figure it that way. And for half a basket full they pay a kuynā'-kkite dentalium.

The woman is the one that they buy the food from, but the money she only touches; she gives it to her husband. The man takes care of money; the woman does not take care of money; the man is the one who has his money basket setting there, on the yoram bench. A woman seldom goes around the yoram bench, around the bench above the yoram. What they use for making a dress, abalone, clam, flint pendants, juniper seeds, bull-pine nuts,
'Avansa 'u: m va; púxus 'é-óti-hárá, 'asiktáva:n 'u: m va; xus 'u'é-óti', pa'asiktavawnú:p.

Pa'ávaha takunikváriccahá'sk, pécpuk pava; takunikváriccara-
thá'sk, 'úvüyiti 'úvrik'apú1 pécpuk. Va; kunkupé-óvúyánnahiti 'úvrik'apu'ícpuk, pa'ávaha-
ótahá pécpuk. Takunpí:p: "Va; páyk'uk pa'atcvik'ampikyas 
'úvrik'apu', va; pay paflárx 'úvrik'apu'."

Papuvúra fá't xútihaphá'sk kiri nuófíc, va; takunpí:p: "U'mkun púxay ára; r 'úvrikhtahá'."

1. Pámitva pakó-ó'tahitihat pehé-raha'

'Ápxa:n 'axyar pehé-raha kyu-
ñá'kkítük'á'íru 2 'u'ó'tahiti', karu hári para'mvaraká:mmúthahá.3
Vúra va; kunfínnati pa'apxán-
'ànammahate papihntítcícas pa-
kunsuprávarati pehé-raha. Tcí-
mítc vura 'uyá'ñiti pa'ápxa'n, púkutcá:ktiháp, xutnahite vúra kunikyá-ttíi'.

A hat full of tobacco is worth a
third-size dentalium, or a full-
size woodpecker scalp. The old
men keep a small-sized hat for
measuring tobacco. The hat does
not hold much, they do not press
it down, they just put it in there
loose.

1 Cp. 'ip ni'ú-sipre'et, I picked it up.
2 Third-size dentalium, sometimes called kuynakitek'á'iruh'arák-
ka's, old man third-size dentalium.
3 Full size woodpecker head, lit. one in which the scarlet reaches
the bill. The kinds with smaller scarlet, from the male birds, are
called 'icvítta:tc.
X. Pahút kunkupe-hērāhiti'

1. Po-hrām

A. Payiθo'ua kō'k mit kunika-

'ūhra'sm

Va; vura kité kō'ka'ahup-

'ūhra'm mit kunika'āttihat xavic-

'ūhra'sm,1 karu faḵip'ūhra'sm,2 karu xupari'ūhra'sm.3 Xavic-

'ūhra'm karu faḵip'ūhra'm va; kité kunic vura kō'k mit pakunik-

yāttihat. Xupari'ūhra'm yurukvā-ta-

'ūhramikya. Púmit vúra va;

'īkyā-ttiaphat puxxī'te pānu;

kuma'ārātas, va; vura kunic 'umūsahiti pafatip'ūhra'sm. Kuna vura paxuskāmhar va; mit kité kunic kunika'āttihat paxupāri'te.

Papi'ēp va;'ūhramsahanik va;

vura kitchanik xavic'ūhra'sm, va;

vura kō' kité pamukun'ūhra'm-

hanik pe'xarēyav papikvah va;

pamūttittimti'. Va; vura yúxas 4 su; xēttctic

pamūssu't, pavura xāvic uku-

pitti', kúna vura púmit vura va;

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1 Xāvic, Arrowwood, Mock Orange, *Philadelphus lewissii* Pursh var. *gordonianus* Jepson.
2 Fāši't'e, the wood of any one of the four species of manzanita occurring in or near the Karuk country. The wood of any of these species could be used indifferently for making a pipe.
3 Xupāri'te, Western Yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt.
4 Yúxas, Blue Elder, *Sambucus glauca* Nutt.

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(TOBACCO SMOKING)

(THE PIPES)

(The different kinds of pipes that there used to be)3a

The only kinds of wooden pipes they used to make were of arrow-

wood, manzanita, and yew. The kinds they made most were of

arrowwood and manzanita.

The yew pipe is a downriver Indian make. Our people did not

make it much. It looks like the

manzanita pipe. But they [our people] made more bows of the

yew wood.

But the old style of pipe is the

arrowwood pipe alone, that was the

only kind the Ikxareyavs used to use according to what we hear

in the myths.

Elder is soft-pithed, like arrow-

wood is, but they never made

pipes of it. They were afraid of

135
elder, they said it was poison wood.

Some wooden pipes no matter of which kind of wood they were made were provided with stone bowls and some were without stone bowls. Even big pipes were bowlless sometimes. Lots of the men did not have any stone bowl on their pipes. Those were the poor people’s pipes, the ones that had no stone bowls.

And some people had stone pipes, the whole pipe of stone.

After the white people came, there were lots of tools. Then the Indians worked everything different. They started in then to make all kinds of pipes. They made some like white men’s pipes. They were funny looking pipes that they made.5

5 Pl. 27, d, shows Nat. Mus. specimen No. 278473, apparently collected at the Hupa Reservation, which is declared by Imk’ënanvan to be a typical pipe carved out by the Indians in imitation of a White man’s pipe. She even said that she suspected the soldiers at Hupa had whittled out such a pipe, and not Indians at all. To show how totally unfamiliar Imk’ënanvan was with northern California all-wood pipes of a kind not made by the Karuk-Yuruk-Hupa, with very slender stem and a portion suddenly becoming much thicker at the bowl end, she declared that the pipes of this type shown in Powers’ Fig. 43 (reproduced as our Pl. 29), from McCloud River, Feather River, and Potter Valley, are also freak pipes, made by Hupas “mocking” the White man pipes.
Long ago there was lots of arrowwood at Katimin rancheria. That was why there was lots of it, because the Ikxareyavs were making flint pointed arrows, and wooden pointed arrows, and Indian cards, and shinny sticks, and shiny tassels, and whistles too they were making, and comb sticks too they were making of arrowwood, and they were making arrowwood pipes too, white ones. It was the arrowwood pipe that they had in story times.

Once we met old Squirrel Jim at Three Dollar Bar Creek, people used to travel through there on horseback, coming from Sawyer's Bar, they used to travel through there, now they do so no longer, they do not travel through there any longer. Then he said: "I am glad to see you folks. I took a smoke a short distance upcreek, and then I lost my pipe." "All right, we will look for it." Then

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5a See Pl. 27, a, c, e.
6 There was xàvic on the Ishipishrihak side, too.
7 Indians cards were also less frequently made of pihúri.
8 Whistles of arrowwood were made for children, and were also used in the war dance, brush dance, and deerskin dance.
9 A stick of arrowwood a foot or more long, used by the men for dressing the hair after bathing, also used ceremonially in the new year ceremony.
10 Or mà·súkàm. Referring to up the Salmon River and its tributaries.
as he passed us, he said: "A little Indian pipe." He was afraid people would think it was a White man pipe.

(HOW THEY MAKE AN ARROWWOOD PIPE)\(^{11a}\)

They hunt for where there is an arrowwood bush standing, where there is one that ought to be good. There were lots of arrowwood trees close to the rancheria [of Katimin]. Sometimes they see upslope a good one for a pipe, and then they say: "There is a good one standing there, good for a pipe, a straight one [bush], one good for making a pipe is standing there."

When they are going to make an arrowwood pipe, they cut off a piece of the green arrowwood. Some sticks are not good for making a pipe, they are widish [not round]. They make the cut where it is swollen [where twiglets branch off], so it will not be swollen in the body of the pipe. They cut the arrowwood at any time. They are good ones, do not crack, when they make them in the fall; the tree is then dry inside.

\(^{11}\) He chanted the word, holding the vowel of the penult very long.

\(^{11a}\) For arrowwood pipes in various stages of making and also 4 finished pipes (only the third pipe from the right-hand end is of manzanita) see Pl. 30.

\(^{12}\) The arrowwood used for pipes is from \(\frac{3}{4}\) inch to 2 inches in diameter, the pith channel is \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch to \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch in diameter. Practically all pieces are straight enough to produce a straight pipe when dressed off, and although the pith channel is often far to one side of the center, the pipe can be centered about it in the dressing.
They first make hole where the tobacco is going to be, on top of the pipe. It is soft when they make the hole. They dig out the bowl end of the pipe, just as they dig out an arrow, the tip end of an arrow, where they stick the foreshaft in. They also work it outside, they work it to the shape of the pipe, while it is still soft. One ought to whittle it off slow. It is not good to cut it too much in one place. The hole might get spoiled. They might cut into the hole; sometimes the hole is to one side. It is good to whittle it as it is being revolved. One pipe makes lots of whittlings.

The hole is not always in the middle, in the middle of the stick; sometimes the hole is to one side. It makes no difference if the hole is not in the center, they watch where the hole is going to come.

Then they dry it, a little back (from the fireplace), not where it is so hot. They dry it there above the fireplace, inside the living house. It is not good to dry it in the sun either, it cracks. They dry it there above the fireplace inside the living house; they hang it up. It must dry slowly. They do that way so

13a Or 'u'i-ôre'ei'ak.
14 See Pl. 33, a, for dug-out shaft tip of Karuk arrowwood arrow ready to receive foreshaft.
15 Or pamûssu'âf, its pith.
16 Since the stone pipe bowl conceals the centering or noncentering of the big end of the pipe about the pith cavity, the Karuk are not careful about that end; and they are also careless about centering the mouth end about the hole, some pipes having the hole to one side.
kārāñi. Teka'ít-te po'vāxrá-h'ti'. Vā' kunkupé'kyá-hiti va 'u'um pu'imtcúntiñhārā,17 va 'u'um sakrīv'hē'ec. Patō'ntmeurahàk, pakunikyátiñhā'ak, takunpi p: 'Tó'máxáxa'ay.18

Hāt manva vura kumá'íi'ihanik papu'ikmahátera'xmin suvāxrá-h'tihaphanik paxavic'úhra'm. Vura-hāt manva vura kumá'íi'ihanik 'ínná' kité kunsuvāxrá-h'tihaník. Pakunñihar 'u'um vura nik hāri 'ikmahátera'xmin kunsuvāxrá-h'tihaník, pā mit vura haríxay nam-máhat 'ikmahátera'xmin kunsuvāxrá-h'ti' pa'uhramśkýay, vůra mit 'ínná' kité kunsuvāxrá-h'ti ha'ikrivá'm'mak.
Paxavic 'u'um vůra pupáram-vûtíhâp. Punaítítímitihara xāvic kunpáramvúti', kunsuvāxrá-h'tihát mit vůra kité 'ínná'ak. Pafaśip'úhra'm vůra kité pakunpáramvúti'.

Po'hrəmik'vak xā'it vůra hari vora kunikyay va' vur 'umtcúri're'ec, pavúr umtcúre'caha'ak. Hārì vura pu'imtcúntiñhāra, xā't kāru su? ásxa'ay, xā'it karu xáttik-rúmpa'. Hārì'āvahkam 'u'aramsíprīviti pè'mtèur, karu hārì su?kam 'u'aramsíprīviti. Patcé'mya'te vura yâv takunpe'kyáßíppi-re'ha'ak, karu patcë'mya'te takuntárukkanñhāk po'hramíppān, pakari'ásxa'ay, va 'u'um pu'íffyé-mtécünthiñhara, va 'u'um kāri pa-mu'áhup xútnahite, va 'u'um yâv 'ukupe'vaxráhahiti'. Vā' 'u'um yâ'hamukate pakāri 'ásxa'ay, va 'u'um yâ'hamukatekýay, karu vu-rə va 'u'um pu'imtcúntiñhāra.

It will not crack, so it will be hard. When it cracks when they are making it, they say: "It is cracked open." It was funny that they did not dry the arrowwood pipes in the sweathouse. It was funny that they always used to dry them in the living house. The arrows they sometimes used to dry in the sweathouse. But I never saw them drying a pipe that they were making in the sweathouse; they just dried them inside, in the living house.

The arrowwood they did not boil. I never heard that they boiled arrowwood, they just dried it in the house. But the manzana they boiled.

Pipes in the making will crack, if they are destined to crack, at no matter what season the wood is gathered. Sometimes they do not crack although full of sap and in the springtime. They start to crack both from the outside and from the pith channel. If dressed at once to the shape of the pipe and if bowl cavity is dug out at once, while still green, it will not be so likely to crack, for its wood is then thinner and it dries evenly. It is easy when it is still green, easy to work, and that way it does not crack either. Sometimes they used to rub on grease on the outside of the pipe

17 Or pu'imxáxa'rátihārā.
18 This is the verb also regularly used of a finished pipe cracking.
Há'ri 'aθkú'rit kuniyvúrkti po-hramikyav'ávahka'm, va: 'ụm pu'íváxra'htihara pamu'íccaha su?, teka'tte kunic 'uVáxra'htí', va: 'ụm pu'ímtcú'ntíha'ra. Há'ri vúra va mit vúra kunikyá-tihat pamukun'úhra*m, picyavpíe'ụm pakaniyá*te, va: 'ụm kar iváxra pa'áhúp, karu vura pu'ímtcáxha'-ra. Há'ri vur xavin'íváxra pa-
kunikyá-tatihanik, va: vura yáv-
ha'ník, pu'ímtcú'ntíha'ra, va: 'ụm sákri'y vura kitchanik pé'kyav, sakrivikyavha'ník. Va: vura ta-
kunpipá'ntcür po'hramikyav pa-
takunmáha'k tó'ntcůt, há'ri vura pupipá'ntcúratihanap, va: ká'ụm vura takun'ntcůt, kari yíθ kúna takun-
plkyav.

Kó-mahite kunsuváxrá'htí po-
hramikyav 'ahiram'ávahka'm va: 'ụm ya'mahukate 'ǐkú'trá'ụn.
Fá't vúra va kuma'áhúpmá'k 20 kunikfutrá@unati', 'āssamú'k ku-
niktvárá-ti', xákkarari vura kun-
'arávú-k'tí'.

Karu há'ri 'íppihmú'k kuník-
frá@unati po'hra'msúrvv'ar. 'I-
píshí:hmu'k, 'ǐkfrá@unára-
that they were making, so its
juice would not dry in it, and
the drying would be slow, so that
it would not crack. Pipes were
made at all seasons of the year,
but the fall was the proper time,
for at that time the wood was
dry and the weather was not
hot. Sometimes they made pipes
out of dry arrowwood. They
were good ones, they did not
Crack. The only trouble was
that they were hard to make,
difficult to make. A pipe in the
making they threw away when
it was found to be cracked.
Sometimes they did not even
take the trouble to throw it
away, they just let it lie where it
was, and started to make another
one. They dry the pipe they are
making a little above the fire-
place so that it will ram out
easier.

They ram it out with any kind
of a stick; they hammer it [the
stick], chisel fashion, they work
it from both ends.

And sometimes they ram out
the hole in the pipe with a bone.
With a bone awl, a rammer, they
ram it out. They use a cannon

19 Their "pipe work."

20 Often with a sáîip, a hazel stick prepared for use in basketry.
The pith is so soft that it can easily be removed with a toothpick.
Sometimes the pith is so loose that air can be sucked through it while
still intact in the piece of wood cut to the length of the pipe. While
the Indians speak of it as being rammed out, it is really dug out as well
as rammed out. The Karuk never heard of splitting a pipe tube
longitudinally, removing the pith or otherwise making a channel and
then gluing the halves together again, as is practiced by the Ojibway
in making their pipe stems.

63044°—32——12
bone, a deer's leg [bone], they first file the bone off, they make its point long, they make it slender, they file it off with a rock. Then they ram it out, coming from both ends, the pipe is just what they call it.

(A SALMON-GRUB EATS THROUGH THE ARROWWOOD PIPE HOLE)

(THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SALMON BEETLE AND WORM)

And sometimes they bore out the hole in the pipe with a salmon worm.

When they catch salmon, in summer, in a few days it is full of bugs, if it is in an old living house. They live in the dried salmon, and in the salmon meal too they live, and they eat dried deer meat too, and they live in old untanned deerskins too.

The salmon worms are longish ones, the salmon beetles are short ones. In the summertime there are lots of them, in the warm time, eating on the salmon.
The salmon worms are the salmon beetle's children. There are all sizes of them. The salmon beetle lays eggs on the salmon, little eggs, lots of them. The salmon worms hatch out. Soon there are lots of the worms. Quickly they grow big. Then they hatch out again, they turn into salmon beetles. Then they lay eggs again.

They live all the year on the salmon. Sometimes we eat some of them, like we do grasshoppers. When we peel the skin off, then we see the bugs crawling out. When we clean the salmon, we take it outdoors, then we brush it off with a bundle of hazel sticks, then they fall on the ground, and that is where they perish.

There are six kinds of salmon eaters, there are six kinds that eat dried salmon: there are three kinds of salmon beetle and three kinds of salmon worm. And we make seven, we Indians we are salmon eaters too.

22 The kinds of beetles and grubs described by the Indians have been quite satisfactorily identified.

Efforts to obtain a specimen of either adult or larva of the small bluish black beetle described respectively as the only pássay and 'amvavákkay which were found in the dried salmon before the Whites came, have not been successful. According to Dr. A. G. Boving, of the Division of Insects, U. S. National Museum, it is probably Necrobia mesosternalis Schiffer, which is native to America and reported from Arizona, a species closely resembling in appearance of both adult and larva and in habits the common cosmopolitan Necrobia rufipes DeGeer, which has been introduced into America from Europe. The color of the adult is bluish black, and it is smaller than the adults of Dermestes vulpinus and Dermestes lardarius, which is exactly what the Karuk state. The larva is reddish (according
There are three kinds of salmon beetle already:

One kind of salmon beetle is little, black bluish ones. This is the old-time salmon beetle.

Another kind of salmon beetles are larger, they are black, they are black all over.

to Dr. Boving, more precisely reddish blue or brownish blue) and not very hairy, which agrees with the Indian description of the original pipe-boring worm, listed first in the text, and indicates that the first-listed beetle and worm were adult and young of Necrobia. The larvae of Necrobia species live in carcasses, meaty or greasy refuse of all kinds, hides, old clothing, rags, or shoes. While making galleries is not the regular habit of this larva, it is capable of making holes and galleries. A Necrobia larva confined in a bottle by Dr. Boving ate its way through the cork. The Necrobia larvae are also well fitted for making galleries since they are practically hairless. Dermestes larvae on the other hand live in soft material and are quite hairy.

The second and third kinds of beetle enumerated in the text have been identified respectively Dermestes vulpinus Fabr. (black all over) and Dermestes lardarius Linn. (black with the foremost part of the wing-covers yellowish gray). These are both Old World species, now cosmopolitan, and introduced into America by the Whites. They are species occurring in the salmon and seen about the houses of the Karuk at the present time. The worm listed second in the text is the larva of either of these species, the appearance being almost identical. It is interesting that the older Karuk still remember that these are not the old-time kind.

The worm listed last in the text, occurring only in actively rotting salmon, and white in color, is the maggot of fly species.

The boring habits of another Dermestes species, D. nidum, are of interest in this connection. D. nidum lives in the nests of herons from Massachusetts to Texas and eats fish refuse. The larva of this species when about to enter the pupa stage, bores into the heartwood at the broken off end of a twig to a depth of an inch or more (precisely after the manner of Karuk pipe boring), sheds its skin to plug the entrance of the hole, the hair sticking backward to block any intruder, and when the beetle hatches out it is strong enough to back out, ejecting the skin. (Information about habits of D. nidum furnished by W. S. Fisher, Division of Insects, U. S. National Museum.)
About that same size there is another salmon beetle, only it looks different. They are big ones too, striped across the middle.

There are three kinds of salmon worm too:

One kind of the worms has little hair on. They are very red, they are kind of grayish red ones. In a greasy wooden cupboard they live too. They smell the grease. They eat wood or anything if when it only has grease on it, they eat it. And whenever we pick up an old rag, they are living in it too. That is the old-time salmon worm. That is the tobacco pipe borer, is the salmon worm. Because they heard in the stories that they were using it, that salmon worm, that is why they use it. It eats out the pipe pith.

Another kind of the worms are hairy ones, big ones. They did not use to be here long ago. Now there are lots of them.

Then there is another kind of salmon worms that are white ones, little ones, they eat the rotten salmon, whenever that dry salmon gets rotten, then they eat it.
When the pipe is dry, they spill salmon grease into the hole that has been dug in the pipe. They stand it up on end. Then they watch it. The grease soaks in slowly. Then they see that the grease has dried, the grease has already soaked in.

Then when it gets dry, that grease, then they look for a salmon worm; then they look for the worm there on the dry salmon. There always are lots of them on the backbone, on the backbone meat. Then they put it in, in the pipe. It is a medium-sized worm that they put in. Then with pitch they shut it up. Then they hang it up with twine. It eats its way through.

Then after it has hung for a long time, then all at once they see that the pipe has been bored through. Behold, he has eaten along the pith channel of the unfinished pipe. Then they fix the pipe.

They do not do it with the worm all the time. A man puts it in there just because he wants to brag over his pipe. And sometimes the worm does not do the work, sometimes it gets suffocated. The way that they usually do is to ram it out.
First they make the outside shape of the pipe and dig out the bowl, then they dry it. Then they are slow about finishing up the pipe. They ram it out. Slowly they scrape off the outside with white rock. Then they rub it for a long time with a rock, and at last with scouring rush.

(Arrowwood Pipe Shines)

Arrowwood shines, they quickly polish it. It is white too. It looks pretty when an arrowwood pipe is bowled with a black pipe bowl. It looks white.

(The Manzanita Pipe)

They make pipes of manzanita, too. They are red ones, the manzanita pipes. They use manzanita for lots of things, make spoons, and canes, and acorn-soup scraping sticks, and reels for string.

(How They Start to Make a Manzanita Pipe)

When a man thinks he wants to make a manzanita pipe, he starts off, he goes to look for manzanita. Behold, when he finds some, then he cuts a piece off, a thick piece, they are slow about finishing up the pipe)

25 The informant is grouping both the ramming and the worm-boring processes under the term "ramming."

26 A chip of this rock was used for many purposes as a knife.

26a See Pl. 27, b, and Pl. 30, third specimen from right-hand end.
The piece of manzanita used for making a pipe must have double the diameter of the large end of the pipe, if the principle of eliminating the heartwood is followed, as Yas always does. Since the largest manzanita pipes, of what is called Yuruk style, are sometimes 2 inches in diameter at the bowl end, a piece of manzanita some 4 inches in diameter is required. Such large pieces are familiar to the Indians, since they are used in making manzanita spoons.

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28 Or 'umtcū̃nti', it always gets cracked.
d'. Pahú't kunkupattárupkahiti po'hramíppañ

Karixas po'namíppanítc takunktárupkuñ, pehê-ráh u'írë-cí-řák. Taxaravé'tta kunkímnú'p-hanìk.

e'. Pahú't kunkupe'kyá'hiti pamussáruvár

Xas pamusúruvar takuníkyañ. Paffáí:p 'u'ìm vura pusúrvára-hitihaña, puvá: kupítthiha pax-xávic ukupítti'.

Payém 'u'ìm vura 'á'hmûk takuníkrúpri'mnátì', sìmsímímpíraamû'k.

Payé'mminay puxúthiap kiri nûkyav fa'ip'uhramxarárasa', pasímsímímpíra takuní'yû'nvárà-hâ'sk, viri hitíhá'ñ vura 'úmcé'nvuti'.

Taxaravé' ttak 'a'h kunhá'nmkuri-vutihani't 'uhramíppánkam xun-yé'pímnakmû'k, karíxas 'iphi-sí'hmûk kunkrú'pri'mnatihañik, pûyava: vura puyívuhara su?

'f'. Pahú't 'ávañkan kunkupata-xícixícacahi'tì, xú'skúnic kunkupe'kyá'hiti k'áru vúra

Karíxas yuhriamû'k 'ávañkam kuntá'vuti', karíxas 'ásamû'k takuní'mímk'utík'útáyá'tchá',31 kohomayá'tc vúra takuníkyañ. Takuntaxexá'crúcuk 'uhnamíppanítc pámitva 'á'hmû'k kunkímnú'ppañ.'

Sak?assip'ítcúntcur mit pux-xítc 'ukyá'rátíhat Váškak pasíkki', paffáí:pháhpíkk ukyá'tíhat, vá: mit 'ávañkam 'utaxícxícacarahíthat, sìmsì'm 'u'ìm púmit 'ih-

(How they dig out the bowl cavity)

Then they dig out on top of the pipe, where the tobacco is going to be. They used to burn it out.

(How they make the hole through it)

Then they make the hole. The manzanita wood does not have a hole in it like the arrowwood does.

Now they make the hole in it with fire, with a hot wire.

Nowadays they do not like to make long manzanita pipes, just because when they burn them through with a hot wire, they crack every time.

Formerly they burned out the bowl with a tanbark coal, then they bored it with a bone awl; that way it is not far through.

(How they dress off the outside and make it smooth)

Then with a flint knife they whittle off the outside, then they scrape it off good with a rock, they make it to shape. They scrape the bowl where they have burned it out.

Bottle fragments were what Váškak worked them with most, when he made his spoons, his manzanita wood spoons. With them he scraped the outside of

31 Or takuntaxícxícáyá'tchá'.
them. He did not use a knife on the outside. When he first made them was the only time he used a knife. He said: "The bottle fragments are good ones, are sharp ones." And Yas also used to use bottles, when he used to make his pipes, used to make lots of pipes.

Then they smoothe the outside with a scouring rush.

32 'Asó-hra'"m, lit. stone pipe, is frequently prepounded to 'ikk've't or pipe bowl, to make more prominent the idea of stone pipe bowl, although 'ikk've't means nothing but stone pipe bowl anyway. Similarly 'aso-ram'uhra'"m, lit. stone pipe pipe, is formed, it being felt as a clearer way of expressing stone pipe than is 'asó-hra'"m alone, since 'asó-hra'"m is also the name of a magical worm that eats people in the head.

33 See p. 154.

34 "What is apparently a portion of a pipe wholly of stone was picked up on the surface near Honolulu, on the Klamath River. (Fig. 69.) It is, however, different from the type of pipe used by the Shasta, and was regarded by them as mysterious, and probably endowed with great magic power. It is nicely finished on the exterior." Dixon, The Shasta, p. 392. Several Karuk and also Shasta informants have known that all-stone pipes were made by the Indians. They were doctor pipes, hence the connotation of mystery suggested by Dixon's informants.
say: "The pipe is bowled with an 'asó-hra'm." And sometimes they call it an 'asó-hra'm pipe-bowl.

There is a kind of worm too called 'asó-hra'm, they eat people, they eat them inside the head, the doctors always suck them out, the big doctors. Sometimes they do not like to call a stone pipe or a stone pipe bowl 'asó-hra'm just because of those worms, those pains.

(Stone Pipe Bowls)

Manzanita was not the only kind that they put stone pipe bowls onto, the arrowwood also they fitted with stone pipe bowls.

The poor people's pipes had no stone bowl, they were just wood. Pieces quickly come off, it burns through inside, a gap burns out at the top rim, the tobacco spills.

But the good pipe is bowled with serpentine. It is much work when a pipe has a stone bowl on it.

The good bowls are the fat-like rock kind of bowls.

(The Rock at Katimin Called 'Ik'ó'tá'as (Pipe Bowl Rock))

There is only one rock of the kind at Katimin. It is called the Pipe Bowl Rock. It is setting out in the river, out from Round


d. Pahû:t kunkupe’knansûro-hiti’


Rock. On the Katimin side out in the water it is setting. All the sacred things are on the Katimin side, on the Ishipishrihak side there is nothing. The Indians used to come from far to peck off that rock.

(THË:IKXAREYAVS THREW DOWN THE GOOD ROCK)

They threw it out in the river, that big black steatite rock, they said: “Humans will be pecking it off. Would that Human will have to work hard before he will have a good pipe.” That was the Ikxareyavs’ rock, they say, the Ikxareyavs too made their pipe bowls there of that same rock. For a long time they did not want the white people to buy that kind of rock, a pipe bowled with bowl rock of that place. He might pack it far away, and that then the world would come to an end, the Ikxareyavs would get angry, because they had packed away that pipe bowl. They did not use to sell it.

(HOW THEY PECK IT OFF)

They swim to that rock when they are going to peck off a pipe bowl, when they are going to make a pipe. And sometimes in a canoe they go to that rock.

They find a good place to peck it off. Then they peck it around in a circle, leaving it sticking up in the middle. For a long time he pecks around it. Then all at once they peck it off, they peck
nupnamtihatchan va; takunik- naïnsur. Xas tō'pētctip pa'as, pa'pa tō'knā'nsūrat. Karixas tupikpū'vīpa", puwxqite vura 'ua'axytčākkkerihti pa'as, 'uxxūiti xay 'u;9 'úkyīmku'ar. Xas tō-pvā'ram, mukri'ā;̣ m xas tō'kyav pe'kkv'or.

e. Pa'as Ka'timǐ'n pakunǐppěnti 'Asaxús'as36a

Hātį va; kunkupě'vīyā'nnā-hiti 'asáxxu"s,37 karu hā-rī kunipitti 'asámtu"p.38 Ka'timǐ'n 'ičkēcti;m, ka'timǐ'nsā'm, kā'kkum va; kō'kā"s, 'asáxxu"s. Va; kā'n yiθ̣a 'asakka;m 'ukri; 'asaxús'as 'tōnu'yti'. Va; vura hā-rī kunikyā'rat ikv'or, xō'ttcite 'una vūra. Pirick'ūnic su? 'u'ixāx-pi'vā'. 'Imtanānnihiite vura pakunikraksūrō-tihānik 'āvah-kām. Puyāv'hara 'uhramnįkya'v, tčę'mya'te 'umpätte'c pa'umfira-hā'k.

Pāmitva 'apxantinnihite pakuniyihukkāt, va; mit pa'ārä;va; kunkikyą'vana; ti pa'ührā'm, va; pa'asaxxětcti'c, kā'kkum vāta-mas karu kā'kkum 'ipců'nkina-tכās. Va; kūmā'i'i pakunikyą'vana-ti pakinikvāricė pa'apxan-tinnihite 'i"n. Xūsipux kumá-hti pa'apxantinnihite. Pu-yē'pédka'gšāhārā, vūra 'u;m xō'ttcite. Yiθ̣a po'hrā'm hā-rī 'itrāhyar takin'ęs'.

'İcya; vūra nukyą'vana;ti', 'uhrā'm, karu vura sīmsi'1'm, off the piece that is sticking up in the middle. Then he takes the rock that he has pecked off. Then he swims out, he holds the rock very tight, he is afraid it might fall in the river. Then he goes home. He makes the pipe bowl at his living house.

(The rock at Katimin called 'asaxús'as (soft soapstone rock))

Sometimes they call it 'asáxxu"s, and sometimes they say 'asāmtu"p. At Katimin by the river, downslope from Katimin, there are some rocks of that kind, 'asáxxu"s. There is one big rock there that they call 'asaxús'as. They sometimes make pipe bowls of it, but it is soft. It is greenish streaked inside. It is visible where they were cracking it off on top. It is not much good for making pipes, it will soon crack when it gets hot.

After the White people came the Indians made pipes of that soft rock, some long ones and some short ones. That was what they were making them for just so the White people would buy it from them. They were just fooling the White people. They [the stone pipes] were not very good, they were soft ones. Sometimes they paid them $10 for one pipe.

In the wintertime we were making pipes, and knives, all

36a For picture of this rock and close-up of a section of the top of it where pieces have been pecked out, see Pl. 32, a, b.
37 Mg. shiny rock.
38 Mg. rock white clay.
kó-vúra pakumá'u"p, pa'ara-rá'u"p, kári tu'áhu; pa'apxantín-nihíte,39 pe'kvára"n, xáttikrúp-má kári tu'áhu". 'U'a-púnumutí va; kar uxuríráhíti pa'ára"t.

f. Va; karu ká:n 'u'asáxxú'shiti
Sihtirikusám
Há'tí Sihtirikusám pa'as kunik-
ansúrótihánik pe'k'ó-té-kyáv, há'tí k'ará kuné-tei-prinatihánik.
Va; ká:n karu vura pe'k'ótá's
kunikýáttihánik Sihtirikusám.
'Axaxusýa'mmatecasíte Sihtirikus-
ám, kuna vura xé-teícás 40 Xé-
teícás 'ú'm pe'kk'ó't vá; vé-k
ya', páva'múk vé-kyáv 'ik-
k'ót xé-teícás, pataprihara'as
'ú'm vura ni kunikyá'vič, va;
kó'k pakunikyáttihánik va; kán, 'innícrav karu vura ni kunikyá'vič va; kumá'as kuna vura xé-
teícás.41

g. Pahú't kunkupe'kyá'hi'ti pe'k-
k'ó't 41a
Picci;p 'as vura mú'k pakunik-
yá-ttihánik. Tú'ppitecas vura ku-
niknansúmnó'ttihatchánik.42 'Ás-
sak 'a' xas kunímýáttihánik, kunímýé'erí-hvutihánik. 'Ávah-
kam picci;p yav kunikyáttihánik
vura va; pupikya'náyá'tchitiha-
hánik, papúva süruvárahíti'á'k
puxutnahíte 'ikyáttihánik.
Patasú? 'usúrvárahíti'á'k,

kinds of things, Indian things, then the White man, who bought things, came around, in the spring of the year. He knew the Indians were hard up.

(THERE IS SOFT SOAPSTONE AT
SIHTIRIKUSAM, TOO)

And sometimes at Sihtirikusam they used to peck off rock for making pipe bowls or picked it up. They used to “make” pipe bowl rocks at Sihtirikusam too. Those are good looking soapstone rocks at Sihtirikusam, but soft, for making pipe bowls of, but they make indeed paving rocks there, that was the kind that they used to make there, and stone trays also they make out of that rock, but soft ones.

(HOW THEY SHAPE THE PIPE BOWL)

They worked it first with a rock. They chipped off little pieces. They rub it on a flat rock. They rub it down. They make it good outside first. They did not finish it up so good while there was no hole in it. They did not make it thin. When it already had a hole in it, then they fixed it good. They made

39 John Daggett, who lived up the Salmon River at Black Bear mine, and collected many ethnological objects from the Indians in the nineties.
40 Or xé-teícás 'úma vúra.
41 Or xé-teícás pa'as.
41a For illustration of two detached pipe bowls, both of 'asáxxú'as, see Pl. 32, c.
42 Or non-diminutive kuniknansúrótihánik.
karixaskohahay'tc takunikyā'ni-nik. 'Ippanī'tc kē'tc, tinihyā'tc va; pakunkupē'kyā'hitihanik, suś'kam 'uhya'àkkivti 43 va; kun-kupe'kyā'hitihanik, pakā'yi su; uhyārammihe'c 'uhrā'm'mak. Tī'm kō'vūra kunëmyā'ā'tchitihanik, 44 ś'ppāyav kunikyā'ttihanik, xū'skūnic kunikyā'ttihanik. Karixas vē'heūramū'k pakunik-rūpīmnatihanik pe'kk'ōr. Hā'ri sāhyu'x kummuṭra'mnih-vutihanik, va; u'm te'c'mya'tc kunikrū'prinatihanik. Sā-kāru vura pakunhrū'vtihanik passūruvar kunikrū'prinaratihanik. Pīcei;p va; kuntuarkti pa-ippanka'ni karixas suś'kam takunikyav pasūnuvānate. Va; vura 'itec'nite vura kō'vūra kunikyā'ttihanik, 'āvahkam karu vū-ra, karu vura suś'kam. Suś'kam karu vura tinihyā'te kunikyā'ttihanik.

b. Hā'ri 'itec'nite vura tēc'te takunikya'v

Hā'ri 'itec'nite vura tēc'te takunikyav pe'kk'ōr, hā'ri 'ite-rō'p, 'i-nnā'k vū utā'yhi'ī'.

i. Pahū't kunkupāṭhā'nakahiti pe'kk'yōr po'hrā'm'mak

Po'hrā'm u'm pupikyā'žā-yā'tchitihanap 45 pe'kk'yōr takun-thā'nakahā'k. Po'hrā'm kohomaya'tc takunikyav, pe'kk'yōr kō'h. Xas va; kōž takunōmyav pa'as, po'hrā'm kō'h. 'Āvahkam takunīptā-vassūr po'hrā'm. Va; vura po'hrā'm kō'kkāninay takunuv-

it big, flat on top, and sticking off below, where it is going to go into the pipe. They filed the sides off good, they made them straight and smooth. Then with a knife they bored out the pipe bowl. Sometimes they put sand in, that way they bored it quickly. They also used flint for boring the hole with. They first bore it on top, then they make the little hole in the bottom. They work the outside and the inside at the same time. They made the bottom flat, too.

