TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY

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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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a. Pahu't mit 'ukupe'hē'rahitihat 'impā'k mitva nanixūkka'm. How my deceased uncle used to smoke on the trail

b. Pahu't mitva kunkupīttihat pa'asik tavansi'n takunpīkmā'ntunvaha'k 'impā'k. How they did when two women met each other on the trail.

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Nicotiana bigelovii (Torr.) Watson var. exaltata Setchell. Drawings of a specimen prepared under direction of Prof. W. A. Setchell. Two-valved specimen. 1. ‘Ihé’-raha’ipaha’ipaha’ippani’c pató’-ór’ha’, tip of tobacco plant in bloom. % natural size. 2. Pehé’raha’aśiv’tc vássa”n, basal leaf of tobacco plant [leaf from main axis]. % natural size. 2’. Pehé’raha’ippan’kam vássa”n, upper leaf of tobacco plant [leaf from lateral axis]. % natural size. 3. ‘Uhíc’va”n karu pamúss’a”n, capsule with calyx. % natural size. 4. ‘Iór’ha’, flower [corolla limb]. % natural size. 5. ‘Iór’ha’, flower [longitudinal section]. % natural size. 6. ‘Uhíc’va”, capsule [transverse section]. 1¾ natural size ........................................ 48

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12. ‘Itoakicap pehē-rahāssa’an. Tāhpus’a’vahkam takunkīc-capparariv, katasipōavahkam, a bundle of tobacco leaves. They tie Douglas Fir needles outside, outside the bracken [leaves]. 14 inches long, 6½ inches wide, 4½ inches high.

Sárip, California Hazel sticks. ⅔ natural size.  
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B, Obverse  

Pahú't kunkupa'áffe-hiti pa'uhsípnu'ök, how they start the tobacco basket. ⅔ natural size.  
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22. Pahu't kunkupa'affle'hiti pa'uhsipnu'uk, how they start the tobacco basket. ½ natural size. U-W, Yioo takunipvikkiröpiöva', piö passärip takunpierikk'as-rar, they weave one course, taking four hazel sticks at a time. Pakú'kam 'u'ávahkamitätihed'cé pay'em va; ávahkamta, hitfahén 'u'ávahkamhitihed'éc. What is going to be the outside [of the bottom] of the basket is on top [obverse] now, it is going to be on top all the time [it will not be turned over any more after this]. X-Z, Kuti'aráamsiprivti', paká'n takunáramsip, sárip karu sárum takunyäkkuri k'án, they start to twine with three strands, where they start to three-strand twine they always insert both a hazel stick and a pine-root strand. U, Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from T. V, W, X, Y, Z. Obverse

23. Pa'uhsipnúkvik, the unfinished tobacco basket. a, Pa'uhspnúkvik, 'utakravahiti su?, the unfinished tobacco basket with the hoop inside. b, Va; pa'uhsipnu'uk, pakari a? tuvóru'rar, the tobacco basket when it starts to go up. 'Áxxak vura passárnum panyúrar 'u'ávahkambiti', both of the pine-root strands have bear lily on top.

24. Pa'uhsipnu'uk, muõxúppar vúr 'u'ífí'k'uti', kari púva tákkukähiti', kari takúkk'irípx, the tobacco basket together with its cover before they are cleaned out, not cleaned out yet.

25. Pa'uhsipnu'uk karu pakah'uhspnú'uk, the tobacco basket and the upriver tobacco basket. a, Pa'uhsipnú'uk patupikyärahiti', pamuõxúppar 'umhitaráricíhva', the finished tobacco basket with its cover tied on. About ½ natural size. b, Pakah'uhspnú'uk, 'a'n kunsáriphiti', the upriver tobacco basket, they use iris twine for hazel sticks.
a, Kahápxa'^n, 'i'tk'a 'áffiv 'ukrixaxvkut'i, 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, 'uhsp-nuk?kya'v, the same upriver hat being made into a tobacco basket. d, Va; vura kumakahápxa'^n, patu-pkyá-rahíti pa'uhsp'nu't'uk, the same upriver hat when already made into a tobacco basket.

Payi00uva k'kó:k nút kuma'úhra'^m, the different kinds of pipe that there used to be. a, Yuxtcananite?itak-kurihavaranaxavic'úhra'^m, abalone inlaid arrowwood pipe (Nat. Mus. No. 278471, collected by F. E. Gist. 5¼ inches long. See pp. 165-166.) b, Fašip'uhram'k-kó'far, manzanita pipe with a stone pipe bowl. Specimens made by Yx and bought from Benny Tom. 5¼ inches long. See p. 166. The detached bowl of this pipe is the whitish specimen shown in Pl. 32, c. c, Xavic'uhram'kí'kó'ri'pux, xavic'úhná'm'mité, arrowwood pipe without stone pipe bowl, little arrowwood pipe. Made by Hackett. 3½ inches long. See p. 165. d, 'Uhrá; m apxantinihite'úhra; m kunick kunikyá'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." 3¾ inches long. See p. 136, fn.). e, Xavic'uhram'kík-kó'far, '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].

Yuxtcananitc karu yuxó'arán, small and large abalone pendants. ½ natural size. a, Yuxó'arán, va; pay k'ó:k kumayuxó'arán payáfusak 'ukrixavko'hiti', abalone pendants, the kind that are hung on women's [buck-skin] dresses. b, Yuxtcananite, va; pay k'ó:k 'ifuni-ha'ippante kunik-kó'ttí pa'asiktáva'n'sa', abalone pendants, the kind that the women bunch at the end of their hair [braids].

Yuxtcannanitc karu yuxó'arán, small and large abalone pendants. ½ natural size. a, Yuxó'arán, va; pay k'ó:k kumayuxó'arán payáfusak 'ukrixavko'hiti', abalone pendants, the kind that are hung on women's [buck-skin] dresses. b, Yuxtcananitc, va; pay k'ó:k 'ifuni-ha'ippante kunik-kó'ttí pa'asiktáva'n'sa', abalone pendants, the kind that the women bunch at the end of their hair [braids].
29. Payiθθúva k'ó:k mit kuma'úhra;m karu yiθθa xé:hva*ss, ikkurikakę:mitcak?á:ssurapu pe'kxúrik, 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 % 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. Xavicõuhrami'kyav; tó'tárakahina'ti su'; ippo'm takun'iyvá:yramní pa'a'kö'nit; ká'kum tó'tá:va'hina'ti 'ávahkaim; karu pí:ó pa'úhra'm tópikyá:ra'hiti'. Y10a faõip'rúhra*sm, 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. 'Ik'ó'rá'as, Pipe Bowl Rock.

32. a, Pa'asaxxs'as Ka'timí:n'ástí:p vá'as, the Soft Soapstone Rock by the river at Katimin. b, Va' ká:n pakuniknsúró'tí pe'kk'ó'or Pa'asaxxs'as'a'vahkaim, where pipe bowls have been pecked off on top of the Soft Soapstone Rock. c, 'Axxak pe'kk'ó'or, 'áxxak vura asaxxs'as po'kyá:rahiti', two pipe bowls, both made of soft soapstone. Pipe bowls % natural size. The whitish appearing specimen is that of the pipe shown in Pl. 27, b.
3. a, Pahú't kunkupattárukkahiti pakunnihař, payáv 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, ’Ipam’aasn, sinew thread [such as is used for sewing pipe sacks].
c, d, Yiθóůva kumaíppaľ, various kinds of sinew: c, ’Ipamkémičias, ordinary sinews. d, ’Apsihíppaľ, leg sinew. e, ’Ipamxíppu”n, connective tissue of
sinew. b, c, d, e. ¥ natural size

4. Xé’hva’s, pipe sacks. ¥ natural size. a, ’Ikritiptipa-
hihanxe’hva’a’s ’uhrájím ’uhyá’rahiti’, fringed pipe
sack with a pipe in it [pipe and pipe sack made by
Tcárkítica’n]. b, Pa’uhrá’sm, the pipe. c, Xé’hvašŋ-
kyáv, tuvúy’ahiti’, pipe sack in the making, that has
been cut out [to fit the pipe shown as b of this plate].
d, Pavastáran, pamukíccapárahe’ec, the thong that it
is going to be tied with. e, Paxé’hva’a’s, ’uhrájím su?’úkri’, the pipe sack with the pipe [that is shown as b
of this plate] inside it. [Pipe sack made by Imk’yan-
van.] Specimens a (the pipe) and b are also shown in
Pl. 30

5. ’Iθé’xyá’vraθ ’uθímyúricrīhti’, Tintin is making a fire
with Indian matches [fire sticks]

6. Tciríxxu’as, ceremonial buckskin bags. Models made by
Mrs. Mary Ike. a, Large bag, 7½ inches long, 2½ inches wide. b, Small bag, 3¼ inches long, 3 inches wide.
c, Small bag, 2½ inches long, 2¾ inches wide.

TEXT FIGURES

The Karuk phonems

Map showing places visited by Douglas.
PHONETIC KEY

VOWELS

Unnasalized vowels:
- a, a' — 'árā-ras, people.
- æ, æ' — yə'-hē, well!
- e, e' — pehē-raha', tobacco.
- i, i' — pihni'ttci'cas, old men.
- o, o' — kohomayá-te kō', the right size.
- u, u' — 'ú- 'ukrā-m, out in the lake.

Nasalized vowel:
- ə — há', yes. The only word that has a nasalized vowel.

Diphthongs:
- ay, a'y — 'uvúrayvuti', he is going around. 'átta-al salmon eggs. ta'ay, much.
- oy, o'y — hō'øy, where?
- uy, u'y — 'uyccárahiti', it is mixed. 'ú'y, mountain.

CONSONANTS

Laryngeal:
- '2₃ — 'as, stone. 'u'á-mti', he is eating. ʔ su inside. Kaʔtimi't'n, Katimin.3
- h² — háriñay, year. 'akrā'h, eel.

Radical:
- x, xx — xas, then. 'u"x, it is bitter. 'áxak, tw

Dorsal:
- k, kk — kārī, then. 'u'ákkat'i, it tastes.

Antedorsal:
- y² — yav, good.

Frontal:
- t, tt — tayāv, all right. kunkupitti', they do the way. 'ittaim, to-day.
- θ, θθ — θiikinki'nič, yellow. yiθθa', one.
- s, ss — sārum, pine roots. 'a's, water. vássi back (of body).
- c, cc — tuycip, mountain. 'iccaha', 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.

xxxiv
Frontal—Continued.
tc, ttc tcō'ra, let us go. pihnī'ttcitē, old man.

r³ 'āra'ar, person.
n, nn nu'u, we. 'ūnnuhi'te, kidney

Abial:
p, pp pay, this. 'ippī', bone.
f, ff fīōūi', foot. 'ifūθ, behind.
v vūra, it is. 'āvān, male, husband. 'iv, to die.
m, mm ma'asθ, heavy. 'ā'm'ma, salmon.

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Unmarked: short
. : long

tch:
' : high
. : middle
` : low
`` : final a
der 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:
   ˀ: inlaut form of ~
   ˀː: inlaut form of ~
   ˀːː: inlaut form of ^
   .: indicating detached pronunciation of t.s and t.c
   .ː: indicating vowel nasalization
Knowledge and practice of the California Indians with regard to tobacco has up to the present time been insufficiently explored. Here 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 etymology and mythology behind it. Without the linguistic method, much 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 areas of several diversified areas throughout the State. For each of these presentations will include quoting of previous literature; termination of the variety of the tobacco used; description of growing, curing, and storing; infumation, its instruments, appurtenances, procedure and customs; other uses of tobacco; other plants used with or used like tobacco; other plants smoked; tobacco as materia medica, in shamanism, in ceremony, in mythology; tobacconal lary, 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 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 mouth. This tribe centers about Orleans, Kinimin, Clear Creek, and Happy Camp, in Humboldt and Siskiyou Counties. The tribe or language is called Pehtsik or Aravaipa by Gibbs, Ara by Gatschet, Quoratean by Powell, Ehnek and
Ehnikan by Curtin, and Ká-rok, Ka'-rokr, and Karok by Powers, 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 Káruk Va'ára' r, Upriver Person, or Káruk Kuma'ara' r 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 tcp Va'ára' r (Áchip Vaárar)1a or 'Ióiv'ané'n'á tcp Va'ára' r (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 'Imk'ánya' n (Imk'án van) (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'zs (Yás), 'Uhtc'a'mhàtc (Pete Henry) (pl. 2, a, b), Tc'a'kitcha'm (Fritz Hanson) (pl. 2, c), 'Icxá'yripa'n (Hackett) (pl. 3, a, b) 'Iđë-syá-vraô (Tintin) (pl. 3, c), 'Ásnë-pirax (Snappy) ('asiktávan a woman) (pl. 3, d, e), John Pepper, 'Aksamán'áhu'n (Sandyba Jím), Kápitá'n (Capitan) (pl. 3, f), Pasamvaró'tti'n (Ned), and several others. The texts and Karuk words in this paper are all in the downriver dialect of Karuk as spoken at Ka'timì'n (Katimin) (pl. 4, a), on the southeast side of the Klamath River, and an 'Iccipierhak (Ishipishrihak) (pl. 4, b), on the northwest bank of the Klamath opposite Katimin, Mrs. Maddux being of Ishipishrihal 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 o 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 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 "Yú-rok, Ka'-rokr, 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-ruck," with the correct u.
Informants

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

b. Ishipishrihak rancheria
ounding 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 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 cases into Indian English, and retention of such words as "to pack," meaning to carry; "to spill," instead of to pour; "to mock," instead 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 sweat-house is contrasted with "the living house." A woodpecker scalp is "a woodpecker head." We here boldly keep "pipe ek," "arrow sack," "jump dance," "kick song," "acorn soup," "back basket," "baby basket," and many other compounds and voices of words, following the local dialect. The future is mostly marked 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, the lowest stretch of the Klamath River and adjacent coast and the Hupa of the lower Trinity River, the largest southern butary of the Klamath. According to the Karuks' own impression, Yuruk and Hupa are larger, fatter, redder Indians than themselves. Indians of the upper Salmon River, another southern tributary of the Klamath, are felt to be quite different in culture, although they are directly in contact with the Karuk than are the Hupa. The Klamath Indians, holding the Klamath for a long part of its course mediatly 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 species, including some far to the east. All good things were believed come down the Klamath River, and the tribe of Klamath and Yuruk Indians at the head of the river, famed as warriors and leaders of the Klamath Lakes in the mud of which dentalium money shells believed to grow and be obtained, were almost deified, and were called to be the dwellers of the northern end of the world. Even the White man came down the river from the great region he Klamath Lakes, and horse is still occasionally called yuras-ci'ih (Klamath) lake dog, or kahtcicci'ih, upriver dog, instead of usual mere tcicci'ih, dog.
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 "downslope," 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 'arāri"k, 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 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 rule was done was by the heads of the houses. Each house had its own often a leader of feuds between families. Each of the several sweathouses of the rancherias also belonged to a family or was frequent 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 extents the world over. The common way to arrange marriage was for the man, who was the buyer of his bride, to send another man, call 'unāva"n, go-between, to the father of the girl, and if the price was right, she married (tuyararaha', she marries), going a week or so later the husband's house, where she reared her family, formed new friends, and was buried when she died. 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. The 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 pa

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 tuvōnफ़ूर, 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 yāśśā्रा, and poor men, called usually with disrespectful or pitying diminutive ’anana-āmmnitc. “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 of wholesome and harmless was food of all kinds that it could be given to young children. Pa’avahayé-cci’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, puśṭicli’ce, 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 one 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 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 sited various rancherias in this condition and the warm air of their reathouses was his covering at night; he slept in them absolutely licked 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 pavírutva', 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 yáfhus, and an apron, called tánta'v, made of strings of
Digger Pine nuts ('axyû's) or juniper seeds ('ip).

Daily life started with the morning sweat and plunge into the rive
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, go
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 bathin
occupied their time until about sundown, or even later, when the
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 grown
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
was dug by male relatives just before burial. The dead person is
then taken through the door of the house, but a board or two is remove-
from the wall of the house to furnish exit. The dead person
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
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 and
diggers and the relative or relatives most immediately affected are
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 th
ireplace. Each evening as it got dark food was burned on the grave, 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 sweathouse for a month previous. It was called sarukámku'úf, downslope moke, also 'íruravahíí, 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: Kunñha kunic u'í-hya', pay-anuavahkam 'upátteakuti pa'amku'úf, 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 vuuhuhákka'úm, meaning big deerskin dance, but this jump dance at Amekyaram was called also by the special name 'áhavaráhií. It was last held in July, 1893. 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 fire at a different shrine upslope each day, and as he goes up the hill he 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 ‘irahiv. 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 for 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. Th doctor stands and dances. All others present sit and sing, kickin, the floor in time to the song.

Myths (pikvah) were told only in the wintertime, at night, both i the sweathouse and in the living house. They were told mostly lyin down. Sometimes a man and boy would lie facing each other in th sweathouse, and the boy would repeat the myth as it was told hin by the man, a passage at a time. An old woman would teach a myt to a girl in this same way in the living house. Myths and the interpersed 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, volunteered such translations as “the princes,” “the chiefs,” “the angels. These Ikxareyavs were old-time people, who turned into animal 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 a customs, telling them in every instance, “Human will do the same. These doings and sayings are still related and quoted in the medicir formulae of the Karuk. Several of the Ikxareyavs are known by name, such as ‘Ityarukpihri’iv, Across Water Widower. There mentioned a special class of Ikxareyavs called Kitaxrihars, meanin
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 "'ikpihan," 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 smoking 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.5

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

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

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 sweat-house, 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 materia 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.
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, 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 hem lifelike, in addition to their correctness; but later on Prof. W. A. Setchell provided me with others more standard because made a connection with his special study of the California tobacco species, nd 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. Shellenbarger, of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, of Mr. John T. Linkins; Mrs. Walther Kurze; and, last but not least, of Mr. F. W. Hodge nd Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, former chiefs of the bureau, and of Mr. Matthew W. Stirling, present chief, for furthering this study in Caliornia aboriginal botany and the reachings around of plant custom.
II. Fā't pō:xxúrik'ahitihanik pakuntcuphúruθunatihanik pananu-
he'raha'

(BIBLIOGRAPHICAL)

1. Pāmitva pakuntcuphúruθunatihat payiòuva kuma'ávansas pananu-
nuhé'raha 'ók 'iövθané:n'ia'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". Note: book 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’n, leaf].

"pipe ... oo-hoo-rahm [under the letter P] [for ’uhrâ’m, pipe].

"tobacco ... e-héh-ra [under the letter T] [for 'ihé-raha', tobacco]."

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

"Pipe [p. 40] ... oo-hoo-rahm [p. 41] [for 'uhrâ’m, pipe]."

"Tobacco [p. 48] ... e-héh-ra [p. 49] [for 'ihé-raha', tobacco]."

UNDATED

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts, No. 200 stock Athapascan, Weitspekan, Quoratean, language Aliquah, Arra and Hopah, collector George Crook, place Klamath Rive: Calif.

"Pipe [p. 45] ... ooh-hoo-ráwm [p. 46] [for 'uhrâ’m, pipe]."

"Tobacco [p. 55] ... Mo-háre-ráh [p. 56] [for muhé-raha', hi tobacco]."
1853

"Pipe . . . Oh rahm [p. 442] [for 'uhrah-m, pipe]."
"Tobacco . . . Eh hé rah [p. 442] [for 'ihē-raha', tobacco]."

1860

"Hay-rah, Tobacco [p. 6] [for 'ihē-raha', tobacco]."
"O-ram, Pipe [p. 6] [for 'uhrah-m, pipe]."

1877

1.—Ka'-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 transliterated by Mr. George Gibbs, in No. 358, and the Smithsonian alphabet used. The latter number is here given [p. 447].


3.—Arra-arra. Obtained by Mr. George Gibbs. It is Nos. 359, 1, and 403, Smithsonian Collections. No. 401 has been used here, it was written in the Smithsonian alphabet [p. 447]." [p]53. Tobacco [3. Arra-arra] i-he'ra [p. 451] [for 'ihē-raha', tobacco]."

52. Pipe [3. Arra-arra] u-hu-rām [p. 451] [for 'uhrah-m, pipe]."


55. Pipe [4. Peh'-tsik] ag-hu-rām' 451 [for 'uhrah-m, pipe]."
5.—Eh-nek. Obtained by George Gibbs, and published in Schoo-
craft, Part III, page 440, from which it has been taken; the orthog
raphy 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
[p. 451] [for 'ihēraha', tobacco.]" “[55. Pipe] [5. Eh-nek] oh-ra-
h [p. 451] [for 'uhrâ-m, pipe.]”

1878

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts No. 84
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 an
words bearing on tobacco. It is interesting in that it was obtained
from a white man who had lived with the Indians.]

1889

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts No. 84
stock Quoratean, language Ehnek, collector Jeremiah Curtin, place
Klamath River, Calif., date June–July 1889, remarks: Powell Intro,
50 pp., partly filled. Title page: Ehnik Tribe [crossed out]. Ehnik
Family [crossed out]. Quoratean family. [The preceding note
Curtin's hand]. Tribe, Ehnikan (ärär). Locality: Klamath Riv
from Bluff Creek, Humboldt Co., Cal., to Happy Camp, Siskiy
Co., Cal. Recorded by Jeremiah Curtin. Date of Record: Ju
and July 1889. Closely related to Gatschet's Ara, which see.
845. Hewitt. [The last 10 words in J. N. B. Hewitt's hand.]

35. Pipe, of stone . . . ä'súhuram [p. 89] [for 'asô-ra"m, s
pipe].” [This is the only word recorded bearing on tobacco.]

1906–1907

Denny, Melcena Burns, Orleans Indian Legends, Outwest, vol.:
vol. 25, 373–375 (Oct. 1906), 451–454 (Nov. 1906), vol. 26, pp. 73–
series of articles does not record anything bearing on tobacco.]

1907

Merriam, C. Hart, Names for Tobacco in 56 California Diale:
1907, Bureau of American Ethnology MS. No. 1563. [Does n
contain Karuk words.]

1911

Kroeber, A. L., The Languages of the Coast of California North
San Francisco, University of California Publications in Ameri
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 'ihé-raha', tobacco.]

1923

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

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

1925


2. Pámitva pakuntcupúrunatíhat payřává kuma'ávánasas payř kuma'árá:tas mukun?ihé-raha'

(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 paskets 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 of 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 tediouse oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gesture and signes, mowing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came again the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brough 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 vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being veri cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion on with another; a speciall cognizance (as wee afterwards observed 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 Tabāh. Both which being tyed to a shor rodde, he came into our boate. Our Generall intended to have recom penced him immediately with many good things he would have bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuer the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusin utterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vp on a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his returne. After whic time our boate could row no way, but wonderfull at vs as at gods, the would follow the same with admiration ...¹a

“Against the end of two daies (during which time they had no againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembl of men, women, and children (inuited by the report of them whose first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose disperse themselves into the country, to make knowne the newes), who cam now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had been done, feathers and bagges of Tobāh for presents, or rather indee for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods.”²

¹ N. glauca, introduced from South America (see pp. 35–36), not 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. *vulgaris*, 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 ardens of it.

“They used tobacco, which they smoked in small wooden pipes, a 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.”* 3

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 multivalvis* 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 6 miles up that river or 56 miles from Fort Vancouver, and return, between the dates of August 19 and 30, inclusive, 1825. Miss Nellie S. 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 auvie 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 Indian 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 southern end of the town of Oregon City, which stands on the east bank of the Willamette. Willamette Falls are 28 or 3 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 Némalnoma (Multnomah), of Chinookan stock, had villages along the lowermost course of the Willamette, notably at Sauvie 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. (Fig. 2.)

"(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 I 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 not in 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 she 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. In 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 he 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 he 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 *dál*-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

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' inten and never made any forey on me more terrible than the insinuation question, 'Got any tobac?'"  

Wedged in between Yokots information, Powers also gives or 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 sure in the Karuk-Yuruk area. The next sentence, following the dash, evidently Powers's own observation. The sentence following that speaking of having seen tobacco growing on earth-covered lodge may be a reminiscence of what Powers had seen when on the Klamath which he had visited before visiting the Yokots, in which case those 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. plumago/nils. It is smoked alone or mixed with dried manzanita leaves (Arctostyphi los glauca), and has pungent, pepper taste in the pipe which is not disagreeable. Mr. A. W. Chase, in 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 plant. I have even seen them growing finely on their earth-covered lodge. 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 Na Mus. catalog numbers, provenance of specimens, and for identification with illustrations run by Mason and again by McGuire see explanation of Pl. 29.

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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 Hupa Indian Reservation in 1885, Mason mentions tobacco as follows:

"Pipes and Smoking"

"The Indians of northern California smoked formerly a wild tobacco, *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* (Gray), *N. plumbaginifolia* (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, tone alone, or latterly of stone and wood combined, as will appear further on. (Plates VIII–IX, Figs. 61–73.) The beginning of such 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 snare 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% inches; diameter of bowl, 2 inches; of stem, % 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 sh-knife.

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

"There are also pipes of fine-grained sandstone of graceful outline, resembling in shape a ball bat, 7 inches long, 7% 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, here 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 nicks 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 2½ inches; greatest width, three-fourths of an inch; depth of bowl ¾ths of an inch. (See Powers, Fig. 43.)

"They likewise use a tapering pipe of hard wood, 12½ inches long, 1½ inches wide at the larger end. What may be called the stem is 7½ inches long. The other portion is carved by a series of octagonal and chamfers which give to the specimen quite an ornamental appearance. (Fig. 69.) The bowl is ¾ths 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. Compar 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, evidenlly 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.) The 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 there are found among the Utes and Mohaves, as well as in the moud

"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 twine 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 apex 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." 9a

Mason’s plates 15 and 16 illustrate some of the same specimens gured by Powers (see explanation of Pl. 29 for identiications). The specimens not shown by Powers are identiied as follows:

Mason, Pl. 15, No. 67 = Nat. Mus. No. 126520, Hupa, collected by t. 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] and, 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 rephrasing 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, says Professor Mason, conoidal in shape, and are of wood alone, stone alone, or latterly of stone and wood combined. . . .”

“Fig. 25 [1a] is simply a cone cut apparently from manzanita wood. It is 13 inches long with a greatest diameter of 2 inches, tapering radually to 1½ inches at the smaller end. If this pipe were sawed a two one-third of the way from the smaller end it could not be dis-


11a From McCloud River, Calif.
tistinguished 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 sandstone 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\(^{11}\) manufacture, 13½ 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\(^ {11} \) 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 Hupas a greater degree than has been detected among other native 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 investigation 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 Babeens.

"Fig. 28 is a fine-grained tubular sandstone, showing unusual mechanical skill in its manufacture, being 7 inches long, with a diameter 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 strips running the length of the implement, made apparently by means of a file or similar tool.

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

\(^{11} \) 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-fifths 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. It 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 2½ 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 lost 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, bark, or woven rags."

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The northwestern California pipe has been referred to by M. 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 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.

1903

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, kīnaigyan, was and is still made of selected wood of 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.

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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, 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-hntler, 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."
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 the 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.] 20

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 (o‘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 smell being in a way symbolic of good fortune and long life. The pipe were made of either wood or stone and were always straight through out, 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.” 21

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.]

“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 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 ne-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, allowing the core, from one end to the other, finally eating its way ut at the opposite end. Many of the grubs died, or did not take indly to the oil-soaked pith; but, out of a dozen or more prepared ocks hung up under the roof during the winter, one or two were, it claimed, generally found bored in the spring.” [With illustration of a wooden tobacco pipe with stone pipe bowl.]


23 Ibid., pp. 394-395.
"Again she danced, and, speaking to those assembled, says, 'Küs apsū'tohokwira' ('Now he reaches for his pipe'); then, 'Küs kwa'ök-wahir' ('Now he smokes'). Then, after a longer period of dancing, the Axè'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 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 smoker 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 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 the 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, go into the sweat-house take their pipe 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 the 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 pipe and ribbons made by them are put on the top of long slim poles fro

24 Ibid., p. 487.
25 Thompson, Mrs. Lucy, To The American Indian, Eureka, Cali 1916, p. 37.
twelve to fifteen feet long and are to be used at the finish of the fish
dam. These poles have the bark taken off and are clean and white." 26
"... and fancy carved Indian pipes that the boys made, ..." 27

1918

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

"Tobacco, Nicotiana sp." 28

"A species of tobacco native to California was the only plant cul-
tivated, 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 descrip-
tion 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 Califor-
nia 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 dis-
coverers of Trinidad Bay said that the Indians ‘used tobacco, which
they smoked in small wooden pipes, in form of a trumpet, and procure-
d 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–
08, no mention is made of tobacco.

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

26 Ibid. pp. 47–48, mentioned in the description of Kappel fish-dam
remony.
27 Ibid., p. 52, mentioned in Kappel fish-dam ceremony.
28 Loud, Llewellyn L., University of California Publications in
merican Archeology and Ethnology, vol. 14, no. 3, Dec. 23, 1918,
32.
29 See description of tobacco and tobacco pipes under the heading,
Objects of Steatite and Slate," p. 234.
30 "Don Antonio Maurello, op. cit., Barrington edition, pp. 366,
9." [See quotation, p. 19 of present paper.]
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 bit 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. I 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 globula baskets made for the purpose. These receptacles are also a localize type. (Pl. 73, e.)"

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

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

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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 3 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 Frémont 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. . . . p. 569. Var.? **BIGELOVII**: annua; caule glanduloso-pubescente sul simplici; foliis 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 Collection 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 petiolem angustatis, superioribus sessilibus basi angustatis; panicula terminali laxiuscula; calyce glanduloso-pubescente, lacunis lanceolato-linearibus inequalibus, corolla hypocrateterimpha, tubo elongato calyce 2-3-plo longiore, limbi laciniis 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.

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. Bigelóvii, 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: inflorescence loosely racemiform, with all the upper flowers bractless: calyx-teeth unequal, linear-subulate, about equaling the tube, surpassing the capsule: tube of the corolla 1½ to 2 inches long, narrow, with a gradually expanded throat: the 5-angulate-lobed limb 12 to 18 lines in diameter.—Bot. King, 276, t. 27, fig. 3, 4; Gray, Bot. Calif. 1. 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 surpassing the capsule: upper leaves more disposed to have a broad and roundish or subcordate slightly clasping base; herbage, &c., more viscid.—Near Los Angeles and San Diego, Wallace, Cleveland.

"= = Ovary and capsule globular, 4-several-celled, at first somewhat 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 California, 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 confines 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 California, possibly used by the Santa Barbara and other tribes of coast Indians; N. repanda Willd., in southwestern Texas and adjacent portions of Mexico; N. plumbaginifolia Viv., in northeastern Mexico and crossing the Rio Grande into Texas; and N. stocktoni Brandege 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 glandular 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 Chasta 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 axonomic 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. Chestnut 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 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, 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 N. bigelovii, viz., N. multivalvis Lindl.

"There can be little doubt that it was some form of the 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 remarks of Drake's account as follows: 'That 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 prima facie proof that the distribution of 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 Guine expeditions.' The extreme improbability of Nicotiana bigelovii hav

50 [Professor Setchell has furnished me the following additions information on this point: "I have found that in the tall form of 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 Wallacei, which, so far as the examination of several thousand capsules indicated, is constant 2-celled, and gives some indication of the possibility of 4-celled an 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.'


88 "Goddard, loc. cit."

99 "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. quadrivalvis*, while in *N. bigelovii* it is preponderatingly 2-celled, although 3-celled examples are frequent in the type and in the northern variety. *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* 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. quadrivalvis* 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. quadrivalvis* 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. quadrivalvis* 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 quadrivalvis*, has been the subject of study by Gilbert L. Wilson. 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, is öpe.

"Melvin Randolph Gilmore, in treating of the uses of plants by the Missouri River Indians, writes as if they all used *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*, although he mentions specifically that his definite

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12 "Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians, an Indian Interpretation: Univ. of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 9, Minneapolis, 1917, pp. 121–127."


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, 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 corolla, 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 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 strewn 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

16 "Loc. cit. p. 113."
17 "Journal Kept by David Douglas, etc., London, 1914, pp. 59, 141 (sub. *N. pulverulenta* Pursh)."
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 multivalis. 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 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, it ceremonial activities probably ranking next to the Sun Dance. The Crows insist that their tobacco is different from that of the Hidats: (Nicotiana quadricalvis), and botanically this idea is correct. In connection with the query as to whence the Crow, and the Hidats 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 bigeloni group of tobaccos, the root of the word for tobacco is òp or up and that the Dieguenos, the Shasta, the Takelma, the Crow, and th Hidatsa agree in this, while the tribes using other species of tobacco apply terms from different roots. This linguistic evidence is decided interest and importance, especially when taken in connection with the close botanical relationship of the species and varietie concerned."

2. Pahú't 'uñuyttihva pehé'raha'

THE NAME OF TOBACCO

'Ihē'raha', tobacco, tobacco plant, means merely that which I smoked, being a -ha' derivative of 'ihē'er, to smoke, just as 'ávaha food, is derived from 'av, to eat.

18 "Loc. cit."
18a [Karuk 'u'ñ'h, tobacco, see p. 45, is the same word.]
But there is also another, old name for tobacco, 'u"uh', which corresponds to words of similar sound in a number of Indian languages of western North America,\(^{19a}\) and survives in Karuk as a prepound, 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 'ihé-raha-', which can not be substituted for it in the words here given except in the case of 'uhsípnu"uk, for which one may also say 'ihé-rahasípnu"uk.

(1) 'úha†, nicotine, the pitchy substance which accumulates in a Karuk smoking pipe. The literal meaning is tobacco excrement. Cp. sicca!, semen; vi00a†, mucus secretion of the vagina; 'a"af, excrement.

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

(3) 'uhíppi', tobacco stem, tobacco stalk. With -'íppi' cp., independent 'íppi', bone, and 'íppa', tree, plant. (See pp. 51, 89.)

(4) 'uhrâ'¬m, tobacco pipe of any kind, -râ'¬m, place.

(5) 'úhsípnu"uk, tobacco basket, = 'ihé-rahasípnu"uk, from sipnut'uk, storage basket. (See pp. 103–131.)

(6) 'uhtatvára"sr, sweathouse tobacco lighting stick, literally tobacco [coal] tong-inserter. (See pp. 188–190.)

(7) 'uhífr-hrá"sm, mg. where they put tobacco, placename. (See p. 267.)

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

3. Pakó-vúra pananuppíric puyí00a xay vura kunic va; kumé-kyá-hara pehé-rahapppa', vura teciíhpuri0íppa kíc và; kúnic kumé-kyañ, pa'apxanti'tc 'î'n takiníppé"tr

(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 teciíhpúri0, dog huckleberry. Of it is said:

'Imxa0akké'm. Puffá't vúra í'n 'á-mtíhap. Kó'kaníyay vur u'íftí'. Payé'm vúra va; ká'n tay 'u'íftí', paká'n piu's kun'úhóa-mhitíhrak. Va; vúra púri0 umússáhíti', kúna vúra 'axví00írar

\(^{19a}\) See quotation from Setchell, p. 44.

\(^{20}\) See p. 244, line 10.

63044°—32—6
umússahiti patcichpúriʔ, 'uxra-hák'/ʔy, pappíric k'arú vur 'ax-viθůirarkúnic. Vura purafá't hárà, 'ó'x. Tcíc. 'átá nik 'ú'x vur 'u'a-mtí', 'ikkí:tc 'átà, vóʔvú:yi tcicíhpúriθ.

4. Sahihé'raha 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 xanó:n, crawfish (*sahxánu'n is not used) mahxánu'n, scorpion, lit. mountain crawfish. Xaʔθ, grasshopper: (*máhxá'θ is not used); sákha'θ, green grasshopper, lit. river grass hopper.21 'Apaxa'θ, hat (*sahápxa'θ is not used); mahápxa'θ, hunter's hat overlaid mostly with pine roots, also called taripanáp xa'n, dipper basket hat, lit. mountain hat. Vuhvuha', (1) deerskin dance in general, (2) jump dance; but sázhvúhvu'a', 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'raha' 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 sand; 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 sweat houses was often picke and smoked (see p. 78), and sweat houses were mostly downslop 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 pífapu'. This is applied to either sahihé'raha' or tapasihé'raha', provided the tobacco has not been planted by people. All native tobacco is pífapu' now. It is thought that the seeds of sahihé'raha' float down from upriver. This gives it a foreign, extraneous aspect. Any tobacco growing

21 Cp. again káctha'θ, upriver grasshopper, a species living at the Klamath Lakes, said closely to resemble sákha'θ.
22 The writer has many additional examples of this distinguishingmen.
23 'The wild form found along the river they say is poison. Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, p. 37.
ipslope tends, on the other hand, to be identified with tapasihēraha'. 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 tapasihēraha is not as robust and strong as when it was sowed in ashes, weeded and tended, but it is, nevertheless, apasihēraha'.

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

Pu’ikpihanhara pasahihēraha', át va; ár uhē’er. Ṭstip vur i’itti yuxnā’äm. Vūra pu’uh- āmhēhāp. Vūra yāntcip kūk- u’m vura kā’n tupiśi’priū. Ārāx' u’m vura pu’ihērātíhara asahihēraha’.

Kuna vura patapasihēraha u’m kunic ‘axvāhāhā, tík’an r uxvāhahiti patu’afficahah’k ātapasihēraha’. Tīrīheca pamūπihī, ‘ikpihan, ‘imxatōkkē’x’m.

That river tobacco is not strong, if a person smokes it. It grows by the river in the sand. They do not sow it. Every year it grows up voluntarily. The Indians never smoke it, that river tobacco.

But the real tobacco is pithy, it makes a person’s hands sticky when one touches it, the real tobacco does. It has wildish leaves, it is strong, it stinks.

5. Pehēraha’ippa mupik’yutunvāramu”, karu kō’vūra pamūθvuy.24

(MORPHOLOGY OF THE TOBACCO PLANT)

A. Kō’vūra pehēraha’ippa’

(THE PLANT)

Pīric 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 ranchy or leafy sprig or piece of the tree. Pīric is also the common term for bush or brush, being used in the plural equivalent to piricri’k, bush, brushy place. Pīric 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. ’ip nimāhat pamihe-rahappīric, I saw your good for nothing tobacco weeds; with reference to the plant or leaves when first pricking above the il: Yā:n vur ’u’ikk’usūnūthīhātce pehērarahappīric, the tobacco is just

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24 Or pehēraha’ippa pakō; ’uθvūyti’hva pamucvitāva. Pamupi- utunvāramu”, its joints, is applicable to the parts of a plant, and the proper term, but can not be said of the parts of a one-piece ject, like a pipe, of which pamucvitāva, its various parts or pieces, ust be used.
starting to come up. The diminutive of píric, pirícənammaha'tc, pl. pinictunvé'ttcas, 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 'ihé-raha'ippa', tobacco plant, is actually volunteered.

Vine is 'atatúrání'nar, one that grows all over.

Garden plants are distinguished from wild ones by such an expression as 'uhɔamhako-kfá'ttcas, different kinds of planted ones. Vegetables are 'uhɔamha'ava', planted food.

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

The topmost part of the tobacco plant is called 'ihé-raha'ipapa', tobacco plant, is actually volunteered. (See p. 51.) 'Ihe-raha'ippa' is sometimes used of the stem. (See p. 51.)

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

25 Or pehéraha'ippa'.
26 Or va' vur 'upifyɪmmutí, 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 BIGELOVII (TORR.) WATSON VAR. EXALTATA SETCHELL. DRAWINGS OF 2-VALVED SPECIMEN, W. A. SETCHELL
Nicotiana bigelovii (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 MADDUX 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'. Pahú't 'u'iftakantákkanti'

(Feeling)

Xú:s kunic 'ár u'iftankanó-ttí patu'áfficaha'sk, tobacco is smooth and sticky when one feels of it.

b'. Pahú't 'úmxá'óti'

(Smell)

Karu vura pehé'raha vur imxaëakké'm. Há'ri vura 'axvá'hkúha-saha pató'mzákkaraha'sk. And tobacco stinks. Sometimes it makes person's head ache when he smells it.

c'. Pahú't 'u'ákkati'

(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'. Pahú't 'umússahiti'

(Sight)

Payá:n vur 'uíftiha'sk puxxítc òúkkinkunik, pehé'raha'ippa', atemim 'umtúppecaha'sk, vá: kari taváttavkunik.

