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Author(s): John H. Bushnell

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From American Indian to Indian American: The Changing Identity of the Hupa¹

JOHN H. BUSHNELL

New York State Commission For Human Rights

An examination of the cultural history of the Hupa over the last hundred years indicates that the traditional designation "American Indian" is most relevant when applied to the life style developed as an accommodation to reservation living. Rapid modernization following World War II and a changing status vis-à-vis the larger society have placed the contemporary Hupa in a position that may be appropriately characterized by the transposed term "Indian American." In this the Hupa parallel other minority groups in the United States inasmuch as they possess a culture that is largely American in content yet retains a unique sense of ethnic identity. The viability of the Indian component of this identity is discussed in the context of cultural survivals and current interests and concerns within the tribe.

ON THE Hoopa Valley Reservation surviving aspects of the aboriginal culture are found primarily in attenuated or covert form and the present-day community is for the most part indistinguishable from other rural settlements in northwestern California. Thus the tribal members are unequivocally members of the predominant American culture. Notwithstanding the overwhelming preponderance of white content in their contemporary Reservation culture, however, the Hupa retain a sense of their own distinctive identity, based on their Indian heritage and ancestry. In this they parallel other ethnic minorities in the United States that have moved into the cultural mainstream but continue to identify with a way of life that in reality is once removed in time or space and is largely ceremonial, symbolic, and emotional in its manifestations.

Therefore, I feel it is better to restrict the application of the term "American Indian" to the Hupa as they lived within the framework of the traditional reservation milieu and to designate the contemporary Hupa as "Indian American." This latter term would appear to reflect accurately the culmination of fundamental and far-reaching changes that have transformed Hupa society and culture, particularly since the onset of what may be called the modern period beginning with World War II. In supporting this view-

point, I will first focus upon the major events and forces that have produced the present-day Hupa with their Indian-American status and self-image. A brief review of the aboriginal culture and a recounting of the life style developed as an accommodation to the imposition of the reservation system will be followed by a description of the transition to the contemporary culture and consideration of a number of the factors that can be seen as functioning in support of the Indian component of this Indian-American identity.²

I

Throughout their known history the Hupa have inhabited a broad, scenic mountain valley lying along the Trinity River not far from its confluence with the Klamath. According to Hupa mythology, their first ancestors came spontaneously into being in this same valley. In aboriginal times their permanent villages were situated on the banks of the Trinity, each settlement consisting of a cluster of a dozen or so semisubterranean plank houses. The women and children of the family lived in one house type while the men and older boys from several families shared a sweathouse for lounging and sleeping.³

The Hupa lived under unusually favorable conditions. The winters could be cold but never severe; in the summer they moved into temporary shelters at the river's edge to avoid the hotter weather. Virtually all of the

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material needs of the tribe were met by resources immediately at hand. Clothing was fashioned from buckskin or the hides of smaller animals and decorated largely with local items such as feathers, quills, seeds, and bark fibers, although shells from the coast were a prized addition especially for ceremonial dress. The substances required to weave the baskets for which the northwest California Indians were justly famous were native to the area. Deer, elk, acorns, bulbs, berries, and nuts were taken from the pine and oak forests of the surrounding mountains, while the Trinity provided an abundance of salmon, steelhead, sturgeon, and eel to be eaten fresh and to be dried for storage. Food reserves might run short in the wintertime but this was the exception rather than the rule. The fact that the Hupa had no need to migrate to summer camps in order to insure a year-round food supply as did some California tribes reinforces the picture of close and permanent ties with their home territory.

Given the bounty of river and woodland, contact with neighboring Indians was based more on ceremonial and social relationships than economic exigency. However, dugout canoes made of redwood were obtained from the Yurok who lived downstream on the Klamath and who also supplied the Hupa with seaweed, a source of salt, and dentalium shells, which served a very important function as a medium of exchange. The Hupa were also friendly with the Karok upstream on the Klamath although they had nothing in particular to trade with them. There was some intermarriage among the members of these three groups. They also made a practice of attending one another's dances both as observers and as rival performers. (This trio of tribes has been of considerable interest to anthropologists because they have a common culture but speak three distinct languages.)