(SOMETIMES THEY MAKE SEVERAL AT A TIME)

Sometimes they make several pipe bowls at a time, sometimes five; they store them in the living house.

(HOW THEY FIT THE PIPE BOWL ON THE PIPE)

They always have the pipe only half finished when they put the pipe bowl on. They make the pipe the same size as the bowl. And they file the stone to the same size as the pipe. They plane the pipe off on top. They cut the pipe in every place how

43 Or 'uhyaśurusu''.
44 Or diminutive kunëmyā'ā'tchitihanik.
45 Or pupikyā'ratihanap.
they are going to put the rock on. If it does not fit, they scrape the wood off again, and they measure it again. Every once in a while they put it back again on top of the pipe bowl; they try it on to see if it is right. They make it just the right size. They make it even, fitting it good. Then they get through.

(j. Pahú-t kunkupe'ttákankahiti')

Púya va; ta'ifutctf-mite xas patákkkan takuníkya've, va; víra kárixas takuníkya've patákkkan pavúra kári teimi kunikýa're'câ-hâ'ak. 'I-ñná-k 'ahinámti'mite pakunikýa'i'tti'.

Patákkkan kunikýa-rati 'icexikiharâmmana'ñ, há-ri k'aru vur am-vámma'ñ. Kunpapucatayá'cthi-ti'. 'Asé'mni'enámite 46 xas ká'n takunyyú'kka'. Patakunxusmanik takó-h, xas takunínníc, 'imfïr takuníkya've, 'imní-crávák su'.

Xas teimiteyá'te vura 'apun-áxvu kar axvâha', 'iteanipite-râxvâha', patakunipí-cânnâ'ñvá pe'exikiharâmâ'n su'. Kuyrà; kó; patakunírfcâ'.

Pa'apunáxvu 'ararapramasa'ip-paha kunikýa'ti'. Ká'timíñ'ñ mâm vúr ta; y u'ífftí, pa'apunaxvu'íppa', vura fâtta;k xas pómînnúpran pa'apunáxvu'. Mán víra kîte po-varasurô-hiti', pa'ípa 'ávaháhe'cat. Payváhi; m há-ri pitcas'axvâha; takunícrânti' karu há-ri prams, tapúva; 'icâ'ntihap pa'apunáxvu'.

46 Or 'imnicnam'ànànnmâhâ'te.

(HOW THEY GLUE IT ON)

The last thing they make the glue. They make the glue only when they are going to use it. They make it in the living house by the fire.

They use sturgeon skin for making glue, or sometimes salmon skin. They chew it good. They spit it onto a steatite dishlet. When they think it is enough, then they cook it. They heat it, on the dish.

Then they mix a little gum and pitch, young Douglas fir tree pitch, into the sturgeon skin. Three kinds they mix together.

The gum they get off of wild plum bushes. Lots of those gum bushes grow upslope of Katimin. The gum comes out at places on them. They just have skins where the fruit was going to be. Nowadays they use sometimes peach or plum gum, they no longer use the [wild plum] gum.
The kind of pitch that they mix in is the pitch of young fir trees. The young fir is pitchy all over, as if it were breaking out with pimples. With a little stick they punch it off. It is called punched off stuff, young Douglas fir punched off pitch. They mix it with the glue.

They stick a hazel stick inside so the glue will not run inside the pipe. Then they smear the glue on the stone pipe bowl good. Then they put the bowl in the pipe. Then they stand the pipe on end, then the stone bowl ended down, they let it dry that way. Then they put it in the living house. It lies in there a long time in the warmth.

Then they scrape off the glue that has run out. They make it smooth all over, they make it even all over, they finish it out good. Then they polish it with scouring rush. Then sometimes they rub grease all over it when it dries.

(How they remove the pipe bowl)

When anybody wants to remove the stone bowl from a pipe, he soaks it in warm water, the glue melts off. Then he fixes it over again, he makes fresh glue.

Fritz Hanson soaked first-listed specimen made by Yas and removed the bowl with ease.
The size of pipes and how they made them fancy

They know that way. The Ikxareyavs had their pipes of that same size, as the Indians believe. That is all the size of pipe that they made. Only then they started in to have long ones, when the White people came. Then they had their long pipes, after they had tools. The downriver Indians were the first to have long pipes. From outside they bought tools from the coast. They had long red pipes. The length of some of them was 3 spans. Some were shorter ones, some 2 spans, some 1 span, that the downriver Indians had as their pipes. They were good ones, those long pipes, they were inside of long pipe sacks.

Size of arrowwood pipes

An arrowwood pipe is not very long, 1½ spans is as big as they make them. The arrowwood pipes they do not make as long as they do the manzanita pipes, those are long ones, manzanita.

The span here referred to is the distance between the ends of spread thumb and forefinger. A thumb to middlefinger span is also sometimes used. Vā vura kic kunic kunIrúvhti tik'yanpím'mate, patakun'à'ksiprè'ha'k, hâ.rí vura xas pa'atcfí'tí'k k'ârú.

The size of pipes

Pipes did not use to be very long

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pipes are long ones. Sometimes they make a small one, without stone pipe bowl. They call it a little arrowwood pipe, that little pipe. That is the easiest kind of pipe to make, that is the poor people's pipe.

(SIZE OF DOCTORS' PIPES)

Doctors had pipes of all sizes, some had long ones and some had short ones. The doctors only had the very long pipes after the White people came. Some of the doctors had very long pipes.

Ike's deceased father had a long pipe, it reached to his elbow. It was a manzanita pipe, of downriver make, from Requa.

Ayi'Orim'kè'teːxav used to have her pipe long. They kept it upslope in a hollow tree. They were afraid of it, some of her children were, "lest we get sick," they thought "lest we get sick." She was a doctor, too, that shavehead was.

49 Little Ike of Yutimin Falls. His name, Ike, is an adaptation of this Indian name of his.
50 His Indian names were (1) 'Ipco'kè'hua'ⁿ, (2) Yè'ippa'ⁿ. He was a famous suck-doctor.
51 An old expression of length.
52 Mg. 'Äyi'orim, Shavehead. Her name in earlier life was 'Ayi'orim-k²aroː;ım 'Ara 'Ipásfùrutihàn, mg. she who took somebody in half-marriage on the upriver side of 'Äyi'orim. She was Steve Super's mother. She was a suck-doctor.
Those two were the biggest doctors, Yefippan and Ayiørim-karam Va'arar.

(Tobacco Capacity of Pipes) 53

Some pipes do not hold much tobacco, and some hold much. Also a big pipe holds more, a little pipe less. If a person likes tobacco, such a person thinks: "Would that there is more in there." 50

In the old times when they used to make stone pipe bowls, when there was a big stone pipe bowl, when the stone pipe bowl was big, it held much tobacco. It had a big pipe bowl cup. When the stone pipe bowl was small, it did not hold much, its hole was small. But now they make the stone pipe bowl any kind of way, they think: "They will buy it from us anyway." Sometimes when the stone pipe bowl is big the stone pipe bowl has a small cup in it, and sometimes a little stone pipe bowl just has a big cup in it. Sometimes the pipe holds little tobacco. Sometimes even a big pipe holds little tobacco, they make the place where the tobacco is put in so small. Some pipes do not hold much tobacco, and

53 See also p. 171.
54 Or kunmáhyâ-nâti'.
55 Or kunmáhyâ-nâti'.
56 I. e., he wants it to hold more.
57 Or pamu'uhram?ässip.
58 Ct. 'ako'nmâ'anammahäte, a small ax, also a hatchet.
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hara  pehêrâhâ  pohrâm'm'mak,  karu  hâri  vura  ta,y  uyâ-hiti  po'hräm'm'mak.  Po'hrämkâmrâhâ'xk, karu vura va,'u'm  ta,y  'uyâ-hiti  po'hnâm'm'^anâm'mâ-hâtchâ'xk, va,'u'm  vura  tef'mite  'uyâ-hiti'.  Pâvûra  'u'm  yîth  po'vectântiha'xk  pehêrâhâ',  yîthâ  vûra  'u''m,  vur  uxxuti: 'Kiri  tâ,y  sâ?.'

b.  Pamit  hû't  kunkupet'te'tkira-hitiha  po'hra'm

a'.  Va,'u'm  vura  pipi'ëp  va-'ührâ-mhra,  pëvûrûkâhîthiha  po'hra'm

Va,x  xas  vura  kunxûti  yâmâte  tanûkya'y,  pa'a'xkunic  takunîvûrûkaha'xk,  hâri  'ikxârâmûnic  takunîvûrûk.  Hâ'ri  vûra  payëm  va,'  takunîvûrûk  po'hra'm  'apxanti-tef'vûrûkaha'.  

Vira  pûva,'  pi'ëp  va-'ührâ-mhra,  pey-vûrûkâhîthiha  kuma'ührâ'x'm.

b'.  Pahu't  yuxtêannanite  kunkupe'yâm-kkurivhâthi  po'hra'm

Hâ'ri  yuxtêannanite  kuniyâm-k-kkurivhûti62,'uurâm'i-cekâk.  Pêcici;p  some  hold  much.  Also  a  big  pipe  holds  more,  a  little  pipe  less.  If  a  person  likes  tobacco,  such  a  person  thinks: 'Would  that  there  is  more  in  there.'

(HOW THEY MADE THE PIPES FANCY)

(PAINTED PIPES ARE NOT THE OLD STYLE)

The  only  time  the  Indians  think  they  make  something  nice,  is  when  they  paint  it  red,  or  sometimes  black.  Sometimes  now  they  paint  a  pipe  with  White  man  paint.  That  is  not  the  old  style  of  pipes,  that  painted  kind  of  pipes.

(HOW THEY INLAY PIPES)

Sometimes  the  Indians  inlay  a  pipe's  body  with  little  abalone

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61  The  transverse  surface  of  the  mouthpiece  end  of  an  arrowwood  pipe  collected  by  F.  E.  Gist,  U.  S.  National  Museum  specimen  No.  278471,  is  painted  red.  Mr.  Gist  made  his  collection  about  Weitspec,  Hupa  and  Katimin.  Of  the  specimen  was  said:  'Uhrâm'âpmânnak  'a'xkunic  'uyûvûrûkâhîti',  pakâ'n  'uvûpâ'ksurahîthîrâk,  at  the  mouth  end  it  is  painted  red,  where  it  is  cut  off.

62  Or  kûnûrûkurihvûti'.

63  A  piece  of  the  inlay  is  called  yuxtêannanûîte,  diminutive  of  yuxbâhân,  abalone.  Both  abalone  and  abalone  pendants  are  called  yuxbâhân  or  yuxtêannûîte,  according  to  size.  Abalone  pendants  of  the  two  standard  kinds  are  shown  in  Pl.  28,  a  and  b.  An  example  of  an  arrowwood  pipe  inlaid  with  abalone  is  in  the  U.  S.  National  Museum,  specimen  No.  278471,  collected  by  F.  E.  Gist.  This  pipe  is  shown  in  Pl.  27,  a.
shell pieces. They measure them the size they are going to be. Then they make the holes on the surface of the pipe. They make the holes just the right size for putting the abalone shell pieces in. Every once in a while they put them in; they measure that way, when they are making it.

Then they smear the holes with glue. Then they put the abalone shell pieces in. The pipe is going to look nice. Then they scrape the pipe off to make it smooth. They make it so smooth. That is why it is so smooth, because they polish it with scouring rush.

D. Pahú't po'hrá; mit kunkupappé-hvapiövahitiḥ, pámítva kó; ō'rahitiḥaṭ

Pu'ifyá- vúra ye'cri'htivihapanik po'hrá;m pi'ě'p. Vura kunikyá-ttánmá-htíhánik, pamu-kúná'ra-ras vura kunikyé-htá-ma'htíhánik. Po'kó'ráhiṭiha'ak, xas kinikváriścihánik. Ká'kkum 'u'mkun vura túbite⁶⁴ kunó'rahi-váthiḥanik po'hrá;m, papu'ik-kó'ráhiṭiha'ak. 'Uhrámyav kuy-ná-kite ka'ir ⁶⁵ 'u'ó'ráhiṭihiánik.

a. Pahú't mit yúruk kunkupé-kvárahitiḥaṭ

Há'ri yu? mit kunikvaránkó-tí-hát xuská'mhař, 'araraxúská'm-hář, kár uhra'm. Yu? 'u'm yá'matc kunikyá-ttí paxuská-m

(How They Used to Sell Pipes, and the Prices)

They never used to sell pipes much long ago. They used to make them for nothing, they used to make them for their relatives for nothing. They sold them then when they had a stone pipe bowl on them. Some people sold a pipe for two bits, when it had no stone pipe bowl.

A good looking pipe used to sell for a dollar.

(How They Used to Buy Pipes downriver)

Sometimes they used to go downriver to buy bows, and pipes, too. Downriver they make pretty bows; they paint them red

⁶⁴ From English two bits.
⁶⁵ Or yú'pó icpu kuy-ná-kite ka'ífu, one dentalium of the third length; or vantára, from English one dollar.
hař, kunikxúrik'ti', a'xukunismà:k karu 'àmkù-flùnic. Váramas karu po-hrà:m, payùrùkvà:ras kunikyàtti'.

E. Pahù:t puxxarahùrurav yàvitàtihanik po-hrà:m, pahù:t 'uku-patannihitihanik po-hrà:m


Kuna vura 'ièivànènpikyà-tùhra'ùm va; vura kità kàrinru pananu'ùhra'ùm, va; vura kari varì pananu'ùhra'm kitc, 'íra'ùh-ra'm, Kàntimà:n vura kità kari yìñò 'ùthà:nìv, karu yìñòa va; kà:ùn 'lnnà:m, kari yìñòa pa-nànnì:k va; vura kari kà:ùn 'ùthà:nìv yìñòa'. Yìñòa hàrìnay xas kunpè:ðrìcùktì po-hrà:m, xas payvà:hi: matù'ppitcas pa'âra:j ta:pu'ùdà:mhitihap pe'héràhà'. Víri va; vura takunmáhyà-nnàtì 'apxànti;to'ìhéràhà'. Taxxàra vè'ttak 'ù:m vura 'arare-hèràha kitc kunmáhyà-nnàtiha-

and blue. And the pipes are long ones, that the downriver people make.

They do not use a pipe long, it does not last long. They do not use it very long. After a while it cracks; or it gets a V burned in its bowl edge, in the pipe's bowl edge; or the stone pipe bowl breaks and then the pipe lies around without any stone bowl on it and then after a while it gets soft; or maybe the owner of a pipe dies, and then they pack it upslope to a hollow bowl. There are very few pipes that have been made long ago. Pretty nearly all the pipes that there are today anywhere were made after the whites came in.

But the pipe for refixing the world is still among us, it is still among us, the Irahiv 69 pipe. One of these is still at Katimin and one is at Clear Creek, and one is at Orleans, there is one there also. Once a year they take out that pipe, but the young Indians do not sow tobacco any more so they put White man smoking tobacco in it. Formerly they used only to put Indian tobacco in it. The Katimin pipe is a long pipe, a span and a half long; they call it the Icip sweathouse pipe. The pipe is in

69 The New Year's ceremony.
I don't care if you die, they won't pack your pipe over to the grave; they'll put your pipe in a hollow tree upslope. They send all his belongings along when a boss man dies, but the pipe alone is not sent along. Before [he dies] they put it away from him a different place, when he can not smoke any more, because he's so sick, his pipe, when he is dangerously sick, when he is going to die. That is their custom; they don't pack a pipe over near a dead person.

Even flint blades, all his property they put in the grave as accompaniment. They think that he is going with his things, just the pipe alone they do not pack over to the grave. Some of his property they burn and some they bury in the grave, but his pipe alone they pack upslope to a tree upslope.

Sometimes when a man dies his pipe lies in the house a long time. But in the first place, a pipe sack; it is already black, that pipe sack, and already stiff. It is made out of buckskin, though it does not look like it any more, it is black. It is stiff as the fatavennan's belt is.

Or pe'Ivaha'sk, when you die.

Or kú:k. 
VARIOUS KINDS OF PIPES

a, Arrowwood pipe with soapstone bowl, inlaid with abalone spangles; b, manzanita pipe with soapstone bowl; c, arrowwood pipe without soapstone bowl, poor man's style of pipe; d, pipe made in imitation of a white man's pipe; e, arrowwood pipe with soapstone bowl.
4. Small abalone pendants, the kind that women bunch at the end of their hair braids.

5. Large abalone pendants, the kind that are hung on women's buckskin dresses.
Figure 43.—Tobacco pipes and case.

Reproduction of Powers. The Indians of California, Figure 43, Showing Northern California Indian Pipes and Pipe Sack
VARIOUS STAGES IN THE MAKING OF ARROWWOOD PIPES, FROM MERE SECTION OF ARROWWOOD STICK TO FINISHED PIPES; ALSO SHOWING ONE MANZANITA PIPE, THE THIRD FROM THE RIGHT-HAND END
'Ik'ora's, meaning Pipe-bowl Rock, in the Klamath River at Katimin, to which Indians swam out to get the best soapstone for pipe bowls.
a. Soft soapstone rock, on south bank of the Klamath River at Katimin

b. Close-up of a section of the top of the same, showing where pipe bowls have been pecked off by the Indians

c. Two pipe bowls of soft soapstone
hāri ’ítinnā’ôtek. Vā; vura kîc kîp numâho’t ikk’ö’tor, pamit
’ikrîvra’m ’u’îkrîftak, xavram-
nîhak. Pam’uhram’tîc ’u’m vura hârivariva p’ùxâ’taŋîk, vâ;
’u’m vura tâpûffâ’t pa’âhup, pe’kk’ö’t kîc to’sâ’m.

a. Xâ’s vura kô’vûra te’kyâp-
pi’t’ca pa’arârê’kyav payvâ-
he’ëm

Kô’vûra xâ’s pasîpnu’uk, karu
pe’îm’îvra, karu passâ’m’va, te-
mi vûra pakô’, tcimi vûra pa-
kô’vûra pakumâsâ’n’va, payë’m
panumâ’hîti’, xâ’s vura kô’vûra
payë’m xas vura vé’kyâ’ppûhsa’,
mîta vûra vë’t’tak Pa’apxantîtc
kunivyihuk.

F. Kâ’kum po’hrâ’m pakumë’ënu

(DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN PIPES)

Descriptions of a few pipe specimens, chosen to illustrate the
principal types, are here listed.

Specimens of pipes

Arrowwood pipe without stone facing, the type called xavie’uh-
nâ’m’îtëc, bought from Hackett for 25 cents (Pl. 27, c), 3½ inches
long, bowl end 1¼ inch diameter, cavity % inch diameter, mouth
end elliptical in section % by % inch, hole % inch diameter. The
pipe was being used by Hackett when purchased. (Pl. 27, c.)

Arrowwood pipe, slender type, with bowl of green soapstone from
’Asaxüs’as (see p. 153), made by Fritz Hanson, 4 inches long, % inch
diameter, mouth end % inch diameter, hole % inch diameter; slender-
est part of pipe % inch diameter, 1¼ inches from mouth end. Pipe
bowl % inch long, edge % inch long, rim rounding and only % inch
thick. (Pl. 27, e.)

Arrowwood pipe, with bowl of black soapstone, collected by F. E.
Gist,70 U. S. National Museum specimen no. 278471 (Pl. 27, a), 5¼

70 Mr. Gist made his home at Weitspec. He kept the store at
Soames Bar for several months at one time. He is remembered by
the Indians to have bought pipes at Katimin. The pipes in his
collection may be Karuk, Yuruk, or Hupa.
inch long, bowl end 1/2 inches diameter, mouth end 1/6 inch diameter, hole 3/6 inch diameter, to one side of center; slenderest part of pipe 1/6 inch diameter 1 inch from mouth end. Bowl edge 3/8 inch long, cavity 3/4 inch diameter, rim 3/8 inch to 3/8 inch wide. Abalone inlay consists of four pieces ea. 3/8 inch long and 3/8 inch wide, 3/8 inch thick, with rounding ends, set equidistant from one another parallel to long axis of pipe 3/8 inch from bowl end. (Pl. 27, a.)

Manzanita pipe with bowl of green soapstone from ’Asaxús?as (see p. 153), made by Yas, bought from Benny Tom for $2.50, 5/6 inches long; bowl end 1 inch diameter; mouth end 3/8 inch diameter. Pipe bowl 1/6 inch long, edge 3/8 inch long, end of insert 1/2 inch diameter, cavity 3/8 inch diameter, rim 3/6 inch wide. (Pl. 27, b.)

Manzanita pipe with bowl of green soapstone from ’Asaxús?as (see p. 153), made by Púvkvé’nate, a deceased younger brother of Yas who was a cripple,71 bought from Yas for 2.00, 7/6 inches long, bowl end 2/6 inches diameter, edge of bowl 3/6 inches long.

G. Ta?y ’uuvúyttí-hva po’hrâ’m

(The pipe has various names)

a. Pakó; ’uuvúyttí-hva pamucvitáva po’hrâ’m

(Nomenclature of the parts of the pipe)

’Uhräm?í’t, lit. pipe meat, is used of the entire surface or body of a pipe. E. g., inlay is made in the pipe’s meat.

The big end of the pipe, where the tobacco is put, is called ’uhram-çppan, or ’uhramçppankañ, on top of the pipe, the pipe being thought of as tilted up in smoking position. The big end can also be spoken of as ké-cítekañ, where it is big.

The small end of the pipe is called by the curious old term ’uhramápma’n, pipe mouth. About 3/8 inch of this “mouth” sticks out when the pipe is tied up in the pipesack (see pp. 180–181 and Pl. 34, a, e). The mouth is inserted in the smoker’s mouth. The small end can also be called yittcihkañ, where it is slender. This can also be said of the slenderest part of the pipe.

The following text explains the incongruity of this terminology with the White man terminology, which sometimes calls the bowl the mouth:

’Ara? ‘u:m ’uppënti: ’uhnamçppanañt,72 kuna ’apxantíte ’u:m ’uppënti: ’uhramápma’n. Pa’ára? va; vura hitïhañ kunipítti: “’ippan ’ukkó rahiti ’úhrâ’m.” ’Appakam pakú’kam ní’nnamíñt

71 Captain John at Hupa had several pipes made by Púvkvé’nate.
72 Or ’uhnamçppan.
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va: 'u:m 'ará:r úppénti 'uhram?ápmá'nm, kuna 'apxantí-te 'u:m úppénti 'uhram?áhúp.

The Indian says the top of the pipe, but the White man says the mouth of the pipe. The Indians always say: "A pipe has a stone bowl on top." The other end, where it is small, the Indian calls the pipe mouth, but the White man calls it the pipe stem.

'Uhram sûrúvar, the hole or boring through the pipe.

'IkkÔ'Ô'r, the stone pipe bowl.

The cavity where the tobacco is placed is called by more than half a dozen different expressions: 'uhram'íppan su?, inside the top of the pipe (or if it has a stone pipe bowl, 'ikkÔ'Ô'rá'íppan su?, inside the pipe bowl); pehéráh o-'i-thérak su?, where the tobacco is in; pehéráhá'írará'áram, place where the tobacco is in; pamusúrúká 73 po-hrám-íppan, its cavity on top of the pipe: pamusúrúká 73 paká:n pehéráh 'u'l'í'thá', its cavity where the tobacco is in.

b. Pakó: yióúva kunióvúyttí-hva po-hörá:m

(NAMES OF VARIOUS KINDS OF PIPE)

Pipes are classed according to material, presence or absence of bowl or pipe sack, or purpose for which used as follows:

-Xavicítúhra'm, arrowwood pipe.
-Fa0ipúhra'm, manzanita pipe.
-Xuparícúhra'm, yew pipe.
-'Asó-hra'm, 'aso'hramúhra'm, an all-stone pipe.
-Xavicúhram 'ikkÔ'Ô'ríppux, arrowwood pipe without stone bowl.
-Pe'kkÔ'Ô'rahtihán kumaúhram, stone bowl ed pipe (of arrowwood, manzanita, or yew).

'Uhramxe-hvássipux, a sackless pipe = 'uhrammúnnaxitc, just a mere pipe.

Po-hörá:m paxé'àvá'shitéhná, pipe that has a pipe sack. Xé'hváxs 'u'l'í-kútí po-hörá:m, a pipe sack goes along with the pipe.

'Araraká-nnmitcas mukunúhram, xavicúhnm'mítc, a common people's pipe, a little arrowwood pipe.

Ya'sarará'úhram, 'ührámka'm, 'uhramxára, a rich man's pipe, a big pipe, a long pipe.

'E'múhram, a doctor's pipe. The name designates purpose or use only, since doctors use no special kind of pipe. A pipe used by a woman doctor is never spoken of as a woman's pipe.

'Arara'úhram, Indian pipe. 74

73 Or dim. pamusúnnuka'tc.
74 The pipes of the Yuruk, Hupa and Shasta were so identical with the Karuk pipes that there was no occasion to prependicular tribe names to the word for pipe.
'Apxanti-tcúhra'm, White man pipe.
Tcaniman'úhra'm, Chinaman pipe, Tcaniman'uhramxára, China-
man long pipe.
'Uhnamhi'te, a play pipe, e. g. made by boys, dry maple leaves or
the like being smoked in it, = 'uhramčikyamf-tevař, a plaything pipe.
'Uhramkohomayáte (dpl. 'uhramko-somáyá-teas), a right-sized
pipe. Puraku vur 'ipcůñkinatchara, karu vura puvá-rámahařa, it is
not short and not long.
'Uhrámka'm, a big pipe.
'Uhna'm'mitc, little pipe, ='uhrám?anamamahač, 'uhnam?anam-
mahate, a little pipe. Xavic'ühna'm'mitc, little arrowwood pipe.
'Ananas'ühna'm'mitc, little Indian pipe.
'Uhramxára, long pipe. 'Uhnamxánnahitc, a slender pipe, =
'uhnamxanahyá'etc.
'Uhram'ipcůnkinatač, short pipe.
'Uhramźürü, a round pipe, a chunky pipe. Volunteered, e. g., of
the short thick pipe shown in Pl. 30, pipe at extreme right.
'Uhramxúttnahitc, a thin-walled pipe.
'Uhrám'm 'áfivk'am yíttci', a pipe that is sharp or slender at the
mouth end. 'Uhrám'm 'áfivk'am nínnamítc, a pipe slender at the
mouth end.
'Uhrám'm 'ápapakam tinihyá'etc, a pipe with a flat place on one
side.
'Uhramfí páyav, a straight pipe.
'Uhrámti'ó, a lobsided or crooked pipe. 'Utíhiti po'hrá'm, the
pipe is lobsided.
'Uhrám'céná'm'nítc, a light pipe.
'Uhrámma'ó, a heavy pipe.

c. Ká-kum 'uhramyé'pea karu ká-kum 'uhramké'mmitça

(GOOD AND POOR PIPES)

'Uhramčikyá'ýav, a well-made pipe.
'Uhrám'yav, a good pipe. 'Uhramyé'cí'tp, a best pipe (among
several).
'Uhramké'mmitc (or dim. 'uhnamké'mmitc), (1) a poor or poorly
made pipe, (2) an old pipe. 'Uhnamké'mmitcta, a pipe already old.
(See pp. 163–165, 170.)
Pavura tapufá-thara kuma'úhra'm, a good for nothing pipe.
Vura tapufá-thárã po'hrá'm, the pipe is no good.
d. K’a’kum xú’skúnicas karu ká’kum xíkkíheca po’hrá’m  
(smooth and rough pipes)

’Uhrámxú’skúnicas, a smooth pipe.
’Uhrámmu’ráx, a sleek pipe.
’Uhrámsrírikúnicas, a shiny pipe, e. g., shiny from handling.
’Uhrámxíkkí’, a rough pipe.
’Imtananâmnihtic pu’íkya’yá’ha’ra, you can see he did not work it good.

’Imtananâmnihtic vura po’tá’tcahi’ti’, it is visible where they cut it 
with a knife (where they whittled it down).

’Imtananâmnihtic po’taxítckúrihva’, it is marked with whittlings
with some deep places. This is the way to say it has whittling marks on it.

’Ukxa’rippahiti’, it has been chopped with a hatchet.
’Utí’vahiti’, it is cut with a drawknife.

Vuxitcáramúk ’uvuxitécúró-híti’, it has been sawed off with a saw.
Vuxxitcári, saw. Nesc. if this has “tooth” as prefix. Vuxitcará’vuh,
tooth of a saw. Ct. vuhá’anammaháte, a little tooth.

e. Pahu’t po’kúpi’tti po’hram’áhup ’a’ñ kunic ’u’ix’axvárá’hití su?

(how the grain of the pipe wood runs)

’Ufí’payá’tc vírá ’a’ñ kunic ’u’ix’axvárá’hití’, the grain runs straight.
’A’ñ kunic ’u’ix’axvárá’hití’, ’ukifkunkúrahíti vírá, the grain is wavy.
’U’áttatáhíti pa’áhup, the wood is twisted.

Tcántcá’fkunic pámú’a’ñ pafașip’úhra’m po’hrá’mí’ccak. Xavic-
rúhra’m púva; kupítthífára, tcántcá’fkunic vura kó’vúra kite. The 
manzanita pipe has light colored grain on its surface. The arrow-
wood pipe is not that way, it is white all over.

f. ’Itatkurihvaras’úhra’’m karu ’uhram’ókxúrikk’á’ras

(inlaid pipes and painted pipes)

Yuxtcananític’itatkurihvara’úhra’’m, an abalone-inlaid pipe. Yux-
tcannanític ’u’itatkúrihva kuma’úhra’’m, the kind of a pipe inlaid 
with abalone pieces.

’Uhrám’ókxúrikk’áf, a painted pipe. ’Ukxúrikk’ahíti po’hrá’m, 
the pipe is painted.
g. Ka'kum 'uhrampi'cam, karu ka'kum 'uhramxavtcu'

(NEW AND OLD PIPES)

'Uhrampi'it, a new pipe,
'Uhrampikya'tappi'lt, a just finished pipe.
'Uhramké'm'itc, (1) poor pipe, (2) old pipe. 'Uhramxavtcu, old pipe. Tuxávtcuer po'hra'm, the pipe is old.
'Uhrampikya'ya'pu', a fixed over again pipe.
'Uhrama'xvifi0u'ar, a dirty pipe.
'Uhrama'amyé'te', a sooty pipe. 'Amyívkte po'hra'm, the pipe is sooty.
'Uhrama'okúrtta', a greasy pipe. 'A0kúritktic po'ta'm, there is grease on that pipe.
Tcufni'vkt'aci'tfktic po'hra'm, the pipe is flyspecked.
'Ifxá.'uhra'sm, rotten wood pipe. Tuxávtcuer po'hra'm, the pipe is getting rotten. Said of an old pipe.

h. 'Uhramny'nk'urihañas

(PIPES THAT HAVE BECOME BURNED OUT)

'Urámny'nk'urihań, a pipe that is burned out big inside. Va; kari takké'te 'u'i'nk'úrihi 'ippan su?, pataxxár uhé'raravaha'ak, paxavic-rúhra'sm, it gets burned out big inside the bowl end, when the arrowwood pipe has been used for a long time.
'Uhramýmtá'kkań, a pipe with a gap burned in the edge of the bowl. 'Uhramýmtáktá'kkań, a pipe with several gaps burned in the edge of the bowl.

i. 'Uhramýmxaxavará'tas, pahú't 'ukupe'mxaxavará'hiti'

(CRACKED PIPES AND HOW THEY CRACK)

'Uhrámýmxáxå'tar, a pipe with a crack in it. 'Umxáxå'rahití', it has a crack. 'Áxxakan 'umxáxå'rahití', it is cracked in two places. 'Uhrámýmxaxavará'r, a pipe with several cracks in it. 'Umxaxavará'hiti', it has tpl. cracks.
'Ikk'òtak 'u'aramsí'prívti' pe'mxáxxa'r po'hra'm. Xá:s vura hitihá:n va; ká:n 'u'aramsí'prívti'. The pipes begin to crack at the stone pipe bowl. They nearly always start to crack there.
Há:ri va; vura kari to'mxáxxa'ar, pakunikya'ättiha'ak, va; vura takunikya po'hra'm xá:t 'umxáxå'rahití'. Sometimes it cracks while being made, and they make the pipe in spite of it being cracked.
Sometimes a pipe cracks near the mouth end. But where it cracks most is near the stone pipe bowl.

The stone pipe bowl also sometimes cracks, while they are smoking it sometimes, but most of the time it cracks when they drop it.

A good pipe when it is laid down touches the ground only at the bowl end and at the mouth end, at the ends only it touches.

When he knows how to make a pipe, he makes it a little bigger where they are going to put the mouth. At the mouth end it flares a little, they finish it out that way. It is a little bigger where they are going to put their mouth. They flare there.

(size of the bowl cavity)

*Ké tc* pamuhé raha'ítrúram, its bowl cavity is large. *Ké tc* pamusúruka; po'hramíppaú, the cavity at the bowl end is large.

*Ní unnamítc pamusúruka*; paká;n pehé tah u'í'tra', its bowl cavity is small.

**75** Lit. is like a little 'árus (closed-work pack basket) a little. This is an old expression used for flaring shape. Thimble is called 'ánnusítc, little 'árus.

**76** See also pp. 160–161.

**77** Or dim. pamusúnnuka'ëtc.
l. Pahú't pe'kkvö't 'umússahiti'

(DESCRIPTION OF THE STONE PIPE BOWLS)

'Ik'o-té-ckármkunic, 'asa-kauriikkvö'tr va; 'u;m pa'ik'o-rayé-cip. A black pipe bowl, a fat-rock pipe bowl, is the best pipe bowl. 'Asaxusikkvö'tr, yáv umússahiti' yióúva kunic 'upimusapó-tti', karuma vura x'ettcic, 'úmtcúnti patakunihé'taravaha'ak. A soft soapstone pipe bowl looks good, keeps changing looks (= is sparkling), but is soft, and cracks when it is smoked.

Po'hrá'm pe'kkáramkunic ukkó-ráhibiha'ak, víri va; páttax'y 'u'ó-ta-hiti'. Po'hrá'm patcántcá-tkunic 'ukkó-ráhibiha'ak, va; 'u;m vura témite 'u'ó-rahiti'. A pipe when it has a black stone pipe bowl is high priced. The pipe with the light colored stone bowl is worth little.

'U'icipvárahiti', there is a vein running in it.

'Uypárukvárahiti', there are flecks running in it.

'Icvitáva tcántcá-tkúcic pe'kkvö'tr, the pipe bowl looks white in places.

a'. 'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáfas

(NICKED PIPE BOWLS)

'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáš, a stone pipe bowl, a piece of which has been chipped out.

'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáš, a stone pipe bowl, several pieces of which have been chipped out.

'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáš, a stone pipe bowl, a piece of which has been chipped out by heat.

'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáš, a stone pipe bowl, several pieces of which have been chipped out by heat.

'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáš, a stone pipe bowl with a crack in it.

'Ik'o-té-ctákta-kkáš, a stone pipe bowl with several cracks in it.

m. Pahú't po'mússahiti po'hram'ápmá'n

(DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUTH END OF PIPES)

'Uvúsuráhiti po'hram'ápmá'n'nak, yáv 'ukupavúsuráhiti', the mouth end is cut off, is cut off nicely.

