

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

14:3

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE OWIKENO KWAKIUTL

BY

RONALD L. OLSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES

1954

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE OWIKENO KWAKIUTL

BY

RONALD L. OLSON

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

Vol. 14, No. 3

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
EDITORS (BERKELEY): R. L. OLSON, R. F. HEIZER, T. D. McCOWN, J.H. ROWE
Volume 14, No. 3, pp. 213-260, 4 figs., 1 map

Submitted by editors January 21, 1954

Issued August 15, 1954

Price, 75 cents

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
CALIFORNIA



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, ENGLAND

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FOREWORD

The data in the present paper were obtained in the course of two visits to the northern British Columbia coast. The first, made in 1935, aimed at a study of the social structure of the Haisla of Kitimat. At that time some information on the Owikeno was recorded at times when Haisla informants were not available. In 1949, a second visit to the area was made, with the purpose of securing materials on the Haihais (or Xai-xais) of Klemtu. However, I found that the only Haihais still living who might aid in reconstructing the past were too far gone in the twilight of life to be useful as informants. Accordingly I returned to Rivers Inlet to record further information on the Owikeno; and the greater part of the information of this report was obtained at that time.

The title of this paper may seem misleading when its content is compared with the full reports of, say, Boas and McIlwraith on tribes of the same area. I can only plead that Boas worked in the region while the old culture still flourished; McIlwraith's Bella Coola are still numerous and a considerable number of able informants were available to him. Owikeno culture, on the other hand, has long since disintegrated. Only about fifty members of the "tribe" survive and none of these is old enough to remember back of about 1910. In 1935 there were still a few old men remaining, but all of these passed on before my 1949 visit.

A disastrous fire in 1935 was the final blow to the old way of life, for the fire destroyed, not only the old-style houses, but all ceremonial regalia and other treasures and heirlooms. Only vestiges of the old culture remain and the potlatches, dances, and other overt features of the old life survive only in what are mere token observances. So I offer the materials which follow with a clear recognition that they are fragmentary and perhaps even somewhat inaccurate in part, but they represent most of what can be salvaged at the present time. Those of us who by choice or circumstance work among remnant groups can but envy our more fortunate colleagues whose good fortune allows them to do other than what could be called "social archaeology."

I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to the many people of the British Columbia coast whose kindness, hospitality, and aid made my stay in the field possible and pleasant: the staff of the R. W. Large Memorial Hospital at Bella Bella; the Reverend Peter Kelly of the mission boat "Thomas Crosby"; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lord, of Rivers Inlet Cannery; the managers and staffs of the canneries at Klemtu, Goose Bay, Namu, and Beaver. Thanks are also due my many Indian friends scattered from Kitimat to Alert Bay. My brief stay at Bella Coola was made enjoyable by the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Pruden, and of many members of the Native Brotherhood. I would like to express special gratitude to Mr. David Bernard, Patient informant and interpreter, this study would have been quite impossible without his coöperation.

INFORMANTS

The greater part of my information was obtained from David Bernard. (DB in the following pages.) He also served as interpreter on some occasions. Older informants of 1935 included Joe Chamberlain (JC) and Cap'n Johnson (CJ). Jack Johnson (JJ) and Alfred Thompson (AT) were willing informants but available only for brief periods. Henry Hanuse served for a time but his information required careful checking and confirmation from others before I felt that it should be used. His are the only data in which "editing" and selection were advisable. In some instances I have referred to persons by false initials, letters, or fictitious names in order to avoid possible embarrassment to individuals or families.