When it is just growing, the tobacco plant is real green, when it is ready 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.

27 Cp. 'apmanikrixúpxuíp, (black) pepper, lit. that which burns he mouth.
b. 'Imnak karu 'amta''p

(CHARCOAL AND ASHES)

Chemically changed tobacco plant material would be designated as follows:

'Ihē'rahē'mnak, tobacco charcoal.
'Ihē'rahā'amta''p, tobacco ashes.

c. Pehē'raha'ūhōä'msa'

(TOBACCO PLOTS)

A tobacco plot, and now any garden, orchard, or plantation, is called 'ūhōä'm, whence 'ūhōä'mhā', to plant, to sow. Here 'uh- is not the old word for tobacco, but to be connected with 'ūhić, seed; -ōä'm, to put. More specifically: 'ihē'raha'ūhōä'sm, tobacco plot. Also 'ihē'raha'ūhōamhīram, tobacco garden; pámitva 'ihē'raha'ūhōamhīramhānık, former tobacco plot. Of any place where tobacco grows, sown or unsown, one may say: pehē'rah u'íftūhīfak, place where tobacco grows. Plate 10 shows 'Imk'yānva'sm at a former tobacco plot.

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

d. Pa'é'ppu''m

(ROOT)

'Ihē'raha'ē'ppu''m, tobacco root, from 'ē'ppu''m, root. Rootlet is called 'epū'manamahātc, pl. 'epūmtunvē'tc. The bottom of the root is called 'epūm'afivī'tc, from 'afivī'tc, bottom. A corresponding 'epūṃipannī'tc, top of the root, would scarcely be applied. Only for bull pine roots used for basketry is the special term 'iktcurā'tcip, and 'ē'ppu''m is not applied.

e. Pa'uhīppi'

(STALK)

The commonest word for the stalk of plants is sūf, fish backbone, which also means pith. (See p. 52.) Or 'ahūp, wood, stick, can be used. Thus of a sunflower stalk one can say mússu'nif, its fish backbone, or mu'ahūp, its stick. But of the backbone of animals other than fish süfsan must be employed; while the backbone of a deer from which the ribs have been cut is called 'iktcurā'hāhā'. Leaf stem is never called sūf (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 'āvan, husband, male, applied (1) to the leafless stalks of scouring rush in contradistinction to the leafy ones, which are called
asiktáván, woman, female; (2) to stalks which are bare, like a prout, 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 talks called 'áváñ, the series of cardinal numerals with 'áváñ post-bounded, meaning so and so many men, can not be used, but one must use the ordinary cardinals; thus 'itáchárásán, 10 men, but 'itrá-
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 kúppaí.

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 prepound is for 'u'ín, already discussed as the old designation of tobacco in the language, while 'íppi' is the common word for bone. Cp. sú'f, fish backbone, applied to the talks of other plants. Neither sú'f, 'áhúp, nor 'áván, discussed above, is applied to the stem of tobacco. The reason for the special terms 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.

'Théraka'ıppa', 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 'ık'utunváramu'í, and this word is also loosely applied to the internodes between the joints, e. g. vármas pamu'ık'utunváramu'í, sections between its joints (lit. its joints) are long. Here again in the case of tobacco there is no application of the word.

'Ápti'ík 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 téraka-aptiktunvē-ťčaś, little tobacco branches, putting the word the diminutive: or muptiktunvē-ťčaś, its little branches. From apti'ík is derived 'aptik'āf, it has many branches, it is branchy, used about the same as 'úpti-khiti', it has branches, limbs.

The following remarks were made with regard to tobacco stems:

'Unúhyá-ťčaś pa'úhippi, su' kunic 'arunsá.28 'Ákóí-pkuńic, 'ak-ipváxra, pa'úhippi, patuvaxráha'ík.

The tobacco stems are round [in section] and empty inside. They are like 'ákói'íp [grass sp.], like dry 'ákói'íp, the tobacco stems, when hey get dry.

28 'Ussúrùváráhiti', it is hollow, 'ussuruvaráhiti', 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.
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f. Pamúmma’an

(bark)

The general term for skin or bark is ma’an. Thus the same word is applied to the skin of a person or the bark of a tree. Múmma’an its skin or bark; ‘ummánhiti’, it has skin or bark.

The shreddy bark of cedar and grapevine is called the same; one may say of it ‘imyá’t kúníc ‘upiyá’tunyárámohiti’, it is like fur. Compressed together.

The peeling (consisting mostly of bark) of hazel sticks and willow sticks used in basketry are called by the special term tsarúffe’. About the first of May these sticks were gathered and at once peeled resulting in big piles of the peeling. These peelings were some times 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 Salmo 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 múmma’an its skin or bark, although botanically speaking tobacco has no bark.

g. Pamússu’ef

(pith)

The pith, e.g., of arrowwood, which is removed when making an arrowwood pipe, is called suf, 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: pehē-raha’ippa ’usúfhi su?, the tobacco plant has pith inside.

h. Pamússa’an

(leaf)

The most general term for leaf is pífic, which also means plan as fully discussed above. (See pp. 47-48.)

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

Tender, young green leaf of plants, when they first come up, called by the special term xi’t.²⁹

All of the above terms may be applied to tobacco leaves. The forms with the word for tobacco prepounded are ’ihe̱-rahappífic ’ihe̱-rahássa’an, and ’ihe̱-rahaxxi’t. One can not say *sanihe̱-rahu or *piricíhe̱-raha’ for leaf tobacco; only ’ihe̱-rahássa’an.

²⁹ For color description mentioning the xi’t of the tobacco plant, see p. 267.
The corresponding verbs used of such leaves being put forth are 'iricha', sānha, and xī'tha.

Leaf stem, called petiole scientifically, and also leaf branch is called sanápti"k, leaf branch. Piric'ápti"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"f, although flower stem is so called. See p. 56.)

A maple leaf stem is called by the special term 'ápsi', leg: sanpíric núspi', maple leaf its leg; or sanápsi', maple leaf stem. 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:

Somewhat up the stem the leaves commence; the base is without leaves. The tobacco leaves are wide; those are what they smoke. The tobacco leaves are long, pointed. They are nice leaves, thin [sheetlike], not very wide, sharp pointed, smooth-edged. They have little threads in them, with a filament running down the middle; they are all that way, with a filament running down the middle. They are not hairy. Tobacco leaves are smooth on top, but a little hairy on the underside.

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 po'ssÁnhiti'.
31 Or xu'skúnicas pamúttí'm.
32 A term carried over from maple leaf nomenclature. The maple leaf stems, which are stuck through the leaves and tied together in taking maple leaf sheets, look just like a leg with a little round foot the bottom, and are regularly called sanápsi', maple leaf foot, while one could also say sa'n múspi', maple leaf its foot.
On the differing characteristics of leaves at the different sections of the plant, the following was volunteered:

"'Ipansúnnukite;va; káŋ payé-pecaa, 'ikpíhan pehé-raha', kunie 'ar u'iftakankó-tti', va; pehé-raha-haye-pecaa káŋ vári.33 'Áffi vári 'u'm pu'ifyayé-pcahara pehé-ra, 'úmvá-yti', 'intécáxxáhámú- karu vura 'úmvá-yti', karu vura paðrí-hámú"k, paðríhámú- karu vura 'úmvá-yti'. Va; 'u'm yí00u kun-yé-cri'ívüti', patakunikya'ha'k.

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-axváha', tobacco gum, or muxváha', its gum. From 'axváha' is formed tó-xváháha', it is gummy.

Va; kunippítti: "'Inxáothk'é'rm, 'ikpíhañ, pehé-raha-axváha'."

Va; karixas kunxúti tó-mtu pehé-raha', patákunma tó-xváháha'

Xás to'ppí-p: "Teúmi niCúkke'c, tó-xváháha'.'"

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'ðriha karu pahú't 'u0vúytti'hva pamusvitáva

(THE FLOWER AND HOW ITS VARIOUS PARTS ARE CALLED)

Any flower is called 'iðriha', and from this is formed 'iðrihaha', to bloom, often contracted to 'iðriha'. The diminutive is 'itenihái'tc e. g., a child will say 'iteniháihtc nicánvúti', I am packing little flowers. Willow catkins can be called 'iðriha', but there is also a special term for them, sápru"k, olivella, they being likened to the ocean shells known to the Karuk through trade; thus kúpsápru"k, catkin of kúffíp, Arroyo Willow. Corn tassel is called kó'ñòtëriha', corn flower. Flower is never applied to "sweetheart" as it is among some Indians, uxnahit'c, strawberry being used instead. Nani'uxnahít'c, my girl, lit. my strawberry. Tobacco flower is called 'ihé-rahe'òriha'.

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

'The-rahe-oriha: vupxaráhsa', toteoriha-xaráhsa. 'Arara' t' in k'unic
immu'stilhap pehe-re-oriha.

Yá'matcas pamu'oriha pe'hé-
aha', teántca-ókúnicás. Vúram
'mxaaské-msa'.

Púvakó- teántca-ókúnicashara
pa'arare'he-re-oriha', pasahíhe-
aha kó- teántca-ókúnicas. Pú-
uxwi teántca-ókúnicashara pa-
uoriha pa'arare'he-re-aha'.

Any bunch or cluster of flowers intact on the plant is called piktcús,
the same term which is applied, e. g., to a bunch of grapes. Thus
órihapiktcus, a bunch of flowers. 'Aypíkteús, a bunch of grapes.
Tá-k páyku'k papiktcús, give me that bunch.

But 'ákka', a bunch of things picked and assembled, e. g., a
bouquet of flowers. 'Óriha'ákká', a bunch of [picked] flowers.

'Upíkteús-káhití pamu'oriha pehe-re-aha', the tobacco flowers are in
bunch. Pehé-rahe-oriha 'upíkteússahina-tí', the tobacco flowers
are in bunches; this refers to several bunches, for a tobacco plant
never has just one bunch on it. 'Thé-rahe-órihapiktcús', a place
where there are bunches of tobacco flowers, e. g., on one or on many
plants. Pehé-ora va- tukupa'íffaha pamu'oriha; 'upíkteuskó-hití',
obacco flowers grow in bunches. Payáv tukupa'íffaha'ák 'upick-
euskó-hití pamu'oriha', when it grows well it has bunches of flowers
all over. 'Thé-ora'íppa pamu'orií 'upíkteuskó-hina-tí', 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. pakúílip tu'úruha', teim uppi-
iche'c, the willow trees are budding, they are about to leaf out.
This verb is never used of young seed pods. (b) 'Urúkku', to bud,
it. 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,
inse 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'úrukkku', teim 'úrfihahe'c, there is a bud on it, it is going
blossom. Tu'úrukkku', tu'úhicha', 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."
Urúkku' also can be used as a noun, better with more narrowly
defining preounds: 'iĕriha'urúkkv; tanimmá, I see a flower bud; 'ühicurúkkv; tanimmá, I see a budding out seed pod. Tobacco flower bud is 'ihërahe- ēriha'urúkkv"; tobacco bud is 'ihë-rahe'-űriha'urúkkv".

Another way of referring to some buds is to call them 'axvá"a, 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 muxvá"a, its head, or 'imk'anvá-uxvá"a, 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-uxvá'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; kà:n po- içriha'he'c, where it is going to flower.

Flower stem is called 'iĕrihássú"uf, flower fish backbone. 'Thë- rahé-ěrihássú"uf, tobacco flower stem.

Flower stem and also flower branch can also be spoken of as 'iĕrihá-ptí"lk, flower branch.

Of the calyx or base of the flower may be said 'iĕriha'áffiv, dim 'itcniha'álffivtc, flower base, but more naturally might be said of it Va; kà:n po'úhičhe'c, pe'tcniha'álffivtc, that is where the seed will be, at the baselet of the flower.

Sepals may be called 'iĕrihe-uxúppar, flower cover. The sentence the flower has its cover on yet, was rendered by: Yà:n vír 'u'úttú'-trihvutí?, it is about to burst.

There is no standard word for petal. A natural way to speak of a petal is yí100 'iĕrihahé-évít, a piece of a flower. One old Indian volun-teered of the petals of a flower merely: 'Itró pamutcántcá-fkunicitecas 'uvé-hcúru"u;34 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): 'Iĕrihap-píric, or 'iĕrihássú"an, 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: 'Ă'tcáp 'utnicčukti or 'Ă'tcáp 'ujetárícečuk, they are sticking out in the middle. Va; kà:n po'úhičhe'c kó-vúr e'ĕriha'a-tcáp 'uvé-hnúcčukvátč, 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 'iĕrihá-p-maráxvu', flower whiskers, 'iĕrihá'â"n, flower threads, or ever 'iĕrihë'-mya"n, flower hairs. Corn silk is regularly called kó-maap-

34 Or 'uvé-ţmuți.'
naráxvu', corn whiskers, and of fuzziness or hairs on a plant resembling body hairs one may say 'imyā't, body-hair, or 'úmyā-thiti', it as body-hairs, the latter ones having been volunteered of the hairs of the plant called pufftcti'y, meaning deer's ears.

Of knobs on stamens and pistil is said: 'Íppan 'unuhýá-te 'ukrív-túti', 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 'unuhý'á'te, here is a little knob. On other occasions the term 'axvá'a, 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 'i'oriha-fasta'p, flower dust. It is not called '*i'ori-

há-xvítina, flower scurf, or anything but *ámta'p, dust.

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

'Itró-ppakan pakú-k 'uvé-h-
núti35 pamúría', katu 'itró-ppa-

kan po-xúvahiti po've-hcúró-hiti

ñumá'á-tecip. Kó-vúra po-xuva-

ná-ti va; káñ 'itcámmahite

u'icipmahiti pamú-'a'ñ. 'Árvi-

tas po 'ifcúro-tí',36 'itró-p pat-

í-vm po'i'ícucro-tí su?. Yíôoa 37

á-tecip vura po 'ifcúpriti pa'ú

u'i-thrák va; káñ po 'i-frícuk,

áxakán pa'ú'ic 'u'i-óra su?.

Áxxak tá'ppitcas 'u'nunukúhi-

nate pamú'án'ippánítc, kuna vura

pa'a-tecip 'i-hyan va; 'u'm vura

yítí-tepac pamuxvá'a. 'Itrihiá'á-

tcip 'uvé-hricukva pamuxvá'a.

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] sur-

mount 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 picpicíh吗a'35f, yellow-jacket excre-

ment, the term for the yellow jacket, picpičci', 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: Vúra 'u'm kite 'ikpihán, 'ar u'iftanankó-túti', 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-hcúró-hiti', both mg., it sticks off.
36 The stamen frees itself from the wall of the corolla approximately half-way 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 slendeness of the tube. 'Ihē-rahe-erihā 'u-m su? 'upicpicirihā-thiti', tobacco flowers have honey.

\( a' \). Pahū't 'ukupe-erihahahiti pe-erihā'.

(PHASES OF FLOWERING)

Of the phases of flowering may be said:

Pāva xay vura 'ūruha', it has not budded yet.
Ya'ni vur 'u'ūruhiti', it is starting in to have buds on it.
Pamu'ūru tu'ūttūtūrihvā', its buds are bursting to flower.
Tō-erihāha', or to-erihā', it is blooming.
Kar ufrīnahahiti', it is still blooming.
Tō-vrārasur pamufrīha', its flowers are falling off.
'Āpun to-vrārasur, they are falling to the ground.
Tapūffa't pamufrīha', its flowers are all gone.
Tō-vrārasurāffip, they have finished falling off already.

\( k \). Pa'ūhiè

(SEED)

'Uhiè, 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 being 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 terms xuntappan, 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'ūhiè, tobacco seeds, or 'ihē-raha'uhicikyāv, 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:

Pūn, wild cherry; pūn?as, wild cherry pit.
Pūraf, a kind of blue-colored berry, also called 'axōaypu'èn, ground-squirrel's wild cherry; purāf?as, 'axōaypūn?as.
Fa'èè, manzanita; fāθas.
'Apūnfa'èè, ground manzanita; 'apunfāθas.
Faθūuruhsa', manzanita sp.; faθūuruhsā'as.
Pahā'v, black manzanita; pahāv?as.
In imitation of these and helped along by the English usage so also:

Pıt'caš, peach; pıtcáš'as, peach stone.

ʻAprikots, apricot; ʻaprikots'as, apricot pit.

More than half the varieties of nuts for which the Karuk have names are acorns. Beyond acorns, there are only hazelnuts, chinquaquin nuts, and pepper nuts. Xuntáppa is applied to unshelled acorn of all species of oak and to these three other species of nuts. Xúric is applied to shelled acorn of any oak species, with or without xuntáppa compounded before it, but when applied to shelled nuts which are not acorns the tendency would be to always compound xuntáppa before it: thus, e. g., xunyavxúric or xunyavxuntapan-xúric, shelled tanoak acorn; but ʻašiẽxuntapanxúric (never ʻašiẽxúric), shelled hazelnut. Passing over the subject of acorn designations, which involves considerable terminology, we list the other species of nuts and their forms with xuntáppa postpounded:

Hazel is distinguished by two sets of designations, one derived from su'ũn, hazelnut, the other from ʻašiẽ, hazel withe. Thus hazel bush is called either súrip (sur-, nondiminutive prepound form of su'ũn, here preserved; -ip, tree), or ʻašiẽippa' (ippa', tree). ʻunxuntáppa is never used, but ʻašiẽxuntáppa is common for hazelnut.

Sunyũthi, chinquaquin nut, app. thorny hazelnut (sun-, hazel nut; ʻiθi, probably connected with yáθa', sharp pointed); sunyĩth-xuntáppa, chinquaquin nut.

Pá-h, pepper nut; pahxuntáppa, pepper nut. When pepper nuts get old and wilted inside, tósú'ũha', 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.

ʻIhe-taha'ũhič, tobacco seed.

ʻUhiča', to go to seed.

Of tobacco seeds is said:

Tú-ppitcasitc pa'ũhič.38 ʻlkxánnamkunicitcas pa'ũhič. Ká'kum ou'ikkáramkunichuravšaha, ká'kum kunic 'amťa'pkunicas.

ʻUhipih'ippapanitc tu'ũkku'u va; ká'n po-ʻúhiche: e su?. Xas o'kké'citaša', pa'uhicpú'vichitcas.39 Karixas tuváxra', pató'um-up. Karixas taxánnahicite tumátš-a'xvá 40 pa'ássipitc. Va; vura pa'úhic tužahá'sha', patumtnúsasha'k.

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. hey are little developed when shed.

39 Or pa'uhicpú-vič, the seed bags, or pa'uhicpá'ssipitc, the little seed baskets, or pa'uhícva-ssitc, the little seed blankets.

40 Or tumtnúsútnuš.
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 seed scatter all around, when they burst.

There are three expressions for seed capsule:
'Uhícv'as, seed capsule, lit. seed blanket. Dim. 'Uhícv'assítc.
'Uhícpúvič, seed capsule, lit. seed bag. Dim. 'uhícpúvichítc.'
'Upú-vichitchina'ti patu'úhicha'ak, it has little bags when it goes to seed.

'Uhícrássipič, seed capsule, lit. little seed basket ('ássip, bow basket).

Of two seed capsules grown together resulting from coalescence of flowers is said: 'Áxxak 'uhícv'as 'upiktcirskahiti', two seed capsules are bunched together.

Pa'uhícpúvicitcas su' 'axák-ya'n po'í'tora yiθóukánva pa'úhič, há'ri kuyráka'n po'í'tora yiθóukánva pa'úhič. Pato'mtupá-yá'tcha'ak, kar umátxá-xvúti' pa'úhíc su' uθáor'inné'tak, pa'úhíc 'ápun tó'vraříc.

Patcimikun'úhóamhe'caha'ak, 'ippankam 'úkní-vkúthate tinih-ya'te, va' takunícvít'cur, karix-as va' pa'úhic tk'kan, tó'váy-ricuk, karixas takunmútpí'ova'.

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 'uxrā'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 'uxrā'h, but the manzanita berry, with its pit, is to the Indians not a berry.

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

41 Cp. mahyanávā's, 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.
uxnáh'anamahatc. The compound 'uxrah'ávaha', lit. berry food, used originally of a class of Indian food (see p. 62), 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.

Pahú't 'ukupa'ikk'urúpravahiti'.

'Āpun 'úvraricrihti pamu'úhič. Payux 'ávahkam tu'óntapíri'hvá pa'úhič. Xas va; taxánnahicite patupáśri'hk'áha'k, tarixás va; tusaksúra; pa'úhič. Hári pu'íftihap kó'vura pa'úhič. Va; kunipítti: "Hári ká-kum 'uxá-tti pa'úhič."

Túppitcas pamusaksúra", cántcá'kúnicaš, 'íffuni vúra xá;s ó'samítcas. Patu'íkk'urúpráv a; vura 'ippa pa'úhič 'úknüp-hvátc. Xas 'áxxa kítc vura amuppíric papicef-te tu'íkk'ú-rúpráv.

Tce'mya;te 'u'ífti patu'íffa-a'k, taxánnahicite vura tavá;nahas.

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

Sometimes all the seeds do not grow up. They say sometimes some of the seeds get rotten.

Its sprouts are small, white ones, pretty near the size of a hair. Whenever it is just peeping out, its seed is on top of it. Then they just have 2 leaves, when they first peep out of the ground.

They grow quickly when they grow, in a little while they are tall ones.

6. Payitaúva kuma'ippa'

(CLASSIFICATION OF PLANTS)

'Ippa', tree. Also any plant, when the plant name is prepounded, as 'ihé-raha'ippa', tobacco plant; mu'tmut'ippa', buttercup plant. Píric, primarily leaf, foliage, is used of any kind of plant, grass, bush, with exception of trees. When applied to trees it is understood to refer to their foliage. From its application to verdure is derived pírick'únic, green.

'Ataturá'n' nar, or 'ataturá narappíric, vine.

'Ink'án'va, greens of any kind.

'Asaxxe'm, moss or lichen of many kinds.

Xayvić, applied to many kinds of mushroom.

Tobacco is classed as píric, although it is called by its specific me, 'ihé-raha', and píric is rarely applied. The compound érahapíric means tobacco leaves, or when applied to the plant suggestive of contempt. Uncompounded 'ippa' can never be plied to tobacco, but 'ihé-raha'ippa' is the common word for tobacco plant and is sometimes used for 'uhúppi', tobacco stalk.
7. Payiúva kuma'ávaha' (CLASSIFICATION OF FOODS)

Food is classed as follows:

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

Má'kam kú: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'yánva'ávaha', lit. greens food, applied to greens of all kinds.

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

'Uxrahávaha', 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. Pahu-t pakunkupa'ahic'h-vahitihanik pa'ipahahtunvē'etc

(KARUK AGRICULTURE)

1. Va; vura kītc mit pakun'ūhē'āmithihat pehē'raha'

(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. Pahu-t mit pakunkupa'ahic'h-vahitihanik

Pānu: kuma'ārārās 'u:mmkun mit vura pupiēyūro tavuṭihaphat, sumit 'ikyūtr̥i-hūtihaphat, puf̥'āt vura mit 'uhē'āmithihaphat, va; vura kītc 'ihē'raha'. Va; mit vura itc kunkupīttihat pakun'āhic'h-vūtihapak papirīcik yiīūkūk̥ik, yakūnva 'u:mm yē'pc 'u'f̥ti ako-kfātticas.

Va; 'u:mm yē'pc 'u'f̥ti pappūθ, 'irāmxi̱t, kunippēnti 'irāmxi̱t.1 Karu passūt̥ip, passārip umā'i i takun'ā'hkaha'ok, 'axakrinay 2 xas kunīc̥tk̥iti, va; 'u:mm yē'pc̱a, saripyē'pc̱a', 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 'irāmxi̱t. 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 cond summer afterwards.
nivháya'tchá'. Karu papanýurar va; káñ kun'ahíci'ívuti', yánteipk'am xas kun'íctu'kti ku-mapimmana'ní, 'ahvarákkú'sra', kári papanýurar kun'íctu'kti'.

Pe'kravapuh'íppa káru pata-kun'áakhú', yakúnya 'u:m yé'pc 'u'i-ftí pe'kravappu'. Máninay yi'v kun'ahíci'ívuti'.

Hári xunýe'pi'k káru kun'ahíci'ívuti', say piríci'k pakun'ttíiki:è pxixuntáppa'n. Pu'úthíhap kír u'ínk'a pxw'ítc, kun-xuti xáy 'u'i'ñ pa'íppa'.

Karu hári va; mit k'áñ kun'ahíci'ívúthiáat pi'è'op, tamýú mit kuniya'áttiaht, páttay takumáhá:k á'pun pxixuntáppa'n, xuñye'pi'k, kun'ahíci'h-vúthiáat mit. Vu'rá 'u:m pu-ahíci'ítánmá-húthíhap. Fá't xás vu'ra kumá'í'i kun'ahíci'ívuti'.

Karu paká:ñ pe'hé'raha kun'hóamahe'ce, va; káru kun'ahíci'íh-vúti'. Va; 'u:m pavura yà-kíccie'p paká:ñ ikvúkátay, va; 'u:m ta'ñy 'ámta'p, pe'xukátay tu'únk'áha'ak va; 'u:m ta'ñy pa'ámta'p á'pun. Va; 'u:m yáv á'pun pa'ámta'p, tañirápi'kiyuka'i'ink'éram, va; 'u:m axváhahar po'ínk'éuti'.

Pinná'ni pakun'ahíci'ívúti papiri'ík, pe'vxaráhíri; kári, va; kári payá'kipa'ahíci'hva, pic-yápí'c kári papuvapári'. Pá'araramá'kkáminay pakun'ahíci'íh-vúti'.

two years, then they are good, good hazel sticks, they get so hard. And the bear lilies also they burn off, they pick them the 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 the 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 stalk the second summer afterwards.

Karu va; karí patapax'spsun pámáruk takun?áyí'-hra;'u, kun?ípitti va; karí vura kumá'lí'í pakun?áhcrihvuti'hánik, pa'ápsun va; kunufíkkvúráhiti'hánik.

Ká:kum pakuma'íppa va; kari yé'pea patamit 'u'í'nk'áha;'ak, va; kari yé'pea tó'ppíf. Kuna vura ka:kum pakuma'íppa patu'í'nk'áha;'ak, vúra táko'; pukúkku';m va; ká:n yiθ 'if'síha.'4 Patá:šípp vura pupí'-ftíhára yiθ, patu'í'nk'áha;'ak, pataxxára va'íppa va; 'u'm yiθ'yé'pe u'íf'tí káru. Xunyé'p karí puyávhára, patu'í'ink'áha;'ak, va; vura tu'iv pa'íppa'. Patakun?áhcrihvuti'há'ak, kunuxtí xáy 'u'í'n pa'íppa'.

3. Vura ník mit va; kun'á'pun-mutíhá pa'úhíc u'íffe'ec.

Nú; vúra pakuma'ára-ras vura oufá't 'úhíc ipcarúkti'háphanik, tát máruk kunifyyükkti'hánik. Kuna vura va; kun'á'punmutíhánik pa'ára'r, hoy vúra'vá pa'úhíc po'kyívícířá'ak, va; vúra ikkí'te 'u'íffe'ec, kun'á'punmutíhánik vúra va;'. Kun'á'punmuti'hánik vúra ník pa'úhíc ník vura kunsánpi'óvuti'hánik pakó-ká'ttas.

4 Or pf'íthára.
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 'úp'va'amáyav [tubers] around; he packed them around, 'A'ikré'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 'úp'va'amáyav, 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 'úp'va'amáyav, the places where he went.

And the soaproot, only up slope of Ishipishrihak is their soaproot. That is as far as I 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 ran cherias. Upriverward it just run 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 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.

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. Patcvanayvatahíř am, a New Year ceremony fireplace, is downriverward from this place.
8 Or: va; kunkupíttí'. Both s. and the more grammatical dpl. are sed in this construction.
"Na'gê k'ar Ixkaré-yay. Tečimi k'ánimmúšsa'ni. Uxxus: "Karurama va' Papanamnii\'tara'sm." Karixas kú:j k'u'úm pakun'ú'pvana-ti'hirak. Karixas 'á-tcip 9 kú:j k'u'úm, as ká'n u'úm. Xas 'á-pun 'u00adic pamuvikk'apu'. Karixas uxxus: "Tečimi 'á-tcip k'ánikrérhí.'" Xas xákkarar 'upakávnu'k'váná', pa'ifappí-tca'. Karixas kuníp: "Hê'; çañuví'ha'. Hôy 'Ixkaré-yay tečaká'haha tu'aramsíp?' Xas yi00 upíp: "Hê; tanutcákka'y." Karixas taxánnahítc karixas uxxus: "Tečimi k'ánahúu'. Puya 'if takanutcákka'y." Karixas 'u'áhô'n'nik. Vúra vo'áhô'ti'.

Karixas vo'kúpíttí po'áhô'ti', pakó'kkáninanay 'upú'nvaramhiti', viri va'k ọ'kkáninúy vura 'ukrí-rihtí'. Mè-kva pamu'úhra'um tu'ë-thricúk, karixas tuhèr. Karixas pamu'ámkinvá kúna tu'ë-thricúk. Sára pamu'ámkinvá-hánik. Vúra vo'kúpíttí po'áhô'ti', va' vura kíte ukúpíttí pakó'kkáninanay 'upú'nvaramhiti kó'kkáninanay vúr uhèrati'. Karu pamussára tú'áv. Va' vur ukúpíttí', 'ukupa'ífeprénhahiti paganuyé'ép. Viri po'óvicrí'hvuti passára po'á-mtí, viri va' ukupa'ífeprénhahiti paganuyé'ép, va' pakunípíttí, paganuyé'ép. Yi-vúra yuruk karívári tta'y pa-
ning, all of them with new hats on. Then he thought: "I am an Ixkareyav, 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 basketery 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 Ixkareyav 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 tree 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 tree way downriver. Across-wa-

9 Of the girls who were strung out standing and sitting as they were engaged in digging roots.

10 As he sat down between two girls.
xunyé'tp. Vura 'u:ñm kàrim uxúti po'áhó'ti 'Iyuarukpíhi'v. Po'áhó'ti v and vur uxúti: "Vúra puká: na'ípahó'vicaña. Tamit kanatáckaka". V a: múrax vúr uxúti: "Vura puká: na'íp 'ahó'vicaña, Papanmihti
cá'ñm, panipnú'p'paha'ñk". Vur utóxvi.pha'. V a: 'úpáñ'ník 'Iyuarukpíhi'v: 'Panamnhi, asit-
taváñsa vura 'aratakakáyán-sáheñc, payá'sír u'ínnferi-
hañk." Nó kunkú-phá pícte pakumah, kó 'vura 'úpas kunyuh-
sùru", kó vuna kuncákay.

Xas 'uñitti'mti 'Añiõuñfícráñm kárruttañ pa'íñfáppíttca'. Viri v a: káñ po'vá-ramuti'. "Xá-tík v a: kuna káñ kanatáckakay," Tcovura tayíñ 'u'úñm. Kúk-
ñm v a: káñ vó'kú'pha, kúk-
ñm v a: káñ vo'kú'pha', ax-
máy vura xas 'utvá'vnuk.14 Yánava súrakam kunic 'uñfíkva
patíçrnañm. V a: múrax uxxúti: "Na; kár ìkxareyañv." Kárixas kúk u'úñm. Kárixas uxxus: "Kákuma táñi'úñm Pa'ñiõuñfí-
scráñm." Yánava vura 'axyár o'ísáppíttca'. Kárixas uxxus: "Teñim kúñ'k kánñúñmí." Kárixas kúk u'úñm. Yáñ
nìmmúsíte u'úñmmúñtí'. Táma cóvúra 'iñ kunímmûñ'stí. Yè-
nusas upítti: "Na; 'uñm nani-
avanhèñc." Xás uxxus: "Na;
nûñupû kítc 'Ikxnaréyañv." 15 Xás

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 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 is nasty, whenever Human comes to live there." They did that way, spit, they thought he was so nasty.

Then he heard that also at Añiõuñfícrá 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 ìkxareyav, too." Then he walked toward there. Then he thought: "I have reached Añiõuñfícrá." 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, ejecting 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 Vura pa-htrt pamitv tcimi. Then VTCavura re'he', hu'. Va^ po^xana'ti', paku;k saru Ta’ittam usuppa/hiti'.

Kite mate^tc kunipitti: "Na; nixxiiti. Ta'ittam. Kukku;m to'pva-fam," xas 'upp6'ti. Xas 'upp6'nvana": "Tanipv'ram. Na; nixxu'ti nau vura nani'ifra; ni'i'pm6'c." Ta'ittam pamuvikk'ap up'te-teri'he'n, to'pva'ram. Vira pas-saru kuki' up'sitti'm'ma. Vira paku;k up'sitti'm'ma.18 Va; kite po'xaxanâ'ti, pakun'ivunti'. "Na; vura tanipva'ram." Kite uxxu'ti: "Na; vura tanipva'ram." Vae kite kunipitti: "I', nanu'avan to'pva'ram," pakun'ivunti'.

Then he sat down there. Beside him he laid down his basketry quiver. Then in the evening, when night came, they all stayed there. He did not know what to do. Then he looked to either side of him. They were saying in turn: "I am going to sleep here." Then they all lay side by side when they slept. Then in the night Across-water Widower did not know what was the matter with himself, he felt sick. He tried to go to sleep. He just kept thinking of Orleans Flat. He just kept thinking: "I want to go home." It was nearly getting morning there. Then he told them: "I am going home. I think I will go back to where I was raised." Then he picked up his basketry quiver, he started home. Then he listened in down slope direction, listened in the same direction. They were all crying crying for him. "I am just going home." He just thought "I am just going home." They were just saying: "Oh, our hus band is going home," as they were crying for him.

He went back down by the same road by which he had traveled [upriver]. He returned by the same road. He did no know what was the matter. He was feeling sick as he walked along.

Then he got far back, he go far back. Then just before he go

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16 Gesturing at positions near Across-water Widower. They sleep 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.
méc Panamnihticra"m, xas uxxus: "Tcimi 'ök tanikrírihi', tcimi k'anihi'én. 'Ícxi víra va; ká:n ni'iippahö-vic. Tcimi k'anihi'én." Karixas uhé'er. Xas uxxus: "'Ú:ə vári vura ni'iippahö-vic."19 Xas po pihéramar, "Tcimi k'anińppahu. Nani 'ifra;m vura ni'i-pmé"c." Viri pamá'ka pay ukú'pha.20 Yánava vúra va; kunú'pvana'ti'. Viri paxánannahicic uhyárihić. Karuma 'ip uxxusa"t: "Vura 'icki ni'iippahö-vic." Viri taxánannahicic vura kuníc tuyúnuy'nhà'. Mu'avah-kam xas kuníc pakunúvri'nàtì, pakunpakúrí-hvúti, pakunú'pvana'ti'.

Song by the Orleans maidens
'I i i i 'a,
'T: nani'ávan,
Tó'kparíhrúp,
'Tóyaruqphirú'v.

'Uxxus: "Na: víra nani-ifra;m ni'i-pmé"c, na: vura pu-
má'ka né'trippá-tíhè'càfà. Táhi-
nupa puná'pmařà." Vura tó-x-
raráti kítc. "Xá'tik nípara-
tánmá'hpà", va; vura kítc ùxxus. Karixas 'upiteratánmá-hpà'. Pappíric tu'axaytcékíć.21 Tu'úmtećúnkîć.22 Sámváninhic 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 riverward 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 digging. 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 turn back," was all he thought. Then he turned back. He grasped 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 utrrippá-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 takenatcákka; t 'ó'ík." Káːn 'uːm yů'nůukamit pe p'íkk'A, vura tapu'ahó-tihara ku-nic. 'Apsf; karu vura to-mfira-hina'.

Xas káːn u'ípma', Vura va; kunpakúri-hvúti pa'ífáppín-tca'. Xás yútho pámitva 'tín kun-catkákka'it, yí'ímmúsit yáːn u'íp-páhó-tí', tamó'íkkákírá'. Xas uppíp: "'I; nani'ívan ti'íppak. Káruma mit na; va; nixússa'te: 'Xáːt hó'y varíva 'i'u'm, va; vura 'íppake'ec.'" Xás 'íyayarukpihíyí uppíp: "Tcèn, na; vura 'i'm xákká'n nupké-vierí-he'ec." Virí 'i'm va; 'íyayarukpihíyí v 'i'm vo'-kúphá'níik. Xas úpán'ínik: "Ya'sára hinupa vo'-kuphé'ec. 'Asiktáva'n tutakpú'p paha'ak, 'uxusséc, 'táni'ív, Ya'sára.'

4. Kúna vára mit puhári 'úhic 'ipca'nmútihaphat

Puráfá't vára káru kuma'úhic 'u'tá-amhítihaphánik, vura 'íhêра-ha'úhic kítc kunikyá-ttíhaník. Puráfá't vára káru kuma'úhic 'ínnák táyhitihaník, vur 'íhêра-ha kítc, 'íhêра-ha'úhic vúra kítc. 'Iríhára karu vura pu'ínnák táyhitihaník. Paxítíticas kítc 'u'mkun vura tav 24 kunıkítica-ttíhaník, kunvíktítahánik pe'írhá 'ínmú'ík, 'aksanyáhič, kar 'ax-páhé-kníkiiátc, karu tiv'axnu-kuxníkkuihítc, xas va; yúppin he thought: "They made out I was nasty." As he was walking up the hill a little downriver [of them], it seemed as if he could not walk. His legs were bothering him, too. Then he went back there. The girls were singing. 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 Across-water Widower said: "All right, we will be transformed together." That is what Across-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.

3 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.
Tobacco Among the Karuk Indians

Harrington]


Va: vura ni kuná'punmutihani k'áru, va: 'u:mi yav pappíric ávahkam kunióyúru00unatiha'25ak, patakunpuhóá mpimarahá'25ak.27

Va: vura ni k'áru kuná'punmutihání, va: 'u:mi yav pappíric kunvítrípptihá'25ak. 'Áffer takunvipíip, va: 'u:mi pukúkku:mi ptí-tihara, páva: kunimní'etiha'25ak, páyu:x 'uxwé'tátcitciti'.

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'oh, digging sticks, see Pl. 11, a.

26 These tiny "potatoes" are called by the special name xavi:xáfr'.

27 See p. 9.

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 sticks25a 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.

(PRACTICES BORDERING ON A KNOWLEDGE OF TILLAGE)
6. Va vura kic pakunmáharen-tihanik Pe-kxare'yavs

Kó:vúra va: kunkupiétiihanik, pahút Pe-kxare'yav kunkupit-
tihanik, va: kunkupítti', xas páva: pakun?ámtiihanik Pe-k-
xare'yav, víri va: kic pakun-
ámti. Va: kiníppéreaik: "Vé:k páy k'ù:ámtihëc."
Pe-kxaré-
yav 'áma kun?ámtíihanik, xú:n kumpatitaihanik, 'áma xákkan
xú:n. Karu pu'itcitc: kun?ám-
tihanik.28 Va: vura pakunfúiheti-
hanik, Pe-kxare'yav 'axakyá-
nite vura kuníppamtiihanik, vác
vura kic pakunkupítihanik.
Pa'apxantí-te pakunivyihukanik, xas va: kuníppá:ní:k: "Kèmìc
pakun?ám'ti', kemicà'avaha', i-
thi:vànëntaniha'ávaha'.
'Åtci-
han vura va'arátás va: kic
papiccí-te kuníávanik pa'apxan-
tí-teávaha'.
Viri pakunvícitar
vura kunvícitař, purá:n kuníppét:
"Vúra 'ú:m 'amáyav.'
Xas
takunpíp: "Nik'at vúra 'ú:m
pu'i:mtihára, na: tání'av, passára.
Xas va: kó:vúra papihñ'técíticas
karu pakévní:ktítcás xára xas kuníávanik. Nu: ta'ifúcítimíta
cás páva: nu'ípunmuti páva: Pe-
xare'yav pakunkupítihanik, vá:
pakun?ámtíihanik, pámítva: ka
kiníppéntihat pananútá:t 'i:n.
Viri va: vúra nu: káru va: tapu-
kin?ámtíhára, pámítva kiníppé-
rat: "Ve' ku'ámtihëc." Hú-t-
hëc pananú'ífüd va'íffapuhsa'.