The relative ease with which the necessities of life could be procured made time available for cultural elaboration in nonessential areas. Daily living was interwoven with ritual formula and prayer. The Hupa world was populated with spirits and guarded over by a small pantheon of deities. Healing was in the hands of medicine-makers and shamans, the latter specializing in ei-

ther diagnosis or curing by sucking. Herbal remedies were not limited to the alleviation of physical ills but could be formulated to ward off evil and promote good fortune in such a variety of undertakings as hunting, gambling, basket weaving, love making, and childbirth.

As would be anticipated in this southern extension of the Northwest Coast complex, two dominant and interrelated themes in Hupa life centered upon wealth and the litigation that a money system facilitated. Dentalium shells, graded by length, served as currency while other objects largely lacking in intrinsic value such as long obsidian blades, dance regalia, and red-headed woodpecker scalps were also regarded as items of wealth. The private ownership concept was extended beyond personal possessions to include the rights to hunting, fishing, and gathering sites.

The monetary scheme provided not only a medium of exchange in daily living but also a major criterion for ascribing social status. Thus one's position in the community was determined largely by the bride-price one's mother had commanded at the time of her marriage with the result that an individual born of a woman for whom nothing had been paid was automatically an outcast or slave at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Just as the social structure of the tribe was closely tied to the emphasis on wealth, so was its political and ceremonial organization. The richest man in each settlement was looked upon as the leader, the Hupa having no tradition of hereditary chiefs. Leaders with their superior economic resources were expected to augment the food supplies of less well-to-do neighbors during an occasional winter period of scarcity. They were also responsible for the resolution of intravillage feuds and with their monetary assets met the challenge of damage suits from other Hupa settlements. Lawsuits and feuds over insults, bodily injuries, deaths, charges of witchcraft, or property damage could involve not only families or villages but even tribes as adversaries, with protracted negotiations frequently required before payments were agreed upon and the matter closed.

For ceremonial purposes the tribe was split into a northern and a southern division with the leading man of wealth in each sec-

tion jointly sponsoring the White Deerskin Dance, a world-renewal ritual requiring a preliminary payment to all families bereaved by a death during the year and the accumulation and preparation of sufficient food-stuffs to feed all who attended.

Excepting major ceremonies, the tribe rarely functioned as a single entity. The villages tended to be separatistic in attitude and competed against each other through the medium of games and gambling as well as litigation. Inasmuch as internal jealousy and rivalry seem to have constituted a more or less chronic state of affairs, it is not surprising that village and, especially, tribal affiliation assumed less significance in the life of the Hupa than the family unit, which was the primary locus of loyalty and trust.

II

Compared to the fate of other California tribes whose numbers were decimated by bullets and disease to the point where they ceased to function as societal entities, the Hupa were relatively fortunate in their relationship to the whites.⁴ Their remote mountain location shielded them from significant contact until the time of the gold rush. They were temporarily inundated by gold-seekers in 1850, but the sandbars in the Hoopa Valley were quickly exhausted and the number of outsiders dwindled to a few whites who settled and began to farm.

There were occasional conflicts in the immediate post-contact years. Minor incidents would lead to Hupa attacks on pack trains; the whites would burn a Hupa village. The Indian practice of exacting blood revenge upon the outsider most conveniently at hand was particularly disquieting to the whites. To maintain order a military post, Fort Gaston, was established in the center of the valley in 1855 and remained the sole authority in the region for the next decade.⁵ Although intermittent hostilities continued for a time, Indian losses from clashes with the Army were relatively slight, e.g., 20 casualties between 1855 and 1860. In 1864 the central territory of the Hupa was designated as a reservation by federal edict and local whites were reimbursed for the lands they were subsequently forced to relinquish. Soldiers continued to be stationed at the fort while agents appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were charged with admin-