PHONETIC KEY

I have not had training in linguistics or phonetic transcription. In addition, my ear for native words is not particularly keen. My phonetic renditions therefore range from accurate to reasonable approximations. Where my renditions differ from Drucker's I think mine are nearer to accuracy. Vowels are long unless otherwise indicated and have the Continental (or Spanish) value. Capital letters in the body of a word indicate whispered sounds (as, PUKS).

| | | | |
|---|---|----|--------------------|
| ă | as in hat | ai | as in English high |
| ē | as in met | au | as in how |
| ĩ | as in it | ! | explosive k or q |
| ũ | as in put | . | glottal stop |
| â | obscure vowel of but or idea | ´ | accented syllable |
| g | as in gig | + | prolonged sound |
| L | surd l (except as initial letter of proper name) | | |

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Informants | iv |
| Phonetic key | iv |
| Introduction | 213 |
| Villages, septs, crests, lineages, and council | 214 |
| Wars and feuds | 218 |
| Social classes | 220 |
| Marriage and family relations | 223 |
| Miscellaneous practices | 226 |
| Death and mourning | 227 |
| Inheritance and succession | 229 |
| Totem poles, house posts, and coppers | 232 |
| Potlatches | 234 |
| The winter ceremonials | 239 |
| The Tsaika series of dances | 242 |
| The Tanis (Hamatsa) dance | 243 |
| The Glualaxa dances | 246 |
| Religion | 250 |
| Shamanism | 250 |
| Magic | 251 |
| Appendix A: The kinship system | 253 |
| Appendix B: Miscellaneous tales | 256 |
| The beginning of the Haisla | 256 |
| Cannibal woman | 257 |
| The four brothers | 258 |
| Bibliography | 259 |

MAP

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Owikeno Territory and Settlements | facing p. 213 |
|---|---------------|

FIGURES

| | |
|--|-----|
| 1. Seating arrangement in gift-giving | 236 |
| 2. Seating arrangement for the Cannibal dance | 244 |
| 3. Seating arrangement for the Glualaxa dances | 246 |
| 4. Genealogical chart | 254 |

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE OWIKENO KWAKIUTL

BY

RONALD L. OLSON

INTRODUCTION

The material presented in the following pages is an attempt to reconstruct, as far as is possible at this late date, something of the social structure and social life of the people of the Rivers Inlet and Owikeno Lake area. Although I refer to them as "the Owikeno" they do not constitute a "tribe" in the usual meaning of the term. Common language, common culture, and a geographical area alone dictate treating them as a tribe. In their own view village and lineage (or family) loom largest. There was no over-all tribal organization and the term "Owikeno" (Phonetically, u'ik! inũh) is used only for convenience. Actually it meant only the people of the house clusters along the Wannock River.

Although only vestiges of the old culture survive, I have used the historical present tense in my account except where the past tense is used for the sake of clarity or to make a definite time-reference. I have used the term "Owikeno Kwakiutl" in the title for the sake of geographical reference. Technically the term "Kwakiutl" (KwáguL) refers only to the people of the Fort Rupert area but in common usage it means the Kwakiutl-speaking (Wakashan) tribes in about the same sense that Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian are used to designate groups of tribes of the same linguistic affiliation.

The Owikeno were less maritime in their culture and their world view than many of the Northwest Coast tribes. None of their villages was located on the salt water; all were on rivers or on the lake. The people of the upper lake, in particular, were almost "interior" in their outlook, perhaps making a salt water excursion only once or twice a year. Goat hunting probably loomed larger in the native life than in any other Northwest Coast people—but the time has long since passed for an appraisal or description of this part of the culture.

The economic activities begin about March when the eulachon run comes in. About a month or even two is involved in catching the fish (by conical traps and the long eulachon nets) and rendering the oil. At this same time some few persons may gather herring eggs in the area around the mouth of the inlet.¹ The first salmon are taken in May. These are eaten fresh as they are too fat for drying. May is also the time for gathering seaweed around Cape Calvert. June is the season for gathering and drying the cambium layer of hemlock.² Goats are hunted during July and August, since only during these months does the very heavy snowfall melt away enough to permit hunting at the higher altitudes. This is also the berrying season. Most of the salmon for drying are of the red (sock-eye) species and most are taken late in the season when they spawn in the streams running into the lake.

But the Owikeno of today secure a livelihood chiefly in the fisheries industry. The men operate their own motor boats or work at the heavier tasks in the canneries; the women are hired during the fishing season as cannery hands, chiefly at cleaning the fish after the fish have gone through the "iron chink." There is but little hunting or trapping done. The netting of eulachon and rendering of the oil has been nearly abandoned. Even the catching and processing of salmon in the old fashion has given way to dependence on supplies obtained at the stores maintained at the canneries.