(Just Following the Ikxareyavs)

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 mid-
le-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 kunkupamahahanik pehétaha'

Vúra va; Pe'kxareyav kuníppä'n'nik. Va; vura pappíric kunípcamkíre'n'nik, kó=vura va; fa'í t pappíric, pananuppíric. Kó=vura va; pappíric kuníppä'n'nik 'ánnav-he'èc. Víri va; pakuníppa'n'nik: 'Va; Payá'síra kunínakkírit-tihè'èc.'

Xas va; pe'hétaha', yítha Pe'kxareyav 'astúp 'upippátciciriha-nik sah'ihè'èha'. 'Kúna vúra Ya'síra páva 'ihè-rátihe'èca, pasah'ihè'èha'. Xas kúkkú'm yítha 'upippátcicirihanik tapas'ihè'-rha'. 'Ya'síra páy 'um vúra ba; pay 'uhè-rátihe'èc, pe'hé-tahayé'eca' Ya'síra 'um va; pay 'uhèná-mhítihe'èc, pamuhé'rha'. Ya'síra mummá-kkam 'u'íhèná-mhítihe'èc, pamuhé'rha'. Yakún va; 'um 'ikpíhanhe'èc. Ya'síra 'um 'u'úhèná-mhítihe'èc pamuhé'rha'. Yakún va; Túy-cip 'upákkíthíhe'èc pamuhé'-rha'. Va; kuníppa'n'nik Pe'kxareyav. Yakún ká'kkum Túy-cip kunpárichírciriñik, Pe'kxareyav.

Víri va; kumá'i'i pe'hétaha' kunú'úhèná-mhíti, yakún 'um kun Pe'kxareyav kunipápciciriñik, Pe'hétaha'.

8. Paká'n kuna'á-pun va; mi tákunxus va; ká'n panu'úhèná-mhe'èc

Pék-kúka'ínkúram va; yép-cé-cip 'u'í'tíi. Tienámiñite 'um vúra pu'úhèná-mtíhtap. Máruk 'ipútri;k xas pakunú'úhèná-mhitl'.

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.
Xunyé.pri;k 'ipútri;k takun?úh- hēa'mhā'. Pu'ippahasúrkhāfa, 'ipahapí'm vūra, pe'mtcajah 'ukyvat'i, vá; kān pakun?úh- hēa'mhiti'. Pirici;k 'u;m vura pu'úhā'amhitiha'. Pe'kk'uka- inkúram vá; kān payépc 'u'ifti, 'a? vār u'ifti' tiriha pamuppíric vīr vá; pe'hē- raha'.

Where the tanbark oaks are, near the foot of a ridge, where there are dead trees. 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'ara;r pehé' raha 'u'úh- θā-mhitihanik

Vura pukó-vūra pa'ára;r 'úhēa'mhitihan pehé' raha'. Vura tef'mite 'u;mkun pa'úhā'amhitihaná'. Paythroakan kuma'itvā'nnā'n vura tef'mite vura 'u;mkun pa'úhā'amhitihaná'. Pa'i'nnā'k pa'ávarihi'ávansa vá; pa'úhēa'mhithan pehé' raha'. Vura pehé- raha takun?úhēa'mharaha'sk, vura 'u;m po'kara'itvēhītihan, mah'itninihatc vura patuvā'ram, 'avīppu, pu 'akāra vura 'ápūn- mutiha'. Vura 'u;m kó-vūra yi'othukánva pakun?úhēa'mhi- na'ti pa'á'rt. Páy k'nu kāru 'u;m vura yi'othuk mu'úhēa'sm. Vūra pu'áxxak yītteca; tc 'úhēa'mhitihan. Máruk pamukunpaku- nhifam, pamukunmáruk, vá; kān pakun?úhēa'mhiti pehé' raha'. Pamukun?u'up, pamukun'itvē- θānnē'en, vá; kān pakun?úhēa'mhiti', vūra 'u;m paythrouk uhhēa-mhitihan pe?aráranitvēθānnē'en.

10. Puyttcakenitc hitiha:n 'uh- θā-mhitihanik

Pú vá; kān hitiha:n 'uhēa'mhitihan, há'ri yi'tukánva kun- púho'lmputi', yi'tukánva kunpik- yatí pa'úhēamhitam.

(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 a family that is 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 'umúk'Tík'ar pakunyóhê'a-mhitihaník

Karu há'ri mit víra 'ivě-h-k'äm kun'uhê'a-mhitihan. 'Yvp'm'mate, 'ikmahâterawm pf-mate mit k'ar ù'ífthiha. Tapán-pay nakcíanikí 29 'i'n mit kuntay-váraṭtihat, kári mit kunkõ-hat pa'i-hk'am kun'uhê'a-mti. Mi takunpíp: "Xây k'uxáptcákkic pe'hé'taha'."

12. Kakumni:ák va'án 'uhêa-mhörâmhaník

(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 owned by and belonged to 'Aso'so' (Whitey), and Vakiráyav, his younger brother, both of Kättiphirâk rancheria (site of Mrs. Nellie Ruben's present home, just upriver from Hillman's). These men were Kättiphira'ará'áras.

The plot at the site of Mrs. Phoebe Maddux's house at 'Asaṭutin'ávahkam, near Big Rock, on the south side of the river just above the Orleans bridge, and some 150 feet upslope, where tobacco also still comes up, was sown by and belonged to 'Uhrív, alias Imktya'ak (Old Muggins) and Ma'ływèe (Rudnick), his son-in-law, at Tef'n'nate, the large rancheria at the foot of the hill there. They were Tcinatc'ará'áras.

'Ápsu'ún, Old Snake, a resident of Ishipishrihak, had his tobacco lot at the big tanbark oak flat called Na'mkífik, upslope of the deerck that lies upslope of Ishipishrihak. The garden was among and artly under the acorn trees. Garden and grove belonged to him; their people gathered acorns there, but it was necessary to notify them before doing so. 'Ápsu'ún even had a sweathouse at Na'mkífik, which he used when camping there.

29 Or nakic.
13. Tá'yhánik vura pehítaha 'iknivnamp'm'mate pehérakahapiťtanmáhapu tá'yhánik vura 'arári'ík.

Ta'y mit vur u'íspf'átútihát 'ikrivram'ík'áín, pehérakahá, kuna vura púvax mit 'ührú'vtíhaphá', pa'ú'-mukite vehérakahá, papífapuhsa'.

14. 'Ikmahatenamp'm'mate karu vura 'uíspf'tíhanik 'íftarínáhapuhsahanik 'ávahkam. Paká'n tu'íffahak pí'm'mate và; 'ú'm vura kun'ítčičíchití, kunxutí y'ě-pea', ŏík-kink'únic puxx'ítica pamúsas'sí'n, và; 'ú'm ká'n 'ikmahátcrampfm'mate, và; 'ú'm vura kuníctú'ktí'.

15. 'Ahtú'y k'ar u vur 'uíspf'tíhanik papífapu'

'Ahtú'y30 mit k'aru vura ta'y 'uíspf'tíhát. Va; ká'n pa'ámtap karu kuniyvé'erí'hvutí'. Vura 'ú'm puyávhafá, puvá; 'ihé-rati-háp takuniptáy'va, 'áhupmal kuníakkktí'. Puxútíhaphá kiri và; nuh'ě're, kuní'y'iti', pu'á-púnmutihap vura hó'yva pa'úhíc 'u'aramsf'prívtí'.

16. 'Añvúrinhhak karu vura 'uíspf'tíhanik há'ri

'Añvúrinhhak tápa'n há'r u'íf'ítí'.31 Nu' vúra puva'kinxútítíthisitíhá.

13. OCCURRENCE OF VOLUNTEER TOBACCO ABOUT THE HOUSES

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 to of the sweathouse. When it grows around there, they like it, the think they are good ones, it 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 ash there, too. It is dirty; they did 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 graveyards sometimes, too. We do not want to.
Tobacco among the Karuk Indians

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.

It nowadays still grows up there at the former planting plots, even though it has been 30 years since they quit planting it there.
And when it burns over at the former planting plots, it just grows up all the more again too even though it burns over. I 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’i’i'.
1. Pa'ó-k 'iòivônê'nâ-ctcip vakusrahûvûy

(HE HOW THEY USED TO SOW AND HARVEST TOBACCO)

(The Karuk Calendar)

The Karuk háriñay, or year, had 13 moons. Va; 'iôaharínay tráhyar karu kuyrákkû'sra', 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-numbered months. Thus 'Itaharaháñ', Karuk Va('irá)kkû'sra'; 'Itáfráhâñ, 'Irákkû'sra'; 'Itaharahâñkû'sra', Karuk Va('irá)kkû'sra'; 'Itaharahâñkû'sra', 'Irákkû'sra', 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 upriver new year ceremonies at Katimin and Orleans. October is unique in having an unanalyzable name. November is the acorn-gathering moon. Possibly the cumbersome ness 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 actically finish. *'Itráhyar karu ¥îôâ'-hañ, eleventh moon, bold for example be so awkward that it would never be applied. Nanuharinay tu'-m, our [new] year has arrived, and similar expressions, are used of the starting of the new year ceremonies. Ideas of refining the world for another year permeate these ceremonies. Ouring 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 aruk, as a result of the Clear Creek new year ceremony starting 10 ys before the disappearance of the August moon, and the Katimin and Orleans new year ceremonies, which are simultaneous with each her, start 10 days before the disappearance of the September moon. The Karuk year begins therefore in each of the two divisions of the be at a point in a lunation, whereas the Karuk month starts with a sighting of the new moon.
Therefore both the downriver Karuk and our Gregorian calendars start with nonnumerically named moons and have numerically named ones at the end. And the -haŋ suffix of Karuk numerals to form moon names is as anomalous as the -bris of our Latin Septembers, 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 Yúm Va(irá)kkú-srâ', mg. somewhat downriver (new year ceremony) moon (to distinguish from *Yúru Vákku-srâ', 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 Vákku-srâ', are retained. Before the spring salmon ceremony of Amekyaram was discontinued, Mrs. Nelson informed the Indian 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 'Itrō-pahai'n and 'Ikrivkihâ'n, respectively.

1. (a) 'O-k Va(irá)kkú-srâ', mg. here moon (of the 'irahiv, new year ceremony), so called because the Katimin and Orleans new year ceremonies began 10 days before this moon disappears, and lasted 10 or 20 days. (b) Nanu(irá)kkú-srâ', mg. our moon (of the 'irahiv new year ceremony). "September."

2. (a) Nā'ssē'p, no mg. (b) Nā'se'p'kkú-srâ', adding -kú-srâ' moon. "October."

3. (a) Pakuhákkú-srâ', mg. acorn-gathering moon. They stay out formerly about a month gathering acorns. (b) Pâ'kkuhi-acorn-gathering time, is sometimes used synonymous with the name of the moon. "November."

4. (a) Yīhōa-haŋ, mg. first moon. (b) Yīhā'hánkú-srâ', adding -kú-srâ', moon. (c) Kusrahkē'em, mg. bad moon, called because of its stormy weather. (d) Kusrahkē'mkkú-srâ', adding -kú-srâ', moon. "December." This is the month in which the sun enters for days inside the "kusrīv." In this month men run about at night when the moon is not shining, bathe, pronounce Kitaxrīhâr formula and thus obtain luck and strength.

5. (a) 'Axxakhaŋ, mg. second moon. (b) 'Axakhānkú-srâ', adding -kū-srâ', moon. "January."

6. (a) Kuyrâ-khaŋ, mg. third moon. (b) Kuyrakhānkú-srâ' adding -kū-srâ', moon. Also loosely identified with "January."

7. (a) Pi'vāhaŋ, mg. fourth moon. (b) Pi'vahānkú-srâ', adding -kū-srâ', moon. Tcanimansupá-hákkâ'em, Chinaman big day, foi
a. Digging sticks

b. Woven bag in which picked tobacco is carried home

c. Disk seats

d. Stem-tobacco pestle
merly cocelebrated by some of the Karuk at Orleans and other Chinese contact places, falls in this moon. "February."

8. (a) 'Itrö-ppahän, mg. fifth moon. (b) 'Itrö-pahänküsra', adding -küsra'. "March."

9. (a) 'Ikrivkiihayän, mg. sixth moon. (b) 'Ikrivkihánküsra', adding -küsra', moon. (c) 'Ame'kyärämküsra', mg. Amekyaram moon, so called because the spring salmon ceremony of AmeKyaram begins at the new moon of this month. (d) 'Iruravăhivküüsra', mg. moon of the 'irurăvăhi bö, spring salmon ceremony. "April."

10. (a) Xakinivkihayän, mg. seventh moon. (b) Xakinivkihánküsra', adding -küsra', moon. "May."

11. (a) Kuyrakinivkihayän, mg. eighth moon. (b) Kuyrakinivkihánküsra', adding -küsra', moon. "June."

12. (a) 'Itrö-patićämihän, mg. ninth moon. (b) 'Itrö-patićamihänküsra', adding -küsra', moon. (c) 'Ahvarâkküsra', mg. moon of the 'ahavârahi bö, special name of the jump dance held at AmeKyaram starting at new moon of this month and lasting 10 days. "July."

13. (a) Itáhârâhän, mg. tenth moon. (b) Itaharahänküsra', adding -küsra', moon. (c) Karuk Va('irâ)kküsra', mg. upriver moon (of the 'irâhi bö, 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) 'Irâkküsra', mg. new year ceremony moon, used when it is understood which one is designated.

2. Pakumâküsra pakunu'ühä'mhititi karu pakumáküsra pakun'üctü'kti'

Xättikrüm'ma pakun'üähämhititi pe-hë'raha', 'Itrö-ppahan pakun'üšra' mhititi', kunxutí kiri va; mú-k 'u'asha paxatikrupmapöri', kiri tce-te 'u'ümüprav kunxutí'. Vura va; kâ:n uvarãrî'ha taatu vikk'ak, pa'úhić, 'axmay ik vúra tapurafattä'k, hinupa takun'üähämhe'ên.¹ Papinictunvë'ttas tu'ifcl-p, va; kâ:n pakun'üähämhititi. Va; kari pakun'üähämhititi pe'kmahâtera'm tâha'k pafata-vû'n'än, 'ikriripan'ikmahâtcr-sa'm. (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'üähämhe'ên.
When they sow it, it comes up quickly; in 10 days it grows pricks up.

When we used to gather haze 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.

Sometimes about August they first pick the tobacco leaves, they pick them downward, they star 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 leaved 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
not pick it all off, there are no more good ones then. The good ones they pick all off.

Then when the October moon first starts in, it always rains. Before that they are through with the tobacco, the stems, too, and the seeds.

3. **Pahú't kunkupá'úthó'mhití**

Pehé'raha takunú'úthó'ña'mhá'ik, və̤ ká'x takunsá'nma pa'úhić-típpa'. Və̤ vura ti'kmú'k kun-pá'ká-tí', pa'úhić'-íppa'. Kárixas kunkitnusutnússuti', takunú-úthó'ña'mhá'ik, takunümútpí'wá pa'amštánihić.

4. **'Iht'é'raha'úthó'mhái**

Pehé'raha pakunkú'úthó'ña'mhiti víri və̤ kunvénafíspó'tí pa'úhić, takunú'íp: "Hú'kka hinúpá 'í'm, ó'k 'Ió'kxareyav. 'í'm və̤ pay mihé'raha úthó'ña'mharáhánik. Víri na'í'n úá'púnmátí'. 'Víri páy nuna-ávakham 'i'ifrúppanè'c pe'íffha'ñuk', í'm véppá'nínik. 'Yá's ára və̤ pay 'u'úthó'úmharátí-nè'c, ta'í'n ná'á'púnmáhá'ñuk',

5. **Pahú't pakunkútpé'vrarákku-ríhmaðahiti pa'úhić**

Patakunípmútpí'vamarahá'k pa'úhić, xas piríč takunúappív, və̤ ávakham takuniyúruñ'un pappífic, və̤ 'ú'm pa'úhić vixsúruk 'uvrárákkúrihe'íc.

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**Sowing**

When they sow the tobacco, they carry the seed sticks to the place. They carry them in their hands, the seed sticks. Then they break them open, when they sow, they scatter them over the ashy place.

**Tobacco Sowing Formula**

When they plant tobacco they talk to the seed, saying: "Where art thou, Ikxayeray of the Middle of the World. Thou wast wont to sow thy tobacco. I know about thee. 'Growing mayst thou grow to the sky,' thou saidest it. 'Human will sow with these words, if he knows about me.'"

**Harrowing the Tobacco Seed in**

After they scatter the seeds, then they hunt a bush, then they drag the bush around over it, so that the seeds will go in under the ground. Or they merely sweep

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

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

4 Any kind of bush is used, the first loose one they see.
Karu hári 'avahkam takuntat-tuyeur kic têteimü'uk. 'A'pun takuntatuytattuy pa'ípa ká:n kun'héá'mhát. Xéteitenihitc, 'amtápnihiic, pamitva ká:n 'ikk'ú kun'áhko't.

6. Pahú't kunkupavitríppahiti’i

Xas va; vura kunpinimusánntti tcé-myáteva'. Kunvitrí’pti payö kumáppiric, xay vo'ífcáir. Vúra pu'íkxáxyá'ytíháp, kunvitrió’ti vúra kite. Va; 'ú'm ká:n pútta; y'i-ftíhara papiinctunvé'etc, paká:n pé'kk'ú kun'áhkö'ittiñik. Va; vura kite pakatatássíp, xá:t káru vura hú'tva kó' kun'áhku'u, vá; vura 'ú'í-ftí pakatatássíp.

7. Pahú’t 'ukupa'íffahiti'

Hári puyav kopyatíffahítíhain. Pakunik 'ivárxa pe'hé'raha'íppa', kari tákuñpi'r; "Pu'yé'peacé'cara pe'hé'raha', sárip kú'nic tu'íffaxá-nahsí'pniíñ.té."³³ Pakupaták-ká'msa tu'íffahñas'k, vá; pakun-xúti yé'pca', tcé-myáte 'útí-khí-ná'tí.'³³ Xas kunipitíi; 'Va; pe'hé'raha yé'peca'íec. Kunic 'aptíkk'aráh'é'c, tá'ýh'é'c pamús-sa'ínn. Va; pe'hé'raha yé'pe-cahe'íec," kunipitíi, patákunmá-há:k kupatákka'msa.

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 'ú'm va; patapíkk'arásha'ík, tapúvë'etú'kttiháp, the hazel sticks, when they get branchy, they no longer pick.
1. Pahú’ t‘í'n kunpí’kk’áratí há’ri 'aõí’kmá”k

'Há’ri và; tákunpi’p: ‘“Aõik
í'n takunpi’kk’ar nanihé’raha’,
upímxánkúrihva’.” Tupímx’ar,
upímx’ankúrihva pananihé-
’ha’, ‘aõik?í'n takunpi’kk’ar,
u’m vura và; tapupí’frúpravàra,
u’i vúra.

9. Pahú’t kunkupé’ctúkkahiti
pamússa’’n

‘Afí vari papícci’p ‘u’í’fti pap-
íric tíríhca’, Kunfímmú’sti vura
akári kunicütúkke’ec.8 Pató’m-
up ‘afív’ávahkam pappíric, xas
ícci’p và; kári takuníctuk.
Takunímmú’sti vura. Karúk
ákkü’srâ và; kári papíccíte
unicutú’kti’’. ‘Afív’ávahkam và;
unicutú’kti’ papírícítíhca’, pe’hé-
ahássà”sn. ‘Afív’ávahkam taku-
íctúksúru”, takuníkíòúnníh-
’á’. ’Íppan ‘u’m vura pu’áf-
itúháp. Po’kk’éciteasha”sk xas
kunicütúkke’ec.

Xas kuníkñántí xá’t ik’kk’úku’m
écíctas pappíric. Xas ik’kk’úku’m
kunicütúkke’ec, pe’hé’rahássà”sn.
Vura há’ri vúrava pato’kk’écí-
cíasha pamússà”sn, ‘a’ kunicíctú-
kurú’tí’. Xas kúkku’m ‘ó’k Vák-
kú’srâ’, patécímpátríhècåhâ”sk,
patecímupícyavpiríhècåhâ”sk,
va; kári kó’vúra takuníkyåv, pa-
íhic k’áru vúra. Kuynakyá’n-
ící vura kunicíctú’kti’, há’ri vura
axakyá’nící kunicíctú’kti’. Pat-
épáiri’kk’åhâ”sk và; kári tápu-
amayá’ha’à, tápu’ikpí’hanhàra.

(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 up-
ward. Then again, 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.: ’The’rah íp
ustúkkafat, he has gone to pick tobacco.
more, it is not strong. By the end of September they try to get through with everything.

(WRAPPING UP PICKED LEAVES)

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, on top of the Bracken, 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 handle if it gets dry. Then they put it in the network sack, sometime two bundles. Two bundles about all that a network sack will hold.

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

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 Θυξαρ'ν, network sack, see Pl. 11, b.

11 The term for bundle is κίκαπ. 'Ιθάκικαπ πεθηραξας, 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.
vúra tuxrivp’-vicak takunmáh-
ýarnżi pakiccaš.

11. Pahá’t pa’úhípi kunkupe’-túkkahiti’

Pukaru vura va; kîte ’ikyá-tiha
pamússą̅n, vura pa’úhípi k’áru
vura kunikyá-tti há’ri, patuvax-
ráha’k pa’úhípi’.  
’Ånáníhite vura patakunik-
paksúru’ū. yuhúrimmú’tk. Va; 
utm kári mit vura sîmsi’m taku-
níhru vtihat’ pámítv na; nimmżá-
hat’. ’Ipénkninackets vura taku-
nípkap. Xas kunkiccapvuti
pa’úhípi k’áru vúra, ’ánmú’tk, 
fá’t vura va; mú’k takunpíccaš. 
Takunsuváxra’, ’ínna’k takun-
suváxra’.

12. Pahá’t pa’úhíic kunkupe’-túkkahiti’

Xas patu’úhicha’šk, vura pu-
piçinvírvütihpa pa’úhíic paku-
nikyá-vic. ’Ipánsínunikite taku-
nípkásúru’u. Kári ’asaxa’y-te 
vura pankikyá-tti’, kunzá-pún-
múti ’ínna’k xas ik ’uvaxráhe’c. 
Puxxár ikrántihap, kunxutí xáy 
’áhrup pa’úhíic. ’Ippanvari paku-
nípkásúre’ti’, va; vura kîte 
kuníppénti ’úhíic, pehé-taha’úhíic, 
há’ri vura va; kuníppénti pehé-
raha’úhícikyáv.15

14 Or takunmáhyan.
16 See p. 58.

put the bundle(s) in the network sack. Nowadays they put the
bundle(s) in a gunny sack.

(PICKING THE STEMS)

The leaves are not all that they
pick, the tobacco stems, too, they
pick sometimes, when the stems
are already dry. They cut them
(the stems) off a little up from the
ground [some 6 inches up], with a
flint knife. They were using an
iron knife in my time. They cut
them into short pieces. And they
tie the tobacco stems into bun-
dles, with twine, or with anything.
They dry them, they dry them in
the living house. They tend to
it all in the fall, to the stalks too
they tend, called the ’uhípi’. They
dry them anywheres above the
yó’ram, the tobacco stems, they
pile them there above.

(PICKING THE SEEDS)

And when it goes to seed, they
do not forget to “fix” some seed.
They cut them off pretty near the
top. They pick them still green,
they know they will dry in the
living house. They do not wait
too long, they are afraid the seeds
will fall. The cut-off tops they
just call seeds, tobacco seeds, or
they call them “tobacco seeds that
they are fixing.”
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 yō'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 yō'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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16 Lit. a little at a time.
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. Pahá't kunkupé'kyá'hití pehé'rahá patakunpíctú'kmará'ha'2ak

1. Pahá't pakunkupasuvaxráaháhití pehé'raháása'2n

Patákuní'pmaha'2ak, 'ikmahátcra;m kunsarárá'ovúti', 'íkkvam vur utá'viti paí'vhar. Va; 'u;m puká'ñn pusuváxrahtíhap pamukuné'-nősra'fak.1

Há'ri vura pu'í'vharak suváxrá'htíhap, há'ri vura 'imváravak karu vura pusuvárá'htihap. 'Asapatapriyik vúra kunsuváxrá'hti', patef'mmítcha'2ak.

Kuynaksúppáhíte vura pakun-suváxrá'hti'. Tamé'kuváxra'. Va; vura ká'ñn kuníphi'kkíiríhti,

(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 ma'tí'm'mite.

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 tánnípraív. 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 pamukuní'ovánkirak.
2 'Ikravapu'f'nnap, cakes of black oat pinole, are spread in concentric circles on a basket in the same way.
TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS

Pahú't 'ikmahátera:m kun
kupe'kyá-hiti pappiřie, kun
vura 'įmná:k 'ikrivrā'mak xas
po'ttá:yhiti'

'İkmahátera:m vura pakuni-
yättv. 'İmná:k 'ų:m vúra
u'ikyá-ttihap, kunxuti': "Xáy
avak 3 úkyi'mnāmni pe'he-
ha'."

Maťfmitc 'ų:m vura hitíha:n
akunsuváxra-híti'. Va; 'ų:m
vác vura pu'ifyé-fyúkkutihap
maťfmitc pa'ára'ar. Yóram
ų:m ké'eri'k, púva; kán
uvárx:hitihap, va; kán 'ų:m
uniyúkkutí'.

Húntáhite papu'ikmaháte-
ɾmatá:ų'hítihap pamukuníhē-
ha'. Vúra va; pamukuníkyá-
ánk vura puľfá't 'ikmahátera:m
vaha thé'ra. 'İkmahátera:m
ünükyá-ttí pamukuníhēraha',
una vura 'įmná: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 maťf'mmitc is where
they always dry it. The people
do not go around there so much,
around the maťf'mmitc. The
yó-ram 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 'ávahak.

63044°—32—9
3. Pahú't Pihné'fitc pó'kta'kvaranik 'ikmahátera'm kar ikrívra'em

Pakuntcú phina'tihanik 'ikmahátera'm hú't 'ata Yás'í'ára pakunkupitihe'ec, hú’t 'ata pakunkupa'ará rahitihe'ec, xas Pihné'fitc 'uppíp: “'Asiktáva'n 'u'm vúra pu'ikmahátera'm 'ikrérévičara,” 'Asiktáva'n 'u'm vura 'imxáakké'mkáruthé'ec. 'Ávans 'usúmxá'kthihe'ec. Pa'asiktáva'n 'u'm vura pu'ávkam 'áhoťihe'ecara pémpá'k, víxáttta. 'U'm vura hitiha'n 'íssú'kite u'áhoťihe'cará 'asiktáva'ñ. Va' vá'rá 'u'm 'ukupitihe'ec. Karu 'u'm vúra vo'kupitihe'ec 'Asiktáva'n 'uvíktíhe'ec. Táy 'ásit 'úkyáťtihé'ec, pamuvíikkáráahámú'ñ.k. 'U'ecúmtíhe'ec karu pa'ápka's.s. Ávansa 'u'm vúra kite 'ukupitihe'ec po'paricr'huítíhe'ec. Ya-kún 'Asiktáva'n 'u'm kunikrvá'n-tihé'ec, 'Ávansa 'í'n.” Va' ku-ma'í'i pe'kyá'kkám 'u'é'hanik Pa'asiktáva'ñ Pihné'fitc. Viri 'u'm vura 'ínná' kite 'ukré'vic 'Asiktáva'ñ.

Pihné'fitc 'u'm va' 'úpá'ník: “'Fá't kumá'í'í 'u'm 'Asiktáva'n 'uú'rihtíhe'ce? 'U'm tay kunik-valaratihe'ec 'Asiktáva'n. 'U'm fúráx 'u'ó'rachítíhe'ec. Karu hári 'ó'tihi o'ó'rachítíhe'ec. 'Ipúk k'árú vúra 'u'órahítíhe'ec. 'Axi;tc k'árú vur u'ónná'tihé'ec 'ínná'k.”

(ROYOTE SET SWEATHOUSE AN LIVING HOUSE APART)

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 basket 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 so Woman will therefore stay on 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."

Pahú't pa'uhíppi kunkupéktucúrahíti'

Karíxas, pakunihróvicahá:k pa'uhíppi', i'krívkríakt 44 akunvupakpákkíí. Vá; vura táya:n vura pakunvupakpákkííti', karu vá; vura pakunikteunkííti pe'krívkííak. Karu hā'í tásák a'. Te'rmíte vúra patakunsá'nsip pa'uhíppi', patakunsá'nsi pa'uhíppi', akuni-táráńkútí' pe'krívkííak, úppap kun'axaytcákkicrihi pe'ahíppi', karu 'áppap yuhírimmú:unvupákpa'kti'. Tupíccásámanhíte pakunvupaksúrót'tí', tā'píticas pakunvupaksúrót'tí'.

Páva: takunivupakpá'kmara-á:k 'ikrivkríak, xas 'ák 'ahém-sak takunñë-6ripa', xas 'uhipi-ávahkam vá; takunyúrú00un5 pakuntuškúntí', vá kunkupasu-xaráhahíti'. Pa'a'h kunñë'60: hívahkam. Pa'ahupkam pakun-axaytcákkicrihi'. Púyava; atémfir pa'uhíppi', pavupak-ákkapu', karíxas 'ák takunípá'ńkíí, pá'as'h.5

Karáxas patakuníkctví, vá; vura ká:n pe'krívkííak takuníkctví, 'íknavañánamahate akunikteúrarati'. Vá; vur 6-θúyti 'uhipiíkctúrar 6a pa'as. Vávxra pa'uhíppi', pusakrívánhá. Ñeyññihite vúra takuníkyañ, pa-akunikteúrañák. Púyava; até'ñeyññihiteñák, xas takuníkxuk. Xas tí'kmú'ak takunikteú'yar, xas takunkíceap táf-

44 For illustration of 'ikrivkríak, disk seats, see Pl. 11, c.
5 Cp. description of the same method used for drying flaked leaf tobacco preparatory to putting it into the pipesack. (See p. 180).
6a For illustration of 'uhipiíkctúrar, stem tobacco pestle, see l. 11, d.

Then when they want to use the stems, they cut them up on a disk seat.44 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, they hold it down on the disk seat; they hold it up, 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 cut it up on that same disk seat, with a little pestle. It is called tobacco stem pestle,6a 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
firápüh'má'uk. Va; vura kîte mû' kunîkâpîti'. Xas takun-píceun'va. Va; vura kîte kunîp-pênti 'uhippi'. Há'ri va; 'ihé-raha kunîyê'ntî', xás va; kunihê-rati'.

Pa'uhîpî vûra kîte pakunîkteû'ntî'. Va; 'u'vm vûra pu'i kîkîntilî pâpîric. Va; vura kîte pakunkupîtî kunîkxû'kti pâpîric tî'kmu'â'uk. 6

5. Pékrîvkiî

Pa'âvansa' u'mkun vûra nîk 'îkrîvkiî kunîkrîvkîrîttî'hvâ'nik, 'ahupî'krîvkîrîhanîk vûra, 'âhup vûrâhanîk pamukunî'krîvkîrî. Há'ri k'arû vûra pa'âvansâxí'tîtëcâs vâ; kâ'zn takunîp'û'ntâkî'ê. Pamukuni'âffûmü'k sîrik'ûnîcâs tâ pe'krîvkiî. Va; kâ'zn to'pkû'ntâkî'ê pamukîrückîrak patu'hê'tâhâ'k pa'âvansa'. Vur o'xútî: "Na; vûra a'lvâ'rii," pate'krîvkiîrak 'up-kû'ntâkî'eriha'ak, patu'pîhê'tâhâ'ak. 'Asiktâva'nu puva; kû'ntâ-kûtihàrà pa'âvansa mukrîvkiî.

Pamukuni'krîvrâ'm'mâk 7 va; kâ'zn 'u'm pe'krîvkiî 'utâ'yihiî', yô'tam 'înnâ'ak. Há'ri vûra 'îm takunî'êrûpûk pe'krîvkiî va; kâ'zn 'îm takunkântak. 8 Há'ri va; kâ'zn 'îkrîvkiîrak 'aî' 'âvansa 'axî:te tô'stâ-ksiâp. Karu há'ri va; takunîkteûnîkîr pa'uhîpî 'îk-rîvkiîrak.

Pe'krîvkiî 'u'm vûra pu'ihru've'tihap 'îkmahà'tcra'ak, va; vûra kunîhrû-vti papatûmîkî, va; vûra kunîkrîvkîrîttî pamukunî'kma-

buckskin. That is all they tie it up it in. 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 that man's disk seat.

It is the living house wher there are lots of disk seats, i the yô'ram of the living house sometimes they pack them our doors, they sit on them outside Sometimes a man [sits] on disk seat and holds a child And sometimes they pound u tobacco stems on the seats.

They never use disk seats i the sweathouse; what they us is pillows, what they use to s on is their sweathouse pillow

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 takunîkrîvkiî.
haterampatúmkiř. Xá;š vura hitíh₈₇ takunikrírinič, karixas va₉k₈₇ takunikrívkiř. Háři k'aru vura va₉k₈₇ vura takunikrívkiř pakunkupapatumkírahiti'. Karu háři 'řric vura patakunikř'cri', kuntučivip'-va 'ikmahátera₉'f'ricäk. Vá; vura karixas 'a₈ kunikř'crihiti patakunihé"r. Vá; vura kite künkúpitti pakun?úrúrim'va, 'ikmahátera₉'su?. Háři vá; kuníppé'nti papatúmkiř 'ikmahatram'krívkiř. Vá; kuníppé'nti 'ikmahatrampatúmkiř kantu 'ikmahatram'krívkiř.

Kuna vura 'ápůnite pakunírārahiti pa'asíktavá'nsá', purafá't vura 'ikrivkírittihap, taprára vura kite kunikrivkrítihănìk pa'asíktavá'nsá'. Vá; vura káriaš 'a₈vári kunirukú'ntä'ků₈', pa'asíktavá'nsá', pasípnûkka₈m kunví-kțìha₈'k. Háři karu vura vura vura 'a₈ kunihyári, paticin upí00ë-cánh₈'k.

6. Pa'uhipihikteûr
Háři pakunxútiha; kirîttã'ay, 'ikraváramu₈ takunikteûr. Vá; kunmá'ti₉ paká'kkum tú'ppitcas pe'kravár. Páy k'ó'sàmitcás pe'kravár k₈'kkum. 'Uhipihikteûr rá; po'vû'yi', 'iknamana-turnvé'etc. 'Ikrivkírak 'a₈ takunóvtak pa'uhîpî'. Xas yu-hirimmü₈ takunikpákpa'. Xas 'iktekuraramu₈ takunikteûr. Vá; u'm vura xá;šn pù'ikravaratihap pe'pekturaramu₈'k, 'ukè:mmicaheëc paxûn, 'u'xhê'ëc. Vá; vura kite kunmáši kunihrû'vti pa'uhîppi kunikteûrarati'. 'Imxàakkë"m, pa'as, pa'uhîppi takunikteûr-

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 sweat- house's pillow and the sweat- house'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. Sometimes the women sit on a high place 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 pestles for. Some pestles are only this size [gesture at length of finger]. 'Uhipihikteûfar those little pestles are called. They put the tobacco stems on a disk seat. Then they 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
rahu'âk, xâra vura 'ô-muxâ'-âî'. Yô'tam vûrâ 'â? takunîpôâ'ntâk.

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 yô'tam.

An old tobacco stem pestle obtained from Yas, which formerly belonged to his father, is of smooth textured gray stone, 7 inches long, 1\(\frac{1}{6}\) inches diameter at butt, 1\(\frac{1}{8}\) inches diameter at top. The top is slightly concave. There is a decoration consisting of two parallel incised grooves \(\frac{3}{16}\)-inch apart spiraling downward in anticlockwise 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 'ihe-raha'uhipihâ'ktcûtar, or 'ihe-raha'uhipihâ-knavanâ'anammaha'tc.

Of the design Yas said: 'Uvuxîêk'urîhva pàravurûkkunihvähi'ti', it is incised spiraling downward. From 'uvuxîêk'urîhva', it is incised, e. g., as some big money dentalia are. Or more carelessly, leaving out the idea of spiraling: 'Usâsîppâ'ôkvâ pe-ktcûtar, 'utâxîtêkâ-ôthâhit'i, the pestle has a line going around it, it is incised around. Also 'uôîmyâ'kkûrîhva', lines it is filed in; 'uôîmyô'ônni'hvä', it is filed in running downward.

Yas volunteered of the pestle: 'Ikxariyâ'hiv ve-ktcûrarâhañiñ, it is a [tobacco stem] pounder of the time of the Ikxareyavs.

7. Pahû't Pihné-shîtc po-kyâ'nínik, pa'ávansa 'û'm pu'ikrâ-mtihe'-cûrâ 'ikrâvârâmû'âk

Pihné-shîtc múpâppuhañik: "'Asiktâvâ'n 'û'm pó'kra-â'mtihê'ec." Kuntcû'phina-tihanik 'ik-mahâtcrâ'âín hû't ata Payâ'sâra kunkupîttihê'ec, fâ't 'ata pakunî-âmtihê'ec. Kô'vûra panu'âmti kô'vûra Pe'kkxarëyav vâ' muku-nîpâ-pûhâñik, Yâ'sâra vâ' pây kunî-âmtihê'ec. Xas kunîpîttihâñik: "Kunîkra-â'mtihê'ec paxxû'n (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 talking over in the sweathouse what Humans are going to do, what they are going to use as food. Everything that we eat, all of it the Ikxareyavs 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 'utaxítêk'urîhva pàravurûkkunihvähi'ti'. Ct. 'upvapîrâ'ppî-ôvuti' pa'îppa', 'a? upvo'turâ'-nnâti', 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.”
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.

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.
Há'ri va; kuniptiti': "Pehé-rah e'kpíhanha'ak 'iúmk'ak'ihé-raha'ak, mah'tníhate'imteáxxahaha' 'úmkú'kkúti', mah'tníhate'imteáxxahaha 'úmkú'kkúti pehé-raha'úhēa'm."

Pehé-rahasantírhcaha'ak, pa-kari òúkinkúnicasha'ak, viri kuniptiti': "Va; ye'pca', 'ípútrí:k ve'hé-raha', va; ye'pca', santí-rhca'."

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’īceun-vahiti pehê'raha'

1. Pahú't ukupatâ'yahahiti 'i-nnâ'ak

Kârixas 'i-nnâ'k takunmâhyan 'uhsînpū'kkâm. Yô'râm 'â' takuntâkkarañi. Va; 'u'm su? 'uvâxrâ-htíhâ'ec. Pamûk'ûppar 'utarupramteâkkiriwha vastâ-rânmu'k. Va; 'u'm pûssû' 'ikrê'mya 'uşmûtíhâ'â, sâkriv 'utârûprâvâhîti'. Hâri táffirâpû 'âvahkaun takun'í-xâ'rariv, sip-nuk'sâvahkan, va; 'u'm vûra su? 'uvâxrâ-htíhê'ec, va; 'u'm pûpasxâypeócara su'.