istration of the reservation. Hupa living up-river on the Trinity beyond the 12-mile square of the new reservation at first resisted relocation and a series of skirmishes ensued until the recalcitrants were forcibly brought under government control. Some ten years later for reasons that are not clear, the agency administration collapsed and plans were made to abandon the reservation altogether and to remove the tribe to the Round Valley Reservation to the south. Cattle and horses owned by the Hupa had already been driven to Round Valley when plans were reversed and the Army was ordered to assume full charge of the Hoopa Reservation. The military force remained in command until 1892 when the soldiers were withdrawn completely and responsibility reverted once again to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The aboriginal settlement pattern persisted for two or three decades following the early contact period although at least one Hupa village had been abandoned soon after the whites arrived because of its proximity to the area taken over by the fort and the agency. The allotment system authorized in 1887 largely disrupted the custom of living in clusters by the river. Families dispersed throughout the valley as they were assigned land for house sites and farming where they built simple homes of mill-cut lumber more or less patterned after the general style then current for rural America.

By and large, the Hupa readily adapted to the clothing, guns, iron tools, horses, and money system of the white man as well as to the basic foodstuffs stocked at the local trading post. However, flour, meat, coffee, and sugar did not supplant but rather came to complement the venison, salmon, and acorn soup of the native diet.

With a shift in federal policy from simply isolating the Indian to "uplifting" and "civilizing" him, a boarding school for the Hupa and neighboring tribes was established on the reservation in 1893. All pupils were required to reside at the school with home visits limited to once or twice a month. The children adhered to a quasi-military regimen that included drilling, calisthenics, unquestioned obedience, and severe punishment for infractions. They were also obliged to perform heavy chores vital to the maintenance of the residents and the operation of the physical plant. Instruction was in English

and conversing in an Indian language was strictly forbidden. In addition to the three R's and occasional activities such as singing, games, and holiday programs there was vocational training for the boys in agricultural techniques and in trades such as blacksmithing and carpentry, and practice in domestic skills for the girls. Runaways were a chronic problem reflecting the resistance of many of the Hupa children and often their parents to the imposition of this institution, which for them was an alien and cruel system. Nevertheless, it is probable that the school with its forcible inculcation of white culture was one of the more effective instruments in the campaign to eradicate as many aspects of the aboriginal life style as possible.

Protestant missionaries were active in the valley as early as 1873. Although they had the support of the local Indian agent, their proselytizing seems to have made few inroads in subsequent years. Thus by the turn of the century the reservation contained two churches (Presbyterian, Episcopalian), three missionaries (one male, two female), and 14 converts.

At about this time officials complained of the frequent firing of guns to frighten away the Indian devils, of the distressing practice of curing by sucking, of the persistence of gambling games, and of the difficulty of rooting out native marriage customs, the court of Indian offenses notwithstanding.

For the first third of the twentieth century the cultural status of the Hupa remained in most essentials much the same as in the late 1800s. Many Indian families continued to support themselves by combining hunting, fishing, and gathering with limited farming and stock raising on their land allocations. A small number obtained some income by hauling freight with team and wagon for traders or the government. Although there were occasionally opportunities to work in a local sawmill or in a logging or tanbark operation, the only jobs likely to be available were those attached to the school, agency, hospital, or forestry and road crews. A few of the more elderly people preferred to live on in the old semisubterranean houses with the assistance of government rations.

A number of whites were now living on the reservation. These were either "squaw men" who had married into the tribe or out-

siders who had purchased land from Indians holding deeds to their property. Over the decades since the establishment of Fort Gaston, the Hupa had acquired from both soldiers and settlers a substantial infusion of White "blood" so that their physical appearance ranged from the characteristic broad-faced Indian with a stocky body build to individuals who would appear to be totally Caucasoid in their ancestry.

