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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAISLA OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY
RONALD L. OLSON

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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE HAISLA OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

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INTRODUCTION *

The data contained in this description of the social organization of the Haisla were obtained in the summer of 1935 at Kitimat and on Rivers Inlet (to which many coastal people go each summer to engage in commercial fishing). The work was financed in part by a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council, in part from research funds of the University of California.

The Haisla occupy the upper reaches of Douglas Channel on the northern coast of British Columbia. Their nearest neighbors are the Tsimshian tribes of the lower Skeena River, the Tsimshian of the lower reaches of Douglas Channel, the Kemano-Kitlope tribe of Gardner Canal, and the Haihais (Xaexaes, etc.), who occupy the maze of channels east of Princess Royal Island.

As with many tribes of the Northwest Coast the Haisla have only one "winter" or permanent village. In summer they scatter over a wide area in small groups for fishing, hunting, and gathering. The winter village of Kitimat has had, according to tradition (p. 189), several locations, all of them near the present site.

The tribe now numbers perhaps 400 persons and is probably slowly increasing. Available published material on the tribe is limited to a few scattered and casual references.[1] Materials on the neighboring tribes mentioned above are likewise scanty or lacking. Accordingly I have not felt it worth while to give comparative materials; these must await further work in the area. Although the old culture of the Haisla has almost completely broken down I have written this account in the historical present.

My chief informants were the following: Chris Walker, of the Blackfish clan; Andrew Green, of the Beaver clan; Jonah Howard, of the Eagle clan; Isaac Woods, of the Eagle clan; Mrs. William Grant, of the Salmon clan.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the help and hospitality generously offered me by various members of the Provincial Police force, the employees of the British Columbia Packers Corporation, and the Beaver Cannery, and the representatives of the United Church at Bella Bella, Klemtu, and Kitimat. Without their aid the difficulties of obtaining transportation, food, and lodging would have greatly lessened the amount of material I was able to collect.

*Assistance in the preparation of these materials was furnished by the personnel of Works Progress Administration Official Project No. 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[1] E.g., E. S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 10:139, 305 (fn.), 1907-24. Cambridge, Mass.

THE HAISLA CLANS

Alone of all the Kwakiutl-speaking tribes the Haisla and Kitlope have a full-fledged maternal exogamic clan organization which is almost identical with that of their Tsimshian neighbors. They say that the Haihais and Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) "don't know how to marry" because they originated from a girl who "married" a dog.[2]

Among the Haisla there are six clans, each named after an animal. Although the clans act as units in everyday matters, in most festivals (potlatches and feasts) they are (except for the Eagle) linked with one or more of the other clans. The array at Kitimat is as follows:

Eagle	Beaver	Blackfish (Killer Whale)
	Raven	Salmon
	Crow (extinct?)	

One informant explains the linking of clans as follows: In the war at Old Town (p. 188) the Beaver and Crow clans helped the Ravens and have since been more or less united with the Ravens. The Blackfish and Salmon also helped the Ravens and have since been paired. Another informant stated that the Blackfish-Salmon and Beaver-Raven-Crow linkings arose within the last century. He also stated that marriages within the phratries are allowed and that in feasts the other clan (or clans) of the phratry does not contribute with food, and such, to help the host clan. The phratries lack names. In feasts and potlatches each clan is called by its own name, but Beaver is named before Raven, and Blackfish before Salmon.

In the native mind clan affiliation and rank (right to titles, etc.) are of paramount importance, even more important than the biological family. Thus one titled man had no sister's son to inherit his title so he adopted his daughter into his clan. His wife in speaking of it said, "They [her husband's clan] took her away from us"--the implication being that his group had gained at the expense of hers.

As is readily seen from the titles and even

[2] The Dog Husband tale (p. 189) gives the supposed explanation.

some of the clan names the Haisla clan scheme is obviously derived from the Tsimshian. Undoubtedly marriage with Tsimshian women and actual migration of individual Tsimshian families to Haisla territory were in the main responsible for the spread of the social system of the northern tribes.

The tribes south of the Haisla exhibit some traits of the clan system, but these dwindle until by the time the Owikeno of Rivers Inlet are reached most of the features have disappeared. Thus the Haihais have certain rather nebulous groups with animal names similar to those of the Haisla, but they are not exogamous, not unilineal, and their functions are not clearly defined. The concept of a genuine clan is so foreign to the Owikeno that I once heard a Haisla discourse and argue with an Owikeno for upward of an hour without being able to make the latter understand what he was talking about. Each was decidedly annoyed at the lack of comprehension of the other.

Since the entire tribe occupies but one permanent village (as is common among many of the tribes of the area) the village grouping is of no importance in the social structure. There are certain lineages or family lines recognized but they are nebulous and without the clear-cut functions of the clans. They may have been of more importance before the tribe became reduced in numbers.

There is no trace of a formal moiety organization among the Haisla except for a curious institution among the boys. Through the center of the village there is a line which divides the boys into two groups regardless of clan. A lad crossing this line alone is likely to be set on by those of the other side, be stripped of his clothes or otherwise mistreated. On occasion the sides line up for sham battles, hurling spears of salmon-berry stalks or even rocks at each other. This rivalry is encouraged by the elders. Of course this may be regarded either as an incipient moiety division or as the vestiges of one.

The following lists the clans, their crests, and other data concerning them:

Eagle (ai'ĭksdukuyinihu, from ai'ĭksdukuyà, "bright [or white] head"). Crests: 1, eagle; 2, sea otter; 3, ermine; 4, owl; 5, shag (k!lak!lubanǎ'L); 6, gi'bálkĭh (creature like eagle with beak turned under sharply); 7, hawk (perhaps same as preceding); 8, halibut (?). Clan sometimes referred to as Owl.

Beaver (gĭtsă'k [Tsimshian; Haisla equivalent, kaulu'n]). Crests: 1, beaver; 2, dorsal fin of dogfish (do'bigĕh); 3, fireweed; 4, beaver's house (k!yEk!a'n); 5, human figure holding its knees (Xakwalkĭh); 6, k!o'lis (mythical giant beaver); 7, posts or hat rings which are grooved or carved to represent beaver cuttings (considered crests by some). Clan sometimes referred to as Dogfish. In ceremonies clan pairs with Raven and Crow clans. It is always addressed in feasts as gigĭtsa'wk, from Tsimshian gĭtsa'wk, beavers, rather than kaulu'n, Haisla word.

Raven (giga'k!eni^{xu}). Crests: 1, raven; 2, åsEwĕ'lgit (seated human figure with human faces carved or painted on palms, ears, knees, and feet; used also as totem-pole figure); 3, head and beak of raven; 4, gosEmdela'h (Tsimshian). The latter is the figure of a man that, in feasts in which Ravens are hosts, is placed head downward above the door. Long human hair is attached to the head. A chief entering the place walks in so that the hair touches him, but for a commoner the doorkeepers raise the hair so that it does not touch him. I was told that in former times Crow clan members might use raven and Raven members might use crow as crests. This may indicate that Crow was merely a subdivision of Raven. One informant stated that Beaver and Raven might use each other's crests (as might the other paired clans), but I am not certain that this is correct. Raven clan never acts as host alone but is paired with Beaver (and Crow).

Crow (kik!yankátsini^{xu}). Crest: crow. Clan now extinct or nearly so. Some say it is united with Raven and uses Raven crests.

Blackfish or Killer Whale (hå'låxaini^{xu}). Crests: 1, blackfish; 2, dorsal fin of blackfish; 3, grizzly bear (for some families only); 4, twilight (red sky of evening, used as a facial painting); 5, human figure with another human figure on its breast (walai'gĭtlah); 6, giant deep-sea bear (sa'nis); 7, kelp heads (as carvings); 8, sea plant called bu'sbakah (Tsimshian, tåkåau'); 9, bŭgwi's and bŭgwå's ("merman" and "mermaid," mythical sea creatures resembling humans or monkeys); 10, mountain goat with only one horn (which used as headdress); 11, fireweed, a stalk of it being used as a cane in certain ceremonies. Clan sometimes called Grizzly Bear. In feasts and potlatches, when acting as host, clan paired with Salmon. It is claimed that Blackfish and Salmon may use each other's crests.

Salmon (mi'mini^{xu}). Clan sometimes called Wolf (k!la'se'ogomih [Kitimat], håsålå'h [Kemano]); on rare occasions Frog (kwi'kwånah). Crests: 1, salmon; 2, wolf; 3, frog (kwikwanax, actually the toad ?).

TITLES OR NAMES

As jealously guarded and as carefully kept account of as the crests are the titles of nobility or "names" which rank one noble or chief. There is a variable number for each clan, certain ones belonging to men, others to women. These are ranked separately for males and females, both within the tribe as a whole and within each clan.

The following is as complete a list of men's titles as can be obtained at this late date:

Beaver Clan

Tsasi'h ("chapped" or "cracked," referring to scaly foot of raven). Highest title; owner re-

ceives first in all feasting and potlatching and ranks as head chief. Title once belonged to Raven clan but was transferred somehow[3] (p. 188); held at present by Richard Morrison.
Lâge'âx (divide over which clan crossed; "coming from the Skeena River"), or Niesnagwalk (Tsimshian), or Gapsnagwalk ("master [or owner] of [?]"). Title now held by Mrs. Johnny Bolton, there being no male heir.
Gapsdzihge'gĭL (Tsimshian).
Hatsiu'skih ("dawn" [Tsimshian]).
Dă'xânskih (Tsimshian). Title now held by William Henry.

Raven Clan

Wa'kĕs ("big [or deep] river [channel]," referring to Kitimat R.). Title now held by David Grant.
Hâmdzi't ("where one eats").
Kâlpaksalagĭlis ("bird flapping his wings on tide flat").
Kâ'mdâmax. Title now held by Mrs. Louisa Morrison.
Gapskamâla'h. Title now held by Frederick Grant.
Sâmdi'k. (See women's titles.) Said by one informant to be a man's title. At any rate it is now held by a woman. I am uncertain whether it belongs in this list.

Eagle Clan

Sanaxe't. Name said to derive from Sanya Tlingit: An Eagle chief named Klapawa'L once met a Sanya chief at Port Simpson. Upon learning both were Eagles, the Sanya chief told the other, "When you hear I am dead give a feast in my honor and take the name Sanaxe't." One informant stated it was derived from Stikine Tlingit. Title now held by Johnny Bolton.
Nieskuladzi'h or Gapskuladzi'h ("master of one who is a good food getter" [former name Tsimshian, latter Kitimat equivalent]). Title now held by Herbert McMillan.
Tsâkwikăs ("the stumps are left inside his house" [Kemano]).
Gwalaxa'h (Tsimshian).
Niâsgine's (Tsimshian).
Haimasaka'h ("chief past us," or "higher chief").
Lugi'tâmih ("his house is built with large beams"). Title now lapsed.
Gapskine's (Tsimshian). Title now held by Jonah Howard.

There is a hazy belief that the large number of titles in this clan is the result of the clan having been at one time scattered among a number of villages. The holders of the titles often quarreled over relative rankings.

Blackfish Clan

Seks or Wise'ks (Tsimshian). Title now held by Chris Walker. Title undoubtedly same as Wrangell Tlingit title. Cekc, and it is avowedly borrowed from Port Simpson Tsimshian, where it was the title of Walker's mother's brother.[4]
Wi'kwâna'kulah ("eagle soaring" [Bella Bella ?]).
Lemlaha'h (Tsimshian).
Gâpslă'âs ("master of lă'Es [a slave]").

Salmon Clan

Widâpxâ'n ("stump for a housepost" [Tsimshian]). Really an Eagle clan title, but once was given to a Salmon man by his bride as part of her dowry. Now held by Sam Amos. Sometimes the title Gâluya'kumih ("first in [?]") was used instead.
Puadzi't ("asked him for something to eat"). Originally this title property of Blackfish clan.
Wawino'yuah ("he who goes out to attack those who go by").
Tsigo'h (Tsimshian). Title now held by Charley Stewart.
Mâ'mâkauwâh ("plucked eagle"). This name properly belongs to Eagle clan, but was given to Salmon man by his Eagle father; now held by James Clarkson.

Crow Clan

Nâkâmo'h (Tsimshian). Title now held by Pat Wilson.
Gapsyaga's (Tsimshian derivation).

Ideally, a man holding a title has a mother, sister, or other close female relative within the clan holding the corresponding woman's title. Such women are known as mu'dziL (women high in rank ?). In feasts and potlatches all males are served or given gifts according to rank before the highest ranking woman receives (except that occasionally the holder of the woman's title Ade'âts is served after half the men have been cared for). Rather than allow titles to lapse, sometimes men assume female titles and women assume male titles.

The following is an abbreviated list of women's titles:

Beaver Clan

Ade'âts (Tsimshian). Present holder, Mrs. Johnny Bolton, also holds man's title Lage'âx. In feasts both titles are called.
Gapsxâmgwâda'L (Tsimshian).
Xwĭtânnai'L ("copper [?]").

[3] One informant stated: "It was once given by a Raven chief to his son and has never been returned."

[4] Legendary origin of title "Seks": A certain [Tsimshian?] chief had several girl slaves. One day he sent them for water. They were gone a long time. When they finally returned he chided them; but the eldest laughed and said, "There was a big frog sitting in the trail and we couldn't get by." Instead of punishing them, he said, "You have found a good name for my son [the name Seks somehow referring to 'a big frog who sits in the path so one cannot get by']." He gave the slaves blankets and set them free. Later he held a big feast at which he announced the new name for his son.

Blackfish Clan

My informant had forgotten the titles.

Eagle Clan

Wixa'h (Tsimshian). Title now held by Mrs. Walter Wilson.
Title (not obtained) now held by Mrs. Richard Morrison.
Title (not obtained) held by Nancy Stuart.
Title (not obtained) held by Mrs. Don Grant.

Raven Clan

Sàmdi'k ("real grizzly" [Tsimshian]). Title now held by Mrs. Robert Smith.
All other titles have lapsed.

Salmon Clan

Ma'manakelaxs ("she gathered together the bodies"). About one hundred years ago, after an epidemic of smallpox at Kildala Arm, a woman buried the numerous dead, then came to Kitimat, gave a feast and took the title.
Title (not obtained) now held by Mrs. Julian Howard.
Yaiaxgwa'ks ("woman who is always giving feasts").

THE SPEAKER

Some of the higher chiefs have one or two men as "seconds" or helpers called a'lux. Perhaps the best rendering is "speaker," for in many instances he acts as the chief's mouthpiece. The speakers are commoners, never chiefs, yet are highly respected. Before the speaker assumes his position the chief must give one or more feasts in his honor. Only the highest chiefs, those of the rank of amatswah, may have speakers. Chief and speaker must belong to the same clan. The office is inherited in the same way as other male titles, from a man to his sister's son.

In feasts when the gifts are to be distributed the speaker always receives a token gift before his chief receives. For example, if a chief is to be given two hundred gallons of oil his name is first called and the gift announced. The host then says, "Where is your speaker?" The latter, who sits at one side of or just in front of his chief, then makes himself known. He is given two or three gallons of oil in a special dish called daxglah. This he must down on the spot in a single draught! This is regarded as a token of what the chief is to receive. Or if the chief is to receive blankets, a blanket or a four-inch strip torn from one is first given to the speaker.

The speaker is also a messenger for his chief. He usually goes to the other clans or is sent to other villages to extend the invitations. In the feasts he may also be called upon to make a speech for his chief, though this often is done by a chief lower in rank.

When a man is giving the second feast for the assumption of his title the speakers also function. Wearing the ceremonial dress for the occasion he calls two speakers, who come and stand on either side of him. Each repeats in a high sing-song voice, "I pronounce now that this young nephew is the successor of his deceased uncle (or of Chief So-and-so). From now on you shall call him by his titles." They then repeat something of the new chief's family history. It is said that this formality is to call public attention to the feasts and the titles inherited, so that in possible future disputes there will be no denying the authenticity of the new titles. The speakers are well paid for this service.

In some instances the speeches are made by a chief next below the host in rank. At any rate, the main burden of a speech is the relation of how the chief got his rank and the rights to the dances, the names, the crests, and various other things.