'Umxútsurahiti po'hram'ápmá'n'nak, the mouth end is bulging. Old pipes were often finished off this way, it is said.

Kunic 'u'annushitihato po'hram'ápmá'n'nak, the mouth end is fat. This is an old expression.

Po'hram'ápmá'n'nak há'ri 'áppápvári xás pamusúruvar, sometimes the hole is to one side at the mouthpiece end.
a, Showing how arrowwood arrow shaft tip is dug out for insertion of foreshaft, similar to digging out of arrowwood pipe; b, sinew thread used for sewing pipe sack; c, back sinew; d, leg sinew; e, connective tissue of sinew
\( n. \) Pah\'ut 'ukupá7'hyáhiti karu há'ti po-kupáthánné'hi7i po-hrám

\( \text{(HOW PIPES STAND AND LIE)} \)

'\( A? \) ubiyásiprivtì,\(^{78}\) it is standing (on its bowl end).
\( =Su? \) úxu-prív,\(^{79}\) it is sitting mouth down. Òi'vříhvák 'úxu-pterá-kú", it is standing face down on the living house bench. Hitíha:n vura su? takuniéppicrihmad, they stand it bowl down all the time.\(^{80}\)

'\( A? \) 'u'í'hyáa", it is standing (with either end up). A pipe would be made to stand with bowl end up only in sand or loose material or would be balanced thus for fun. This verb is used of a stick or tree standing.

Tó'kvá'y'rin, it falls over (from standing to lying position). Ct. tó'kyívun'ni, it falls from an elevated position.

'\( Āsák \) 'ukvá'ytuítí', it is leaning against a rock.

'U'á'ni'ví, it is lying. Òi'vříhvák 'u'á'ntáku", it is lying on the living house bench.

Tutákni'hci,p, it is rolling.

2. Paxé'hvá'as

A. Po-hrámayav 'u'm vura hitíha:n xé'hvássak su? 'ukrí'!

Po-hramayá'ha'k, 'u'm vura pu-haríxxay xé'hvássipuxhaaar, 'u'm vura hitíha:n xé'hvássak su? 'ukrí'!

Pa'apxantnimihite 'i'n kinik-várietihaniık, vura xá's hitíha:n paxé'hvássipuxsa po-hrám. Yi-tákánva pakuniýye'crí'hvutihaniık, paxé'hvá's karu vura yřòuk karu po-hrám vurá yřòuk, va; 'u'm kuniptitihaniık: "Va; 'u'm nu; 'axxakan kiné'hé'ec."

\( \text{(THE PIPE SACK)} \)

A good pipe is never lacking a pipe sack, it is always kept in a pipe sack.

But when the Whites used to buy them from them, the pipes scarcely ever had pipe sacks. They sold them separately, the pipe sack apart, and the pipe apart, they used to say: "We will get thus two prices."

\(^{78}\) Ct. 'ustryí', man or animal stands; 'u'í'kra'as (house), stands; 'u'í'hyáa' (stick), stands. But of a mountain standing they say tuycip 'úkri', a mountain sits.

\(^{79}\) Verb used of person lying face down, of basket or pot lying mouth down.

\(^{80}\) A pipe would often be seen standing in this position on the sweathouse floor or on the living house floor or bench.

63044°—32—14
B. 'Akây mukyâ'pu paxé-hva’s

'Ávansa 'u’mkun pakunikyâ’tti paxé-hva’s. Há’ri karu vura 'asiktávæ'n kunikyâ’tti paxé-hva’s.

C. Yišúva kumáx-hva’s

Va; mit pakunikyâ’ttihat pakaumáx-hva’s: tafirapuxé-hva’s, kar icyuxtafirapuxé-hva’s, kar icyuxarixocton, va; mit pakunikyâ’ttihat karu paxé-hva’s, kar yuhipîariciharaxé-hva’s va; mit ky’arau pakunikyâ’ttihat,PAYURKÂ’RAS 81 va; mit kîc’kûnic pakunikyâ’ttihat payuhpipîaricihar.

Mahnu’vanátæma’n káru kunikyâ’ttihanik pamukunxé-hva’s, kunípip’ti.82 kuna vura ‘u’m mahnu’vanátæma’n atcvi’vma’n kó; xutnáhîte, va; xas pakuntâpkûpputi’ pakunic páha va; paxe-hvasräkyâ’ìav — mahnu’vanátæma’n ‘u’m xutnáhîtciîte. Pûmit vûra va; xütîhaphat kiri nuyukar pamahnû’vñæte,83 ‘u’m va; ‘tîvëanesñinmâ’ssîte, tûyçip mu’aramahé’ci’îp va; mit kunípip’ttihat.

a. Paxe-hva’s pámita nimm’â’h-

tíhat pi’nîknikk’ahiv

Nu; mi ta’y tâppitcas ye’sir-

âxvû’h’sa, va; tânûvî’hceip, tanu-
muskinvan’va, tanumuskinvan’-
va papihnînik. Ta’y panu-
mâ’hti pakunihé’mati’, tçavura

(WHO MAKES THE PIPE SACKS)

It was the men who made the pipe sacks. Sometimes the women made them too.

(The Different Kinds of Pipe Sacks)

They used to make different kinds of pipe sacks: buckskin pipe sacks and elkskin pipe sacks, and elk testicles also they made into pipe sacks, and weasel pipe sacks they made, the downriver people were about the only ones that made weasel pipe sacks.

They say they made their pipe sacks of chipmunk skin also, but chipmunk skin is thin as birdskin, and they liked to make their pipe sacks stiff — chipmunk skin is just thin. And they never liked to kill the chipmunk, it is the earth’s pet, mountain’s best child, they used to say.

(Pipe Sacks That I Used to See At Kick Dances)

When we were little girls, we would go there. We would go there to look on. We went to look on at kick dances. We saw much smoking, but we never saw

81 The Yuruk tribe.
82 'Afrir’tc 'upitít, Fritz Hanson says so.
83 Many Indians killed it, but there was a superstition against doing so.
mit pukinmåhat yuhpipəricriha-
raxé'hva'as karu mahnú'vanâte. Va; vura mit kîte nimm'á'htíhaí, vastaranxé'hva'.

b. Pa'asifvímýá'thîna'tihan kumaxé'hv a'as

Kà'kum mit 'áffiv 'úmyá-thî-
nà'tihan papufitetafirápurxé'hv a'as karu pa'icuyuxtafirápurxé'hv a'as, 'affiva'ávahkam kà'kum mit 'úm-
yá-thînà'tihâc. Xe'hvas?áffiv mit vura kîte 'úmyá-thîthíhaí. Vura vâ; takunvússur patáfîrâpû pa-
kâ'nu 'icvit 'úmyá-thíti'.

c. Pe'cyuxmanxé'hv a'as

'Ícyuxmanxé'hv a'as mit kunik-
yá'tihâc há'ri, kuna vura piha'. Patakun'âkkó'ha'as, puþxu'ítc 'úxwá'iti', po'hra'mmû'k takun-
pákko'ha'as, patakunpimátanup-
núppahâ'k pehé'râha'.

d. Pe'cyuxhirix'o'nxé'hv a'as

Vura 'ujm puhitihâ'n 'ícyux;
'íkkqaráthâphanâik. Vura há'ri
xas payî00a kuní'kkqaráthâhanâik.
Kuntátta ppútihâhanâik, karixas ta-
kunkúní'k, patóppâ-xfur. Yùp
takunkúní'k kar ashkú'n.

Vura há'ri xas pakunikya'á'tihâc
'ícyuxhirix'o'npu'víc karu há'ri
'ícyuxhirix'o'nxé'hv a'as. 'Íky-
á'kamîkyâv. Xas kunpúúânti
'ássâk, há'ri kuyraksúppa' karu
há'ri 'axaxksúppa'. Kunûm'ú-
sti' xay 'úmpîpürur pâmûmyâ'át.
Xas 'ásrâwamû'k xúnuûtîtekuni-
kyâ'íti'. Xas 'á-teip takunvúx-
a weasel pipe sack or chipmunk sack. I only saw buckskin pipe sacks.

(Pipe Sacks with Fur on the Lower Part)

Some of the deerskin pipe sacks and elkskin pipe sacks had fur on the bottom, on the outside of the base they had fur. Only the bottom had fur on. They cut it from the buckskin where there is a patch of fur left on.

(Elkskin Pipe Sacks)

Sometimes they made elkskin pipe sacks. They were stiff. When they tap one of these, it makes a loud sound, when they hit it with the pipe, when they tap down the tobacco.

(Elk Testicle Pipe Sacks)

They did not use to kill elks all the time. Only once in a while they would kill one. They used to trap them, and then shoot them with arrows, when they got caught. They shoot them in the eye or in the throat.

It is only sometimes that they made elk testicle bags or elk testicle pipe sacks. It is hard to make them. They soak it a long time in the water, sometimes three days, sometimes two. They watch it, for its hairs might come off. Then they make it soft with brains. Then they cut

84 With a stick to settle the tobacco preparatory to putting the pipe back in after smoking; see p. 197.
85 Or 'ícyuxhirix'ö'nmáhyá'nnára'v, elk testicle containers.
xaxa’r. Xas vaḥ ’áppap takuníkyav paxé’hva’as. Takunsíppuñ’na poh’hrá:m pícci’p, xas vaḥ kó; takuníkyav. ’Axaxké’hva’as ’u’árihicirihti yíθea θiřox’ő’n, yíθea θiřox’ő’n ’áxvak ’u’árihicirihti xé’hva’as. Xas vaḥ takunikrup ’ıp-pámó”n. Xas ’avahkam pamukiccapar takunikrup’pka’, xé-hvas’àpam-manak takunikrup’pka pavastár. 

’Icyuxθiřox’ő’nxe’hva’as vaḥ ’úθ-vá-yt’. ’Affiv vura ’úmyá-thiti’. ’Ávahkam takuntáffii. ’Áfii vura kitc pó’myá-thiti’. Vaḥ vur uycaráḥiti ’a’xkúnic karu vura tčántca’fkúnic. ’Imyatxaráhása kúnic. Pušćeθiřox’ő’nma’n ’u’m xútñaḥitc. Vaḥ ’u’m pu’ikyá’tihap xé’hva’as, xútñaḥitc. Kuna vura ’icyuxθiřox’ő’n ’u’m ’ipu”m. Pákvátcax ’Kaitím’ñára;r mit, ’áppa pamúpsi; mit’ ipcú’n-kiñatc, musmus ’t’n kunvúran’nik, Panámni”k, ’icyuxθiřox’őnxé’hva’as mit pamuxé’hva’as sitcák-vútvarak mit ’uyhákkúřhvat’. Tcántća’fkúnic ’a’xkúnic ’ucará-hiti pamúmya’st, várúmas kunic pamúmya’st. 

D. Pahú’t paxé’hva’as kunkupe’k-yá-hiti’89a. Po-hrá:m pícci’p kunisíppuñ-vuti pakó; pa’uhrá:m ’uvá’táma-

it in two lengthwise. Then they make one side into a pipe sack. They measure the pipe first, then they make it that size. A pair of testicles makes two pipe sacks; a pair of pipe sacks come out of a pair of testicles. Then they sew it up with sinew. Then at the top they sew a tying thong on; at the mouth of the pipe sack they sew on a buckskin thong.

It is called an elk testicle pipe sack. It is hairy at the base. They shave off the upper part. Only at the lower part it is hairy. It is mixed red and white hairs. They are long hairs. The deer scrotum is thin. They do not make a pipesack of it; it is thin. But elk testicle [skin] is thick.

Pakvatcax was a Katimí Indian, one of his legs was short. A cow hooked him at Orleans. His pipe sack was an elk testicle one. It used to be sticking out from his belt. It had mixed white and red hairs on it, long hairs.

HOW THEY MAKE A PIPE SACK

First they measure the pipe, how long a pipe it is. Every-

86 Ct. ’á’tcip takunvúppakrař, they cut it in two crosswise. 
87 Making it hairless. 
88 Another of his names was ’Áttatař. 
89 About 1865. 
89a For illustrations showing the materials for and making of the pipe sack described in the texts below, see Pls. 33, b, c, d, e, and 34. The sack was made by Imk’yanvan.
hiti'. Kö-vúra pakunikyá'tti', kó-vúra picci;p kunisíppú'n'vák. Takuné'annamí patáffirápúhák, po-ňrám. Va; vura takunkupa-
ťčciriha pakunkupe'krú'ppahe"e. 'Axxak takunpáttun'va.

Vá'tam takunvúppaksur. Va; 'üm vảnnamicic t kunikyá'tti pa-
xé'hva'as, 'ayu'á-te 'uhramsúruk-
kam ú'ra peňérahe'. Karu vu-
ra kóemachine tinihyá'tc paku-
nikyá'tti'.

Páxak takunpatun'va.

Páxak tinihyá'tc paku-
nikyá'tti'.

thing that they make they meas-
ure first. They lay the pipe on
the buckskin. They lay it down
the way they are going to sew it.
They fold it.

They cut it off long. They
make the pipe sack a little long,
because there is tobacco under
the pipe. And they make it a little
wide.

They cut it the shape of a foot.
Sometimes they cut straight
across at the bottom. And some-
times they point it at the bottom.
They take a cut off of both sides.
And sometimes they cut it slant-
ing.

The outside of the buckskin is
the outside of the pipe sack.

Sometimes they cut it long, so
as to fringe the base. It is sewed
inside, it is fringed outside.

Sometimes the body of it is
fringed above, along where it is
sewed. As the White men fringe
their pistol sacks, so they fix pipe
sacks now. 90a But long ago I saw
them fringed only at the bot-
tom, some of their pipe sacks.

90 Old expression.
90a For pipe sack of this description, with bottom fringed,
made by Tcá'kitcha'ñ, see Pl. 34, a.
When they are going to sew the pipe sack, sometimes they make the sinew into string, and sometimes just tear off the sinew. They tear off a little at a time; with that they sew it. My mother made her own pipe sacks. She was a widow. The people did not feel sorry for one another, though they be their relations. When she used to sew her pipe sack with sinew, she did not use it made into string, but just used the little shreds. It was strong.

When they fold it in the middle, they double it together. The inside is outside now when they sew it. They sew it turned wrong side out. They sew it over and over. It is strong when sewed that way. When they sew a pipe sack with sinew, they put spittle on the sinew. They chew it a little. They wet it all the time with the mouth. They sew it like a sack. They do not sew it up to the top [to the mouth].
c. Pahúᵗ pakúᵏam u'ávahkam-hiti kunkupappú-vrinahiti paxe'hva'as

Karixas takunpú-vrin pakú-kam u'ávahkámhiti patakunpík-rú'pmař. Patakunpíkrú'pmaraha'ks, 'assak takunő'vki'uri, kó'mmahite vúrá, xas va; 'um yámmahükkáte va'ú'vriń.

'Aěkúrit te'fmite vura takunfü-vúruk patupivaxráha'k paxe'hva'as, va; 'um pupphahahařa.

d. Pahúᵗ kunkupe'kyá'hi'ti paxe'hvaskiccařa, pahúᵗ kunkupe'krú'pka'hiti

Karixas 'ifuctímmite xas takuníkrú'pka' pamukícčapař, paxe'h-vaskiccařa, pamukícčapára-he'e 'ippař. Takunkárip eur pa-vä斯塔řan, 'axák?á'ksíp va; kó; vá-ramahiti' va; takuníkrú'pka', 'ippamnú'k. Šippap va; káñIPPap takuníkrú'pka' pavä斯塔řan pakicčapař.

Pahúᵗ kunkupa'ärrippa'ahiti patáfířápu' (HOW THEY TURN THE PIPE SACK BACK RIGHT SIDE OUT)

Then they turn it again right side out when they get through sewing it. When they finish sewing it, they soak it in water, a little while, so it is easy to turn right side out.

They rub a little grease on when it gets dry, so it will not be so stiff.

(how they make the pipe sack tie thong and how they sew it on)

Then at last they sew on its tie-thong, the pipe sack tie thong, where it is going to be tied, at the top. They cut the thong 2 spans long, they sew it on with buckskin. At one corner they sew the tie-thong on.

(how they cut off spirally a buckskin thong)

Sometimes they cut off a widish piece of buckskin. Then they cut off a thong, with a piece of white rock. It makes into long thongs that way. They cut it around. Then they put water on it. Then they run it through their hands. It makes good thongs. Sometimes they rub grease on.

They keep cutting round and round the edge of a scrap of buckskin, cutting off long thongs in this way, which are later worked and stretched with the hands and made to lie out flat and good.
E. Pahú't kunkupamáhyā'nnahiti pehê'raha paxê'hvâ'ssak.

Puyava: paxê'hva's takun-pikya't', karixas takô-h, pehê'raha su? takunmáhyâ'n paxê'hvâ'ssak.

Táya'n vúra kunkupítti 'icya'av, patcimikunmáhyā'nné-caha'k paxê'hvâ'ssak, xas và; takunsuváxra pehê'raha 'irkiv-kí'q, xas và; 'á'k takun-če'qrip'a pa'ahímpak, và; 'avah-kam takun?e'qithi'n, 'ihê'raha-'avahkam, và; kunkupasuvaxrá-hahiti'.94 Karixas xé'hvâ'ssak takunmáhyâ'n.

a. Pahú't kunkupó'hyanákkó-hiti patakunmáhyâ'nnaha'k pehê'raha paxê'hvâ'ssak

Kó: ká'n vúra patakunipmáhyâ'nnamaraha's'k po'hrámmanak kunfúmp'hsípriá'ti:  "Maték xára nímýá'htih'ec. Pa'f'n ká'rim náxxú'shúñicti', 'ám pákam 'iku'ípmé'ec pamuxuské'mha' pa'f'n ká'rim náxxú'shúñicti'." 95 Vo' kupa'akkahiti pehê'raha pe'évéá'nné'en. Pícei'p pata-kunctú'pha xas takunfúmpu 96 pa'ípihê'raha kitc pamútt'ik.

F. Pahú't kunkupé'pkícapahiti po'hrá'm paxê'hvâ'ssak

Takunipkícap paxê'hva's's, ni-namite 97 'uhýánnicukvâte 98 pa-(HOW THEY PUT THE TOBACCO IN THE PIPE SACK)

Behold they finish the pipe sack. Then they are through. They put the smoking tobacco inside in the pipe sack.

Oftentimes the way they do in the winter is that when they are going to fill up a tobacco sack, they dry the tobacco on a disk seat, they take from the fire a live coal, they move it around above, above the tobacco, that is the way they dry it.94 Then they put it into the pipe sack.

(HOW THEY PRAY WHEN THEY PUT THE TOBACCO IN THE PIPE SACK)

Every time they finish putting in tobacco into the pipe they pray: "I must live long. Whoever thinks bad toward me, his bad wishes must go back to him, whoever thinks bad toward me." That's the way he feeds tobacco to the world. They first talk, and then they blow off the tobacco [dustlike crumbs] that remains on the hand.

(HOW THEY TIE UP THE PIPE IN THE PIPE SACK)

They tie up the pipe bag so that the mouth end sticks out a

94 Cp. the description of drying the stems by the same method, p. 95.
95 This is the Karuk form of the Golden Rule.
96 Or takunfúmp'hsíp, or takunfúmp'hsur.
97 Or 'icvit, which means not only half, but a piece of it, a little of it.
98 Or 'uhýaricukvâ, 'umtárâná'mhiti or 'utnícucukti.
HARRINGTON  TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS  

kú:kam 'uhramá'pma'zn.99 Pusu? y'í:v 'ihyarámnihihap pó'tá:m, vur 'umtaránná'mhíthate pa'uhramá'pma'zn. 


Paxé'hva's takumánavurukép'kiccapa:ha'. Kúyra'kkán há:ri pí'avakan 'upsassikivrá'va pó'h-rá'm'ak. 'Affivk'am kú: kunip'kiccapmutí'. Karíy'as takunkixán' yup, pata'ipanni'chak pava'stástan, pate'pë'gú:tkinatchá'k.

G. Pahu't ukupé:hyáramniihi títì po'hrá'm paxe'hvá:ssak

Pehé'taha 'u:zm vura 'asìvávahkam kíte 'u'íppanühití', te'myátexva kunípmáhyánná'tí' paxé'hva'zn. 'Ihé'tahak 'uhyákkuhivá pó'h-rá'm. Pamukkót 'u:zm vura su? 'ihé'tahak 'ukkúramniihá:'.

'Ávahkam 'úyú:nkúříhivá po'h-rá'm, 'ihé'taha'ávahkám, sürukkam pe'hé'taha', 'ávahkam po'h-rá'm. Po'hrá'm xé'hvá:ssak su? ukré'há'k, pakú'kkam má'xn va: kú:kam 'usurukámhíti', pakú'kkam 'ícna'nníte, va: kú:kam 'ú:vahkamhíti'. Va: ukupá'nnámnnihvahíti'.

They think it is because the tobacco smells, it might get on the small end of the pipe. They tie it so tight. As they first saw it, the pipe sack, so they made it. The Ikxareyav's tied up their pipes that way.

Paxé'hva's takumihánavurukép'kiccapa:ha'. Kúyra'kkán há:ri pí'avakan 'upsassikivrá'va pó'h-rá'm'ak. 'Affivk'am kú: kunip'kiccapmutí'. Karíy'as takunkixán' yup, pata'ipanni'chak pava'stástan, pate'pë'gú:tkinatchá'k.

They think it is because the tobacco smells, it might get on the small end of the pipe. They tie it so tight. As they first saw it, the pipe sack, so they made it. The Ikxareyav's tied up their pipes that way.

They tie up the pipe sack by wrapping it [the thong] around. It goes around the pipe three or four times. They wrap it spiraling down. Then they tuck it under, when it is already to the end of the thong, when the thong is already short.

The tobacco only reaches to the top of the bottom. They fill the pipe sack up often. The pipe is sticking in that tobacco. Its rock pipe bowl is sticking down inside of the tobacco.

The pipe is inside on top, on top of the tobacco; the tobacco is underneath, the pipe on top. When the pipe is in the pipe sack, the heavy end is down, the light end is up. It rides inside that way.

99 Or paká'xn 'uhramá'pma'zn. McGuire, fig. 37, shows the pipe put into the pipe sack wrong. "Maybe some White man put it in for taking the picture."

1 Lit. it sits inside thus, or 'ukupe'hyáramniihahiti', it stands inside thus.
H. Pahú·t ukupappíhahitihanik pataxára vaxé·hva’ás
(HOW AN OLD PIPE SACK IS STIFF)

Pataxára kunihró·ha;šk paxé·hva’ás, ’áhup kúnic tāh.³ Pamukun?ástú·kamu’k ’uppíhahiti. Va; xas pakuntápkú’pputi’, pappíha’, va; ’u;m yav pehé·raha ’ukupa-pivrárárümnhahiti su?, patakun-pimëanupnüppaha’šk.

After they use a pipe sack for a long time already, it gets stiff as a stick. It gets stiff with their sweat. They like it that way when it is stiff, then the tobacco falls back down in easily when they tap it.

I. Tusipunyvahiti pakó; ká’kum paxé·hva’ás
(MEASUREMENTS OF SOME PIPE SACKS)

The pipe sack made by Imk’anvan, texts on the making of which have just been given, measures as follows. It is 9½ inches long, 2½ inches wide at bottom, 2½ inches wide at top. Unsewed gap runs down 2½ inches from top. Tie-thong is 17 inches long and spirals five times around the sack when tied. Made to hold a pipe 6½ inches long and 1¾ inches diameter. The mouth end of the pipe projects out of the mouth of the sack a little, leaving about 2½ inches space between the bowl end of the pipe and the bottom of the sack. (See Pl. 34, e.)

A pipe sack made by Fritz Hanson, fringed, and therefore said in scorn by Imk’anvan to look like a White man pistol sack, although it is admitted that pipe sacks were sometimes fringed “a little” in the old time, has its mouth end larger than its base. It measures exclusive of fringe: 6 inches long, 1½ inches wide at bottom, 2½ inches wide at top; the tie-thong is 10¾ inches long and spirals around three times. The fringe is ca. 1 inch long down the entire side, and ¾ inch long at the bottom. The pipe for which it was made is 3½ inches long, 1½ inches diameter at bowl end, and when put in properly, with its mouth end sticking out, leaves 2½ inches space between pipe base and the sack base.

3. Pahú·t kunkupa’è·tī po·hrā’m
(HOW THEY CARRY THE PIPE)

Pakunifyúkkuna·tihañik, ’aka-vákkirák sú’hánik pamukun?úh-ra’šm. Va; vula yittcè;te kunic-kúritihánik panikutakavak- kir, ’éckipatcasháñik. Pa’avansa pé·mpá’šk u’áhō·tī’, va; vura kite

When they used to walk around their pipe used to be down in the quiver. The quiver is all that they used to carry around; they used to just go naked. When a man is walking along the trail he

² Or paxxára tava xé-hvá·sha’šk instead of the last two words.
³ Or ta’áhup kuníc.
carries only his quiver. Then all at once he wants to smoke, he thinks: "I will smoke." Then he lays his quiver on the ground. Then he smokes.

Sometimes he carries his pipe around this way in his quiver. But sometimes he has it tucked under his belt. And sometimes he has it tied onto his belt with one of his tie thongs.

When they carry a pipe they say: 'uhra;m 'u'ê-ôti' (he packs a pipe), as if he were packing something heavy; they do not say: 'uhra;m 'u'avîkvituti' (he packs a pipe). They say: 'uhra;m 'u'ê-ôti'.

4. Pahú't kunkupe'hê-rahiti'

(SMOKING PROCEDURE)\textsuperscript{6a}

In smoking, the Karuk sought the effect of acute tobacco poisoning. Effort was made to take the smoke into the lungs and to hold it there as long as possible. Smoking procedure of the Karuk can not be better summed up than by quoting the words of Benzonî, who has given us one of the very earliest accounts of American Indian tobacco smoking:

"... they set fire to one end, and putting the other end into the mouth, they draw their breath up through it, wherefore the smoke goes into the mouth, the throat, the head, and they retain it as long as they can, for they find a pleasure in it, and so much do they fill themselves with this cruel smoke, that they lose their reason."\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{4} Or su' úkri'\textsuperscript{t}.

\textsuperscript{5} This verb is used of carrying a large or heavy object, e. g., a big log, and also curiously enough of carrying a tobacco pipe, either in hand, under belt, or in quiver.

\textsuperscript{6} Verb used of carrying small and light object in the hand.

\textsuperscript{6a} Illustrations showing the smoking processes will be run in a following section of this paper.

A. Pakumá'a: h kuníhrú-vti hanik pamukun'úhra:m kun'áhkórati hanik

Pa'apxantí-te 'u:m vura hiti- há:n émyyúricihrár kuníhrú-vti pakunihré:ra'ti'. Kuna vura 'u:m kun pa'árá-rás émyyúricihrár pu-'íhrú-vtíhá:, 'a:ch vúra kuníhrú-vtí'.


Há:ri 'ássipák su? kuníá-htí', yu: x su? 'u'í'téra'. Yí; vura há:ri máruk pa'ahup kuntu'ntí'. 'A:ch kuníá-htí 'ássipák. Paká:n pa'ahup kuníkyávící'rak, va; kán 'a'h takuníyav, va; 'u:m kuník- mahatche'8e.

Vura há:ri xas pakuníemyúrici- rihti', vura xaráhva xas kuníhrú-vtí pa'ímyúricihrár.8a

B. Pahút tunkupá'etíricukvahiti po'hrá:m karu pehétaha pa- xé: hvá:ssak

Pa'ávansa 'ihé'taha tuvti:ará- há'ak, patcím uhé'té'cálá'ak, va; kari 'á:pun to'kri:c. Xas tupíp-

(What kind of fire they used for lighting their pipes)

The White men are always using matches when they smoke. But the Indians smoked without using matches, they used the fire.

They have big logs when they are sleeping in the living house; it burns all night, for the logs are big. Sometimes they [the women] put just one piece of log in a pack basket, and bring it home. At frequent intervals during the night they add small pieces to the fire, so that the logs will burn well.

Sometimes they carry fire around in a bowl basket; they have earth in it. Sometimes they go wood gathering far upslope. They pack fire along in a bowl basket. There where they are going to make the wood, there they build a fire, so as to keep warm.

It is only sometimes that they make fire with Indian matches. Only once in a long time do they use Indian matches.8a

(How they take the pipe and the tobacco out of the pipe sack)

Whenever a man has an appetite for tobacco, whenever he wants to smoke, he sits down.

8 Sa. 'úkú'kkíriiva. These logs, usually two in number, are gradually fed into the fire.

8a For illustration of old Tintin making fire with Indian matches see Pl. 35.
Ceremonial Buckskin Bags

a. Larger bag, used for containing smaller bags. This larger bag has a draw string. b, c, smaller bags which are filled with stem tobacco and carried in the larger bag. Models made by Mrs. Mary Ike.
pur pamuxé·hva’s, karixas tó's-yú'ankiv pamu'ührá'm. Xas kу-tutukamátru;⁹ tó'vá·yármni pamuhé·rha’á, va; vúra 'u'a·pún-múti pava; kó; xyáre;c¹⁰ pamu-'ührá’ám·mak, 'atrupű·tcipáři. Xas tí'kká'n, 'atciptí'kká'n to;'i-nákka’ér pamuxé·hvasvastárán.¹¹ Puhithiha’á núra tákkárárihva rá pamúttí·ká'n, há'í 'ápun tó'vá-sirc pamuxé·hva’s. Xas tumáh-ya’n pehéra’áha po'hrá'm·mak. Po'máhyá·mnáthá’k pehéra’áhá po'hrá'm·mak, pakú’kam pamúttí; k po;'t'éra pehéra’áha va; kú-kam pasúrukam 'utákkárárihva pamuxé·hva’s, 'atciptí'ansúrukam 'utákkárárihva vastárán-má'w.k. Tuyúrik pamu'ührá·m-má'w.k. Atrúpití'm va; ká'n 'u'axaytesákkicríhti po'hrá'm. Xas tó'krírihie pamútru;p, pamútrup-mú·k teimítemahíte vura pató'yá-vá·yármni pehéráhá po'hrá'm·mak, kututukamítik’ánká’mmá’k po'kúttcák’tí’. Tik’ánká’mmá’k 'ukúttcák’tí’, kiri ta;y 'uyá-ha’. Pe'kxaréyav va; kunkupíttiha-ník, va; kunkupámáhyá’nanáhitíhaník pamukunúührá’m. Xas a’ utaxicxic’urá·mnáti pamútru;p 'ührá·mmá’w.k, há’í vur ifyaká’m vúra’áva.¹² Va; 'árún kupé'kyá'hití pamútrü·ppák vura ká’kkum u'íftakank'úhiti pehéráha’, pehéra’ahám’ta;p vúra kíc. Va; vúra kíc kúcic pa-

Then he unties his pipe sack, and then he takes out his pipe. Then he spills his tobacco out onto his left palm; he knows how much will fill his pipe, half a palmfull. Then he hangs the tie-thong of his pipesack over his finger, over his middle finger. He does not hang his pipe sack on all the time. Sometimes he lays it on the ground. Then he puts the tobacco into the pipe. When he fills the tobacco into the pipe the tobacco lies on the same hand from which the pipe sack is suspended, hanging by its tie-thong from the middle finger. He puts his pipe underneath. He holds the pipe at the [outer] edge of his [left] palm. Then he tips his palm up, spilling the tobacco into the pipe with his palm a little at a time, pressing it in repeatedly with his left thumb. He mashes it in with his thumb, he wants to get more in. The Íkxareyavs did that way, filled their pipes that way. Then he rubs the pipe [bowl] upward across his palm several times. He empties his pipe that way. It is that some sticks [to his palm], just tobacco dust. That is all they blow off, that tobacco dust. The tobacco is kind of moist all the time, it sticks to a person [to a person’s hand]. They

⁹ Always on his left hand; any other way would be awkward.
¹⁰ Or kó; ’uxyáre’c.e.
¹¹ So that the pipe sack hangs down over the back of the left hand.
¹² The outstretched left palm is tipped so that the thumb side is somewhat raised and the pipe bowl is wiped caressingly upward across it a few times as if to gather up the adhering tobacco.
takunfúmpû-hsun,\textsuperscript{13} pehë-rahâ-m-ta'rp.

'Asxâ' yîkûnic pe'hë-raha', 'ar 'u-'itakânkó-itti'. Xus kunè-techâyâ'-tchiti' xa'y upâsxay, kunxûti xay 'upâsxay'. Patupâsxâ-yapa'hâ\textsuperscript{a}k, va' kâri pù'amanâ-hâhâ. Kunic 'utá-ptime pató-ssâ-yhâ\textsuperscript{a}k. 'Ap-mânka:m paxé-hyâ:s. Paxé-hvâ:smû'k kunâvâ:yramânîhâ\textsuperscript{a}k 'uhrá:m'mak, va' 'um 'áp'un 'uyv'érehé'sc, 'áp'un.

Patu'ârunha pamútru'p pe'hê-raha', karixas tufúmpû'ssip, to-te'pha, toppirp: 'Teú pây Turucip\textsuperscript{14} nu'âkki', pe'hê-raha'; teú pây kâ':kkum nu'âkki Turucip; teú pây 'âm kâ':kkum, Turucip. CWé, teú pây Turucip nu'âkki', maték 'ikci; t nanmâhe'sc. CWé, 'Iyêvânnâ'ë'ns, maték pufâ-ť ná'í-kêcîpré-vicâ:ra,\textsuperscript{15} CWé, 'Iyèvânnâ'ë'ns. Há:ri k'aru vura va' kunipttti': 'Maté'kxâra nîmyâ-hi:hè'sc. Maték 'ikci; t nanmâhe'sc. Maték 'asiktâva:n nîpîkvä-n-mâ're'sc.'\textsuperscript{16}

Pavura fâttak yî:v kunifyûk-kutiha'\textsuperscript{a}k, há:ri va' kunipttti': 'Iyêvânnâ'ë'ns, maték namahavnìk'âya-tchê'sc. Pufâ-ť vûra kâ'tîmâhâ nakuphê:câ:ra.'

Há:ri kâri vura pehë-rahâ:m-ku'f kunfumpûhpré-vûtì', va' vûra kunkupítìi pakuñvé:nâffiíptìi.\textsuperscript{13}

As he empties the tobacco off his hand, he blows the tobacco dust out of his [left] hand, he talks, he says: "Take this tobacco that I give thee, Mountain; take some of this that I give thee, Mountain; take and eat some of this, Mountain. CWé, take this that I give thee, Mountain, may I be lucky. CWé, Earth, may nothing get on me, CWé, Earth." Or they say: "May I live long. May I have luck. May I be able to buy a woman."

Or when one is traveling somewhere far, he will say sometimes: "Land, mayst thou be glad to see me. May I have no troubles."

But sometimes they blow tobacco smoke, praying the same way.

\textsuperscript{13} As a food sacrifice to the mountains, the earth, etc.

\textsuperscript{14} Addressing any near-by sacred mountain; regularly Medicine Mountain, if the smoker is at Katimin.

\textsuperscript{15} Mg. may no disease or hatred get on me.

\textsuperscript{16} Added by the pray-er partly in fun.
C. Pahú't kunkupa'áhkó-hiti po-hrá: m'mak

a. Pahú't kunkupa'áhkó-hiti po-hrá'm 'áhupmá"u'k

Patu'á'hkáha':k pamu'úhra'"m, patuhé'ráha'"k, hári 'áhupmá'k tu'á'ha'. Vánnámicic hári pa'áhu p, karu hári 'ahúp?annamhaic, 'á'pun vura tu'á'ssip pa'áhu p, fá't vůrava kuma'áhu p. Hári karu vura sátip, pamú'k tu'á'ha', saníp?anammanhaic. Vura 'u':m tǎay 'ukritúmp̄í'ívâ sarip 't'nmá"k, pavik?aré"p.17

Karu hári sáppikmá'k tu'á-hripa"n, sapíkkipaníte patu'ín-k'a'. Pasáppikmá'k tu'á'ha'. 'Áhupmá'k tu'á'ha'. 'Áhup 'á'pun tu'á'ssip. 'Á'hak tǔyű'n-ká'. 'A'k tǔyǔnkír ipannf"n'te,18 va; 'u':m 'u'í'nké"c ipannf"n'te,19 'u'axaytcákkticrihti 'ápapkám.20 Xas 'ippan patu'ínk'a', karíxas vamú'k tu'á'ha' pamu'úhram'íppaníte.

b. Pahú't kunkupa'áhkó-hiti po-hrá'm 'ímnákkamá"u'k

Hári kumakkári pu'áhupmá'k 'á'hkútihařa, 'ímnákkámá'k tu'á'ha' pamu'úhrar"m. 'ímnák tó:ta'ntak pamu'úhrár'm'mák.