Vûrâ ngîk 'uvâxrâ-htí', kuna vûra puv'axnahâyâ'chîthîhâ'â, puvâxrâ-htíhâ'â pûxxü'te. 'UVâxrâ-htí vûra nîk patakunmâhyâ'n su?, 'ifuñ patakûnmî'm'us. Yané'ka-va tupáxsá-ypâ'. Vûra pu'â-yiti-hap puxûti-hap 'uvaxnahinnûye'ec. Va; kunâ'i'i pakunîcût'kî pâkârîxi-thâ'kek, va; 'um vûra puvâx-náhinnû'thîhâ'â. Kunîpîtti pakûnic 'axváhahiti 'âvahkaun va; kunâ'i'i pavûra hitthâ'n kunic 'âsxa'ay. Va; vûra kîte kunây'ti xây 'ûpasxa'ay. Va; kunâ'i'i kunî-xâ'rarîmtî va; sî pasînpu'k.
Pu'âsxây'ikyâ'thîhâ pehê'raha', pâ'ú'mkûn kunûtipî pa'ap-xantînnîhîte?âvansas, 'as kunî'vûrûkî pamûkunîhê'raha'.

Vûra pe'â'n 'ihê'raha takunmâhyâ'nmaravañ'âsk få't vûrava,

(1) How they store tobacco

Then they put it into a tobacco storage basket in the living house. They hang it [the basket] above the yô'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.
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 puffá’ t kárú vura kumá’ t’i pihrú-vththap. ’Imxaäkkê’m.

Patakun’Âceunva kó-vúra yií-ðukânya pa’uhíppi kárú yiíðuk, kárú pëhé-râha yiíðuk, kárú pa’úhic yiíðuk.

2. Pa’uhsípnu’k

(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 safum. (See PI. 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 sârip. (See Pl. 14.)

The white 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 black overlay is the prepared stalks of the Maidenhair fern (Adiantum pedatum L.), called ’iknitápkiì. (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’hërahásípnu’k va; vura kunkupaviík’ahiti pasipnú’kkìë kunkupaviík’ahiti. Pasipnú’kkìëak ’u’m ’axrúh ’u’ururà-mnhïhâ’, ’imëáttap kárú vur ’u’ururà-mnhïhâ’, pavúra kò, kúma’u’p pamukun’upfécc’pça’. Vá ’u’m ’ikxurik’ákka’m kuni-kyâtti pasipnú’kkìë. Há’ri vura ’atikínvá’anammahate ’uðxúp-parahiti pasipnú’kkìë.

They make a tobacco basket like they do a money basket. In the money basket are kept money purses and woodpecker rolls, all kinds of their best things. They put big patterns on the money basket. Sometimes they cover a money basket with a small pack basket.

2 See pp. 63–64.
Kúna 'u;m pehêrahasîpun;ôk vura 'u;m pu'ikxurik'âkka;m 'ikyâtthââp, kunxûrîphitu vûra kîtc karu kunkutcitcvâssihîti'. Kunxûrîphîti sârum xâkka;n karu panyúâr, karu hâ't ikritâpkiir, hâ'ti "yuma'tekritâpkiir." Uxûrîphahîti vûra kîtc, pehêrahasîpun;ôk, kar 'ukutcitcvâssihahîti'. Vâ; vûra kîtc kunkupé'kxurik'âhîti pehêrâsîpun;ôk. Vûra na; puvanâamma 'ihetahasîpun;ôk 'ikxurik'âkka'm.

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. Pahû't yiîhâva 'uovûyîhâva pamucvitâva pasîpun;ôk

(NAMES OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BASKET)

Sipnuk'îppa'ní, the top of the basket.
Sipnuk'îpânnî'tc, the rim.
Sipnuk'âpma'n, the mouth of the basket, the aperture. Sipnuk- rápmâ'n'ak, in the mouth of the basket.
Sipnuk'âptcvîp, the sides of the basket.
Sipnuk'âflîtî, the bottom of the basket.
Sipnuk'asîvî'tc, the base, where the basket is started.
Pakâ'n to'pvâram'ni, where the sides start upward.
Sipnuk'â'tc, 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'âcca't, on the body or surface of the basket.
Sipnuk'âvahka'n, sipnuk'âvahkamka'n, the outside of the basket. Sipnuk'sû'ka'n, sipnuksû'kamka'n, sipnû'kkan su', the inside of the basket.
Sipnuk'îkxûppa'n, the cover of the basket.
Sipnuktaruprávar, the tie-thong of the basket.

B. Mitva pakumapihînhî'tteitcas pa'uisîpun;ôk kuntu'rahitiha't.

(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'anvan remembers distinctly the tobacco baskets of the following Indians of the older generation.

3 Or kuntci'ptci'phîkki'ô'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'âpma'n't'm, the lips of the basket, would not be used.
6 Sipnuk't'm would hardly be used.
Near Hickox’s place

Yurih’ikkite, no mg., Tintin’s father, at ’Akvattf’v, at George Leary’s place upriver from Hickox’s.
’Asamúxav, no mg., Hackett’s father, at Iynú’ttákate, just upriver of Hickox’s place, downslope from Snappy’s place.

At Katimin

’Ittcärav, no mg., at Katimin.
Tamtcefik, no mg., at Må’hin’va, site of Fritz Hanson’s store, at Katimin.
’Afkuhá’anamahat’c, mg. roots of some unidentified plant sp., at Yuhxavramnihak, at Katimin.
’Ararátteuy, slim person, Old Henry, at ’Astá’-m’mite, at Katimin.

At Ishipishrihak

’Ápsu’n, mg. snake. Old Snake, at Tiarám?á-tecíp, site of Abner’s house at Ishipishrihak.
Simyá’te, no mg., at Tiarám?á-tecíp, at Ishipishrihak.
Xutnátsk, name of a bird sp., at Yunuktí-m’mite, at site of Fritz Hanson’s house at Ishipishrihak.

At Yutimin

Ye’ippa’n, no mg., Ike’s father, at ’Asánäa-mkä’-rak, at Yutimin Falls.

At Amekyaram

Sána’s, Yas’s paternal grandfather, at Amekyaram.
Nú’kař, no mg., at ’Asámma’m, at Amekyaram.
’Ití-v’raød, mg. invisible, at ’Asámma’m, at Amekyaram.
’Áhup ŋim’üssahihañ, mg. looks like wood, at ’Ahtuyécünnikitič, at Amekyaram.
Paxvanípnihiťče, mg. little bush of the kind locally called “wild plum,” Amekyaram Jim, at Amekyaram.

Near Orleans

’Asô-so’, no mg., at Káttipirak, Old Ruben’s place, near Orleans. Vakiriàyav, mg. gets there good, Old Ruben, at Káttipirak, near Orleans.
’Atráxipux, mg. having no arm (his arm was cut off at the sawmill formerly at the mouth of Perch Creek), at Taxaθúfkára, the flat upstream of the mouth of Perch Creek.
’Iktú’kkiricuir, no mg., Sandy Bar Bob’s father, at Ticánni’lk, Camp Creek.
Vurâ'n, hooker with a stick, Sandy Bar Bob's paternal uncle, at Ticânni'ik, Camp Creek.

Hutchutkâssař, mg. having his hair like a nest, Sandy Bar Bob, at Kasânnukičc, Sandy Bar.

At Redcap

'Ítcxu'mtc, no mg., at Vûppâ'm, at the mouth of Redcap Creek.

C. Pahu'ñ payé'm 'u:žm vu rá yìg takunkupé'kyâ'hiti pa'uhisp-nu'uk


D. Pa'uhispukëoxûppar, pahu'ñ kâ'kum yìoóuva kumé'kyav pa'uhispukëoxûppar

Kâ'kum tîmîhyâ'ttcsas pe'oxûppar, karu kâ'kum 'afivyî-teiha' 'atikvinatunvë'tc 'úvû'y-yî'ti, 'uhispukëoxûppar. Karu kâ'kum múnnukite kuńic, kuńic múnnukite. Ávahkam vura kuńic kîte 'uðî'tâkku'uk, múrú kuńic po'cëi'vtako'ó'tc.7 Vâ: vura kuńic kunkupé'oxûppahîti kipa vura murukmû'k takuniëoxûppahë: k sipnûkka'm'mâk.

E. Pahu'ñ kunkupe'oxûppahitiha-nik pa'uhispnu'k tâffirâpûhmû'uk

Hâri pe'oxupâri'ppuxâ'ik, táffifrapu 'ávahkam 'uðûxûppârahîti'. Sometimes if it [a tobacco basket] has no cover, they cover a piece of buckskin over it.

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.

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.7 They cover it in the same way that they cover a big storage basket with a plate basket.

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-ppaʔahiti-tihanik táfirapu pa'uhsip-nuk'ippankam.

Hári sipnuk'ippankam táfirapu 'úkrú-ppaʔahiti'. Pú-vice kunic 'ukyá-hahiti pa'uhsipnu'uk. A'kam tafirapuhpú-vice, 'áffivam 'um sipnu'uk. 'Ip'ippankam 'úkrú-pkáhihi 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 basket. At the top its tiestring is sewed on.

G. Pahú't kunkupavíkk'ahiti pa'uhsipnu'uk

(WEAVING A TOBACCO BASKET)

The Karuk-Yuruk-Hupa type of basketry is described by Goddard ⁸ and by Kroeber,⁹ 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 Imk'anyvan 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 made 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 kunkupá'aff-hiti pa'uh- sipnu'uk, pahú't kunkupatá'yí-thahiti' (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.
vūti',\textsuperscript{10} va\textsuperscript{1} kunkupa'affle'hiti'. Xas kūkku'm 'āxak tanip'cař, va\textsuperscript{2} vur ukupitti', va\textsuperscript{2} vur úpā'na-tūnvūti kūkku'm, kūkku'm vura va\textsuperscript{2} xākkarari k'ú:k 'u'ipānhivutī'.\textsuperscript{11} Kūkku'm vura va\textsuperscript{2} tanip'upe phf'orihaa', pl.\textsuperscript{8} tu'arihič. Sākriy ni'axaytcakkicrihti', xay 'upiccānnā'nvā. Kūttutukam ni'axaytcakkicrihti'.

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

\textsuperscript{10} Lit. they have their heads, i.e., their tips in the case of hazel sticks, pointed in a certain direction. Cp. hūka kun'ikk'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.

\textsuperscript{11} Or 'u'ikk'uvūti', the two verbs are used as synonyms.

\textsuperscript{12} The overlapped section of the 8 sticks is usually considerably smaller than the bottom of the basket.
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] afivkif. [See Pl. 18.]

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.

I start lashing at a corner between the hazel sticks. I run the pineroot strand across diagonally. [See Pl. 19.]

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

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' afivkifat, I already started to make the bottom on them. Ct. ta'ip va' ni'àiifiv, I already started the bottom of a basket. 'Afivkif is synonymous with sarip'àiifiv, 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.
Yi'θα passárip, papici'tce kumá'á'tcip vā' taniyūnnupri'.

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

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.]

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

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

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.]

Or tani'á've'raθ, I pass it under.

Or tu'iccipk'α', it runs across.

Lit. next to the first stick.

Here used to indicate not from corner diagonally to corner, as it has previously been used, but diagonally from the interstice between the first and second sticks on one side to that between second and third sticks on the opposite side.

20 Or tanipíhyá'kkα', 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
Stages in Weaving Tobacco Basket
Xas kúkkum tanipúv'rin. Xas ’iôyâruk tani’iccipk'ar. Xas tuyarakansârip piévakansârip xâk-gûn mukúni’tâcîp taniyû’nup’ri.’

. Passû’kam vassârip va; takuniyakavâra’m’ar

Sú’kam tanipikya’ar, panitá’r’ohiti’. ’Avahkam kuna teâmi-e’oc,21 pakú’kam ’u’ávahkâm-e’c pasîpnu”uk. Payê’m vûra a; hitihâ’ñ va; kú’kam ’u’ávah-amhiti’, pakú’kam ’u’ávahkam-itihe’e’oc. Pakú’kam na’ávhivuti’, ’unâ’vrinatihâra vûra payvâ’e’em.

c. Xas vâ; vûra kuniyakavâra’ti k’úkkum

K

Kúkkum tanipúv’rin. Tcimiyakavanâ’vic pa’ávahkam pî;k kkk’ukâratihân.22 Tîvap tani’iccipma’. Karixas vâ; papiccite’te nuppîmate passârip taniyû’nup’ri’.

L

Kúkkum vâ; kari tanipúv’rin. Tcimiyakavân’vic tani’iccipk'ar. Papiccite’sârip muppîmate vâ; áñ taniyû’nûp’ri’.

M

Karixas kúttutûkam kú’k taniyû’nma’.

— Passû’kam vassârip va; takuniyakavâra’m’ar

Sú’kam tanipikya’ar, panitá’r’ohiti’. ’Avahkam kuna teâmi-e’oc,22 pakú’kam ’u’ávahkâm-e’c pasîpnu”uk. Payê’m vûra a; hitihâ’ñ va; kú’kam ’u’ávah-amhiti’, pakú’kam ’u’ávahkam-itihe’e’oc. Pakú’kam na’ávhivuti’, ’unâ’vrinatihâra vûra payvâ’e’em.

K

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.]

L

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.]

M

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

21 Ct. pani’âffivti’, which although used as a synonym of panitá’r’ohiti’, when referring to starting a basket, means to weave the entire bottom, not merely to lash the base.

22 Or kúnahe’e’c for kuna teâmihe’e’c.

23 Or pa’ávahkam kamúppi’ð pa’ikk’ukâratihân.
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 are high, not flat; that is why I last 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. [See Pl. 21.]

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

Then I turn it over again. run it across another time, so 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.]

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24 Or 'axákyá'á'n, two times.
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.

25 Or 'itcyu'kinuyá-te.
26 See T, pl. 21.
I make firm the newly introduced pineroot strand with the same strand that I lashed with.

The one that I lashed with ran underneath [the four sticks] the first taking-in, the one that I introduced runs across on top of the four sticks, and one under and one over, that is way I two-strand twine, one under the hazel sticks, one over, the two pine root strands run along.

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

I always weave to the right. Sometimes some people weave to the left. I only knew to who wove that way. Mahó'ni was one, and 'Asúttcana'tc one; they say there used to be several that wove to the left.

All of them produced pínē'vika	

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 the weaving = in clockwise direction.

31 Of obscure mg., Sally Tom.

32 Mg. packing a heavy load of water, Lizzie Abels.
Pahú't picc'tc kunkupa'árava-hit'i

X Y Z (See Pl. 22)

Paká:n tanipvíikkiró-piðvaha'ak, ká:n pani'áramsíprivti'. Kix-

mípa'k ni'áramsíprivti'.

Paká:n ni'áramsíprivti picc'tc,33 ká:n pe'pvikmúramhe'c, pe'pvikmúram tanípvikmáha'ak, vura kári'íkas nie$k'áxxierhi'ti', nivíktíha'ak. Va'cura karixas k'áxxierhi'ti pate'pvikmúram-

'ak. Pahó'tahyá'ak tanik'dó-

'ak, papuva né'pvikmáha'ak, kári kuni'ípáti' puyá'hara 'ín pícr'vihe'c, 'íkxaram 'uvík-

'c panánívík.34

Paká:n taní'áramsípá, sárip karum taniyákkuri k'á:n. Yí00a

'ukkan taniyákkuri passárum, yra'k tu'árihi'te. Va'ká:n pa-

nyákkurihtí pa'áxxa kumá'á-

'ip passárum. Pataniyákkuri-

'tak, 'áxxak nípicr'ikku'saráatí

sárip

(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 introduce a new hazel stick, I always take in two hazel sticks together by the twining.

33 Or paká:n picc'tc ni'áramsíprivti'. Where the course of two-

and twining starts really determines the end of the courses, but

where this starts is inconspicuous while the start of the three-

and twining is readily seen, the latter is considered by the Indians
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 the distraction is not pressing, one weaves a little beyond—with the result that one is again course-end bound through a mighty perstition. The work progresses. This is the informant's own

nusedly volunteered observation.
Súrkam 'u've-hricuki pasarip'áfliv karupassárum pavúra picéi'te taniř'kkšíhaś'k.

Pasarip'áfliv níšavátvátti', va' u'um xéttcite pataniákkuhaś'k. Va' kuma yítha kuna vo'yávhití, pu'ípvónkvíthíra pataniąavatvättahaś'k.

Va' pó'kupitti kuyrá:k passárum 'ai 'u've'hřliv 'ávahkam hití-haž nívura. Pa'ifutctímtíc va' pani'usipfr'mnati vura hitíhaś'nn, viri va' paniýnakaváraťi'; 35 'Áxxak 'ávahkam 'u'áhőti, xas va' yítha passárip múšúрукkam tupsýnákkaś'ar. 36 Teémyátèva ni-pícírippiti', sákri'v nipikyá'itti'. Va' nik'upa'ávahití'.

Pasi00a to'psánkinatchaś'k, xas yí0 kuna taniyákkuri passárum. Píccęte paniví'kro'vuti', 'iteám-mahite tírmxákkarari kite níhyák-kurihiť'. Va' kuma'ifTuO tary vu-ra tanipfš'ik, 'axákmatite nipi-cík'asrá'nvuti pavúra hóy vú-rava yísha taniyákkurihaś'k passárip. Pavura hóy vura kunie to'xá'sha', kari k'úkkxm yítha taniyákkuri.

Pa'áfliv k'aráháś'k, va' kari kité pani'f'kkšíuti'. Pata'ál 'uvó-rura'haś'k, va' kári takó pani'-f'kkšíuti', hári xas vura kúkkxm yísha taniyákkuri. Vura kun?áf-pummuti pa'áffívkiř, váramas va' u'um, kuru kêcítacs. Ká'kum 'u'f'kkšíhití passárip, kuru ká-kum 'údvuyti 'áfívkiř.

The bases of the hazel stick and pinneroot strands, as soon as I introduce hazel sticks, start inside the basket.

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

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

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

The first course I only ins one [warp stick] at each corn. After that I introduce many pass it around two [warp stick] at a time whenever I introduce a [new] warp stick. When 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 stick. After I start up the sides of the basket, I stop introducing them just sometimes I introduce others again. One can tell the original inserted sticks, they are long ones, and stouter ones. Some are introduced with warp sticks, some are called sticks that one starts with.

35 Or panicirk'urf vuti'.
36 Or nicíikk'urihti', 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 it 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.

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

38 Or taniiric, 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 its bottom. Papanuurar 'uvikkaaraitiha;ka pafiv, 'umnu varaifivkkuvuti'. Nas pu'ikreiritsiha, pasipnuu'ak. Po'irreiritsiha, pu'ikreiritsiha. Pavikaycpca 'umkun 'afliv sarum uvikkariati. If the bottom is woven with bear lily, it "comes back out" [sticks out]. Then the basket does not set up [good]. Then 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 corn to an end.

I "tie down" one pineroot strand [one of the three strands that I have been twining within]. 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., yonder, in a direction away from the weaver] the pineroot strand [that is to be dropped]. I 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 of the time. The bear lily strand is lined with the pineroot strand all the time. Then I twine with two strands around twice with solid bear lily strands 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 round vertical barred a little [referring to the vertical bar that was produced].

Then I vertical bar pattern [by facing one strand only] for four courses.

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 near ready to start up the sides of the

40 Or sü’kaįm.
41 Or penívikk’are’ce, that I am going to twine with two strands.
Arkington]

TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS

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ravá'átcip. Xas kúkku:xm va:n tanippá'rav, yí00a kúkku:xm
nippá'rav.

Xas 'aráva'ávahkam tanip-
riphiro'ov, kuyrákya:xn tanip-
riphiro'ov.

Xas 'axxak tanipvi'kró:v pan-
aramünnaxite.

Xas pit'í nikucitevássihá', 'áp-
x panyú'rar, 'áppap sárum. Va:
'k'upakucitevássiháxiti', pata-
pvi'kmaha'v-k, va:x kari tanip-
trip papanyúra', 'áppapkam
x tanipihyakkú'í.

Pahú't kunkupatakrávahiti
súl'xaní, karixas takunvi-
k'ura'v. 41a

Karixas papiecíte tanipikrífi, 42
úcimi nivikk'urá'víc, víri va:
ri su? tanitákra'v, yí00a sárip
ê'k tanitákra'v. Va:x ká:xn pa-
kucitevássihá', víri va:x ká:xn
tanitákra'v, pakucitevássihas-
úikýa'v-te. Vura kéécite passárip
útaní'ássip, xas va:x sú'x tankif-
únná'm'ni.

Xas panivi'kthá'v-k, há:níhma-
te va:x niptás-púnvuti patakrá-
númrav, 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 a-
round, 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 pini-
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.
var, yá vúra tanikyař, suñ vura tusákri-vhiram'ni.

Va; kumá'í'i patanitákrav, xáy xe-teite, panivik'urá'ha'ak, 'uká-rimhití vik, patakrajíppuxha'ak.

Patanip000aha'ak, va; kári tanippúriccuk patakraýar.

k. Pahú-t kunkunpavíkkvurá'-hiti' 42a

Pa'áffív takunpáffívmaraaha'ak, kári takunpikrííi.

Xas sárum kuyrá'k taniví-kró'ov.
Karixas kúkku'm sárummu'k tanixxúripfa karu pánúfar, píθ.

Xas píθ taniví-kró'v sárum.

Xas kúkku'm tanixxúripfa', píθ tanixxúripfiro'0u.

Karixas 'áxxak tanípvi-kró'v panyúrar.
Karixas tanixxúripfiro'v píθ 'íkritepíramu'ak, panyúrarámú'k káru.

Xas kúkku'm 'áxxak panyúrar tanípvi-kró'ov.
Xas kúkku'm tanixxúripfa', 'ík riv kir tanixxúripfiro'ov.
Xas píθ tánikut cit e váási', 'íkri- tác kir panyúrar xákka'án.

Xas kuyrá'k tanípvi-kró'v panyúrar.
Karixas 'ítró'p tanípuxripfa'.

fix it good, I fasten it firm.

I apply the hoop, so that it will not be limber, where I start the sides of the basket; if 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 SIDE OF THE BASKET 42a

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

Then I weave around three times with pineroot.

Then I vertical bar design five 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 five times around.

Then I two-strand twine twice again with bear lil.

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 seven times around.

Then I diagonal bar four time 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.

42a See Pl. 23, b.
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.

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'pəθəθahiti pa-
'tuhsipnu"k42b

Karixas patecimi nipəθəθe"c.
Kárixas tani'arav yiθθa'.

Karixas 'ikrívki tanipvítkaθ; 43
sárummù"k pa'árawmù'k 'usák-
rívhti'.

Karixas tanipöθ. ꞌIpamñevит-
tátcmù'k tanipírikk'urí. Háři
'arará'ánmù"k takunpírikk'urí,
háři káru vírā vastáranmù"k.
Vá; vura káñ xas nickáxxierhti'
pe-pvíkimuram. Pa'áxxaki; te to-
sá'mkhá'hk pavi'kró'v pakári
nipθθe"c, vá; kári pa’íppam
tanitásur sárippak, 'avahkam
'uvárrí-hva pamú’íppan. Xas
pakári tanipví-kma káñ pe-kví-
muram, vá; vura nivíkcánti pa-
’íppam passárippak. Karixas pa-
tanípví-kmáha'hk pa’ifutetimíte-
ví’kró'v, karixas vá; káñ pa’ípa
nitaspúrirak pa’íppaní, taníyù’n-
núpri ‘áxxak vura passárum,
xas sáruk tanicí-rúní pa’íppaní,
tanipíritosáríc. Karixas taní-
vússur pa’íppam panu’íppankaí.
Púppá’ntíha’re, páva; taníncé-
caha"k. Patanikruptárárici-
ha"k,44 háři 'á? 'upimbatrákspí-
rinati'.

(How They Finish the Tobacco
Basket) 42b

Then I am about to finish it.
Then I three-strand twine on
around.

Then I two-strand twine si
times around with pineroot, th
three-ply twining holds it [th
final two-strand twining] up.

Then I finish it off. I faste
it with a little thread of sinev
They sometimes fasten it wit
Indian [iris] twine, and some
times with a buckskin thong.
I always stop at the end of
course. When only two round
remain before I finish, then
loop a sinew [filament] over
hazel stick, the ends of it [of th
sinew] hanging down outside th
basket. Then when I two-stran
twine another course around t
the end of the [previous] cours
there, I two-strand twine th
sinew together with the war
stick. Then when I finish th
last round, then I put the tw
pineroot strands through th
looped sinew, then I pull th
sinew downward; I tighten i
down. Then I cut off the end
of the sinew. It does not com
undone when I do this way to it
If I sew it down, maybe it will
come undone [lit. it will com
undone upward] again.

42b See Pls. 24 and 25, a.

43 Special verb used of last rows of two-ply twining at the rim o
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.

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44a See Pls. 24 and 25, a.
Karixas yiθa taniví:kró:v panyunamúnnavitec.


Xas sáruk tanicrú:nuwi, xás va: ká'n pe'oxúpparak 'úmmucitc vura patanivússuir. Va: ník'upapicríkk'urhahiti'.

Kárixas 'itcámmahite taní-yakurú:k'vra passágir po'vehrú:ramti, taní'y:msuir.46

p. Pahú't kunkupe'níkk'ahiti pe'oxúppar

Paniví:ktíha'ak, te'myátéva nipikyá:várihvutí pe'oxúppar pasipnu'kkaí, kiri kó: yá:'ha'.

Karixas pamoxúppar pata-nipidó:tháha'ak, xas taní'érip vastáran, xas tanikruptaratír'ívha' yimusitcmaihtic tanírúkúrúrihya to'pváppiró:pívha vura pavastáran, 'uykurúk'únpá:ahiti pavastacles.47 Xakinivkiahkan taníkrú:ppú:rié 'ippamú'úk. 'Ipan-

Then I three-strand twine on around carrying one bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine on around with solid bear lily.

Then I diagonal bar once round, 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; trim them off.

(How They Tie the Cover Of)
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.
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 I run it 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 'uxarípecuruti', or 'uxarípecurahiti'.
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 tónhiikk'ar.
52 Or 'uiccipk'áratí', or tu'iccipk'ar, it runs across.

63044°—32—11
Karixas pa'avahkam'iccipivra'ran va; mussúrum kan tiyú'nnúpri'. Karixas taninhí'c 'avahkam.
Va; ká:n 'îpanní'č 'unhiccúrú; vastáran, va; mûk takuntakkarari 'a'. Hári vura puñfa't 'inhíccuru; yíb xas vura takuninhíccurú pamü' kuntáikkarárihe'ec.

Plate 25, a, shows the finished tobacco basket woven by Imk'anvan, the making of which is described above, with cover tied on. Maso 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. Tusipúnvahiti pakó'č pa'uhísípnu'uk

(MEASUREMENTS OF THE TOBACCO BASKET)

The tobacco basket made by Imk'anvan, the making of which described on pages 107-126 of this paper, measures 8 inches in diameter, 6½ inches high, and 4¾ inches across the mouth. Attachments 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,

3. Pakah'uhísípnu'uk

'U;mnkun karu vura 'uhísípnu'k kuntá'rahití pakah'árahsa', va; vura kunkupavíkk'ahiti pánnu; vura sípnu'k nukupavíkk'ahiti', va; vura kunkupé'kkúrikk'ahiti'. Vúrama 'u;mn kunxúnnutíć, pu-saripáriphíhiq, 'a;nu kunsáríphí-hiti'. Hári va; vura kunsáríphiti pa'ávahkam kunvíkk'arati k'aru vura. Ké'ttceas karu vura kunikyá'ttí', k'aru vura tů'ppit-caš. Va; vúra pamüxúppar kunkupé'kká'hití', pavura nu; nanu- 'uhísípnu'k 'u;mnkun karu vúra va; kunkupé'kká'hití'.

By the end of the thong th is sticking off they hang it u. Sometimes there is not any stic ing off, then they tie another on to hang it up with.

The upriver Indians have to bacoo baskets, too, weaving them as we do, and using the same kinds of designs. They are kind of limber ones; they do not use hazel sticks, they use iris twine for hazel sticks. Sometimes the use as hazel sticks the same kind of material that they twine with. They make big ones and little ones. They make the cover of it the same way as we do for our tobacco baskets.
4. Pakahapxan' uhsipn'uk

Pakah'áras 'a'n kunsáripití amukun'ápxa'an. Kúnnutítas a'apxá'n, vura kuniyúmxum'i'.

A. Pakaháp xa:n pakumétímus

Pakah?aráhsa pamukun'ápxa:n apxanxaráhsa'. Xúnnutítcas, a'n kunsáripití'. Há'ri 'áffiv tók' ukríxxákáhií'. Há'ri a'apxan'áffivak 'a'xkuníc 'uy-úrúkkáhií'. Há'icpúk kunik-upkú'ttí 'apxan'áffivak, pí:ó. Icpuka'íffuokam 'apxan'áffiv tók' 'u'ifuokkámihtívuti', pí:ó taunúkrúoka, 'apxan'áffiv kú:j u'ifuokkámihtívuti'. Kuna nu; vura to'ho'máyátítcas pananúpxa'an.

B. Pakahapxan'ikxúrík


A'Cheúf vónnupma Va'aró'tas 'umkun ká:ra xá:kum kunívíkti kuma'ápxa'an

Pananúvik yí:v yúruk xúra xá:nunkupavíkkáhií', káruma'um:mun yíota pamukuntcér'pha', yúhi'.

The upriver Indians have hats with twine for hazel sticks. They are soft hats. One can bend them together.

(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 dentals on the top of the hat, four. The small end of the dentals 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...

D. Pahū’t mit kunkupūttihat pakunikirā’nvutihat mit pannu; kuma’ārā’ras Pakah’arahsa kō’va, kah ‘Ilnām pata’irahiv-ha’āk

Kō’vūra kuma’irahiv ‘u’iran-kō’ttihanik ‘Ilnām pāmīta nānīta’āt. ‘U’atirā’nnatihanik ‘axak’ältīv karu pe’mvā’ram, karu patarīpa’ān, vo;pirā’n-vūtihanik pavā’s, ‘arara’vā’as, 56 karupakahāpxa’ān, karu pa’ip, pa-vūra kō’kumā’u’up pakahūk vā’u’up. Kinē’htihat mit hā’ri pakahāpxa’ān, pūva; kinēx’nnatihā’ra, punanuvā’hā’ra.

E. Tcimi nutcuphuruō’ne; pakahāpxa’uhsipnu’uk

Hā’ri va kahāpxa’ān takinē-kā’rk, vīri va pa’ávansa hā’ri tō-kyav ‘uhsipnu’uk. ‘A’tcim takunpikrū’pvar ‘apxanāpmā’n’nak.

kind of basketry. And our basketry extends upriver to Happ, Camp. But upriver of Happ, 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 have some of them there too, they weave with ‘ākxa’p. They are already halfway up river people.

(HOW OUR KIND OF PEOPLE USE 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, India blankets, and upriver hats, and juniper seeds, for all kinds of things, upriver things. They used to give us those upriver hat 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 kumakā’ruk.
56 They used to make many buckskin blankets upriver.
Astaran 57 takunpiéxúparari, as takunpiérupsap 'a;nmúk; t;m pakuníkrú;pti'. Vuá pu-
6vúra pikrusú-pitiáp, 'apap ura ní ningúnite usurúkká;hiti, 
á ká:n pe-hérara kunyvá;yanhíqec. Táfirápá vuá ta-
unkíyúttceak 'avahkam paká:n usurúkká;hiti'. 'Apap takuníc-
apteak 'icv í táfrírapu', 68 sákri ura takuníkav. Vuá púttay 
á ká:n su? mahyá;mnátiáp pe-
érara'. Vuá patakká nnímite 
as pakuníhrú;vti, xas pakun-
yá;ti pa'uhsiínu'uk, ta'ápxan-
émmite. Vuá tapanímtara-
í nhitiarana pamukxúrik, xas pa-
níhrú;vti'. Yáv 'ukupé;váy-
cukahiti', pakunpíhtá;nuvti pe-
hérara'. Va kumá'i'í pakun-
pkú;pputi: xa 'um puíftekin-
ótáníhara. Takunííkkú 'avah-
am va kári yav tukupé;vá;yri-
káha'. Kahapxan'uhúsínu'uk 
u kunkupé;tvúyá;nnahiti'.

Pahút kunkupe'kyá;hiti pe-
hérarahamáhyá;nnarav kaháp-
xa'n. 55a 
Pactimi künkírrúpára;cahá:x k
yppam, xas kó;mahite vura 
kunpútthari. Pupuxxítte puítlan-
hap karu vuá. Pavura kó;ma-
tec kumpúthunti', pakó;mahite

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 to-
bacco 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 to-
bacco basket is what they call it. 

(How They Make A Tobacco 
Container Out Of An Upriver Hat) 55a 

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 

57 They double a buckskin strip over the edges. 
58 Or táfírapu'icvií;ttáte. 
55a For purposes of study, an “upriver hat” in the national 
collections was made into a tobacco basket by Inmkavan. The speci-
en thus converted is National Museum Spn. No. 19203. Hat 
lected at McCloud River, Shasta County, California, by Livingston 
one, accessioned July 20, 1876, flat top 4% inches across, estimated 
iginal height, 3½ inches. Dimensions of finished tobacco basket, 
½ inches long, 3½ inches wide; opening 1½ inches long, ½ inch wide; 
op 1½ inches long. (See Pl. 26, b, c, d.)
kunihró'vie. Páttay takunpúóara'k, 'uxééttéitchiti', 'upíppúnti'.

Pataxáannahicite 'upúóarahiti-ha'k, xas va; 'ievit takunícxá-y-cúr. Xas takunírvusúvus.59 Xas takuntávvié. Xas takuníxxax.50 Takunóáikikikí'n. Takunpapputcáya-tcha'. Xas 'ápkúrukkan takunparieríhva', yítté-ye vúrá. Va; vura ko samáyá-teás takunik-ya'v pakó;S kunikrúppare'te.

Takunpikrúpsap, pa apxan'ap-mán'nak. Xákkarari 'utaxnana-nięckvate. 'Áppapkam takunúpp-pifha pa'ípámä'n. Xas takunikróprí'n 'ípíhsí-hmá'uk. Takuniyunkúrihva pa'íppaní. Xas va; takunícyúnikív pa'íppaní. 'Áppap kuna kuj; takunícrú'-n'ma pa'ípámä'n. Pu'im àvúrú-kíháp. Xas va; vura kunkúpé-kurppahíti'. Kó-vura 'a-tpí takunpikrúpsap. 'Apmágnmú'k vura hitíháx 'asxay kunikyá-ttí', pakkári kunikrúpparatói.'

Xas 'íevi tinihýá-te takunuvúpp-paksur patáffirapu', pakunienap-tekákkare po'súrúkká-hiti 'áppapkání, pávo'áffivhe'te. Va; vura kó; utírihiti takunuvúppaksur, pakó; po'súrúprünáhiti', va; kó; takunuvússur. Karixás va; takunienáptecak, 'ápapkam takunó-vkáx. 'Íppámmá-k vura yav takunikupékrú'pkáhá'.

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 the bend it repeatedly. They clean off the fat or meat. Then the pull off shreds. They run through the mouth. They chew it good. Then they twist 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 gaping. They make a knot in or out of the sinew thread. They make a hole through with the bone awl. They poke the thread through. Then they put the thread through. Then the pass it back to the other (= first) side. They do not sew with top stitch. They keep sewing that way. All the middle part they sew together. The keep moistening it with their 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, as wide they cut it. Then they patch it, they cut it on one end. They sew it on with good sinew

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 takuníxxaxavára'n.
Then they cut a narrow piece of buckskin, then they cover the seam with it, where it is sewed 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.

(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

61 Or takunpičxiŋpaŋ, they cover it with.
62 Lit. it is made a little hole.
63 To make the loop.
64 Or takunipećxvaŋ, they plug it. The plug of a spn. prepared as only 3¼” long by 1½” wide. The plug is called kifutcákk'ar.
kiıtúnvutihara, 'ahuptunvė tc-mū'uk. Vā' vur ukupé vaxrá-hahiti'.

Fā't vura vā' kunmáhyā'nnā-rāmti patuváxráha'uk, sikkī k'aruvura sū' kunmáhyā'nnaramti'. Yō'ram kìxxumnipa'k takunták-karańi.

'Āpsun kuyrā'k mit pamuc-yuxśirixx'O'en, 'īnnā'k mit 'uvarārīhvač, yō'ram kìxxum-nipa'uk. Sikk 'umáhyā'nnahiti'. Sikihmáhyā'nnaramsa mit.

together, with little [cross] stick. They dry it that way.

They put anything inside, while it is dry, spoons too they put side. In the corner of the yora 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 yora. Spoons were in them. They were spoon holders.
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 much 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 pi'óvava dentalium for a hat full of tobacco. They figure it that way. And for half a basket full they pay a kyunt-kkitc 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; púxxus 'e'óti-hára, 'asiktává:n 'u;m va; xus 'u'é'óti', pa'asiktávan/'u"p.

Pa'ávaha takunikvāricehak"k, pé'cuk páva; takunikvāricecara-
ha"k, 'úvúyi ti 'ú'vrik'ápú'1 pé'c-
puk. Va; kunkupé'vúyá'ñnahi-
hti 'ú'vrik'apú'cuk, pa'ávaha-
'ó-ráha pé'cuk. Takunpi:p: "Va;
páyk'uk pa'atevívk'amivká-
's'ó'vrik'apu', va; pay paffúrax
's'ó'vrik'apu.'"

Papuvúra fá:t xúthapha"k kiri
nu00i; va; takunpi:p: "'U;mkun
púxay 'ará'r 'ú'vriktháp.'"

1. Pámitva pakó' 'ó'rahitihat
peh'é'raha'

'Ápxa:n 'axyar peh'é'raha kuyná'kkítck'a'íru 2 'ú'ó'rahitii', karu
hári para'mvaraksá'mmúthi. Vânra va; kunó'ññáti pa'apxán-
'nanmahate papihníttcítcas pa-
kunsuprávarati peh'é'raha. Teí-
mite vura 'uyá'hiti pa'ápxa'n,
púkútca'ktháp, xutnahite vúra
kunikyá'tti'.

1 Cp. 'ip ni'á'sípré'et, I picked it up.
2 Third-size dentalium, sometimes called kuynakítck'a'íruh'arál
ka"ns, 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 'icví'ttataé.

A hat full of tobacco is worth
third-size dentalium, or a full
size woodpecker scalp. The oth-
men keep a small-sized hat for
measuring tobacco. The hat do
not hold much, they do not pre
it down, they just put it in the
loose.
X. Pahú’t kunkupe’hérahi’t

1. Po’hra’m

A. Payiθo’uva k’ô’k mit kuma’’uhra’’am³a

Vā; vura kite k’ô’ka’ahupú’uhra’’am mit kunikyá’tthiht xavic’uhra’’am,¹ karu faθip’úhra’’am,² karu xupari’uhra’’am.³ Xavic’uhra’’am karu faθip’úhra’’am vā; kutc kunic vura k’ô’k mit pakunik-r’atthiht.

Xupari’uhra’’am yurukvā’t-uhramítkyav. Púmit vura vā; kunikyá’tthiht lac puxx’itc pánnu’tuma’’ará’ta’s, vā; vura kunic umússahiti pafaθip’uhra’’am. Kuna vura paxuská’mhar vā; kutc kunic kunikyá’tthiht xaxupári’’c.

Papi’’p vā’’uhra’msahanik vā; vura kitchanik xavic’uhra’’am, vā; vura kō’ kutc pamukun’uhra’’am-sahanik pe’kxaré’yav papikvah vā; paniu’tttim’ti’.²

Vā; vura yú’xas⁴ su’ xé’ttcíc samússu’’alf, pavura xávic ukútti’, kúná vura púmit vura vā; xavic’uhra’’am.

(TOBACCO SMOKING)

(THE PIPES)

The only kinds of wooden pipes they used to make were of arrowwood, 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 arrowwood is, but they never made pipes of it. They were afraid of

¹ Xávic, Arrowwood, Mock Orange, Philadelphus lewisii Pursh var. ordonianus Jepson.

² Fáθi’’p, 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 Xupári’’c, Western Yew, Taxus brevifolia Nutt.

³a For illustrations of pipes see Pls. 27, 30, 34; also the illustrations in Powers (reproduced as Pl. 29 of this paper), Mason, McGuire, Goddard, Dixon, and Kroeber (for references see pp. 23-34).