The potential for change increased progressively during the 1920s and 1930s but actual alterations in reservation life were slow in coming. The granting of citizenship to Indians in 1924, while undoubtedly of symbolic significance, seems to have had virtually no effect upon the day-to-day concerns or the overall outlook of the Hupa at that time. The tribe voted not to participate under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Changing federal policy was reflected in the conversion of the Indian boarding school to a public elementary day school during the 1930s and the eventual addition of a four-year high school. While the Hoopa school was no longer deliberately employed as an instrument for de-Indianization, it served increasingly as an agent for noncoercive acculturation.

The isolation of the reservation continued for a considerable time despite the advent of the automobile. Few of the Indians could afford a car, the roads were poor, and the river had to be crossed by ferry. The paving of the one road that ran through the valley and the addition of a bridge in the mid-1930s facilitated travel but most Hupa made the 50-odd mile trip to Eureka only once or twice a year when they could arrange a ride or afford the bus that arrived daily with the mail.

Rudiments of modern facilities—electric generator, telephone, piped-in spring water—were to be found only in the immediate area of the agency buildings and were generally restricted to official use. Most Hupa families relied upon kerosene for light, wood for fuel, a spring or hand pump for water, and word-of-mouth for communicating with each other.

Those aspects of the aboriginal culture that had survived the nineteenth century, e.g., the use of native foods, the basket weaving, the ceremonies and games, the curing rituals, and many of the supernatural

beliefs, continued as important though often diminished facets in the lives of many of the people. Thus the native language was beginning to lose ground as the younger generation spoke Hupa with their elders but usually conversed in English among themselves.

The interval between 1865 and World War II, which has just been summarized, can be described as the traditional reservation period in the history of the Hupa Indians. These were the decades during which the Hupa, as wards of the government, were denied any institutions or channels that would give them an effective voice in directing their own affairs. The reservation was a self-contained unit with its own hospital, its Indian police, and its welfare system. All complaints and all matters requiring official action or approval came before the Indian agent whose authority was frequently experienced as highly dictatorial. The alleged exploitations and felt injustices attributed to bygone agents can still be recounted at length by older Hupa Indians.

During this long period when, as some of the more militant members of the tribe put it, "We were in the Department of the Interior along with the buffalo," they were consistently regarded by whites as a special breed that was to be segregated first and later to be "civilized" for eventual assimilation. In the very act of attempting to eradicate the more tenacious survivals of aboriginal culture (it will be recalled that as late as 1923 the BIA forbade the practice of Indian religions), the dominant society, more often than not, was underscoring and denigrating the distinctions that differentiate the Indian from the white. It was within this context with its stress upon anomaly and separateness that the term "American Indian" or simply "Indian" was appropriate. The adjective "American" had become, of course, the noun by which whites identified themselves and its use as a modifier preceding the word "Indian" was little more than a convention designed to separate the natives of India from those of this continent rather than to suggest commonalities between the original American and his conqueror.

III

Although drawing the line between the closing of one epoch and the opening of the next is often of necessity a somewhat arbi-

trary matter, World War II can be said to mark the beginning of the modern reservation period even though the war itself did not at first effect significant changes in the life of the Hupa. Sixty-three members of the tribe served in the armed forces during the war, most of them subsequently returning to the valley. A study of the acculturative role of these ex-GI's by the writer in 1948 revealed that the war experiences had not notably altered either attitudes, values, or plans for the future (Bushnell 1950). Once having spent their mustering-out pay and drawn their "52-20" (virtually no use was made of the long-range benefits of the GI Bill of Rights), these veterans expected to resume the life style they had known before, i.e., hunting and fishing year round, living on tax-free land, perhaps farming and, if the need arose, working at whatever job might be available with the knowledge that the agency had usually supplied work when other sources of livelihood failed. In actuality, the reservation they had known was considerably modified during the post-war years by the introduction into its midst of a booming lumber industry that created an abundance of relatively well-paid jobs in the mills and in the woods. Most of the timber was being cut from forests owned by the tribe and the Hupa became the beneficiaries of stumpage fees with per capita payments to each man, woman, and child on the tribal roll amounting to several hundred dollars twice a year. New businesses—another general store, a restaurant, a garage and gas station—began to appear. Several hundred whites moved into the valley, living in trailers, cabins, or tents and working in the saw-mills or logging operations.