FORMALITIES IN FEASTS AND POTLATCHES

In all feasts and potlatches the clans are seated according to a definite arrangement (fig. 1). Normally there are two rows of seats

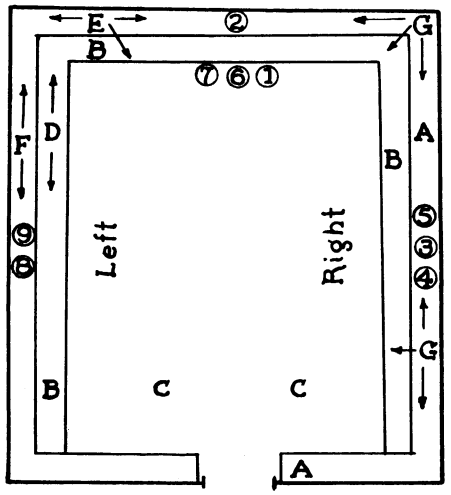

Fig. 1. Seating arrangement when Blackfish or Salmon is the host clan. A, "first" seat, occupied by nobles and lesser nobles (male and female); B, "second" seat, occupied by commoners; C, area occupied by host clans (i.e., Blackfish and Salmon); D, area occupied by Crow clan, who being regarded as lower in rank than other clans held only second-seat positions; E, seats of Beaver clan; F, seats of Raven clan; G, seats of Eagle clan. Chiefs' seats: 1, Sanaxet (Eagle); 2, Lugwitamih (Eagle); 3, Tsakwikas (Eagle); 4, Gapskuladzih (Eagle); 5, Duxhulahah (Eagle); 6, Tsasih (Beaver); 7, Lageax (Beaver); 8, Wakes (Raven); 9, Kamdamax (Beaver).

on the same level (terraces or platforms in the houses being uncommon among this tribe, even in the "potlatch houses"). The rear bench is known as the "first" seat and is occupied by the nobility. Commoners occupy the "second" seat, that is, the front row. The highest chiefs sit in front of the "second" seat at the rear ("head" or "front" of the house). The speakers (a'lux) of high chiefs sit near and usually a little in advance of their respective chiefs. In theory all positions in the "first" seat are definitely assigned to individuals, male or female. But since the decimation of the tribe little attention is paid to those below the first twenty or so. Also, the decrease in population has resulted in single individuals holding two or more titles. There is no seating arrangement in the "second" seat. Members of the host clan or clans do not take seats but occupy the door end of the house. I did not learn of the seats themselves being named. Rather, they are referred to as "the seat of So-and-so."

A half-dozen or so males of the host clan, including one or more chiefs, are appointed as ushers. As each guest enters, his name (or names) is called out and, if noble, he is escorted to his proper seat.

The following chiefs receive food or gifts in a definite order in all festivals. When Blackfish or Salmon clan is host the order is: Tsasih or Sanaxet (these two alternate in receiving first, that is, when the former is given precedence in one feast the other receives first in the next), Gapskuladzih, Wakes, Lageax, Tsakwikas.

When the Eagles are hosts the seating is: Wakes (Raven) sits at 3 (in fig. 1); Widapxan (Salmon) and Gapslaes (Blackfish) sit at 9 and 8; and Tsasih and Gapslaes in that order receive first.

The Salmon clan occupies the left rear, the Blackfish the left side, the Crows the right rear and the Ravens and Beavers the right side.

One very reliable informant (Chris Walker), referring to the host-guest arrangement and to the pairing of clans, remarked: "There are really only three clans here." He stated that the giving is always from one side to the other alternately, and that the guest chiefs sit according to rank at the center of either side. Thus, when Beaver and Raven are hosts the Eagles occupy the right side, the Blackfish and Salmon the left. The highest Eagle chief receives first, then the ranking Blackfish chief, then the second Eagle chief, then the Salmon chief, and so on. Food or gifts must always be given alternately to right and left sides.

When Blackfish and Salmon are hosts the Beaver and Raven occupy the right side, the Eagles the left. The order of giving is Beaver, Eagle, Raven, 2d Eagle, 2d Beaver, and so on.

When the Eagle clan (not paired with any other) is host, the Blackfish and Salmon occupy the right side, Beaver and Raven the left. The order of giving is Beaver, Blackfish, Raven, Salmon, 2d Beaver, and so on.

I was told repeatedly that there is no lending of goods at interest. Nor does the "interest" element enter into the giving of gifts at potlatches. I wish to emphasize this point because no less an authority than Boas has stated that "This custom has been described often, but it has been thoroughly misunderstood by most observers. The underlying principle is that of the interest-bearing investment of property."[5] So far as I am aware this is true only among some of the southern Kwakiutl tribes and then only under special circumstances. The only thing comparable among the northern Kwakiutl tribes is bride redemption at double the original amount given for her.

Among the Haisla if a chief is given, for example, one hundred blankets at a potlatch he will try to return to the giver at some future time perhaps one hundred and three or one hundred and five, being careful that none of the originals are returned. However, should he give only fifty in return nothing is said or thought about it. This is true both within the tribe and in inter-tribal giving. If a chief receives a valuable copper in a potlatch he will eventually (not necessarily a year later) give a copper of equal value plus perhaps twenty blankets, or an equivalent to that.

There is almost no boasting by the host chief in the festivals and almost lacking is any element of arrogance, much as these features may characterize the festivals of the southern Kwakiutl--as emphasized by Benedict in her Patterns of Culture. I was told the only time a chief boasts is when his goods are being given out. He then sings a "queer" song, of which a free translation is: "I am going to invite you, I am going to invite you, I am going to give a feast, I am going to give a potlatch, and again and again and again." Then, actually referring to the other (recipient) chiefs by innuendo but overtly referring to himself, he continues: "Where is your purse? Where are your valuables stored? You who call yourself chief. I am going to invite you, again and again and again. Where is your copper? You who call yourself chief. I am going to invite you, again and again and again."

Thus a chief who receives a gift of four hundred gallons of eulachon oil tries to give slightly more than this amount to the giver when it comes his turn to act as host. But he is not obliged to do so. It is expressly stated that no interest is expected or offered on loans.

If the host during the potlatch finds himself

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[5] Franz Boas, The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians, USNM-R 1895:341, 1897 (Washington).

running short of property and does not wish to borrow he might give away a crest or a part of his house. But in such event he always reserves the right of redemption. The recipient has the right to the use of the crest or part of the house however until it is redeemed.

Men of other clans who have names which belong, for example, to the Eagle clan are said to "look after the Eagle." If a member of the Eagle clan is having a totem pole raised or is having something else done involving that crest, persons with Eagle names must make a gift. For this they expect no return, it being claimed they do it because "they do not want to see the crest." Should they give nothing at the time they must later feast the entire Eagle clan.

The following semihistorical legend will illustrate some of the formalities involved in giving and attending feasts:

About one hundred years ago a group of chiefs went from Kitimat to invite the Tsimshian of Kitkatla and Aklahlidoh to a potlatch. A young man named Sulas accompanied them. At that time Kitimat was located at the creek a mile south of the present village. At Kitkatla after they had issued the invitations they were invited to the house of a chief and given a few presents as bearers of the invitations. Later they were feasted. One of the young men serving them was a hunchback named Wa'lah and he happened to wait on Sulas.

Now Sulas had just completed his alakwah dances and was still wearing the headband. For some reason he felt insulted that a hunchback should serve him and he cursed him. Some of the host's slaves were from Kemano and they told Walah what Sulas had said, whereupon Walah struck Sulas, causing the headdress to fall to the ground. The host [name of Hel] shouted to Walah, who explained what had happened. The Kitimat returned home the next day and news of the incident spread through the village. Sulas was blamed for the affair.

The day before the potlatch the Kitkatla were met by two Kitimat canoes at Clio Point and told to camp that night in Clio Bay and to come to Kitimat the next day before noon. The Aklahlidoh people were slightly behind the Kitkatla in about thirty canoes and were also so instructed. Both groups of Tsimshian stayed there awhile. Then they decided to go on to Kitimat that same night--this they told to the two canoes which had met them. Chief Hel agreed to stay in Clio Bay, but his nephew said, "What for? They won't mind since they are no people [i.e., nobody] and know no better." The chief said no more.

The two canoes raced home to tell the news. A meeting was held. There was much excitement, for the rule was that no guest fleet should come in at night. Someone said, "They have broken the rule and when this is done it is just to treat them rough."

It was decided to meet them and break up and throw in the water the goods and food they were bringing. [It was customary to meet guests and carry their goods; also it was customary for guests to give a feast too.] This was in the autumn.

Someone said, "Who is a close friend of that hunchback?" Someone spoke up and he was named to handle the hunchback. He was told, "Wade out to him when the trouble starts and tell him to get on your back, that you will carry him in."

The people were told to prepare split-cedar torches from the house planks to light the landing. Young fellows were sent to get spruce and hemlock boughs for a big fire in the house of the host. The house was called gwiya'msgyux ["whale house"] and had been specially built. The boughs were to make the flames shoot out through the smoke hole--like a whale blowing.

When the guests were close to the village the nephew of Hel [Gaxga'ks by name--a Blackfish] started the arrival song. Immediately the townspeople lighted their torches and started their song of "welcome." Fire was spouting out the smoke hole of the potlatch house. As soon as the Aklahlidoh heard this song, their chief ordered them to turn back to Clio Bay; he knew that the song indicated something wrong. But Hel and his nephew and the Kitkatla party had to go through with the thing.

The entire town started yelling, "hut, hu'x [low pitch] walah xako'" [it is walah (the hunchback)]. They landed. It was near low tide. The strongest young men went to meet them. The Kitkatla braves sprang to the bows of their canoes and tried to club the rushers with the masts. But the masts were seized, pulled out of their hands and passed up to those on the beach. Then they tried to club them with paddles and poles, but these were seized and passed ashore. Some tried to jump ashore and shoot, but they would slip on the rocks and get their guns wet. Then their guns would be seized.

The shouts of "walah.xako" continued. The "friend" of Walah waded out waist deep to get him as the women shouted, "Get Walah." He said, "I'll carry you ashore to my house, my friend; get on my back."

Walah got on, but the other threw him overhead into the water and sat on him. Walah struggled; after awhile he was let go, but he was shoved so that he came up on the other side of the canoe.

All the goods of the visitors were broken and thrown in the water while the Kitkatla women wept. The canoes only were spared.

A local chief [one with the loudest voice] had been told to tell the crowd to stop the instant Walah was let go. He shouted, "It is enough now. Stop it." All the Kitimat ran to their houses at this, the Kitkatlas being left on the beach alone. It was raining. All the fires were put out except that in the potlatch house.

After awhile the eagle down was brought to the Kitkatla [a symbol of peace], but they refused it and said they were going back, that it was too much. A dozen times it was brought but was refused by all except Hel, who said nothing.

Near morning as they sat in their canoes Hel got up and said, "We are tasting part of our own medicine. You, my people, have always treated strangers roughly and enjoyed it. This will be a lesson. Let us go up to the big house

and forget everything." They went in; the Haisla danced several dances for them and gave them a big feast.

The Aklahlidoh came in the next day as they were supposed to, and were treated in a friendly fashion.[6]

DANCING SOCIETIES

As with all the people from Puget Sound to the southern Tlingit, the Haisla have a series of dances which are usually performed in the winter. These are commonly arranged in a series; that is, they are ranked. For all except the lowest the individual must have performed one or more of the dances of lower rank.[7] The three highest dances might be called, if not secret societies, at least secret dances, and certain prerogatives are necessary before one is permitted even to witness the preparations. In theory only nobles or near-nobles know of some of the trickery practiced. Only those who dance the three (or four ?) highest dances make use of the screen at the rear of the house. The three (or four) highest dances are called hai'likula--a word derived from heliki't ("magical" or "shamanistic"). Only in these are there real secrets and tricks which are not revealed to commoners. Only in these dances are rattles and (especially) whistles used. The form of the rattles and the tone of the whistles differ according to the dance.

The tanish dancers are thought to possess very strong magical power. It is said that it is usual for a close relative of the tanish dancer to die soon after the performance.

The dances are given only at the great feasts and potlatches, usually in winter. During the performance only the chiefs sit in their designated places. All commoners mingle without respect to clan--indicating that the dances have little relation to the clan organization. This is to be expected, since the higher dances at least are derived from the clanless southern Kwakiutl. It is mainly in matters concerning feasts, potlatches, and dances that the chiefs exercise anything like authority. At other times and in mundane matters their authority is small indeed.

The costumes worn during the dances are essentially like those of neighboring tribes. The faces of the performers are painted with five vertical red streaks on both sides of the face and not according to crest or clan.

It is usual for a person to begin the series of dances as a child by having someone (father or uncle) sponsor him. A chief who is to give a ceremony is given some aid and he in turn tells the sponsor what dance the child is to perform.

Jesters (nånawala'ksilå, "those who look after the dancers" ?) or buffoons perform in certain of the dances (kaxlåauX, nutlåm, nu'ntlsista, and tanish). While the real dancers are making their secret preparations behind the screen the jesters amuse the audience. They dodge behind the screen, return to tell ridiculous tales of what they have seen, parody the coming performance. Or one may accuse the other of lying, then peek behind the screen and come out to report the "real truth" to a convulsed audience. In the tanish dance the jesters now and then dance on one side of the novice and pretend to try to keep him from biting people. There are two jesters at Kitimat, one from the Blackfish (i.e., Killer Whale) clan, the other from the Beaver. The office is hereditary in the female line, passing to sister's son.

The following is the series of dances, beginning with the lowest:[8]

1. Mitla. The meaning of the word is said to be "missed" or "missed it," but I was unable to obtain information as to the reference involved. Ordinarily only the younger members of the tribe dance this, though commoners may dance it until advanced years. A noble would have long since graduated to the higher dances, unless he is childless or for other reasons has not "given" this dance to another, thus relinquishing his right to perform it.

2. Glo'ala'ha ("came down a second time"). Like the preceding, this dance involves no special possession of supernatural power. It is merely a routine dance with its own songs and steps.

Those who have danced only the first two dances are not permitted behind the screen.

3. Ula'la. One must be a potential noble to perform in this. He is permitted to witness certain of the secret rites of the higher dances. Usually a father who wishes his child to perform this dance gives a small feast or potlatch. Like the preceding, this dance involves neither elaborate preparatory rites nor possession of any special power. It is regarded as the highest of the "ordinary" dances.

4. Nutlåm. The word is said to stem from nutlå, "wonder" or "marvel," but it is commonly called the dog-eater dance because the novices

[6] To strike a lad who wore a dance headgear was an insult to the dance itself, even if he were in wrong. But even so, all would have gone well if the Kitkatla had not violated the rule in regard to visiting guests coming in at night.

[7] One informant, however, claims that the child of a man who gives a substantial amount to the chief is permitted to perform the fourth dance (ula'la) first.

[8] It is quite possible that a dance called the a'lakwah (sometimes k!a'xalauh) ranked below the mitla.

as well as those who have previously danced it go into a frenzy and kill and devour dogs. The flesh of dog (as of humans) is regarded unclean or actually poisonous, and the ability of the dancers to partake of it with impunity is noteworthy. It is said that women sometimes danced the nutlâm. The skulls of dogs are worn in a sort of headdress by the dancers, the number worn indicating how many dogs the wearer had eaten. Whistles, different in tone from those of the tanish, are blown in the dance.[9]

The Haisla state that the dance originated at Kitlope (Kemano). One origin legend (in abbreviated form) runs as follows:[10]

A Kemano lad persisted in watching a man dance one of the high dances despite his mother's protests. When she chided him he was offended and ran away and hid in a hollow tree. His relatives searched for him for a long time. One day there came to him several wolves in the guise of men. They carried him away to a spot not far from his own village. He noticed that the people he was staying with lived on the flesh of dogs. Finally his own people found him, whereupon his protectors ran away and he saw that they were not persons but wolves. When he came home he began to act as he had seen the wolves act, to kill and eat raw the dogs of the village. Ever since that time people have danced the nutlâm.

Another legend relates that

a chief who was about to enter his novitiate thought that dog flesh was poisonous and offered freedom to one of his slaves if the latter would eat a dog. When he saw that no harm resulted the chief cheerfully went through the necessary ordeal. Later he set the slave free.

5. Nu'ntlsista. The word is variously translated as "dizzy" or "crazy." It is usually referred to as the "fire dance." This dance is rated second only to the tanish in importance, and only members of the nobility may perform it. The whistles, songs, and so forth are much like those of the tanish. The dancers wear the hair matted and in disarray. Novices are cut about the lips so severely that the scars remain for life. Before the performance all those who have danced the fire dance previously, together with the novices, take their places behind the screen (?) or on the first row of seats. They wear only a breechclout. The dancers act "crazy," seizing burning brands from the fire, and hurling them among the spectators. Then, to show their power, they walk through the live coals of the firepit. Usually they make the rounds of the village, hurling stones at houses, making obscene gestures, and so on. In nearly every house they throw the firebrands about. After the dance they don a collar of dyed cedar bark and a bearskin cloak. During the performance the spectators must not smile, laugh, or speak. Culprits are set upon by the dancers. Anyone who happens on them while they are practicing is killed by magic.

6. Tanish. This is said to be a Haihais or Heiltsuk word meaning "cannibal" or "man eater." The right to the tanish dance cannot be purchased. Ordinarily it is obtained through inheritance (from the maternal uncle), though in rare instances it may come as a gift from the father-in-law, the bride bringing it for a part of her dowry. I did not hear of its being obtained through killing of the owner. In festivals where the tanish dance is to be performed it is customary to invite chiefs from neighboring tribes to attend, and in theory their attendance is compulsory. The tanish is definitely the great dance of the series and informants stress its importance much more than that of the other "high" dances.