(HOW THEY LIGHT THE PIPE)

When he lights his pipe, when he smokes, sometimes he lights it with a stick. It is a longish stick sometimes, and sometimes a little stick, some stick that he picks up from the floor, just any stick. Sometimes also it is a hazel stick that he lights it with, a little hazel stick. There are always lots of hazel sticks lying around in the living house, rejects. And sometimes he takes fire out with the poker-stick, with it burning at the end. He lights it with the poker-stick.

He puts fire on it with a stick. He picks up a stick from the floor. He sticks it into the fire. He puts the tip in the fire, so the tip of the stick burns, he is holding the other end. Then when it burns at its tip, then with it he lights the top of his pipe.

(HOW THEY LIGHT THE PIPE WITH A STICK)

Other times he does not light it with a stick, he lights his pipe with a coal. He puts a coal on top of his pipe.

17 Name applied to the poorer hazel sticks, after the best have been picked out for basket weaving.
18 Or 'íppankám.
19 Or 'ífíti va; 'u':m tu'ín 'ípannf"n'te.
20 Or 'u'axaytcákkticrihti levít.
a'. Pahú't tikmú'k su'yä'te vura kunkupažänkó'hití pemnak po'hrá'm'mak

Hári tikmú'k vura tu'è'tripa' pe'mnak, 'ayu'á'te sákriyv mit pamukuntí'k! Pura fát vura 'áhup vura pu'íhrú'vtihára. 'Á'punite vura po'è'tí pamu'úhrá'm pomató'ánnámi pe'mnak, tikmú'k vura, va; 'ú';m yá'mmá-húkkáte 'ukupáðá'nnámnihahe'c'. Hári 'ú;p'mahónkó'nnati'.

Sákriyv 'upmahónkó'nnati'.

Tu'è'tcip tikmú'k pe'mnak. Xas vura 'ú';m te'-mya'te 'úhrá'm'mak to'ánnám'ni.

Xâ's sas vura hitha'n tikmú'k pa-tu'è'tripa'a, kuna vur 'úmtcá'ktn pamúttí'k, kari 'atrúp to'ánnám'ni. Vura 'ú';m 'ú';ittaptí po'kupa'asicce'nnahiti'. Xannahite vura to'kritiva'ytíva' pa-mútrú'ppák, pa'a'sh, va; 'ú';m pu'ímtcákka'cáfá. Karixas sûrú-kam tuyúrik po'hrám, pehè'raha su' 'ú';yrá'. Xas va; kâ'n to'k-kí'mnánmmáth pe'mnak 'úhrá'm'mak. Karixas tupamaháma'.

b'. Pahú't kunkupatatvá'rá'hití su'yä'te vura pe'mnak po'hrá'm'mak

Hári 'uhtatvá'rá'mú'k tó'-tátvar pe'mnak, 'uñnam'pppanite to'tátvar. 'Ikrírvá'mmák vsáppik sáppik 'úévú'yi'. 'Áxxa kó'k pamukunsáppik 'íkrírvá'm'mák, yiíáa 'úévú'yi puñitsáppik, va; karixas vura kumírú'vti papú-fítc takuní'ávahá'k, karu yiíáa ikrivramsáppik, va; 'ú';m vura hitha'n kumíhhrú'vti. Kuna pek-mahátcr'ám vsáppik 'ú';m yiíáa (how they put the coal directly into the pipe with their fingers)

Sometimes he takes out the coal just with his fingers, they had such tough fingers! He uses no stick. He holds his pipe low when he puts the coal in with his fingers, so he can put it in more easily. He feels kind of smart. He picks the coal up from the fire with his fingers. Then quickly he puts it into the pipe.

Most of the time he takes it out with his fingers, but it burns his fingers, whereupon he puts it in his palm. He knows how to handle it. For a moment he rocks it, the fire, in his palm, so it will not burn him. Then he holds the pipe underneath, the tobacco in it. Then he drops there the coal into the pipe. Then he smacks in.

(how they Tong the coal directly into the pipe)

Sometimes he tongs the coal into his pipe with the tobacco tonging inserter sticks; he tongs it into the top of the pipe. The living house poker stick is called sappik. They have two kinds of poker stick in the living house, one is called deer poker stick, which they use when they eat deer, and the other the living house poker stick which they use

21 Lit., he feels stout.
22 Or: to'krihiríti.
all the time. But the sweathouse poker stick is called differently; it is called tobacco tonging inserter. It has a high name. For it is a man’s tobacco tonging inserter. The tobacco tonging inserter is made of arrowwood. They dry the arrowwood and then they make the tobacco tonging inserter. Those are the ones that they use in the sweat-house when they smoke. With them they tong the coal into top of the pipe, with them.

They do not take fire out with it, they do not light the point of the tobacco tonging inserter, they only tong coals around with it. They do not want the tobacco tonging inserter to get burned. Sometimes they take the fire out on a little stick, but never on the tobacco tonging inserter stick. All that they do with the tobacco tonging inserter stick is to put the fire coal on top of the pipe with it. They know how to use the tobacco tonging inserter.

He always uses two of the tobacco tonging inserter sticks to

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23 Old expression. Cp. ‘a’váři tupáttuvic [high priced dentalium string of several denominations] exceeds the tattoo mark on the forearm; the expression is also used as slang and means: It is very valuable.
to-tá·tsíp. Há·ri vura ye·ttee·tc pamúti·k'kumú·k to-tá·tvar,24 'u·m vúra vo·kupé·tó·hi ti pohtat·vára'rr, 'apaptí·kumú·k 25 vúra, 'ayu'átc 'áppap 26 'u·axayták·kicihti po·hrá·m. Va· mú·k to·tá·tvar pe·mnak 'uhnamúppanańtc paká'n pehétah u'í'ëra'. Va· kari tupákí-tcúr pe·mnak, patu·'íkayá·tcha;k pehétáha.

c'. Pahút 'ápun picci;p kunku·pata·tcri·hvihti pe·mnak

Há·ri 'ápun 'ahinámtímmítc to-tháric picci;p pe·mnak kó·ma·hite 'ápun to-tháric karixas ik po·tha·ntakc;e pamú'íhrá·m' mak mussúrukám.27 'Uhtatvara·rú·mú·k vura pato tá·trípa; pe·mnak, há·ri vura tí·kmú'ük, tu·t'é·trípa'as. Pura hári xay vura námá·híthiha'n í'nna'ak kuantanükrippanati 'ahu·pumú·k pe·mnak,28 'uká·ríhíhi síú'íhíva pamúkú'ná'as'. í'ínnák 'u·m púva; kúpíttiha'p, kuna vura márúx xas 'ikvé·cricíra'sm, paku·híram karu vura 'akunváram, va· ká'n xas kuantanükrippanati pa'á'ah, va· kunkupa·áhkó·hi ti pamúkú'núhra'm pakúnihé·ra'ti'. Mussúrukám 29 to·ttát'tic pa'a·hímnak 'asapataprihak.30 Xás tí·kmú'k xas tu·t'é·ttícíp, 'atrá;p tó·thá·mnámni pa'á'áh, to·kri·

pick up the coal with. Sometimes he tongs it in with one hand only, he uses the tobacco tonging inserter stick that way, with the hand of one side only, for with his other hand he is holding up the pipe. With them he tongs the coal into the top of the pipe where the tobacco is inside. Then he pushes the coal off, when the tobacco burns good.

24 Like a Chinaman handles two chopsticks in one hand. He handles the two pokers, which are about a foot long and ½-inch diameter, and usually of arrowwood, most dextrously.
25 Mg. with one hand.
26 Lit. on the other side.
27 Lit. under him.
28 Or: pa'a·a'ah.
29 Lit. beneath him.
30 Of the sweathouse.

(SHOW THEY TOSS THE COAL DOWN ON THE FLOOR FIRST)

Sometimes he puts the coal on the floor by the fire first, puts it for a moment on the floor, before he puts it in the pipe, beside him. He tongs the coal out with the tobacco tonging inserter sticks, or with his hand. I never saw them in the house scrape the coal out with a stick, it is hard to do it for it is deep where their fire is. In the house they do not do that, but out in the mountains at a camping place, at an acorn camping place, or at a hunting camping place they shovel out fire to light their pipes with when they smoke. He lays the fire coal beside him on the rock floor. Then he picks it up with his fingers, he puts it in his palm, he rocks his
hrí pamut'tî'k, va; 'u:m pu'im-
tc'á'k'thâra. Xas va; kâ'ñ tò- ùntak pehê-râha'â'vahkarî, pa'-hîm'nak. Puxây vura 'a:z.y 'ik'yû-
vû'thâra. Patu'î-k'hâ'a'k, va; kâ'iri tupáktî-f'cûr pe'mnakin, 'a'k tupáktî-f'kiri. Xas kuyrâkya'ñ un kunic tupipamâhma'. Karixas tupáktî-f'cûr, pe'mnakin. Tu'înk'á- yû'tchâ sù'f pehê-râha'.

D. Pahu't kunkupe-hyâsi-prî-na-
vaahiti po'hrà'm, papiç'te ta-
kunihê-râha'k

Patu'î'hkâ'ñ po'hrà'm, kari 'a? to'hyâsi-prînmma0 po'hrà'm. Karixas 31 'a? tukûssî po'hrà'm. 'A? 'uhyâsi-prîmmâ'tî po'hrà'm. 'A? 'u'thya 'u'axaytcâkkiêrihit'. 'A? 'uhyâsi-prîvtî pa'uhrà'm, 'ux-
xuti xây 'uyvâ'c, vo'kupaxaytcâk-
kiêhâhitî 'a? uhyâsi-prîvtî pa-
mu'uhra'sm. 'A? 'uhyâsi-prîvtî}
pamu'uhra'1sm, va; vur ukupa-
'axaytcâkkiêhâhitî, 'a? uhyâsi-
sîp. 'A? vâri vur upâttumti', xay 'uyvâ'yrice'k pehê-râhâ'. 'A'h
tûyû'ñkâ', 32 'uhnam'îp̥pañitè.

E. Pahu't 'ápunite va; kari ta-
kunpaxaytcâkkiêrihit', paxân-
nahitè tu'înk'á'ñk

Papiç'te tuhê-râha'k, puxxîtè When he first smokes, he has to
'â'uhyâsi-prîvti po'hrà'm papûva hold the pipe tilted up very much,

Mit nim̲m̲áh̲ítə̲h̲at kunihərətì̲ papini̲ñ̲tt̓cítə̲cas. 'ʔá̲n mit nim̲m̲və̲hət̓ pihnt̓cítə̲c naniy̲ú̲-kk̕i̲rəkəm 'uh̲é-ʔərti̲, 'ah̲i̲y̲ú̲-k̕k̕iy̲rəkəm, kəru ná̲ʔ i̲y̲ú̲k mit nikr̲é'tət. Papic̲é'tc 'uh̲é'ʔt̓, 'aʔ ʔuyássip pamu̲ú̲hrəm, pice̲t̓tc vərə pún̲ámm̲áht̓hət̓ sù̲ puə̲ʔa'ak. Papuxnx̲̓w̲̓tc 'u̲i̲nk̕a'ʔə, və̲ karixas nim̲m̲v̲ə̲hət̓ sù̲ 'imtənə̲n̲ámm̲níh̲itə pó̲i̲nk̕ú̲tí, və̲ kə̲r̲ ʔapunite tupt̓ppə̲c pamu̲ú̲hrəm. Mit nim̲m̲və̲h̲ítə̲h̲at pám̲íta ník̕ří̲t̓kə̲ ʔiy̲ú̲'ak. Taxán̲n̲ánh̲ic̲ítc 'itcyú̲-k̕i̲n̲ú̲y̲á̲tc kút̓k 'ʔú̲h̲y̲áv̲ú̲tí̲ pó̲hrəm.

H̲á̲r̲í mit tax̲s̲á̲rá̲v̲én̲îk nim̲m̲v̲ú̲št̓hət̓ pa̲á̲raʔt̓ pó̲h̲érət̓i̲h̲a'kə, 'ikməhət̓ca̲m kəru vərə mit nim̲m̲v̲ú̲št̓hət̓ pám̲ítə̲və kunihə-rən̲a̲-ʔəh̲at̓, pám̲ítə̲kə̲n̲ú̲ní̲k̕v̲an̲á̀-ʔəh̲at̓'akə, pa̲é̲m 'u̲i̲-ʔəhti̲hə'kə, h̲á̲r̲í mit və̲ra̲ sù̲ nim̲m̲v̲ú̲št̓hət̓, pó̲i̲nk̕ú̲tí̲ peh̲ə-rəh̲a̲', pó̲hrə-m̲ak sù̲ pó̲i̲nk̕ú̲tí̲. F. Pah̲ú̲t̓ kun̲kupapamahmá̲hə̲hi̲tə'

"A̲̲h̲ t̲ú̲y̲ú̲n̲ka', xás ká̲r̲í tupamá̲hμ̲a', 34 va̲̲x̲ xas kumá̲'i̲ʔi̲ tú̲n-in-

33 Or sù̲ pú̲sákə̲r̲í-vhə'.
34 Ct. 'upá̲t̓cupti', he kisses. The Karuk used to only kiss and cluck on the skin of babies. They did not kiss adults.
kū̱kk̂ir patupamáhma'. Va: kar35 upamáhm̂áĥi'. Xas tu'ínk'a'.

G. Pahú̱t kunkupé̱cn̂á'kvahiti'

'Ityakán víra tupipám'ma, 'apmá'n kári pamu'úhra's'm. Kuryákyam kunic po-pipám-mahti'. Pehé-ráhá'mku't, 'axyár tó'kyav pamúpmáo'n'âk. Kari̊xas tēka't-imite vura tō'ppé̱thú-pa; po-hrá'm pamúpmáo'n'âk. Kari̊xas tō'sná'kva',36 Puxx̂i̊tc vura tó'myá'khûv,37 hántáhite kunic 'ukupáttce'pháhítc, va; páy 'úkupáttc: "θ..." Xas teé'mya;tc vura tupámtečk. Kó'mahite vura tō'ppá̱xíti38 'apmá'nak39 su' pa-ámku"f. Kiri su?. Kó'mahite vura tupíck'áhti' 'a' u'é̱-ôti pamu'úhra's'm,40 tó'xní'chá', kunic tcm upúff̂áthe', 'upámtečkî'. Víra pukunic k̂ó'hitáhâ. Kunic kite 'uxxúti': "Kiri sú'ta'y pehé-ráhá'mku"f." Va: vur upé̱pmahónkó'nnáhíti'. Xas to'msússúricuc yúffiv pehé-ráhá'mku"f, káruma víra 'u'm kár upámteč'k-tí'. Pićci̊p yúffivk'am to'msússúricuc, kâri pûva táxrâr. Kari̊xas tutáxråf, tupímyá'hrúpâ.41

(HOW THEY TAKE THE TOBACCO SMOKE INTO THE LUNGS)

He smacks in a few times with the pipe still in his mouth. About three times it is that he smacks in. He fills his mouth with the tobacco smoke. Then he takes the smoke out of his mouth slowly. Then he takes the smoke into his lungs. He sucks in, makes a funny sound, he goes this way: "θ..." Then quickly he shuts his mouth. For a moment he remains motionless holding his pipe. He shakes, he feels like he is going to faint, holding his mouth shut. It is as if he could not get enough. It is just as if “I want more in, that tobacco smoke.” That is the way he feels. Then tobacco smoke comes out from his nose, but his mouth is closed tight. It comes out of his nose before he opens his mouth. Then he opens his mouth, he breathes out the to-

35 For kári.
36 The verb refers to the whole action, taking and holding the smoke in the lungs and exhaling, and the two sounds that accompany it.
37 Or tó'myá'hrâ̱f. This is the ordinary verb to inhale.
38 The same verb is used of holding water in the mouth.
39 This is the idiom. 'iwayne su', in his chest. may also be used.
40 Held up with partly flexed arm.
41 When a doctor is dancing and is tired he “breathes out” a note: 'ae-i...'. This is called tó'myá'hrúpâ'; she breathes out. He sucks in air to drive the tobacco smoke into his lungs with a ϑ-resonance, but breathes it out merely with an h-resonance.
bacco smoke. Smoke comes out of his nose, too. It comes out of his mouth, too, but not much. And smoke is coming off of the pipe, as he holds it. He shuts his eyes, he looks kind of sleepy-like. His hand trembles, as he puts the pipe to his mouth again. Then again he smacks in. He smokes again like he smoked before. A few or maybe four times he takes the pipe from his mouth. Then, behold, he knows he has smoked up the tobacco, there is no more inside [the pipe]. As he smokes he knows when there are only ashes inside. He just fills up the pipe once, that is enough. That is enough, one pipeful. He rests every once in a while when smoking. The he puffs again. He does not have the pipe in his mouth long, but it takes him a long time to smoke.

Then after he gets through smoking he inhales with spitty sound for a long time. Sometimes he lies down, making the spitty inhaling sound yet. It [sounds] like he is still tasting in his mouth the tobacco smoke yet.

42 Or tupamáhma'. Tupicki"n, like tupamáhma', means he smacks in several times. But tupám'ma', he smacks in once.

43 The verb is derived from 'uxrâ-h, berry, and means to inhale with half-closed mouth, thereby producing a long and loud interjection of deliciousness, which is used especially when eating berries and after smoking tobacco.
H. Pahú't kunkupittí patakun-pícná-kvamaraha'k

Va:vúra kó:vúra top'mahón-
ko'ñ i'ñal:òc vúra, pató:sná-k
váha'k. Hári vura pamúyu:p
'ñi to'ñiyúvura'k. Karu hári tu-
pikiyívira'k, vássihk:am tupíkyl-
vivra'k, tec'myá:te vura 'á:pun
to'ñéríic pamu'úhra'ñ'm, karixas
pato'kyívic. Xas takuntákkav,
kó:vúra takunikcá'ñváná'k. Pu-
'ñcará 'f:ñ vúra xúz 'ë'ñtilá:ñ,
xá:ñ iyí'ñah 'umyú:ñni, kuna
pó'kultíi kumái'ñi tìupúf:ñá:ñ'k,
víri va: 'ùm 'iccaha kun?ás-
kó'ttìi. Vura pehërahamák
tupúffá-thá'k, puxxára 'arim
thá:né:ña.

Hári pe'kphíhanha'k pehëraha',
pa:ñansa patuhè'ñahà:ñ k vura
pu'á:púnmutihara patupúfá-
thá'. Hári vura 'á:pun to'kyívic
vura pu'á:púnmutihara. 'Iñ:ña-
ra 'f:ñ xas takunippé'or: "Yàxa
tupúffá-thá'." Tákonma vúra
xas pamúttí:ñk 'úxni'chíñi'.

Kunipití ká:kkum papihñ't-
teicàs kuníktí'inñáti', patakun-
píhè'ëmárañáha'ñ'k, kó:vúra i'ñal:òc
kunípmahónk:ññáti'. Xara vura
'upmamahónk:ññáti yav, pehëraha
povíctáññthá'ñ'k, xára vura yáv
'upmamahónk:ññáti'. Hári 'á:pun
tó'kyívic, tómyú:ñ'mí, mit nim-
myá:ñññí. Hári, mit kunkupití-
thá', papihñ't-teeicàs. 'Ikphí-
han pehëraha', víri va: pakunvíctá-
thá'. 'á:pun takunikyívic. 'U:ñ-
kun vúra takunpímtàv. Kunták-
ká:ñtì kíte pappinhñ't-teeicàs.
Pakunihè'ññá:ñi kunteúphinañ'ti
'ikmahátara'ñ'm. 'Axmay ñk vúra
yíñña taputeú:phíthíññá, hinup

(HOW THEY DO AFTER THEY TAKE
THE TOBACCO SMOKE INTO THE
LUNGS)

He feels good over all his meat
when he takes it into his lungs.
Sometimes he rolls up his eyes.
And sometimes he falls over,
backward he falls over backward.
He puts his pipe quickly on the
ground, then he falls over. Then
they laugh at him, they all laugh
at him. Nobody takes heed,
when one faints from smoking,
but if he faints because he is
sick, then they throw water on
him. When it is from tobacco
that he faints, he does not lie
there still long.

Sometimes when the tobacco
is strong, he takes it himself when
he smokes does not know when
he faints away. Sometimes he
falls to the ground and does not
know it. Somebody else says:
"Look, he is fainting." They see
his hands shake.

They say that some old men
have to walk with a cane, when
they have finished smoking, they
feel it over their whole meat.
He feels good for a long time
after he smokes, if he likes to
smoke, he feels good for a long
while. Sometimes he falls on
the ground, he feels faint. I used
to see them, the old men. It was
strong tobacco, that was what
they liked. They fall on the
ground. They come to again.
They always laugh at the old
men. When they smoke they
talk in the sweathouse. All at
once one man quits talking, it
Some were fainters when they smoked, others never did faint. Some faint when the tobacco gets strong for them, and others do not. Vaskak was a fainter when he smoked. Everybody knew that Vaskak was a fainter. Vaskak used to faint, but he liked it.

When he first starts to smoke he does not fall. It is when he finishes smoking a pipeful of tobacco that he falls; it is then that as it gets strong for him he falls.

(How they take the pipe out of the mouth)

When he finishes smoking, then he puffs the ashes out. Then he takes it out of his mouth. Then he raps the pipe [bowl, against anything he raps it.)

43a Some broke wind when they fainted.
44 Ct. papiccf'tc tuhē-rā'nhā'ak, when he [a boy] first starts in to smoke.
Then when he is going to put his pipe back inside [the pipe sack], then he gently taps with his pipe, or sometimes with a little stick, against the pipe sack. He wants the tobacco to all settle down to the bottom inside. He taps it so that the tobacco will fall back down, so that it will fall to the bottom.

First he taps that pipe sack. Then he puts the pipe back in the pipe sack. The end where he makes the fire goes to the bottom. He puts it in kind of slow. Then he ties it up, he wraps the thong about it. His thong is long that he wraps it with. The mouth end sticks outside a little, the part where he puts his mouth, it sticks outside of the pipe sack. Then he ties it first of all at the top. Then he wraps it spiraling downward. Then he tucks it in, under the tip of the tie-thong. Then he puts it back under again, back under his belt, or sticks it back in his quiver, his pipe sack.

This is the ordinary verb meaning to drum, as in the Indian card game. The diminutive, kunkupapim0anuvnuppahiti', can also be used, and is often used, of tapping an object when one is emptying out its contents.

Or tcim upihyaráññihè.cáhà:k.

Or tupim0anúv'nuv.

Old expression referring to the spiral wrapping.
L. Pahūt 'ukupe-hērāhiti pafatavēnna"n

Pateim u'ā'hke'caha;k pafata-vēnna'n pamu'úhra"m, va; kari piççi;p pamusittekavu'tvar tupic-yū'nki'r, tupī'ru, vastāranmā'k tupinhi'ci'r, muppi'mate 'ā'pun tō-pē'ārīc, yāstī'kki'kām'kam muppi'mate tō-pē'ārīc. Karixas tu-paõakh'i 'ā'pun, su? tumåhāy;m 'ührā;mak pamuhē'ra'hā, tu'ā'hka pamu'úhra"m, karixas tupihē"r.

5. Pahūt pa'ahaf sāripmā' kun-kupe'kfunāthuni po'hrā'mi'-mak

Paxxāra takunihētaravaha"k po'hrā'm, u'ā'hahiti sūh. 'Upatc-rūkutrukutti tl' tl" 50 pa'ārā'r tuhē-rāhā"k. 51 'Amakkē"m. To'ppēp: "'If 'amakkē"m, tu'ū-hāfha'. Tupāttcak po'hrā'm, pūxāy ta'amkū-hōričkithārā, po'hram'āmu"f. 'Uppēp: "'E", tupāttcak."

Kārixas pe'hērāhā tupīfva-yrē-cūk, ti'kk'an tupīfva-yrām'ni, xā; t 'imfir. Kāri sārip tu'āppiv, 'ikmahātera;m vura su? u'ākkārīmvā maftf'mite 52 pamukunikrikukvār'ar, sārip. Yiōta tu'ā-sip, va; mā'k tupikrūkkō'or, saripmā'k tupikrūkko'or, taka'te k'vū-ūic, pe'kxaramkunīc'ūhaf va; mā'k tō-kfrū-trābūn. Pakū'kam 'uhrumāpman"n va; kū'kam 'u'arāvū'kti patupikrūkkō'or, 'ip-pankam kū'k 'u'ikrūkkuvuti. (SMOKING PROCEDURE OF THE FATAVENNAN)

When the fatavennan is going to light his pipe, he then first takes off his belt, he rolls it up, he ties it with the tie-thongs, he lays it down beside him on the ground, beside him on his right he lays it down. Then he kneels on the ground, he puts his tobacco in the pipe, he lights the pipe, then he smokes.

(HOW THEY RAM THE NICOTINE OUT OF THE PIPE WITH A HAZEL STICK)

When they use a pipe a long time to smoke with, it gets nicotine inside. It makes a clucking noise tl' tl' when a person smokes it. It does not taste good. He says: "How bad it tastes, it is nicotiny." The pipe is stopped up, the smoke can not come out. He says: "It is stopped up."

Then he spills the tobacco out, he spills it onto his hand, he does not care if it is hot. Then he hunts a hazel stick, in the sweathouse inside in the matimitc there is a [little] pile of rammers, hazel sticks. He picks up one, he passes it through, he passes a hazel stick through it, slowly. With that stick he rams out the black nicotine. He starts from the mouth end when he runs it through, he runs it through to-

49 He also always lays his spoon down on his right.
50 Like an ordinary cluck made to a horse.
51 Or patuhē-rahā"k.
52 They keep a little pile of the hazel sticks in the matimitc by the wall.
Xas va; kuna kú'kam passárip tu'axayteákkic kite 'uhram'ppankan-kam. 'Ar u'iftakankó'ttī'. 'Im-xaak krótkem. Teaka'im'tic vura tu'iøyurucuk passárip 'ippankan-kam. Picc'tc patu'iøyurucuk passárip, kari 'ā-k tupá'kiri. Fā't vur ukikkve'c. Karixas 'apmá:n-mūk tupáftursur pa'úhař, su' patú'ppituca pa'úhař.53 Xas áhuppak 'a'á tupiknúpunp, te-ka'im'tic vura.

Va; vúra kítc pakunkupe'kyá'-hiti', va; kári tayav. Vúra u:un pu'ecáhámúk pióxa'áltípa. Va; vúra kítc payáv kunkupapik-yá'hiti', pakunikfutáthunati pa'úhař passáripmú'uk.

Paxxará takunihé'ataravahacík po'hrá-m, va; kári sú'kam taxíkki pe'kkövo't. 'Ikkö'takam su' u'ímkú'tí pa'úhař, viri va; pazíkki su', 'umtákta'kpa0'tí'. Té-kxarámkunícík su'kam káru. 'Ippan káru kúníc to'mtákta'kpa0 pe'kkö'v, pataxxaráha'ak.

6. Pahú't kunkupítitihaník súpp-pá'íhak, pahú't kunkupe'hé'tahitihani k'árú vúra

'Axákya:n kunpáphi-kkirihti yíotta súppa'la, mahú't kar ikxurar. Karu 'axákyá'nnítc vura kunípp-pámítc.54 Mahú't vura kítc kunái'mtí kar ikxurar, 'axákyá'nnítc vura kítc pakuníppamítc.'

ward the top. Then he takes hold of the stick at that end, at the bowl end of the pipe. It is sticky. It smells strong. He pulls the hazel stick out slowly from the bowl end. As soon as he pulls it out, he throws it into the fire. It might get on something. Then he puffs out the nicotine, the little pieces of nicotine that still are in there. Then he taps it out [by hitting the pipe bowl] on a piece of wood, slowly.

That's all they do, then it will be all right. They never wash it with water. That's the only way they clean it, by ramming the nicotine out with the hazel stick.

When they use a pipe for smoking a long time, the stone pipe bowl gets rough inside. The nicotine gets burned on inside the stone pipe bowl and so it gets rough inside; it gets pitted. It gets black inside, too. Also the end surface of the stone pipe bowl is somewhat pitted, when it has been (used for) a long time.

(Their daily life and how they smoked)

They sweat themselves twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. And they eat twice a day, too. They eat only in the forenoon and evening; it is only twice that they eat.

53 By puffing into the mouthpiece.
54 Or kunái'mtí'.


One gets up early in the sweat-house, he goes for sweat-house wood. It is lucky to be packing sweat-house wood all the time. He goes out when all are asleep yet. He does not want anybody to know when he goes out.

Then when he comes with the sweat-house wood, all jump up. They hear him far away as he cries coming downslope with the sweat-house wood. He comes with the sweat-house wood to the hatchway. Then one takes the wood from inside, taking it in from on top a stick at a time. Then there is no more wood [outside]. Then they sweat. All the wood is inside, the sweat-house wood, sweating wood, fir limbs. It is the rule that even if two different Indians pack in sweat-house wood [separately], they all have to sweat each time.

When they finish sweating, then quite a while afterwards they eat, in the living house they eat. Then they eat breakfast, when the sun is somewhat high. They watch the sun.

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55 This verb, lit. to pack on the shoulder, is the old expression used of a man performing the sacred and luck-bringing chore of getting sweat-house wood. He steals out of the sweat-house at dawn, goes up the mountain side, cuts branches from fir trees enough to make a shoulder load, incidentally trimming the trees through his daily raids into ornamental shapes which are seen from afar, brings the load downslope crying a lamentful hinuwē which helps to wake the already rousing rancheria, and tosses his branches beside the sweat-house hatchway. Much more complete texts have been obtained on this subject than the present text which purposes only the description of tobacco usage.

56 Cp. the prsn. 'Ikvāttar:n, name of a younger brother of Snepax (Mrs. Benny Tom), mg. getter of sweat-house wood.

57 Or mitah'āhup.
Vura 'u;m tef'mite vura paku-nihé-rati mah'ít vura patakun-páphi'kkirihmáráhá'sk. Karu vura patakunpávarahá'sk, tef'mite vura kíte 'u;mkun pehé-ráthánsán.

In the evening they all come back. Sometimes they come back one by one, and sometimes in bunch. And sometimes somebody comes over to visit them, when they come back. They know what time supper is going to come.

Patakumpávarahá'sk, va; kari vura takunifyukúppi'tává pa'ávansá. Ká'kkum takunikríhan'va, karu ká'kkum vura fá't vura kumá'ti'í pakunifyuk-kuti', ká'kkum márúk, ká'kkum márúk pakunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takun-

In the evening they all come back. Sometimes they come back one by one, and sometimes in bunch. And sometimes somebody comes over to visit them, when they come back. They know what time supper is going to come.

Patakumpávarahá'sk, va; kari vura takunifyukúppi'tává pa'ávansá. Ká'kkum takunikríhan'va, karu ká'kkum vura fá't vura kumá'ti'í pakunifyuk-kuti', ká'kkum márúk, ká'kkum márúk pakunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktává'nsa káru 'u;mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u;m vura pu'áhup 'ikyáttihá-nik), karu há'ri fá't vura takunifyukkuna'ti'. Pa'asiktaire; xas kuním'úmmáhti pehér. 'Ikxurar xas kó'vúra takunpav-yihuk. Há'ri 'itcámahité vura pakuníppakti', karu há'ri ta'yvávan vúra. Karu há'ri 'akara vura í'n takinípmahvákkíra'sk, patakunpávyihukuha'sk. Vura ku-

They do not smoke much in the morning when they finish sweating. And after the meal, only very few are the ones that smoke.

When they finish eating, then the men travel around. Some go fishing, and some go around for various things, and some upslope, some go upslope. And the women go to get wood (the men never made wood) and sometimes go digging, and sometimes go picking, picking they go sometimes, and sometimes they go hunting something.

The man always packs the pipe. He never leaves it, that pipe. Sometimes he sits down on the ground and smokes, when he is traveling around. But some of them have no pipe. They bum a smoke in the sweathouse.

Then they sweat again. They know when, they watch the sun, when it sets then they sweat. The time they sweat themselves is just at sunset. They watch the sun. That is the time they sweat themselves, at sunset. Then they bathe. Then they stay around outside a while. The hot air is going around inside. They wait for it to get cooled off inside. Then they go into the sweathouse again for a while, when it gets cooled off. They are waiting again as it is
ná-púnmuti pakkári xas ik pakunábve'^e.58

Puya va; kari kúkkum takuníphi-kkiri^'. Kuná-púnmuti pakkári, kuním'm'ústí pakkú'sra', patuvákkuriha'k, va; kari pakuníphi-kkiri^'. Va; kari pakuníphi-kkiri^', ya; vur 'uvák-kúri^'. Pakkú'sra va; kuníms'm'ústí'. Va; kári patakuníphi-kkiri^' payá; vur uvák-kúri^'. Xas takunpá'tvan'va. Xas kó-mahite 'ikk'am takun-pikrúntí'. 'Imfir k'ar uvá'táy-vúti sú?. Kuníkm'úntí kiri k'únic 'umsíppic sú?. Karixas kúkkum kó-mahite 'ikmahátera; m takun-pavyíhiv'ra'a, pató-msíppic. Kúkkum kuníkm'núntí pató'kxárám-ha', pató'kxánamháyá'tchá'.

Va; 'u'm kari vura pu'ihé'rátháp, patakunápáphi-kkírmá-ráráhá'k. Ká'kkum vura ník 'u'mkun kunihé'ratí to'rmítce. Hári yi'ítha pa'ára; 'u'm vura hitthán 'ikmahátera; m 'uparínc'íhvúti'. Hári tuh'é'ter. Va; kari papuxxí'tce kuníhm'érá; i'kxurarárapámva'ter.

Karixas kúkkum patakun-pávyí'frúk 'i'ná'k. Pa'ásíktá-vá'nsá vura kuná'púnmuti pakkáritah, vura kó'vúra takun-pikyarúffi'. Va; karixas kunáb'ntí tó'kxánamhátc, va; kari pa'avakáméccíp kunáb'ntí', 'ikxurar tó'kxánamhátc. Vur ó'vúyíti pavyíhurúkra'mí,59 pató'kxánamhátc, patakuníppa-varukáha'k. Va; kari vur ó'vúyíti pakari kunápávyíhrú-púkë'te'^e, pakkúkum 'ikmas'

They again go back in the living house. The women know when it is time; they have everything fixed up. Then they eat, when it is just getting dark, that is when they eat their big meal, in the evening when it is just getting dark. It is called pavyihfurukram, the time when it is just getting dark, when they go over to eat. And the time when they will go back out, when they will go back to the sweathouse again, is called iv-yihrupükram. Again in the evening they spend a long time eating, in evening, their supper. When it is night, they are still eating, they are eating yet. It takes them a long time to eat.

They pack their pipe there into the living house, too, when they

58 Added in humor. They were great bummbers of meals.
59 Mg. the time when they come back in.
hátarą'm kú; kunpávyı'hmę'ę'e, 'iyvihrupuka'rą'm.60 Kükku'ąm 'ık xurar xára xas vúra pakuná'mti', 'ıkxurar, pamukun'ıkxurară'ąv. Vura té'kxarámnį:k vúra kari pakuná'mti', karivári vura kun- lá'mti'. Xas xára vura pakun- ľavúntį pakuná'mti'.