Per capita funds and the shift to a wage economy, which provided employment for all Indian males willing and able to work, brought an end to virtually all farming. The new affluence was perhaps most immediately evident in the proliferation of automobiles on the reservation. Trips to Eureka or Redding became commonplace, and the younger generation, in particular, would joy-ride up and down the valley, sometimes going outside to buy a case of beer or to drink at a bar that would serve Indians. More and more dependence was placed upon purchased foodstuffs. Salmon and steelhead were still taken from the Trinity during the

spring and fall runs, but most hunting and gathering activities declined to a point where they no longer contributed significantly to the food supply.

By 1950, after many years of delay, power lines finally reached the reservation, a development that, in combination with their growing prosperity, enabled the Hupa to bring the material side of their culture up-to-date, one might say, almost instantaneously. Television, refrigerators, deep freezers, washers, dryers, and other electrical appliances became standard household equipment for all but the most marginal families.

A decade later telephone wires were strung through the valley. A barber shop, a beauty shop, a TV repair service, a laundromat, a gift shop, a clothing store, a supermarket, two new gas stations, a drive-in, a motel, another restaurant, a trailer park, even a landing strip for small planes were added to the expanding number of goods and services available to the community. An enlarged and consolidated school district was formed and a modern complex of buildings constructed for what had become an integrated student population.

A small but increasing number of Hupa, together with a larger proportion of whites, were directly involved in this mushrooming activity. They owned some of the small businesses, rented cabins and trailer space, helped organize a miniature Chamber of Commerce, and served on the school board. During this period there was a pronounced increase in the number of intermarriages between Hupa and whites, the latter outnumbering the Indian population by the mid-1950s.

The existence of the persisting aboriginal traits became more precarious. Only the older people spoke Hupa as a first tongue and the younger generation was likely to know at best only a few native words, often the profane ones. The tribal folktales were rarely recounted by parents to children. The two native plank houses preserved on one of the dance grounds were buried by one flood in the mid-1950s and swept away by a second flood during the winter of 1964/65. The major ceremonial, the White Deerskin Dance, was held at seven or eight-year intervals rather than biennially as had been the custom. The number of skilled basket weav-

ers declined to one or two women who worked at the craft only sporadically. Although a few canoes and hand-woven gill nets were still in use, it had become common practice to catch salmon in a nylon net of modern manufacture, strung across the river channel with the aid of an inflatable life raft or a fiberglass boat.

Thus it seems clear that, notwithstanding the survival of certain indigenous elements, the decades since World War II have witnessed a thoroughgoing Americanization and modernization of most aspects of the reservation culture. Inasmuch as the Hupa, judged by both cultural and behavioral criteria, are far more American than Indian, it seems appropriate at this point to reverse the customary designation "American Indian" to the more definitive "Indian American." As such, they share a status similar to that of other hyphenated minority groups, e.g., Italian Americans or Japanese Americans, in that they possess a culture that is largely American in content yet retain a unique sense of ethnic identity.⁶ The term gains further validity from the fact that, beyond the Indian-white ratio of culture content per se, the image of the Hupa has been changing both in their own eyes and in those of their white neighbors. Closely related to the modification of this image is the transition from a dependent to an increasingly independent legal and quasi-legal status as reflected in the extension to the tribe of nearly all the rights and duties applying to other citizens.

The Hupa were subject to the draft during World War II and subsequent conflicts. They have the right to vote and the obligation to pay taxes (trust lands excepted). State law and county ordinances now include the reservation under their jurisdiction and the county sheriff and his deputies have supplanted the Indian police. It is no longer illegal for an Indian to possess or drink liquor although the Hoopa Tribal Council has yet to approve the sale of alcohol on the reservation. The government hospital was closed a number of years ago and a community clinic and hospital established in conjunction with a voluntary prepaid medical plan. The federal Public Health Service retains its operations in the field of sanitation (which had been transferred from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1955) but other

public health and social welfare services are administered through county agencies and personnel.