The number of persons having the right to the higher dances decreases as we go up the scale, until with the tanish only four chiefs are eligible, namely: Sanaxet and Gapskuladzih of the Eagle clan, Tsasih of the Beaver clan, and Kagwais (?) of the Blackfish. Women evidently are barred from performing the dances, though they act as attendants. For at least the tanish dance, however, they must be of the nobility. They may compose songs for the dancers and in the performance are at liberty to go behind the screen and watch preparations for the sleight-of-hand.

Sometimes before the actual dance the novice is taken away to a secret retreat by the old members. There he is instructed in the essentials of the dance, is shown the whistles and other paraphernalia, and coached for the performance. There seems to be no fixed period of time for this novitiate, though it is usually more lengthy for the "higher" dances than for the lesser ones. From a month to a year is sometimes allowed for the tanish dance. At the disappearance of the novice the commoners are told that he has been seized by the spirits and carried away. The name of the chief spirit involved is baikbakwaila'nwuciwâ, which is freely translated as "eat the people." The Tsimshian have a similar dance, which is said to be called hâgĕ't', "to eat." The cry of this spirit and of the novice as he dances varies from hap to awp. The sound is usually repeated a dozen or more times in the course of a single

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[9]A dance called glugwa'la is said to resemble the nutlâm, but the dancers eat no dogs. A somewhat similar dance is the a'klak!em. I did not learn the ranking of these. The tsa'yak is said to be unknown among the Haisla. Some say that even commoners may dance the nutlâm.

[10]See section on Clan Legends (187 ff.) for more complete legends.

"cry" and the syllables are varied in duration. The tone used is calculated to strike terror to the hearts of the uninitiated.

Since the tanish dance has not been performed for many years it is almost impossible to secure a detailed description of it, or of the sequence of events during the performance. The following items are therefore to be regarded as merely incidents or elements, which are given for comparative purposes.

When the novice first returns from his retreat a member of the nobility (his sponsor) collects food and property from other villagers. These things are distributed to the guests after the dance.

During the time the tanish novice is in the woods learning the songs and dances, his companions bring him one or two half-desiccated bodies from the burial platforms. These he places over his fire to smoke-dry them, thus rendering the odor and taste less offensive. In the dance the tanish enters carrying a corpse on either arm. At sight of them, all the tanish in the audience rush at him and scramble for the bodies. At this time they actually eat pieces of flesh from the corpses.

The novice is then seized and taken to the beach, where his guardians bathe him four times. The audience is then told that the bath has tamed him somewhat. But again he utters his cry and begins biting people. He is then smeared with salmon oil, to further tame him. His helpers then dress him in a kilt, a bearskin cape, a huge mask and a neck ring and headband of cedar bark dyed red. They then lead him (by means of a rope tied around his waist) on a tour of the village. He is preceded by a man shaking the ceremonial rattles and is followed by others blowing the tanish whistles (which are the voices of the spirit) and singing the tanish songs. In each house he performs briefly. While they are at the last house he escapes to the woods. The next night he again appears and while dancing sings a song which runs, "There have been many deaths and persons killed and eaten while I have been (away ?) dancing." He circles the house accompanied by his attendants and at intervals utters his cry and bites certain persons. He is followed by (usually) two noble women who hold whistles under their blankets which they blow at intervals. Again the corpses are brought in and parts of them eaten by the tanish members. During his dance the novice holds out his arms as if he were carrying a corpse. Should the novice fall while dancing, he feigns death. The other tanish then carry him behind the screen where he is restored to life. In case the drummer makes an error in rhythm the novice rushes at him, bites him. Throughout the dance the novice wears around his waist a heavy rope, which is held by an attendant. Between dances he may be tied to a ceremonially decorated pole at the rear of the house, while hot packs of cedar bark are put on him to aid in his "taming." Only rarely are commoners honored (!) by being bitten by the tanish. A Hartley Bay commoner composed a song which took the fancy of Sanaxet, who used it during his dance. In the dance he bit the commoner severely on both wrists, and tore the flesh from wrists to elbows. The latter was then told to display his wounds to everyone. In return he was given gifts.

This biting is really severe, large chunks of flesh being removed. I have seen old men show scars of half-dollar size which were received fifty years ago. Ordinarily (at least in later times) these bites of flesh are not swallowed by the tanish but are surreptitiously removed from his mouth by one of the noble women attending him, who places them in a basket she carries under her robe. A famed incident is related how on one occasion some sixty or seventy-five years ago Sanaxet during his initial dance was presented with two child slaves by a Tsimshian chief. These Sanaxet seized and bit, eating the flesh, until both were dead.

At any time during his life after a man dances the tanish he flies into a frenzy if he hears anyone speak the word addzi'k ("corpse"). His helpers then try to catch him and placate him. To prevent such seizures people refrain from using that term. Instead people use the word gola'lih ("salmon berries"). Even though the tanish know that "corpse" is really meant they do not get seizures.

For at least a year after his novitiate the tanish is closely watched by a guardian, usually a relative. In the event of a seizure this person tries to catch him and tame him. After every such incident the tanish must give a minor feast.

Whenever anyone dies the tanish dancers pretend to have seizures, thus signifying their desire to devour the corpse. This is called xwaio'soh ("to start again"). Throughout their lives the tanish must be given the first food whenever food is served, otherwise they go into a frenzy. They must be given the first salmon caught and the first berries picked. This is referred to as amak!ådzu't ("first in the mouth").

The members of the highest two dances (at least) are believed to possess exceptional magical power. They are able to take an object, for example a pebble, name the person they wish to harm, and cause the pebble to fly and strike him at the base of the neck. In a short time he dies.

PERSONAL NAMES

Personal names as well as title names are the property of the clans. Soon after a child is born

he is given a name from the clan (and lineage) of the mother. The father may add a temporary name from his clan if he wishes. The first name has little significance however and not until a second name from the mother's clan is given is the child accorded a place in the clan and tribal society. This is given at the parents' convenience, usually when the child is eight or ten years of age if they can afford it. The name is bestowed at a formal feast called the hå'mtislah (hå'msa, "to eat"). Clansmen are obligated to aid the parents in giving this, so even the poor are able to provide a feast for their children eventually. To this feast all those who have passed this phase are invited and are seated by clan, rank, and hereditary seat. The name is announced by the parents. Food gifts only are distributed.

Persons in line for the names or titles of nobility ordinarily do not inherit them until they reach maturity or middle age. Until they give the necessary potlatch for the assumption of these they rank as commoners. Siblings of those acquiring these titles still rank as commoners. This point needs emphasis, since it has been generally assumed that everywhere in this part of the Northwest Coast rank depends on nothing more than ancestry. Actually only the acquisition of one of the limited number of name titles gives the coveted rank, prestige, and privileges. Usually only the eldest one or two of a group of siblings could hope to acquire titles of any moment.

But in a small community, with several lineages or at least families in each clan of high rank, and with constant intermarriages among these, there are usually titles enough to go around for all those of close kinship with the high nobility. Particularly is this true nowadays, with the tribe reduced to a fraction of its former size. A girl whose brother bears a title will not marry a man who stands no chance of inheriting a title (i.e., who ranks as a commoner) because her children will be looked down upon, even though they be the nephews (heirs) of a chief.

To an indefinite extent each family and lineage has its own traditions which are not shared by all the clansmen. The most valued of these go back to the time of the legendary migrations of the tribe or of the clans. The desire to emphasize and retain these tends strongly to the arrangement of marriages with those families who have the same or comparable legends. This is partly brought about by the tendency toward "intermarrying families" and particularly the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

Although these personal names and titles are the property of the clan, individuals may give them away (usually as potlatch gifts). In time, however, the name usually reverts to the original clan. Thus, a Raven chief was given the name Wikwanakulah (Bella Bella name meaning "soaring eagle") by his father, who was of the Eagle clan and who had no sister's son as his heir. At the Raven chief's death the name reverted to the Eagle clan. Usually, a name is given away to a nonclansman only when there is no eligible or desirable person within the clan or lineage.

Females belonging to the proper clan and lineage might even assume the titles ordinarily held by men. The Beaver masculine title Lageax is now held by Mrs. Johnny Bolton, who also holds the feminine title Adeats. She is desirous of passing the former to her son but she must give a feast to legalize the transfer. In the event she dies without having done this, the son will automatically inherit the right to the name but he may not assume it until he gives a feast or potlatch in her name. On such occasion a speaker would publicly announce the son's assumption of the title. If there were no son the title would pass to a daughter, who likewise could assume it only after a feast. If there were neither sons nor daughters the name would pass to the nearest male kinsman. In this way even a commoner might acquire a chief's title. If a chief dies without regular heirs (sister's children) and before designating a successor the matter is decided at a clan meeting. Some years ago a chief without successors or children adopted an orphan lad without rank to be his successor. One informant stated that only nobles have the right to adopt children for such purpose, but I doubt this. Adoption is not resorted to unless an heir is lacking and, even so, the custom is unpopular and the adopted person is said to be "looked down upon." The order of succession given me is: nephew, lacking nephew to niece, lacking niece to sister. One informant stated that brothers succeed to the title before a nephew, but this is unlikely or at least unusual. A chief has some say in the matter, not always choosing the eldest nephew but often designating any son of any sister.

In practice a father sometimes gives his children crests and names from his own clan. They may use them during their lifetimes, but at death these crests and names revert to the father's clan.

The following gives the main features of the chain of events which may lead to the inheritance of a title:

When a chief's sister bears a son the chief begins thinking of what he must do for his heir. He gathers property, and while his nephew is still a lad may give a feast to announce that he will build a house. Another clan's chief and his men are hired to clear the ground and to make preparations for the building. The chief then calls together all the clans and brings out his nephew decked in all the clan crests.

He bestows on the lad one of his own names (or one from his lineage).

The lad's other uncles (within the clan), his mother, and her sisters bring property, especially blankets and dressed skins imported from the interior. The ceremony called kwi'tà ("tearing") is now performed. The blankets are torn in strips and given to the various chiefs. The heir then dances a dance called a'lakwah and he may sing some songs which have been specially composed for him. From now on he is recognized as a "young chief" and he is treated accordingly in feasts and potlatches.

A year or so later his clansmen donate food so that he may give a feast in his own name. Meanwhile, the housebuilding has continued and usually a second feast is given before its completion, at which the youth repeats the a'lakwah dance, though he may dance the mitla dance on this occasion. In the mitla he wears the mask of the dance spirit and a bearskin robe. He is accompanied by several attendants and two jesters, who sing, blow whistles, and so on. When they change the rhythm of the song the lad manipulates the strings of the mask and opens it to show another mask within. In the meantime his clansmen have been giving out gifts in his honor. A feast follows.

The greater the number of such feasts and dances given during the building of the house the greater the "big background" of the future chief. In any future disputes and rivalries with other chiefs he will be able to tell of the great things his uncle did for him. When the house is finished a feast called sikàtli'tlà ("drying the floor") is given. Potlatching may be a part of this or may be postponed until the feast held when the workmen are paid. In the years that follow, other feasts are given and one by one the uncle relinquishes family names and his rights to certain of the higher dances to his heir.

When a chief dies he is dressed in his best regalia and set up in state in a seat (or on a plank) at the rear ("head") of the house. The nephew-heir invites in all the villagers to the ceremony called lukwila'yu ("to burn"), at which much of the property of the deceased is given to the chiefs of other clans. The death songs (often owned by lineages) are sung meanwhile. The nephew then "hires" two or more noble men belonging to the clan of the father of the deceased to sit up that night in the house with the dead. These usually request all their clansmen to sit in on the wake also. These are "witnesses" or "escorts." They spend the night singing the death and other songs of their clan. Some of them bring in food for a midnight meal. If one of them has received gifts from the deceased which he has not been able to return (or he is in debt to him), he now brings some articles, usually blankets, and places them over or beside the corpse.

After the burial[11] the heir usually gives two or more potlatches, if possible within a year. The first need not, however, be given by the nephew, but may be given by a clansman. The first is called t'ama'kya ("it is locked up," i.e., the body is buried). At the second, following a feast the heir gives away property, usually hundreds of gallons of eulachon oil. This is called adzi'ksila ("fixing the dead") or kopa'h ("the feast of rejoicing"). Its significance is that the deceased now has a full-fledged successor. The nephew wears his uncle's ceremonial regalia and two "speakers" formally announce his new title (name)--that of the deceased.

It is said if a chief dies suddenly without having gone through any of the rituals connected with the succession that his speaker may make the arrangements. A chief who has adopted his own child or some other clansman into his own clan as his heir cannot be assured that the foster child will succeed him if there are other claimants, even though these claimants are of another tribe. Thus Sanaxet of the Eagle clan has no heirs at Kitimat, though two of his sister's sons live at Hartley Bay (Tsimshian village). He has adopted his own son into his clan as his heir. However, if his nephews return to Kitimat one of them will be recognized as his successor. In some instances, if there is no nephew to inherit, the brother of a deceased chief gives a feast of naming and adoption to bestow on a son of the deceased or on his own son the title of the deceased.

HOUSE NAMES

My informants disagree on whether the houses were formerly given names. It is certain, however, that not all houses were named. Those belonging to chiefs and used for ceremonial purposes (potlatches and dances) were evidently given formal designations, particularly if built specially for a festival. I recorded the following:

Tàgwai'yo ("eagle's talons"), house of an Eagle chief.
Wiwadi'bala ("kelp crosspieces"), house of the Blackfish clan, in which some timbers were carved in the form of kelp stems.
Kyaka'n ("beaver's house"), house of the Beaver clan. It was circular in ground plan and domed (?), resembling a beaver's lodge.
Kwi'kwànàh ("frog"), house of the Salmon (and

[11]Anciently nearly all burial was by cremation, although burial in boxes in trees or on platforms was also known.

Wolf) clan. A frog was carved on the totem pole standing in front of the house, or was painted on the front of the house.
Gĭldi'hbâh ("long beak"), house of the Raven clan.

There is also a difference of opinion on whether the houses were formerly grouped according to clan within the village. At any rate, both naming of houses and grouping them by clans have disappeared from the culture.

LAND OWNERSHIP

There is scarcely land "ownership" in our sense. The clan as a whole, a family, or a chief often is said to "own" a lake, valley, or favorite berrying place; but actually the right is mainly fictional. Others are expected to ask permission before trespassing, but permission is seldom or never refused. A chief who is receiving another chief's help in a potlatch sometimes announces the gift, for example, of a hunting ground, to that chief. But in due course he expects to give help in return and then to receive back the grounds. A father may "give" an area to his son or sons, who retain the title, thus causing the area to change clans. House sites are rather indefinitely regarded as continuing to be owned by the family or house group even should they move the house. But the hunting and berrying rights are regarded as prerogatives rather than as things of utilitarian or tangible value. The attitude toward them is more like that shown regarding crests or legends--things to be claimed because of a certain prestige value attaching to the claim.

The two head chiefs of the Eagle clan own two spots on the uppermost riffle at Old Town, where they fish for eulachon. A little farther up, the clan (as a whole ?) owns two hundred yards of the river, where they fish for salmon. Near the mouth of the river the clan owns another fishing place.

One informant stated that directly in front of Old Town the eulachon fishing spots are distributed among the chiefs of the clans in this order, beginning upstream: two spots for Eagle chiefs, two for Blackfish, then one for Beaver and one for Raven. These locations (upper) are said to be the best; below them come locations for minor chiefs and commoners without regard to clan.

Jesse Lake (hásuka'h, "the trees are like stakes there") belongs to chief Tsasih, an individual, not to the Beaver clan. It formerly belonged to the Eagle chief Sanaxet, who gave it to a former Tsasih for a wedding present.

A place is said to belong to the person finding it or "discovering" it for the first time, even though he be a commoner. He then gives a feast and tells of the place.

Some areas or spots seem to belong to the clan as a whole, not to individuals. Thus the Eagle clan owns many places in Gilttoyees Inlet. To such places the commoners of the clan go for the summer's hunting and fishing or the winter's trapping. Chiefs going to one of their tracts usually invite some clansmen along.

Places for hunting bear and mountain goat are also owned, whereas localities for hunting deer are never claimed. Thus Foch Lagoon is open to everyone for berrying, but it is "owned" by someone for bear hunting. It is said women never own hunting, fishing, or berrying grounds.

TOTEMISM

Though the clans are named from animals there is no belief in actual descent from the eponym, nor is it worshipped. There is a partial taboo on killing the eponym, evidently based on needless killing. Thus everyone trapped beaver, everyone hunted eagles for the sake of the down which was used ceremonially in the festivals and as a symbol of peace in the settlement of feuds.[12]

Perhaps the following incidents express the attitude toward the eponym better than would an abstract discussion:

A member of the Eagle clan, annoyed at the eternal croaking of a flock of ravens near his house, killed several of them. A Raven threatened to shoot him, saying the ravens were of his clan.