Va; tápa'n ká'n kun Créti pa- mumuná'hrą'm pa'Te'nną:k takunųppa'var, va; páva; kuni- hé're;e papicę'te kunpámva- raha'ąk. Va; kari takunpihé- rana'ąa, patakunpámva'ąr. Va; xá's vura hitıha'n kari taku- nihé'ę'r. Kunteći'phina'ti'.

Patakunpámvaraha'ąk, papicę'te takunpaxųxxá'.hxxa', pa'av- vansas. Tarińpa'nmu'k pa'ıccaha takuníktą'mváray'va, 'i'é'kriv- rá'ąm vura, pa'ávansas vúra kite, patakunpámva'ąr. 'Assipparárax- xak kunte'kri'pvúti' pa'ıccaha', patarippa'n 'axyár takunikya'y. Xas va; 'apma'n 'axyár takuník- yav pa'ıccaha', pasarippa'n 'axyár takuníkya'y. Xas va; 'apma'n 'axyár takuník- yav pa'ıccaha', vas va; takun- paxųxxá'.hxxa'.61 Karu hári ti'k- múk 'apma'n takunpá'kkara- vaòvana'ąa, hári va; kunkupa- pı%xųxhá'ınahitihanik pamukun- lápma'ąn. Xas kükku'ım vura takunpıxaxųxxá'.hxxa kükku'ım, 'axákyą'n kunpıpxųxxá'.hxxüti'. Karu ti'kk'än takunpux'uxu'n, 'amtąp'ávahkan patakunpák- xų'y'va, 'ahfam. 'Amtąppak tu'iri'ıhk'vų, pa'ıccaha 'ahfam, va; kunkupa-pā%xų'vahitihańık.

Hári va; máruk takunųussip- riv xunyeṗıfụxxá'ąa karu háť go to supper, so they can smoke the first thing after supper. It is then that they smoke, when they get through supper. It is almost invariable that they smoke at that time. They talk.

When they finish eating, the first thing the men do is to wash their mouths out. With a dipper basket they pass around water, through the whole living house, the men only, when they finish eating supper. They take the water out of a big bowl basket, when they fill up the dipper basket. Then they fill their mouths with water, then they wash their mouths out. Sometimes also they stick the finger into the mouth, sometimes they wash their mouths out that way. Then they wash the mouth out a second time; two times they wash it out. And they spit it on their hands [the water from the mouth], it is over the ashes that they wash their hands at the fireplace. The water spills down on the ashes at the fireplace. That is the way they used to wash their hands off.

60 Mg. the time when they come out of the living house ('ı'ıv, house).

61 Squirting the water back and forth through their closed teeth with closed mouth, making a squirting resonance. This action and resonance is included in the connotation of the verb.
Xas patakunpáuxúyvamara

\[\text{xanēip'řifuuxá}^a. \text{Va}^e \text{'u}^m \text{tcăn-}
\] tcá'fkićnie \[\text{paxunye'přifuuxá}^a, \text{kún}^a \text{'}u}^m \text{řeřap'řifuuxá' \text{'}u}^m \text{'}a'xkićnie, \text{karu \text{'}a}^x \text{töoxs}^a\text{t} \text{va}^e \text{vura 'u}^m \text{puyávha}^e, \text{ar 'u}^iťta-
\] kankō'tti'. \text{Va}^e \text{vura kunsánmo'}

\[\text{ti paxunye'přifuuxá' āttimmă-
\] mů'k hitifá'x̄ Paké-vni'kkiteas, \text{pavura há}ri \text{vurava már}k \text{takun}-
\] diyuk, 'inná kunsánmo'ti' \text{va}^e \text{vura 'inná'k kuntārahiti', kixxūmni̧pax kuntārahi-
\]ti', \text{va}^e \text{pasǎppi k}'aru \text{ká}u \text{'u}^iťcăpko'-
\] hiti'. \text{Páva' kúpáttihansa'i, ta'y k}k'aru \text{vura mukun}šavaha', kó-vu-
\] ra kó' kuntārahiti', kó-vura kó' kuma'üp karo kuntārahiti'. \text{Páva' kunkupa'}ará'rahiti'\[\text{a}^e, \text{viri \text{va}^e \text{takunpi}'}p \text{ararahiti}hăyav
\]

\[\text{black oak rotten wood. It is}
\] white, the tan oak rotten wood,
\[\text{but fir rotten wood is red, even}
\] if it is rotten it is not good, it
\[\text{sticks to a person. The old}
\] women always pack home some
\[\text{tan oak rotten wood in the}
\] openwork pack basket. They
\[\text{pack it into the house, they}
\] keep them in the living house,
\[\text{they keep them in the corner}
\] of the living house, where
\[\text{the poker stick is stood}
\] up too. The ones that do that way
\[\text{[that bring home rotten oak}
\] wood] have lots of food, they
\[\text{have all kinds of things, they}
\] have all kinds of belongings.
\[\text{If they do that way, then they}
\] say they are living well.

Then when they are through
\[\text{washing their hands, by the fire-}
\] place, then he goes over to the
corner, one of them does, picks up
\[\text{the rotten wood, and hands it}
\] to them, the rotten wood. Then
\[\text{one takes it, then he rubs it}
\] on himself at his mouth and on
\[\text{his hands, he dries the wet off,}
\] they do not smoke when they are
\[\text{greasy about the mouth.}
\]

\[\text{Sometimes if it is soft, they}
\] break some off, then they throw
\[\text{it in the fire when they get}
\] through. But if it is hard, the
\[\text{rotten wood, they merely rub}
\] it on.

Sometimes the women folks

\[62 \text{Once Camp Creek Johnny's wife}
\] and Camp Creek Sam's wife,
\[\text{when camping at Ishipishrihak in}
\] the salmon catching season, met
\[\text{a little half-breed girl and called}
\] her 'ifuxsá', thinking of the white
\[\text{looking rotten oak wood, because}
\] of her fair appearance. The word
\[\text{was used almost as a nickname.}
\]
\[63 \text{Or to'ptaxuyxúyva}^a\text{.}
\]
just wipe themselves off with the rotten wood when they are doing something in the house, without washing their hands.

And sometimes the men folks do not wash their hands, they just wipe them off with the rotten wood, when they are anxious to take a smoke.

Then they smoke, after they have washed their mouths. That way it is good when they smoke, it does not taste of food, when they wash their mouths all out.

That is why the people had good teeth, because they rinsed their mouths out strongly. And they smoked the strong tobacco, that also was why they had good teeth. There were two reasons why they had good teeth, did not have toothaches. Sometimes they would crack a tooth, and then they would have toothache.

Then they go over to sleep in the sweathouse, the men, and the boys, too. They smoke once in the living house, when they finish supper, and again in the sweathouse they all smoke together, when they first go in. Sometimes three pipes are being passed around in the sweathouse when there are many present. Sometimes they smoke many times. Then they go to sleep. They talk a long time in the

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64 Or pa'ífuxxá-hmá"k instead of mú'k pa'ífuxxá"a.
65 Cp. pu'ihé-ratihap pa'ákuritkitcha; k'apmánti"m, they do not smoke when they are greasy about the mouth, p. 204.
66 Better than kunihérana-tí here for there are not as many as there are smoking in the sweathouse.
kuntc'up'ha-it'i 'ikmahac'ara'^m, karu há-ri kunpakúri'hvánatí'. Kunikyá'vanatí pákkuri ká-k-kum 'ú-rikú.67 'Ikkxaram pakunikyá'ttí pamukunpákkuri, karu há-ri márunknay.

A. Pahu't mi takunpihè'ér, karu há-ri mi takunpátva, patapu'ikví-tháhpa'^k

Kunipíttí 'ar o'kví-thiti patuhé'rakhä'^k. Vá; vura mit hitíha'n takunihé'rana'^k, patcemi kunikví-thíná-vicahä'^k,68 pe'kmahátcra'^m. Karixas tukupapíkví'tpa pa'a'^r, pa'ípa tupihihè'rat.


Pasakriváráthá'^k, patapu'ikví-thá'^k, vá; 'u'm sáruk tóppá'tvár 'ické'cacak. Tu'árihyárf. Xas tu'íppak, tó-póvó'tu'vrád teaka'f'-mite kúnic, vurákórák tó-póvóni teaka'f'tce kúnic.69 Kari xas 'ahi-ramti'm kú;k tu'úm. Karixas vá; ká'n tó-pó'támáx pa'a'^h. Karixas tuhè'^r. Xas kukukúm tuplicxup pa'ahífam, patupihè-rá-

(sweathouse, and sometimes they sing. It is in the night that they make their songs, and sometimes up on the mountains.

(How they went back to smoke or went to bathe, when they could not go to sleep)

They say that a person gets sleepy when he smokes. They always smoke before they go to bed, in the sweathouse. Then he goes to sleep good, after he has smoked.

Sometimes one of them does not sleep well. Then he gets up again, he can not go to sleep, sometimes an old man, so he then stirs up the [banked] fire, with the tobacco-lighting poker. Then he sits down by the fireplace, he puts a fire coal on his pipe. Then he smokes. Then when he finishes smoking, he goes back to the yoram. Then lies back down again.

When it is a husky person, when he can not go to sleep, he goes to bathe downslope in the river. He jumps in. Then he comes back, he comes back inside with slow motion, down the ladder he comes with slow motion. Where-upon he goes to the fireplace. Then he stirs up the fire there. Then he takes a smoke. Then he

67 Most of the songs composed are pí-niknúkk'ar, kick-dance songs, but occasionally other songs are composed mainly by working together parts of various songs.

68 Many Indians still have this custom, using White man tobacco.

69 One sees his wet body coming down the roof hatchway with the greatest deliberation.
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mar, kari tupîθxup pa'ahîram. Xas kari yôram kû:k tu'îpma', tupîkvî'tpa'.

Kunipîrîti va:kari pa'apurûva:n kunmá'htiha'nik pe'kxaram pakunîfyûkkutihanik, pakunpatvân-kôtihânik.70

B. Pahû't kunkupe'hê-rahitiha'nik pe'mpâ:k, pa'ávansâssi:n takunpîkmá'ntunvaha'9k

Va:kari xas 'avansa pe'mpâ:k 'u'âhô-tihâ'9k, pêhê-rahê'kipihsan 'ussá'nvûtihâ'9k, va:kari xas 'avans upxes punicvâ'nnâti, 'a'vár up-mahónkô'nnâti'.72 Te'k'itttam 'ápun kunînhîcrihe'9n, takunîppû'n'va. 'U:mn vura pa'ávansa 'ukmârihihvrikaha'9k, vur 'u'he're'c xas ik 'u'âhô'vic. Vur uxxûti: "Nuhê're'c xas ik nu'âhô-hô'vic. Vûxas uxxûti: "Na: 'avansa' pâv o'kupîtihâ'9k.

Pappicî'tc purá:n takunikmárihihvrikaha'k 'avansa'si'n, te'k'itttam yi00a pa'ávansa 'upâhe'n: "Te'cimi 'á'pun." 73 Te'k'itttam kunînhîcrihe'9n, takunîppû'n'va. Karixas yi00a pamu'ûhra'm tu'-ê'oricûk." Te'cim âkkîte'74 nu-hê'en," to'ppîp. Xas pa'yî00a 'm takunî hihvrik to'ppîp: "Te'cim âkkîte." Xas pamu'ûhra'm tu'-a'khâ. Karixas tuhe'Te'r, 'u:mn pícic:p vura tuhe'Te'r. Kö'vûra va:kunkupîti' pícic:p kunihê-

banks the fireplace again, when he finishes smoking, it is then he banks up the fireplace again. Then he goes back over to the yoram, he goes back to sleep.

They say that they used to see devils,71 when they used to travel around in the night, when they used to go to bathe.

(How they used to smoke on the trail when two men met each other)

When a man is traveling on the trails, and has strong tobacco with him, he thinks so much he is a man, he feels high up. Then they always sit down on the ground, they rest. Whenever he meets a man, he has to smoke before he travels. He thinks: "I am going to treat him before we travel." He thinks: "I am a man" when he does that.

When two men first meet on the trail, then one of the men always says: "Let's sit down." Then they always sit down, they rest. Then one of them takes out his pipe. "Friend, let's smoke," he says. Then the other answers him and says: "Friend, let's smoke." Then he lights his pipe. Then he smokes, he himself smokes first. All [the men] do that way, smoke first before they pass it. Then he passes it to

70 Or pakunpâ:tvutihãnîk, when they used to bathe.
71 I. e., witch-doctors.
72 He feels like a thousand dollars, Fritz Hanson volunteered in dictating this text.
73 Or: tcimî matê' 'á'pun, let's sit down for a while.
74 In slow tempo: tcîmî ma'kkîte.
rati', karixas takuni’00i'. Karixas tu’00i pa’ip ukmârihivirik’at. Karixas tuhe’r ’úpa”n, takuni’00i'. Va; vura kuma-’úhra’m patuhé’r ’úpa”n. Xas takunkó’ha pakunihétati’.75

Karixas yí00a ’úpa”n pamu’úhra’m tu’ér’0ricuk. Karixas ’úpa”n tu’00i’, pa’ip a’ím kun-’í00iha’t. ’Úpa”n to pe’r: “Teism ihé’r típa’ím pananihé’taha.” To’ppír: “Teism akkíte ’ípa”n nyí00i.” Xas ’úm picci;p tuhe’r. ’Úm karu vura va; to’kú’pha’, picci;p tuhe’r. Karixas ’úpa”n tu’00i’’íp a’ím kun-’í00iha’t picci’íp. Xas to’ppír: “Yá’háha’, ífakíte ’ákkat pamihé’taha.” Xas payí00 uppír: “Yá’kíte76 pú’hra’a.” To’ppír: “Yá’kíte pú’hra’a.” Xas takun-philé’tamarí. Payí00a pamu’úhr-á’m to’ppá’í. Virí ‘ôtma’ik su’ upíyú’nvá’ec, póxníchít pamúttí’ík. Kó’y ikpíhan pamuhé’taha’. Kar upakátká’tí pamúpmá’n’áhk.

Xára kunihétú’ntí’. Xára xas kuniphé’tamaratí’. Karixas takunpír: “Teém, teím akkíte nu’áhu”. Teím akkíte ’ím ká’r u’áhu”, kárú na; teími k’án-la hu”. Teím akkíte kuyá’p-kúhi’.”

a. Pahú’t mit ’ukupe’hé’rahitíhat ’ímpá’k mitvá77 nanixúkka’ám

Kuyrákya’ñ mit karuk nupiyá’tamarí ’Ăyí’érím ’Ăpsú’n xák-

That one he has met. Then he smokes in turn, he is being treated. He smokes in turn the same pipe. Then they finish smoking.

Then the other one in turn takes out his pipe. He treats him back, the one who has treated him. He says to him in turn: “You would better smoke my tobacco.” He says: “Friend, I am going to treat you back.” Then he smokes it himself first. He does the same way, smokes first. Then he gives it in turn to the one that has treated him first. Then he says: “Well, friend, your tobacco is strong.” Then the other one says: “Well, friend, no.” He denies it. He kind of smiles as he says: “Well, friend, no.” Then they are through smoking. He gives back the other fellow’s pipe. He can hardly put it back in the sack, his hand trembles. His tobacco is so strong. He is tasting it yet in his mouth.

It takes them a long while to smoke. It takes them a long time to finish. Then they say: “All right, let’s travel. You would better travel, and I am going to travel, too. Then, friend, good-bye.”

(How my deceased uncle used to smoke on the trail)

Three times I made a trip upriver with my uncle Snake

75 Or xas takunphilé’tamarí instead of these three words.
76 Used as if it were for *yá’he’ akkíte, well, friend.
77 Or pámitvá’.
ka^4n. Nanixúkka mit, ni'ättívúti pananu'ámkín'vá. Yív, yi;v karuk panu'áhó-tí, yi;v panu'úm-
móti yiíña súppa^8. Yív pava; ká:n vá'u;m yiíña súppa^8. Pan-
ámni'k va'árámsi, pa'ar u'átti-
vúthá'xak. 'Umuk^ítcmahíte pan-
u'áhó-tí po'pítíti: "Te'mi nú-
pú'n'vi. Te'cm niñé're'e'." Púya va;
karí tuhí'ter. Tcimyátëva po'hé-ráli', apxanti-tešimyúricri-
har vura po'hú-rúvtí'. 'Ahpúšs-
șipak mit po'máhyá'nnáhitihát
pamukun'ahikyát Pa'apxantí-
nihíte, va; kó:k po'ëthát 'ahup-
ússipak. Na; va; kari tanni'av
pananu'ámkín'vá pakari po'hé-
ráthá'xak. Xara vura puhé-rántíi',
hítúha'n vura pato'kri'céríhá'xak pa-
tuhé-ráha'xak. 'U'm vura puteč-p-
hitihara patuhé-ráha'xak, xára xas
vura po'pú'hyántíi'. Su? kunic
puffá' th ő'kri'1, 'ikpíhan pehé-rá-
há'. Karíxas to-píp: "Tcő'ra,
tcimí nu'ippahu"."

Va; mit népën'tihát: "Xay fa't 'iccah e'íceti' pe'mpá'k pe'a-
hó'tíha'xak. Puhári 78 vur íepuk máhë'cërá', 79 pa'iccaha ta'y 'i'íc-
tíha'xak. Xá's ik vura va; pu-
na'íccë'cára pa'íccàha' paní'áhó-
tíhá'xak tcatík vura va; yi;v ta-
ni'úm. Pámítva niñú'tiellehát Áp-
su'n pamúcë'phá'. 80 Patani'úm-
máha'xak, xas xúras 81 táni'íc.
Va; 'úm pu'ára ku'íttiíhára. Xá't

to Ayithrim. I was packing our
lunch in a pøck basket. Far, far
upriver we walked, a long trip
for one day. It is a long way to
go there in one day from Orleans
when anybody has a load. Every
little way as we were walking
along he would say: "Let us
take a rest. I am going to smoke." Then he smoked. Every once
in a while he smoked, using white
man matches. He had white
man matches in a little wooden
keg, he was packing that kind in
a little wooden keg. And I
would lunch while he was smok-
ing. It took him a long time that
he sat down and smoked. He did
not talk when he smoked, only after
a long time did he talk. He sat
there kind of fainting inside.
Then he would say: "Let us go,
let us travel."

He used to tell me: "Never
drink water when traveling along
the road. You never will earn
any money, if you drink much
water." So I scarcely used to
drink any water along all that
road. I kind of believed what
Snake said. When I got there,
then I drank acorn water. No-
body gets sick from that; I do
not care if he has traveled a

78 Or: puharíxa'.
79 Lit. see.
80 His word.
81 Xuías, water with a very little acorn soup stirred up in it, from xu'n, acorn soup, -'as, water. Also called xurás'as', acorn-soup-
water water, adding the ordinary postound form -'a'as, water, to xuías, which already contains the shorter postound form, -'as.
b. In the word, a few women in front of the smoking had carried a long way, they do not get sick, if he drinks acorn water. I do not care if he has gone a long way and is thirsty for water, he never gets sick if he drinks acorn water.

(HOW THEY DID WHEN TWO WOMEN MET EACH OTHER ON THE TRAIL)

But when a woman met a woman, she set her load down on the ground, she gets out her lunch. That is the way the women used to do. That is the way the people used to do. Only when they are doctresses, then they smoke, only when the two of them are doctresses, then do the women smoke together.

I wish you could have seen how the women used to meet one another there, or catch up with one another there, at Woodson’s Flat Resting Place. I wish you could have seen the pack baskets sitting around on the ground. There is where they used to rest, at Woodson’s Flat Resting Place. There many women met together. They used to sit around there on the ground, resting, giving one another lunch.

Once long ago there at Woodson’s Flat Resting Place my mother met a woman. The woman was married at Redcap rancheria. And it was that my mother’s  

82 The Douglas Fir tree where they used to rest is still standing and the near-by spring is still unmolested.  

83 Or kiri ‘immáha’nik.
HARRINGTON TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS

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nanitita't 'um mu'avanhanik pa-kó; va kunvaññâ'ñaf hanik pa-asiktâva'n mutipâh'i'câhanik, va; mupfeci; pvannahite. Vura huñ'tâhite kunkúphâ'n'nik, xas va; kâ;ñ kunâ'vanik xákka"n. Xas purâ'n vura kun'âkkihanik, 'amvê'câvititi, purâ'n kun'âkkihanik. Puyêf 'um Kunyé'pcehanik, 'um kunâ vura va; puuxûítihap kiri pakkâ'rim. Xas pakun-pámva"r, kari kunîppâhu"u, xákka'ñ vura kun'âppahu", káru 84 kunpíno"v, xákka"n, Pakun-pámva"r.

C. Pahùt mit pa'us kunkupe-k'ayâ'hitihat, pámítv o'kupûtihat pa'ávansa tupihèr 'ipaha'a'llìv

"Teôta 'ù;ò 85 nu'áxxan'vi." "Tcém. Hôy pavurâ'n'nar." Xas pa'ávansa va; kîte tó'kvâ't'sip pavurâ'n'nar, karu patax-vukríppânan, káru 'um pa'asiktâva'ñ 'âtîmınam kîte tu'ättiv, kar imvâräm, káru 'usikxûhâr, pamukun?ämknv 'u'ättivutì'.

Xas pa'ávansa to'pî-p: "Va; xasik vûra nivõ'tûrâ;vic sùva 'ikk'ar." Pakâ'kkum 'itahânâmahite kûnipkiteüssâhînà'ñî'ñi. 'Ax-imum 'uppe'èc: "Máva. Tcìmi 'â'pun têmi nûkýav pêkvê'cêh-para"m. Takunpîkkâ'ñr va; kâ;ñ xás kunikvê'cêhti pa'iccahát-ti"m. Kárixas to'ppî-p: "Tcìmi k'an- võ'tûrá"s." Xas pamutaxvûkka ravärä'ñkâ patatfréh-vâramâ"ñk. Kárixas tô'ksâppic pâmuvurâ'n'nar. Kárixas to'ppî-p: (How they gathered sugar-pine nuts, how the man used to smoke under a tree)

"Let's go bite some sugar pine nuts." "All right. Where's the hook?" All that the man packed on his shoulder was the hook, and the small hook also, and the woman just packs a pack basket, an openwork plate basket, a mashing club; she packs their outfit.

Then the man says: "I'll climb that tree that is loaded." Some [limbs] have ten [cones] in a bunch. Then, behold, once he will say: "Look. Let's sit down on the ground, let's make a camping ground." They finished the camp ground there by the river.

Then he says: "Now let me climb up." Then [the man] lashes the small hook to his forearm with twine. Then he leaned the climbing hook [against

84 For káruk.
85 Jepson: Nuts of the Sugar Pine, Pinus lambertiana Doug.

Pa’asiktâva’n ’u’m ké’tc pa- mu’åttim’nam, kuna payénipaxvûhîtas ’u’mkûn tâ’ppitasite pamukun’åttim’nam. Pa’avansâxîttîtcâs ’u’mkûn ’åttimnam pu’âttivutihap, ûxrivunvêt’ttïcs kîtc kunhâovât’, ’axyrâvâ pa’u’u’s, ûxrivké’mnîtcâs kîtc kunxûtû xay ’uxvâhâ.’

Patakunîfîkçîp xas tûr kûnic takunîkyav pa’u’u’s, xas takun-tûnsî’p xas takuntulrîcri’hvâ kâ’ñ pe’kve’cri’hra’â”m.

Xas takuntámxu’. Tâyâ’n vûra ’ikxâram xas takuntámxu’. Xas takunîfîòvana’a ’loé’kkxâram vûra kunîfîòvana’tì’. Pá’ñ h takunîkyâ’ppâd. Vûra pu’ick’âxî-

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86 In a story Old Man Turtle bit sugar-pine cone twigs to cut them, and this old expression is used of cutting off the cones.

87 Of special small size, smaller than those carried by men.
crihtihap. Vura patakun'kya'ar, karixas kunic k'axicrithi'. Kunxuti: "Xay 'ùmsip. Xay 'ùsákri-vhà pò'mìppa'ahak'ak." Vûra kun'à-pùnmütìi pàkò; kunikyàvic yi00 ikxàram. Pattàxyòhà: k va; vura kà'n kà-kùkkìm 'àpun sùì takun'ìccun'va xà; 'ù'm pù'ivàx-râhè-càrà, 'im'à-ñkàmì. Xàs ta-kuntàmxù. Háti vûra suì ta-kun'ì't-cur 'itò'pasàppa', xàs ta-kuntàmxù. Va; 'ù'm pù'ivàx-rà-htìhàrà.

Xas 'im'à-ñkàmì patusùppà'ha takunpàyì-hcip pamukunikrìva'-mì, takunpaticcì:p pà'ù'sìs. Karixas patakunpàvyì'hìma pamukunikrìva'-mì xas takunòv'ràv, 'asippàraxak takunòv'ràv. Takun'ìccær 'a'ìppà:n karu sahù-u-sìf'xàhar patakunòv'ràv.' Inà:m va'àrà-ras 'ù'mkùn kun'ìccè'ntìi pàhìpì, Va; 'ù'm 'ìkpìhàn pamukunikù'ù'sìs. Va; 'ù'm te'è-te 'ár uyàvahìti'. Karixas takunsù-tvàxa. 'Àpun và'ssak takunòvì. Patuòvìravahìtihà: k va; yàv 'ukupë-vaxràhahìti'. Karixas sipnù-kkàn takun'ìf'và:yràm'nì.


ing ground]. They never rest [when they are working]. When they get through, then they rest. They think: "The cone might get cold. It might get hard when it cools off." They know how many they can handle in one night. If there are lots, they bury them under the ground, so they won't get dry. Then on the next day they singe the pitch off of them. Sometimes they leave it in the ground five days, and then roast it. They do not get dry.

Then in the morning they go home, they pack the sugar-pine nuts along. Then when they get home they steam them, in a big bowl basket they steam them. They mix them with grape vine [leaves] and with sahusixahar [plant sp.] when they steam them. The Clear Creek people mix [their sugar-pine nuts] with pepperwood [leaves]. Their sugar-pine nuts taste strong. You don't eat so many! Then they dry them. They spread them on a blanket on the ground. When they have been steamed they dry nicely. Then they pour them inside a storage basket.

When they get ready to eat some, they take some out [of the storage basket]. Then they dish them out [into openwork plate baskets]. Then they crack them in their mouths [when they eat them]. They do not crack two at a time [in the mouth], one at a time they crack them. If he puts lots in his mouth at a time, his teeth will be crowded,
7. Pahát kunkupafuhícchahiti pe'hé'èr

A. Va; kunippé'nti tô'ksá'hvar po'hrá'm, to'máxxar va; kári
"Xáy ikcá'hvar pa'uhrá'm, xáy 'ú;m xáxx'àr," va; mit pakunipitthiha't. Puuxutihap kiri núksa'ta, pakunihé'ratihá'ak, kunxuti xay umáxxar po'hrá'm.

B. Karu mit vura pu'ihé'ratihat 'a' ve'hyáriha't

Va; vura kite mit pukupítthihaphat, pú'a? ve'hyárihar 'ihé-rátihap. Va; mit k'unipitthiha't, pu'ára 'a? ve'hyárihar 'á'ntihá'ra, karu pu'avé'hyárihar 'ihé-ráthiha'ra. Takunpí'ttcà'ak, pa'a? ve'h-yárihar uhé'táha'ak.88

C. Karu púmit 'ihé-ráthihaphat', pakunítcná'hvúthiha'jik

Va; mit k'áru kunipitthiha't, pó'tcná'hvúthiha'ak, pu'ár íhéráthiha'ra, kunpí'ttcá'kké'èc.

8. Pámitva kárixas kunihé'rán-hitihat

Pa'avansáxítitítcàs 'ú;m vura pu'ihé-ráthihaphanih. Kunihén-ní'tevúthihat nik mit 'ú;m vúra. Pan ínnamítc káriha'k tuhé'táha',

so the people say. Nowadays there are only a few [living] that know how to work the sugar-pine nuts.

(SMOKING BELIEFS)

(THEY SAY THAT IF ONE LAUGHS INTO A PIPE, IT CRACKS)

"Do not laugh in the pipe, it might crack," that is the way they used to say. They were careful not to laugh when they were smoking, they were afraid the pipe would crack.

(AND A PERSON NEVER SMOKED STANDING)

They never smoked standing up. They say a person should never eat standing, and should never smoke standing. He gets out of luck if he smokes standing up.

(NEC DECRET FUMARE CACANDO)

And they said also, that when a person is defecating, he must never smoke, he will have bad luck.

(WHEN THEY LEARNED TO SMOKE)

The young boys did not smoke. They played smoke, that was all. When a small boy smoked he used to get sick. They do not

88 There is a similar superstition that a person is out of luck if he eats standing.
’ukuh’ov̈-tiihanik. Vā; kārīxas vura kunihē- ratihanik, patakun-yēripēhā’nk. 89 Kārīxas tākun-xus: “Nu; takkēltecas.” Vā; kāri hári yī00ta tufatavénnā’n-hā.’ 90

A. Pahū’t pāmitva kāri kinihē-ravātihat paxxīttitecas pakup-hākkā’mha’nk 90a

Taxxravēttak 91 pāmitva; kumā’ih u’āhōo’t, 92 kinikyā-tūhat mit vura pakunkupe-hēраhe’tc pa’avansaξxīttītīcas, paye-ripāx-vū’hsa kāru vūra, pattiįppitecas karih. Vā; mit k’ari kó-vūra kunihe-rana-tīhat’ patakunpīppū’nvaha’nk pāmitva; kunpakūri-hvana-tīhat, kā-kum vura ‘uhnam-tunvēticas mit kunihēratihan, karu kā-ku mit ‘ikxurika’ūhra’nk.

9. Pahū’t pehē’raha kunkupavic-tānni’nuvahitiihanik

Pa’ara;r tuvictaraha;’k pehē’ra-ha’, ’iccaha kunic ’āxrā-hiti’, vura puffa’t kuphē-chafa. Vura tuvictar pehē’raha’.

Pavač kunipitti ’āra;r pu’ihē’raha viectāntiḥap puxx’i tc, pūvač smoke until their throats get husky. Then they think: “We are already big boys.” That is the time when one of them might already be made fatavennan.

(HOW THEY FORCED CHILDREN TO SMOKE AT THE GHOST DANCE)

Long ago when that kind of dance was going around, they made the boys and girls smoke, just little ones yet. They all smoked when they rested after a song; some smoked little [Indian] pipes, and some cigarettes.

(HOW THEY USED TO GET THE TOBACCO HABIT)

When an Indian has an appetite for tobacco it is just like he wants to drink water, he can not do anything. He just has an appetite for tobacco.

When some people say that the Indians do not get the tobacco

89 Lit. when they become pubescent.
90 Sometimes in former times even a 14-year-old boy was instructed and became fatavennan, although usually he was made helper the first year and fatavennan the following year. It was an old saying of a boy who is becoming pubescent: “He might already be made fatavennan.”
90a See account of how they smoked tobacco at the ghost dance, p. 253.
91 This does not indicate as remote a time in the past as pi’ē’ep.
92 Referring to the ghost dance, which spread to the Karuk from up the river and from Scott Valley.
The older Indians emphatically deny Mrs. Thompson's statement: "My people never let the tobacco habit get the better of them as they can go all day without smoking or quit smoking for several days at a time and never complain in the least" (op. cit., p. 37). Many Indians in primitive times would get a strong craving and impatience for tobacco, which had become a habit with them. But the old-time Indians never smoked but the merest fraction of the day, disapproved even of the smoking of men as old as in their twenties, and regarded the modern boy and girl cigarette fiend with disgust, as they do many White man excesses. The early Karuk could deny themselves smoking or quit smoking altogether with much more fortitude than the average White man can. Their daily life schooled them to all kinds of self-denial and hardship.

The Karuk claim that they never smoked Black Manzanita or mixed deer grease or sucker's liver with their tobacco. They never "enriched" their tobacco by moistening it with grease.

Or 'axöahamän?înk'â'.

habit, it is not right. They can not even wait to smoke in the sweathouse, they smoke in the living house after meals. They can not stay without tobacco, including women when they are doctors.

Our kind of Indians never mixed anything with their tobacco, they smoked their smoking tobacco straight.

The White people say that the kind that far-off Indians smoke is burned fresh-water mussel shells mixed with tobacco. We knew nothing about that kind.

(PHOWN THEY NEVER MIXED ANY OTHER KIND OF PLANT WITH THEIR TOBACCO)

(THEY NEVER MIXED BURNED FRESH-WATER MUSSEL SHELLS WITH THE TOBACCO)
11. Pahu-t va; vura kītc hā-ri pakunkupīttihanik, pa'uhīppi kunf'cā'ntihanik pamukunihe'-raha'

Hā-ri vūra va; kunf'cā'nti pa-'uhīppi karu pe'hē'-raha'. Va; karu vūra kunihērati patata-kunf'cārahahak96. Picci;p takunik-pākpak yuhirimâ"k. Xas takuniktcur 'iknamâ'anammahatc-mâ"k, pa'uhīppi'. Xas va; takunikcar pe'hē'-rahahak. Tō-kxūkkahiti pe'hē'-raha'. Takun-aksâtariv pa'uhīppi pe'hē'-rahahahak. Va; xas to'kū'pha pu-ikpīhanhara pe'hē'-raha', va; 'um pu'imyûmnihtiha'.

A. Pahu-t vūra pukupīttihaphanih pa'uhīppiichi carippux

Pa'uhīpimûnnaxite va; 'um vūra pu'ihē'-rātiha', vura pe'hē'-raha patakunf'cārahahak karīxas vura kunihērati pa'uhīppi'. Kūna vūra 'um va; ta'gy kunih-rū-vti'.

'I'm kunmûtpî'rûvûti', pa'annav takunikyâ'ha"k, pa'āra to'kku-hâ"k, pa'uhīppi va; kunihrûviti kun'akkhihti pâttû-ycîp karu vura pe'hē'-nnû'nën'.

Pakun'akkunvuti karu vura va; kunihrû-vti'. Papux'itec 'uxxûthiha; k pa'akûnva"n: "Kiri pûffitec nî-ks'yar," 'itaharan vûr 'ihē'-rah utayvâratti', pa'uhīppi', yîhîa sóppa'14, pâttû-ycîp 'u'âkkihvânâ-til'. 'Itaharan yîhîa sóppa; 'ihē'-rah utayvâratti'.

(How they never mixed anything except sometimes tobacco stems with their tobacco)

Sometimes they mix the stems and the [leaf] tobacco. They smoke it mixed. First they cut them up with a knife. Then they pound them with the little pestle, the stems. Then they mix it with the tobacco. The tobacco is already crumbled. They add the stems to the tobacco. It turns out then a mild tobacco; they do not faint away.

(How they never used to smoke the stems unmixed)

They do not smoke the stems unmixed, only when they mix them with [leaf] tobacco do they smoke the stems. But they use them for lots of things.

They throw them [the pounded up stems] about, when making [steaming] medicine. When somebody is sick, it is the tobacco stems that they use. They feed the mountains and the world.

And when they go hunting they use them, too. When the hunter wants hard: "May I kill a deer," he spills tobacco around ten times, the stems, in one day. He feeds the mountains. Ten times in one day he spills them around.

96 Into pieces \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch, more or less, in length.
Sometimes they give stem tobacco to a poor person, for him to smoke. Sometimes an old man comes there to somebody's house. It is tobacco stems that they give. When it is a poor old man, when he has no money, they give stem tobacco for him to smoke. He then pounds it up, then he smokes it. Or sometimes they give him some to take home. But when a sick person comes there, a rich man, they give him good tobacco.

Sometimes they sometimes smoke some little things besides tobacco.

The Wintu Indians smoked Black Manzanita, Palo Santo, Creeping Sage, Common Mistletoe, Wild Sunflower, Washingtonia nuda, California Black Oak, and their pahú't kuma'arú'ras, but our people smoked none of these except the Indian Celery.