Thus, the larger society by law and administrative edict has reached the point of according virtual equality to the Hupa Indian. The wardship system is gone and the nineteenth century concept of fundamental and disabling differences in race and culture has been supplanted by two contemporary ideas: first, that racial distinctions are not a valid basis for exclusion; and, second, that cultural differences are worthy of preservation. Although the Hupa have at times in their history experienced the humiliation and bitterness of a subjugated people, they seem never to have been exposed to the devastating bigotry and discrimination that have characterized Indian-white relationships in many areas of the country. In some measure this may have contributed to the present picture of an interaction between Hupa and non-Indian residents of the reservation that is relatively free of friction, slights, or chauvinism based on race. As for the matter of cultural worth, the self-esteem of the Hupa has been bolstered in recent decades not only by the growth at the national level of a concern for the status and problems of the Indian qua Indian but also by the periodic visits to the reservation of ethnologists, linguists, musicologists, and other scholars and students.

IV

Notwithstanding the near-total sweep of the modern culture supported as it is by the economic system, the mass media, and the accelerating technological revolution, the Indian component of the Hupa identity exhibits considerable viability. This phenomenon seems to be related to several factors among which may be noted the protective and unifying aspects of the reservation system, the beginning of what appears to be a small Hupa renaissance, and the tenacity of certain covert aboriginal features, particularly in the realm of belief, that survive in the face of rapid and continuing culture change.

The territorial integrity provided by the reservation has enabled the Hupa to remain on the land of their ancestors with its ancient village sites, burial grounds, and dance fields. The support for the tribal image deriving from this geographic continuity is

reinforced by the off-season hunting privileges and the right to use fish nets granted to the local Indians and denied to whites living in the same valley. The ubiquitous problems growing out of the reservation system—a stalemate over reallocation, the question of termination, land claims against the federal government, the threat of inundation of the reservation if and when a proposed dam is constructed on the Trinity, chronic issues before the Tribal Council and its subsidiary committees, the sending of delegations to Sacramento and to Washington—constantly serve to underscore the Indian side of their Indian American status.

Faced with the possible extinction of most of the remaining aboriginal traditions within a generation or two, a number of community leaders have reacted with a sense of urgency and are attempting either as individuals or in small groups to perpetuate or revive some of the more cherished and valued aspects of the old way of life. While these efforts tend to be sporadic and, more often than not, to fall short of the goal, they reflect a deeply felt pride that communicates to other members of the tribe. In recent years the ceremonial dances have been largely the result of the work of a handful of such people who, for example, built a new sweathouse in 1965 prior to the annual Brush dance as a replacement for the one lost in the flood. The dances are attended by the tribe almost in its entirety and it is significant that numbers of the younger Hupa have been joining with the older generation in the dance pit. Efforts to engage the neighboring Yurok or Karok in the traditional shinny contest have not always been successful in the last few years but the concept of continuing the competition remains alive. For a time there was a course in native basket weaving for high school girls and the ceremonial leader of the Hupa has given several demonstrations on tribal crafts and lore to elementary school classes. A number of women have experimented with the utilization of aboriginal techniques and/or decorative motifs for such items as pottery, pendants, basketry, earrings, and woven mats. Several individuals have indicated an interest in recording some aspect of their cultural heritage: one person would like to write an autobiography; another, a tribal history; a third, a volume of Hupa tales. There is talk

of the need for a local museum, of the possibility of placing the reservation in the status of an historical monument, and controversy over the propriety of filming the dances and recording the sacred songs.