When a person dies his soul may turn into one of the crest animals of the clan, or it may survive as a spirit until reborn (reincarnated) into the clan (p. 181). When Moses McMillan (Blackfish) died a great school of blackfish came into the inlet. His soul had become a blackfish and they came to accompany it away.[13] Some say that this is only true for members of the Blackfish clan, others that it is also so when the "child of a Blackfish" (i.e., child whose father was a Blackfish) dies. When a member of Eagle or Raven dies the eponymic birds come to the village at midnight and utter their cries. The wolves howl at midnight for a recently deceased Salmon-Wolf. At least in part the belief is that the soul actually turns into the animal in question.

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[12]A member of a third clan invites both parties in a feud to a feast, sprinkles down over them, and tells them they must now forget the feud.

[13]Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of the dead. There is no attempt to harmonize this with the belief that the soul becomes the real eponymic animal.

Once when many of the tribe were camped at Fish Egg Island a great many killer whales came into the bay and played about. Because of this the members of the Raven clan were required to feast all the others.

Two women of the Killer Whale clan were traveling in a canoe with their husbands. Many killer whales appeared and they were afraid for the canoe; but the women threw them dried fish and pilot bread, saying, "Be kind to us. Your sisters are here in the canoe." Soon the killer whales went away.

A group was hunting in Poison Cove. Some killer whales appeared near shore. A woman of the Killer Whale clan said, "Give us something to eat. We are hungry." The creatures swam madly about, then went away. The people went to where the killers had been, found a huge spring salmon.

A member of the government forestry service needlessly shot a blackfish. A few days later he was injured in an explosion aboard the boat. Shortly after he became insane.

At least grizzly bear, wolves, and blackfish among the eponymic and crest animals are capable of understanding human speech.

Totem Poles

Among the Haisla totem poles are neither as common nor as elaborate as among the neighboring tribes. Some are placed at graves as memorial columns, others in front of houses for the same purpose or to indicate the clan of the house or merely to symbolize some family or clan legend.

As among all the clan-organized tribes of the area, the man who wishes to erect a totem pole does none of the labor himself, nor can his clansmen do it. Instead, he proceeds as follows: He "hires" one or more chiefs who are of the same clan as some of his ancestors on his mother's side (e.g., of the clan of his mother's father) and one or more chiefs who belong to his father's clan. The former usually cut the tree and bring it in, the latter are responsible for the actual carving. In practice the chiefs, of course, merely supervise the work. A chief of still another clan, but also a clan of another of his ancestors (e.g., that of his mother's mother's father) is "hired" to dig the hole and to help with the carving.

In the village of Kitimat at present there stands but one totem pole, a crude affair representing at the top a person, below a mythical giartess (frog) who carries a cane on which is carved a halibut. It is the property of the Eagle clan; a model of it was given them by the Skittigate Haida in a peace ceremony.[14] The following garbled tale is told to explain the figures:

A certain (Tsimshian ?) chief and some of his fellow villagers went to fish for trout. He wore a hat of shag skin. The others caught many fish but he caught none. He became angry and his hat fell into the water. He picked it up but soon became so angry that he threw the hat into the water. It became alive and flew out to sea. Near evening they became hungry, built a fire on shore and started to roast the fish. As they were about to begin to eat, a frog jumped on the chief's platter. He threw it to one side. As he started eating, the frog again jumped on his plate. This time he threw it into the fire. There was a loud explosion and everyone was afraid. They ran to the beach and started paddling toward home. But a giant woman appeared and shouted to the chief, "Just before you reach the first point, death will come to the bow man; and before you reach the second point death will come to the next man. And as soon as you have told the home people what has happened, death will come to you." These things all occurred. Then the entire village was destroyed by fire.

The head chief of the village was named Gitxwan. When the fire started he dug a pit in which he placed his daughter and then covered the hole with a huge copper. When the fire was over the giantess came and walked through the village, carrying a cane and singing a funeral dirge. As soon as the copper was cool the girl raised it, saw the giantess and learned the song. The first word was tsalako'ns (Tsimshian; also the name of the totem pole). The giantess wore a green hat, the color of a frog. Both the song and the totem pole belong to the Eagles. The frog, of course, turned into the giantess when thrown in the fire. (The words of the song are Tsimshian.)

REINCARNATION

Persons who die are believed to be reborn, sooner or later, invariably into the same clan (some say always within four years). If a man dreams several times of a certain dead person, a child born to his wife subsequently is believed to be that person and often is given the name of the dead. This child is invariably of the same sex as the dreamed-of person. Expectant mothers often dream of a dead person, who is of course the unborn child. If several persons dream of a dead person and a child is born within a few days he is considered to be a reincarnation of the person dreamed of and is given the same name.

A woman had a child who, as soon as he could speak, kept saying, "I had a set of gambling sticks hidden. Let's go and get my gambling outfit." Finally the mother went with him and he took them from a hollow in the roots of a tree.

[14] I did not hear of other totem poles among the Haisla. Memorial posts at graves and painted boards on grave platforms, however, were common.

The sticks were recognized as belonging to her brother, who had died years before. The child was the brother reborn.

From the moment of death the clansmen of the father of the deceased take charge of the body and carry out the entire funeral.[15] In the subsequent potlatches they are usually "paid" first, that is, they are given gifts before the other clans. The body ordinarily is washed, dressed in ceremonial gear and placed on a plank at the head of the house, where it lies in state two to four days. Each night the clan of the father of the deceased sit up in a "wake" and sing their songs. They are also the wailers at the funeral. Then the body is carried out through the door or through a hole in the east wall. Two methods of burial are practiced. The body may be cremated at once and the remaining bones put into a box which is placed in a tree. A carved memorial pole or a painted board with the clan emblems of the deceased is set up near by. Food and some personal effects are usually burned with the body (see below). The box is left there permanently. The second method is to wrap the body in dressed skins (for chiefs) or mats (for commoners), place it in a box and lay the box on a platform in a tree. It remains there a year or more and often desiccates rather than decays. It is these corpses which are used in the tanish dances. Ordinarily the body is eventually removed and burned. In this event only ashes remain and "the thing is ended."[16]

The near kin of the deceased cut their hair in mourning and paint their faces with pitch which is allowed to remain until it wears off. Soon after the funeral the heir gives a potlatch. Even a commoner gives a small feast.

The reason for the father's clan carrying out the funeral is that they being kinsmen will not laugh or deride the clansmen of the deceased if they are not paid for their services.[17]

CASTE

As everywhere on the Northwest Coast, society is stratified. In general the distinction made is nobles (hai'mas), commoners (á'ngwah), and slaves (k!a'kin). There are no intermediate classes, though in practice certain commoners of good family, such as the younger siblings of those with titles, are shown a measure of respect not accorded other commoners. In addition to the foregoing, two chiefs, Tsasih (Beaver) and Sanaxet (Eagle), are ranked above all others and are accorded the special title or rank of a'mats!wah.[18] According to one informant only these two have the right to speakers (alux).

The rich are called k!aiya't. But a commoner though rich is still classed a commoner.

AUTHORITY

Those with titles (i.e., chiefs or nobility) are the only ones with authority, but their control is purely nominal and it is only exercised over clansmen. It is said that a chief gives orders only in matters directly concerned with feasts and potlatches. In other things his authority is nil. However, social prestige and rank count for something and most are willing to listen to advice or opinions of the nobility. A chief cannot even force a clansman to give or lend him property for a potlatch; but clan pride and the fear of scorn would practically force such a person's hand in the matter. A chief has no real authority in matters such as quarrels, theft, or even murder.

It is customary however at crabapple time for the ranking chief to test the berries and to give the word when they are ripe enough. No one may gather them before this. In eulachon fishing a chief sets his net first, as a sort of "test" net.

The proper attitude for a chief to assume is not one of arrogance but one almost of humility. His speeches should praise the guest chiefs; he must, of course, tell something of his family history to indicate his right to the displayed crests, and other things, and to relate how he came by them. I was repeatedly told concerning the present chief Tsasih (Richard Morrison), who is the ranking chief: "He is the

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[15] One informant stated this was true only for commoners, that among nobles other nobles cared for the body. Sometimes the body is carried through a hole in the east wall "where the sun comes from." There was no purification rite for those who handled the corpse. Neither was the house purified.

[16] Sometimes the coffins were placed under cliffs or in caves which protected them from the elements; other times they were placed in small "houses."

[17] Nearly all personal effects of the deceased are burned "so the dead will get them." The deceased is dressed in new clothing but a piece is cut from each garment and burned. If he has given personal effects to a person, that person seldom uses them after the death. Even years after a person has died things are burned for him, especially food and clothing. Objects which cannot be burned are "warmed" at the fire, then placed on the grave. The dead receive them as soon as they are "warmed". A thing which belongs to the dead but which is wanted as a keepsake is thus "warmed" and then kept and used by the living. Those near death can see and communicate easily with the dead, the healthy only through dreams. There are no feasts for the dead in after years.

The dead stay on in this world, continue their old pursuits. But when it is winter to the living it is summer for them; when day to the living, night in the land of the dead. There is no other afterworld.

[18] It is said that at Kitlope only one chief ranks as amatswah. He is a Beaver and his title is Tsá'kwiká's.

best chief we ever had. When the tribe meets to talk something over he sits quietly and says nothing until everyone else has spoken. Then he usually says just a few words, such as, 'Well, if that is the way you want it, it is all right'; or, if there has been argument, he just gives his opinion."

Where in this is the "megalomaniac-personality type" or evidences of the "paranoid-like" civilization which Benedict describes?[19] These and many of the other "Dionysian" traits may characterize the culture of the southern Kwakiutl, but it is nonsense to apply the term to the entire Northwest Coast area, or for that matter to the entire culture of any one tribe. I feel that for the Haisla as good a case could be made for placing them in the "Apollonian" category.

SLAVERY

Slaves were usually war captives and their descendants. It "drags a man down" when a relative, especially the heir to a title, is taken captive and enslaved.

A local man once was taken captive by the Haida. The Haida chief was going to take him to another place to sell him or give him away. Someone told the slave what was going to be done with him, and he (the slave) decided to kill his captor chief. He told another slave, a Kitimat woman, to put an ax under his mat. The chief suspected them, and he asked the woman what was brewing. She told him the captive had told her to get water. That night the enslaved man took the ax and chopped off the chief's head. Then he hit the chief's wife, but he nearly missed, only tearing the flesh on her face. She asked what was the matter. He told her he was getting even. She tried to shoot him but the gun jammed and he killed her. Then he killed two other slaves, but the Kitimat woman he took with him. The Haida were surprised that he did not take the chief's name, his wife, and his two slaves for his own. He returned home.

In ordinary war the man who killed a chief took his names, songs, dances, and so forth.

LAW

In a murder the kinsmen of the murdered man usually seek to even the score. This holds even within the clan and even in cases where the murder might be considered justified--as when the victim has committed adultery with the murderer's wife. "The rule is a life for a life."[20] Some murders, however, are settled by payment of a blood-price. If the murderer cannot pay, his clansmen come to his aid. If payment is refused, the score is evened by killing the guilty party (preferably) or one of his clansmen. Sometimes this is accomplished by magic.

Hamdzit was a Raven chief at Kemano. He was just through with his tanish dance and was at home covered with a cedar-bark blanket.

But he had killed a man. His brother-in-law heard that the murdered man's kin were going to kill Hamdzit. The brother-in-law said, "When I see them coming, I'll come in and clear my throat so you'll know they are coming." Soon he did this. Three Eagle chiefs went to the murderer's sister, gave her a gun and told her to kill him or they would kill her and her brother's successors (i.e., her children). She did as they ordered so that her family might survive. But Hamdzit in his pain gave out the clan call (that of the Raven) to show his enemies that he and his clan had power and life.

After his burial a tanish song was composed in his honor. The chorus of it ran, "You shall be giving the call of the clan in the other world." He had killed an Eagle man and they avenged the killing.

If two men quarrel and one is seriously injured, the other usually gives a feast, sprinkles eagle down, and makes a payment to the injured man. The case is considered settled, even should the latter subsequently die of his injuries.

In adultery situations the injured husband engages in a fight with the adulterer. Should the latter be killed his kin revenge him the same as though he were an innocent victim.

It is related that during a secret society dance at Hartley Bay a noble committed adultery with the wife of a chief. The other nobles met and decided to punish them. They bound them together and threw them in the fire, then sang songs to drown out the cries of the two so that the commoners (i.e., nonmembers) would not suspect what was happening.

In intratribal war (i.e., clan against clan) husbands and wives who belong to the warring factions seldom disrupt their households. When prisoners are taken the spouse who belongs to the prisoner's clan usually persuades the other to set the captive free. Ransom is sometimes resorted to. In intertribal war a man who captures a clansman usually quietly frees him after a time. Go-betweens are sometimes used to settle quarrels or wars. They must belong to a neutral clan.

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[19]Ruth Benedict, Configurations of Culture. AA 34:18-23, 1932.

[20]One informant stated he knew of only one murder. The guilty man went unpunished because there was no method of dealing with intratribal violence. He stated that adultery was strictly an affair between man and man.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

The kinship terminology of the Haisla (and, I was told, that of the Kemano-Kitlope) is in perfect harmony with their system of maternal clans, being of the classificatory or bifurcate-merging type. In everyday usage the distinctions are not finely drawn, exact genealogical determinism giving way to terms of address based merely on clan affiliation.

The following abbreviations are used in this section: b, brother; c, cousin; ch, child, children; d, daughter; f, father; g, grand-; h, husband; gg, great grand-; l, in-law; m, mother; mn, man; nc, niece; np, nephew; o, older; p, parent; s, son; sb, sibling; sp, speaking; ss, sister; st, step-; w, wife; wm, woman; xc, cross cousin; y, younger; //, parallel; ♀, female; ♂, male.

Parent Class

abu'h, m, m ss, and all wm of m's clan (or linked clans) and generation; also for all wm of that generation belonging to a clan paired with it.
op, f, f b, and all mn of f's clan (or a clan linked with it) and generation.
hŭnu'h, ch; b ch (mn sp); ss ch (wm sp); m ss s ch.
sa'sâm, ch.
wisamps-hŭnu'h, s (lit., ♂ ch).
gâ'nâms-hunu'h, d (lit., ♀ ch).
xwâ'nguh, sts; std. More commonly s and d terms are used.
awadzo'h, stf; stm. Terms f or m are more commonly employed.
dih, pet term used by mn for f, like our own "Papa" or "Daddy." (Reciprocal ?)
aida'h, pet term used by ♂ or ♀ ch for m. (Reciprocal ?)
waka'w, pet term used by d for m. (Reciprocal ?)

Pet terms are sometimes combined with other terms. A s is often named for some deceased relative, as a b. The ch may then be addressed as o or y b with the "-dih" suffix. Thus, Jacob Grant was named for his f's deceased o b. He now calls his f tsaiyâdi'h and the f calls his s nuladi'h. A ch thought to be the reincarnation of a person deceased may be called by the kin term employed for the deceased plus the "-dih" suffix. I am not certain to what extent this custom is followed or what other pet terms may be employed in the same way.

Brother Class

mâne'sut, sb of speaker's sex (i.e., mn b, wm ss); //c of speaker's sex; any clansman (or member of paired clan) of same sex. (Reciprocal.)
wakwa'h, sb of opposite sex; //c of opposite sex; any clansman (or member of paired clan) or opposite sex. (Reciprocal.)
nula'sâl, o b; o ss.
tsa'esal, y b; y ss.
tsai'yâh, y b (mn sp).
nula'h, o b (mn sp).

Grandparent and Great-grandparent Classes

baba'h, f f; m f; also used, e.g., by ch of a np or nc. (Vocative.)
mama', f m; m m. (Vocative.)
gahga'p, gp.
baba'huh or baba'hâwah, gf.
mama'hâwah, gm.
baba'h okânahkunts, my true gf.

The terms for gf and gm are used for all individuals of the same sex, generation, and clan. To indicate the person meant the phrase, "the f (or m) of So-and-so," is employed.

gahga'pit, ggp; gggp.
tso'klâmah, gs; b ch s (mn sp).
tso'klâmaxs, gd; b ch d (mn sp).
tso'klâmaxit, ggch

Uncle Class

xwatla'p, m b; ♂ kinsman of speaker's clan (or paired clan) and p generation.
bibi'h, m b (pet term).
ani's, f ss; all ♀ of f's clan and generation.
dăd, f ss (pet term).
glu'lâl, ss ch; any person of the next succeeding generation who is of a man's own clan or of a linked clan; e.g., (mn sp) m ss d ch.

Cousin Class

hai'tlakah, xc. //c uses b-s terms.
mai'udlam, distant c (rarely used; preceding term more usual).
hai'tlakahit, alternative to preceding term, meaning much the same as our "second cousin." E.g., it is used (mn sp) for m b d d; for ch of a xc of same sex.

In common usage a man uses the c term for a relative which his mother habitually employs for them.

Parent-in-law Class

nĭhgyu'p, fl; ml; sl; dl; np or nc h or w; w gp. Evidently used between all relatives by marriage except those in the bl class.