⁴ Yú’xas, Blue Elder, Sambucus glauca Nutt.
elder, they said it was poison wood, dead person 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. The Indians worked everything different. They started in the to make all kinds of pipes. They made some like white men's pipes. They were funny looking pipes that they made.⁵

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⁵ Pl. 27, d, shows Nat. Mus. specimen No. 278473, apparently collected at the Hupa Reservation, which is declared by Imk'vanva 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'vanvan was with northern Californi all-wood pipes of a kind not made by the Karuk-Yuruk-Hupa, with a 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 Hupa "mocking" the White man pipes.
a. Paxavic'úhra'azm
b. Pe'kxaré'ya va; mukun'úhrá mhanik xavic'úhra'azm

THE ARROWWOOD PIPE

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 shinny 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.

THE ARROWWOOD PIPE WAS THE PIPE OF THE IKXAREYAVS

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

5a See Pl. 27, a, c, e.
6 There was xávic on the Ishipishrihak side, too.
7 Indians cards were also less frequently made of pihtíri.
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 má'súkam. 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 White man pipe.

11a 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 ¾ inch to 2 inches in diameter, the pith channel is ½ inch to ¾ 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 whittings.

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

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13a Or 'u'te'cira'k.
14 See Pl. 33, a, for dug-out shaft tip of Karuk arrowwood arrow head to receive foreshaft.
15 Or pamüsu'u'f, 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.
kārāri. Teaka'ī te povāxrā-hhti'. Va; kunkupē'kya-hiti va; 'u-m pu'imteûntihāri,17 va; 'u-m sākri-vhe'ec. Pató-mountahaci k, pakunikyā'tthihāri ak, takunpi p: "Tōmxāxā'ar."18

Hā't manva vura kumā'i'ihanik papu'ikmahātēc m suvāxrā-hthi-haphanik paxavic'ūhra'ak. Vura-hū't manva vura kumā'i'ihanik 'īnna' kite kunsvāxrā-hthi-hānik. Pakunni hak 'u-m vura nīk hāri 'ikmahātēc m kunsvāxrā-hthi-hānik, pū mit vura harīxay nam-māhat 'ikmahātēc m kunsvāxrā-hthi-hāräpa'uhramikya'v, vūra mit 'īnna' kite kunsvāxrā-hthi-hāt 'ikrīvrah'm. Pakxavic 'u-m vura pupāram-vūthihāp. Punēsiti-mtihara xav-ic kunpāramvuti', kunsvāxrā-hthihāt mit vūra kite 'īnna'ak. Pafaēip'ūhra'ac vūra kite kunpāramvuti'.

Po-hramikya'v xāt vūra hari vura kunikya'v va; vur 'umteur-e'ec, pavūr umteur-e'cahā'ak. Hā'ri vura pu'imteûntihāra, xāt kāru su? 'āsxa'y, xāt kāru xāttik-rūpma'. Hā'ri'āvahkam 'u'aramsîpriviti pē'meür, kāru hā'ri sū'kam 'u'āramsîpriviti'. Patcē-myā'te vura yāv takunpē'kyaśispetchihā'ak, kāru patcē'myā'te takuntārakkaha':k po-hramik'ppani, pakari'āsxa'y, va; 'u-m pu'ifyēm-teûntihāra, va; 'u-m kāri pa'mu'ahup xūtnāhite, va; 'u-m yāv 'ukupe-vaxrāhahiti'. Va; 'u-m yā'mahukate pakāri 'āsxa'y, va; 'u-m yā'ahukatekya'v, kāru vura va; 'u-m pu'imteûntihāra.

It will not crack, so it will be hard. When it cracks when they are making it, they say: "It 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. They never saw them drying a pipe that were making in the sweathouse; they just dried them inside, in the living house.

The arrowwood they did not boil. I never heard that the boiled arrowwood, they just dried it in the house. But the manzeta they boiled.

Pipes in the making will crack if they are destined to crack, and 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 pitch 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'irmxāxā-rāthihāra.
18 This is the verb also regularly used of a finished pipe cracking.
Sometimes Chehsl;hmu
lramikyav
ulramikyav
lay
>ahup\'a
amukunPHcuf,
>ahup\'a
amikyavPHcuf,
I&Ti
arrington

KoTnahi
tcakaPHcuf,

F&'t
Karu
19
often

Their "pipe work."

20 Often with a sârip, 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
ongitudinally, 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.

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

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

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
bone, a deer's leg [bone], the 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.

They dry it first. Its pith is softer when it is dry. The rammings fall on the ground, the arrowwood pith. It is curled up on the ground. The old women and old men call maccaroni that way, arrowwood rammings, that is what they call it.

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(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 meat, they live too, 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.

21 'Ara'tit mit k'aru yí nga vo-thvuytihat Passay, Kà'timhín mit urk'et, pa'icviripmá; mit kunppéntihat. There was a person named Salmon Beetle too, he lived at Katimin. He died about 1877.
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 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 peel it off. 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 passay and amvavakkay 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
to Dr. Boving, more precisely reddish blue or brownish blue) are 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 all 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. These 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 of the hole by 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 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.
Pahú't kunðarunává:"tihamnik pavákkay po'hramsiruvar

Patuváxra po'hrá'm, va; ká;na takuní'va-ýramni pa'amvá'ophobia-rít po'hramtárükváraš. 'A? takuní'hyi'cruhmaš. Xas va; kuním-ýü'stí'. Tcakaí'mite vur 'u-úkkuříhti paðkúřit. Púyava; kunímýü'stí' yané'kva tuvuxará paðkúřit, su? va; vura tupíkýasvár paðkúřit.

Karixas va; kári patuváxra', paðkúřit, karixas 'amvavákkay takuní'appiv, karixas va; ká;na 'a'mmahak takuní'appiv pavákka'y. Súfšak ta'y ki pavákka'y, súfčírcak. Karixas va; su? takunó'nnam'ni, po'hrámmak su? Kohomayá'te vura pavákka'y pasu? takunó'nnam'ni. Karixas 'axvahámū'k takuní'taxváh'tečak, karixas 'a? takuntákkarari 'a'mmů'k. Pamússuf va; tu- 'a'mnúpri'.

Xas pataxxár utákkárarihva-ha'â'k, 'axmáy íkúra-xás táknña yánne'kva to'ýarúrínáhi to'po-hrâ'm. Hinup é'kva to'ýarúrín pamússuf po'hram'íkyaš. Púyava; karixas takuníkya pavóhrâ'm.

Puhítíháníhara pavákkay 'ih-ruítiap. Va; pa'aráč va; kumá'ti vura pavákkay su? 'u-thanná'mnhůvuti', kiri va; niptecakuva'nmaráti' panání'úhra'â'm. Karu há'ri vúra pu'ikýátihara pavákkay, há'ri tó'myáhsap. Va; kité kúnic vura kunkupitti' pakunik Futrá'ö'nátí'.

(How they used to make the salmon grub bore the pipe hole)

When the pipe is dry, they spit 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, they take the 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 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 fill the pipe.

They do not do it with the worm all the time. A man put 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.

(AN 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.

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.
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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.

27 Or 'úmtcúnti', it always gets cracked.
'd'. Pahú't kunkupattárupkahiti po'hramíппpañ
Kariñas po'hnámmpanitc tak- kuntárupkuri, pehér'ah u'i'orécí- rak. Taxaravé'tta kunkímnú'p- hanik.

'e'. Pahú't kunkupe'kyá'hití pamussúruvár
Xas pamusúruvar takuníkyav. Paffáti'p 'uum vura pusúrvára- hitihaña, puvá; kупífíthiara pax- xávic ukupíttí'.
Payém 'uum vura 'áhmúk takunikrúprínnáti', sìmním- ñírmánu'k.
Payém'mínay puxútháhp liri núkyav faépí'rhumaxaráhaša', pa- sìmní'mír takuníyú'nvárá- há'nu'k, viri hitihaⁿ vura 'úntëú'nvüti'.
Taxaravé'ttak 'a'h kunía'ñkuri- vitihaník 'rhumíppankam xun- yé'prínnakmu'ñ', kariñas 'íph- síhmú'k kunikrú prínnatihañik, pývá; vura puyívuhara su?.

'f'. Pahú't 'ávahkan kunkupata- xícxicahiti', xú'skúníc kunku- pe'kyá'hiti k'yáru vura
Kariñas yuhírmú'k 'ávahkam kuntá'vuti', kariñas 'ássamúk takunímk'útik'utáyá'tchá', 31 ko- homayá'te vúra takuníkyav. Takuntaxcx'acrúcuk 'uhan- ípanite pámítna 'áhmú'k kunkímnú'ppaat'.
Sak'assíp'ítcünnteur mit pux- x'ítc 'ukyá'táthiht Váskak páfík- ki', pafaé'p'ahupítkk ukyá'tíhat, vág mit 'ávahkam 'utaxícxicca- ratahí', sìmním 'uum púmit 'ih-

31 Or takuntaxícxicáyá'tchá'.

(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 Váskak worked them with most, when he made his spoons, his manzanita wood spoons. With them he scraped the outside of
rū-vtihat 'āyahkam. Papicec'c to'kyā'ha'k mit kic simsi'm 'ūhrū-vtihat. Mit upīttihat: Yē-pca pasak'āssipu'tcuntur, yāōahsa'. Yā's 'u;̂m karu vura mit vō-'hrū-vtihat pasak'āssip, pānīty ō'kyāttihat panu'ūhrām, ta'y mit 'ukyāttihat po-hrām.

Xās va: 'āyahkam xū'skūnic takunīyav tceitc'i'kk'āramū'k.

c. Paxuparic'ūhra'zem

Payurukvā'ras há'ri kunik'yā'tti', kunipitti', xuparic'ūhra'zem. Va: vura kunukek'yā'hitī pasa'Oip'ūhra'zem.

d. Pa'aso'hram'ūhra'zem 32

Va: vura kunukek'yā'hitī pa'so'hram'ūhra'zem pe'kk'ōt kunukek'yā'hitī.33 Há'ri vura payvāhe;̂m xavramnīha;k numá'hiti va: kō'-ka'ūhra'zem,34 tūppīticas pava: kō'ka'ūhra'zem.

Há'ri vura va: 'ikk'ōt kāru kunip'ënti 'aso'hra'zem, kunip-

32 'Asō'hra'zem, lit. stone pipe, is frequently prepounded to 'ikk'yō-t pipe bowl, to make more prominent the idea of stone pipe bowl although 'ikk'yō-t means nothing but stone pipe bowl anyway. Similarly 'aso'hram'ūhra'zem, lit. stone pipe pipe, is formed, it being felt as a clearer way of expressing stone pipe than is 'asō'hra'zem alone, since 'asō'hra'zem 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.
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say: "The pipe is bowled with an 'asó'hra'äm." And sometimes they call it an 'asó'hra'äm pipe-bowl.

There is a kind of worm too called 'asó'hra'äm, 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'äm just because of those worms, those pains.

(STONE PIPE BOWLS)
(SOME PIPES HAVE 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 this 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'ra'äs (Pipe Bowl Rock)) 35a

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

35 Also 'asó'hnám'mmite, dim.
35a See Pl. 31.
36 'Asa'úru is on the Katimin side and 'Ik'ó'ra'äs is out in the river from it.

c. Pe’kxaré-yav và; ká:n kunkip-pá:tkuríhánik pa’asá:ya v


d. Pahú’t kunkupe’knansúro:hi’ti

Kunikpuhkírê:tti pa’assak, pata:unknànsuraráha’ák pe’kk’ò’r pó:’hra’am kunikyá-vicehá’”k. Hárri pa’hmú’k kunvitkirê:tti pa’as- sa:k.


(Rock. On the Katimín side out in the water it is setting. All the sacred things are on the Katimín side, on the Ishipishrihak side there is nothing. The Indian used to come from far to peck of that rock.

The 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 bowl 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
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 'asáx-su"s, and sometimes they say 'asá-μtu"p. At Katimin by the river, downslope from Katimin, there are some rocks of that kind, 'asáx-su"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.

For picture of this rock and close-up of a section of the top of it here pieces have been pecked out, see Pl. 32, a, b.

Mg. shiny rock.

Mg. rock white clay.
kō'vura pakumā'u"p, pa'ara-rā'u"p, kāri tu'āhu; pa'apxantin-nihite,39 pe'kvāra"n, xāttikrūpmā kari tu'āhu". 'U'ā-pūnmuti va; kar uxriihārahiti pa'āra"t.

f. Va; karu kā'n 'u'asāxxu'shiti Sihtirikusā'm

Hāri Sihtirikusā'm pa'as kuniknansúrōtīhanīk pe'kkō'ré'kyav, hāri kā'áru kunē-te'i-prinātihaunik. Va; kā'n karu vura pe'kkō'rās kuni kyā'ttihani k Sihtirikusā'm. 'Axaxusyā'mmatcasite Sihtirikusā'm, kuna vura xē-teitcas 40 Xē-teitcas 'uma pe'kkō'r va; vék-ya, páva;mu'k vékya'v 'ik-kō'r xē-teitcas, patapihāras 'uma vura ni kunikyā'vic, va; kō'k pakuni kyā'ttihani k va; kā'n, 'imnīcrav karu vura ni kunikyā'vic va; kumā'as kuna vura xē-teitcas.41

40 Or xi-xtcitcas 'uma vura.
41 Or xē-teitcas pa'as.
41a For illustration of two detached pipe bowls, both of 'asāxxu's, see Pl. 32, c.
42 Or non-diminutive kuniknansúrō'tihaunik.

kinds of things, Indian things, then the White man, who bough things, came around, in the spring of the year. He knew the Indian 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 bowls. Rocks at Sihtirikusam too. Those are good looking soapstone rocks at Sihtirikusam, but soft, soft for making pipe bowls of, but they make indeed paving rock 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 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
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aráxas kotunyá-tc takunyá-nx-t
ik. 'Ippan' tc kó-te, tinhya-te
ta; pakunkúpe-kyá-hitihanik, u'kkam 'ühyá-kkivtä va; kun-
upé-kyáhitihanik, pakán su? hyáramnihic 'uhrá-m'mak.
'T-m kó-vura kunémyá-yá-tchiti-
hanik,44 frppáyav kunikyá-ttihanik, xúskúnic kunikyá-ttihanik. Karixas vê-heúramú-k pakunik-
êprinatihanik pe'kk'yö't. Hári sahyux kunmútrá-mnih-
utilihanik, va; 'um tcém-
ac tepunikyá-ttihanik. Sá-
áru vura pakunihru-vtihanik
assúruvar kunikrú-prinatihanik. Sá-
auru vora takunyá-tc kunikyá-tti-
anik.

h. Hári 'itéc'nite vura tém-
tc takunikyá

Hári 'itéc'nite vura tém-
tc akunikyav pe'kk'yö't, hári 'ité-
ö't, 'ínná-k vur utá-yhítí'.

i. Pahú't kunkupáotha'nakahiti
pe'kk'yö't po'hrá-m'mak

Po'hrá-m 'um pupikyá-ma-
á-tchitihap 45 pe'kk'yö't takun-
ánkaha'k. Po'hrá-m kohoma-
á-tc takunyáv, pe'kk'yö't kó-h. Ka-
va; kó; takunómyav pa'as, po'hrá-m kó-h. 'Avahkam taku-
úptá-vassúru po'hrá-m. Va; vura
po'hrá-m kó'kkáinay takunyu-
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 horn 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 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 'uhyássuru".
44 Or diminutive kunecimyá-yá-tchitihanik.
45 Or pupikyá-ratihap.
pākkurihva pakunkupāthā'nkahe'c. Pakár ukā tīmhitā'k xas kari takuniptaxic k'uka'm, kāri k'ukcu'm takunipeip̄p̄u'vä. Tec'myātcva kunipēnkō'tti po-hramsunuvana'ippanite, kunipikyāvārīhvūti ta'ata ni k'ohomaya'tė'c. Ko'homayā'te vūra takunikya'v. 'Icavu'tsunayo'te vura takunikya'v, pūyava; vura kōvurara patakohomayā'te kunikya'v. Teatik vura vā; takunipīka'yā'tē.

j. Pahā't kunkupe'tākkankahiti'

Pūya vā; ta'isfutetf'mite xas patākkak takunikya'v, vā; vūra kārixas takunikya'v patākkak pavūra kāri tcimi kunikya'vä'cā'hā'k. 'I'nē'k 'ahināmti'mite pakunikyā'tti'.

Patākkak kunikya'ratī 'icxikiharāmamā'n, hā'ri k'aru vur am- vāmamā'n. Kunpaputcayā'tehiti'v. 'Asē'mni'ènāmīte 46 xas kā'xn takunyu'ȟka'. Patakunxusmanik takō'h, xas takunimnič 'imfr takunikya'v, 'imfr'crāvāk sū'r. Xas tcimacyā'te vura 'aperuñxu kar axvāha', 'itecinipite- radvāha', atakunipicānnā'nva pe'cixikiharāmā'n sūr. Kuyrā; kō; patakunī'ca'f.

Pa'aperunuñxu 'araranpramsa'ippaha kunikya'tti'. Katimii'n mā'm vūr ta'y u'ifṭi', pa'aperunaxvu'ippa', vura fātta'k xas po'minnū'pran pa'aperunuñxu'. Mā'n vūra kīte po'varasūrō'hitī', pa'ippa 'avahae'cať. Payvāhi'm hāri pitcas'avavāha' takunī'cănti' karu hā'ri prams, tapūva; 'ică'ntihap pa'aperunuñxu'.

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. They get through.

(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 dish. 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 Katimii. The gum comes out at places of them. They just have skin, where the fruit was going to be. Nowadays they use sometimes peach or plum gum, they no longer use the [wild plum] gum.

46 Or 'imnicnam'ānāmmāhāte.
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, the stone bowed end 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 they finish it.

Pahu't kunkupapëttcùro'hitì pe'kk'ô'r
'Akâ' y vûràvà pó'xxutiha'k kiri pleyû'nkiv pe'kk'ô'r, kari simpu'kkàttcàk tupûðha', xas xake' kà'nm tõ'mnì'neur pumatàkàn.47 Xas tupikyà'yaq, yiò tupûyav patàkkàn.

(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.

47 Fritz Hanson soaked first-listed specimen made by Yas and removed the bowl with ease.
C. Pahu't mit k'ö's po'hräm, pamit håt kunkupe'ttci'tkirahitiha't

a. Pahu't mit k'ö's po'hräm

'Tumkun vura va' kunkupá'půnmahi'. Pekxarxayav karu vura vako'ghanik pamukun'úhra'äm, va' pakunúhi'eti'. Vâ vûra kógsámiteas kît kîmukun'úhra'msahaniik. Vûra va' karixas páva'tamashanik, Pa'apxantínihihit kîrî takun'ará rahitiha'nik, va' kárixas vûra páva'tamashanik pamukun'úhra'äm, pe'kyará takuntaráhitiha'nik. Yurukváras mit pîcicíp páva'tamas pamukun'úhra'âm. 'U'0 kunkvântihanik pamukun'ikyáras yuras-ti'am. Vâ'tamas 'a'xkúniesc pamukun'úhra'msahaniik. Kâ'kum kuyrak'â'ksip 48 'úvârámasáhiti-ha'nik. Kâ'kum 'ipeč'ânkîntacaš, kâ'kum 'axak â'ksip, kâ'kum 'íthá'â'ksip, pamukun'úhra'mhâniik Payurukvárâs. Yépea mit po'hramxárahsa', 'úvé'hvâra'hitihat mit xe'ňvasxarahsáha'k.

b. Pahu't mit k'ö's paxavic'úhra'äm

Xavic'úhra'm 'u'm vûra pu-vâ'tamák'amhâra, 'íthá'â'ksip kar ieivît va' vûra kîte kunpiyá-yîmmûti'. Xavic'úhra'm va' 'u'm pûva; kô' vá'tam 'ikâ'tihap pakô' fâiip'úhra'm kunikyâ'tti', (THE SIZE OF PIPES AND HOW THEY MADE THEM FANCY)

(The Size of Pipes)

(Pipes Did Not Use to Be Very Long)

They know that way. The Ikxareyavs had their pipes of the same size, as the Indians believe. That is all the size of the pipe that they made. Only then did they start 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 2 spans. Some were shorter on some 2 spans, some 1 span, then the downriver Indians had their pipes. They were good ones, those long pipes, they were inside of long pipe sacks.

48 The span here referred to is the distance between the ends spread thumb and forefinger. A thumb to middlefinger span is also sometimes used. Va' vûra kîte kunîhrûvâtî tik'ânpf'm'ma'takun'â'ksipré'ha'k, há'ri vûra xas pa'atcîpîk k'âru.

(Size of Arrowwood Pipes)

An arrowwood pipe is not very long, 1½ spans 48 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...
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)**

Doctored 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 then 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.

Ayirämké’txav 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.

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49 Little Ike of Yutimin Falls. His name, Ike, is an adaptation of his Indian name of his.
50 His Indian names were (1) ‘Ipco’ké’hva’n, (2) Ye-fippa’n. He is a famous suck-doctor.
51 An old expression of length.
52 Mg. ‘Ayiräm, Shavehead. Her name in earlier life was ‘Ayiräm-aro’m ‘Ara ‘Ipäsfürütihä’n, mg. she who took somebody in half-marriage on the upriver side of ‘Ayiräm. She was Steve Super's other. She was a suck-doctor.
Those two were the biggest doctors, Yefippau and Ayiôrin-k'arom Va'arar.

(Tobacco capacity of pipes)

Some pipes do not hold much tobacco, and some hold much. Also a big pipe holds more, and a little pipe less. If a person likes tobacco, such a person thinks: "Would that there is more there." 60

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. I 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 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, then 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 kunmâhyâ'nâti'.
55 Or kunmâhyâ'nâti'.
56 I. e., he wants it to hold more.
57 Or pamu'uhram?ássip.
58 Ct. 'ako'nnâ'anammahat'c, a small ax, also a hatchet.
Ringing Tobacco among the Karuk Indians

They 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. 18471, is painted red. Mr. Gist made his collection about Weitspec, upa and Katimin. Of the specimen was said: ‘Uhram’ápma’nak xkunic ‘uyuvúrukka’hití’, paká’n ‘uvúpá’ksurahitihi’rak, at the outh end it is painted red, where it is cut off.

62 Or kúnúrukurihvuti’.

63 A piece of the inlay is called yuxtcánnanite, diminutive of xá’ánan, abalone. Both abalone and abalone pendants are called xá’ánan or yuxtcánnanite, according to size. Abalone pendants the two standard kinds are shown in Pl. 28, a and b. An example an arrowwood pipe inlaid with abalone is in the U. S. National museum, specimen No. 278471, collected by F. E. Gist. This pipe shown in Pl. 27, a.

D. Pahâ't po-hrä; mit kunkupapp-pë'hvapëvahitiët, pâmítiña kó; 'ô'rahitiët

Puyìfâ-yë vëra yëcëri'hvitiëhapanik po-hrä'm pi'é'ëp. Vura kunikyâ'ëtànámë'hitihànk, pamus-kun'arâ'tas vura kunikyë-htan-ma'hitihanik. Po'kkô'ráhitiëha'ak, xas kinikvàrictihanik. Kàkkum 'u'mkun vura tûpîcè kunô'rajatiëvàtitihanik po-hrä'm, papu'ikyô'ráhitiëha'k. 'Uhràmyyav kun-nà'kitc kaîr 65 'uô'ráhitiëhanik.

a. Pahâ't mit yûrûk kunkupëk-vañahitiët

Hà'ri yu? mit kunikvarànkôtì-hàt xuskà;mañî, 'araraxùskàm-màrî, kàr uhrâ'm. Yu? 'u'm yà'mate kunikyâ-tti paxuskàm-

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. Pahâ't po-hrä; mit kunkupapp-pë'hvapëvahitiët, pâmítiña kó; 'ô'rahitiët

Pu'ìfyà-yë vëra yëcëri'hvitiëhapanik po-hrä'm pi'é'ëp. Vura kunikyâ'ëtànámë'hitihànk, pamus-kun'arë'tas vura kunikyë-htan-ma'hitihanik. Po'kkô'ráhitiëha'ak, xas kinikvàrictihanik. Kàkkum 'u'mkun vura tûpîc 64 kunô'rajatiëvàtitihanik po-hrä'm, papu'ikyô'ráhitiëha'k. 'Uhràmyyav kun-nà'kitc kaîr 65 'uô'ráhitiëhanik.

(How they used to sell pipes and the prices)

They never used to sell pipe 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 pipe 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 yî00 icpu kuyâ'kitc kaîrù, one dentalium of the third length or vantâra, from English one dollar.
nař, kunikxůr tik’ti’, ’a’xkunícůř karu ’ámku’fku’nič. Váramas karu po-hrá’m, payúrůkvi’rás tunikyá’atti’.

E. Pahú’t puuxarahírurav yávhi-tihanik po-hrá’m, pahú’t ’uku-patannihatihanik po-hrá’m

Puxxára ’ihru’vtilháp ’ührá’m, puuxára yávhi-tilhára. Vura puux-xaráhínurav ’ihru’vtilháp. Pa-saxxaráha;’k umxaxavárá’ti’, karu vura ’untáktá’kti ’ippaŋ, uhram’ippaŋ hári pe’kk’q’t ó’mtcúř, va; vura kari tó’pa’-niv po-hrá’m, pate’k’q’ri-puxn’a’k, viri k’uné’k taxxará uxávteur, hári káru vúra va; pa’ára’r tu’iv páva; mu’ührá’am, kari máru kú’k takunpē’tona ahvára’a’k. Vura ’ata te’mtc bapi’è’p ve’kyá’pu po-hrá’m. Ka’ș vúra ko-vúra po-hrá’m báye’m pakó’kănínay ’utáyhina’i, va; karikas ve’kyá’púhsaháik.

Kuna vura ’io’vûnênü’pi kyá’r-ührá’m va; vura kíte kárinnu pananu’ührá’üm, va; vura kari ari pananu’ührá’üm kíte, ’râ’ührá’üm, Kátini’mín vura kíte kari i00 ’uña’nmiv, karu ý00a va; á’n ’Innâm, karu ý00a pa-ámní’tk va; vura kari k’á’n iñá’nmiv ý00a’. ý00a hárinay as kunpē’toricúkti po’hra’m, xas ayváhém patú’ppítas pa’ára’r apu’uňa’mhtiháp pe’hé’râhá’. iri va; vura takumnáhyâ’náti ’apxantí’tcůhérâhá’. Tax-xara vë’ttak ’u’m vura ’arare-è’râhá kíte kunmáhyâ’náthâ-

and blue. And the pipes are long ones, that the downriver people make.

(HOW PIPES DID NOT USE TO LAST LONG, AND HOW THEY USED TO GET SPOILED)

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 tree. 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 Iccip sweathouse pipe. The pipe is in

69 The New Year’s ceremony.
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 any more, it is black. It stiff as the fatavennan's belt is.

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 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. This 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

66 Or tappîha'.
67 Or pe'tî'vaha'ak, when you die.
68 Or kûk.
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.
b. Small abalone pendants, the kind that women bunch at the end of their hair braids.

d. Large abalone pendants, the kind that women hang on their back.
Figure 43.—Tobacco pipes and Case.

Reproduction of Powers, The Indians of California, Figure 43, Showing Northern California Indian Pipes and Pipe Sack
'Ikyora'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
Tobacco Among the Karuk Indians

We always see a stone pipe bowl, that's all, where there used to be a living house, in the former house pit. Its pipe body has rotted away, I do not know when; the wood is no more, only the stone pipe bowl remains.

Almost all the baskets, the stone trays and things of all kinds, all kinds of things that we see now, nearly all are recently made, since the Whites came in.

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 xavicúh-nám'míte, bought from Hackett for 25 cents (Pl. 27, c), 3½ inches long, bowl end ¾ inch diameter, cavity ¾ inch diameter, mouth end elliptical in section ½ by ¾ inch, hole ½ inch diameter. The pipe was being used by Hackett when purchased. (Pl. 27, c.)

Arrowwood pipe, slender type, with bowl of green soapstone from 'Asaxúsas (see p. 153), made by Fritz Hanson, 4 inches long, ¾ inch diameter, mouth end ¾ inch diameter, hole ¾ inch diameter; slenderest part of pipe ¾ inch diameter, 1½ inches from mouth end. Pipe bowl ¾ inch long, edge ¾ inch long, rim rounding and only ½ inch thick. (Pl. 27, e.)

Arrowwood pipe, with bowl of black soapstone, collected by F. E. Gist, U. S. National Museum specimen no. 278471 (Pl. 27, a), 5½

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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\% inch diameter, mouth end \(1\frac{1}{16}\) inch diameter, hole \(\frac{3}{8}\) inch diameter, to one side of center; slenderest part of pipe \(1\frac{3}{16}\) inch diameter 1 inch from mouth end. Bowl edge \(\frac{1}{2}\) inch long, cavity \(\frac{3}{8}\) inch diameter, rim \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch to \(\frac{3}{8}\) inch wide. Abalone inlay consists of four pieces ca. \(\frac{3}{4}\) inch long and \(\frac{1}{4}\) inch wide, \(\frac{1}{32}\) inch thick, with rounding ends, set equidistant from one another parallel to long axis of pipe \(\frac{1}{8}\) 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, \(\frac{5}{16}\) inches long; bowl end 1\% inch diameter; mouth end \(\frac{3}{16}\) inch diameter. Pipe bowl \(\frac{7}{16}\) inch long, edge \(\frac{3}{8}\) inch long; end of insert \(1\frac{1}{2}\) inch diameter, cavity \(\frac{3}{8}\) inch diameter, rim \(\frac{1}{6}\) inch wide. (Pl. 27, b.)

Manzanita pipe with bowl of green soapstone from 'Asaxús'as (see p. 153), made by Pú'kvë'nate, a deceased younger brother of Yas who was a cripple,\(^{71}\) bought from Yas for 2.00, \(\frac{7}{16}\) inches long, bowl end \(2\frac{1}{6}\) inches diameter, edge of bowl \(3\frac{3}{16}\) inches long.

G. Ta' y 'ṳvúyttí-ḥva po'hrám

(The pipe has various names)

a. Pakó; 'ṳvúyttí-ḥva pamucvitáva po'hrám

(Nomenclature of the parts of the pipe)

'Uhrámni'\(^{72}\) c, 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 'ṳhram- ſippá, or 'ṳhram-Šippanka, 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 kéčtka, where it is big.

The small end of the pipe is called by the curious old term 'ṳhramáp-)ma'n, pipe mouth. About \(\frac{3}{4}\) 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 yittcikán, 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:

'Áráq 'u;m ſúp̓p̓e̓-ntí': 'ṳhnamšippa,\(^{72}\) kuna 'apxant'ťc 'u;m ſúp̓p̓e̓-ntí': 'ṳhramáp-)ma'\(^{72}\) n. Pa'áraq va; vura hitiha'n kunipítti': 'šíppan ſukk̓o-rahiti 'ṳhrám.' 'Áppakam pakú-kam ní̕nnaánhite

\(^{71}\) Captain John at Hupa had several pipes made by Pú'kvë-nate.

\(^{72}\) Or 'ṳhnamšippá.
va, 'u:m 'ará:r úppénti 'uhram?ápma'n, kuna 'apxantí:tc 'u:m úppénti 'uhram?áhup.

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.

'Uhramsúruvar, the hole or boring through the pipe.

'Ikkv?ó'r, the stone pipe bowl.

The cavity where the tobacco is placed is called by more than half a dozen different expressions: 'uhram?áppan su, inside the top of the pipe (or if it has a stone pipe bowl, 'ikkv?ó'ta?áppan su, inside the pipe bowl); pehé-rah o-í?órí?í?ak su, where the tobacco is in; pehé-raha?írúam, place where the tobacco is in; pamusúrruka,73 po'hram-áppan, its cavity on top of the pipe: pamusúrruka,73 paká:n pehé-rah 'u'í?óra', its cavity where the tobacco is in.

b. Pakó: yidóva kuniovúyttí:hva po'hrák (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:

Xavicí'úhra'as'm, arrowwood pipe.
FaóipPúhra'as'm, manzanita pipe.
Xuparicí'úhra'as'm, yew pipe.
'Asó-hra'as'm, 'aso-hram?úhra'as'm, an all-stone pipe.
Xavicí'úhra'm 'ikkv?ó'rí-ppux, arrowwood pipe without stone bowl.
Pe-kk?ó-ráhitihan kuma'úhra'as'm, stone bowled pipe (of arrow-
wood, manzanita, or yew).

'Uhramxe-hvássipux, a sackless pipe = 'uhrammúnnaxitc, just a mere pipe.

Po'hrám paxé-hvá-shitihañ, pipe that has a pipe sack. Xé:hva:'s
'uí?okúti po'hrám, a pipe sack goes along with the pipe.
'Araraká:nnimitcas mukun'úhra'as'm, xavicí'úhná:mc'itc, a com-
mon people's pipe, a little arrowwood pipe.
 Ya-sårara'úhra'as'm, 'ührámka'as'm, 'uhramxára, a rich man's pipe,
a big pipe, a long pipe.
'E:mu'úhra'as'm, 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'úhra'as'm, Indian pipe.74

73 Or dim. pamusúnnuka'as'tc.
74 The pipes of the Yuruk, Hupa and Shasta were so identical with the Karuk pipes that there was no occasion to prepend tribe names to the word for pipe.
'Apxanti-te’úhra’*m, White man pipe.
Tcaniman’úhra’*m, Chinaman pipe, Tcaniman’uhramxa’ra, China-
man long pipe.
'Uhnamhi’*te, a play pipe, e. g. made by boys, dry maple leaves of
the like being smoked in it, = 'uhram’ikyamf ‘tevä’, a plaything pipe.
'Uhramkohomayá’*te (dpl. 'uhramko’somáyá’tcaš), a right-sized
pipe. Puraku vur 'ipcú’inkatcha’ra, karu vura puva’rämaha’ra, it is
not short and not long.
'Uhrámka’*m, a big pipe.
'Uhna’-m’mite, little pipe, = 'uhram’anammahat’c, 'unhám’anam-
 mahat’c, a little pipe. Xavic’úhná’-m’mite, little arrowwood pipe.
'Anana’úhná’-m’mite, little Indian pipe.
'Uhramxá’ra, long pipe. 'Uhnamxáannahit’c, a slender pipe, =
'uhnarnxanahyá’*te.
'Uhram’ipcú’inkiñate, short pipe.
'Uhram’úfu, a round pipe, a chunky pipe. Volunteered, e. g., of
the short thick pipe shown in Pl. 30, pipe at extreme right.
'Uhramxútñahit’c, a thin-walled pipe.
'Uhrá’-m ’áflik’v’am yittec’, a pipe that is sharp or slender at the
mouth end. 'Uhrá’-m ’áflik’v’am niña’mamit’c, a pipe slender at the
mouth end.
'Uhrá’-m ’áppapkam tinhya’*te, a pipe with a flat place on one
side.
'Uhramfí-páyav, a straight pipe.
'Uhrámku’*n, a crooked or bent pipe. 'Ukú’nhiti po’hrá’m, the
pipe is crooked. Cp. vasíhk’u’nitc, hunchbacked.
'Uhrámé’*té, a lobsided or crooked pipe. 'Uti’nhiti po’hrá’m, the
pipe is lobsided.
'Uhram’icná’nitc, a light pipe.
'Uhrámmá’*te, a heavy pipe.

c. Ká’kum ’uhramyé’pca karu ká’kum ’uhramké’-mmit’cas

(GOOD AND POOR PIPES)

'Uhramfíkýá’yav, a well-made pipe.
'Uhrám’yav, a good pipe. 'Uhramyé’ci’*p, a best pipe (among
several).
'Uhramké’-mmit’c (or dim. ’uhnunké’-mmit’c), (1) a poor or poorly
made pipe, (2) an old pipe. 'Uhnamké’-mmit’c, a pipe already old.
(See pp. 163–165, 170.)

Pavura tapufá’thara kuma’úhra’*m, a good for nothing pipe.
Vura tapufá’thará po’hrá’m, the pipe is no good.
d. Ká'kum xúskúnicas karu ká'kum xíkkihca po'hrā'm

(SMooth AND ROUGH PIPES)

'Uhrámxú'skúníc, a smooth pipe.
'Uhrammúťax, a sleek pipe.
'Uhramsıríkúníc, a shiny pipe, e. g., shiny from handling.
'Uhramxíkkī', a rough pipe.

'Imtanánámnihitc pu'ìkyayā'ha'ra, you can see he did not work it good.

'Imtanánámnihitc vura po'tá'tcæhití', it is visible where they cut it with a knife (where they whittled it down).

'Imtanánámnihitc po'taxítekúrhvá', it is marked with whittlings with some deep places. This is the way to say it has whittling marks on it.

'Ukxárippahití', it has been chopped with a hatchet.

'Utá'vahití', it is cut with a drawknife.

Vuxitéaramú'k 'uvuxitéčúró'hití', it has been sawed off with a saw. Vuxítcań, saw. Nesc. if this has "tooth" as prefix. Vuxitcarávuh, tooth of a saw. Ct. vuḥá'ānammahatc, a little tooth.

e. Pahú't po'kupítťi po'hramáhup 'a'ñ kunic 'u'ix'axvárā'hití su?

(HOW THE GRAIN OF THE PIPE WOOD RUNS)

'Ufi-payá'tc vúra 'a'ñ kunic 'u'ix'axvárā'hití', the grain runs straight.

'A'ñ kunic 'u'ix'axvárā'hití', 'ukískunkúrahití vúra, the grain is wavy.

'U'atătāhití pa'áhup, the wood is twisted.

Teántca-fkunic pamú'ä'ñ pafačipúha'rm po'hrámírecak. Xavic-úhra'rm púva' kupíttihára, teántca-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'rm karu 'uhram'íxxúrikk'arás

(INLAID PIPES AND PAINTED PIPES)

Yuxtcannanítc'itatkurihvara'úhra'rm, an abalone-inlaid pipe. Yuxtčannanítc 'u'itatkuhira vuma'úhra'rm, the kind of a pipe inlaid with abalone pieces.

'Uhram'íxxúrikk'ar, a painted pipe. 'Ukxúrikk'ahití po'hrá'm, the pipe is painted.
g. Ká:kum 'uhrāmpīt.cam, karu ká:kum 'uhramxāvtcu'

(new and old pipes)

'Uhrāmpi"t, a new pipe.,
'Uhrampikya'ráppi"t, a just finished pipe.
'Uhramkē'm'mite, (1) poor pipe, (2) old pipe. 'Uhramxāvtc, old pipe. Tuxāvtc po'hrā'm, the pipe is old.
'Uhrampikya'ý'pu', a fixed over again pipe.
'Uhram?axvi10ifār, a dirty pipe.
'Uhram?amyē' r, a sooty pipe. 'Amyivkite po'hrā'm, the pipe is sooty.

Teufni-vkātēfkitc po'hrā'm, the pipe is flyspecked.
'Ifuxā'ühra*a,m, rotten wood pipe. Tuxāvtc po'hrā'm, the pipe is getting rotten. Said of an old pipe.

h. 'Uhrāmpīnk'urihāfas

(pipes that have become burned out)

'Urāmpīnk'urihāf, a pipe that is burned out big inside. Va; kari takkē'te 'uînk'urihīti 'ippan su?, pataxxār uhērāravaţa*a,k, paxavic-ē'ühra*a,m, it gets burned out big inside the bowl end, when the arrow-wood pipe has been used for a long time.

'Uhram?mtā-kkať, a pipe with a gap burned in the edge of the bowl. 'Uhram?mtātā-kkať, a pipe with several gaps burned in the edge of the bowl.

i. 'Uhram?imxaxavāɹa'tas, pahű't 'ukupe'mxaxavāɹa-hiti'

(cracked pipes and how they crack)

'Uhram?imxāxā'rar, a pipe with a crack in it. 'Umχaxā'rahiti', it has a crack. 'Āxakan 'umχaxā'rahiti', it is cracked in two places.

'Uhram?imxaxavārahā'r, a pipe with several cracks in it. 'Umχaxavāral-hiti', it has tpl. cracks.