(How they sometimes smoke tobacco stems to smoke to a poor person who came visiting)

(How they sometimes smoke some little things besides tobacco)

The Wintu Indians smoked Black Manzanita, Palo Santo, Creeping Sage, Common Mistletoe, Wild Sunflower, Washingtonia nuda, California Black Oak, and their pahú't kuma'arú'ras, but our people smoked none of these except the Indian Celery.

(How they smoke Indian Celery)

It was with a tobacco pipe that they used to smoke it.

96a Leptotaenia californica Nuttall.

97 For chewing Indian Celery root see p. 277.
They are doing so with paper now. First they pound up the Indian Celery [root], then they put it in the pipe, then they light it. They smoke it like they do tobacco. Sometimes they smoke [a dry piece of] Indian Celery [root], in the nighttime, for medicine. They dig the Indian Celery any time, they store it in the living house. They smoke it when they have a headache, when they do not feel well. It smells good when they smoke it, the smoke does. Women smoke it as well as men. It is medicine.

B. Pahút mit kunihénnitecvu-tihat sanpífic


(How they used to play-smoke maple leaves)

Sometimes they used to pin maple leaves together, maple leaves. They cover shelled acorns with it. They keep longer that way, so they say. When they covered them with leaves, they pinned together wide sheets. They covered the storage baskets with them. And if perchance water dripped on them, the water does not enter inside the storage baskets, when covered with maple leaves.

They pin them together into small sheets for tying up berries, they tie berries up in them. They never used to keep berries long. They tie the berries in them in the summertime when they are picking them. They pin maple leaves together. Then they tie the berries up in them. Then

The leaves were pinned together with their own stems to make large paperlike sheets.
they put the bundles of berries in a pack basket. Then they pack them, they pack them to their house. The smallest bundles are for the children.

And sometimes they pin the maple leaves to an openwork pack basket. They stick the leaves in the holes by means of the stems, the leaves hang on the inside of the pack basket. They pin them inside. They line the whole inside. It does not leak. Then they spill huckleberries into it, when they are picking them.

It is in the fall when they like to pick the maple leaves, when they are getting ripe, when they are turning yellow. They look upslope and then they say: "The maple leaves are getting ripe upslope." They shake the maple tree, so the leaves fall down. The maple leaves are hard, when they get ripe. Sometimes the maple leaves are kept for two years, sometimes they use them after two years.

And sometimes the boys used to smoke in fun the maple leaves, the dry maple leaves. The boys when they saw dry maple leaves in the house, smoked them in play, crumbling up the leaves with their hands. Some boys used to make little pipes, they used to ram out the inside of little arrowwood sticks, using a stick. Then they put in the dry leaves, then they smoke, mocking the men with their play-smoking.
C. Pahä't pümitva 'ihé'ratihapat pa'aná-te'uhie 99


D. Pahä't mit 'i'á:n uxússa'at kiri va; ník'úpha 'Ahó'yám'mate

'Ahó'yám'mate 1 mit úvúy-tihát. Ka'tímiti'n mit 'ükre't, ka'tímiti'nará t mit. Xúsipux mit kumhá'hitah, pi'é'p, mit kúnippêntihát va; kó:k 'amáyav, va; kó:k ve'hét 'amáyav, kuníppêntihát mit, musmús'a'af. Vura mit 'uvurá'yvútihát, 'umumahurá'yvútihát mit vúra. Xas vo'áppiv, pe'váxra vo'áppiv. Xas va; ká:n ká'kkum ûmmáh. 'Uxkus: "Kúníc 'amáyav umússahiti." Ta'íttam vo'íffik'hé'en. 'Uxkus: "'Arare'hérah vur umússahiti, va; kó:k kúníc umússahiti." Karixas vo'hé'r. Va; vur umússahiti, 'araré'hé'raha vur umússahiti', kuna vura pu'hé'raha 'ákkatihára, vicvan'áran kítc 'u'ákkatí'.

(AHOW THEY NEVER SMOKED MISTLETOE)

Some kind of far people may have smoked mistletoe, but our kind of people never did smoke that kind. We call it crow seed. It grows on Black Oak, and sometimes on the Maul Oak. It is not used for anything, the mistletoe. I guess there is a story of it.

AHOUYAMMATC'S EXPERIMENT

Ahoyammate was his name. He lived at Katimin, he was a Katimin Indian. They fooled him, long ago; they told him that that kind tasted good, that it tasted good to smoke, they told him, cow dung. He was just going around, he was bumbing around. Then he looked for it; he looked for some that was dry. Then he found some there. He thought: "It looks like it tastes good." Then he picked it up. He thought: "It looks like Indian tobacco, it looks like that kind." Then he smoked it. It looked like it, it looked like Indian tobacco, but it did not taste like it; it tasted merely like entrails.

99 This text was given when told that the Wintu and Chimariko smoked mistletoe when short of tobacco. Cp.: "The oak mistletoe was occasionally smoked by these [Chimariko] Indians in lieu of tobacco," Powers, op. cit., p. 93. "An oak mistletoe (Phoradendron); smoked by the Chimariko as a substitute for tobacco. Indian name unknown." Ibid., p. 430. The Karuk claim that they were never short of tobacco, hence did not resort to the trashy herbs smoked by tribes to the south of them.

1 Mg. good walker.
XI. Pahû’t mit kunkupîttihat
’ihê’raha mit kun?â’mtíhat


’Upsyhûppanati vûra. ’Á: kâr umutkûrhvutî pehê’raha’. Kunic tuyûnyû’nhâ’, kunic teupûﬀâ’t he’e’c.4 Kitaxrîhar ’umáharati’. ’Upôavit.curuvâ’nnâtì hâ’ri, ’ux- xuti: ”Ni’ipámva’n.”

Pavura kô’vûra ’ukupavê’nâhî- ti’. ’Ikmahá’tara’m hâ’iri vato- kû’phâ’, tu’ururîceukva papihnt-teitecas mukun’ûhra’z. Tàkun- ûay, pusë’at vûra ’ipîttihap, tàkun- ûay. To’ptaktá’kpa’.5 Hâ’iri teatîk vûra takun’axayteákkî, xay

(HOW THEY USED TO EAT TOBACCO)

Sometimes an Indian does this way, just makes believe eat- tobacco, he does not really eat it. He takes tobacco out of his pipe sack, and feeds it into his mouth, it is like he is eating it, but he does not eat it. He sits there on the ground, he sings. Then after a while it is as if he faints. Then he takes out his pipe. Then he spills tobacco in his hand, into his palm he spills it. He acts like he is feeding tobacco into his mouth. Every little while he acts like he is feeding it into his mouth. He acts as if he swallows it.

He just spits it out. He throws tobacco on the fire, too. He acts kind of crazy, he acts as if he is about to faint. He is mocking the Kitaxrîhars. He is trying to bite himself at times, he thinks: “Let me eat my own meat.”

He does all kinds of things. In the sweathouse he sometimes has his fainting spell. He takes the old men’s pipes out [of their pipe sacks]. They are afraid of him, they never say anything [to him], they are afraid of him. He

1 He does this in the sweathouse, or anywhere.
2 Out of the pipe sack.
3 With repeated motions of his hand toward his mouth, as if shoveling it in.
4 Or: teim upûﬀa-the’e’c.
5 Throws his arms and legs and squirms with his trunk. Suck doctors also go through such motions.

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'u'arihk'air. Kitaxrihar ku-nic. Vūra 'u'm vo-kupavē'nnā-hiti'.

Pav o-kupītthāk pa'āvansa', puxay 'ikvī-thītiha'ra. Vur o-'asīmtcā'kti 'ukvithā'nnīcti kite vura Pakitaxrihar va; vura kite po'kvithū'nnīcti'. Hāri va; 'ukvithu'nnīcti Kitaxrihara'īn takunāvaruk. Hāri kunvenafip-kvō'ti 'iōé'kxārām 'īk.

Pássay mit vo-kupītthānik, 'i-hē'rah u'ā'mtihānik. Vura vo-kupavēnahf-tevūtihāt.

Jerks his body around. Sometimes they have to hold him so he will not jump in the river. He is like a Kitaxrihar. He is just doing that.

The way that man does is he never sleeps. It is that he shuts his eyes, and is just dreaming about him, is dreaming about that Kitaxrihar. Sometimes he dreams that the Kitaxrihar comes and eats him up. Sometimes they have to say formulas over him all night.

Passay used to do that way, used to eat tobacco. He used to make believe that way.
XII. Pahú't pámítva pukupíttihap', púmit ʼihé'raha máh-
ýâ-nnátihaphat', papu'ávé'cap 
fáːt 'i'n pá'u''up

Puva; káːn ʼihé'raha máhyâ-n-
nátihap pakáːn pa'arárá'uːp 
'utá-yhiti', pavákkay su? puvá-
ramnihe'cafa, pa'apxantí'te kun-
kupíttí'.

Yufivmatnakvánná'te, karu 
hári pahípsa'á, va; pakunmáh-
yâ-nnati su?. Va; vura su? kun-
máhyâ-nnati' sipnu-kkóak, karu 
'ahup'ássipak. Pura fáːt vúra su?
várámnihtiha'á. 'Ikpihan pay 
yufivmatnakvánná'te.

Paffúrak takunim máttap 'ahup-
tinnihičak, hári va; yufivmat-
akvanatesá'n su? takunim mátt-
tápkárarív, va; 'uːm tće'te uváx-
rá'hti', pura fáːt vura 'i'n 'ámti-
hap.

(TOBACCO NEVER USED AS AN 
INSECTIFUGE)

They never put tobacco in 
where they are storing things to 
keep the bugs away, like the 
white people do.

It is wormwood, and some-
times pepperwood, that they put 
in that way. They put it in a 
treasure basket or an Indian 
trunk. Nothing goes in there. 
That wormwood is strong.

When they lash a woodpecker 
scalp to a little flat stick, some-
times they lash wormwood leaves 
in under, then it dries quickly, 
nothing eats it.
When somebody gets hurt, or cut, then they put on tobacco where he got cut.

One spills the tobacco on his palm, out of the pipe sack he spills it. Then he prays over it: "Where art thou, Kitaxrihar of Axóipnam? Perhaps thou hast punished Human. Perhaps thou didst something bad to Human. May we make thee propitious. Take this!" Then he throws it. Or sometimes he blows it [off his palm]. And sometimes he is throwing it. Only a part of it, a little of it he throws. Then he spits on it. And then he puts it on the cut. Sometimes they tie it on. Sometimes then he can not stand it, the tobacco is so hot. And sometimes they just spit the juice on the cut, the tobacco juice.

1 Name of a former flat situated toward the river from Ikmahatcramiccip sweathouse, which was washed away by the river about 1895. It was the shiny ground of Katimin rancheria. The Kitaxrihar addressed lived on that flat, and there is a formula addressed to him for bruises received in shiny.

2 Implying that if the Kitaxrihar caused the cut or bruise as punishment or through meanness, he can also heal it.

3 Lit. the spittle.
When a tooth aches, they wet tobacco, they put it on a hot application rock. They make the rock hot first, then the one that has the toothache lays his face on the rock. He goes to sleep there that way.

The way that they used to do formerly was, whenever the pain jerks in the ear, then one smokes, whenever the pain jerks there. Then he blows it into his ear. He sniffs in, then he takes his pipe out of his mouth. Every once in a while he takes the pipe out of his mouth again, then he blows the smoke in the ear. Then the one that has the earache always gets well in a little while.

Anybody blows it into the ear. If there is a suck doctor in the house, she blows it in for her, she blows for them.
The suck doctresses, too, used tobacco smoke. They first smoke before they suck. They have to taste tobacco smoke in the mouth. That is the only way that they know the pains. With tobacco smoke they suck the pains out. They say the pain comes from outside, the pains fly around outside. Then sometimes they fly on anybody. That was all the sickness that they used to have, when pains jerked. They never even had toothache. And they never had consumption. And they used to doctor each other, they used to get well.

That is what they had the suck doctors for, they suck off of anybody by means of tobacco smoke. They hold the tobacco smoke in the mouth. Then they suck. That was their best medicine, tobacco. They used it more than anything. They thought that was what they lived by, smoking tobacco.
When a woman gets to be a doctor, she dances ten nights in the sweathouse. Now and then she quits dancing for a while. Later on [after her initiation] she only dances five nights. Whenever she starts to dance, she only dances five nights, later on.

The good doctresses all have long pipes. When they are sucking on people, they smoke every once in a while, that way they take the pains off quick. My deceased mother had a short pipe. I do not think she was a very good doctor.

(HOW A SUCK DOCTOR BREATHES IN THE TOBACCO SMOKE WHILE SHE IS DANCING AT A KICK DANCE)

When a woman doctor is dancing in the sweathouse when they are kick dancing, she breathes through her mouth, she wants the tobacco smoke to go into her mouth. She wants to get to like tobacco, she wants to like tobacco later on when she smokes. She gets stout from the tobacco smoke, from it she gets stout, when she breathes it in, the tobacco smoke, through her mouth. She makes an inhaling sound as she dances. If she shuts her mouth, she gets weak. She will get far gone, she will get weak. Every once in a while everybody takes a smoke, they

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3 This pipe was sold by Sylvester Donohue.
4 Said in fun. She was an excellent doctor and busy all the time with her cases.
5 The doctress alone dances standing, the others present sit and kick the floor.
3. Pah'ut 'Icrá-mhirak Va'ára'r 'ukupararihk'ahanhivá'évahiti pakkuhár 6

'Ixakúxurar mit napatum-kó'ot. Táy vávan 'ínnák kunká-rárahiti. 'Iok'áffúrax 'uška'ráhiti', kar uttávahiti 'i'ok'á'. Pa-tu'arihiriha; k pamupákkuiri, xás va; kari takunpakúri'hvana. Vura 'um púva; 'ínná-k 'ikré-vic-cara 'ánvi'pux. Kó-vura 'áy 'ikxáram kumparúkúrihva'.

'axakmahite vura 'avktítyucurak kumparúkúrihva 'ikxaramkúnic. Kahémea 'umkun 'ikxurar xas 'ára xus kunk'ummuti', nu; 'um vura súppá-hak 'ára xus kunk'ummuti', pavura takkármíha'ák, xas 'ikxáram kunpatúmkó'iti'.

Va; mit 'áppa'ót: "'Va; xus 'é'istihanik kun'åpcurráník, viri va; 'ím vura puharíaxty 'íp yáv pé'cara pamóva'áy. Va; vura paharíaviva; vura papuxx'ítc ik'xuhá'ak, va; 'á' upvónsíprévic pa'arattá'nr. Karixás ik va; 'ín 'ikxarácap pa'arattá'nr. Va; sú 'um vura va; tusákri'vhá'. Paxúnxu'n tukícápàrariiv. 'Upmánhiti', vássihkam xas 'úpmánhiti'. Vura tapunécyú nkéfa, tusákri'vhá'. Vura 'um tapunécyú nkéfa, vura ník 'um nu-

say they do not get sore throats that way. When they rest, they smoke, they pass the pipes around. But the doctor smokers her own pipe, nobody else's, she just smokes her pipe alone.

She nodded her head over me (circumlocution for she sucked me) two evenings. There were lots of people in the house. She had on a feather cape, and she was vized with feathers. When she started to sing, they all would sing. No person who is not painted can stay in the house. They all dot their faces with black, a black dot is put on each cheek of each person. The upriver doctors doctor at night, but our people doctor through the day; only in a bad case do our people suck at night.

She said: "They had deviled him [that dead person], whom you took care of [before he died], you never will be good again in your chest [gesture]. Whenever you get sick again, the pain will rise up again. That pain is the one that is going to kill you. It is getting hard inside. It [the pain] is tied up with spit. It has its mouth, and its mouth is to your back. I can not pull it out. It is hard [to take out]. I can not put that out, I can only help a

6 The following text, dictated by Imk'anvan, describes how she was doctored by 'Icrá-mhirak Vá'ara'á, Mrs. Hoodley, the use of the tobacco pipe being a prominent feature.
Then she sucked me, she sucked me all over. Then she took out her pipe. Then she smoked. Then she stood the pipe on me [bowl against my skin], she was singing, she was dancing, too. She pressed it on in one place, rocking it a little. Every time when she took it [the pipe] away [from my skin], then she inhaled with a noise. She did not put it into her mouth, she just held her mouth close to the pipe. She did not have a very long pipe. Three different places she stood it on my chest, and on my head [on my forehead], too, not hard, just gently [on my head]. Then she inhaled with a noise. Then when she took the pipe away, blood was hanging on the end of that pipe. Then after a while she smoked again. She keeps smoking every little while as long as she sees the pain in there.

They say that the upriver doctors do not suck much; they use rather the pipe, every once in a while they take a smoke; that is all the way they do, with a [condor feather] they brush the sick person off.

little bit. It is not Indian sickness, it is White man sickness.” Then she said: “I know if the pains are paining you, I know on the exterior, I do not know far in.”

Then she sucked me, she sucked me all over. Then she took out her pipe. Then she smoked. Then she stood the pipe on me [bowl against my skin], she was singing, she was dancing, too. She pressed it on in one place, rocking it a little. Every time when she took it [the pipe] away [from my skin], then she inhaled with a noise. She did not put it into her mouth, she just held her mouth close to the pipe. She did not have a very long pipe. Then she inhaled with a noise. Then when she took the pipe away, blood was hanging on the end of that pipe. Then after a while she smoked again. She keeps smoking every little while as long as she sees the pain in there.

They say that the upriver doctors do not suck much; they use rather the pipe, every once in a while they take a smoke; that is all the way they do, with a [condor feather] they brush the sick person off.
 XV. Pahú-t papirič?ané'kyáváⁿ-sa picci;p kunkupamúṭpi-th-vahití pehéraha', pa'ánnav karixás kunikyá'tti'

'Ávansas mit kitc kúnic pa'ané'kyáváⁿ-sá', kúna vura 'u'm payé'm va; tapúffá'it, takunpērunpañ̄. Payé'm vura ni ká'kkum 'asiktáváⁿ-sá takun-sám, 'asiktavan?ané'kyáváⁿ-sá'. Xutexutekássar ¹ va; mit yé-ci'?p. Kunipítī 'Akraman?áhu:² karu vura nik 'u'ittapti'. Pa'ára tó'kkúha'ak, va; kari takun-pikya'í pa'ané'kyáváⁿ-n. Va; vura kari picci;p vura takun'ë'. Kari vuri púv ikyav pa'ánnav kari vuri takun'ë'. 'Itapáuv-ri:ña va; vura kó' pa'iccavsi'. Há'ri 'itráhyar fúráx. Pa'apxantinhiite vëttak kunívyfhu k v ura kár itráhyár 'icpük vúra takun'iccavsi'.

Patakunpiya'há:k pa'ané'kya'váⁿ-n, kari mah'ññihate vura tuvá:rám, to'kyá'r pamuppíric, márūk vura kó'kkáninay to'kyá't, tu'apimpí'var pamuppíric. Xas tu'ıppak, 'usá'nvúti pamuppíric. Pakó: 'u'a'púñmuti va; pamuppíric, va; kó' to'psá'uk, táhpur's, karu há'r icvítíp, káru 'akrávsi'íp, káru 'akvítííp, káru vicvankuha'an'nav, káru há'ri kusípá:nu, pakó: 'u'a'púñmuti', va; kó: 'u'úhyanakó'vic. Kó'-vúra pakó: muppíric va; kó: 'u'i-

¹ Mg. having his head hair like a nest, referring to his slightly curly hair.
² Mg. he walks as if going to war.

How the Steaming Doctors Throw Tobacco Around Before They Fix Their Medicine

It used to be mostly men that were steaming doctors, but now there are no more of them, they all died off. There are now still some women left, some woman steaming doctors. Sandy Bar Bob was the best one. They say that Sandy Bar Jim knows how, too. When somebody is sick, then they send for the steaming doctor. They pay him first. Before he makes the medicine, they pay him. One string [of the kind of dentalia called piöviva] is his doctor fee. Sometimes 10 woodpecker heads. After the Whites have started to fee they charge $10.

When they get the steaming doctor, he goes early in the morning, he goes to pick his herbs, all over upslope he goes to pick them, he goes to look for his herbs. Then he comes back, packing his herbs in his hands. Whatever kinds he knows, that many he brings home, the twigs of Douglas Fir, and sometimes Jeffrey Pine, and cottonwood, and alder, and vicvankuha'an'nav [fern sp.], and sometimes madrone, as many as he knows...
patsúrō-ti  'itcámmanhitc pa'ápte-ti"k va;  'um háť ifyâ-vürâvâ patùp'pítcasha."k.3

I'm vura tô'psâmkir pamuppìrìc, pamärük tu'ippakaha."k, ò'mnák pusá-mfuruktíthârâ. Pakú'sra 'aîvannihite to'kré'ha."k, kari po'kyâ-tìtì pa'an'nav. 'Asîp-pìt po'kyâ-ramti', papuva'âssip-hâhiti'. Pakuhítihan mu'ará'ìt va;  'ìn takunë'ë, pa'âssip. Yîttec'te vura tuvô'nümpûk, pa'ânnav 'ikyâ-tîtihân. Va; kumâ'i'i pa'ìkk'âm 'ukyâ'tìtì, patuyêf'p 4 'ìn kun'ìmm'ü'stí'.

Kariñas tu'úrrorrupuk pamù'âssip, pamu'anê'kyârav.5 Va; kû'k tu'â'v pa'âssip pamuppîric 'uta'ýhitihirak 'ìkk'âm. Va; kà'n to'ôf'c pamu'âssip, 'ârûn. Xas yîdûkánva vura po'-tá'yhi'ti pappi'ric, payîdûva ku máppîric.

Xas kà'n vura 'îkk'âm 6 picci'p 'umutpf'wüti pa'uhîhiphítkcù-rappu, 'uteú'phîti po'mutpf'wüti'. Picci'p kà'n 'utâyvâ-ratti 7 pe'hé'râha', patuyêf'prin 'u'âkkîhvanâ-tî, peôivànnê'n kâ'ru vûrâ, kà'n vûr 'ivîìkk'âm po'àkkhcîprînati pehê'râha'.

Patuyêf'prin 'u'âkkîhvanâ-tî: "Má'pay pe'hé'râha takîk'âkkîhap. Tcimì k'anapipcarav-rf'kî, Yâ'sâra tcim 'u'îkk'âm-

[formulas for], that many he is going to pray over. All his herbs as many as there are he breaks off one limb at a time, sometimes several if they are small ones [small plants].

He leaves his herbs outside the living house, when he comes back from upslope; he does not pack it into the living house. When the sun is already somewhat high, then he makes the medicine. It is a new bowl basket that he makes it with, a bowl basket that has never been used. The sick person's relatives furnish it, that bowl basket. He goes out alone, when he makes the medicine. He makes it outside so that the mountains will see him.

Then he takes his bowl basket outdoors, his steaming receptacle. He takes the bowl basket to where he left his herbs outside. He sets his bowl down there, empty. Then he lays the herbs in separate places, each kind of herb.

Then outside there first he throws around the pounded up stem tobacco; he is talking as he throws it around. First he

3 He does not tie the sprigs he picks in bunches, he just carries them holding the stems grasped together in his hand.
4 Or patuyêf'prin.
5 Special term applied to the bowl basket used for steaming.
6 Or 'ìm.
7 This is the idiom.
hè'c. 8 Tcimí Yás'ára kipk'o'-himmatevi'. Tcimí k'ananipcaparr’fi'ki, pátöyec'p." Vura 'u'm tcf'mmítce pumutpf'vúti'.

Xas tu'uhyanákku; pappríric iteamahíte. Yííth a kumappíric 9 picí'ic tu'ássíp, vá; vura 'avpfrmmíte po'axaytcaakkíkirihtí, xakaráratítkmá'n, po'uhyanakó'ttí'. Xas patupuhyanakó'm'mar, káří 'assípak to'tív-rám'mí. Púyava 'íffu yíí kúna kumappíric tu'ássíp. vá; kúkkú'm yíí kumá'u'hyán patu'uhyanákku". 'Assípak to'tívramínní kúkkú'm vá". Kó-vúra vo'ku-pé'kyá'htí pamuppíric. Tcátík vúra tapiro'át pappríric. Xas pa'ássíp tupiktá'msip pa'ássíp, pappríric 'u'í'tóra'. Xas 'iccacha-htí; m kúk tu'úm, kúk tóktám'má. Xas 'iccaha to'ttá-rivránní pamu'ássípak pamu'ánna'k.

Karixas vá; 'inná'k tóktám-fúrtík payikkihar 'u'ámmírak 'inná'k. Xas picí'ic và; to'táriv-k'áraváh pa'iccaha payikkihar. Karixas patuparamppúk'wik, picí'p túcma thépa'iccaha'. Vá; muppí'm to'thí'c po'ámmírak. Karixas vá; 'asë'mír tuturuk-kúrihva pa'ássípak. 'Immaďayav pato'mtúpahákz pappríric. Xas vá; tupañxúttáp. Vá; vura "spoils" the tobacco, he is feeding the mountains and the earth, it is outside there that he is feeding the mountains from.

He feeds the mountains: "Here I feed ye this smoking tobacco. Ye help me, Human is going to go outside. Feel ye sorry for Human! Ye help me, ye moun-
tains." He just throws it around a little.

Then he prays over the herbs one at a time. He takes up one kind of herb first; close to his face he holds it, with both hands, as he prays over it. Then when he finishes praying over it, then he puts it in the bowl basket. Then afterwards he takes up another kind of herb. He prays a different prayer over it. Then he puts it in turn in the bowl basket. He does that same way to all his herbs. Then the herbs are through with. Then he picks up the bowl basket, with the herbs in it. Then he goes to the water, he packs it to the water. Then he puts water in his bowl basket on his medicine.

Then he packs it into the house where the sick person lies in the house. Then the first thing he makes the sick person drink some of that water. Then he starts in to steam him, first he makes him drink the water. He sets the bowl basket close to where he [the sick person] is lying. Then he puts hot boiling stones into that cup. It smells

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8 The Ikxareyavs, when speaking of Human dying, always said tu'fìkk'am, he has gone outside [the house], instead of tu'ív, he has died.
9 Or pappríric.
nice when the herbs get all cooked. Then he covers him [the sick person up with a blanket]. He stays there watching him. If it gets cooled off, he puts some other ones [hot boiling stones] in. All day long he steams the sick person, with what he has prayed over. It takes all day long to cook it. They do not make it so hot. Then when the herbs "get cooked" in the evening, then he quits. The herbs look different, when they are done. Then when he finishes the medicine, then he bathes him with the medicine water, with the medicine water he bathes the sick person. Then they bathe him with other [ordinary] water. Then the sick person gets up, if he is not too sick. Then the steaming doctor packs his herbs outdoors, in the bowl basket, he hides the herbs outside, lest people see them. Then he washes out the bowl basket. He is going to take it along with him when he goes home. They say that he is going to take all the sickness away in the bowl basket, when he packs it home with him.

That kind of steaming doctor, when he makes his medicine, does not drink water for three days. From the time that he starts to go to pick the herbs, he does not drink water. He merely spoons acorn soup for three days, he is afraid "I might get thirsty if I eat anything."

10 Lit. if it becomes extinguished, said of fire. A curious extension of the verb.
Sometimes when a person is hunting he throws tobacco around many times in one day, whenever he gets to the top of a ridge, he throws tobacco there again, he prays thus:

“Mountain, I will feed thee this tobacco. Mayst thou be glad to see me coming, mountain. I am coming here. I am about to obtain thy best child. Thy pet I am about to obtain.”

It was stem tobacco that they used to throw around, sometimes leaf tobacco. Nowadays it is the White man tobacco that they throw around.

1. Yiθθa pakkuri po-pivuyri\-nk\'uti pah\'ut peh\'raha kunkupe\-p-tayv\'aratti pakun\'akkunvutiha\'\'nk

(SONG TELLING HOW HUNTERS THROW TOBACCO AROUND)

The following kick-dance song tells of a hunter throwing tobacco:

'Itahara\'n vára
'Ih\'erah uptayv\'aratti
'I\'k'am vavunayv\'íteva\'n \'i\'yá.

He spills [= prays and throws around] tobacco 10 times, he who is walking around outside [= the hunter].
XVII. Patcirixxu’s, pahú’t mit kāru vura kunkupe hröhitiha’t

Tcīrīxxus, ʼu: m vura pu-vic-tunvē’ttcaš. 1 Kaťtimi’ñ̓rāhiv kunīhrū-vti, 1 karu vura Panam-nikrāhiv, karu vura karuk?rāhiv va; kāru kā: ʼn vura kunīhrū-vti patcirīxxu’s, karu vura pasa-rūk?āmku;f 2 takunikyā’ha’šk, kunīhrū-vti va; patecirixuspū’vīc.

Va; vūra kitc tașrapuphū’vic-tunvē’ttcaš. Xē’hva; karu ’:u: m vūra yiθ, xē’hva; ʼu: m ’uhrām-pū’vīc. Vikk’apuhač vūra su? ’umāhyá’nnaḥiti’.

’Itráhyar patcirixuspū’vic va; viri va; ’ayyara’va kunikyā’tiį pa-’uhippi’. Kaťtimi’ñ̓rāhiv kunikyā’tiį pa’a’h kunikyā’tiį màr̓uk, ’inki-ra’ahíram. Xas va; kunmútpí-tvi kā: ʼn pa’ahirámí’t; m pa-’uhippi’, pakunvé’nnašiptu’ha’sk.

’Itráhyar patcirīxxu’š kō’kā-ninay vura va; kunīhrū-vti’, va; vūra ’ata kitc kā: ʼn ’itn̓o-ppiti kun̓hrū-vti patcirīxxu’s pasa-rūk?āmku;f takunikyā’ha’šk, va; kā: ʼn ’Amékyá’ram ’itró’p papū’-victunvē’ttcae su’100a puvičk’ā’m-mak kunmahyi’nnatasi su?. 3

(THE TCIΡꞌXXUS, AND WHAT THEY DID WITH THEM)

Tcīrīxxus are little sacks. They use them at the Katimin new year ceremony, and at the Orleans new year ceremony, and at the up-river new year ceremony, they use the tcīrīxxus there, too, and when they make the downslope smoke they use the tcīrīxxus sacks.

They are nothing but little buckskin sacks. A xehvas is different, a xehvas is a pipe sack. They are kept in a vikk’apu.

They fill 10 tcīrīxxus sacks with stem tobacco on the last day of the Katimin target shooting when they make the fire upslope at Inkir fireplace. Then they throw around the stem tobacco there by the fireplace, while they pray.

They use 10 everywhere except only 5 tcīrīxxus at the downriver smoke, there at Amekyaram they put 5 little sacks into one big sack. 3

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1 For detailed description of the use of tcīrīxxus at the Katimin new year ceremony see pp. 245–247.
2 Referring to the Yutimin spring salmon ceremony.
3 Models of the large and small tcīrīxxu’s sacks used at the spring salmon ceremony were made by Mrs. Mary Ike, and are shown in Pl. 36. The large sack has a drawstring: ’uptó’ntcícerahiti vastá-ran, it draws together with a thong.
When they make a tcirixxus, they sew it wrong side out, with sinew; they sew it the same way as they do the pipe sack. Then they turn it right side out when they finish making it. Then they sew a thong at the top to tie it up with.

Then when they pray, they open them up, they throw the stem tobacco around.

(How Skunk Shot the Katimin Maidens, How Skunk Mentioned TciriXXus in His Song)

Ukni. They were living [there].

There were many girls there. What they were doing was just going out to dig roots every day, at Matieram. Then later on one evening they were sitting there, by their pack baskets. They had already filled all their pack baskets; they had put their pack baskets in a row. They were about to start home, they were already fixed up how they were going to go. Then they looked upslope. Behold from upslope there came a good-looking dancing youth. He was good-looking, that youth; he was all painted up. They said to each other: "He is nice-looking, that one who danced down." Then after a while he danced downslope a little closer,
ta'ūmmukite po-'ihunnihti', po-
olvā'-ptį. Fāt kūnic 6 'umsiva-
xavrīnnāti pamūva'ay'y, kipa
tcāntca:f pamūva'ay, pakunum-
mü-sti'. 'Upakūrī-hvūtī'.

Song by the Skunk
Kū-fan ṭăn ṭăn ṭăn 7
Tečirixus teirīxūs.

Tečirura pay k'ō'mahite xas
'a:y utcyirunni-hvānā'. Kārīxas
kun tō'ric, pa'ifsapptītītēs, kō-v
ikpīhan pamūppīf. Kārīxas kun-
pūfā-thinā'. Kārīxas kū:k 'ús-
kā-kmā', pa'āttimnam 'uvūmi'n-
ē-rak kū:k 'ūskā-kmā'. Ta'īt-
tam 'ārun 'ukyā-vō'hē:n pamu-
kūn?attīv. Kunikrīttuv pa'ifsap-
pptītītēs, takunpūfā-thinā', ta-
kunimyā'mhnina: pappīf. Xas
upōvāssip. Tečirura pā'npay
kā'kkum takunpīntāv. Tečirura
pā'npay kōvūra takunpīntāv.
Yānava kōvūra ta'ārun pamu-
kūn?attīv. Xas kunpāvyi-ci:
Atimnamānnunic kunpāffeci:
p. Xas sārūk kunpīhmarun'ni.

Xas kunpāvyi-hma', sārūk, pa-
mukun'krrīvra'm. Makūnkiːt
Kō'va kun?'ārā'ṭāhiti'. Xas yī'ō
upī\p: "Pūfāː pananutāyiʔ. Mārūk
'āsicnihanite u'ihunu-
niḥat. Viri vaː 'ın takinyavāy-p
va'. Xas vura hū:t vaː vura
pakininčicahe'èn, pūxay vūra
kinmāhe'èn. Vaː vura kārīxas
nummahōnko'èn, panupisūksi'p.
Yānava tapūfāː pananutāyiʔ. 'Ip
k'ūnūfö'ot. Vūra 'u:m kē'mic." Xas
pamukūnkiːt 'ūp-
dancing the war dance. His front
side shone up bright, it was so
white, as they were looking.
He was singing.

Song by the Skunk
Kū-fan ṭăn ṭăn ṭăn 7
Tobacco sack, tobacco sack.

Then when there close he
breathed on their faces. Then
the girls all fell over, his poison
was so strong. They fainted.
Then the skunk jumped over
toward there, toward where the
pack baskets were sitting. Then
he emptied all their pack baskets.
The girls were lying in a pile;
they had fainted, they were giddy
from the poison. Then he put
the load on his back. Then after
a while some girls came to. Then
all came to. Behold they saw
that all their pack baskets were
empty. Then they went home.
They were packing back empty
baskets.

Then they got home, downslope,
to their living house. They lived
with their grandmother. Then
one said: "Our cacomites are
all gone. A boy danced down
from up on the hill. He took
them away from us. We do not
know what he did to us, we
never even saw what he did to us.
We did not feel it until we got
up again on our legs. Behold
our cacomites were all gone.
He poisoned us. He was venom-

6 Lit. like something.
7 This line has no meaning.
Then their grandmother said: “Surely, I know, it is Skunk. I will make something so you can kill him.” Then she made a long digging stick. Then she said: “Here, if ever he dances downslope again, ye must stick him with this.”

Then when morning came, they all went again, they went again to dig roots. They went early in the morning. They dug lots again. Then again they set in a row their loads of cacomites. Then all at once from upslope he danced down again. Then he came closer. He was singing.

Then he again poisoned their faces. Then one of them fainted. But one of them jumped up. The one who had jumped up, she had the digging stick in her hand. Then she stuck him through with the long digging stick. He rolled downslope. Downslope he rolled. Then they put their loads of cacomites back on their backs, they were so glad. Then they got back downslope to their living house. Then they said: “We finished him. He is the one that always did take it away from us.”

That is the way he did, Skunk. He went into the brush there.

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“Then their grandmother said: “Surely, I know, it is Skunk. I will make something so you can kill him.” Then she made a long digging stick. Then she said: “Here, if ever he dances downslope again, ye must stick him with this.”

Then when morning came, they all went again, they went again to dig roots. They went early in the morning. They dug lots again. Then again they set in a row their loads of cacomites. Then all at once from upslope he danced down again. Then he came closer. He was singing.