Brother-in-law Class

ya'gatlah, w b; ss h (mn sp).
gi'hnâp, w ss; ss h (wm sp); b w (wm sp.) h b (wm sp).

Husband and Wife

tla'aunâm, my h.
wi'sâmâns, my h (lit., my male) is less often used.
gâ'nâmâns, my w (lit., my woman).

In actual practice h and w usually employ teknonymous terms of address, the name of the o ch, regardless of sex, being employed. Thus, Chris Walker usually calls his w abuxsonat (m of Sonat) and she addresses him as apsonat (f of Sonat).

CLANSHIP AND KINSHIP USAGES

The correct way to inquire the clan affiliation of a man is ma'inǐ^{xw}hwas (of a woman, ma'inǐ^{xw}hwahsâm), "What clan you?" To the query: "Of what clan is your father?" the answer is: "I am child of [e.g.] Blackfish."

Each clan has its own distinctive cry or call which is used by the members on occasion. That of the Eagle clan is hai hai in imitation of the eagle's scream. That of the Raven (and Crow) is a croaking gax gax. Members of the Beaver clan cry t'âm t'âm, imitating the sound made by the beaver slapping his tail on the water. The Killer Whales imitate the hŏc hŏc of the blowing killer whale and the Salmon (with the frog crest) croak gugugu or sometimes howl like wolves (another Salmon crest).

A Raven person is entitled to food when he utters the cry and he is careful usually that it is directed at a man whose father was a Raven. In some such instances the latter is obligated to feast the whole Raven clan and perhaps make gifts to each one as well. But usually the person giving the call merely wishes to indicate that he is hungry and wishes food. The same operates among all the clans.

A person of the Eagle who drops something he is carrying (in the presence of others) will not pick it up again but calls a member of some other clan and gives it to him. This he does whether the object is some trifle or something of value, as a gun. In feasts if an Eagle drops a spoon all members of the clan stop eating and refuse to resume the feast. This custom is based on the legend of an eagle once who seized an object and hung on until the other eagles came to his aid. ("An Eagle never drops anything.")

There are neither parent-in-law nor brother-sister taboos. But a small boy found playing sexually with his sister would be told, "Stop playing with your sister or you'll get a hump on your back." (Reference is to the fact that during the spawning season the humpback [pink] salmon develops a hump back of the head.) There are no joking relationships.

Twins are not permitted to gather food or to hunt or fish lest the crop fail, the game or fish disappear. They can make canoes, but may not ride in them on creeks or rivers while the fish are running. They must not touch the water of a stream or even fetch water lest the stream change its course.

A chief building a house assigns various tasks to the chiefs of other clans. These in turn usually reassign certain features of the construction to others of their respective clans. Similar reciprocity holds in potlatching, at death and burial.

MARRIAGE

The primary consideration concerning marriage is that one must not marry within his clan. This is considered equivalent to marrying a sister. Asked what the punishment for intra-clan marriage is, an informant replied: "None. It never happens." Clanmates of the same generation call each other by the brother-sister terms and regard each other as such. Even marriages between members of the linked clans are rare, though not specifically prohibited. This is no doubt the result of the tendency for members of linked clans to use the brother-sister relationship terms also. The Haisla equate the clans of neighboring tribes with their own and observe the same restrictions as in intratribal marriages.

Among the nobles in particular but also a factor in other marriages is the preference for marriage with a cross cousin. This is almost invariably with the mother's brother's daughter. Marriage with father's sister's daughter is permitted, not preferred. Marriage with a brother's daughter is prohibited. Formerly it was customary on the death of a maternal uncle for the nephew to marry his widow. He was not obliged to do so, however, particularly if he already had a wife. Cross-cousin marriage is known as "marrying for power," that is, it strengthens family alliances and the right to crests, legends, titles, and other things. Also "good" is marriage with a second cross cousin, for example, with mother's father's sister's son's daughter. One informant claimed that this is the best type for commoners; that for nobles a first cross cousin is the best. If heirs are few in number or if he is the only heir a young man may be forced into the proper marriage.[21]

[21]It is almost impossible to determine to what extent these favored marriages were practiced formerly. A declining population throughout the entire period during which genealogies are reliable is one factor, because this would tend to reduce the percentage of eligibles. Another difficulty lies in the custom of assuming a sequence of titles. This makes it difficult to follow through or check data. An individual may be called by one name by one person, by another name by a second, and so on.

Caste endogamy is rigid. A noble youth marrying a commoner deprives his children of their nobility, or even himself of his right to a title of nobility. He should marry within his caste "for nobility's sake." Violations, of course, occur, for romantic love is not always to be denied.

Young people have little to say about the choice of a mate, especially among the nobility. Children are told early by their parents about their eligible mates and they grow up taking things for granted. I do not mean that actual force or even overwhelming pressure is brought to bear on them, but the positive "thou shalt" operates much as does the "thou shalt not," though not as rigorously. In a society where rank and title count for so much, few deviations are expected; socially disapproved matings are as rare as among the European nobility.

A young man courts but little, visits at his intended's house but little. When he comes to her house he usually brings a bit of fresh game or fish or some small gift. He usually brings in some wood and water. In time his parents call a meeting of his clan and the marriage is discussed. A go-between is appointed and negotiations with the girl's parents are begun. When these are completed the clansmen, carrying gifts, go in a body to the girl's house. This is called homa'hde'aiu (proposal or proposition). The prospective bridegroom remains at home.

At the girl's house the chiefs of the boy's clan make speeches to the assembled girl's clan and ask them to "accept our nephew as your own son, that we may have your daughter as our daughter," and so on. The gifts are then distributed, for the most part to the girl's parents.

Soon after this (if the proposal is accepted--as it always is because the go-between has already arranged things) the girl gives a little feast for the youth and a few of his friends. She also gives a few gifts, chiefly to the prospective groom. The girl's parents set the date for the wedding, usually a year or so later, to allow them to accumulate food and property. During this time the groom's clan also is busy accumulating property (canoes, blankets, slaves, etc.).

On the appointed day the groom's party sets out in canoes. Usually two are lashed together and planks placed across to form a platform on which may stand as many as thirty to fifty people. There are several drummers and many singers. They usually paddle beyond the girl's house a short way, then return, singing. At the bow of the raft stand two painted dancers wearing headdresses. When the canoe is near the beach these two dash ashore and dance to songs specially composed for the occasion. Two appointed women on the raft alternate in shouting a prolonged high-pitched hai! throughout the performance. As the raft strikes the beach a young fellow, dressed only in a breechclout and armed with a club, jumps ashore and dashes to the door of the house. (The rest of the party stays on the raft.) The door is locked so he runs around the house shouting and beating on the planks with his club. Finally the bride opens the door. He charges in, hitting at everything in the house. Finally he rushes out, shouting, "Come on in! She has now consented to accept me as her naked partner!" Outside the door of the bride's house stands a heavy object, usually a smooth boulder, weighing perhaps three hundred pounds. Someone of the groom's party must lift this before the wedding can proceed.

All except the groom now come ashore with their gifts, which are given to the bride's parents. They keep careful account of the amount.[22] Speeches and a feast follow. That night the couple bed together. For a year or so (usually until the bride's parents "redeem" her) they live at her house.

The foregoing describes the betrothal and marriage of the nobility. In the marriage of commoners there is usually simply an arrangement between the parents. The day before the wedding the young men's parents go with him to the bride's with gifts. These are real gifts and need not be returned. On the following day the groom's party, consisting of a number (seldom all) of his clansmen, return to the bride's house. They bring gifts, which are given to the bride's parents and a few to her clansmen. Account is kept of these.

Among commoners "without pride" the couple may simply bed together at her house. An exchange of gifts between the families the next day binds the compact.

At all weddings the fathers of the couple make speeches and give the couple advice; they tell them to be true and kind to each other, and so on. Others make speeches and wish them luck. A feast usually follows the ceremony.

A widower among the commoners who wishes to remarry merely takes gifts to the girl's parents and they give presents in return.

Bride Redemption

No marriage is considered actually complete until the bride's parents and clansmen have given back to the groom's kin a certain amount of property, usually double the value they received from the groom's clan on the wedding day. Gifts exchanged or given at other times than the day of the wedding are in no way involved. If possible this redemption takes place within a year, but if the bride's parents have the means at hand they may go through the ceremony a fortnight or so following the wedding.

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[22] I am not certain that this ends the formal ceremony.

Until this rite takes place the couple usually live at the bride's home. The ceremony is called te'nakwah ("pushing her home") and thereafter the couple reside at the home or village of the groom.[23]

The groom's clan is invited to the bride's house where each member is given a gift more or less according to what he has given at the wedding. The groom receives the lion's share, usually including (if he is a noble) blankets, a canoe, coppers, perhaps a hunting ground, and names and dances belonging to the bride's clan. These last he usually bestows on his own children, so that they actually revert to the "owning" clan. "He receives most because he paid first." Some of these things he subsequently gives to his clansmen at a potlatch-feast in his own village. The hunting grounds, names, and other intangibles, however, he keeps himself.

I did not hear of mock marriages or of pseudo-marriages of an infant daughter "to make her heavy" (with rank), which occur among the southern Kwakiutl. The number of children born to the couple likewise has nothing to do with their status. In a divorce the husband keeps the property given him. In theory, nobles are expected never to divorce a mate. For commoners divorce is easy, usually mutual consent being all that is necessary.

It sometimes happens that a chief finds himself in such straightened circumstances that he is unable to "redeem" his daughter within a reasonable time. In this event her clan (her mother's lineage, in reality) gives the husband one of her crests. For this he must make an additional payment, it being considered of immense value. If possible her clan subsequently redeems the crest, but if they do not it remains his and becomes a crest of his clan, passing to his sister's children. This procedure no doubt accounts for the presence, for example, of Raven crests and names in the Eagle clan and vice versa, a situation which characterizes the crest and clan system of all of the tribes of the area with the clan organization.[24]

Levirate and Sororate

A widow or widower is expected to marry a sibling of the deceased mate, if one is eligible, that is, not already married. In any event the surviving mate is expected to remarry into the same clan as before; to do otherwise shows disrespect.

CLAN LEGENDS

Almost invariably queries about the social organization directed at a new informant lead to the relating of the legend of the origin of his own clan. These legends are the property of the clan in question and a person will rarely tell the origin of a clan other than his own. Certain legends, however, deal with the origin of the tribe as a whole. The pattern of the legends does not differ essentially from that of neighboring tribes. Like nearly everyone who has done ethnography in the area, I believe that there is a certain amount of historical fact in these tales, though it is often obscured by purely mythical elements. I give the following origin legends, which were obtained from various informants.

The Origin of the Kitimat
or
Xá'ntlikwilax's Discovery

[Jonah Howard.] On Owikeno Lake near the head, at sŭ'loxxŭmlidax,[25] lived a man named Xá'ntlikwilax, who was very fond of gambling at hat (a game with fifty sticks). He finally lost everything, even his children, wife, house, and himself. That night he and his wife quarreled over it and he murdered her. Then he fled. At daylight halfway down the lake he went ashore, hiding his canoe. At dark he started out again, reached the head of the inlet and went on to the village in Kilbella Bay. There he took up with another woman and finally married her. She was of a big (large) family.

But bad luck came to him again; he became blind. One day his wife said, "Let's go out to gather Indian rice."[26] "Bring my bow and arrow," he said. "We may need it." She led him to the canoe and they started. A way up the river they came to the place and she led him ashore and he sat on the bank while she dug the bulbs.

Soon she sighted a grizzly and told him of it. He said, "Give me my bow and arrow. You aim for me and aim at his heart. Tell me when it's pointed and I'll let go." She aimed and he heard the sound of the arrow striking and said, "He's hit." She said, "No, he's back in the woods already." He insisted and so did she.

They went back to the village and after eating she said, "I'll bring my brother some of this rice." But she brought none; instead she told her brother to go upriver and get the bear, that it was dead.

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[23] A boy lives with his parents until his marriage and after the bride redemption at their house or village. He moves to his maternal uncle's house only after the latter's death.

[24] Another way in which crests are transferred is through refusal of a clan to pay a debt or a blood price. The creditors in revenge may then assume a crest or some other prerogative.

[25] Probably the su'mXuL of the Owikeno.

[26] The bulbs of Fritillaria.

The brothers went and every day she went over to their place to eat some of the meat. At nights she would come back. Her husband smelt the odor of bear meat on her. This hurt him more than he could bear.

One night near morning he thought, "I'll go out and find my end" (i.e., commit suicide). He took his cane and went straight (he thought) toward the tide flats. On the way his cane struck a log so he sat down for a while. Suddenly he heard the cry of a loon and thought, "Whoever has that voice, come over and help me; I'm in trouble." Loon came over and stood beside him and asked, "What is the matter?" "I'm in distress, I'm blind. I want you to give me back my sight." So Loon said he would. Loon wiped his eyes, applied something, and asked, "Do you see now?" He said, "No." But Loon said he did see. And he did.

He was wearing ear ornaments of bone fancily decorated. These he gave to Loon for payment.

Loon told him to cover himself with his cloak and "Don't look at me as I leave. If you hear a noise, don't look."

All day he stayed there, wondering what he should do. (He was a medicine man and could foresee things.) When he got home, he said to his wife, "Invite all the people of the village. As a medicine man I'll try to cure myself by means of my own powers."

They all came and struck up his songs. He went through the motions of curing himself.

One day he told his wife, "Gather all your brothers. We are going sea-lion hunting, so we can invite the other villages to a feast. We'll be gone a long time." He told her to get food ready, and to take some young people along.

Their first stop was below Schooner Pass in River's Inlet. There they prepared clubs. His was of yew and had an edge on one side. As he made it he determined to get even with his wife and brothers-in-law for the trick they had played.

Before daylight he killed them all. So he was even. But he did not harm those who were not his wife's kin. (There were several women along also.) He told the survivors that he could not go back, for he had committed too many crimes.

They went along with him. His first stop was in Kildala Arm (gildallah, "long river") south of Kitimat. He camped at dza'xwilatsih near the mouth of the arm. In a few days they went around to Clio Point. From there they saw the whole head of the inlet open and gradually shut again. This happened several times and they turned back.

The next trip the opening and shutting did not occur and he knew that what they thought to be some monster was merely the sea gulls rising from the flats. They got a load of eulachons in the river and went back.

They started roasting them on sticks, but before they were done the flesh would all drop off. A woman suggested that they bend the fish in the form of a sea cockle and then roast them. (This style still holds.) They feasted.

He liked the place so much that they moved to the (Kitimat) river. There was no timber in the valley, only moss. They stayed from autumn to midsummer.

One day a stick drifted down-river. It was peeled. He got it. It was a willow. He saw that it was not done by a beaver but was cut and peeled by humans.

The following day he poled upriver to a place sixteen miles above; living there he found a band of Tsimshian of Port Simpson. The chief was Samdik ("big grizzly") of the Raven clan. His descendant today is David Grant.

There were huckleberries on the mountainside and a custom of the chief was to go each day to see the berry baskets and to blacken them so they would not be readily seen by raiding canoes.

The two chiefs got on well so Samdik and his band were invited to come down to the village. They came down and Xantlikwilax gave them the north side of the river (but they lived in a village on the south side).

People outside heard of the discovery and they came to visit. Xantlikwilax would send his nephew down to the landing to look them over. Those who looked good Xantlikwilax would paint on their faces with the Eagle crest. Those he did not like he made slaves. These slaves kept multiplying until he was rich.

For many years things went well. But trouble was to come. Trouble arose between the Eagles and the Ravens. But the Eagles won in the end. Again things went on well and Xantlikwilax came to be an old, old man. The village was large now.

But trouble came again between the Ravens and Eagles. This time Xantlikwilax was killed. None of the Eagles could take his place in the battle and the Eagles lost. Some were tied on houseposts upside down. The wife of one of the Eagle chiefs asked the Raven chief to let them go, saying the Ravens could take over all the rights of the Eagles. He let them go but the Eagles were allowed to keep the river, the names of chiefs, and so on.

Xantlikwilax had acquired several other names: (1) Wa'mis ("the river is mine," or "I rule the river"); (2) Wie'gà or Waie'gà ("utterly useless" ?); (3) Wŭdzi'kĕh ("go ahead and invite the villages," or "he who invites the villages" ?); (4) Yăks.

The Raven chief would not accept any of the plunder. He was satisfied that Xantlikwilax was dead. So another Eagle man gave a big feast for the dead Xantlikwilax. He had a large copper (xwi'stàn). This he divided into pieces and gave them to the chiefs of the other clans. After the feast Xantlikwilax's sister told the Eagle chief that he was to have control of the right bank of the river. This was important because of the eulachon and salmon. These (especially oil) they traded to the Haida, the Bella Bella, and other tribes.

This new chief was OmiăLlămih ("man with a large face and position"). The descendants of Xantlikwilax were no longer in control. Things went on well for a long time. There were no more great events. Not far back Gapskuladzih of the Eagle clan came into control.