¹ It is believed that the herring meet the eulachon at the mouth of the inlet and say to them, "You may give your grease to them now. We have given them our eggs."

² The cambium layer of cottonwood is also eaten, but is used fresh as it is said to turn sour if kept more than three days.

VILLAGES, SEPTS, CRESTS, LINEAGES, AND COUNCIL

As previously noted, the Owikeno do not constitute a "tribe" in the conventional sense. There is no term to designate all the groups of river and lake villages. The several villages, and to some extent the household and lineage groups, are the units which are paramount in the minds of the people. Probably the majority of the population was always concentrated along the upper two miles of the Wannock River. (The Wannock River is some four miles long and drains Owikeno Lake into Rivers Inlet. It averages about 200 feet in width and at low water is perhaps six feet deep at midchannel.) This concentration was sometimes called *la'xlagwis* ("many houses").

The people of the villages of the upper lake were sometimes called *u'itlalla* (residents or people of the "inside" or interior). There were no houses on the lower two miles of the river and none at the head of Rivers Inlet. This is because the lower river is affected by the tides and only the upper river is suitable for the salmon traps. From about 1900 to 1935 all of the Owikeno were concentrated in a village of perhaps a dozen houses on the tiny islet called *Ke'tit* ("grassy islet") about two hundred yards from the foot of the lake. In the spring of 1935 just before my visit this village was totally destroyed by a fire and the people moved into the one- and two-room cabins built for the summer workers at Rivers Inlet Cannery. About 1940 six small houses were built (with government aid) on the north bank of the river about two and one-half miles from the river's mouth. Here live the half-dozen families who constitute the survivors of a tribe probably numbering over five hundred a century ago. A half-dozen members of the tribe are scattered from Bella Bella to Alert Bay.

Formerly there were some villages along the Koey River (*kwe'h*) and on the lake of that name. These people, however, were a distinct "tribe." By the Owikeno they were regarded as "half Heiltsuk [Bella Bella] half Owikeno." Among the Koey are found the last vestiges of the clan organization of the northern tribes. These nonexogamous crest groups (as among the Bella Bella tribes) were the following:

wi'gwatanux ("Eagle people")
gui'tanux ("Raven people")
ha'haitanux ("Killer Whale," or "Blackfish people")
gwi'yaktanux ("Whale people")

Among my Owikeno informants only JJ named these crest groups for the Owikeno. Other informants ascribed his statements to the fact that his father derived from Koey. The Koey people are now extinct as a group, the survivors evidently merging with near-by tribes.

Traditionally the people of the river villages or households were Eagle and Whale. Some of the lake groups were also Eagle. The Blackfish crest derived from intermarriage with the Nimkish of Alert Bay. There was also a Wolf crest, but my information does not go beyond its mere mention.

These names of crests were not used as group designations by the Owikeno. Among the Koey the children of a couple could belong to different crest groups and the crest could derive from either the father's or mother's lineage or family. Thus, JJ counts himself as Eagle, his brother as Wolf.

In addition to the river settlements, the Owikeno had permanent (year-round) villages at the places listed below. English place names and anglicized native names are taken from British Columbia Department of Lands, Preliminary Map, Bella Coola, 1924. Owing to the decimation of the tribe and the death of all those whose memories extended beyond 1900, it has become impossible to estimate the size of these settlements. It is likewise impossible at this late date to secure more than fragmentary data on the house names, the lineages, the house or lineage chiefs, and other matters which would permit an adequate description of the social structure. I have numbered the villages, camps and other spots of special note to facilitate reference to the accompanying map (facing p. 213). The numbers correspond to those on the map:

1. *La'xlagwis* or *k'e'tit*. The river settlements mentioned above.
2. *K!wa'pax*. A permanent village at the mouth of Ambock Creek. As the population of the tribe declined, this village was deserted, the inhabitants moving to the settlements along the river.
3. *Asxwilam*. This village was at the mouth of Ashlulm Creek. The village was closely associated (by kin ties ?) with no. 4.
4. *Nu'xants*. Located at the mouth of Neechnanz River.
5. *Su'mxuL*. At the mouth of Shemmahaut River. This was the largest village on the lake. It is said that about 1880 there were six large houses and about three hundred people at this place.
6. *Tsi'u*. At the mouth of the Tzeo River. These people were the "aristocrats" of the lake villages. From this village there was contact with the Tallio Bella Coola at the head of South Bentinck Arm, only some twenty miles distant. At one spot midway along the connecting trail there is an overhanging cliff which features some pictographs.
The extreme upper lake (above the second narrows) freezes over in winter and in November the people of this village moved down to Nuxants and Sumxul for the winter.
7. *Gil'dalah* ("long river"). This village was located at the Indian reservation about two miles above the mouth of the Kilbella River flowing into Kilbella Bay.

There seem to have been no villages in Rivers Inlet proper, or on Moses Inlet or Draney's Inlet.

The following places were temporary villages, camps, or for various reasons had a special interest for the people:

8. *Kwa'kumi* ("hole at a point"). A camping place on Walbran Island. Here people went to gather herring eggs, seaweed, and other sea foods. (So much fresh water flows into many inlets of the Northwest Coast that shellfish are not found near the heads of the inlets, even where sand and gravel beaches are exposed at low tide.) Here occurred a bloody massacre, by the Heiltsuk Kwakiutl, and the place is usually called Slaughter Iihee ("place of killing") in the Chinook jargon.

9. A camp at the southern tip of Calvert Island.
10. A camp at the head of Moses Inlet.
11. Gla'glaxetL ("portage"). The head of Goose Bay. The land route across the peninsula to Smith Sound was sometimes taken to avoid the heavy seas sweeping in from Queen Charlotte Sound.

Each village has its tradition of origin, usually with some supernatural element involved. I have but two of these legends, probably both very incomplete.

The Origin of Tsiu

A man named Tsu.a'gilákU was carried (?) by an eagle who sat down on the top of a mountain called ts'i'u. From there he saw smoke far away. When he got back to his home, he told of it and his parents said, "Go there and see if you can get something which we could use to help us." So he took his adze and went into the woods and came to a place called Ta'lu [the head of South Bentinck Arm]. Four others there were, the other four being Lu'pakela, Na'.as, E'k'yáialis, and a little girl named Gwa'liLkës. There he built a house. He gave a feast and invited the Ta'luwitXU whose chief was Pa'tsaxaLánt and the NuikitXU³ whose chief was Nu'kulalaixL.

The Origin of Sumxul

A man named Na'.utsuwis was taken down from the sky by Kwá'nkwanxwáligēh to a river below. There he stayed for a time with people. Then he hired Masmala'wah and his brother Nu'ák!awa to go with him down the Sumxul River. Their canoe was made of cedar and was named k'ugwa'us (sawbill duck). They stopped at a place called T.i'inas where they had to portage the canoe over the skidway. Then they came on down the river to near Sumxul. There he built his house and called the place A'xyádh. When his house was finished, his "canoe" left him. The canoe-bird laid eggs. This is how it is that we have sawbill ducks now.

The tribal and sept social structure is rather loose, or perhaps ill-defined is a better term. No tribal member can give a clear picture of the organization. Thus it is rather vaguely felt that the villages of the upper lake are "almost" a distinct tribe. There was little or no sense of tribal unity. And what I have called the septs are likewise of little importance. The family lines within the sept and village seem to be the things uppermost in the native mind.

The term for family, in the extended family sense, or for lineage, is máni'ma, but it refers vaguely to "those close to you" and only to those living. It means, in the native mind, "descended from one ancestor."