Then he again poisoned their faces. Then one of them fainted. But one of them jumped up. The one who had jumped up, she had the digging stick in her hand. Then she stuck him through with the long digging stick. He rolled downslope. Downslope he rolled. Then they put their loads of cacomites back on their backs, they were so glad. Then they got back downslope to their living house. Then they said: “We finished him. He is the one that always did take it away from us.”

That is the way he did, Skunk. He went into the brush there.
He was metamorphosed there. And it smells yet, his poison does. That is why he walks slow, because they fought him in story times, because they stuck him through behind with a digging stick. He travels around nights now. He knows that he is slow, he knows that they can easily kill him if he goes abroad by day. He is afraid yet.

Kupannakanakana. Skunk did thus. And Meadow Mice stuck him through. They were girls, Meadow Mice. And that is the way they did. They were Kati-min girls.

Shine early, Spring Salmon, hither upriver. My back is straight. Grow early, Spring Cacomite.

10 To become the modern animal.
XVIII. Pahú't kunkupe-ħrô-ḥiti pehê-raha pa'irahîvha'k

(HOW THEY USE TOBACCO IN THE NEW YEAR CEREMONY)

To understand the following texts on the use of tobacco in the New Year ceremony, we shall give here the briefest outline of this ceremony, complete texts on which have been obtained and will be presented as a separate publication.

The ceremony was held at only three places: At Innam (at the mouth of Clear Creek), at Katimin, and at Orleans. It consisted everywhere of two sections: the 'icriv, or target shooting, a 10-day fire-kindling and target-shooting ceremony, during which the medicine man goes upslope each day to kindle fire at a different fireplace, followed by a crowd of men and boys who shoot arrows at targets as they go up and who reach the fireplace after he has kindled the fire and has started down the hill; and the 'irahiv, the culmination of the ceremony, which consists of a vigil of the medicine man by a sand pile called yûxpi’t during the night of the tenth day and festivities on the eleventh day, ending when they stop dancing the deerskin dance at sundown on the eleventh day. The medicine man remains in the sweathouse for 5 nights after the the night spent at the yûxpi’t (for 10 nights if he is officiating for the first time), but these additional days are not included in the period known as 'irahiv, which consists only of one night and the following day.

The ceremony is held at Innam starting 10 days before the disappearance of the August moon, and a month later simultaneously at Katimin and Orleans, starting 10 days before the disappearance of the September moon. The night when the 'irahiv starts is the last night that the moon is visible; the medicine man sees the moon for the last time as he goes back to the sweathouse after his night of vigil at the yûxpi’t.

Those officiating in the ceremony are the fatavēⁿma’n or “medicine man”; the 'imûssa’n, or “helper”; the 'icrivâⁿsa’, or target shooters; the kixâhâⁿsa’, or boy singe-ers of brush; the 'ikyâyâⁿsa’, or two maiden assistants of the medicine man; and the ko-pîtxa-tîh-vâⁿsa’, the officers of the preceding year, who have their separate fire near the yûxpi’t fire during the night of the 'irahiv.

There are always several men who can function as medicine man and the same man did not usually officiate for any considerable number of years, but there was interchanging.

The purpose of the ceremony is for the refixing of the world for another year, and from the Indian expression for this, 'išívâⁿnēⁿ
'upikyā-vice, he [the fatavēnna]n is going torefix the world, comes the term pikyavish, the name of the ceremony current locally among the Whites.

1. Pafatavēnna; n pahu't 'ukupa- 
   'ē-ūthahiti hitiha; n pamu-
   'ūhra"m

Vura va; kunxakkā'nhitī pa-
'ührā;m pafatavēnna; n. Pu'ē-ū-
'tihara pamuviikk'apuhak pamu-
'ūhra"m, tī'kān vura po'ê-ū
ti pamu'ūhra"m, kō'kanīnay vura 
pakū;k 'u'ā;̆mūtī va; vur tī-
kān u'ē-ūti pamu'ūhra"m. Hitī-
ha; n vura po'ê-ūti'.

'Ā;̆pun to'ūhārīc 2 patcim upā-t-
vē'caha"k, pamu'ūhra"m. Pa-
muśīttcakvūtvar karu 'ā;̆pun tō-ū-
'ē-urīc. Xas pa'ā;̆s tuvāku-
ri. Xas patupippā'tvām, kūk-
uū;m tǒ'īttcakvūtva', kūkku;̆m 
tǒ'īppē-teip pamu'ūhra"m
Vura 'u;̆m kuna vura 'u;̆m pūva; 
 kā;̆n ihē'ratihara, payux-
pī;ttk tupihiyariciha"k.

2. Pahu't kunkupěhē-rana-hiti 
Kaitimīn̄ pa'āxxak tukun-
nīha;̆k

Va; kari 'āxxak tukūnni 
Kaitimīn̄ Pahinneȟi'Uhānnǐ- 
rrak 'ūsrmēti', xas va; kari pīcči;̆p 
pa'ī;̆crīhi;̆m takunūyyervinghama;̆k, 
karixās 'a;̆h takunūkyav. Va; pa-
kunkupafu'īcchahiti va; 'u;̆m pū-

1 The medicine man in charge of the New Year ceremony.
2 He lays it, does not stand it on end.
in the winter time. Then they all take a smoke, sometimes there are five pipes there, they pass them to each other, they take two or three puffs each. Behold, they all smoke. Then when they are through, they put their pipes away under their belts. Then they shoot as they go upslope; they are "spilling in upslope direction."

The girls only go that far, they wait there a little while, they paint each other. When the men get through smoking, then the girls all run back downslope. Then when the men start to go shooting along up, then the girls say: "I see, they are spilling in upslope direction." They hear them say "his00uk his00uk." They are spilling in upslope direction. Then the girls all run back downslope. They watch when they [the men] first start in to shoot along up. Then all run back downslope, they go and bathe. Then they eat. They fix a big feed. They eat when they finish bathing. Then whenever the men-folks come back, after they come back from the target shooting, they also bathe, and then they eat, too. At that time, the time of the target shooting, they eat only once [a day].

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3 Their belts are all that they have on.
4 Referring to "spilling up" their arrows, i.e., shooting them.
5 The girls of course do not smoke.
6 They have eaten no breakfast.
7 This is the old term for coming back down from target shooting. This form of the verb is used of this act in the New Year ceremony only.
3. Pahu't mit kunkupittihat uh-ähakkuv kumasúppa*


Ka*tim“n karu vúra va’ kunkupittî’ pámítva kunkupittihat Panâmm”l, va’ karu vúra va’ kâ’n kunkupittî kah”nnam”sm, va’ karu vura kâ’n va’ yôhô súppa; ’ôvû-yti ’uh’ahakkuv. Pa’as Ka*tim“n va’ kâ’n pó’kri; Ka-ruk’âssak 11 mukkâ’mm.

(HOW THEY USED TO DO ON THE DAY [CALLED] “GOING TOWARD TOBACCO”)

When the New Year ceremony is about to take place, when the fatavennan is about to finish his work (he works 10 days, working without eating, he eats just one meal evenings), two days before he gets through, he prays over tobacco, he goes toward tobacco. They call that day “the going toward tobacco.”

There is a rock there, and they put on top of it there the tobacco stems, in the early morning they put them on there. Then the fatavennan goes toward it. He keeps praying all the time that he is walking toward the tobacco. He puts it in his wikk’apu when he picks it up. Then he goes on. He makes a fire upslope at the fireplace [of that day]. He goes upslope. He is packing his wikk’apu. Then he makes a fire upslope.

At Katimin they do the same as they did at Orleans, and they do the same upriver at Clear Creek, one day there, too, is called “going toward tobacco.” The rock at Katimin is just upslope of Karukassak.

8 On the eighth day.
9 Old ceremonial name of tobacco, here volunteered. The word is scarcely ever used nowadays.
10 Mg. where they spoil (i.e. pray and throw) tobacco. The rock and place are a little toward Georgie Orcutt’s house from the Orleans schoolhouse.
11 The rock at Katimin spring. The rock at Katimin is called ’Uhëï-críhra”m, mg. where they put tobacco on.
The last day, when the medicine man makes the fire, he takes along 10 sacks, tcirixxus. He puts it in his basketry sack. The first thing he does is to come out of the sweat house. He goes to bathe at Karukassak. He is packing his pipe in his hand. He puts it [the pipe] by the water when he bathes. Then when he comes back he goes into the prayer house. They [two or three men] are waiting for him inside. Then they are prompting him. Then they paint him. They paint him black and red. They first paint him all over with red. Then they transversely stripe his legs and arms with black paint. And they paint a [black] bar across his face. And they paint a [black] bar across on his belly. Then they make tight his back pug. Then they stick in his plume; they make it tight. Then when he is ready to go, they put the tcirixxus into the wikk'apu 15a 10 tcirixxus.

(How they do on the last day of the 'tciriv at Katimin)

4. Pah'ut kunkupitti pata'ifu'teitimitesúppa pe'criv Ka'timí?n

Pata'ifu'teitimitesúppa' pa'a'h upikyátti pafa'tavé 'nna'n, 'itahe-rappú-vic tu'á'pha', tcirixxus. Pamuvíkk'ápuhák sú' tumáh-vay'n. Va; picc'te 'ukupitti 'ik-maháteirá'm tuvó'numuk. Ká-ruká'sasak tó'ppátvá'. 'Uhrá'm 'uí'é'ti tís-ká'n. 'Ás tí'mitc tó'íñiciri pató'pátváhák. Xas va; patu'íppak 'i'ná'k vura tó'pvrónfurúk vé'nnáram. Kuníkránti vura 'i'ná'k. Xas takunkíffár.12 Kárixta takunfán'vaá,13 'ikkáramkuníc takunfán'vaáo'akúnic káfru. Picci'p 'iñá'ice vura 'a'kúníc takunfúvrúk. Kárixta 'ikkarámmú'k takuntáppuk14 pamúpsí; kí'aru pamútra'x, 'ikkaráramkunícán'vahamó'k. Káfru 'áy takunípté-ttvíraá. Vic-vá'n 'aváhkan karu yíóta takun-táppukráv. Xas pamupipéaríc kí'aru sákri takunkítyáv.15 Xas pamupíkvas karu takuníhyák-kuri, sákri vúra takunkítyáv. Xas va; pató'ím uvá'ráméc, vikk'ápuhak takunmáhyan patciri-xüüs, 'itaharatciri-xüüs.16

12 This verb is used of this prompting only. Two or three men are always waiting there and after the medicine man enters instruct him what to do for that day, no matter who he is or how many times he has been fatáv'é'nna'n. Tínti'n always answers them impatiently: Na; vúra nik niá'apúnuti pánik'uphé'é, I know what to do.

13 They paint him good this noon for the paint will still be on him when he goes to the yúxpi'tt that evening, and he wears this paint all night, during the height of the ceremony.

14 Ct. takunxuíripha', they stripe him lengthwise.

15 I. e., they tie his hair tightly into a pug at the back of his head. His hair is gathered into a pug, into which the plume is stuck, and there is a mink skin on top of his head, the whole being fastened with a black string.

15a The ceremonial quiver.

Then all the people hide. One man [of the prompters] goes outside [the cookhouse] and hollers: "Ye hide. The fatavennan is going. Ye hide. On the other side of the river, too. The fatavennan is going." He is hollering across river when he hollers. All the people hide. They stop their ears.16a They think they might hear the sound of stepping. They must not hear the sound of stepping. If one would hear the sound of his slow striding, he says: "I am going to have an accident, my face will be burned." They say that when he comes out he strides around for a while outside of the door of the cookhouse. Then swiftly he walks when he leaves. He goes to the Ma fire-place, to the fireplace at Inkir [called] Ma. He sets out alone, the helper sets out later.

16 The people of Katimin used all to leave their houses at the beginning of the New Year ceremony and camp under the bank at the edge of the river during the 10 days. They claimed that anyone who would stay in the houses at that time would not live long. The result was that much drying salmon used to rot in the houses during these 10 days and be lost. They are permitted to enter the houses for the purpose of making a fire for drying the fish, but are careless about attending to this and much of it spoils. Only those men in the sweathouse with the fatavennan are permitted to remain in the rancheria. That is why the crier faces across river direction, toward the people encamped on the hither bank and those on the Ishipishrihak side.

16a The ears are stopped by inserting forefingers in ear holes tightly, pinching with the thumb the lower part of the external ear against the forefinger, and often in addition pressing the whole fisted hand against the ear. This effectually closes the ears to the sound of the fatavennan striding and stamping. 'Utaxaráppáothunatí', he strides. 'Uxaprikierí-hvuti', he stamps. 'Uríkkikho;ti', there is a sound of slow striding or stamping. 'Uríkkrekhítí', there is a sound of stepping or walking.
Xas patu'r'um, va: vu'ra kari tuvë'ñ, papicï-te 'ahiram tuváram'ni. Xas pa'ahirám;ì vura yáv tó'kyáv. Tutatuyunáy'a-tchá.17 Kéteri;k tiriri;k vura patutáttucur. Pakúha yi: v 'uptátúuyúti'. Va: mkáñ pó-vé:mmáti po-táttucurúti', su? po'xxúti'.


Xas 'u:mi vura tu'írippa-fatavë'nnà'ñ, vuru 'umáhiti', 'u'-ápúnumuti pakáñ takunikeúppi picci'ip. 'Áhupma'k vura tu'írip. 'Ápun tu'íripkúvüti'. Va: káñ su? tó:pmah pe'krívkiir. Va: vura káñ tó:psá'nkír pasúrúk-

Then when he gets there, he prays, when he first enters the fireplace ground. Then he makes the place about the fire clean. He sweeps it up good. He sweeps a big wide place. He is sweeping disease afar. That is the place where he prays, when he sweeps, thinking it inside [not speaking it with his mouth].

He also throws around tobacco there by the fireplace, the tcirixxs sacks of tobacco; he throws the tobacco around. He throws it around a little at a time. He feeds the tobacco mostly to Medicine Mountain; he also feeds to Lower Mountain. He uses up 10 tcirixxs sacks of tobacco as he prays. Then he puts the empty buckskin sacks back into the wik̈̊̊apu, the tcirixxs sacks already empty.

Then he digs up the disk seat; he will need to be looking from that hole at the woodpile as he is piling up the wood. He will be looking every little while toward the mountain. Then he does not see it any more, then he will stop fixing the wood. He knows where to dig; they show him first. They make the pit just there at that one place every year.

Then he digs it the fatavennan digs; he has seen it; he knows the place; they have shown him before. He digs it with a stick. He digs down in the ground. He finds that disk seat there. He leaves it in the hole. He is going to sit

17 Or Tutaxyasunáy’a’tcha'.


on it down in the hole. Then he fixes the wood, he piles up the wood. He had already gathered some wood there previously. He had been by there twice. He left some wood there, which he is going to burn at this time. He fixes lots of wood. He makes it without any ax. He has no tool, he makes it with his hands alone. He piles big sticks at the bottom, small ones on top. Every once in a while he looks at the mountain. He sits down in that hole on the seat, he looks up, he looks at the mountain. When he is piling up the wood, when he can no longer see the mountain [Medicine Mountain], then he thinks that is enough, when he can no longer see the mountain.

Then after a while the helper arrives. Then he helps him. The fatavennan never speaks, with his hands he motions whenever he wants anything done. The helper wears a mink-skin headband tied around his head, a plume is sticking up.

When he digs up the disk seat, then he is in a hurry to make a fire soon; he does not want the hole to be open a long time. He works hard, because he is in a hurry. When he feels famished he just thinks all the time: “I must live long.” He makes the fire poker, too. He makes the poker at the same time when he

18 He has a 1½-inch wide band of mink skin around his head. It has kú:rat or small 'iktakatá:kkáhe:cen scalps sewed on its fur side as decoration.
vura kari pa'ahup ukyát'ti, va; kari kar ukyát'tti po-hatavara."r. 'Axakk 'u'ippatsuruti kusripan-
'tahup pu'ikru'htihara. 'Axakk 'ukyát'tti pa'ahup. Xas va; tu-
piməattun'va, va; kari váram tu'arihić. Vaj 'ahrúvvti pa-
'a;h 'uturuyámnatí'.

'Xas tušimyúrici, patturyecip 'ušxúppihti hitihànu vura. Kari-
\n\nxas va; tu'á'hka pa'ahup, pa'ip ukrituvicerihat'. Karixas su;
tuvákkuri. Piric 'áxakk 'u'a'p-
húti va;mu'k 'uθémyá'hiti pa'a'nah, va; 'um teëmya'te 'u'ínk'útí'. Pasu' 
tuvákkuriha'sk, putcé'tc 'ipváurúmtihara. Paté'mfítek'ú;
va;ahup kárixas vur upvwúr prámti'. Šemússà; 'um vura va;
ka'nu vuvárayvuti', pa'a'f po-
'ínk'útí k'arih. Su' ukúnkúríhva'. Ararávás 'u'ásatì', 'imfí-
raya'k su? pó'kri'. 'Ikrívkírák 'ukúntaku; su'. Va;š 'upašút-
tápáréhti' 20 há'r upašútapa-
hitì vàsmak pamuxvá's. Pa-
témífírárikha'k su', pe'mússà; 
kari ka'nu mú'űkam piric tu-
'aké'cri-hva', va; 'um pupu'xítc 'imfink'úthihara.

Pakúnic t kém umciiipre'he'c
pa'a'nah, púya va; kari pe'músassà; 
'ím takunpícrúnnupràv. Vura 
'um kuníc tupuífí-thá' pafata-
vé'nna'sn. Tómkínváray'va 21 
kari vura, kari vura tómítcax.

makes the wood. He breaks off 
a couple of madrone sticks; he 
does not peel them. He makes 
the two sticks. Then he ties 
them together so it will be long. 
He uses it to hook the fire around 
with.

Then he makes fire with Indian 
matches, facing the mountain all 
the time. Then he sets fire to 
the wood, which that he has piled. 
Then he gets in the hole. He is 
holding two pieces of plant in his 
hand, with which he is fanning 
the fire, so it will burn fast. 
After he has got down inside, he does 
not come out; when the wood is 
all burned up, that is the time he 
comes out. The helper is walk-
ning around there, while the fire 
is burning. He sits in the hole. 
He has an Indian blanket, it is so 
hot in there. He is sitting in 
there on the disk seat. He has an 
Indian blanket over him. At 
times he covers up his head with 
the blanket. When it gets too 
hot in the pit, the helper then 
piles some brush there in front, 
so that heat does not go on there 
so strong.

When the fire is about burned 
out, then they help him [the fa-
tavennaa] out. He is about all 
in, the tavennaa. He is fam-
ish, and he is hot, too. Then 
the helper helps him up out, he

19 For leaving the poker stick lying by the fire when he leaves the 
fireplace, see p. 250.
20 But va;š 'u'assati', he is wearing a blanket.
21 Ceremonial word equivalent to tó'xxúrí.
Va; karixas tupicrā'nsip pemussa'k, pafatavenn/n tupicrā'nsip, pa'amta; p va; vura kître to-vō'nti pamū'ti; c, p'aavaxfurax'ānta'k. Xas pasurūkkūri takunpfexū. Pakūsr ō-mm'ū'sti', pakar upvārip'c pa'ahīram.

Xas pemussa'k to[pvā'ram, va; vura kā:n töpsā'mkir pafatavenn/a';n. Po'pikyā'rahak xasik upvārame;c pafatavenn/a';n. Tupihyā'nnic pafatavenn/a';n: “Teka'fmitc 'ik vūra 'ūipahó'vīc. 24 Minīk nupikrānti haruke'c patakāriha'k. 'Uxxuti': “Xā'tik 'u'm vūra teka'fmitc 'u'ippahu'a, na; ta;ya nanikyav sāruk.” Patc upvārame'caha'k, 25 va; kari top'tāttuykiri paahulptunvē'teaš, pa'ahuśpim-pākpa-kkkā'te, 'a-k top'tātuykinihāyā'tchā' paahulptunvē'teaš, papi'ircuntunvē'teaš, pō'umpakrippapa'nti'. Xas va; 'ahiramyō'ram 26 tupikkū'kkiri pauhtatvā'ra';r. Va; vura kā';n 'iē'cyay 'ūkū'k-kirihvā', 'ahīnāmti'm'mite. Xas kó-vūra tāyav pa'ahirāmti'lm. Karixas patō-pvā'rip, pa'ahīram-mak. Karixas patō-pvā'ram. helps the fatavennan up out. 22 There is dust all over his [the fatavennan's] meat, woodpecker-scarlet red-clay dust. 23 Then they fill up the hole. He is watching the sun to see when he is going to leave that fireplace.

Then the helper starts off; he leaves the fatavennan there. When he finishes up, then the fatavennan will go. He hollers to the fatavennan: “Travel back slow! I'll meet you when the time comes.” He thinks: “Let him travel back slow, I have much to tend to downslope.” When he is going to go back, he sweeps back in the little pieces of wood, the burned pieces of wood, he sweeps back good into the fire the little pieces of wood, the little pieces of brush, which did not burn. Then he lays the poker stick with its tip to the fire at the yoram of the fire ground. It lies tip to [the fire] all winter there at the fireplace. Then everything is fixed up good at the fireplace ground. Then he gets out from there, from that fire-

22 He helps the fatavennan up out of the pit by putting his hands under his armpits and pulling him out.

23 From the fire.

24 He tells the fatavennan to go slow so he will not get down to the yūxpi't too early, before the helper has finished with his duties there, and also because the fatavennan is weak. The fatavennan just stays at the fireplace a short time after the helper leaves, but spends some time where he stops to watch the shadow on the way down.

25 Or: Pateim upvārame'caha'k.

26 'Ahiramyō'ram, the side of the fireplace ground toward Medicine Mountain. But the other terms designating the sections of the floors of living houses and sweathouses are not used at fireplace grounds.
Xas yiy sáruk tu'ippahu". Xás va; kájn 'upúnvarámmhi'ti', 'amtútipcvi'vre-típúnvára'm.27 Xás va; kájn tóppú'n'va. Xás va; 'úmmústi Pa'á'úyite, 'úvéúyiti va; kájn 'Arýyitek, 'Aktcíphítiháchán. Xás va; kájn pa-túkipcpráhá"k, 'Aktcíphítiháchán, kárixas pasáruk tóppúnv'n'i.28 Yakúnu; kári takári, sáruk payúxpt-ttak 'upéváramnhi'k. Píccip to pváram pe mússa'n, yuxpt-ttak to pváram píccipp, kóvüra tóupikya rúsip pa'ahiram-mak, 'a;h tó'kyav, káru va; kumá'ti uyávhiti pe mússa'n xay pe kyávansa 'áothi kunyín. Xas pe'krivkir kájn toóbaric pa-fatavéna'n va; kájn 'upíkrícre-híte'c. Maruk vémínáram 'uppeónkóti pe'krivkir. Wo'krivkiriti patu'ávahak pa-fatavéna'n vémínáram 'inná"k. Pakév-níkkitces kunvicphiti teca-ká-thámmitchiti pe mússa'n, putéc-te pikránntihantihára. Hári musunára'x pa-fatavéna'n. Takunyíxivpíha'. "Hí: putéc-te pikránntihantihára, hí 'utcaká-r'tcháthi pe mússa'n." Xay 'ukyí-vun'ni, tó'mkí'nvaray'va," va; kunipprénti'. Kárixas tóupíkfu'kra"n, máruk tupíkrântihar pa-fatavéna'n. Xas káj; xas to'kmárióhívrík 'ará-

27 Upslope of Ernest Conrad's house. The fatavennan always sits down under the white oak tree there and leans against its trunk, with eyes fixed on Sugar Loaf.

28 This brings it about that the fatavennan reaches the yúxpií’t with the sun just up, and always at the same time of day.
rama'm. Xas xákka'n xas takunpirúvá'kiri 'ahí'am. 'Issuθ 'u'áhó' ti pe mísssa'an.
Xas takunñ-pma', yuxpit'aihíram. Yané'kva táttay pa'ára'ra, pa'irá'nsa'.

the rancheria. Then both of them come back to the fireplace. The helper walks behind.

Then they get back there, to yúxpi't fireplace. Behold there are many people there, Irahiv attenders.
A full account in text has been obtained of the coming of the ghost dance to the Karuk in 1870, but will be published elsewhere. Both Karuk and White man tobacco and styles of smoking were constantly indulged in. The forcing of young children in attendance at the dances to smoke was a feature entirely novel to the Karuk; see the text below; also page 215.

The following text describes smoking at the ghost “sings” in general:

They used sometimes to dance in the daytime [at the Ghost dance], but it was nights that they danced all the time.

In the evening before they dance, first they rest for a while. At that time the first thing they do is to smoke; all of them smoke, the women folks also. All the children, also, they force to smoke; they tell them, “You fellows smoke.” Then when they sing, one of them first starts the song. Then again they rest, when it is well along in the evening. Then all of them smoke again. Then again they dance, again they sing. At the middle of the night is the time they quit, when the night is already at its half.

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1 Also translated “round dance.”

1a The Indians called it “sing,” not “dance.”

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XX. Pahú't mit kunkupe hé'rahitihat pa'arare'ottitahiv

(HOW THEY SMOKED AT INDIAN CARD GAMES)

The principal gambling game of the Karuk is "Indian cards," a form of the hand game, which is accompanied by singing and drumming. The game was intense, luck medicine opposing luck medicine, and considerable property being constantly involved. There used to be much passing around of the pipe at these gambling assemblages, but it was considered unbusinesslike for one to smoke while in the act of gambling.

Pámitvax taxxaravé'ttak ve-títtá-nsa púmit 'ihé'ratihaphat pakunióti-tvana'tiha'k, pata-kun'É'ric xas mit vúra takuni-hé'k.1 Pe'muskínvá-nsa va; 'u;m-kun 3k² kunihé'ratihat. Payē'm vura kó'vúra takunihé'tana'ti', 'apxantí'tcihé'raha'.

In the old times the Indian card players did not smoke while they were playing. When they got through, then they smoked. The onlookers smoked now and then. Now all smoke—White man tobacco.

1 Or va; mit vúra karixas kunihé'ratihat patakun'É'ricriha'k instead of these five words.
2 Or va; ník mit 'u;ímkun instead of these three words.
XXI. Payištúva kó; kuma’an’nav, pakú: k tcú: ph u’ú:mmahiti pehé’rahak

(VARIOUS FORMULÆ WHICH MENTION TOBACCO)

1. Kitaxrihara’araraxusipmúrikkahé ō tar

(PROTECTIVE SMOKING MEDICINE OF THE [KATIMIN] WINGED IKXARE-YAV)

The following formula is Kitaxrihar medicine used for protecting one against his enemies. It relates how one of the class of savage Ikxareyavs, called Kitaxrihars, lit. Winged Ones, dwelling at Katimin, with his tobacco smoke overcame “Him Who Travels Above Us,” the Sun. No greater power is attributed in Karuk mythology to any person or substance than that here related of tobacco.

Hú’ka hinupa ’i”m, ’i; m ’O-k ’Iivathänë-n’à-teip Vake’-m’ic. Pakó’kkánináy vúra Vake’-micas ’in kun’éppá-n’ník: “Na; ník ní-kk’are”ëc.” Teávúra puffá-t ’in pf’k’arávaraphánik. Vá; mú-ráx kíte ’iixútihánik: “Na; kářù Kè-m’ic.” Víri k’ó-vúra ’in ’iixússé-táphánik: “Na; ník ní-kk’are”ëc,” pavúra kó’kkánináy Vake’-m’ic. Karuma ’i; m k’ar ixússå-n’ník: “Na; kářù Kè-m’ic. Na; purafi-t ’í-n vúra né-kkýářé-chářa. Na; kářù Kè-m’ic.”

Xás ta’íífútctí’m’íte. Kö-vúra ’í-n takunikyá-varihva, pa-kunxútí: “Kirinúyk’ar.” Vúra takuníp’pee”ëk. Púffá-t ’í-n vura té-kkýářap. Xás ta’íífútctí’m’íte, Páynana’ávahkam’áhó-tíh-áh,’uppí-p:”Na; xásíkñí kk’áre”ëc. yakú na; píric tápa; n vura ní-k-

Where art thou, thou Savage One of the Middle of the World Here? The Savage Ones of every place said: “I will kill him.” They never killed thee. All that thou didst was to think: “I too am a Savage One.” They all thought: “I will kill thee,” the Savage Ones of every place. Thou thoughtst: “I too am a Savage One. Nothing can kill me. I too am a Savage One.”

Then the last one [the last Savage One] came. All had tried to kill him, thinking: “Would that we could kill him.” They could not kill him. Nothing could kill him. Then the last one, He Who Travels Above Us, said: “I will kill him. Even

1 Or kitaxrihare’hé ō tar, what the Winged One smoked with. ’Araraxusipmúrukkař, protective medicine, which keeps the user from being killed by medicine pronounced against him.
bushes I kill. I look at the bushes a little while, and behold they fall over, as I look at them. I think: I can kill him.”

Then he thought, he the Savage One of the Middle of the World Here, then he thought: “What shall I do?” The Savage One of the Middle of the World Here knew: “He Who Travels Above Us is already starting to attack me this [day].”

Then he took out his tobacco pipe, he thought: “I too am a Savage One.” He thought: “I have much smoking tobacco, and my tobacco is strong.” Then presently there was heat coming up [from the east]. Then he thought: “I will go downslope to the edge of the river.” Then he went thither. He looked around for a while. Behold there was a good place there, under an overhanging rock, by the edge of the river under an overhanging rock. There was heat coming up.

Behold then he started to smoke. And he thought: “I too am a Savage One. I think: He will not kill me, when he smelleth my tobacco smoke.” He kept smoking. Then presently the Sun came up. For a little while he looked around, the Savage One of the Middle of the World Here. He kept smoking. Dimness was entering the deep places [the gulches and canyons] of the earth. He [the Sun] was already high. “Indeed, I said it, in no wise canst thou kill me.” Behold
the Sun swooned away from the tobacco smoke. "He that knows my way will never be killed." Thou saidst it, Thou Savage One of the Middle of the World Here.

And he too, He Who Travels Above Us, said: "Behold nobody will kill him."

(HOW THEY SMOKE WHEN THEY SAW AN ENEMY)

First he prays over the tobacco. Then he packs it around. Then if he sees somebody that hates him, he sits down on the ground. Then he smokes. "Would that he smell it, he who hates me, would that he smell it. He will not live another year, if he smells it, my tobacco smoke." They do not think that there is anything to his smoking, they think he is just smoking.

(WHAT LONG-BILLED DOWITCHER DID WHEN THE MOUNTAIN GIANT ATE UP HIS CHILDREN, HOW HE SMOKED)

Ukni. They were living there for a long time.

Long-billed Dowitcher had five children, all of them boys. They lived in their sweathouse, together with their father. Then later on they were already big children, old enough to hunt.

Then one morning all of them went out hunting. Then when they came back that evening, behold one of them was missing. Behold one did not come back.

2 The Long-billed Dowitcher, *Limnodromus griseus scolopaceus* (Say).

3 Or tcavura pā'npay.
Kúkku;m 'im'á:n kun'ákku
van'va. Kúkku;m vura yi'00a
puxay 'ippakaña.
Xas kúkku;m vura 'im'á:n kun-
'ákku
van'va. Kúkku;m vura yi'00a puxay 'ippakaña.
Xas kúkku;m vura 'im'á:n posüppä'ha kun'ákku
van'va. Kúkku;m vura yi'00a pura
fatta'ak, tapu'ippakaña.
Pukúníxc xúti
hara hú't papih-
f-cité. Yítte
te kíte to'sa'm.
Xás vā; vur u'ákkun'var kár-
uma tapáttc;te. Karixas kúmat
-te puxay vura 'ippaka
ra 'ixxurar.
Kárim vura to'xxus Vi'tviti-
pihni'tc, kárim vura to'xxus, tapúf;
'at pamutúnvi'v. Xas 'im'á:n posüppä'ha xas papih-
f-cité uxxus: "Te'mi ka
anópp-
piván'vi maník na; kar Ikkxaré-
va. Fá't 'ata 'ín pa'te'trub takinókya'v." Karixas pamu-
akavákkir kíte 'u'óthuní,4 karu pamu'úhra'm vura kíte 'u'ó'tb. Karixas máruk 'úkfü'krá'. Teem-
yáteva kíte 'upihé-rati'. Ýiy már
uk tu'áhu". Xas ká'n ukrí-
crí. Víri pammár
uk ráy 'ákú-p-
há'. Teimaxmay máruk 'Ikkxaréyav 'ukvíripúñi. Karixás uxxus: "Káruma vā; 'ata páy 'í'n 5 pananítunví'v 'ín ta'é'trub kinókya'v." Tcávara pá
'npay ta'ú'kmukite 'u'ú'm, pa'ípa máru kúkvi
ripunihanhat.6 Karixas ká'n 'u'ú'm. Xas upíp: "Pami-
tunví'v 'at ipáppimvana'ti.'

The next day they went hunt-
ing again. Again one did not come back.
Then on the next day they went hunting again. Again one did not come back.
Then the next day they went hunting again. Again in the evening one was missing, did not come back.

It was as if the old man never noticed. There was just one left. Then he went hunting, even alone. Then that night he did not come back in the evening.

Long-billed Dowitcher Old Man felt awfully bad, he felt awfully bad, he did not have any more boys. Then when morning came, then the old man thought: "Let me go to look for them, I, too, am an Ikkxareyav. I wonder what it is that cleaned us out." Then he just took down his quiver, and took his pipe. Then he climbed upslope. Every once in a while he smoked. He went a long way. Then he sat down there. Then he looked upslope. Then behold upslope an Ikkxareyav came running down. Then he thought: "I guess this is the one who cleaned out my sons." Then he came near, who had come running down from upslope. Then he came there. Then he said: "I guess you are looking for your children." Then he

4 From where it was hanging.
5 Or 'í'n páy for pay 'í'in.
6 From máruk kuh 'ukvíripunihanhat.
Xas upíp: "Káruma na; Marukărâ'ar,\(^7\) Kunëipttì 'i:m pammítunví:y tapúffa'at.' Puxay vúra 'ihivrikărâ, pakuntephuní: kó-tì.'

Xás vu'ra tuteumphenkù'u,\(^6\) xás upé'ar: "Teëmi panani:úhra; 'm vá; kun;\(^8\) ihé-'ii.'\(^9\) Xás u'áxxay. Kó-ma-hítë vur u'áñllë, 'áxxak xás uphic-cip. Xás kúnic tu'áy Pámáru:kárará\(^9\). Patcví:y u'm vura pukú-nic fá'txúthi:ra, káruma 'i:m n'ñamiácite. Káruma 'i:m vu'ra ník tu'á:pún'ma: "Vá; 'in pananítu'nví:y pa'érú:ñ takinphíkya'y. Sú? vo xu'tí.'


Teávúra yí:v máruk to:kvirípúra'. Yánava ká:ñ pará:m'var. Ta'íttam uphícipé:he'ñ papa-rá:m'var. Teávúra yí:v máruk tó:kfü:kra'.\(^7\) Xás sáruk 'upítfák-
said: "I am a Mountain Person. They say you have not any children any more." He did not answer, when he was being talked to.

Then he kept on talking to him, he told him: "Shoot my bow." Then he took it. He touched it a little bit; he picked it up as two pieces. It looked like the Mountain Person was afraid of him. It looked like that bird never thought anything [in the way of fear], and at the same time he was small. He knew: "That is the one who has cleaned out my sons." He thought that inside.

Then the Mountain Person said: "Now smoke my pipe." Then he took it. He did the same thing again, picked it up as two pieces.

Then the Mountain Person thought: "Let me catch hold of him, he is small." He just caught hold of the ground there. Behold he jumped under him [through by the Mountain Person's legs]. He did not even see him, he was so small. He [Long-billed Dowitcher] was running upside.

Then he ran far upslope. Behold there was a wedge there. Then he picked up that wedge.

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\(^7\) Lit. Upslope Person. Persons of this race were hairy, large, strong, stupid, crude, and were sometimes seen by the Indians in the woods. They lived in rocky dells far upslope. Some of the younger Indians call them "gorillas."