A Raven chief once became very angry at his nephew (the rightful heir) so he gave his son the Raven rights on the river. His son was a Beaver. Perhaps in this way the Beaver chief Tsasih came to rank as the highest in the tribe.

The Origin of the Kitimat People

(Second version)

[Isaac Woods; Eagle clan.] There was a village on Owikeno Lake above Rivers Inlet. A man of this village killed his wife, so he decided to move to the foot of the river. There he lived for quite a time at another village. He married again. He heard that his first wife's family was going to kill him in revenge. So he told the people that he was going seal hunting with his large canoe and several helpers. He intended to come here. He was of the Eagle clan.

When he came up this way they found Kildala Arm and settled at its mouth in Mud Bay (glau'kudadzis). In the spring at eulachon time (April) he came up farther. From the point below Clio Bay before sunrise one calm day he saw something strange at the head of the inlet. It looked like some monster. He saw a huge mouth open at the foot of the valley. He was afraid, for he had few weapons, so went back to Mud Bay. There he told what he had seen. When they left the next day they were well armed. They were going to find out what the monster was. But this time as they rounded the point, he saw nothing. They came to the point south of this village (Kitimat). There they found many valuable fur bearers, especially sea otter.

Then they went toward the head of the inlet. It was low tide and the sea gulls, eating eulachon, were thick on the beach. As they rose in a cloud it looked something like a mouth opening. This is what he had seen the day before.

They poled up the river and found it full of eulachon. They caught many in a conical net and filled the canoe.

When they got back to Mud Bay, he told the others he had found a better place. His name was Xá'ntlikwilax ("one who shoots straight").

So they decided to move and they founded a village up the river (about one mile from the mouth of the river). They called the place k!laxgla'lisla ("level valley"). There was no timber in the valley in those days, only moss. (This village was near Hanson's place. The channel has since changed.)

One day they saw a piece of cedar bark floating down-river. This man went and got it and wondered about it. It had been peeled by hand. They decided to go upriver six miles. There they met some Kitsilas Tsimshian from the Skeena. They were friendly but could not understand each other. They ate together. Then Xantlikwilax invited them to move down to the other village. The Kitsilas settled there. After a while some of the Kitsilas went back and brought more Kitsilas back with them.

The news spread of the plentiful food; to the Bella Coola, the people of the Nass, to Metlakatta, Klemtu, Port Simpson, to the Haida, and all other places. One family or more moved from each of these to the village until there were about two thousand people there.

Xantlikwilax was the head chief and was of the Eagle clan. The language they came to use was that which is used today which is called àwi'kula'(nearly the same word as Owikeno).

The Eagle clan was the most numerous and "owned the river." They were very kind to the people of the other clans.

In time some people became jealous of Xantlikwilax. He was very old now. One day death came to him. A man from Port Simpson (Tsimshian), also of the Eagle clan, proclaimed himself chief and inherited his property. His name was Gapskuladzi'h. He was now head chief and ruled the village and told people how to get things. Whatever he told the people, they must do.

These were the clans that lived under him: Killer Whale, Beaver, Raven, Wolf (or Salmon), and Eagle.

Five or six miles up the river is a place called lakkatsugas ("thimbleberry place"). After some time at k!laxgla'lisla they moved up to lakkatsugas and lived there for perhaps a hundred years. Some house timbers are still standing there. Then they moved over to the head of Minette Bay (sukgwi's) where some remains can still be seen. For fifty years they lived there. But then they moved back to k!laxgla'lisla, which was their best and main place, and they kept permanent houses there. Just north of the present village is a stream called uwitlàk!awawL ("north stream"), where they lived for a number of years.

Then they moved to a creek, u'yak!eswawL ("south creek"), a mile south of Kitimat, where they lived for a long time. They later had a village at the mouth of Bish Bay near the mouth of Bish Creek. Here they dwelt for many years. Then they moved to kĭhtă'ssah (two miles below Bish Bay), where they dwelt for many years.

All these places the Eagle clan owned. They moved around because they were trying to find a sheltered place (i.e., a good harbor). Since those days the people of Kitimat own those places.

The present village was founded even before the traders came and was used as a winter village, Old Town (k!laxgla'lĭsla) as a summer village.

The Origin of the Heiltsuk

or

The Dog Husband

[Louisa Morrison.] There was a chief at Bella Bella who had a daughter. He kept her in a room on the platform at the rear of the house away from young men. One night a person got in there and asked to get in bed with her. She admitted him. (But it was a dog turned into a human.) The third time he slept with her she made up her mind to trace him, for she had tried to coax him to speak but he would not. So she got some red ocher (gwams) and put it under her pillow the fourth night. Her name was Tsu'mkàlaxs. Each time he came he took off his white robe and covered the bed with it. She took the powder and put some on the edge of the robe; she intended thus to find out the next day who it was.

The next day she looked for the lad (i.e., the red spot), but could not find him. She went

in again and sat on her bench. She saw a white dog sleeping near the door. On his chest was a red spot. Then she knew what had happened. She felt sorrowful and could not eat.

In a few weeks she gave birth to puppies. Her parents found out what had happened. They moved away and took even the house and left the girl behind without even food.

She cried for a time, then began gathering boards and made a shelter. At low tide she went to dig clams. This she did day after day. For a long time she did this. One time she went down with her digging stick. She had often heard voices like those of children at play while she was digging clams. She looked at the shelter and there was only one dog sitting outside. Whenever she listened the voices stopped. Finally she made up her mind to trace the sounds.

She stuck her digging stick in the sand and hung her skirt and hat on it. Then she went around to the rear of the house and peeked in. The others kept asking the watcher if she were still on the beach. He always said yes. She looked in and all the puppies had taken off their blankets and were playing at love-making. They were really humans. She wanted to learn the songs they used as they played at marriage. When she had learned them she ran in, seized the pile of dog blankets and dumped them into the fire and scolded them saying, "They made me ashamed in the first place; now they are humans." The watcher was the only one who remained a dog.

This is the reason the Bella Bella people marry their relatives (i.e., do not follow clan exogamy), because the puppies were mating, brother with sister.

When the parents found that they had grandchildren they returned. That was the beginning of the Bella Bella people.

The Origin of the Clans

[Andrew Green; Beaver clan.] At a certain village on the Skeena three of the sons of the chief went hunting. The youngest was married. They came to a beaver dam, broke it open and let it run dry. While working at it the youngest was injured and died. The eldest said, "I'll go back and find out the reason" (for he suspected the young fellow's wife). When he came to his father's house that night he knocked on the wall just outside his mother's bed platform and whispered to her the news of the death. He asked her if she knew whether the wife had been having an affair with another man while they were away. The mother said, "I think so. You'd better go and find out for yourself." He went there, found her in bed with another man. He seized the culprit and cut off his head. Then he took the head and hung it above the door. The girl buried the body under her own bed.

The people of the murdered man's town began to miss him. His father was worried. A party went out searching.

The murdered man's father sent a girl slave to the village, to the house of the unfaithful wife to borrow fire. As the girl went out the door a drop of blood fell on the back of her hand. She had charcoal in the other hand. She smelled the blood and it stank. So she threw the charcoal in the water and went back for more, telling them it had gone out. This time she saw the head. When she got back she told her master she saw the head above the door. So the chief called the people together and told them the girl had discovered the head. Then he said they would raid and burn the village.

One woman took her child, dug a hole in the ground in the house and placed the child in it. Then she placed a big copper over the hole, covered it with dirt and ran away into the woods, leaving the child to burn.

When the raid was over she came back and with a stick poked until she found the place, removed the copper and found the girl child still alive. She took the child and went into the wilds.

She began calling: "Who is going to marry the daughter of kawah?" (Tsimshian word). People started coming and wanting to marry the daughter. First to come was Grizzly Bear. She asked him, "What can you do?" He said, "When I get angry I tear a man to pieces and eat him." She would not have him. Next came Timber-wolf. She asked him, "What can you do?" He said, "I can chew up human beings when I get angry." She sent him away. At last there came an animal who said, "I can turn the earth over and there will be nothing left." He was nolax (a spirit). He agreed to marry the girl. He took both mother and child on his back. He told the mother, "Don't open your eyes while we are traveling." The mother fell off frequently, but each time he would pick her up, but she would soon fall off again. Finally she said, "You might as well leave me here." But he thought that he could fix it. So he went on until they came to a tree. There the spirit pulled out a limb and put his mother-in-law in and jammed the limb back in. This is why trees squeak--it is the old woman crying.

He took his wife and went on to his home. She bore a child. Every year she bore another until they had a big family. She decided to send the children in pairs, a male and female, back to the place she came from. She told each couple what their clan would be--Beaver, Eagle, and the others.

But the spirit had gone ahead and had built houses for each couple and on each house front was carved or painted their crest. As they were sent back this spirit told each one what he was going to be.

To one: "You are going to be an archer, so I'll make you a bow and arrows."

To another: "You'll be a gambler, you'll always win."

To a girl: "When your brothers are wounded with an arrow you'll be able to draw it out with your teeth."

When they got there they saw the houses and crests so they moved right in. The mother's intention was that some day they would increase so they would be able to fight the people who had burned the town.

When they had settled the people who had burned the town came to see who it was and invited them to a feast.

One day these same people came and asked them if they ever gambled. They said, "Yes, if you people will come over" (the spirit had told them what to do). So they came over and gambled. The spirit had told one of the men, "When the people get angry tell them, 'Behave, or I'll hit you with this gambling stick in my left hand.'" Soon the visitors became angry because they were losing. When he told as the spirit had directed they only laughed. Finally he hit a man and the man fell dead. The fight soon started and all the visitors were killed. Each time one of the brothers was wounded one of the sisters would pull out the arrows with her teeth so they were not hurt.

The spirit father knew what was going on. The relatives of the visitors were going to raid again. The spirit had said, "When I get angry I can turn a whole town upside down." This he did to the enemy town.

That is how the clans started. And thereafter all tribes copied those clan groups.

The Origin of the Beaver Clan

[Mrs. Louisa Morrison; Beaver clan.] Long, long ago the first ancestor lived in a place called lunixt in Tsimshian. This ancestor was the chief from the beginning, under the name Tsasih (which is the same in Tsimshian). There was a family quarrel. There were two brothers and one was killed in the quarrel. The survivor made up his mind to leave the place on account of the death of his brother. He took his family and some neighbors, loaded a canoe and started across Dixon entrance and landed at various places. They were safe from the troubles behind.

They landed at a certain place. The next day early in the morning they went to the beach to dig clams. One of the younger brothers found something in the gravel. It was an octopus. He was going to pick it up but it escaped under a rock. As he reached under to get it a shellfish (k!ȧkĭhmȧ́'h) caught his hand and held him. His kinsmen could not save him. The tide rose. His kin were sorrowful. The lad's name was Gȧdaxe'h (also Tsimshian). The chief composed a funeral song, which is still used by the Beaver clan.

Just before the tide caught him the others marched around him singing this song. After he was dead, at low tide, they took him away, leaving the hand behind. They cremated the body. They took the ashes and bones and put them in a watertight basket, wrapped the basket and took it with them wherever they went.

They stayed there for a long time. Then they moved on to djȧd (Nass R.). There one of the chief's sisters married a Nass River man (i.e., a Tsimshian). Then they moved to Port Simpson. There another of his sisters married. Her name was Di'^{x}s, a Tsimshian name. This is a name in the Dudward family in Port Simpson even today. (That is why the Dudward family often come here to visit their kin.)

Then the chief decided to move to the Skeena River. They stopped at Kitsilas. There one of the family married again and a family was raised. For quite a while they stayed, then decided to take the trail to Kitimat.

There were two brothers and three sisters who were in Kitsilas. A bear came near and a dog found him. A man named Yant'ȧmst (also Tsimshian) took his bow and a war arrow and went out to get the bear. A squirrel went up the trail ahead of him, seeming to lead him. He could not catch up with the bear, yet the squirrel kept going on. When he came to the end of a trail he was at Lakelse Lake. Then Yantamst turned back and told the others that he had found a lake. They decided to move again. They walked around the lake, but rested at a place where there was an old windfall. They rested the basket on the log. It happened to fall and the ashes spilled out. They all wept at this, and as they wept the sun went into an eclipse. But the eclipse seemed to take away some of their sorrow.

They all rejoiced when the sun came out again. Soon they saw a monster in the lake. It was a monster beaver (kau'lĭs). The water foamed as he swam around. They were afraid. When he disappeared there was a monster halibut (mo'gwĭs). There also appeared on the lake a human-like being xakoȧ́'ltȧk!i (in Tsimshian: "bright-bodied person"). They decided to ask for help from the sun, that the dangers stop. They prayed and immediately the disturbances ceased. That is how they have the name kuLxe'E^{x} ("the monster beaver swimming in the foam") in the Beaver clan.

Then they decided to move again and they took the trail toward Kitimat, taking the basket of ashes along with them. They had promised to bury the basket wherever they decided to stay permanently. Near the source of the Kitimat River they came to a place called Sand Hill. There they came to own the place and the chief decided to bury the basket. They dug a hole (a cave) which can still be seen. They then moved on down the river to lakkatsugas ("thimbleberry place"), which is some six miles above the mouth of the river, and settled with the other people there.

There were settlers already there. These had heard that he (Yantamst ?) was a great chief and on account of his high rank they moved and made a place for him in the center of the village. There they stayed and he arranged how to amuse the people with the dances and costumes which I have even today. He invented the tanish dance, the whistles, and the other dances. At that time there was no timber in the valley.

The Origin of the Beaver Clan

[Andrew Green; Beaver clan.] A man went out hunting, taking his wife along. Now a hunter never sleeps with his wife while hunting. She wanted to get into bed with him but he would not. She became angry, went back to her bed. He kept on hunting and each time he came in he cooked a meal, tried to give her some, but she would not eat.

One day as he was out hunting his wife watched, saw him climbing up the mountain. When

he disappeared, she went out and took a bath in a little creek, then went back. When he returned, he noticed that she was bathed, but did not question her. The next day this was repeated. But this day he began to suspect that she was bathing for a reason. Actually each time as she went out she was not bathing but was making a (beaver) dam. Her husband thought at first she was bathing because she was wet every night. She made a beaver house before she started the dam. Farther downstream she made a second dam. Ponds formed above them.

Her husband suspected her and determined to find out what she was doing. So one day he hid as soon as he was out of sight. The woman immediately went back to her dam. As soon as she got there she took the leather apron which covered her genitals and put it at the back. That is the beaver's tail today. Then she dove in. Her husband dove in after her and she took him into the hut. They both became beavers.

Soon she bore four young beavers by her husband. Every year this was repeated. Each litter she would send out to different places, always two together, a male and a female. That is why there are beavers everywhere today.

(The foregoing was told as the origin of the Beaver clan. The beaver was selected as their emblem.)

How the Eagle Clan and Crest Originated

[Jonah Howard; Eagle clan.] The events of this story took place around the Queen Charlotte Islands, where the Eagle clan traditionally originated. There was a young man who went to a strange village. There he fell in love with a girl. He was a stranger among them. The walls of her father's house were of heavy cedar planks, like a fort. On the walls hung strange costumes. He was astonished at the hangings, but asked nothing. The second morning after the marriage feast he was given one of these costumes and told how to put it on, how to use it. He was told to go up on the roof, stretch out his arms and take off. (It was the eagle's suit which was given to him.)

He was somewhat nervous, because he did not know if it would work. But he found himself flying. He was told always to turn to the right when returning home, never to the left. He was told to come back as soon as he felt confident in flying.

The next morning he was told, "Put the suit on and go out to the waters and get us something to eat." He was told never to try to pick up the first object he saw, even though it was small. He came back with what he could carry of salmon. These daily flights continued for quite a time. Most of the things he got he gave to his wife's family. (She was the daughter of the chief.)

Finally he got tired of this, and one morning he said to himself, "I'm tired of this. I'm going to pick up that first object and find out what it is."

Always his father-in-law used to go up to the roof and watch him until he was out of sight. This time, before he was out of the harbor, he swooped down and picked up this small object.

Just as he swooped his father-in-law shouted, "Help! He has taken that unknown object." There was a turmoil in the village, everyone racing for his flying costume. They were going out to help him. The young man was just going under. The first helper arrived just in time to grab the young man with his claws. The object kept going down. The others came and one after the other grabbed the one below, until the whole village, men, women, and children, were out there. Still they could not lift the thing, and it was pulling them all under. All were there except a feeble old woman.

It was a deadlock between the eagles and the object under the sea. No more help was available except the old woman. She was almost too feeble to fly. For several hours she watched. She decided, "I may as well try to help them. There's no use in trying to stay here all alone." She took down her old suit and sharpened the claws on granite stones. "If this had only happened when I was young," she thought. Finally she flew out to the scene of the struggle, took hold and the object started giving way a little at a time.

At last they lifted it out of the water and landed it at the village. There was a big celebration then. This object was a giant tsá'mxwis, "monster of the deep." The monster turned into a stone and to this day it can be seen on the east coast of the Queen Charlottes.