'İkk'yart 'u'aramsi'prévtī' pe'mxaxa'àr po'hrā'm. Xā;sm vura hit-ha;nx və; kā:n 'u'aramsi'prévtī'. The pipes begin to crack at the stone pipe bowl. They nearly always start to crack there.

 Há:ri və; vura kari to'mxaxa'àr, pakunikyā'ttiha*a,k, və; vura takunyav po'hrā'm xā't 'umxaxa rahiti'. 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 flakes a little, they finish it out that way. It is a little bigger where they are going to put their mouth. They flare there.

**(THE BOWL END IS BIG AND THE MOUTH END FLARES)**

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 flakes a little, they finish it out that way. It is a little bigger where they are going to put their mouth. They flare there.

**(HOW THEY CRACK)**

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 flakes a little, they finish it out that way. It is a little bigger where they are going to put their mouth. They flare there.

**(_THE BOWL END IS BIG AND THE MOUTH END FLARES_)**

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 flakes a little, they finish it out that way. It is a little bigger where they are going to put their mouth. They flare there.

**(_HOW THEY CRACK_)**
'Ik'ō-re'kkxarámkunic, 'asa'okurit'ikk'ō'tr va; 'u'm pa'ik'ō-rayé-
ci''p. A black pipe bowl, a fat-rock pipe bowl, is the best pipe bowl.
'Asaxus'ikk'ō'tr, yáv umússahiti' yióúva kunic 'upimusapó-tti',
karuma vura xé'tcita, 'úmtcúnti patakunihe-raravaha'śk. 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'kkxaramkunic ukkō-ráhitiha'śk, víri va; páttax; y 'u'ó-ra-
hiti'. Po'hrá'm patcántcák'kunic 'ukkō-ráhitiha'śk, va; 'u'm vura
tcémítc 'u'ó-ráhiti'. 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 tcántcák'kunic pe'kk'ō'tr, the pipe bowl looks white in
places.

a'. 'Ik'ō-re'ctáktá'-kkará

(NICKED PIPE BOWLS)

'Ik'ō-re'ctáktá'-kkará, a stone pipe bowl, a piece of which has been
chipped out.
'Ik'ō-re'ctáktá'-kkará, a stone pipe bowl, several pieces of which
have been chipped out.
'Ik'ō-re'mtá'-kkará, a stone pipe bowl, a piece of which has been
chipped out by heat.
'Ik'ō-re'mtaktá'-kkará, a stone pipe bowl, several pieces of which
have been chipped out by heat.
'Ik'ō-re'mxáxá'-tar, a stone pipe bowl with a crack in it.
'Ik'ō-re'mxaxavára'śr, a stone pipe bowl with several cracks in it.

m. Pahú't po'mússahiti po'hram'ápmá'śn

(DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUTH END OF PIPES)

'Uvúsuráhiti po'hram'ápmá'śnák, yáv 'ukupavúsuráhiti', the
mouth end is cut off, is cut off nicely.
'Umxútsurahiti po'hram'ápmá'śnák, the mouth end is bulging.
Old pipes were often finished off this way, it is said.
Kunic 'u'ánnushithihate po'hram'ápmá'śnák, the mouth end is fat.
This is an old expression.

Po'hram'ápmá'śnák há'ri 'áppàpvári 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. Pahú't 'ukupá'ihyáhi'ti karu há'ri po'kupáthánné'hiti po'hrám

(HOW PIPES STAND AND LIE)

'A? uhyássiprivtì, it is standing (on its bowl end).

=Su'i úëxú-priv, it is sitting mouth down. Òi-vríhvák 'úòxú-ptá-
ku"t, it is standing down on the living house bench. Hitíha'n
vura su'i takuníthúppicrilhaó, they stand it bowl down all the time.80

'A? 'u'i'hya", 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.

'Ássak 'úkvá'yk'uti", it is leaning against a rock.

'Uó'n'ív, it is lying. Òi-vríhvák 'uó'ántáku"t, it is lying on the
living house bench.

Tutáññi-hecp, it is rolling.

2. Paxé'hva's

A. Po'hramyav 'u'm vura
hitíha'ñ xe'hvá'ssak su' 'úkri"1

Po'hramyá'ha'ök, 'u'm vura pu-
haríxxay xe'hvássipuxhaña, 'u'm vura
hitíha'ñ xe'hvá'ssak su' 'úkri"1.

Pa'apxantíinnihitc 'ín kinik-
varíctiháníñ, vura xás hitíha'ñ
paxé'hvássipuxsa po'hrám. Yi-
thukánya pakuníyíe'cric'huvtiha-
ñik, paxé'hva's karu vura yíóóuk
karu po'hrám vura yíóóuk, vás
'ú'm kunípttíiháníñ: "Va; 'ú'm
nu' 'áxxakan kiníè-he"c."

78 Ct. 'uhyáñi, man or animal stands; 'u'i'kra"a (house), stands;
  'u'i'hya" (stick), stands. But of a mountain standing they say
túycip 'úkri"1, 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.
B. 'Akâ'y mukyâ'pu paxe'hva'as

'Avansa 'u'mkun pakunikyâ'tti paxe'hva'as. Hári karu vura 'asiktává'n kunikyâ'tti paxe-hva'as.

C. Yiúva kumáxé'eva'as

Vâ' mit pakunikyâ'ttihat pakumáxé'eva'as: tsirapuxé'hva'as, kar icyuxtásirapuxé'hva'as, kar icyuxtírixó'n, vâ' mit pakunikyâ'ttihat karu paxe'hva'as, karu yuhpipá'rariharaxé'eva'as vâ' mit kárú pakunikyâ'ttihat, Payú-rúkvá'as 81 vâ' mit kítc k'únic pakunikyâ'ttihat payuhpipá'rarihâr.

Mahnuvanátemá'n kárú kunikyâ'ttihanik pamukunxé'eva'as, kunípítí, 82 kuna vura 'u'm pa-mahnuvanátemá'n 'atcov'ma'n kó; xútñáhítie, vâ' xas pakun-tápkúpputi' pakuníc páha vâ' paxe'hva'síkyâ'yâv — mahnuvanátemá'n 'u'm xútñahíttcítie. Púmit vúra vâ' xútñihaphat kíri nuyukar pamahnuvanânte, 83 'u'm vâ' 'iávëaneñkin nnâ'sísíte, tury-clip mu'aramahé'ci'tip vâ' mit kunípítitíhat.

a. Paxe'hva'as pámítá nimmá'ah-ttihat pi'niknikkâ'ahív

Nu; mi tá'y túppiticas yetrip-áxvú'h'sa, vâ' tanúvì'hchip, tanumúsíkínan'va, tanumúsíkínan'-va papihníknik. Ta'y panumá'hti pakunihë'nati', tcavura

(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 elk skin 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 birds skin, 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 disc. The Yuruk tribe.
82 'Afri'tc 'upälti', Fritz Hanson says so.
83 Many Indians killed it, but there was a superstition against doing so.
Some of the deerskin pipe sacks and elkskin pipe sacks had fur 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 for a long time in the water, sometimes three times, 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 'icyuxxirixy6-nmahy6-nna6av, elk testicle containers.
Xasa[t. 86 Xas va; 'appap takun-
   ñayav paxe'hva's.s. Takunsipp-
   pü'na ma hra;tpícei'p, xas va;
   kò; takunikyaav. 'Axakxé:hva's
   'u'arihicihti yítha thérix°°n, yítha
   thérix°°n 'axak 'u'arihicihti xé-
   hva's.s. Xas va; takunikrup 'ip-
   pammü'ik. Xas 'avahkam pa-
   mukiccapar takunikrup'ka, xe-
   hvasapampa'naak takunikrup'ka
   pavastáran.

   'Icyuxóríxi'náxé'hva'ss va; 'úo-
   váũyti'. 'Affiv vura 'úmya'thiti'.
   'Áviikam takuntáffi.87 'Affi
   vura kítc pó'myá'thiti'. Va; vur
   uycaráhiti 'axkúnic karu vura
   tcańteafkúnic. 'Imyayárahsa
   kúnic. Puftecóríxi'nmaq 'um
   xútnáhítc. Va; 'um pu'ikya't-
   tihan xé'hva'ss, xútnáhítc. Kuna
   vura 'icyuxóríxi'n 'um 'ítpum.
   Pá'kvátca88 Kaftimínnarák
   mit, 'appa pampa; mit' ípeó'n-
   kináte, musmus 'ín kunvúran'íik,
   Panamnii'l,[89 'icyuxóríxi'náxé-
   hva's mit pampa;hva's sítca-
   vútvarak mit 'uhyákkúrikvt. 
   Tcańteafkúnic 'axkúnic 'ucará-
   hiti pa'múmya't, vártúmas kunic
   pa'múmya't.s.

D. Pahú't paxé:hva's kunkupe'k-
   yá'híti 80a

   Po'hra;tpícei'p kun sipü'nu-
   vuti pakó; pa'ubrám 'uvá'rámá-
   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 pip
   sacks; a pair of pipe sacks com
   out of a pair of testicles. Then
   they sew it up with sinew. Then
   at the top they sew a tying thon;
   on; at the mouth of the pipe
   sack they sew on a buckskin
   thong.

   It is called an elk testicle pip
   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 deep
   scrotum is thin. They do no
   make a pipesack of it; it is thin
   But elk testicle [skin] is thick.

   Pakvátcax was a Katimin Indi
   an, 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 whit
   and red hairs, on, long hairs.
   (HOW THEY MAKE A PIPE SACK)

86 Ct. 'á'tcip takunvúppakrav, they cut it in two crosswise.
87 Making it hairless.
88 Another of his names was 'Áttatař.
89 About 1865.
80a 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 Imkúvan.
thing that they make they measure 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 sometimes they point it at the bottom. They take a cut off of both sides. And sometimes they cut it slanting.

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. But long ago I saw them fringed only at the bottom, some of their pipe sacks.

90 Old expression.
90a For pipe sack of this description, with side and bottom fringed, made by Tca'kitcha'an, see Pl. 34, a.
a. Pahú't kunkupe'kyá'hití pa'ippam\textsuperscript{90b}

Pacími kunikruppě-cáhà'k pa-xé-hva\textsuperscript{91}a\textsuperscript{s}, há'ri kunparici-hvúti pa'ippam,\textsuperscript{91} karu há'ri vura va' kunixaxasúrō'tí pa'ippam, tupítcasámámhite kunixaxasúrō'tí', a:v mú:k kunikrup'ptí'. 'U; mit vura nanítta't 'ukyá'ttihátya xé-xa'ke,\textsuperscript{91}a'te mit. Pa'ará: n 'u;mkun vura pupúmad ko'hínmátítváha', xá't mukun'ára\textsuperscript{91}a'. Pamit vô:kruptihátya pamuxé-hva'as 'ippammú'at, pumit paricer-hvápu; 'ihruvtiháy, 'ipamun-vé'tticas kítc vüra mit póhrú-vtiháty. Vá:vra mit sákri'yv.

b. Pahú't pakunkupe'krúppahití pa-xé-hva\textsuperscript{92}a

Á'tcip takunikfú'y'ív, 'áxxak takunpipáttun'ya. Pakú'kam 'íck'ám va'kú'kam u'ávahkam-hití payváhe'm pakunikrup'tí'. 'U'ítvínahití pakunikrup'tí'. Takun pá'ra vuru ke'krúppaha. Pavó:kupe'krúupahitá'k va' 'u;mk sákri'yv. Pakunikrup'tí pa-xé-hva'as 'ippammú'at, 'úppas kuní-vtúrktí pa'ippamák. Kó'mahite takunpapppú', 'apmanmú'at vura hitiná'x áxvay kunikyá'ttí'. Pú:vi cúnic takunikrup. Pu'ikru-prúpá'ttiháy.\textsuperscript{92}

\textbf{(SINEW FOR PIPE SACKS)} \textsuperscript{90b}

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 sack. 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.

\textbf{(HOW THEY SEW THE PIPE SACK)}

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 their mouth. They sew it like a sack. They do not sew it way up to the top [to the mouth].

\textsuperscript{90b} For illustration of sinew string used for sewing pipe sack, two kinds of sinew and connective tissue, see Pl. 33, b, c, d, e.

\textsuperscript{91} Terms for kinds and accompaniments of sinew are: 'ippam, general term for sinew; pimyur, special term for the sinew from the leg of the deer; vasih'ippam, back sinew; vasih'ippam'axví'y', the connective tissue or membrane adhering to back sinew.

\textsuperscript{92} A medium-sized pipe sack is usually sewed up only to a point a couple of inches below the top, only as far as the section covered by the tie-thong wrapping.
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.

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.

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.

93 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 kunkupamáhyá'nna-hiti pehé'taha paxé'hvá'ssák.

Púyava; paxé'hvá's takun-píkya'ar, karixas takó'h, pehé-raha su? takunmáhyá'n paxé-hvá'ssák.

Tá'ya'n vúra kunkupítti 'icya"v, patcimikunmáhyá'nnecahá'h paxé'hvá'ssák, xás va: takunsuváxra pehé'taha 'ikriv-kiña, xás va: 'ák takun-?é-ripá'pa'a'hímpak, va: 'ávah-kam takun?é-ño'n, 'ihé'taha-ávahkaín, va: kunkupasuváxrá-hahiti.'94 Karixas xé'hvá'ssák takunmáhyá'n.

a. Pahú't kunku-pó-hyanákkô-hiti patakunmáhyá'nnahá'h paxé-taha paxé'hvá'ssák

Kó: ká'n vúra patakunipmáh-ya'nnmarahá'h pohrá:mmak kunfungú'hsirvítí': "Maté'k xára nímýá'htíhe"ec. Pá'ñ ku-tá-rim náxxú'shúnictí', 'úm pákam 'iku'ipmé"ec pamuxuské'mha' pa'ñ ká-rim náxxú'shúnictí.'95 Vo: kupa'ákkihahiti pehé'taha peó'vá'nnó'n. Pícce:p patakunú'p'ha xás takunfúmpu96 pa'ípíhér'aha kíte pamúttí'k.

F. Pahú't kunkúpékícccapahiti po'hrá:mm paxé'hvá'ssák

Takunipkícccap paxé'hvá'ssák, né-namite 97 'uhýánniúcúkvátc 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 They then 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 crumbles] 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 takunfúmpú'hsipt, or takunfúmpú'hsuir.
97 Or 'icvit, which means not only half, but a piece of it, a little of it.
98 Or 'uhýárícúkvá, 'umtarana-mhití or 'utníccuktí.
The pipe does not stick way in. The mouth end is visible a little.

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 Ikxareyavs 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 spiralling 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.
H. Pahút ukupappihahitihanik pataxxára vaxé'hva'as²


I. Tusipúnvahiti pakó: kákum paxé'hva'as³

(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 9% 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 1½ 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 10¼ inches long and spirals around three times. The fringe is ca. 1 inch long down the entire side, and ½ 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. Pahút kunkupaé:úti po:hrá:m


(HOW THEY CARRY THE PIPE)

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 paxára tava xé'hvá'sha'ák instead of the last two words.
³ Or ta:áhup kuñíc.
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 Benzoni, 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."

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4. Pahu't kunkupe'hē'rahiti'

(SMOKING PROCEDURE)⁶a

In smoking, the Karuk 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 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: 'ührā;m 'u'ē'ōti' (he packs a pipe), as if he were packing something heavy; they do not say: 'ührā;m 'u'avīkvuti' (he packs a pipe). They say: 'ührā;m 'u'ē'ōti'.
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 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.

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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.

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Tintin Drilling Fire with Indian Matches
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.
ur pamuxé-hva's, karixas tö's-unikv pamu'úhra'm. Xas ku-tukamátru:p9 tö'yvá-yrámnì amuhé-raha', va; vírà 'u'a-pún-múti pava; kó; xyáre;10 pamuxé-hšá-m'mak, 'atrupí'ta-toipañi. Xas tí'kk'än, 'ateútipíkk'än to'i-takka'ar pamuxé-hvasvástaran.11 Pühítá:ñ víra tákkarárihvára pamúttí'k'än, hári 'á-pun tö-θšátic pamuxé-hva's. Xas tumáh-yäñ pehé-raha po'hrá'm'mak. Po'máhyá-nñatiha'k pehé-raha po'hrá'm'mak, pakú-kam pamúti-k po'i'tá pehé-raha va; kúkam pasúrumak 'utákkarárihvá pamuxé-hva's, 'ateútik'ansúru-kam 'utákkarárihvá vastárán-m'iík. Tuyúrik pamu'úhrá-m'm'ök. Atrúpí'ti'm va; ká'ñ u'axaytácikkicrihti po'hrá'm. Xas to'k'ri'hic pamútru'p, pamútrup-mik teimítemahíte vura patóy-yvá-yrámnì pehé-raha po'hrá'm'mak, kututukamtik'yánk'äm'm'ok po'kúttcią'k'ti'. Tik'yánk'äm'm'ok kúkúttci'k'ti', kiri ta'y 'uyá'ha'. Pe'kkxaré'yav va; kunkupítihita-ñik, va; kunkumáhyá-nñahiti-nanik pamukunú'uhra'm. Xas a'tuxicicurá'nñati pamútru:p 'hrá'm'm'ök, hári vur ifyak'än víravá.12 Væ 'z'arun kupé-kýá-híti pamútrüp. Pamútru'ppák vura ká'kkum u'íftakankó-híti pehé-raha', pehé-raháma'tap víra kite. Væ; vura kite kunic 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 Ikxareyavs did that way, filled their pipes that way. Then he rubs the pipe [bowl] upward across his palm several times. He empties his palm 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.
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.
takunfúmpu-ḥsu'ı, 13 pehē-rahá-m-tə'ap.

'Asxə'yúknic pehē-rāha', 'ar 'u-
'ıftakankötti'. Xus kunén'tcháyá-
tchití' xa'-y upásxa, kunxúti say
upásxa'y. Patupásxə'yapa'ak,
və kári pu'amaya-hānə. Kuníc
'utá-pə' patósxə'yhə'ak. 'Ap-
mánkəm paxe-hva's. Paxe-h-
və-smə'k kunf-və-yrənnihə'ak
'uhraz'məmak, və 'u'm 'ıpun
'uyvéririhe'ec, 'ıpun.

Patu'arunha pamútrup pehē-
rāha', karixas tuñúmpu'ssi, to-
teüphə, tuoˈpəp: "'Teú paj Tuˈycip14
nu'akki, pehē-rāha';
teu paj kə-kkum nu'akki Tuˈycip;
teu paj 'am kə-kkum, Tuˈycip. C'we,
teu paj Tuˈycip nu'akki',
matic' ı'cik; t namamahe'ec. C'we,
'Iəvenənən'en, matic' pufter na'if-
kəciperˈvicařə, 15 c'ə, 'Iəvenə-n-
ən'en. Há'ri k'ar u vera və
kunipitti' "Maté-kəkára nimya-hti-
he'ec. Maté-k ı'cik; t namamahe'ec.
Maté-k 'asiktavə'n nipikvə-
mərə'ec." 16

Pavura fatta'k yəv kunifyůk-
kutihə'ek, há'ri və; kunipitti' "'Iəvenənən'en, matic' k namahav-
nikəyá-tečhe'ec. Puťət vura
kə-timə nakuphećara.'

Há'ri karu vura pehē-rāha-m-
ku'f kunfumpúhpiųvútə', və verbally
vu-
ra kunkipitti pakunvě-náfipti'.

watch the tobacco lest it get
moist, they are afraid it will get
moist. If it gets moist, it does
not taste good. It gets kind of
moldy when it gets moist. The
pipe sack has a big mouth. If
they poured it from the pipe
sack into the pipe, they would
spill it on the ground, on the
ground.

As he empties the tobacco off
his hand, he blows the tobacco
dust out of his [left] hand, he
talks, he says: "Take this to-
bacco that I give thee, Moun-
tain; take some of that I give
thee, Mountain; take and
eat some of this, Mountain. C'we,
take this that I give thee, Moun-
tain, may I be lucky. C'we,
Earth, may nothing get on
me, c'we, 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 some-
where far, he will say some-
times: "Land, mayst thou be
glad to see me. May I have no
troubles."

But sometimes they blow to-
bacco smoke, praying the same
way.

13 As a food sacrifice to the mountains, the earth, etc.
14 Addressing any near-by sacred mountain; regularly Medicine
Mountain, if the smoker is at Katimin.
15 Mg. may no disease or hatred get on me.
16 Added by the pray-er partly in fun.
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.

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 'ippanka'm.
19 Or 'i-fiti va; 'u'm tu'ir 'ipanni'te.'
20 Or 'ua'xaytcákkierht levit.
a'. Pahú't tî'k mâk sú'ya:tc vura kunkupa'ankó-hiti pemnak po'hra;m'mak

Há'ri tî'k mâk vura tu'ë-thôripâ: pemnak, 'ayu'âtc sâkri:vm mit
pamukunti'k! Pura fâ't vura áhup vura pu'îhru-vîhârâ. 'Âpunite vura po'ë-thî pamu'úhra'mmânhâmni pemnak, tî'k mâk vura, va; 'u'm yám mâhâukkátce 'ukupa'ânannâhiha'ce. Sâkri:v 'upmahónkô'nnâti'.

Tu'ëttcip tî'k mâk pemnak. Xas vura 'u'm tê'myâ:tc 'uhrá:mak to'áannâm'ni.

Xás vura hitõha:n tî'k mâk pa-tu'ë-thôipa', kuna vur 'ümtcâ'kti
pamutti'k, kari 'atrúp to'áannâm'ni. Vura 'u'm 'u'íttapti
po'kupa'aficccânnahiti'. Xânnahite vura to'kritiva ytîvay pamutru'ppâk, pa'a'nh, va; 'u'm pu'imteákkè cará. Karixas súru-
kam tuyûrik po'hra'm, pehê'râa su? 'u'tôra'. Xas va; ká:n to'k-
kî'mnnâmniâ:mu pemnak 'uhra;m'mak. Karixas tupamâhma'.

b'. Pahú't kunkupatatvârâ'hiti sú'ya:tc vura pemnak po'hra;m'mak

Há'ti 'uhtatvârârâmâ:k to-
tâ'tvar pemnak, 'uhnam'üppanite to-tâ'tvar. 'Ikriwâ'mâk vasáppik sâppik 'ôvú:yîti'. 'Áxxa kó:k pamukunsâppik 'ikriwâ'm'mâk, yîñoa 'ôvú:yîti puftesâppik, va; karixas vura kunihru-vâtî papûf-fitce takunávahâ'ak, karo yîño ikriwâmsâppik, va; 'u'm vura hitõha:n kunihru-vâtî. Kuna pek-
mahátârc:mu vasâppik 'u'm yîño

(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
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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. They use that poker stick a long time, they are saving, they do not like to see it burn. It is smooth, sleek. It is already like bone it is so dry already. You will see those same tobacco tonging inserter sticks lying there next year. They do not get spoiled quick, they use them long.

He always uses two of the tobacco tonging inserter sticks to

23 Old expression. Cp. a'ívári tupáttuvic [high priced dentalium ring of several denominations] exceeds the tattoo mark on the ream; the expression is also used as slang and means: It is very duable.
to-tá'šip. Hári vura yittce:tc pamúttí'kmúk to-tátva',24 'u'm vúra vo-kupéřo'hi tì po-hatávrá't, 'apaptí'kmúk25 vúra, 'ayu'átc 'áppap.26 'u'axaytcák-kíerithi po'hra'm. Va; múk to-tátvar pe'mnak 'uhnamíppa'nítc paká'ñ pehê-räh u'í'vra'. Va; kari tupáktí-feur pe'mnak, patu'ink'á'yá'tca'k pehê'rähä'.

c'. Pahá'ít 'á'pun picci;p kunkupata'tcric'hvahiti pe'mnak
Hári 'á'pun 'ahinámtímmitec to-thá'ric picci;p pe'mnak kóma-hítc 'á'pun to-thá'ric karixas ik po'antakke'c pamú'uhrá;m'mak mussúrumaí.27 'Uhtatvara ra-múk vura pato-tá'tripa; pe'mnak, hári vura tí'km'ú'k, tu'é-trípa'. Pura hárixay vura námmá'htiha ré 'ínnákí k k u n a n u k r í p p a n a t í ' a h u m ó k pe'mnak,28 'ukak-rimshit sú'winva pamukú'nah'é'h. 'Ínnák 'u'm púvá u kupíttíhap, kuna vura márúk xas 'ikvécrihra'om, paku-híram karu vura 'akunváram, va; ká'ñ xas k u n a n u k r í p p a n a t í pa'a'ñh, va; kunkupa'àhkó'hi tì pamukun'úhrá;m pakunihékáti'. Mussúrumak 29 to-tá'ític pa'ahímnak 'asapatapréhak.30 Xás tí'km'úk xas tu'é'tceíp, 'atru'p to-thá'nnámí pa'a'ñh, to-kríri-

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 then 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

(HOW 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, besides him. He tongs the coal out with the tobacco tonging inserter stick, 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 acorn camping place, or at 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 hi-

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'ñh.
29 Lit. beneath him.
30 Of the sweathouse.
Pahú't kunkupéhyasípri'na vahahíti pohrám, papicífte takaunihé'raha'ask

Pahú't 'a-punite va' kari takunpaxayteákkieríhi', paxán-nahíte tu'inkáhahu'ask

Papicífte tuhé'raha'ask, puxxwítce 'a' uhyassíprivtí po'hra'm papúva

When he first smokes, he has to hold the pipe tilted up very much.

(Tobacco Among the Karuk Indians)
Púyava: pa-xannahic tā pehē'raha tu'īn-k'āhā'k, kari tusākri-vhā sū? 33 tō-mnap. Karixas kunic tapu puuxx'ītc 'a? 'uhyāsiprimmāhtatī-hārā po'hrā'm, patō-mnap su?. Va'kari 'ā-punit po'hrā'm po'a-xaytcakcicrihtī', po'hē'tāti', tapu 'a? 'i-hyār po'hrā'm.

Mit nimmā-hṭihat kunihē'rați' papihnttcitcas. 'Teañ mit nimmā'hat pihnttcite naniyū-kkīrukan 'uhē'rați', 'ah'ieyū-kkīruka'n, kāru na; 'ieyū-k mit nikrē'et. Papiccf-te 'uhē''e'r, 'a? 'uhyāsippamau'ūhra'g, piccf-te vura pumnimmahṭihtat su? pa'a'h. Papuxx'ītc 'u'īnk'a', va'karihasnim'mā'hat su? 'imtannanāmhīhtite po'ink'ūti', va'kri 'ā-punitetupi-ppe'c pamu'ūhra'gm. Mit nimmā'htihat pāmita nikrē'raķ 'ieyū'k. Taxannahicite iteyū-kki-nyā'atcu kūk 'uhyāvūtti po'hrā'm.

Hāri mit taxxāravē'nik nimmā'ūstihat pā'ara'k po'hē'ratī-hā'k, 'ikmahātcr'an karu vura mit nimmā'ūstihat pāmitva kunihē'rahta, pāmita kunpi-nkī'k vānā-tihta'hā'k, pa'ē'm 'u'ī-hūha'k, hāri mit vura su? nimmā-hṭihat, po'ink'ūti pehē'raha', po'hrā'mak su? po'ink'ūti'.

F. Pahū't kunkupapamahmāhahiti'

'A'h tuyū'inka', xās kārī tupamāhma',34 va'xas kumā'i'itui- before it burns very good. After the tobacco has burned a little while, it gets hard inside [the pipe], it congeals with heat. Then he does not have to tilt the pipe so high, after it [the tobacco] congeals with heat inside. Then it is lower that he holds the pipe, as he smokes, it no longer sticks up high.

I used to see the old men smoking. Once I saw an old man across from me [in the living house] smoking, on the other side of the fire, and I was on the opposite side of the fire. When he first started to smoke, his pipe was sticking up. At first I could not see the fire inside. When I got to burning good, then I could see inside plain where it was burning, for then he tipped it down I could see it from where I was sitting across the fire. After while the pipe was sticking straight over.

Sometimes long ago I used to see an Indian smoking, also I used to see in the sweathouse when they were smoking, when they had a kick dance, a doctress dancing, I used to sometimes see it, the tobacco burning inside burning inside the pipe.

(HOW THEY SMACK IN)

33 Or su? tusākri-vhā'.
34 Ct. 'upātvpupti', he kisses. The Karuk used to only kiss and cluck on the skin of babies. They did not kiss adults.
that reason, because he smacks in. Then he smacks in several times. Then it burns.

(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 pipe out of his mouth slowly. Then he takes the smoke into his lungs. He sucks in, makes a funny sound, he goes this way: "0..." Then quickly he shuts his mouth. For a moment he holds the smoke inside his mouth. He wants it to go in. 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 and exhaling, and the two sounds that accompany it.
37 Or tö-myä-hräf. This is the ordinary verb to inhale.
38 The same verb is used of holding water in the mouth.
39 This is the idiom. 'išväyak 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: e-i-. This is called tö-myä-hräpâ", she breathes out. He sucks air to drive the tobacco smoke into his lungs with a õ-resonance, it breathes it out merely with an h-resonance.
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 smoke again like he smoked before. A few or maybe four times he take the pipe from his mouth. Then behold, he knows he has smoke up the tobacco, there is no more inside [the pipe]. As he smoke he knows when there are only ashes inside. He just fills up the pipe once, that is enough. That is enough, one pipeful. He rest 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 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. [sounds] like he is still tasting in his mouth the tobacco smoke ye

42 Or tupamáhma'. Tupícki'n, like tupamáhma', means he smaal in several times. But tupám'ma, he smacks in once.

43 The verb is derived from 'uxrā'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.
VA; nulla vára kó'vúra to'pmahó'n; 'iñiá'i;e vúrə, pató'sná-ká'há'ñik. Hári vura pamyu; p ? to-ôyívura'. Karu hári tu-kyívívrə', vássihka'm tupikyívívrə', tće'mya'c vura 'ápún òśäríc pamu'úhra'm, karíxas ato'kyívic. Xas takunátakav, òvúra takunk'cá-hvánâ'. Pu-kará 'ín vúra xú's 'ë'ti'há'p, àgt 'ihérâ'h 'umyú'mni, kuna ò'kuhi'tíi kumá'i;í tupúffa'ñik, òrí va; 'úxm 'iccaha kunfás-ôttíi'. Vura pehérahamá'k úpuflá-thá'ñik, puúxára 'árim nnné'ra.

Hári pe'kpihanha'k pehér'aha', à'avansa patuhi'rehaha'k vura 'ápúnmutiha'ra patupúfálá'ñá'. Hári vura 'ápún to'kyívic vura pu'ápúnmutiha'ra. 'Ió?a-a 'ín xas takunippe'r: "Yáa úpuflá-thá'. Takunma vúra as pamútíi'k 'únxì'chi'tíi.'

Kunipttí ká'kkum papihni't-útcás kuniktí'nntáti', patakun-hër'amahá'ñik, kó'vúra 'iñiá'i;e unipmahóknntáti'. Xara vura ëpmahóknntáti yav, pehér'aha ovi'téntihá'ñik, xará vura yav ëpmahóknntáti'. Hári 'ápún o'kyívic, tômyú'mni, mit nim-rá'htíhat va; mit kunkupítíttí-at, papihni'ttíticas. 'Tkpihan pehér'aha', víri va; pakunvi'tá'ñ; 'ápún takunki'kyívic. 'U;mun vúra takunpímta'y. Kunták-rüumi kíte pappinho'ttíticas. Akunihër'áñi'ti kuntcú'phlná'ti nmanháterá'm. 'Axtmák ík vúra 'ótha taputcú'phitihá'ra, hinup

(HOW THEY DO AFTfER 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, they throw water on him. When it is from tobacco, he does not lie there still long.

Sometimes when the tobacco is strong, the man 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
is that he faints. He gets up himself. He feels ashamed. That is the way they used to do in the old times. They used to like the tobacco so well. They used to like the tobacco strong. Whenever they faint from to tobacco, they always get ashamed. They used to do that way, get stunned. Sometimes one fellow will have so strong tobacco that nobody can stand it without fainting, it is so strong. He feel proud of his strong tobacco.

Some were fainters when they smoked, others never did faint. Some faint when the tobacco gets strong for them, and other 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 the that as it gets strong for him he falls.

(How they take the pipe out of the mouth)

Then when he finishes smoking then he puffs the ashes out. The he takes it out of his mouth Then he raps the pipe bow against anything he raps it.

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43a Some broke wind when they fainted.
44 Ct. papiccî'tc tuhê-râ'nha'â'k, when he [a boy] first starts in to smoke.
TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS

I. Pahu't paxe-hvā'is kunkupa-pimθanuvnōhitī,45 papūva po-hrā'm piyūnvārap

Karixas pasa? tcupihyāramühē'cāhā'k 46 pamu'ūhra'äm, kari caka'i'mite vura tupimθanuvnuv samu'ūhra'mmā'k paxe-hvā's ārī 'ahūp'anammahatcmā'k, tiri pehē'raha 'asīvīte kō'var papihrā'm. Tupimtecanāknak 47 tiri su' upivrārāammī pehē'raha', tiri 'asīvīte 'upivrārāammī pehē'raha'.

K. Pahu't kunkupē'pānnā'mnihvāhiti po-hrā'm paxe-hvā'ssak su?


Uhyānicūkvāte pakā:n 'uhramāpma'ān, pakā:n 'ūpmā'nhē'c, e'hvasīppan 'uhyāricūkvā'. Xas va: kā'n peiccīte tō'pkīccap 'a'ppānnī'tc. Xas tupipa'ráravurukūtu. Karixas tusūppihā', vastanīppanītc. Karixas kūkkum upiyū'nkūri, sitcakvutvarassūruk upiyū'nkūri, karu hā'ri 'akavākfrak su? tupiyū'nāmīni, pamuē'hvā's.

45 This is the ordinary verb meaning to drum, as in the Indian card game. The diminutive, kunkupapimθanupnūppahiti', can also be used, and is often used, of tapping an object when one is emptying out its contents.

46 Or tcim upihyāramühē'cāhā'k.

47 Or tupimθanuvnūv.

48 Old expression referring to the spiral wrapping.

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.

(How they put the pipe back into the pipe sack)

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 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.
L. Pahút 'ukupe'hé'tahiti pafatavē'nnā'än

Patcim u'á'hke'caha'k pafatavē'nnā'än pamu'úhra'äm, va' kari picci'p pamusítteckvūtvar tupic-yünkī', tupí'ru, vastāranmū'k tupinh'eri', muppímate 'ăpun tó'phā'īc, yā'stī'k'k'āmkm muppímate tó'phā'īc.⁴⁹ Karixas tupa'takh'i'c 'ăpun, su? tumāhya;m 'uhrā'mak pamuhē'taha', tu'á'hka pamu'úhra'äm, karixas tupihē'er.

5. Pahút pa'uhaf sāripmū' kun-kupe'kfuntrā00unahiti po'hra'm'mak

Paxxāra takunihē'taravaha'k pō'hra'm,' u'ahafhiti su'i. 'Upate-ruktrukutti tl' tl' ⁵⁰ pa'ārā'v tuhē'tahā'k.⁵¹ 'Amakkē'em. To'ppīp: "'İf 'amakkē'em, tu'ú'hāfhā'. Tupāttcek po'hra'm, pūxā'y ta'amkū'fhīricuktlhāf, po'hram'amku'f. 'Uppīp: '"E-', tupāttcek."

Karixas pe'hē'tahā' tupīvā'yrí-cūk, ū'kk'ān tupīvā'yrā'm'ni, xá;t 'imfīr. Kāri sārip tu'āppīv, 'ikmahā'cra'm vura su'i u'ākkā'tīmvā ma'ft'mite ⁵² pamukun-pikrukva'ara'äm, sārip. Yō00a tu'ā'-sīp, va' mā'k tupikrūkko'r, sarip-mū'k tupikrūko'r, tcaka'ī'te k'ū'nic, pe'kxaramkunic'uhaf va' mā'k tō'kfū-trā'tūn. Pakū'kam 'uhramápma'äm va' kū'kam 'u-ārāvū'kti patupikrūkko'or, įp-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 and ties it with the tie-thongs, he lays it down beside him on the ground, beside him on his righ t he lays it down. Then he kneel on the ground, he puts his tobacco in the pipe, he lights the pipe then he smokes.

(HOW THEY RAM THE NICOTIN: OUT OF THE PIPE WITH HAZEL STICK)

When they use a pipe a long time to smoke with, it get nicotine inside. It makes clucking noise tl' tl' when person smokes it. It does no taste good. He says: "How ba it tastes, it is nicotiny." Th 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. The he hunts a hazel stick, in the sweathouse in the matimit there is a little pile of rammer hazel sticks. He picks up one he passes it through, he passes hazel stick through it, slowly With that stick he rams out the black nicotine. He starts from the mouth end when he runs 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'taha'k.
⁵² They keep a little pile of the hazel sticks in the matimit by th wall.
Xas va; kuna kú'kam passárip ƙu'axayte'àkkie kíte 'uhram'ippan-
ksam. 'Ar u'iftakankó'tti. 'Im-
xaxákké'em. Teaka'í'mite vura
ƙu'iyúrücułk passárip 'ìppan-
ksam. Piceç-te patu'ì'yúrücułk
passárip, kari 'àk tupá'kkiir. Fàt
vur ukk'ê'ê'êc. Karíxas 'apma'ñ-
mú'k tupá'futsur pa'úhañ, su?
patùpítcas pa'úhañ.\(^{53}\) Xas
áhuppak 'a? tupíknúpuñíp, tea-
ka'í'mite vüra.

Va; vüra kíte pakunkupe'kýá-
žiti', va; kári tayav. Vüra u'm
ou'iccáhámú'k pìóxá'htìhañ. Va;
vüra kíte payáv kunkupa'kýá-
žiti', pakunkifutraóóunatí
pa'úhañ passáripmú'ñík.

Paxxára takunihétaravahák
po'hrám, va; kári sú'kam taxíkki
pe'kk'ê'ê'or. 'Ikk'ê'takam su?
u'ênk'ùtí pa'úhañ, viri va; pañí-
ki su?, 'umtákta-kpáòttí. 'Té'k-
xáramkuníc sú'kam káru. 'Ìppan
káru kúnic to'mtáktá-kpaò pe'k-
kk'ê'ê'or, pataxxaráhá'ñík.

3. Pahú't kunkupíthihanik súp-
pá'hañ, pahú't kunkupe'hé'ta-
hitihan k'yarú vüra

'Axákyám kunpáphi'kkirîhti
yíòa súppa\(^{50}\)a, mahñí't kar ikxurar. Karú
'axákyám'tí vüra kun'dí-
pámítí.\(^{54}\) Mahñí't vüra kíte kun-
ña'mtí kar ikxurar, 'axákyám'tí
vüra kíte pakunkíppamítí.

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 some-
thing. Then he puffs out the
nicotine, the little pieces of nicot-
ine 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 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 kun'á'm'tí.
Yítha vura mah'ít tó·klu·ksip 'ikmahátera'm, to·kváttař.55 Va; 'u;m 'ícki; t pahítíha'n 'úkvá'ttí-ha'k.56 'U;m vura tuvónsip kar ukvitharáhiti úvú'a. Vura puxú-tiha': "Kiri kun'á·pún'ma, patanívónsip."

Karixas takunráruhápsip pató·kváttič. Yí; vura takunipött-ti·hivrik po'xraráti pató·kvátti·crihá"k. Tárúpákkam pató·kváttič. Xas yítha 'í'n kunaxáy·rán'kúti pa'áhup 'ikmahátera;m su?, 'itcámmanítc poyuruvrá·tvú-tí'. Teatik vura tapúfsa'x pa'áhup. Karixas takuníphi·kkiri. Kó·vúra tássu pa'áhup, pe'kma-hateramáhup, 'iphihíha'áhup, mú·ttá'.57 Va; vura hittha'n xá'x 'áxxak pa'árag kunikváttič, va; vura kó·vúra kuníphi·kkirihti'.