\(^8\) Kuná means now in turn (after breaking my bow), the next thing, and shows that Mountain Person was mad.

\(^9\) Tamtrí:rk, Fritz Hansen's mother's brother, used to say: Xuskámhar 'i:m punó:hró:vica:ra, nani'úhra; 'i:m níhró:vic, I won't use my bow, I'll use my pipe (to kill anybody).
Then far upslope he went. Then he looked downslope. Downslope Mountain Person was coming back up, downslope. He was not afraid of him. Then he saw some big rocks there. Then he was wedging off rocks. Then he told the rocks: “Ye slide downslope!” Then the rocks mashed the one downslope who was coming back up. They mashed him all up, him downslope who was coming up.

Then he climbed up. He was looking for his children. He thought: “I might find the bones.” Then he got a long way up, under the ridge. Behold they were there. He looked around for a while. Behold their bones were scattered so white. Then he thought: “This is where they cleaned out my children.”

Then he picked them all up, their bones. He saw a lake was lying there. Then he soaked them in there. Then he went back. Then he got home, to his living house. Then a little later they were all coming back in [into the living house] one at a time. Behold they got alive in there in the lake. Behold it was that they all came back to their living house.


10 An Ikxareyav could do anything.
11 Or hínupa páy.
Karahinupa 'i'm Karuk ‘i'ovianc'n'ippan VaUXriviek'uruhar? Karuk ‘i'ovianc'n'ippan ‘i'aramsi'pre'n'ik. ‘i’m vür ‘i'ahö-tihanik. Yúruk ‘i'ovianc'n'ippan 'ivármumütihanik.


Where art thou, Ouxriviek’uruhar of the Upriver End of the World? Thou comest from the upriver end of the world. He was walking along. He was going downriver to the lower end of the world.

Then thou didst enter the middle place of the world here. Behold all the Ikxareyavs had all gathered there, the brush doctors. Then they told thee: “An Ikxareyav here is about to go outside.” All the Ikxareyavs were there, the brush doctors. Then Upriver Ouxriviek’uruhar said: “I, too, am an Ikxareyav.” Then he thought: “I am just along with my pipe. I am an Ikxareyav, too.” Then he went inside. They were just crying. Then he took his pipe out [of his basketry quiver]. Then he said: “I am an Ikxareyav, too. This my pipe sack can help me.” Then he went over to her. Then he knelt at her feet. Then he untied his pipe. Then he said: “I am an Ikxareyav, too. He pulled his pipe out of his pipe sack, just slowly he was pulling it out, talking. “Then my pipe, may this Ikxareyav give birth to the child.” Then he pulled out his pipe, then all at once behold a baby

12 Mg. is going to die.
13 Or nik ‘î’n.
14 With both knees on the floor, at the feet of the sick woman, who was lying on the floor.
15 He pulled the pipe out of the pipe sack by little.
cried. Then he thought: "I am the best Ikxareyav, Human will do the same, if he knows about me. Human also will make brush with his pipe." Upriver 0uxrivick'yuruhar said it.

I only know about thee. Behold thou didst say it, Upriver 0uxrivick'yuruhar: "Human will again make his pipe into brush, whoever knows about me." Thus thou didst, Upriver 0uxrivick'yuruhar.

16 For only brush is addressed in brush medicine, and he addressed his pipe.
XXII. 'Ihə'rah uθvuykırahina-ti yiθúva kumáteu-pha'.

(Various names which mention tobacco)

1. Pehərahámwa’n.

(The "tobacco eater" [bird])

A bird, identified from pictures in Dawson's Birds of California and elsewhere as Nuttall's Whippoorwill, Phalaenoptilus nuttalli Audubon, is named 'ihə'rahámwa’n, tobacco eater. Descriptions of its habits also fit those of the whippoorwill. None of the informants have known why the bird is so called, or whether it is said to have eaten tobacco or its seed in reality or in the realm of myths. The appearance of the bird's back has given rise to a basket design name; see below.

A. Pahú’t kunkupásə’mkirahanik 'a;t paye-tipáxvú’hsa’, xas 'ihə'rahámwa’n karu puxá’k-kikitc kuníppá’nik: "Nu; pá-’a’st’

'Ukní. 'Ata hárina kunírá-rá-hitihaunik.

Va; kunkáptíi pamukunúiv-ʻi’hk’ám, ata hó’y u’ipanhív–hití pamukúntáxyé’em. 2 'A’t, 3 mu’ívóvé-yk’ám ’u’ím ‘axra ‘úksa’pkú”.

Va; kítc Kunipóivá-kurá’náti pamarukké-ttcs, 4 pamuktakahe’ñkínínná’ssítc. Karu ’axxak va; ká:n muppfmitc

They fixed their yards so that one could not see the end of their yards. In front of Spring Salmon’s house there was a dead tree leaning. The Western Pileated Woodpeckers just kept walking up flutteringly, his Western Pileated Woodpecker pets. And there were

1 The bird most closely resembling 'ihə'rahámwa’n is said to be púxxak, the Pacific Nighthawk, Chordeiles minor hesperis Grinnell.
2 taxyé’em, old word equivalent to ’ív’hihk’ám. They claim that a wide and cleanly kept bare plot in front of a living house is the only way one can tell if a man is a Ya’sá’ara (rich person). The myths make frequent mention of these nicely kept yards.
3 ’A’st, name in the myths of ’icyá’st, Spring Salmon.
4 Lit. upslope big one, by-name for ’iktakatakkáhe’n (so called because he hollers tak tak), Western Pileated Woodpecker, Phlaeotomus pileatus picinus Bangs.
two living houses standing near by, one Pacific Nighthawk’s and one Nuttall’s Poorwill’s living house. They were making a poor living, those two. Those two were poor people. But Spring Salmon lived rich.

Then after a while two girls came down from upriver, to apply for marriage with Spring Salmon. They had been told what Spring Salmon’s house looked like.

Then when they were about to arrive, they met Nuttall’s Poorwill. They were nice-looking girls. Then one of them said, the youngest one: “Let’s ask him, let’s say: ‘Where does Spring Salmon live?’” Then they asked him. Then he said: “Ye will see there is a dead tree setting outside in front of the house. Ye stay here a while and then go in there. It will be good if ye get there toward evening.” Then he went back, the one that they had met, he turned back. Then they sat down there for a while.

Then they traveled. Then they entered the rancheria. Then the younger one said: “Here it is, here is Spring Salmon’s living

5 Půxxa’ak, Pacific Nighthawk, Chordeiles minor hesperis Grinnell. Also puxá’kkite.
6 The living houses of these two men were just downriver from Spring Salmon’s living house, in the same row. This row of houses lay where John Pepper’s hogpen is now, in the downriver part of Katimin rancheria.
7 ’Ihē’raha’ma’n, Nuttall’s Poorwill, Phalaenoptilus nuttalli nuttalli (Audubon).
8 Or kunikmarihivrik.
9 Or vári pó’kri, ’A’ast.
10 Into the rancheria, into the house row.
máva ʽó:k Pá'aːt mukrí vra'asm. Máv axra ʽúksá:pkū.' Xas 'ənná:k kun'ruvónfuruk. Yán nav ʽó:kri." Yánava taprárahak 'ukú:námánínvá. Hínupá ʽu:m yíθoθuk 'u'ávarahé:n 11 pataprá, yíθoθuk kumé-krí vra'asm, ʽAːt mukrí vra'asm. Va; káːn 'úkri'. 'Upakúnívít-tevútí.' 12 Kárixas 'as kuníppáríc. Teómamay kuníhyiv ʽik:kk'ain: "Puxá:'kkítc, namtíí piaphrag'-múrúl. Tkaná:hyú:níç, kanéppéntí: 'Teími paxyé'ttarúkí.' 15 Karixas ʽík vírú kun'áffice'c, pánipaxyé'tmáráhá'c. Xas u'árihrupuk. Karixas kúnpú:hyan pa-sórmvá:nsás. Xas yiθoθ upφ'p pa'ífáppí'tí: "Na; ʽip niθítífvát, ʽip k'uníppé'rá:t; 'Piaphrag'-númrúl kí namtííí. 'Teó: numús-saːn." 16 Xas payiθoθ upφ'p: "Na; nixúti tánússír. Hóy ʽif ʽátá vá; pây Pá'aːt." Yánava pa'ás po'viraxvíraxtí paparamvarás. Karixas ʽápun vura tupífpáspí-pín pa'amva'íctunvé'etc. Karixas panamtíí kun o'páatatáíp. Teimamay kunteú'phaː, ʽaxmamay kunφ'p: "Yae'haːh, ʽakkáray pananíkiníiná:síte ʽu'aficé:mméthét'en? 17 Yáxa Puxá'kkíkte muví'h-k'ánam xás ūksá:pkú. Yáxa nání-taprára karu tu'úruptukáha'zn." Xas yiθoθ 'upφ'p: "Há:, tcími house. Here is the dead tree leaning." Then they went inside the living house. He was there. He was sitting on a tule mat. It was that he had gone to another place to get that tule mat, to another living house, to Spring Salmon's living house. He was sitting there. He was singing for fun. Then they put the [boiling] stones in the fire. Then all at once they hollered outside: "Pacifíc Nightighthawk, come and clean out the wooden plate." "Ah, ye stay here. They hollered to me, they are telling me: 'Come and divide it." Only then they will touch it, after I get through dividing it." Then he sprang out of the house. Then the girl applicants talked together. Then one girl said: "I heard them tell him: 'Come and clean out the wooden plate.' Let's go and see." Then the other one said: "I think we have made a mistake. I do not think this is the Spring Salmon." Behold he was licking off the stones, the salmon boiling stones. Then he ate up the pieces of salmon meat on the ground. Then he cleaned out the wooden plate. Then all at once there was talking, all at once somebody said: "Ah, who was bothering my pets? Look here, it is leaning outside of

11 He had gone to get it. Ct. tu'ávar, he went to get it.
12 He was singing by himself to amuse himself, as he sprawled on the tule mat.
13 Mg. to clean out, using mouth, tongue, hands or any way.
14 Man's interjection of glad surprise.
15 Referring to dividing the catch of salmon.
16 Short cut for tcé:ra numússan.
17 Lit. was touching.

Kupànnakanakana. 'Ihè'ráhá-mva'nn ukúpháníik, karu Puxá-k-ki'te. Tcémya'te 'ik vúr Icyá't 'imcìnná'vic. Nanivássi vúrav e'kinia'te. Tcémya'te 'ik vúra 'Atáytcúkkinate 'i'únnúprave'ec.

2. Pehè'ráhà-mvanvasihìixúrik
THE WHIPOORWILL BACK [BASKET] DESIGN

Tobacco has given its name, though indirectly, to one basketry design. Vertical zigzags of dots, occurring on a very old tray basket (müruk) purchased from Yas are called 'ihè'ráhà-mvanvasihìixúrik, whiipoorwill (lit. tobacco eater) back design. The basket is 14¼ inches in diameter and 4 inches deep.

3. Pakó'kkáninay 18 pehè'ráh uòvuykìrahinà'ti'
PLACES NAMED BY TOBACCO

Although it was common to speak of the tobacco plot of a certain individual or rancheria, only five Karuk placenames have been found which refer to tobacco:

1. 'Ihè'ráh Uhùť-trivi'rak, mg. where the tobacco is piled, a place on the old trail leading from upper Redcap Creek over the divide to Hupa. Cp. 'Ào'it umù'trivì'rak, mg. where trash is piled, a placename on Willis Creek.

2. 'Uhè'rárvàràvkùthi'rak, mg. where he smokes as he walks downriver, a place in the region at the head of Crapo Creek. The originating incident was not known to the informants.

3. 'Uhè'ráró-nnatihi'rak, mg. where he smokes as he walks upriver, a place upslope of Tee Bar, near the head of 'Asahanà'tsá'mìvàrfuv, Rocky Creek, on the north side of the Klamath River. Originating incident unknown, as in the case of No. 2 above.

18 Or pakó'kkáninay pe'òvùà'nò'en.
4. 'Uheî-erîhra'äm, mg. where they put tobacco, name of a rock upslope of Katimin Spring. (See p. 244.)

5. 'Uhtayvarára'äm, mg. where they spoil tobacco, place just toward Georgie Orcutt's house from the Orleans schoolhouse. (See p. 244.)

4. 'Ávansa 'ihê-tah uôvuykírahitihauïk

(A MAN NAMED BY TOBACCO)

'Ihé'n'natc, dim. of 'ihê-râ'än, smoker, name of an old Katimin Indian who was lame and walked with a cane as a result of having been hooked by a cow. He died perhaps about 1870. His other name was Pâ'kvátcax, unexplained, which is also the Indian name of Fred Johnson. Of 'Ihé'n'natc is said: 'ihê-râ'nhani k'ari u: m n'â'n-namitchaúïk, he was a smoker when a little boy. Hence his name.

5. Pahú't mit 'ihê-râha kunkupeôvuykírahitiha't, patakunmáha'k oûkkinkunïc fâ't vîra

(HOW THEY CALLED IT AFTER TOBACCO WHENEVER THEY SAW ANYTHING GREEN)

Tobacco also contributed a color expression to the language. Belonging to the same class of color comparisons as pîrick'yûnic, green, lit. brushlike, and sanîmvâyk'yûnic, brownish yellow, lit. sear-leaf like, Imk'änvan's mother sometimes used to say kîpa 'ihê-raháxxi't, like a green tobacco leaf, to designate a bright tobacco-green color.
XXIII. Ká-kum pákkuri vúra kite ’ihé-raha ’upívúyri’nk’ahina-ti’

(ONLY A FEW SONGS MENTION TOBACCO)

In a collection of 250 Karuk songs only two have been found which mention tobacco, smoking, or its accompaniments.

1. The song sung by Skunk, mentioning tcirixxus, in the Skunk story. (See pp. 238-239.)

2. The kick-dance song, which tells of the hunter throwing stem tobacco to get luck in hunting. (See p. 235.)

These songs were not transcribed in time for insertion of their musical notation in the present paper.

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XXIV. Pa'apxanti-te'ihe'raha'

1. Pahō't kunkupa'sānavahitiana-nik pamukuni'ihē'raha pa'apxantininihić

Vā; kuma 'iffuθ pa'apxantininihić pāmitva kunivyihiuka', viri kōvūra pa'ārażą teēmyażą vura pakunihi'rena; pamukuni'ihē'raha', Pa'apxanti-te'ihe'raha'. Pāmitva pî'ēp va'ārā'ras, pāpicci-te vura 'Apxantì-te tākun'-ma, vā; kar ihē'raha takunpa-tān'vic, takunpīp: "Tā'k ihē'raha'." Vā; mit kunkupīttihat. Vā; mit kunpatānvičtihāt: "Ihē'rahahum ītā'rahi?"

Hā'ri mit kunpatānvičtihāt: "Ho'y kîtc mihē'raha'"

Kā:šum pa'araraye ripāxvū'hsa pīcci:p vura takuni'mcākka't, Pa'apxantı-te patcimi kunikmārihivrike'caha'ak, tākunpīp: "Teim Apxantı-te nukmārihivrike'c.e." 'Ihē'raha paknimcāk-karati'.

A. Pahō't mit po'kupīttihat 'Axvahite Va'āra'rz, pehē'raha mit upāttanvutiha't

'Axvahite Va'āra 2 'ihrö'ha mit, kuna vura mit vo'kupīttihat po-patana'rvayvutiha't Pa'apxantinihićri:j pehē'raha' karu pa'-avaha'. 'E'm'mit.

(white man tobacco)

(How the white men brought their tobacco with them)

After the White men came in it was not any time at all before all the Indians were smoking their tobacco the White man tobacco.

The old-time Indians, as soon as they see a White man, they ask for tobacco, they say: "Give me some tobacco." That is the way they used to do. They used to ask: "Have you any tobacco?" Or they used to ask: "Where is your tobacco?"

Some Indian girls smell a white man right off before they meet him, they say: "I am going to meet a White man." It is tobacco that they smell.

(Axvahite Va'ara was a married woman, but she used to go around bummimg tobacco and food from the Whites. She was a doctress.)

1 Cp. what Powers tells of the tatterdemalion Yuruks swooping downhill upon him to beg for tobacco, quoted on pp. 21-22.

2 Mg. person 'Axvahite, plcn. across the river from Ayithrim Bar.
Once she asked Andy Merle for tobacco. She kept asking him. At last he said: "I am not going to give you any." Then the old woman said: "Pretty soon a big cut will be coming your way."

Long after that Andy told his friends, thinking it was so funny, what she said. She used to call tobacco, White man tobacco, "tcupé-k'u".  

B. Pahú't mit kunkupé-kvâ'n-vana'hitihat pa'ahikyâ't karu mit va; vura kâ'n pakunihe-rana'tihat panamnikpe'hvapiéváram

Kari mit karíttay papihnt-tecitcas, xas Panámnik pevapiéváram 'ínnâ:k kuníví'hfuruktíha'nik. Hitíha'ñ kunikvárankö'ti-hanik fá'í:vúra. Va; puxítce-ci'p kunikvâ'ntí' 'ahikyâ't karu vura 'á'h kunikvá'rati. karu vura 'á'h kunikvá'rati'.

When there were lots of old Indians yet they used to go in the store at Orleans Bar all the time. All the time they used to be buying something. The thing they bought the most was matches. They used them in smoking and made fire with them.

3 Mg. having [red] cheeks like the sa'ap, Steelhead, *Salmo gairdneri* Richardson; the Steelhead has a bright spot by the gills. Andy Merle came to Soames Bar as a fairly young man and died there when old. He had an Indian wife and was widely known among the Indians. It was he who introduced into English the term Pikyavish for the new year ceremony.

4 Lit. will be coming back, as a return gift.

4a From Eng. tobacco.
The Whites were watching lest they smoked their pipes inside, lest they smell it. If they wanted to smoke, then they drove them out.

2. Pehê'taha'

(The Tobacco)

'Apxanti'tcêihê'taha', 'apxantinihitcêihê'taha', White man tobacco. Pa'ara;r 'u;mkun vura va; pu'a'pûnmutihapha'nîk, pa'apxantînîk hitc papicî'te 'uhê'rânîk va'arare'hê'rahahahînîk, picî'te 'arâ'ri;i-'usâ'nsîpré'nîk pehe'Taha', pa'ara;r mukunîhê'rahahahînîk. Pa'ara;r 'u;mkun vura va; pu'a'pûnmutihapha'nîk va5 'arare'hê'rahahahînîk. The Indians did not know that when the White man first smoked it was Indian tobacco, that he first got the tobacco from Indianity, that it was the Indians' tobacco. The Indians did not know that it was Indian tobacco.

'Thê'rahapû'vîc, bag or package of smoking tobacco, used by pipe or cigarette smokers. 'Thê'rahapû'vîc'anammanhate', dim.

'A;în 'uhnînîpvaye pehe'Tahapû'vîc, the tobacco sack has a string on it. 'A;în unhî'rî'rahîhîtî', it has a string tied on it.

Musmusîrixo'tare'hê'taha', Bull Durham, lit. cattle testicle tobacco. Several of the Indians, e. g., Syl Donohue, use this term much. This is the only brand of smoking tobacco that has been given a name in the language.

3. Po'hra;m

(The Pipe)

'Apxantî'tcûhra's'm, 'apxantinihitcûhra's'm, White man pipe. 'Ahupûhra's'm, a wooden pipe.

'Amtupûhra's'm, a clay pipe.

'Ukî'ifkuhnhîtî', it is bent [in contrast to the straight Karuk pipe]. 'A? 'ukî'ifkuhnhîtî', xas kâ;în kunic 'uôrîtta'ku 'âssip po'hra;m, it is crooked upward, it is like a bowl setting on there.

'Patuhê'taha's'k, 'u;îm vura xar ârmâmîn 'uhîyârûppâ'tî'. 'AteÎpî'k-kâmû'k 'u'axayîçakki'rehîti'. Pûvacî'kupîtihârâ pa'âra;r kunkupîtî'. Karu vura pu'icînîk'vûiti'hara pehe'Tahâ'amu'îf, 'ârmâmîn vûra kite po'hê'râti'. When he smokes he keeps the pipe in his mouth all the time. He holds it between fore and middle fingers. He does not do

5 Or pâva.
as the Indians do. He does not inhale it either, he only smokes with his mouth.

Há-ri 'upímanú'pti pamu'úhra'm, há-r upiyvayricukvutti' pamuhé'rahá'mta'p. Sometimes he taps his pipe, he spills out the tobacco ashes.

Va; pa'avansa vura hitíha'n 'apmá'n 'uhrám 'uhyárúppá'ti'. That man always has a pipe sticking out of his mouth. Na; vura 'uhrám 'apmá'n né'hyárúppá'ti hitíha'n. I have the pipe sticking out of my mouth all the time.

'Ára; ru'm vura va; kite kari pamúpmá'n nak po'rám popám-
máhtiha'ak, viri va; kari topé'orúpa'. 'Axyár tó'kyav pamúpmá'n-
nak pehé'rahá'mku'uf. But the Indian keeps the pipe in his mouth only when he is smacking in, then he takes it out. He fills his mouth with smoke.

A. Po'hramxé'hva's

(THE PIPE CASE)

'Apxanti-te'ruhramxé'hva's, White man pipe case, lit. White man pipe pipe-sack. The term is standard and in use.

4. Pe'kxurika'úhra'm

(THE CIGARETTE)

A. Pahú't pe'kxurika'úhra'm 'uévúytti'hva', karu pahú't pamuc-
vitáv 'uévúytti'hva'

(HOW THE CIGARETTE AND ITS PARTS ARE CALLED)

'Ikxurika'úhra'm, cigarette, lit. paper pipe. Also 'ihé'rahe'kxuri-
ka'úhra'm, lit. tobacco paper pipe. And sometimes as an abbrevia-
tion of this last 'ihé'raha'úhra'm, lit. tobacco pipe. 'Ikxurika'úhna'm'-
mite, 'ikxurika'uhnám?anammahat'c, dim. 'Ikxúrik, marking, pic-
ture, pattern, writing, paper, is formed from 'ikxúrik, to mark, to
paint or incise marks on, to make a pattern, to write.

'Apxanti-te'ikxurika'úhra'm, 'apxantinihitc'ikxurika'úhra'm,
White man cigarette, lit. White man paper pipe.

'Ikxurika'uhram'hppa'nal, cigarette tip.

'Ikxurika'uhram'áfi'v, butt end of cigarette.

But pamukunihe'te'p, stub of smoked cigarette or cigar, lit. one
that has been smoked.

'Ikxurika'uhram'áfi'c, surface or body of cigarette, lit. cigarette
meat.

'Ikxurika'uhram'ihé'raha', cigarette tobacco.

'Icyáníhitc pehé'raha', va; pe'kxurika'úhra'm kunikyá'tti', pe'k-
xukáyav pakuma'ihé'raha', it is fine (not coarse) tobacco, they make
cigarettes of that, the fine (not coarse) kind of tobacco.
'Ihē-rahe'kxūrik, cigarette paper, lit. tobacco paper. This is the regular term, one hardly says 'ikkurika'uhramikxūrik, paper pipe paper.

'Ihē-rahe'kxurikatā'hko'as, white cigarette paper.

'Ihē-rahe'kxurikasāmsū'ykūnic, brown cigarette paper. Cp. sāmsū'ykūnic pamūmya't papū'ftīt, the deer has fawn-colored fur.

'Ikxurika'uhramtunvē'tckīceap, package of cigarettes. 'Ikxurikakiceap, any package, tied up with paper.

Nikvārārūkti 'i0amāhya;nu vura po'hamtunvē'tc, kar 'i0appāv;vic (±'ihē-raha)pāv;vīcak 'ihē-raha', kar ihē-rahe'kxūrik. I have come to buy a package (lit. one container) of cigarettes and a sack of cigarette [lit. sack] tobacco, and some cigarette papers.

'Ikxurika'uhram'kē-rarā'ımku'nf, cigarette smoke.

B. Pahū't pakunkupe'yru'habihiti pe'kkurika'uhra'ısm, karu pakunkupe'hē-rabihiti'

(HOW THEY ROLL AND SMOKE A CIGARETTE)

'Ihē-t ukyā-tti', he makes a smoke (idiom for rolling a cigarette). 'Ikxurika'uhra'm ā'uyru'hti,6 he is rolling a cigarette.

Hā'ri vura yi00a vō'kūpittī, 'u'm vur ukyā-tti pamuhē-raha'uhra'ısm, hā'ri yi00a 'u'm vo'kūpittī, 'u'm vur 'ūyru'v̂ti pamuhē'v̂t, sometimes a person makes his own cigarettes, sometimes one rolls his own smokes.

'U'm vura xas ukyā-tti pamukxurika'uhra'ısm, 'u'm vura 'ūyru'hti', he makes his own cigarettes, he rolls them.

Tcim ihē-t ukyā-vic, he is going to make a smoke.

Patcim ihē-t ukyā-vičāhā'k kari pe'kxūrik tu'ūriccuk, when he is going to take a smoke, he rolls the paper.

Tō-yyā-rǎmmi 'ikkurikk'ak pehē-raha', he spills the tobacco on a paper.

Karixas tō'y'ruh, then he rolls it.

P'o'ittakiha'ak, 'u'm vura kohumayâ'tc 'ukyā-tti po'kepehē-rā-he'vc, xākkarari vūra və; kō's ukyā-tti'. Fi'pāyav ukyā-tti'. Yav ukyā-tti'. If he knows how, he makes it the right size how he is going to smoke it, he makes both ends the same size. He makes it straight. He makes it good.

Və; vura tcka'ftc kunic pakunik'ru'hti' pakunikyā-tti', pupuxx'ftc 'iru'htāhav, və; 'u'm vura pa'āmku;f su' 'ūkyā'mvār;eç po'pamah-māha'ak, they roll it slow, when they make it, they do not roll it tight, so the smoke can go inside when he smacks in.

5 Or tō'y'ruh.
6 Short for pamuhē-rahe'kxurika'uhra'ısm.
Karixas ti;m 'úpas to\-uyú\-rak, tuviraxvírax ti;m, then he puts spit on the edge, he laps the edge.

Karixas 'úpasmú\-'k to\-ptáxva', then he sticks it down with spit.

Há\-ri tó\-ýryú\-hpá\-th 'ipanní'\"tc, xáy 'úyyvá\-yriéuk, sometimes he crimps the end, it might spill open.

Karixas kar apmá:z táyú\-n\-'var, then he puts it in his mouth.

To\-ppár, he bites it.

Tupamtcákká\-rá\-ři pe\-kxurika\-'úhra\"zm, 'apmá:zmú\-'k tupamtcákká\-karañ, he shuts it on the cigarette, he holds it in his mouth.

Tá\-'k 'ahikyá\"r, give me a match. Also tá\-'k òimyúricrihář.

Tá\-'k 'á\"h, give me a light.

Xas tu\-'á\-hka', xas tubamá\-hma', then he lights it, then he smacks in.

Há\-ri payí\-\-thá mu\-'úhrá\-mmák va\- tá: n pamu\-'úhrá\-mmú\-'k 'u\-áh-súró\-'tí'. Xas vo\-'\-áhkó\-ttí pamu\-'úhrá\-m\-mák. 'Ukúkkuti payí\-\-thá mu\-'úhrá\-m\-mak. Xas tupamá\-hma'. Sometimes from another's cigarette [lit. pipe] he takes fire off with his cigarette [lit. pipe]. He lights his "pipe." He touches it against the other "pipe." Then he smacks in.

Tce\-\-myá\-tca\-vá 'upé\-\-thú\-p\-papá\-nati', he takes it out of his mouth every now and then.

Há\-ri 'á\-pun tó\-\-\-thářic, vura vo\-'\-ínk\-\-úti', sometimes he lays it down, it is burning yet.

Kúkkú\-m kari tó\-ppé\-ttci\-p, 'apmá:n pupíyú\-n\-'var, he picks it up again, he puts it back in his mouth again.

Há\-ri tó\-m\-sí\-p, karixas kúkku\-\-z 'a\-h tupí\-kya\-v, sometimes it goes out, then he lights it again.

Tcatik vúra va\- tá: hú\-rá\-sí\-p, then he smokes it all up.

Xas pamuh\-h\-\-t\-e\-p y\-\-vári to\-\-ppá\-\-thmá', then he throws the stub away.

Há\-ri va\- tá: vura to\-k\-v\-thí\-ccur po\-\-hétati', sometimes he puts himself to sleep smoking.

Há\-ri va\- tá: vura tó\-k\-v\-\-thá\-' vura vo\-'\-ínk\-\-úti pamukxurika\-'úhra\"zm, sometimes he goes to sleep with his cigarette burning.

Há\-ri pamú\-va\-z su\-'\-ínk\-\-\-á', sometimes his blanket burns.

C. Pahú-t kunkupavíctánní\-\-nuvahíti pe\-hét pe\-kxurika\-'úhra\"zm

(THE CIGARETTE HABIT)

Pehétá: n kuma 'ávan\-sáha\"uk, vura tuyú\-yú\-nha pehét\-\-r\-a\-há\- tópí\-\-ki\-tek\-\-\-thá\"k, the man who smokes all the time just gets crazy if he gets no more his smoking tobacco.

Payí\-\-thá tuhét\-\-rá\-sí\-p, k\-úkkú\-\-z yí\-\-\-\-thá tópí\-kya\-v, as soon as he gets through with one he makes another one.
Teatik vura takúmate; te kó-vúra tuhé-rášip pamuhé-rahapú-avic, before night he uses up all his tobacco sack.

'Ihé-tra^n, he is a great smoker.

'Toasúppá; vúra po-hé-rati pe'kxunika'úhná-m'míte, he smokes cigarettes all day.

Kunic taúkkin kunic pamútti^nk karu pamuvúuh, kó va ta;y po-hé-rati, his fingers and his teeth are yellowish, he smokes so much.

D. Pe'kxurika'uhramáhu$p (the cigarette holder)

'Ikxurika'uhramáhu$p, a cigarette holder, = 'ikxurika'uhramáxay-teákkieriháf.

E. Pe'kxurika'uhramáhyá-ñnářav (cigarette case)

'Ikxurika'uhram(tunvétce)lässíp, cigarette case, lit. cigarette bowl basket, = 'ikxurika'uhramáhyá-ñnářav. 'Ikxurika'uhramxé'ña^s, cigarette pipe sack, could hardly be applied.

'Ikxurika'uhram(tunvétce)máhyá-ñnářav, cigarette case. Also with first prepound omitted.

Mupú-vívac suP 'umáhyá-ñnati, hitlha'n vura mupú-vívac suP, he keeps it in his pocket, it is all the time in his pocket.

Tcakitpu'vec, jacket pocket. Kutrahavaspú-ovic, coat pocket. But never use pá-vívac uncompounded for pocket. Always prepound coat, pants, or like. Kutraháva's, coat. From tukútra', he wags his buttocks to one side and back = tukutráha00uñ.= tukútecíp.

5. Pasikyá^s (the cigar)

A. Pasikyá; kunkupe'vúyá-ñnahiti' (how cigars are called)

Sikyá^s, cigar. Im'anvan's aunt, Tcúxatc, used to call cigar sikyá-kísí' = 'ihé-raha'uhramáfa, cigar, lit. long cigarette.

Sikyá'hka's, a big cigar.

Sikyá-hxár uhé-rati', he is smoking a long cigar.

Sikyá-h'anammaháxtc, a small cigar, a cheroot.

Ká-kum túppitcas pasikyá^s,7 some cigars are small.

Sikyáhikyáva's, cigar maker.

Sikyáhpé-hvapióváiam, cigar store.

Sikyáhpe'hvapióvá's, cigar seller.

7 Or papircúhra's.
B. Pahú't kunkupe'kya-hiti karu pahú't kunkupatá'rahiti'

(HOW THEY ARE MADE AND KEPT)

Piric 'íruhahuphsa vura pasik'yá", a cigar is made of rolled up brush. Va; kumá'i'i pupuxx'ítc 'íruhíhap', va; 'u; m yav kunkupamah-máhahiti', va; 'u; m pa'ámkutí suv 'úkýí'mváratí', they do not roll it tight, so that they can suck in the smoke good, so that the smoke can go in.

Xas 'avahkam vura santiríhkažm po'yrúhá-táriváhiti', then a big wide leaf is rolled around the outside.

Hári pasik'yá 'avahkam 'úyxó-táriváhiti 'íkxurikasirikuníctá-hkó", sometimes they wrap it with tinfoil on the outside.

Hári pasik'yá 'íkxurikasirikuníctá-hkó 'úyxó-táriví'mva 'avahkam, sometimes it is wrapped with tinfoil on the outside.

Hári 'íkxúrik 'ar'ep 'ukícceparahína'tí', 'íkxurikasí, sometimes there is paper tied around the middle, shiny paper.

'Asxáyri;k vura po'tá;yhiti', they have to be kept in a damp place.

C. Karu pahú't kunkupe'hé-rahiti'

(AND HOW THEY ARE SMOKED)

Patcim uhé-ré-cahaha'ak pasik'yá", kari simš'mmá'k tó-kpá'ksur pakú'k 'u; m 'úpmá'nhe'c, then when he is going to smoke the cigar, he cuts off the mouth-end with a knife.

Tu'a-hka', he lights it.

Karixas tupícki'n, then he puffs in.

'Apma'n tó-kyí'mvar pa'ámkutíf patupamahmáhá'k, the smoke goes in his mouth when he smokes it.

Pu'íkxurika'uhnamtunyáng-te 'ákkatihařa, 'íkpréhař, 'imxá'akké'm, it does not taste like a cigarette, it is strong, it stinks.

Tupé'érúppan pasik'yá", he takes the cigar out of his mouth.

'Ukísfurúppanati pehé-ráhá-vmku"f, he blows the smoke out.

Hári tutaknírúppanama' muhé-ráhá-vmku"f, sometimes he makes his tobacco smoke roll out in rings.

D. Pasik'yá-hé-áhup

(THE CIGAR HOLDER)

Sik'yá-hé-áhup, cigar holder = sik'yá-hé-axaytecákkicirihař.

Sik'yá-hé-axaytecákkicirihař, cigar holder.

'Utaknírúppanati pa'ámkutíf, the smoke is rolling out in rings.

Hári vura va; 'apma'n 'úhyá-ráti xa; t pu'ínk'útihara, sometimes he holds it in his mouth unlighted.

8 Lit. white-shining-paper.
E. Pasik'ā-hmáhyá-nnárawy
(THE CIGAR CASE)

Sik'ā-hrássip, cigar case = sik'ā-hmáhyá-nnárawy.

6. Papuže-hé-raha'


Và: mit kâ:ru kó: kúnppáppuţthihat mit'ićmáxvu', kár karu há:ri 'icvirip'ímçáxvu'.

7. Pe'mcakaré-hé-raha'

(SNUFF)

'Imcakaré-hé-raha', snuffing tobacco.
Yúffivmá-k 'umsakansákkanti', vo'kupe'hé-rahití', with his nose several times he smells it in, he smokes that way.
Xas to'pâ:va', then he sneezes.

8. Pahá: t pa'apxantínnihite pie-i-te kunikyá-varihvutíth mit pa'are-hé-raha ve'hé^er

(PH OW THE WHITE MEN TRIED AT FIRST TO SMOKE INDIAN TOBACCO)

When the White men first came in, some of them tried to smoke the Indian tobacco. They thought: "We can smoke it."
They took it into their lungs just once, they thought "we will

9 Long texts have been obtained on preparing milkweed chewing gum, but the subject does not belong with the present report.
"Nu; karu va; nukuphé"e pa-
ára;r kunkupítti'." Xas va;
vura xakinivkihasúpa; kunkú-
hiti', kóv ikpíhañ, pa'araré-hé-
raha'. Va; kuma'íllu é vura
puhárixay pikyá-várivúthá pe-
hé"er.

do like Indians do." Then they
were sick for a week. The In-
dian tobacco is so strong. They
never tried to smoke it again.
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