The Eagles of this and near-by tribes are the descendants of these people.

Since that time members of the Eagle clan "never let go, and never drop anything." If an Eagle is carrying a thing, for example a salmon or even a gun, and lets it fall he will not pick it up but lets it lie and goes to call some member of another clan and gives it to him.

Legends of the Origins of the Dances

Deeply rooted in Northwest Coast culture is the explanatory myth. Legends of creation, migrations, origins of clans, the recitation of the great deeds of one's ancestors, and so forth, are often used to explain or justify the status quo or to expound one's right to a given prerogative. The spirit (or secret) dances fall into line and each tribe usually has its own versions of how a given dance first originated. The following by no means exhaust the list for the Haisla.

The Origin of the Tanish Dance

[Andrew Green.] A Kitimat man went out hunting and was away many days. This man's name was K!we'gĭls ("sitting behind the house"). He came upon a house he had never heard of. It was the house of a spirit. The spirit invited him in. When he got in there were screens on both sides and at the back. From behind them issued the sound of whistles. At the rear behind the screen was a person singing.

The spirit owner told him what spirit each whistle was. He noticed little birds flying around--these were the spirits. As they flew past the host would say to each one, "Your young master is looking for something to eat."

The guest finally caught one of the birds, but discovered it was only wood. But he found he could make a noise with it (i.e., it was a whistle). But when he caught the bird its spirit went into him and there was nothing left but wood. In a little while a tanish dancer came in from the rear door, surrounded by his attendants. The man saw a spectator take a piece of his own flesh and throw it to the dancer. Afterward another dancer came out from the other corner and danced the nunLsista dance.

The host asked the guest which one he preferred. The latter gave no answer but thought to himself, "I think I'd pick that tanish." The host knew what he thought, and said, "Yes, that will be the one."

He was now ready to dance the tanish. The host spirit sent out to all places and ordered all the (spirit) tanish dancers to come in. They came in not through the door, but through cracks, and other places, as birds. Then he knew that they were spirits who were to teach him the tanish dance.

While they were performing the dance he noticed one of them was preparing to eat a dead body. He thought to himself, "I wonder if that would be enough for me?" His host knew his thoughts and said, "You're not the one who is going to eat that. It is something in you." (He meant the bird spirit which had entered him.) He also thought to himself, "I wouldn't mind dancing that if it weren't for eating that dead body." Now he knew how to dance the tanish dance and his spirit host had told him what whistles to use. He said, "Go back and dance this. Follow it as you have seen it." He had been in the spirit house a year.

So he went back where he came from and sat by the creek where people got their water. A girl came for some water, saw him and ran home and told she had seen Kwegils.

All the people went there to welcome and congratulate him. But he paid attention to no one, answered no questions, but only sat. Finally he took his own child and ate it. Then he ran about biting people. They tried to hold him but could not. As he struggled some salmon oil spilled on his head and he soon felt "tame." That's how people learned salmon oil would tame the tanish. When he came to himself he went to his house and said to his wife, "I thought we had a baby girl." She started scolding him, saying he had killed and eaten her. This threw him into a frenzy and he started eating people again. Everyone was afraid of him. Finally they seized him, threw him into the fire and burned him.

The ashes which rose from the fire became mosquitoes.

The Origin of the Kitimat Tanish Dance

[Jonah Howard.] A Kitimat chief went to Bella Bella on a visit. There he fell in love with the wife of a chief. The latter was away. On the wall hung the chief's bag of tanish whistles and the woman showed them to him and he stole one. When the Bella Bella chief came home he noticed a whistle was missing. He blamed his wife and killed her because of it.

The Kitimat chief copied the whistles and started the tanish dance in his home village.

The Origin of the Tanish Dance
(Kitlope version)

A young man and his father up the river from Kitlope were at a place called xastua'ux. They were hunting marten. The spirit entered the young man while he wandered through the woods. His father was hunting in a different place. That evening his father had a meal ready but the lad would eat nothing. When they were ready to go to sleep his father asked him if he would eat some of the food. But he only answered, "I'll eat." (He meant he would eat people.)

His father went to sleep and the lad ran away from camp. During the night the father awoke and saw that the lad was gone. He knew something was wrong, that a spirit had entered him.

In the morning at daylight he built a fire and as soon as it was started he heard a noise made by the spirit. Soon the lad came toward the camp through the woods. He came back and sat by the fire and said he had heard the whistle of the spirits.

The father told how he had worried about him and "about your actions." "We will go back to the village," he said. "We will go, even before eating."

The lad said he would not go in the canoe but would go along the beach. Then twice he seized his father's hand and bit his arm. Then he disappeared. The father went down-river. On the way he heard the voice of the spirit. He wept, knowing that something was happening to his son. Toward evening he got to the village, and learned that the lad was already there, that he was acting like mad, biting people and that he had already eaten two small children. People told him his son was causing trouble and asked him if he knew what had happened.

For a short time the lad came to himself, and while in his right mind told his father what to do. He was to take a big pole and to tie him up and to tie cedar-bark rings around the pole. As soon as he had spoken he began biting his parents and other people.

Whenever he came to himself he would go into the house and stand by the pole for them to tie him. The chiefs stood around to watch him. In time he quieted down somewhat and the spirit was not as strong as it had been at first. The spirit finally left him, but he remembered what he had seen while in a trance.

He told the people what to do about the pole. After that many imitated what he had done, even if the spirit was not in them.

This is said to be the real origin of the hamatsa of the Kwakiutl tribes to the south.

This lad was not the son of a chief, yet afterward only chiefs and their sons could join.

The Origin of the Nutlam Dance

[Jonah Howard; Eagle clan.] A house came down from above with a giant raven sitting on the gable at the front, with smaller ravens lining the edge of the roof to the eaves.

This happened at lologwi's ("turned brown hillside" [drought]), the name of a place up Kitlope River. Haimasaka'h ("chief of all the Ravens")[27] was chief of the village.

They had been there many years, nothing unusual having happened. One night before daylight the chief got up and went out and there not far from his house was a huge house with the ravens on it. Every now and then the giant raven gave its call. The name ga'xgaxaligah ("giant raven's call") originated from this. The name gigie'hdoamam ("big raven on ridge") also comes from this.

The chief went in and called his family out to see, for he scarcely believed his eyes. They all went out and saw it. As they looked persons came out from the house, circled round it, then went in. There were many. It seemed as though they were guarding the house.

The strange people sang a song: "We are the only people whom the people of the sun visit." To which the people who saw it added: "They were walking around the house continually, the great nephews of the owner of the strange house."

A pubescent girl (kept in a separate room) knew that something was happening and decided to see what it was. She peeked through a crack. As soon as she saw the house it disappeared. That is all they saw of the house.

A young man from Kitimat fell in love with the girl, married her, and they came here to live. When they left, after the ceremony, they got two canoes, tied them together and decked them with planks. The girl sat in the center wearing a headdress and cloak with the eagle crests. A box on her right contained the whistles of the a'lakwah dance. Here at Kitimat they lived. One of her children became a great chief here. He built a house at a place up the river called wai'xwas ("creek running on flat ground"). The ridge was of double logs three feet apart and on each end of them was the carving of the whole figure of a man. He invited several villages to the house opening. He was supposed to have full control of a certain spirit called gia'lgamgiexdowa'h ("spirit in form of large mask with body dressed with ferns"). When they were singing the songs for him he did not dance but kept himself in a sitting position, spread his hands and brought them together with a clap which produced fire.

A few years later this chief's brother (in the same house) invited the people of the town to a feast and potlatch. He was to dance the nutlam ("dog-eater dance"). His name was Gaxga'xàligàh. He once came down to Old Town as guest at a potlatch.

During the feast one of his uncles whispered to a chief alongside Gaxgaxaligah, and said, "Give him some advice as to how to behave. It is rumored he is misbehaving." It was not meant that Gaxgaxaligah should hear, but he did. (He had just finished the nutlam a few days before.) The spirit seized him and he upset boxes and benches and ran outside. It was early May and the Indian rice was just sprouting. No one knew where he went. After a time people became worried about him. There was a woman of middle age and she had an idea he was near by and each day went out looking for him. She would call softly, "Our dear one, please show yourself, as I have several new songs prepared for you."

Months went by. Came late August when women are drying pink salmon. Again she went to the woods and called. He showed himself to her. There was a large cottonwood which was hollow at the root. He had crawled in, kept the opening covered with moss. Since he had left he had grown thin as a pole for he had eaten nothing. She went home, roasted a whole fish and brought it to him. He told her not to let even his father know. Every day she brought him food. She taught him the songs she had composed. One ran: "Whistles coming from all creations, and I am living on whistles on all sides." When he had learned the songs he told her to come and get him in a canoe. He made sure no one knew of his coming. He told her to go out to get willow leaves (for wiping salmon). He crawled under these when the canoe was full. He told her to pile them near the canoe landing where he could hide under them.

After landing she started dressing fish. He rose up and started singing one of the songs. She got up and acted attendant's part for the nutlam. He danced toward the village singing another song: "The son of the sun has now come down, who is the spirit of all spirits, and that is the house of the swa'gawah [the spirit]." People came racing to the house to see. All the people, especially the attendants, flocked down and carried him to the house of his father. All rejoiced, as they had given him up. There was feasting and potlatching at which he danced again the nutlam.

The Origin of the Nutlam Dance
(Kitlope version)

This dance also originated at Kemano. There were four lads from Kemano who went hunting goats up the Kemano River. They camped in a cave. Three slept together and one alone. The latter dreamed that a big man was eating his dog. In the morning he told the others about it. Again they went hunting goats and killed many. They could not get them all down so camped with the kill that night.

After eating they kept the fire going and finally went to sleep. Again the one slept alone and again dreamed about the giant. This time the giant gave him part of the dog to eat.

In the morning they ate again and started packing the goats down to their canoe, and went down-river. There was nothing wrong with the dreamer. When they came to the village there was a feast on the goat meat. That night

[27] A Raven name in some way acquired by the Eagles.

the lad dreamed again. As before he was given part of the dog. The giant who had given it to him turned to be a wolf but he looked like a man. He told the dreamer, "I am what you call wolf, and both of us are going to eat that dog." Then the giant left. This was in a dream.

Before daylight the people in the village heard a dog howl in agony as though something were biting or killing him. First one dog, then another, soon a lot of them howled in this way. "The giant had told him to bite and eat, then to gnash his teeth, or 'smack' his teeth."

In the morning they learned that the dreamer was the one who had killed and eaten the dogs. The chief caught him and tried to hold him but no one could for he was possessed.

Every day thereafter he went around catching and eating dogs. He ate all the dogs in the village. They were preparing a dance for him. They gathered up the heads of all the dogs he had killed, put sticks in the mouths to keep them wide open and dried them in the house. Then they took cedar withes and made of this a headdress with the dogs' heads facing outward around it. They also made a neck ring for him, and a wide belt of goat wool long enough so that the ends trailed behind. As he danced, one chief held the ends and followed him around. When all was ready the people were called together and the dance was held.

Since this first dog-eater dance people only imitate him; none are actually possessed. But the novices hide away, and the people are told that the spirit has taken them away.

At Kemano four people (families) have the right to perform this dance.

The Origin of the Nu'ntlsista Dance (Kitlope version)

A young man had a dream. He heard the noise (whistle) made by a spirit. Every night he dreamed and heard this noise and the song of the nuntlsista. The spirit talked to him, telling him that he would go into the fire. Then the spirit disappeared. He dreamed again and again and each time the spirit said, "You will go into the fire and nothing will happen to you." Because he dreamed so often, he began to remember the words and the tune of the song which the spirit sang.

His life began to change a little. One night he did not sleep but began to sing the songs. Everyone in the house heard him. His parents got up in the morning and built the fire. As soon as it was blazing he got up and walked into it. Everyone was afraid of him and ran away.

His parents locked him in, then went and told the chiefs. These went in where he was. He was in a frenzy. They caught him but could not hold him. They opened the door. He ran into all the houses, walked in the fire, threw the brands about, and so forth.

He had many songs, which he sang as he ran about. Other people began to learn them. They put him in his house and locked him in his cubicle. The common people were not allowed to go about at random, but only the chiefs, while this was going on.

As soon as he was put in his room and let go he would run out, throw embers, brands, and coals about until the fire was out. Then he would run to another house.

As with the tanish dancers, whenever he was not given to eat first he would fly into a frenzy and rush at the fire. If a pot was on the fire and a stick burned through so that the pot upset, he would likewise go into a frenzy.

After this first dance, in after years the chiefs would hold council, appoint who was to be the nuntlsista. These would not handle fire like the first one, but merely handled it somewhat like we handle a hot coal.

These dancers did everything in a "crazy" way; for example, one would act as servant after the other had defecated. They did all manner of crazy things whenever this spirit was in them.

One of them at Kitimat danced only with a loin cloth. He would make as if scratching his head, but would take out stones, throw them against the walls where they did not fall down but disappeared in smoke and fire.

The Cannibal Woman[28]

[Louisa Morrison.] There was a family which had a child. Before going to bed this child was supposed to take a drink. One night the parents forgot to give the child its drink, and in the night it began to cry of thirst. It wanted a drink badly. The parents could not get it a drink because it was dark. The child kept on crying until the parents fell asleep at last.

Silkimala, the cannibal woman, came along and told the child to come with her and get a drink from her basket. The child got up and the cannibal woman dumped him into the basket and ran off. When the parents found that she had taken the child, they got up and began to hunt them. It seemed to the parents that she walked underground, for they heard the crying of the child underground. They tried to dig where they heard the voice. For a long time they searched. They heard the voice of the child from one end of the village to the other. They dug until they were tired. Then they mourned for their child.

While they stood near one place where they had dug, a big man came along and asked them why they were digging. They told him. He told them not to worry. "I'll get the child," he said.

So he started out. As he walked along he came to the house where the cannibal woman stayed. He went in. He found the child but the cannibal woman's husband had the moon hanging on the wall. (The child had been taken only for property.) The big man (whose name was WI'git, "big man" [Tsimshian]) wanted to get the moon instead of the child. But he had no way of getting it out. He planned for a long time. He found a little well near by and took a branch and with the leaves covered the well. Then he made himself disappear and went under the leaves

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[28] The informant stated this is a Bella Coola tale. She did not remember the complete version (as is obvious).

and made a wish that he would be born of the cannibal daughter.

She swallowed him in drinking the water, and he was born as a child. He grew rapidly. The child cried for the moon. At last the chief gave it to him to play with. He touched at the door until it was open. Then he ran with the moon and bit a chunk out of it. Wigit went away again. He did not bring the child back. He was really Raven. So Big Man (Raven) started the daylight and the night. Before this it was continually dark. This was the beginning of day and night. The moon was left in the house and the child too. The child still has the pail with him, right in the moon. That is why in the moon there is a child with a pail in his hand.

(The telling of this story makes children thirsty.)

The big man went on and was traveling near Nass R. with the piece he had broken from the moon. There he found the people fishing eulachons. He began to beg for some, and told them he would give them daylight in return. But they didn't believe him. Finally he grew tired of asking for fish. He then exposed the moon, and made daylight. All the people were frightened and disappeared under water; some became fish.

The Girl Who Married a Frog

(A Kitlope tale)

Just above the village of Kitlope, at a place called mĭsku'sȧh, long ago there was a village called lu'xȧxȧh ("rock dropped down") on the right bank of the river. One time some women were gathering Indian rice (Fritillaria roots) across the river from the village. One was a chief's daughter. Each time she dug,a frog came up on the end of the digging stick. Every time she dug it was so. The third time she swung the frog on the end of the stick and said, "I hate this thing" (cursing).

While she stood there she saw a man coming toward her. He wore a bear robe and a red neck ring of cedar bark. Neither said a word; he merely put his robe around her and walked away with her. She could not see where she went but when he took the robe away they were in a fine house.

They lived together there. Soon she found she was pregnant. Twin boys were born. When they were about eight years old the mother was making blankets for them one day. She sent the two across the river and said, "Go to your grandfather's village and ask for thread." (The husband and children looked like humans to her.)

They swam across and went to the house of the grandfather, but as they went in they were little frogs. There they stood and croaked, "hȧlu'pȧs, halu'pȧs" (Tsimshian for "thread").

The grandfather told someone to throw them out. One man seized them by the legs and threw them into the river. He watched them swim across and go up the other bank.

They were crying when they came in and they told their mother that their grandfather had asked that they be thrown out.

The next day she went to see her father; she went down and shouted for a canoe to ferry her across. It was a year (?) since she had disappeared, but they recognized her voice. She did not know it but her face had become like a frog's. She said to her father, "I sent my children over to get some thread and they told me you had them thrown in the river."

She was given the thread and was ferried across. She said, "It won't be long before I'll be over to see you again."

When she had finished the blankets she asked her husband if she could go to visit her parents. He consented and she stayed at the village the whole day. That night her parents kept her from going back. But they said, "This is the last time we want to see you. Don't ever come back. We're afraid of you now." But that night the frogs started making trouble, jumping on and in the houses. The girl said to herself, "They're coming after me now." The frogs were on the porches, platforms, beds, and everywhere.