Patakunpáphi·kkírimáráhá"k, kumáxxára xas pakun'á·mti', 'í'n-ná'k xas pakun'á·mti'. Va; kari-xas pamah tíhítcav kun'á·mti', pa'árvánhítc to'kré·há'k pakkú·srá'. Va; kunímmú'ústi pakkú·srá'.

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, even if the sun is somewhat high. They watch the sun.

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 hinuwé 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. 'Ikvátta"n, name of a younger brother of Snepax (Mrs. Benny Tom), mg. getter of sweat-house wood.

57 Or mitahahúp.
Vura 'u;m tcf'mite vura pakunihèrati mahè'it vura patakunbaphì'kkirihmårahu'ak. Karu vura patakunpamvaraha'ak, tcf'mite vura ktc 'u;mkun pehèrâtihàn-sân.

In the evening they all come back. Sometimes they come one by one, and sometimes nobody comes over to visit them, when they come back. They know what time supper is going to come.

Patakumpamvaraha'ak, va; sari vura takunifyukuüppi'ívà pa'ívansaš. K’a’kkum takunik-thi:n’va, karu k’a’kkum vura f’t vura kumá’i’i pakunifyuk-kutì’, k’a’kkum màruk, k’a’kkum maruk pakunifyùkkuna’tì. Pa’asiktávànsa kà’re ‘u;mkun àhup takuntúran’va, (’Àvansa ‘u;m vûra pu’ahup ’ikyàttihà-lík), kà’re há’ri f’t vûra takun-ùpìvàn’va, kà’re há’ri f’t vûra takunifyùkunu’tì. Kà’re há’ri takunifyùkùppìrìkaru, kà’re há’ri takunifyùkùppìrìkaru, kà’re há’ri takunifyùkùppìrìkaru, kà’re há’ri takunifyùkùppìrìkaru.

Pa’ívansa vura ‘u;m va; hitì-àchùn po’hrà’m kuniès’tì. Vura pu’ípcà’mkirihtiâp, po’hrà’m. Há’ri vûra va; ’àpun tokré, uhè’er, po’vûra yvùtíhà’ak. Karu k’a’kkum ‘u;mkun pûfà’t karu vurmukunùhrâ’m. ’Ìkmahátècam; xas kunímùmmáhti pehè’er.

’Ìkxràr xas kò-vûra takunpav-ùhuk. Há’ri ’ítica’mmahìtc vura akunùppaktì’, kà’re há’ri tà’yá-ùvàn vûra. Karu há’ri ’akara vura ’ìn takinìmahvàkkìra’â, pakunpávyìhûkaha’ak. 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
n'á-púnmuti pakkári xas ik pa-
kun?áve"e.58

Púya va; kari kúkku;m takuní-
phi'kkiri. Kun?á-púnmuti pak-
kári, kunimm'ústi pakkú'sra',
patuvakkuhiha'k, va; kari pa-
kuníphi'kkirihti'. Va; kari pa-
kuníphi'kkirihti', yá'n vur 'uvák-
kúrihti'. Pakkú'sra va; kunim-
m'ústi'. Va; kari patakuní-
phi'kkiri payá'n vur uvákku-
rihti'. Xas takunpá'tvan'va.
Xas kó'mahite 'ikk'ám takun-
pikrá'nti'. 'Imfir k'ar uvá-ráy-
vúti sú?. Kuníkrúnti kiri k'únic 
'umsíppie sú?. Karíxas kúkku;m 
kó'mahite 'ikmaháterá'm takun-
pavyíhv'ráth, pató'msíppie. Kúk-
ku;m kuníkrúnti pató'kxám-
ha', pató'kxánamháyá'tchá'.
Va; 'u'm kari vura pu'ihé-
rátihiap, patakunúphi'kkirma-
rará'k. Ká'kkum vura ník 
'u'mkun kuníhétati te'mítie. 
Há'ri yi'ña pa'ára' rá 'u'm vura 
hitíha'zn 'ikmaháterá'm 'uparic-
rí'hvúti'. Há'ri tuhé'er. Va; 
kari papuxx'útc kuníhétati 'ikxu-
rarapámva"r.
Karíxas kúkku;m patakun-
pávyí'trúk 'inná'k. Pa'ásiktá-
va;nsa vura kun?á-púnmuti 
pakkáritah, vura kó-vúra takun-
pikya'túffíp. Va; karíxas kun-
'ámti tó'kxánamháté, va; kari pa'avakamícci;p kun?á'miti', 
'ikxurar tó'kxánamháté. Vur 
ó'vú' yiti pavyíhurúkra"m,59 pa-
tó'kxánamháté, patakunúppa-
varukaha"k. Va; kari vur ó'vú' yiti pakari kunpávyí-hru-
púke"e, pakúkku;m 'ikma-

58 Added in humor. They were great bummors of meals.
59 Mg. the time when they come back in.

Then 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 
pavyíhurúkram, the time when 
it is just getting dark, when they 
are eating. And the time 
when they will go back out 
when they will go back to the 
sweathouse again, is called iv 
yhirupukram. Again in the even-
ing they spend a long time eat-
ing, in evening, their supper 
When it is night, they are still 
eating, they are eating yet. I 
takes them a long time to eat.

They pack their pipe there into 
the living house, too, when they
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.

Sometimes they pick up Tan Oak rotten wood or sometimes

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60 Mg. the time when they come out of the living house ('i'v, 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.
Once Camp Creek Johnny's wife and Camp Creek Sam's wife, when camping at Ishipishrihak in the salmon catching season, met a little half-breed girl and called her 'ifuxxá', thinking of the white looking rotten oak wood, because of her fair appearance. The word was used almost as a nickname.
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 tooth-ache.

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'ifuxxaḥmā'nu'k instead of mū'k pa'ifuxxa'sa'.

65 Cp. pu'ihē-ratihap pa'aškuritkîtcha'k 'apmānti'ym, they do not smoke when they are greasy about the mouth, p. 204.

66 Better than kunihē-rana'ti here for there are not as many as there are smoking in the sweathouse.
kunteúphina' ti 'ikmahátőra's'm, karú há'ri kunpakúri-hvánáti'. Kunikyá-vana'ti pákkuri ká'kkum 'ú;mkún. \(^{67}\) 'Ixraram paku-nikyá'tti pamukupákkuri, karú há'ri márukiñiay.

A. Pahá't mi takunpihē'er, karú há'ri mi takunpá'tvař, patapu'ikví-thápha'sk

Kunípíitti 'ar o'kví-thiti patu-hér̅-rará'sk. Vá; vura mit hitía'n takuníhē'-rana's, patcimi kunikví-thinávicahá'sk, \(^{68}\) pe'kmahát-\-ra's'm. Karíxas tukupákipišt-ta pa'ára'sr, pa'ípa tupihé'rat.


Pasakriváará-thá'sk, patapu'ik-

vi-thá'sk, vá; 'u;m sáruk tó'ppá-t-

vár ické'vačak. Tu'árihkař. Xas tu'ippak, tó'pvó'tuvů're tečaka'í-

mite kūńic, vura'kkfrak tó'pvó-ni
teca'ń-te kūńic. \(^{69}\) Kari xas 'ahí-

ramtìi'm ků'k t'uú'm. Karíxas vá;

ká'n tó'ptá-máx pa'a'sh. Karíxas
tuhé'er. Xas kûkku'm
tupíšxup pa'ahíťam, patupihétá-

sweathouse, and sometimes they

sing. Some of them compose

songs. It is in the night

that they make their songs, and some-

times on the mountains.

\textbf{(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

\textbf{67 Most of the songs composed are pínikňikk'ar, kick-dance songs,}

\textbf{but occasionally other songs are composed mainly by working}

together parts of various songs.}

\textbf{68 Many Indians still have this custom, using White man tobacco.}

\textbf{69 One sees his wet body coming down the roof hatchway with the}

\textbf{greatest deliberation.}
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 MEET 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 pakunpá-tvutihánik, 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: tcimi maté'á-pun, let's sit down for a while.
74 In slow tempo: tcímmi 'àkkite.
rati', karixas takuníothi'. Karixas tu'íothi pa'ip ukmaiřihi-rí-k'at. Karixas tuhe't 'úpa'n, takuníothi'. Va: vura kuma-úhra'm patuhé't 'úpa'n. Xas takunko'ha pakuniherati'.


Xára kunihé:rúnti'. Xára xas kunphihé:ramarati'. Karixas takunpipíp: "Tcém, teim akkitc nu'áhu'. Teim akkitc 'í:m kár u'áhu', káru na: teimi k'án-áhu'. Teim akkitc kuýár-p-kúhi'."

a. Pahú:t mit 'ukupe:hérabithiat 'impák mitva 77 nanixúkkaam

Kuyráka'n mit karuk nupiýáramat 'Ayí:trim 'Ápsu: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
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. Nobody gets sick from that; I do not care if he has traveled a

78 Or: puharixay.
79 Lit. see.
80 His word.
81 Xúras, water with a very little acorn soup stirred up in it, from ù-n, acorn soup, -'as, water. Also called xurás?a'as, acorn-soup-water, adding the ordinary postponble form -a'as, water, to uñas, which already contains the shorter postponable form, -'as.
b. Pahu't mitva kunkupättihat pa'asiktávansi'n takunpí-kmántunvaha'k 'impāk

Káru 'u'm pa'asiktávaw'n 'asiktávaw'n to'kmárihivrikahaw'ak, vur u'āttícìrihiti 'áp'un, mé'kva tu'pihtān vá pamu'āmki'n vá. Púya va; 'u'm karu vo'kupättihanik pa'asiktávaw'n. Va; kunkupättihanik pa'aráw'at. Pa'émcaha'k 'umkun kíte, xas va; takuníhét, va; víura kíte pa'axxak 'émca-haw'ak, va; xas víura xákka'n takuníhét pa'asiktávánsa'.

Kiri ve:mmáháník paká'n patapuра'w'n kunikmárihivrikahaw'ak pa'asiktávánsa', karu há'í va; ká'n patapuра'w'n kuníppáhári'thūn, Kahi'vré't 'Ipú'nváram.82 Kir immáháník83 pa'attímmam pa'à'pun 'uvúnni'nálwa'. Va; ká'n pakuníppúnvana'tiháník, Kahi'vré't 'Ipú'nváram. Vura 'u'm ta'í y va; ká'n purá'n kunikmárihivríkvúttihanik pa'asiktávánsa'. Va; ká'n 'áp'un pakuntaráráhítihanik, kuníppúnvánatiháník, purá'n pakuníakkíhtihanik pa'ávaha'.

'Thá: nva; pi'ep Kahi'vré't 'Ipú'nváram va; ká'n nanitát 'asiktáva'n 'uppáhári'thūnálik. Vúppam 'uyarárahítihanik pa'asiktáva'n. Káruma va; pa-

long way, he does 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 drink acorn water.

(How They Did When Two Women Meet 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 me another one there, or catch up with one another there, at Woodson's Flat Resting Place. I wish you could have seen the pale baskets sitting around on the ground. There is where the women 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 'immáhánik.
Pahú't mit pa'u's kunkupe-k-

yâhiha, pámitv o'kùptitha

pa'âvansa tupihet 'ipaha'áffiv

"Teòta 'ù's 85 nu'áxxan'vi." 'Teém. Hò'y pavurá'n'ar." Xas pa'ávansa va; kìte tó'kvâ-t-

sip pavurá'n'ar, karu patax-

vukripa'nan, kàru 'ù'm pa'asik-

tava'n 'attimnà kìte tu'attiv, 

kar imvâram, kàru 'usikxuha', 

pamukun'àmkini'nu u'attivuti'.

Xas pa'ávansa to'píp: "Và-

kasik sûra nivótûrâ;vie suva 

l'kkà'ìt. Paká'kkum 'itahann-

mahite kunpiktcúsáhinà'ti'. 'Ax-

nàyik 'uppéc: "Máva. Teèmì 

'apun teèmì nûkya'v pé'kvé-cièh-

ra'ùm." Takunpikk'â'ù va; kà'n 

kás kunkvé-cièhti pa'iccehát-

ti'm.

Kàrijas to'ppíp: "Teèmì k'ân-

vótûrâ'." Xas pàmutaxvùkakar 

atràx tò'mètàrá'ñkà patatrìf-

vàramù'ùk. Kàrijas tô'ksàppic 

pàmuwarà'n'ar. Kàrijás to'píp:

husband had been fighting with 

that woman's brothers a little 

before. Then it was that they 

did a strange thing, they ate 

together! They gave each other 

lunch, pieces of salmon; they gave 

each other lunch. How good 

they were, they did not want to 

have trouble. And when they 

finished eating, they went along 

together, upriver they went to-

gether, when they finished eating.

84 For kàrùk.

85 Jepson: Nuts of the Sugar Pine, Pinus lambertiana Dougla.

Pa'asiktáván 'ú'm ké'tc pamu'áttim'nam, kuna payé'nipax-vúhticas 'ú'mkún túppitcasite pamu'kun'áttim'nam. Pa'avan-sáxí'tútícás 'ú'mkún 'áttimnam pu'áttivutiha'n, ùxrivtvunvé'ttcás ktc kunháovátí'i', axyaráva pá'ú's, ùxrivké'nníticas ktc kuxutí xay 'uxváha'.

Patakoníffikkip xas túr kúníc takuníkivav pá'ú's, xas takun-túnsíp xas takunurící-hvá ká'n pe'kvé'cri'hrá'am.

Xas takuníramxu'. Táyá'ín vu'ra 'ikxáaram xas takuníramxu'. Xas takunkíffkívana' 'Ibë-kxaram vura kúnnítíffkívana'tí'. Pá'á'h takuníká'ppá. Vúra pu'ick'áxí-

the tree]. Then he says: "All right, let's go. I'm going to climb up. Ye [children and women] must holler, be sure and holler. Ye must holler to Old Man Turtle to bite off the sugar-pine nuts." 86 "All right," [the women and children say]. He always climbs up. They always holler: "Old Man Turtle, bite it off!" They think he bites it off. It makes a big noise when it hits the ground. They always pick them up in the brush even though on the side hills though in gulches. They are picking them up all over there. The man never touches the cones. He is just sitting down under the sugar-pine tree. He is smoking his big pipe.

The woman carries her big pack basket, and the little girl have little pack baskets. The boys pack no pack baskets; they just pack little network sacks all full of sugar-pine nuts, ol-bags, they thought they might get pitchy.

When they finish picking then up, then they stack them [in the pack basket] like a heaped load, then they stand up with load on back, then they spill it out at their camping ground. Then they singe the pitch off. Often they roast them at night. And they shell them. They shell them all night. They make the fires all round about [the camp-

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.
The Karuk Indians use sugar-pine nuts in their food preparation. They crack the nuts and dry them in a basket. When they are ready, they use them in various dishes or save them for later. They do not eat them right away as the sugar-pine nuts might get cold and hard. If they are not used immediately, they put them in a storage basket and keep them there. The Karuk Indians have a tradition of using sugar-pine nuts in their daily life, and they do not waste any of them. They use them to make various dishes and also as a snack. They are very careful while handling the nuts and do not mix them with other foods that might spoil or affect their taste.
7. Pahú't kunkupasu'hi'Cahiti pe'hé'ter

A. Va' kuníppénti tó'ksá'hvar po'hra'm, to'máxaxar va' kári

"Xáy íkcá'hvar pa'ührá'm, xáy 'ù'm xáxxa'ær," va' mit pakunípíttihat. Puxxutihap kiri núksa'As, pakuníhétatiha'ak, kunxuti xay umáxaxar po'hra'm.

B. Karu mit vura pu'ihétatiha'at 'a'Ve' hyáriha'at

Va' vura kitc mit pukupíttihapat, pu'a'Ve' hyárihar 'ihé-ráüihap. Va' mit k'unípíttihat, pu'ára 'a'Ve' hyárihar 'á'mtíha'ar, karu pu'avé-hyárihar 'ihé-ráüihara. Takunpí'ttca'ak, pa'a'Ve'h-yárihar uhé-ráha'ak.

C. Karu púmit 'ihé-ráüihapat, pakunítena'hvutiha'jk

Va' mit k'árú kunípíttihat, pótena'hvutiha'ak, pu'ári'hé-ráüihafa, kunpí'ttca'kke'c.

8. Pámítva kárixas kunihé'rá'n-hitiha'

Pa'avansáxi'ttítecás 'ú'm vura pu'ihé-ráüihaphaník. Kunihén-ní-tevútiha nik mit 'ú'm vúra. Panf'nnamítc kárihaj'k tuhé-ráha',

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 DECET 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.
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

Lit. when they become pubescent.

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.”

See account of how they smoked tobacco at the ghost dance, p. 253.

This does not indicate as remote a time in the past as περσική.

Referring to the ghost dance, which spread to the Karuk from up the river and from Scott Valley.
'ifhara. 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.

93 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.

94 Or 'axəahamənʔiŋk'ɑ'.

'ifhara. Pukaru vura va 'ik-runtsihap pe'kmahātc;am xas ik kunihe'ra;ec, 'i'nā:k vura pata-kunihe'r patakunpāmva;sr. Vura pu'ihe-ráhahíppux 'ikrē'ep, 'asik-tává'nsa káru vura pa'ē'mea.'

10. Pahú't vura pukupittihaphañik, pufa't vura kumappíric 'i-cāntihaphanik pamukunhi'hé'raha'

Pānnu; kuma'árá'tas vura pura-fá't vura 'i-cāntihap pamukunñhi'hé'raha', vura 'u;m 'ihé'raha kítc kunihe'rati'.

A. Pahú't vura pukupittihaphanik 'axəahamən kumá'i'nk'ɑ vura pu'i-cāntihaphanik pehé'raha'

Pa'apxantHtce va; kuniipitti yí; va'árá'ras va; ko; kunihe'rati' 'axəahamá:n kumá'i'nk'ɑpua;95 va; pehé'raha kunácánti, va; kunihe'rati'. Nu; vura púva; 'a'pün-mūtihap páva; ko'ok.

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.

(HOW THEY NEVER MIXED ANY OTHER KIND OF PLANT WITH THEIR TOBACCO)

Our kind of Indians never mixed anything with their tobacco, they smoked their smoking tobacco straight.

(THEY NEVER MIXED BURNED FRESH-WATER MUSSEL SHELLS WITH THE TOBACCO)

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.
1. Pahu't va; vura kité hári pakunkúptíthahaník, pa'uíppi kuníf'cántihani kumukuníh'é' raha'

Hári vúra va; kuníf'cántí pa'uíppi kuru pe'h'é'raha'. Vá; taru vúra kunih'é'ráti patata kuníf'caráhá'k. Picci;p takunik-bápak yuhirimíá'k.96 Xas takunikteur iknáma'ánammahatemíá'k, pa'uíppi'. Xas vá; takuníf'cér pe'h'é'rahahak. Tó:k-kúkkahiti pe'h'é'raha'. Takuníf'cér yííppi pe'h'é'rahahak. Vá; xas to'kú'pha púkiphanharha pe'h'é'raha', vá, 'u; m ú'imyú'ámníthíap.

A. Pahu't vúra pukupítíthahaník pu'íh'é'rátíthahaník pa'úhi pińhf'cérirüppá

Pa'úhipiphabetámxite va; 'u;m vura pu'h'é'rátítháp, vura pe'h'é'raha patakuníf'caráhá'k karíxs vura kuníh'é'táti pa'uíppí'. Kína vura 'u;m vá; tá'y kuníh'é'viti'.

'I'm kunmu'tí'vú'tí', pa'ánnav akuníkyá'ha'k, pa'ára to'kkuníá'k, pa'uíppi va; kuníhrú'vítí kuníf'ákkhíti pástú'ycip karí vura pe'óvú'à'nní'ën.
Pakuníf'ákkunvtí karí vura 'u; kuníhrú'vá'. Papuxú'tc uxxútíha'k pa'akúnuva'á:n: "Kíri bú'ftítc nfí'kkar", 'ítahará'ñ vúr íh'é'ráh utayvárátti', pa'uíppí', yí00a süppá'á, pástú'ycip 'ú'ák-kxháná'tí'. 'Ítahará'ñ yí00a süppá; 'íh'é'ráh utayvárátti'.

96 Into pieces ½ inch, more or less, in length.

(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 does not turn out then a mild tobacco; it does 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.
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.

The Wintu Indians smoked Black Manzanita, Palo Santo Creeping Sage, Common Mistletoe, Wild Sunflower, Washingtonia nuda, California Black Oak, and thérpa, 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.

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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.

3. Pahú't mit kunihêñi-tecvu-tihat sanpífic

Hári mit sañ tuntá-ftíhát,88 sanpífic. Víri vá; kuniñiku-para- rati paxúríce, vá; 'ú'm xar utá-y- nítí, vá; kuniptítí. Páva; pás-sáñ 'uñuxúparahtíha'ak, tíriha kuntá-ftí, víri vá; kuniñiku-para- rati pasipnu'uk. Hári xá't íccaha 'uírihkk'tu'ru, pusu' íccaha úmnvutihara pasipnu'kkan su? pássañ 'uñuxúparahtíha'ak.

Tú-piticas kuntá-ftí po>xrá; kunímkk'á'nvúthiha'ak, víri vá; xáñ su? kunkiccapiti po>xrá'h. Puxxára tá'rähitihap po>xrá'h. Vá; kunkíccaparati po>xrá; pim- náni va pakunik'mkk'á'nvúthi'. Sañ tákuntáf. Xas vá; takun- kiccapar po>xrá'h. Xas 'áttrim-návák takun'urúrá'mníhvá po>x-

88 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 the pack them, they pack them to their house. The smallest bundles are for the children.

And sometimes they pin th maple leaves to an openwork pack basket. They stick the leaves into 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 getting ripe, when they are turning yellow. They look upslope and then they say: "Th 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.
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 the mistletoe, I guess there is a story of it.

**AHOYAMMATC'S EXPERIMENT**

Ahoyamm atc was his name. He lived at Katimin, he was a Kata min 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 being buming 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.

**Tobacco Among the Karuk Indians**

This text was given when told that the Wintu and Chimariko smoked mistletoe when short of tobacco. Cp.: "The oak mistletoe was casionally 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 tobacco, hence did not resort to the trashy herbs smoked by tribes in the south of them.

Mg. good walker.

63044°—32—17
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. the he takes out his pipe. then he spills tobacco in his hand, into his palm he spills it. he acts as if 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 swallowed 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 kitaxrihars. 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 [of the pipe sacks]. they are afraid of him, they never say anything [to him], they are afraid of him. 

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 showing it in.
4 or: teim upúffá-thëce.
5 throws his arms and legs and squirms with his trunk. such doctors also go through such motions.
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.
They never put tobacco in where they are storing things to keep the bugs away, like the white people do.

It is wormwood, and sometimes 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, sometimes they lash wormwood leaves in under, then it dries quickly nothing eats it.
Pakóvúra kumakkúha 'uyavhitihanik pehéraha'

Pahúrt mit kunkupécnápkó'-hitihat pehéraha', patakun-pikní-vravaha'ak

Pahári 'árú't tupikní-vrava'-k, karu vura po'kpákkahiti-á'k, va; kari takuníená'pká héraha', pakán 'ukpákkahiti-á'k.

'Atú'ppan tóyyváyrám'ni pehéraha', xé'hvássak tóyyváyrínik. Xas tuvenafípkú'a: "Húk-a hinupa 'íx'm 'Akóipnamkitaxrihar?' 'Ata fá't Yá'srára tepp-sé'jiy. 'Ata fá't Yá'srára xírim te'xú'shúnic. Teími upó'nyá'tihi. Teu má'pay' as tumútpí'ovâ'. Hári ufum-úhpí'óvúti. Karu hári umút-'évúti'. Ká'kkúmítc, tef'mmítc ara po'mutí'óvúti'. Xas va; úppas tuyú'hka'. Karíxas va; úspá'pká pe'kpákkak. Hári kunkíccap. Hári xas vura paz-puva; 'ihyárihara, kóva 'imír chéraha'. Karu hári pa'úppas úura kíc takunyú'hkuri pe'kpákkak, pehéraha'úppas.

(TOBACCO GOOD FOR VARIOUS AILMENTS)

(HOW THEY USED TO PUT TOBACCO ON WHEN THEY GOT HURT)

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 Axúpna'm. 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 Ikmahatmiccip sweathouse, which was washed away by the river about 95. It was the shinny ground of Katimin rancheria. The Kitaxrihar addressed lived on that flat, and there is a formula addressed to him for bruises received in shinny.

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.
2. Pahá’t mit kunkupe’cnápkó-hitihat pehé-raha ’ā-v, pavúha kunimfírahitiha’ask


(How they used to put tobacco on the face when they had the toothache)

When a tooth aches, they used 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.

(How they used to blow tobacco smoke in the ear when they had the earache)

The way that they used to do formerly was, whenever the pain of it jerked in the ear, then one smoked whenever the pain jerked then. Then he blows it into his ear. He smacks 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 blows the smoke in the ear. 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 some smokes.

5 Ōanké’or, described as “the Indian hot water bottle.” A flat rock 5 to 10 inches diameter, kept in the house, and heated and applied to the body for cold limbs or the allaying of pain.

6 Lit. who is hot at the tooth.

7 Lit. who is hot at the ear.
(HOW THE Suckle DOCTORS USE TOBACCO)

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.

1 Lit. the heart gets rotten.
2 Cp. xús 'ip nu'á-mmuthíha-, we doctored him.
When a woman gets to be doctor, she dances ten nights 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 sitting on people, they smoke ever once in a while, that way they take the pains off quick. My deceased mother had a short pipe, but I do not think she was a very good doctor.

(HOW A SUCK DOCTOR BREATH IN THE TOBACCO SMOKE WHILE SHE IS DANCING AT A KI'TI DANCE)

When a woman doctor is dancing in the sweathouse when they are kick dancing, she breathes through her mouth, she warms the tobacco smoke to go into her mouth. She wants to get it like tobacco, she wants to light it in her mouth. She makes an inhale 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, the

---

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.
There was a prominent KARUK feature. They were the most skilled in tobacco trade and diplomacy. Mrs. Hoodley was known to have cured a sick person, and she did so by using the tobacco pipe as a tool. She was respected for her knowledge and skill in using tobacco, and her work as a doctor was widely admired. However, she also used tobacco in a more personal way, as a form of catharsis orandestment. It is not clear how she managed to combine these two aspects of tobacco use, but it is evident from the text that she was able to do so. The KARUK people, like many other Native American tribes, had a rich history of tobacco use. They used tobacco in various ways, including as a medicine, a ceremonial item, and a way of socializing. Mrs. Hoodley's use of tobacco as a doctor's tool and as a form of personal comfort is evidence of the complexity of tobacco's role in Native American cultures.
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[bull.

pipcaravrik y a'anammahatche' e c.

little bit.

Vura

pu'ararakiihahara,

ness, it is

White man

'apxantrtck y uha'."

Then she

said:

vura

'u;m
'u;m

Xas 'upitti' " Va; 'u;m vura ni'apunmuti pa'aratta/nv iky g*nna:

a

va; 'u;m vura ni'a/punmuti 'avahkam. SuP 'u;m yi; va;
'u;m vura tapuna'a'punmafa."
Karixas napatumku' u ko'vura
napatumku' u Karixas tu'g-Gricuk
pamu'uhra' am. Karixas tuhg' e r.
Karixas nerhyakuri-hva pamu'uhtiha' k,

,

.

ra ,am,

'upakurivhvuti',

'u'i'hti'.

It is not Indian sicl

Then she sucked me, she sucke
all over.
Then she took ot
her pipe. Then she smoke
Then she stood the pipe on n

me

[bowl against

when she took

skin], she wj

she

my

[from

[the pipe] aw£
then she inhak
She did not put
it

skin],

with a noise.

Vura puv - into her mouth, she just held h
pamu'uhra ,a m. mouth close to the pipe. She d

itc vura to "pma Tiha'

ramahara

muk w-

my

was dancing, to
She pressed it on in one plac
rocking it a little. Every tin

yu nke*vicaha' ak, va/ kari pato*k w rkva\ Vura pusuP 'uyQ-nvaratihara 'apma'n, 'uhram'Crm

tr

in."

singing,

-

if

pains are paining you, I know o
the exterior, I do not know ii

Va; vura yittcakanitc po'hyakkuti', k6 mahitc vura po*kkg-navava0ti 7 po-hra/m. Patcim upic-

sickness.

"I know

S,

.

Kuyra-kkan

not have a very long pipe. Thr>
different places she stood it on n

pane-hyakkurihat
panani0va ,ay,
'axvl'k
kafu,
vura pupuxx w ltchara vura, tcakay
Karixas pat6*k w rk'i*tc k unic.
va\ Viri patupfcyirnkiv po 'li-

forehead],

too,

gently [on

my

ra "m, yatik pa'a*x 'utakkararihvic

inhaled with a noise.

po'hnamPippanitc.
Kukku^m
vura
taxxannahicitc tupihg' er.

she took the pipe away, blood w
hanging on the end of that pip

Tce*myatcva po*hg-rati po*mma*htiha;k pa'aratta/n'va.
Kunipltti pakkaruk va'6'mca
puhitiha;nhara patumkg'ttihap',
po'hra;m kite kunic vura pakunihru'vti' vura tce'myatcva kite
pakunpihg-rati', va; vura kite
pakunkupftti',
kuntattuycuruti

Then

'i-0k y ama'

u

k payikkihar.

and on

chest,

head [on n

not
head].

hard,

ju

Then si
Then wht

smok<
She keeps smoking eve]

after a while she

again.
little

my

while as long as she sees

tl

pain in there.
They say that the upriver do
tors do not suck much; they u
rather the pipe, every once in

while they take a smoke; that
all

the

way they do, with

a [cond<

feather] they brush the sick pe

son
7

Or po

-

kkg"navasti, as

it

rocks.

off.


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 pi0viva] is his doctor fee. Sometimes 10 woodpecker heads. After the Whites came they have started to fee him $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’än’nav [fern sp.], and sometimes madrone, as many as he knows.

1 Mg. having his head hair like a nest, referring to his slightly curly hair.
2 Mg. he walks as if going to war.
patsûrō-ti 'itcāmmahitc pa’āp-ti"k va; 'u'œn hát ifyâvûrâvá patû'ppítcasha"a'k.3

'I'm vura tó'psāmkr pamuppírie, pamâruk tu'ippakaha"k, 'immâk pusâ-mfurûktihàrá. Pa-kù'sra 'afrânnihitc to'kré'ha"k, kari po'kyâ'tti pa'án'nav. 'Asîppî'pt po'kyâ'ramti', papuva'assip-hâhitc'. Pakuhihi'pa; 'im takun?e", pa'assip. Yîttc'c vura tuvô-cnûpûk, pa'ánnâ nav 'ikyà'ttihàn. Va; ku-mâ'i'i pa'f'kk'am 'ukyâ'tti', patuyâ'pf  'in kunîmmû'stî'.

Karixas tu'ûruppuk pamu'âssip, pamu'ân'êkyâ'ra va; 'în tuk, pa'assip. Yîttc'c vura tuvô'nûpûk, pa'ânnâ nav 'ikyâ'tti'hân. Va; ku-mâ'i'i pa'f'kk'am 'ukyà'tti', patuyâ'pf  'in kunîmmû'stî'.

Xas yiôukâ'na vura pô-tâ'yît"i pappírie, payiô'va ku mappírie.

Xas kà'n vura 'f'kk'am 6 píc-ci;p 'ûmutpî'vûtî pa'uhipihitcú-rappu', 'utcâ'phîti po'mutpî'vûtî'. Píc-ci;p k'à'n 'utâyvâ-rattî 7 pe'hê'raha', patuyâ'prin 'u’âkkihvanâ'ti', pe'ôvè'annè'n kà'ru vûrà, kà'n vur 'ivì'kk'am po'âkkîc'prinati pe'hê'raha'.

Patuyâ'prin 'u’âkkihvanâ'ti': 'Mà'pay pe'hê'raha takik'âkkîhâp. Tećmi k'anapipca-rf'ki', Yà's'âra tećm 'u'f'kk'am-

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 patuyâ'prin.
5 Special term applied to the bowl basket used for steaming.
6 Or 'i'm.
7 This is the idiom.

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 herb 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
Then Ko-vura "Assipak
"Here Then Xas po*uhya-Tcimi
Kari'assipak to*mmite po*axayтеккиет, takararattik'unu', po*uhyanakot'ti'.
Xas patupuhyanaka’om’mar, Kari 'assipak to*ivramni. Puyava 'iffu yi0 kuna
Kumappiric tu*a'ssip. Va' kük-
ku'm yi0 kumá'u'hyán patu'uh-
yanakkunu'. 'Assipak to*ivramni
Kükku'm va'. Kó'vura vo'ku-
pé'kyá'hitI pamuppíric. Tcàtik
vura tapúfaff pappíric. Xas pa*a'ssip tupíktam'sip pa'a'ssip, pamuppíric 
u'í't'ra'. Xas 'icca-
hatti;m kük tu'um, kük tók-
tanimate. Xas 'iccaha to*tá-
rivramni pamu'assipak pamu-
'annaka'.

Karixas va' ìnnák tókt'am-
furuk payikkihar 'udánnfrak ìn-
naka'. Xas picei'te va' tó'táriv-
'k'àràvà8 pa'ìccaha payikkiha'.
Karixas patuparampük'ik, pic-
cip tu'icma0 pa'ìccaha'. Va' muppí'm to*ibfe po'dánnfrak.
Karixas va' ìsémifir tuturuk-
kúrihma pa'ássipak. 'Ìmxatóyav 
apo'umúpa'ak pappíric. Xas 
và's tupaaxúttap. Va' 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

8 The Ikxareyavas, when speaking of Human dying, always said
tuí'ikk'am, he has gone outside [the house], instead of tu'iv, he has
died.
9 Or pappíric.
Páva kók ūnë-kyávar, pa'ánnav ukyá-ttiha‘ak, 'iccaha pu-ìctihàrà kuyraksúppa‘ak. Va; kari vura tu'aramsíf prv pappiric to-kyá-tahà‘ak, tapu'iccaha 'ìctihàra. Xù:n vura kite pupättati kuyraksúppa‘ak, u’à-ytì: "Xay 'iccaha né-xra', pasáf't ni'ávaha‘ak."

eight when the herbs get all cooked. Then he covers him [the sick person up with 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. 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 medicin water, with the medicine wate 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 pack his herbs outdoors, in the bow 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 bow 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.

(YOU PRAY AND THROW AROUND 10 TIMES)
XVII. Patcirixxus, pahút mit k'áru vura kunkupe'hro-hitihat'

Tcirixxus 'u;m vura pürvic-tunvé'tteas.¹ Kańtim'iñ'iráhiv kuníhrú-v'vi',¹ karu vura Panam-nik'iráhiv, karu vura karuk'iráhiv va; káru ká'n vura kuníhrú-v'ti patcirixxu'us, karu vura pasa-ruk'yámku;² takunikyá-'ha'¹k, kuníhrú-v'ti va; patcirixuspú-vic.

Va; vúra kité tafirapuhpü-vic-tunvé'tteas. Xé'hya;s káru 'u;m vúra yí'h, xé'hya;s 'u;m 'uhram-pú-vic. Vikk'apuhak vúra su? 'umáhyá'nnahiti'.

³For detailed description of the use of tcirixxus at the Katimin new year ceremony see pp. 245-247.

¹For detailed description of the use of tcirixxus at the Katimin new year ceremony see pp. 245-247.

²Referring to the Yutimin spring salmon ceremony.

³Models of the large and small tcirixxu'us 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-ntéiccarahiti vástáran, 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.

(PHOE 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 Maticram. 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,

1 Western Spotted Skunk, *Spilogale phenax* Merriam, also called *nnim and tcimk* a'm (-ka'm, big).
2 They were just resting from making their loads.
3 Referring to their loads being made up, ready to pack.
Ta'ã-mmukite po-’fhùnnihti', po-
ô-vtà-p’î. Fât kûnic 6 ’umsiva-
axavrînấtî pamûøva’a’y, kipa
tcântcâf pamûøva’a’y, pakunîm-
mù-stî'. ’Upakurî-hvûti'.

Song by the Skunk
Kû-fan ?ûn ?ûn ?ûn
Tcîrivius teîrivîús.

Teçavura pày k’ô-mahîtê xas
‘a’y utcîrûnnî-hvânâ’. Kârixtas
kun tô-ric, pa’îfâppîttîcâs, kôv
ikpîhâm pamûppîf. Kârixtas kun-
pûffâ-thînâ’. Kârixtas kû́j ’ús-
kâ-kma’, pa’âttînìm ’uvûnnî-n
nêrak kû́j ’úsâ-kâ-kma’. Ta’ît-
tam ’ârun ’ukyâ-vô-hê’n pamu-
kunâttîv. Kunîkrituv pa’îfâpp-
pi’ttîcâs, takunûfûfâ-thînâ’, ta-
kunîmyû-mnîhînâ; pappiﬁ. Xas
upi’téavássip. Teçavura pà̱npay
cà’kkum takunpîmtav. Teçavura
pà̱npay kò’vûra takunpîmtav.
Yânava kò’vûra ta’ârun pamu-
kunâttîv. Xas kunpâvî’çîp.
Atimnam?ànnumite kunpatûcîp.p
Xas sàrûk kunpîhmarun’ni.

Xas kunpâvîyîhînà’, sàrûk, pa-
mukunîkriwîra’am. Makûnîkkît
Kó’vûa kun’ârâ-râhîtî’. Xas yîõ0
upîp: “Pûfà; pananutàyî’tô. Márûk
’asîcnihanîcî u’îhun-
nîhâf. Virî va; ’n takînvàyîp-
va’. Xas vûra hú-t vàx vûra
pakinînîcehe’ên, pûxay vûra
kïnîmâhe’ên. Vàx vûra kàrixtas
nupmâhônko’én, panupîfûksî’p.p
Yânava tapûffâ’t pananutàyî’tô.
’Îp k’înîfîk’o’ît. Vûra ’ûm
kêmîc.” Xas pamukûnîkt ’up-
dancing the war dance. His fron
side shone up bright, it was so
white, as they were looking
He was singing.

Song by the Skunk
Kû-fan ?ûn ?ûn ?ûn
Tobacco sack, tobacco sack.

Then when there close he
breathed on their faces. The
the girls all fell over, his poiso
was so strong. They fainted.
Then the skunk jumped ove
toward there, toward where the
pack baskets were sitting. He
emptied all their pack basket.
The girls were lying in a pil
they had fainted, they were gi
from the poison. Then he put
the load on his back. Then a few
while some girls came to. Th
all came to. Behold they sa
that all their pack baskets we
empty. Then they went home.
They were packing back emp
baskets.

Then they got home,.downslop
to their living house. They live
with their grandmother. The
one said: “Our cacomites a
all gone. A boy danced dowl
from up on the hill. He too
them away from us. We do
not know what he did to us, w
never even saw what he did to u
We did not feel it until we g–
up again on our legs. Beho
our cacomites were all gon
He poisoned us. He was veno

6 Lit. like something.
7 This line has no meaning.
TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS

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.

Song by the Skunk

Kú-fan 'an 'àn 'än 8

Tcíchixus tećir'i-xu's

Karixas ta'ittam kükku'm 'ute-rúnnihè'n 'ăv. Xas yi'0θa tu ssâ-thâ'. Xas yi'0θ u'ăríheip. l'ípa u'ăríheipren'hâte, káruma 'avíkvuti pavô-hxâra. Ta'ítm vo-krükkuvärâhe'n pavô-hrhâmâ'uk. 9 Yo'tákñihun'ni. assárux utákñihun'ni. Karixas npatšec'í'ppamukuntâyí'th,kuntšéc'eip, takun'á-tećecha'n. as sáruk kunpávy'ihmá pámu-nîkrîvra'm. Xas kunpíp: Tănupíyakyâra'var. Hínupa va: nákinyavâyyí-pvùtihânik.

Púya va: 'um 'ukúphân'nik. -uf. Va: vúra ká:n pírícî'k

9 This line has no meaning.

8 Behind.
He was metamorphosed the
And it smells yet, his poison do
That is why he walks slo
because they fought him in sto
times, because they stuck hi
through behind with a diggi
stick. He travels around nig
now. He knows that he is slo
he knows that they can eas
kill him if he goes abroad '
day. He is afraid yet.