Although renaissance as a term probably overstates the actual situation, there is unquestionably a growing involvement in the Hupa tradition, particularly so if a comparison is drawn with the immediate post-World War II years when a depressed community with its own "lost generation" of youth presented a picture of rapid demise for its Indian culture coupled with a prospective termination of the reservation, which had been announced as imminent. Today the demand for basket hats among the Hupa is such that the limited output of the very few women who still weave is committed to meeting a backlog of requests from their own people. The Hupa regalia and other native artifacts are treasured by their owners who bring them out on the occasions when dances are held. Families who have resisted the temptation over the years to sell such items either to other tribal members or to outsiders are counted as fortunate. The basket cradle is sufficiently well adapted to the needs of both mother and infant so that it is used not only by the Hupa but also by a number of white families living on the reservation. Although acorns are gathered only sporadically and prepared with aid of a coffee grinder or blender rather than a mortar and pestle, acorn soup retains a special significance both as a direct link to the past and as a ceremonial food in surviving ritual. Even the younger generation is prone to agree with the elders that acorn soup tastes best when made by the stone-boiling method.

The growing concern for the fate of the Hupa heritage can be characterized as a largely endogenous development that has proceeded with little, if any, reference to a generalized pan-Indian movement. The Hupa tend to be possessive about their native traditions and insistent that they be kept unadulterated, i.e., not mixed with imports from other tribes, for example, the Plains Indian war bonnet or the use of the term chief. One or two families have presented Hupa dances in costume at Indian shows held away from the reservation and have met with varying degrees of disfavor on the part of tribal members not only because of

the commercial exploitation involved and the use of such props as a tipi and a fake campfire but also because a public display of authentic aboriginal ceremonies and objects out of context is seen as a defilement of the sacred.

Some of the deepest feelings associated with the Hupa sense of Indianness are related to beliefs that have roots in the pre-White past. For those who have grown up on the reservation it can probably be fairly said that nearly everyone from the least to the most acculturated gives credence (not always openly acknowledged) to the power of native prayer, to the presence of Indian spirits, to the concept of good and bad "medicine," or to the inevitability with which retribution will follow violation of a religious proscription. Thus no one would go behind the line of performers at the Deerskin Dance and take the chance of "spoiling the world." Field work following the two most recent floodings of the reservation revealed a prevailing set of attitudes centering around a conviction that the high waters and the havoc wrought were the consequence of personal or ritual transgressions and desecration of the dance grounds (Bushnell 1967). This persisting substratum of belief in the continuing sanctity and efficacy of Indian paraphernalia, religious ritual, and ceremonial sites can be seen as one of the more significant forces serving to perpetuate an enduring core of Indian identity in the midst of a twentieth-century America.

NOTES

¹ An abbreviated version of this paper was presented at the twenty-sixth meeting of The Society for Applied Anthropology, Washington, D.C., May 6, 1967. The author wishes to express his appreciation to the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for grants supporting field work on the Hoopa Reservation in 1948, 1956, and 1965 respectively.

² At the reading of this paper Margaret Mead noted that an attempt had been made to popularize the term "Indian American" during World War II. The intent seems to have been comparable to present efforts to upgrade the image and status of the Negro in the United States by adopting the term "Negro American." However, in the present paper the rationale for the trans-

position of the designation American Indian to Indian American lies in the fact that the terminology does, in fact, reflect the changing cultural and social reality of the Hupa tribe.

³The major reference on the aboriginal Hupa is Goddard (1903). See also Kroeber (1925), Wallace (1947a, 1947b), and Goldschmidt (1951).

⁴This summary of the contact and reservation period is based upon Goddard (1903:8-11), Cook (1943), Anderson (1956), Department of the Interior (1903), Barnett (1940), Goldschmidt and Driver (1940), and informant accounts.

⁵Anderson (1956:98) takes exception to Goddard (and therefore also to Kroeber who followed Goddard on this point) and places the founding of Fort Gaston in the year 1858.

⁶In discussing this paper at the Applied Anthropology meetings, Alexander Lesser correctly observed that while for most minorities in the United States there exists a motherland that serves as a source of sustenance for the perpetuation of ethnic identity in the face of increasing assimilation, the Indian American has no such fountainhead to draw upon as his culture disappears.

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