Toward morning she said, "You had better let me go now." So they did. The frogs piled themselves (formed) into a raft and the girl got on top and went across.

She never went to see her parents again. About three years later the people from the north came on a war raid against the village. These were the mĭmȧ'mĭk^{t} (Port Simpson Tsimshian).

The frogs knew what was happening over at the village. The frog husband said, "We'll make a return war. Tell your people to gather fruit and give it to us here in our pond." The girl told her people what her husband had said.

They gathered cranberries, blueberries, huckleberries, and crabapples and put them around the pond as they were told to do.

That night the girl went out and saw that the frogs would eat none of the food.

Her husband told her to go to the village and tell the people to get just a certain kind of food--the berries called k!lȧ'mkoli (berries of the dwarf dogwood ?).

The other fruit they threw away, then gathered the klamkoli and placed them beside the pond.

The next morning the girl got up and saw that all the boxes and baskets were empty. Her husband said, "We are going to avenge your people. Go over and tell them that we will leave in the morning. They will know where we are because a cloud will be above us (frogs do not show when they travel). Tell them to keep behind the cloud, not too close and not too far. When we arrive at that enemy village, tell them to wait outside and not go in. The cloud will be on top of the village when we get there and that is when we will kill them. When the cloud leaves, then go in yourselves."

Toward morning everyone in the enemy village was asleep. At daylight the cloud left the village. Then the people went in. They found everyone dead. While they were asleep, the frogs had stabbed them in the eyes with sharp blades of grass (ki'tȧm). After a while the people went back, still behind the cloud.

At the point where the frogs lived there is always a cloud above, even on fine days.

APPENDIX 1. VARIA

The following data on various phases of the culture were collected incidental to the information on social structure. For the most part the data were volunteered. I set them down here in order to place them on record.

Shamanism

Shamans (he'likilah or ha'sà)[29] are nearly always males. They work as curers of disease but also know the intricacies of magic and witchcraft. A lad who shows signs of having special powers is chosen by the chiefs, who force his father (if unwilling) to apprentice him to an adult shaman. The lad is drafted into the calling, that is, if he refuses he is killed. One informant claimed that the spirits come to a man, even against his will and that he must do as they direct. The father must give feasts and potlatches while his son is in training. This is a favorite way of relieving a rich commoner of his property and it is sometimes deliberately resorted to by the chiefs, who get most of his gifts.

A shaman in his curing has two or more helpers, who sing his songs as he performs his rites. Cures always depend on the shaman getting in touch with the person working the witchcraft. If several visits are necessary the shaman himself is sometimes suspected. Shamans sometimes have "duels" by means of hurling back and forth certain intangible objects. Shamans have the power to cure, also the power to kill (to "kill the soul"). Most curing is by the sucking method. The disease object is taken out, held in the hands (but not shown), then is rolled in the hands and blown away. Then the shaman washes his hands and rubs the affected spot. A Bella Bella shaman killed people by shooting into them a small bone object to which was tied two human hairs which floated as streamers behind. Curing is sometimes accomplished by means of return of the soul.

The spirit of an ill person or one who is to die comes and flutters about the shaman or rests on his shoulder. He cannot see it but feels it. He cannot always tell to whom it belongs, hence is not always able to warn the person or cure him. The soul resembles a butterfly.

Shamans are also something of seers or prophets, as the following incident illustrates:

At the time of the smallpox epidemic a certain shaman foretold what was to happen and what was happening in other villages. One day he said, "They (disease spirits) are coming up to get us now. Four canoe loads are coming up the channel." People did not believe him. "Now they are landing at our beach. Bring forth my bows and arrows." They brought them. Then he called for o'xsulih roots. He stuck the roots on the arrow points. "They are coming for us now, one is inside. Now I'll shoot." People saw the arrow fly. Just at the entrance the arrow stopped in midair. Thus he shot four arrows and all stayed in midair. Then he said the spirits were going to retreat. The arrows dropped. "Now they are in their canoes and leaving," he said. "They are going in three canoes and have left one behind." When they went to see there was only a snag which had not been there before. But the people here did not get the smallpox.

It is believed that no one, not even the aged, die of natural causes. All disease (?) and death are due to magic or witchcraft. Falling from a cliff, drowning in a stream might seem due to natural causes, but somewhere someone is working magic.

An ill person goes to the person he suspects, offers to pay him to cease working magic. If the suspect protests his innocence and the person gets well it merely means the magician (or another) has ceased his practice. Witchcraft is difficult to prove, for the magician is very secretive. A shaman hired to cure must know who is working the magic or he is helpless, for he can only cure by going to the magician and asking him to "release" the sick person.

Magic seems to be wholly of the "contagious" type, that is, it is worked with the hair, nail parings, food or cigarette stubs of the victim. Any desired disease or accident can be inflicted. No one will admit knowledge of the exact procedure, for to do so might suggest guilt. Magicians never work their magic alone but in pairs, with a compact that if one is caught he takes the blame without involving the other.

I heard the following accounts of magical practices:

A boy fell ill and none could cure him. One day a friend of the lad's father came in with a bundle he had found hidden. It contained a lock of the boy's hair wrapped in string and covered with slime. At sight of it the lad fainted. The two men carefully unwrapped the bundle, washed the hair, then thrust it in the fire. The boy soon recovered.

A boy lost a mitten, later got a sliver in his thumb, which became badly infected. Later the mitten was found. The thumb had been cut off. The father burned the mitten and the boy recovered.

The only way to stop or punish a magician is to get some object belonging to him, tell him it belongs to someone else and then induce him to work magic with it. Thus he will kill himself.

[29] The word means "spirit owner." Compare the word for the secret dances (or secret society dances), p.175. There was no special mode of burial for shamans.

Magicians often have dealings with the dead (especially newly dead) and with ghosts. Accordingly, kinsmen usually watch graves for some nights following the funeral.

When a magician is caught he usually threatens death to the discoverer and his kin if exposed, and promises a long life if the secret is kept. This promise, however, is usually violated and the death of the discoverer usually follows shortly. About 1933 it is said that a magician at Port Simpson was met at night, dressed in costume, by his own son, who killed him on the spot.

Magicians wear a special costume when at their nefarious trade--a queer mask, and a long robe to which is attached a long tail. "It would take a magician to explain the secrets of his trade, and try to find one!"

Certain wizards were friendly with ghosts, as the following tale illustrates:

Katsi'h was a man of the Beaver clan who lived at the village of hainama'tsi--a village up the river. Katsih's home was at the "lookout place" (for raiders) called dadokwilatsih. His home was a sort of cave. Long ago the dead were not buried. Katsih was a queer one, feared by many. He would take away all the desiccated bodies he could and bring them to his cave at night. He would talk to them and they would obey. He had a servant, a dead lad. He placed them (the desiccated bodies) side by side in a sitting position. The cave was full of them. He gave to each a beating board and beating sticks of human bones.

Finally a young warrior's wife died and they buried her in a tree. The widower went every night to watch and protect the body. Several nights passed. One night Katsih came, produced a rope of cedar bark with a weight on one end. He threw it over a limb and climbed up. Then he tied the rope around the coffin and lowered it. He put it on his back and started toward the cave, the young man following at a distance. The trail was rough so the widower gained. Finally he took hold of the box and held on. Katsih could not go ahead and he would say, "kwa'kwatsmalak!ah" ("make thee light," i.e., "make yourself light"), but would not turn his head to see. At every windfall this was repeated. When he reached the cave, he took the body out and placed it with the others. The young man fell behind near the cave, but could hear Katsih give the command to the corpses to go ahead and start beating. But they would only produce two beats, then stop. Again he would command, but they would stop at two beats for they felt a live person was near. This kept up most the night.

The young fellow finally crept near. When he got there he figured out that each time Katsih got a new member Katsih would dance for them as they sang and beat. But he now saw Katsih dancing without music or songs. Katsih did not notice the young fellow until he shouted in his ear, "What are you up to?" This was so unexpected that Katsih fainted. When he came to, he took hold of the young fellow and praised him, begging him not to tell. He confessed that he was the cause of the mysterious disappearances of the bodies of the dead. He promised him so ripe an old age that his body would fall apart if he would not tell. The young fellow went home.

A few years later the town was moved to Minette Bay.

Katsih now had a dead child as a servant who followed him everywhere at night. Amadzai'h ("small one" or "cute thing") he called him. Late every night he would visit the village. He would send the "servant" into a house, tell him to do something to persons to make them die soon. One fellow was going to visit his sweetheart and waited till late, standing at the corner of her house. There was a tiny being standing in front of him. He grabbed it and hid it under his cloak, not knowing it was a ghost. Finally Katsih came, every few steps whispering "Amadzaih" and singing, "There is no one to take your place if you are lost." Every time he called, Amadzaih would give a tiny whistle in answer. Katsih could not find his servant but finally the young fellow gave it to him and said, "I think this is what you are looking for." Katsih grabbed it and thanked him, and said that in payment he would live to be so old that his body would fall to pieces. Katsih took his servant and went away. The young fellow went back home instead of to his sweetheart. Katsih sneaked behind the young fellow's house. The young fellow did not go to sleep. Soon Katsih sneaked up carrying a queer-looking object--a long stick with the end flared. This he stuck under the fellow's nose. In the stick end there was finely shredded cedar bark. Katsih was after his breath to work on it to put him to death. The youth watched him, let him do it. (Katsih had a house in the village himself.) Immediately Katsih had gone, the young man got up, followed him. Katsih went to one corner of his home and hid the implement, then went in and went to bed. In a few minutes he was snoring. The young fellow took the implement, took out the bark, took it home and replaced it with some of his own, then went to Katsih's house, where he was asleep.

Now when Katsih was deep asleep queer white woodworms would come out of his nose. The young fellow did as Katsih had done. Then he put the implement where he had found it and went home.

The young fellow kept track of the days. At dawn on the fourth day he went to the roof of his house and sat there. Soon Katsih came out of his house and went down to the beach for a bath. He waded out and dipped underneath. The third dip it seemed as if he had a hard time coming up. The fourth dip he stayed down a long time and finally floated up like dead. The young fellow shouted, "Help, help, I think the chief is in trouble." People raced down, carried him in dead. He had worked on his own breath. The bathing was the finishing touch for the supposed death of the young man.

That is why it is known that the way the dead speak to humans is by a low whistle.

Ghosts whistle to humans only when they wish to give some message, but they can speak no

words. If a human sees a ghost and whistles first, he may only become ill, but if the ghost whistles first the person will soon die. Ghosts appear only when a relative or you yourself are soon to die. Ghosts usually remain near the cemetery and no one dares go near the graves alone at night. They look like persons, but their features are shrunken, the skin of the face is moldy. The hair is moth eaten and is all on one side of the head.

The following incidents illustrate other beliefs concerning ghosts:

A fellow named Tă'stĭs went from here to Old Town to get his house planks. In a slough there, as he made the turn, he heard a shout, "Whooo," which is the call given by a person when a sail comes in view. But Old Town was vacant. He went to where his house was, took planks from the roof and started packing them to his canoe. He had nearly all of them packed when someone seized the boards from behind and held him for a time. This happened twice. He started for home. He related what had happened. As soon as he had told he dropped dead.

A woman climbed on the platform at dusk to get dried salmon. Her husband had died several years before. As she reached into the box she saw a hand come and rest on its edge. She took salmon but before halfway down, fright overcame her and she started to run and remembered no more. She was sick for several days. A few months later she died.

Two hours before a certain man died something rapped on the window of a near-by house. The next morning pebbles and grass were stuck to the window pane, yet there were no tracks on the snow.

Two men heard a shot, but saw no one. Yet one of a flock of flying mallards fell dead. No one came to get the duck so the men took it home. Shortly afterward one of them died.

The "Transvestite Party"

Once a year, usually during the winter, a curious festival is held which is mostly horseplay. Men and women act as hosts in alternating years. When the women are hosts, Mrs. Mark Morrison acts as "chief," issues invitations, and during the party has two friends who act as "speakers." The women hosts attire themselves in men's clothes, the men "guests" in women's clothes. There are songs, dances, and speeches, each speaker pretending to be a great chief from some distant village. Light refreshments are served. The last speaker of the evening has the honor of bestowing names on numerous guests. These are either the names of animals, obscene nicknames, or great chiefly titles from other tribes given in mock seriousness. The "female" guests are awarded feminine names, and if the women are guests they receive masculine names. Some of these names come to be used regularly in everyday life, though not in formal gatherings. Thus, one woman is nicknamed Goat, another La'hkyus (a great chief of Alert Bay), a man is called Abŭksăkakt ("mother of an enlarged rectum"), and so on. The whole party is carried out in an hilarious spirit.

First-Salmon Rite

The first spring salmon caught (in conical basketry trap) is the signal for a feast. The first coho taken is also ritually treated. The sides were sliced off in the usual manner, but the head and tail are not cut off lest the other coho go downriver and not return.

The first eulachon is hung head up in a prominent place, the gills decorated with cedar bark. On the first day of the run a feast is given by Raven or Eagle chief in alternating years. Before the run begins one net is set as a "tester." When it fills, a watcher gives a shout, men rush to canoes in pairs, and race to secure favored places. The clan chiefs own hereditary spots for nets. That night each family feasts on eulachons; afterward everyone crawls (not walks) to bed, and drinks no water lest a freshet come and wash the fish downriver.

Hoop-and-Pole Game

The hoop, 14 inches in diameter, is rolled down alley between the sides. If a thrower succeeds in spearing it an opponent lashes him with a willow whip. If the spearman retrieves his spear and hoop and wrests the lash from the other, his side gets the next throw of the hoop.

Mutilations

The ears are pierced. Commoners usually have but one hole in each, but for nobles three or four holes in each ear is common; for the highest nobles, five in each ear. The paternal uncle pierces a boy's ears, the paternal aunt a girl's ears. Women wear labrets. Sometimes women have the nose pierced for a ring.

Medicines

A plant called o'xsulih is used variously: as a poultice; to make an infusion which is drunk; to make a powder which is snuffed to cure colds; or the core is swallowed green. Merely its presence or use keeps away illness and evil, and scares ghosts. An overdose can cause death. It is a violent emetic and a dose puts one in a stupor for days; on recovery, however, one "feels fine."

Devil-club bark is chewed or an infusion drunk with sea water as a laxative and emetic.

Cosmology

The winter solstice is observed from a special "seat" in each village. The sun stays two days at the same spot before starting south. Then feasts and games are held. The earth is flat and circular. The sky is a dome against which the sun, moon, and stars move. Eclipses are caused by the sun getting stuck in the sky. People sing, dance, and shout to get it free.

Miscellaneous

It is believed that at death all animals place their heads to the east "where the sun comes from."

If a person sneezes it is a sign someone is talking about him, and he says, "Thank you."

If a person is drowning all the animals race toward him. At death he becomes the actual animal which reached him first, regardless of his clan affiliation and regardless of whether the body is found.

There is little idea of the afterworld; no idea that the dead live in a world like ours.

A soul is the exact image of a person, but it is only as big as a fly.

All animals understand human speech and know what humans are saying, even when not near.

There is no bear ceremonialism, no talking to bear before killing, and no placing its skull on a pole. Bears eat the skin off their paws when they come out in spring. They roll over in their dens at the winter solstice.

There are few prayers offered other than those to the sun. A man hunting or fishing utters the following if the sun is shining: "Walsde'dinklasi (such an animal), And give to me (such an animal)." Or he might say: "Op, dadai - gilasánkla, Father, take care of me." Or he might say, "Father, give me this," or "Make me meet such and such an animal." A man going hunting or fishing says at dawn: "Da'laklasanklanoh, akotssxe'tlayawa'oks, Guide us, shower us with thy gifts." In bad weather he says: "Na'hwits to'yagamih, Lift off thy heavy cloak" (i.e., storm clouds). There are prayers only for hunting and fishing.

When a house is being built a slave is often put alive into one of the post holes and the post jammed in on top of him.

Berdaches of both sexes are fairly common. Males do woman's work, females, man's work. Some marry (persons of opposite sex). Homosexuality is unknown.

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE KITLOPE (KEMANO) TRIBE

I did not visit this group, and so far as I know no ethnologist has ever worked among them. I give the following scanty data gleaned incidentally from the people of Kitimat.

The Kitlope, although a separate tribe, speak the same dialect as the Haisla. Kitlope is a Tsimshian word, the village being called maskiu'sa in Haisla. Kemano is the name of a near-by mountain, though it is used as the English designation of the ancient winter village. The native name is yáma'tsisá.

The Haisla of Kitimat call the tribe hána'ksiala ("small number of people," i.e., small tribe).

It is said that the highest Eagle chief outranks all others of the tribe. The Salmon clan of the Haisla is lacking, but the others are present and are called by the same names. The Wolf clan "owns" Kiltuish (Long) Inlet for a hunting ground and also some areas along the Kemano River.