Kupannakanakana. Skunk c
thus. And Meadow Mice stu
him through. They were gi
Meadow Mice. And that is t
way they did. They were Ka
min girls.

Shine early, Spring Salmo
hither upriver. My back
straight. Grow early, Spri
Cacomite.

10 To become the modern animal.
XVIII. Pahū't kunkupehrōhiti pehēraha pa'irahivhaa'tk

(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 in 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, lowed 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-caked yūxpi't during the night of the tenth day and festivities on the eleventh day, ending when they stop dancing the deerskin dance sundown on the eleventh day. The medicine man remains in the sweathouse for 5 nights after the the night spent at the yūxpi't (for nights if he is officiating for the first time), but these additional nights are not included in the period known as 'irahiv, which consists 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 yūxpi't.

Those officiating in the ceremony are the fatavēnna'n or “medicine man”; the 'imūssaa'n, or “helper”; the 'icrivānna', or target ooters; the kixāhānna', or boy singe-ers of brush; the 'ikyāvānna', two maiden assistants of the medicine man; and the ko'pitxa'rha'nna', the officers of the preceding year, who have their separate ceremony, near the yūxpi'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 other year, and from the Indian expression for this, 'iθivānnē'n
'upikyā'vīc, he [the fatavē'nnā'n] is going to refix the world, come the term pikyavish, the name of the ceremony current locally among the Whites.

1. Pafatavē'nnā'n pahū't 'ukupā-tētiha'hiti hitiha'n pamu-'ūhra'am

Vura va; kunākkā-nnīhi pa-tiha'rm pafatavē'nna'ān.1 Pu'ē-thahara pamuvikkapuhak pamu-'ūhra'am, tīk'an vura po-'ē'-tī pamu-'ūhra'am, kō'kānīnay vura pakū:k 'u'ūnmūtī va; vur tī-k'an u'ē'-tī pamu-'ūhra'am. Hitī-ha'n vura po-'ē'-tī'.

'1nnā:k patū'ippavar va; vur u'ē'-tī pamu-'ūhra'am, muffēm to-'ē'-tīc patū'āv. Xas tī'm takunīhyīv: "Xay fa' t u'uxxwak, fatavē'nnā'n 'a's tu'ic."

'Ā'pun to-'ē'-tīc 2 patem im upā-tēvē'caha'āk, pamu-'ūhra'am. Pamausitkevūtvar karu 'ā'pun tō-'ē'-tīc'ēri'. Xas pa'ā's tuvākku-ri. Xas patupippā'tvāmar, kū-kū'm tō-psitkevūtva', kūkku'm tō-pē'tc'ep pamu-'ūhra'am

Vura 'ū'm kuna vura 'ū'm pūva; kā'n 'ihē-ratiha'a, payux-pī'ttak tupihyarihierha'āk.

2. Pahū't kunkupe'hē'tana'hihi Ka'timifn pa'āxxak tukun-niha'āk

Va; kari 'āxxak tukūnmi Ka'timifn Papihē'f 'Uthā'nna'tak 'ūsri'mti', va; kari pīcēip pa'īcēhra'am takunīvyi'hma'ā'āk, karixās 'a'h takunyāv. Va; pa-kunkupafu'icē'hiti va; 'ū'm pū-

(how the fatavennan always carries his pipe with him)

The fatavennan just goes with his pipe. He does not carry his pipe in his basketry sack, in his hand he carries it; everywhere he goes he carries his pipe in his hand. He never lets go of it.

When he goes over to eat in the cook house he carries it; he lays it down by him when he eats. Then they holler outside: "Let there be no noise, the fatavennan is eating."

He sets his pipe on the ground when he is going to bathe. He puts his belt on the ground to then he goes into the water. Then when he comes out, he puts on his belt again, he picks up his pipe again.

But he does not smoke when he stands by the yūxpi't.

1 The medicine man in charge of the New Year ceremony.
2 He lays it, does not stand it on end.
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 “hi00uk hi00uk.” 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. They 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].

8 Their belts are all that they have on.
4 Referring to “spilling up” their arrows, i. e., shooting them.
6 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.
3. Pahú't mit kunkupitthihat ñh-ñhakkuv kumasúppaʻa


Kātiminʻin karu vūra va; kun-kupíti' pāmitva kunkupitthihat Panāmnı:11k, va; kari vūra va; kā:n kunkupíti kahınnaʻa:m, va; kari vura kā:n va; yōkua sūppa; ʻuñvū-yti ʻuñhshakkuv. Paʻas Kātiminʻin va; kā:n pókri; Kārukiassak 11 mukkā:m.

(HOW THEY USED TO DO ON THE DAY [CALLED] "GOING TOWARD TOBACCO")

When the New Year ceremony is about to take place, when the fatovannan 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 the day "the going toward tobacco for tobacco. There is a rock there, and the put on top of it there the tobacco stems, in the early morning the 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 wikkąapu when he picks it up. Then he goes over to make a fire upslope at the fireplace [of that day]. He goes upslope. He is packing his wikkąapu. Then he makes a fire upslope.

At Kātimin they do the same as they did at Orleans, and the do the same upriver at Cle Creek, one day there too, called "going toward tobacco. The rock at Kātimin is just upslope of Karukassak.

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8 On the eighth day.
9 Old ceremonial name of tobacco, here volunteered. The word 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 Kātimin spring. The rock at Kātimin is called ʻUheʻcrihiraʻa:m, mg. where they put tobacco on.
The last day, when the medicine man makes the fire, he takes along 10 sacks, teirixxus. He puts it in his basketry sack. The first thing he does is to come out of the sweaterhouse. He goes to bathe at Karukassak. He is packing his pipe in his hand. He puts it [the pipe] by the water when he batters. 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 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 teirixxus into the wikk'apu and 10 teirixxus.


Then all the people hide. On man [of the prompters] goes outside [the cookhouse] and hollers “Ye hide. The fatavennan i going. Ye hide. On the other side of the river, too. The fatavennan is going.” He is hollling across river when he hollers. All the people hide. They sto their ears. They think the might hear the sound of stepping. If one would hear th 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 out side of the door of the cookhouse. Then swiftly he walks when he leaves. He goes to the Ma fireplace, to the fireplace at Inki [called] Ma. He sets out alone the helper sets out later.

16 The people of Katimin used all to leave their houses at the begin ning 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 house 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 Ishipishrihal 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. 'Utaxaráppaðunati’, he strides ‘Uxaprikicri-hvuti’, he stamps. 'Uríkkikho;ti’, there is a sound of slow striding or stamping. ‘Uríkkikí-khíti’, there is a sound of stepping or walking.
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, and where he sweeps, thinking it inside [not speaking it with his mouth].

He also throws around tobacco there by the fireplace, the teirixxus 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 teirixxus sacks of tobacco as he prays. Then he puts the empty buckskin sacks back into the wikk'apu, the teirixxus sacks already empty.

Then he digs up the disk seat; he will need to be looking from this hole at the woodpile if he is piling up the wood. He will be looking every little while toward the mountain. When the mountain is there, he can 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 the fatavernman 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
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 had left some wood there, which he is going to burn at this time. He fixes lots of wood. He makes that wood without any ax. He has no tool, he makes it with his hands alone. He piles big stick 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. 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 wherever he wants anything done. The helper wears a mink-ski 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 fire soon; he does not want the hole to be open a long time. He works hard, because he is in hurry. When he feels famished he just thinks all the time: "must live long," He makes that fire poker, too. He makes that poker at the same time when he

18 He has a 1½-inch wide band of mink skin around his head. It has kúrat or small 'iktakatakkakahe'én scalps sewed on its fur side as decoration.
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 he has piled. Then he gets in the hole. He is holding two pieces of plant in his hands, 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 walking around there, while the fire is burning. He sits in the hole. He has on 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 fatavennan] out. He is about all in, the fatavennan. He is famished, and he is hot, too. Then the helper helps him up out, he

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9 For leaving the poker stick lying by the fire when he leaves the replece, see p. 250.
10 But va's 'u'assati', he is wearing a blanket.
21 Ceremonial word equivalent to to'xxúri.
Then 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 that 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 poke stick with its tip to the fire at the theyom of the fire ground. It lies tip to [the fire] all winter there at the fireplace. The everything is fixed up good at the fireplace ground. Then he get out from there, from that fire

22 He helps the fatavennan up out of the pit by putting his hand 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 ground too early, before the helper has finished with his duties there and also because the fatavennan is weak. The fatavennan just stay 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 upváramécaha'sk.

26 Ahiramyó-ram, the side of the fireplace ground toward Medicin Mountain. But other terms designating the sections of the floors of living houses and sweathouses are not used of fireplace grounds.
Maruk resting 'Aktciphi-tihatçan; it is with the fire. He is in a hurry lest the two girls feel cold. And he puts the dish seat there where the fatavennan is going to sit down. He brings it over from up at the cookhouse. The fatavennan sits on it when he eats in the cookhouse. The old women used to be grumbling because the helper was slow, because he does not hurry to go to meet him. Maybe they are his relatives. They are getting mad. "How slow he is in going to meet the fatavennan, the helper is so slow. He might fall, he is famished," that's what they are saying.

Then he starts back upslope, he goes to meet the fatavennan. Then he meets him there up above

27 Upslope of Ernest Conrad’s house. The fatavennan always sits own under the white oak tree there and leans against its trunk, with yes fixed on Sugar Loaf.

28 This brings it about that the fatavennan reaches the yúxpi’t with the sun just up, and always at the same time of day.
ramám. Xas xákka;n xas takunpirúvá·kiri 'ahíram. 'Ifuθ 'u'áhō·ti pe·müssa'n. Xas takun'pma', yuxpit?ahíram. Yané'kva tátta;y pa'ára'r, pa'írá·nsa'.

the rancheria. Then both of them come back to the fireplace. The helper walks behind.

Then they get back there, yúxpi't fireplace. Behold there are many people there, Irahiv tenders.
IX. Pahút mit kunkupéhératihat péhéraha po'kuphákka'm-ha'ak1

(HOW THEY SMOKED TOBACCO AT THE GHOST DANCE1)

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 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.

1 Also translated “round dance.”
2 The Indians called it “sing,” not “dance.”
XX. Pahú't mit kunkupe'hé'rahiti hat pa'arare'Otittahiv

(HOW THEY SMOKED AT INDIAN CARD GAMES)

The principal gambling game of the Karuk is "Indian cards," 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.

Pámítva taxxaravé'ttak ve'títta'nsa púmit 'ihé'ratihaphat pakuni'títvana'tiha'şk, patakun?éríč xas mit víra takunihé'ér.1 Pe'muskínvá'nsa va'z 'u'm-kun 'ík² kunihé'ratíhat. Payém vura kó'víra takunihé'rána'ti', 'apxanti'te'ihé'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—Who signed tobacco.

1 Or va'z mit víra karíxas kunihé'ratíhat patakun?érícriha' instead of these five words.
2 Or va'z ník mit 'u'mkun instead of these three words.

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XXI.

Payiðúva kò;k kuma’án’nav, pakú;k tcú;ph u’ú:mmahiti pehè;rahak

(VARIOUS FORMULÆ WHICH MENTION TOBACCO)

1. Kitaxrihara’araraximúrükaihè;rar

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 xareyavs, called Kitaxrihars, lit. Winged Ones, dwelling at Katimin, ith his tobacco smoke overcame “Him Who Travels Above Us,” ie 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 ’Ō:k ñiveñañè’n’a’tcip Váké’mic. akò;kkánináy vúra Váké’micas n kunñppá’n’iik: “Na; nik ’kkáre’c.” Tcávúra pufa’t n’pí’k’áraaraphanuk. Vá;x kite ‘ixxúthañik: “Na; kárù Kè;míjic.” Viri kó;vúra ’ih kùssáraphauik: “Na; nik ník-káre’c,” pavúra kó;kkánináy akè;míjic. Káruma ‘i’m k’ar ñusá’n’iik: “Na; kárù Kè;míjic. Na; puraffá’t ’ih vúra né’kkýáre’ñáñá. Na; kárù Kè;míjic.”

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’hè;rar, what the Winged One smoked with araraximúrükkař, protective medicine, which keeps the user from being killed by medicine pronounced against 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 He 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 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 locked aroun for a while. Behold there was 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 smoking. And he thought: "I too am a Savage One. I think: He will not kill me, when he smells 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. Darkness was entering the deep place [the gulches and canyons] of the earth. He [the Sun] was already high. "Indeed, I said it, in wise canst thou kill me." Beho
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 SMOKED 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)

Uknī. 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 ecolopaceus Say).
3 Or teavura pânpay.
Xas kúkku'm vura 'im'á:n kun?akkunvan'va. Kúkku'm vura yi?o a puxay 'ippaka?a.


The next day they went hunting 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 Ikxareyav. 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 Ikxareyav came running down. Then he thought: "I guess this is the one who cleaned out my sons." Then he came near, he 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 'în páy for pay 'în.
6 From má?ruk kuh 'ukvîrippunihanhat.
Xas upíp: “Káruma na; Maruk-ára’r.7 Kunipítì ’u:m pammi-únvì:v tapúffà’st.” Puxay vúra shivré’tára, pakuntephuníc x’ó-tí.


Xas Pamaruk’ára’r ’upíp: “Tcimi pananí’uhrà’m va; kun hé’tí.”9 Xas ’u’áxxa’y. Kük-u:m vúra vo’kú’pha’, ’áxxak xas phícipíp pa’uhrá’m.


Tcávúra yí:v máruk to’k’víri-úrá’a. Yánava ká’n pará’m’var. a’íttem upícci-pre-he:n papa-ám’var. Tcávúra yí:v máruk ók’ú-krí’a. Xas sárúk ’upítsák-
said: “I am a Mountain Person. They say you have not any persons 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 upslope.

Then he ran far upslope. Behold there was a wedge there. Then he picked up that wedge.

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 Ku’ña means now in turn (after breaking my bow), the next thing, and shows that Mountain Person was mad.

9 Tamtirák, Fritz Hansen’s mother’s brother, used to say: Xuskám- ar ’u:m puné’hí’r’vica’ra, nani’uhrà,m ’u:m níhró’vic, I won’t use my bow, I’ll use my pipe (to kill anybody).
kuti'. Viri kuna saruk upik-fu'kra; Maruk?ara'r, saruk. Tapa u'aytihanik. Xas va; kajn 'umma 'asakkâ'msa'. Ta'ittam vo paraksûrõ;he'n pa'as.\(^\text{10}\) Xas 'úpe'nvana; pa'as: "Saruk kik-Piruvô'rûnni'hvi.'" Ta'ittam vo-ðanteârassahö'n passaruk pik-fû'kra-tihan. 'Uanteaceraste'ras, passaruk pik-fû'kra-tihan.

Then far upslope he went. Then he looked downslope. Down-slope 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. 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.

Kupannakanakana. Long-billed Dowitcher did that brought back his children. Shine early, Spring Salmon, hither up-river. My back is straight. Grow early, Spring Cacomite.

\(^{10}\) An Ikxareyav could do anything.

\(^{11}\) Or hinupa páy.
Where art thou, Ouxrivick'uruhar of the Upriver End of the World? Thou camest 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 Ouxrivick'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." Then 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.

(KAHOUXRIVICK’URUHAR’S CHILD-BIRTH MEDICINE, HOW HE USED HIS PIPE AS MEDICINE)
pó'syu'nkiv pamu'úhra'am, teimaxmáy 'axí:te 'úxrař. Xas 'ûx-xus: "Na'hinupa kite 'Ikxareyav. Viri Yá'sáara 'u:m karu vura vo'kuphé'ec, táva: i'ná'á-pûnmaha'a'k. Yá'sáara 'u:m karu vúra píric upikyá'vic pamu'úhra'am." 16 Púya 'u:m vó'phán'nik Kahóuxrivick'úruhar.

Viri na: kite 'i'nú'á-pûnmuti'. Púya 'i:m vé'phán'nik, Kahóuxrivick'úruhar: "Yá'sáara 'u:m káru vura va: píric 'upikyá'vic pamu'úhra'am, patáva: i'n ná'á-pûnmahá'a'k." 'I'm ve'kú-phán'nik, Kahóuxrivick'úruhar.

I only know about thee. Behold thou didst say it, Upriver Òuxrivick'úruhar: "Human will again make his pipe into brush, whoever knows about me." Thus thou didst, Upriver Òuxrivick'úruhar.

16 For only brush is addressed in brush medicine, and he addressed his pipe.
XXII. 'Ihē'rah uŋuykīrahina'ti yiūva kumātcū'pha'.

(VARIOUS NAMES WHICH MENTION TOBACCO)

1. Pehērahā'mva'än.

(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 'ihe-rahā'mva'än, tobacco eater.¹ 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. Pahup kunkupasō'mkirahanik 'a'at payeripāxvū'hsa', xas 'ihe-rahā'mva'än karu puxā-k' kite kunipā'nik: "Nu' pā'a'at" ¹

Uknī. 'Ata háriva kunarā'rah¬nitiha'nik. Va' kunkupitī pamukunāiv-į-hk'äm, ata hoy u'ipanḥivō'hitī pamukunta'yē'ém.² 'A'at ³ muivivā'yk'äm 'u'm 'axra 'ukāpk'u'. Va' kite Kunipīvē'ta-kūrūnantī pamarukkē'ttās,⁴ pamukta khata há'neckinānā'ssītc. Karu 'axxak va' kā'nn muppī'mitc

HOW THE MAIDENS CAME TO MARRY SPRING SALMON, AND HOW NIGHTHAWK AND "TOBACCO EATER" SAID THEY WERE SPRING SALMON

Uknī. They were living there. 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 'ihe-rahā'mva'än is said to be bûxsa'ak, the Pacific Nighthawk, *Chordeiles minor hesperis* Grinnell.
² taxyē'ém, old word equivalent to 'iivē-hk'äm. 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'sā'ara (rich person). The myths make frequent mention of these nicely kept yards.
³ 'A'at, name in the myths of 'icya'at, Spring Salmon.
⁴ Lit. upslope big one, by-name for 'iktakatakkahe'än (so called because he hollers tak tak), Western Pileated Woodpecker, *Phlaeomus pileatus picinus* Bangs,

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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.

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: “Let's ask him if we can see his house?” Then they asked him. Then he said: “Ye will see there is a dead tree sitting outside in front of the house. Ye stay there 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 near is Spring Salmon's living

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5 Puxxa"k, Pacific Nighthawk, *Chordeiles minor hesperis* Grinnell Also puxa'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.
8 Or kunikmarihiv'rik.
9 Or vári pó'kri. 'Aⁿt.
10 Into the rancheria, into the house row.
Next day, they went to the living house. It 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: “Pacific Nighthawk, 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 will they 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 is 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 in any way.
14 Man’s interjection of glad surprise.
15 Referring to dividing the catch of salmon.
16 Short cut for teóra numúsán.
17 Lit. was touching.
nupiövppi'. Na; tana'ahara"im. Káruma 'ip níppa'it: Tánússir. Teč'O r'wa. Xas va; vura ká'n kunpiöviripi. Kunpiyá'ram. Sú- va; vura kari vari kuníssuna'ti', yímúsite takuníppahu'uu.

Kupannakanakana. 'Thé'tahá-mva;ñ ukúpháûik, karu Puxá'k-kíte. Tečemya;te 'ik vür Icyá't 'imef'ná'vic. Nanivássí vúrav e'kiniyá'te. Tečemya;te 'ik vüra 'Atáytcúkkinate 'iúnnúprave"te. Pacific Nighthawk's house. See he took my tule mat out, too.' Then one [of the girls] said "Yes, let's run off. I am ashamed. I already said: 'We made a mistake.' Let's go.' Then they ran home from there. They went home. They could still hear them quarreling, when they were some way off.


2. Pehé'taha' mvanvashí'lkxúrik
(The Whippoorwill 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 (muruk) purchased from Yas are called 'ihé'tahá'mvanvashí'lkxúrik whippoorwill (lit. tobacco eater) back design. The basket is 14½ inches in diameter and 4 inches deep.

3. Pakó'kkáninay 18 pehé'rah uðvuykíráhiná'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. 'Thé'tah Umú'triviå'ak, mg. where the tobacco is piled, a place on the old trail leading from upper Redcap Creek over the divide to Hupa. Cp. 'A06it umú'triviå'ak, mg. where trash is piled, a place name on Willis Creek.

2. 'Uhé'tararavárikvúitiå'ak, mg. where he smokes as he walk downriver, a place in the region at the head of Crapo Creek. Th originating incident was not known to the informants.

3. 'Uhé'taró'nnatå'rik, mg. where he smokes as he walks upriver a place upslope of Tee Bar, near the head of 'Asahanátsás'mvárvu 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'ívëá'ne'en.
4. 'Uheirohriha'm, mg. where they put tobacco, name of a rock upslope of Katimin Spring. (See p. 244.)

5. 'Uhtayvarára'm, mg. where they spoil tobacco, place justoward Georgie Orcutt's house from the Orleans schoolhouse. (See p. 244.)

4. Ávansa 'ihé-tah uøvuykírahitihiñañik

(A MAN NAMED BY TOBACCO)

'Ihén'natc, dim. of 'ihé-ra'n, smoker, name of an old Katimin indan who was lame and walked with a cane as a result of having een hooked by a cow. He died perhaps about 1870. His other ane was Pákvátcañ, unexplained, which is also the Indian name of Fred Johnson. Of 'Ihé'n'natc is said: 'ihé-rá'nólni k'ari u'm nñañ-anitchiñañik, he was a smoker when a little boy. Hence his name.

5. Pahuñt mit 'ihé-tahá kunkupe'tøyuykírahitihañt, patakunmáhañk țúkkinkuníñicañnt vuña

(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 pírick'úñic, green, t. brushlike, and sanínváyk'úñic, brownish yellow, lit. sear-leaf like, mk'ánvan's mother sometimes used to say kípa 'ihé-taháxxi'nt, like green tobacco leaf, to designate a bright tobacco-green color.
XXIII. Ká-kum pákkuri vúra kíte 'ihé-taha 'upívúyriñk'ahina't

(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 teirixxus, in the Skun story. (See pp. 238-239.)

2. The kick-dance song, which tells of the hunter throwing ster 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’apxantí-tečihé-raha’

1. Pahú’t kunkupáaānvahiti-niik pamukuníhé-raha pa’apxantínnihić

Va’ kuma ’ífufó pa’apxantín-nihiće pámítva kuniyíhićukat, viričó-vúra pa’árárí tečemyá-te vura pakunihérana; pamukuníhéraha’, Pa’apxantí-tečihé-raha’.


A. Pahú’t mit po’kúpítítiat ’Axváhiće Va’árá’r, pehé-ráha mit upáttanuhtiñat


(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.

(A How Old Coffee Pot Used to Bum Tobacco)

Axváhiće Va’ára was a married woman, but she used to go around bumming tobacco and food from the Whites. She was a doctress.

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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 ’Axváhiće, 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, "tcupe-kv'." That is the way they did if they knew how to smoke, they used to bum tobacco, and matches too. That was the reason why I did not learn to smoke, I might be following somebody, begging tobacco.

(METHE THEY USED TO BUY MATCHES AND SMOKE INDIAN PIPES IN THE ORLEANS STORE)

When there were lots of old Indians yet they used to go in the store at Orleans 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', 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.
Viri vura va; kunimm"usti pa'apxantite'i'\textsuperscript{'}n, kunuxxënti xay kunihët pamukun\textsuperscript{u}hrah\textsuperscript{m} \textsuperscript{7}ni\textsuperscript{a}k, xay numsäkkä. Patakunuxxsaha'k nhuë't kari pa\textsuperscript{'}ará'\textsuperscript{r} kunpaharûppûkûtvîhănîk, patakunuxxsaha'k nhuë't.

2. Pehë'taha\textsuperscript{9}

\textit{(The Tobacco)}

'Apxanti-te'îhë'taha', 'apxantinihite'îhë'taha', White man tobacco. Pa'ára'\textsuperscript{r} 'umkun vura va; pu'a-pûnutihaphanik, pa'apxantûnîk hite papicc'\textsuperscript{tc} 'uhëtânik va'ararë'hë'rahahamik, pîc'\textsuperscript{tc} 'ararë','usâ'nspré'nik pehë'taha', pa'ára'\textsuperscript{r} mukun'ihë'rahahamik. Pa'ára'\textsuperscript{r} 'umkun vura va; pu'a-pûnutihaphanik va \\textsuperscript{5 'ararë'hë'rahahamik. 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.

'Ihë'rahapû'vic, bag or package of smoking tobacco, used by pipe or cigarette smokers. 'Ihë'rahapû'vic'anamahate, dim.

'A\textsuperscript{\textopenangle}n unhînippvate pehë'tahapû'vic, the tobacco sack has a string on it. 'A\textsuperscript{\textopenangle}n unhî'cîhârâhîtî, it has a string tied on it.

Musmuseirixo-rare'hë'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'hrâ'm

\textit{(The Pipe)}

'Apxanti-te'úhra\textsuperscript{*}m, 'apxantinihite'úhra\textsuperscript{*}m, White man pipe.

'Ahup'úhra\textsuperscript{*}m, a wooden pipe.

'Amtup'úhra\textsuperscript{*}m, a clay pipe.

'Uk'\textsuperscript{\textopenangle}fku-râhîti', it is bent [in contrast to the straight Karuk pipe]. A\textsuperscript{\textopenangle}y 'uk'\textsuperscript{\textopenangle}fku-nsîpre'-hîti', xas kà'n kunic 'ufrîttaku 'âtâsp po'hrâ'm, it is crooked upward, it is like a bowl setting on there.

Patuhë'tahà'k, 'um' vura xar apmâ:n 'uyârûppà-ti'. 'Ateâpîk\textsuperscript{mú}k 'u'axaytce'akkicirhi. Pûva; kupîttiha'ra pa'ára'\textsuperscript{r} kunkupîtti'. Karu vura pu'înâ-kvîtîhara pehë'tahâ'mku'\textsuperscript{a}f, 'apmâ:n vûra kite po'hë'ratî'. 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

\textsuperscript{5} Or pâva.
as the Indians do. He does not inhale it either, he only smokes with his mouth.

Hári 'upínənunuŋti pamu'uhra'äm, hár upiyvaryricuaktivti' pamuhë-rähạ'mtə"p. Sometimes he taps his pipe, he spills out the tobacco ashes.

Vaŋ pa'ávansa vura hitīha'än 'apmâ'än 'ührâ'm 'uhyä'rëppä-ti'. That man always has a pipe sticking out of his mouth. Naŋ vura 'ührâ'm 'apmâ'än në-hyä'rëpää ti hitîha'än. I have the pipe sticking out of my mouth all the time.

'Araŋ 'uŋ m vura vaŋ kite kari pamůpma'än nak po-ru'm po-pâm-mähtiha'ak, viri vaŋ kari tò-pë'tëpâ'. 'Axyä rō'kyav pamůpma'än nak pehë-râhâ'mkû"f. 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'hrämxe-hva"as

(THE PIPE CASE)

'Apkânti-te'uhramxe-hva"as, White man pipe case, lit. White man pipe pipe-sack. The term is standard and in use.

4. Pe'kxurika'uhra"am

(THE CIGARETTE)

A. Pahä't pe'kxurika'uhra'm 'uðvûytti-hva', karu pahä't pamuc-vitâv 'uðvûytti-hva'

(HOW THE CIGARETTE AND ITS PARTS ARE CALLED)

'Ikxurika'uhra"am, cigarette, lit. paper pipe. Also 'ihe-râhe-kxurika'uhra"am, lit. tobacco paper pipe. And sometimes as an abbreviation of this last 'ihe-râha'uhra"am, lit. tobacco pipe. 'Ikxurika'uhnâ'm'-mite, 'ikxurika'uhnâ'm?anamaha'c, dim. 'Ikxürîk, marking, picture, pattern, writing, paper, is formed from 'ikxürîk, to mark, to paint or incise marks on, to make a pattern, to write.

'Apkânti-te'ikxurika'uhra"am, 'apkântinihitêkxurika'uhra"am, White man cigarette, lit. White man paper pipe.

'Ikxurika'uhramâppuŋ, cigarette tip.

'Ikxurika'uhramâfûv, butt end of cigarette.

But pamukunihe-rë"p, stub of smoked cigarette or cigar, lit. one that has been smoked.

'Ikxurika'uhram'ë"c, surface or body of cigarette, lit. cigarette meat.

'Ikxurika'uhramihe-râha', cigarette tobacco.

'Icyânihits pehë-râha', va; pe'kxurika'uhra'm kunikyâ'tti', pe-kxukâyav pakuma'ihë-râha', it is fine (not coarse) tobacco, they make cigarettes of that, the fine (not coarse) kind of tobacco.
'Ihē'rahe-kxurik, cigarette paper, lit. tobacco paper. This is the regular term, one hardly says 'ikxurika'uhramikxurik, paper pipe paper.

'Ihē'rahe-kxurikatā-hko's, white cigarette paper.

'Ihē'rahe-kxurikasamsū-ykūnic, brown cigarette paper. Cp. sām-ykūnic pamúmya't papū'ffite, the deer has fawn-colored fur.

'Ikxurika'uhnamtunvē-tekičcaq, package of cigarettes. 'Ikxurika'uhnamtunvē-tekičcaq, any package, tied up with paper.

Nikvārārūkti 'ihamāhya:n vura po'hnamtunvē'te, kar 'iappū'vic + 'ihē'raha'pū'vicak 'ihē'raha', kar ihē'rahe-kxurik. 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'uhramīkē'rahā'mku'uf, cigarette smoke.

§. Pahū't pakunkupe'yurahiti pe'kkxurika'úhra'm, karu pakunkupe'hē'rahiti'

(HOW THEY ROLL AND SMOKE A CIGARETTE)

'Ihē't 'ukya-tti', he makes a smoke (idiom for rolling a cigarette). 'Ikxurika'úhra'm 'úyrū'hīti,5 he is rolling a cigarette.

Hā'ri vura yiθ0a vō'kūpitti', 'u;m vur ukyā-tti pamuhē'raha'úhra'm,6 há'ri yiθ0a 'u;m vo'kupitti', 'u;m vur 'úyrū-vti pamuhē'et, sometimes a person makes his own cigarettes, sometimes one rolls is own smokes.

'U;m vura xas ukyā-tti pamukxurika'úhra'm, 'u;m vura 'úyrū'hīti', e makes his own cigarettes, he rolls them.

Teim ihē't ukyā'vic, he is going to make a smoke. Patcim ihē't ukyā'vica'ak kari pe'kkxurik tu'úriceuk, when he is going to take a smoke, he rolls the paper.

Tōyvā-tāmni 'ikxurikk'ak pehē'raha', he spills the tobacco on a paper.

Karixas tō'y'ruh, then he rolls it.

Po'ittakiθak, 'u;m vura kohumayá'tc 'ukyā-tti po'kupēhē'tā'e'te, xākkārari vūra va; kō'ś ukyā-tti'. Frī'pāyav ukyā-tti'. Yav kyā'atti'. 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.

Va; vura teka'tc kunic pakunĩ'tū'hti' pakunikyā'tti', pupuxxw'tc irtū'htīha'p, va; 'u;m vura pa'āmku'f su? 'ūkyī'mvā'rec po'pamah-nāha'sk, 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'úhra'm.
Karixas tı:m 'úpas to:yyúrak, tuviraxvirax tı:m, then he puts sp on the edge, he laps the edge.

Karixas 'úpasmu:k tö:ptáxva', then he sticks it down with spit.

Hári tö:yrú:hpaé 'ipanna' te, xåy 'úyya:yríčuk, sometimes he crims the end, it might spill open.

Karixas kar apmá:n tuyú:n'var, then he puts it in his mouth.

To:ppař, he bites it.

Tupamtcákkarári pe'kxurika'úhra'm, 'apmá:nnú:k tupamtcál karaři, he shuts it on the cigarette, he holds it in his mouth.

Tå:k 'ahicyá:lar, give me a match. Also tå:k émyúricrihař.

Tå:k 'a:sh, give me a light.

Xas tu'áhka', xas tubamáhma', then he lights it, then he smacks it.

Hári payítha mu'úhrá:mmák xå: ká:n pamu'úhrá:mmú:k 'u:ál sürö:ti'. Xas vo: 'áhhó:ttí pamu'úhrá:mmú:k. 'Ukukkuti payítha mu'úhrá:mmak. Xas tupamáhma'. Sometimes from another 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'myátca 'upé:thrúppanati', he takes it out of his mouth ever now and then.

Hári 'á:pun tö:thářic, vura vo'í:nk Źuti', sometimes he lays it down it is burning yet.

Kúkku:mm kari to:ppé:ttcip, 'apmú:ن tupíyú:n'var, he picks it up again, he puts it back in his mouth again.

Hári tô:msíp, karixas kúkku:mm 'a:h tupíkyav, sometimes it goes out, then he lights it again.

Tcatik vúra xå: tuhé:táffip, then he smokes it all up.

Xas pamuhétép yí: vári to:ppá:šma', then he throws the stub away.

Hári xå: vura to:kvithícuur po'hé:taři', sometimes he puts himself to sleep smoking.

Hári xå: vura to:kví:thá' vura vo'í:nk Źuti pamukxurika'úhra'sn sometimes he goes to sleep with his cigarette burning.

Hári pamú:vaš tu'ínk'a', sometimes his blanket burns.

C. Pahú:t kunkupavictánni:nuvahiti pe'hé:ř pe'kxurika'úhra'sm

(The cigarette habit)

Pehé:ra:n kuma 'ávansaha's, vura tuyúnya:nhu pehé:raha tupik fí:tckřaha's, the man who smokes all the time just gets crazy if he gets no more his smoking tobacco.

Payítha tuhé:táffip, kúkku:mm yí:theta tupíkyav, as soon as he gets through with one he makes another one.
Tobacco Among the Karuk Indians

Teatik vura takúmate; tc kó-vúra tuhéráffip pamuhéráhapú-vic. Before night he uses up all his tobacco sack.

'Thé-ra'sn, he is a great smoker.

'Iśasúppá: vúra po-hérati pe'kxuníka'úhnä-m'mítc, he smokes cigarettes all day.

Kumi taúkkinkuníc pamúttí'k karu pamúvuh, kó-va ta'y po-hérati', his fingers and his teeth are yellowish, he smokes so much.

D. Pe'kxurika'uhramáhuź

(ThE CIGARETTE HOLDER)

'Ikxurika'uhramáhuź, a cigarette holder, = 'ikxurika'uhramaxay-cákkicricířť.

E. Pe'kxurika'uhramáhyá-nnářáv

(CIGARETTE CASE)

'Ikxurika'uhram(tunvě-te)řăsíp, cigarette case, lit. cigarette bowl basket, = 'ikxurika'uhramáhyá-nnářáv. 'Ikxurika'uhramxé-hva'sís, cigarette pipe sack, could hardly be applied.

'Ikxurika'uhram(tunvě-te)máhyá-nnářáv, cigarette case. Also with first prebound omitted.

Mupá-vičak su? 'umáhyá-nnati', hitáha:n vura mupá-vičak su?, he keeps it in his pocket, it is all the time in his pocket.

Teakitpú-vič, jacket pocket. Kutrahavaspú-vič, coat pocket. But never use pů-vič uncompounded for pocket. Always prebound oat, pants, or like. Kutraháva'sís, coat. From tukútra', he wags his buttocks to one side and back = tukutráhaθuń= tukúteřť.

5. Pasik vá

(ThE CIGAR)

A. Pasik vá: kunkupe-θúvyá-nnahiti'

(HOW CIGARS ARE CALLED)

Sik vá'sá, cigar. Im'anvan's aunt, Tcúxaťć, used to call cigar ik váksi' = 'ihé-ráha'uhramxára, cigar, lit. long cigarette.

Sik vá-hka'sán, a big cigar.

Sik váhxár uhérati', he is smoking a long cigar.

Sik vánaammahaťć, a small cigar, a cheroot.

Ká-kum tůppitcas pasik vá'sá, some cigars are small.

Sik váhikyáva'sán, cigar maker.

Sik váhpe'hvapiθvářám, cigar store.

Sik váhpe'hvapiθva'sán, cigar seller.

7 Or papiric'úhra'sán.
B. Pahu't kunkupe'kya'hiti karu pahu't kunkupata'rahiti'

(HOW THEY ARE MADE AND KEPT)

Piric 'i rúhapuhsa vura pasikvá'a, a cigar is made of rolled up brush Va; kumá'í'i pupuxx'íte 'i rú'híha'p, va; 'u;m yav kunkupapamaháhiti', va; 'u;m pa'amku'f su? 'akyí'mvára'ti', they do not roll it tight, so that they can suck in the smoke good, so that the smoke can go in.

Xas 'ávahkam vura santiríhká: m poýrhá'tariváhiti', then a big wide leaf is rolled around the outside.

Há'í pasikvá'a 'ávahkam 'uŷxórariváhiti 'ikkxurikasirikuníétá'hko'o, sometimes they wrap it with tinfoil on the outside.

Há'í pasikvá 'ikkxurikasirikuníétá'hko 'uŷxóráry'mva 'ávahkam sometimes it is wrapped with tinfoil on the outside.

Há'í 'ikkxurik 'a-tec ip 'ukiccapahína'ti', 'ikkxurikasíí, sometimes there is paper tied around the middle, shiny paper.

'Asxáyri'k vura po tá' yíhíti', they have to be kept in a damp place

C. Karu pahu't kunkupe'he'rahiti'

(AND HOW THEY ARE SMOKED)

Patcim uhethcá'haha'k pasikvá'a, kari simsi'mmák top'ká'kusu 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'á'hska', he lights it.

Kariháx tupícki'n, then he puffs in.

'Apmá:n top'kyí'mvarg pa'amku'f patumpamaháháa'k, the smoke goes in his mouth when he smokes it.

Pu'ikkxurikauhnawntunvé'te 'ákka'tíha'á, 'íkpíha'n, 'ímxa'nakké'ém it does not taste like a cigarette, it is strong, it stinks.

Tupé'thúppan pasikvá'a, he takes the cigar out of his mouth.

'Ukfuhrúppanati pehé'rahášmku'f, he blows the smoke out.

Há'í tutaknihrúppanmat suhе'rahámkuu'f, sometimes he make his tobacco smoke roll out in rings.

D. Pasikvá'he'ahup

(THE CIGAR HOLDER)

Sikvá'háhup, cigar holder = sikvá'haxaytcákkícricíháár.

Sikvá'haxaytcákkícricíháár, cigar holder.

'Utaknihrúppanati pa'amku'f, the smoke is rolling out in rings.

Há'í vura va; 'apmá:n 'uhýá'táti xá't puí'nkútíha'á, sometimes he holds it in his mouth unlighted.

8 Lit. white-shining-paper.
E. Pasik'ā'hmāhyā'nnāray

(The Cigar Case)

6. Papuoe'hē-raha'

The Indians never did chew tobacco. Now some of the Indians chew White man tobacco. Lots of the halfbreeds chew chewing tobacco. Some old Indians chew too.

Indian Celery [root] is what they do chew sometimes. Sometimes a person does this way, goes around with a piece of Indian Celery [root] tucked under his belt. He walks around. Every once in a while he bites off some Indian Celery.

Another thing that they used to chew was milkweed gum, and sometimes Jeffrey Pine pitch.

7. Pe-meacakare'hē-raha'

(Snuff)

'Imeacakare'hē-raha', snuffing tobacco.

Yūffivmā'k 'umsakansakkanti, vo'kupē'hē-rahiti', with his nose several times he smells it in, he smokes that way.

Xas to'pā'eva', then he sneezes.

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
"Nu; karu va; nukuphë’c pa- 'ara;r kunkupítti’." Xas va; vura xakinvkihasúpa; kunkú- hiti’, kóv ikpihañ, pa’araré-hë- raha’. Va; kuma’íffuθ vura puhárixay pikyá-várivúthá pehë’r.

Then they were sick for a week. The Indian tobacco is so strong. They never tried to smoke it again.
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