The term for sept is dá'nXU and the question regarding sept membership would be asked as, "Of what sept are you?" The person questioned would reply "Wiu'maskâm" or something. This answer would refer to his individual crest or su'yá.emá (prerogative) (see p. 220). Thus a man might give his sept as Wiumaskam whereas each of his brothers might give a different answer, depending on what suyaema each of them claimed. JC calls himself a Wiumaskam, which was the sept of his father, but he also has "claims" to suyaema in the Má'nkenux. He said that his reply to such a question would depend on the sept of his questioner. If the latter were of the Mankenux, JC would give that as his sept; if he were, for instance,

Gwid'ánoá, JC would give that reply. The probable explanation is that every individual would have certain rights to suyaema from all septs. Without clear-cut membership in these groups there is, of course, no rule of exogamy or endogamy. The ideal marriage, aside from the question of rank, was one in which the suyaema of the two mates interlocked, so that their children would have "strong" claims to these prerogatives.

A man meeting a stranger establishes social relations not by asking about the other's family, sept, or tribe but by saying "Ma'.atestXU xwás" (lit., "of what people are you?"). This carries the implication of village or locality and the answer would be, e.g., "Sumxul."

One might say that the Owikeno exhibit one last vestige of the maternal clan organization of Haida, Tsimshian, and Haisla, and Kitlope-Kemano Kwakiutl. In ceremonies involving the assumption of suyaema the "history" of the suyaema is told by the a'lkU (speaker). If it comes from the mother's side, he concludes, "And it comes from the proper direction" (meaning from the mother's lineage). This is *not* said when it derives from the father's line. None of my informants could give an explanation for this distinction.

There are four septs in the tribe, but one or two of these are extinct. It is difficult to give clear-cut facts about them because they are obscure in nature. In villages each house is assigned to a sept, but only because the head or chief of that house assigns himself to a sept. Some of the points in the subsequent discussion may clarify the situation. One definition given me was that these groups are merely those who sit together in feasts. Perhaps it is as good as any, since they are not lineages, clans, crest, or marriage groups. In fact, it is said that many persons do not know the septs of others until the seating in the feasts takes place.

The four septs and their meanings are these:

1. Wa'wikâm. ("Partly Owikeno"?)
2. Wao'kwitâm or wao'gwitâmi. (Referring to the face. Perhaps "broad face.")
3. Gi'gilkâm. ("those who receive first.")
4. Gwi'dánoá. ("attached to the other septs.") Perhaps "those from the north" is a possible meaning since Gwi'tala means "people from the north" and the sept name has the same root. This sept occupied a unique place in the ceremonial season. They may be Tsimshian-derived (see below).

Probably not all these septs were represented in all the villages but are present in the consolidated village of recent times. It is said that in potlatches and feasts the Gigilkam are always given the seats of honor at the "head" (rear) of the house. In some fashion they are said to derive from the grizzly bear, yet this is not the crest of all those who would or might call themselves Gigilkam.

The following is a partial list of the houses and their names in the village of Ketit, which was founded perhaps about 1900. The village was on a small island at the foot of the lake. The list begins at the upper end of the village.

1. Kwa'.moá ("seat of the Eagle"). The name is also that of the mountain at the head of Rivers Inlet. The house chief is Kwa'geaxtuis and his sept is Wawikam.
2. Kya'naxsalá ("bullhead adorned"). Its entrance is through a hole in a totem pole carved with the bullhead. People of both the Gigilkam and Waogwitami septs lived in this house. The chief was Ya'kaLnala ("ever in the midst of goods," or, "goods are a part of his body"). The members of the house were some-

³ Probably the Bella Coola village of NuikW (McIlwraith, 1948, I: 14).

- times called wa'waxsutám ("two-faced" or "facing two ways") because of the two-sept situation.
3. Ku'as ("whale's blowhole"). A house of the Wawikam sept; the chief is Kla'klilik!la ("he who invites you in").
 4. Kalu'Ldalá ("protruding"). The name is from the fact that it jutted out from the line of the rest of the houses. The chief was Ba'slaL ("one who is always giving potlatches"), the sept Wawikam.
 5. Mi'nats!ih ("house of the porcupine"). The chief is Gu'kwilnKIH ("dreamed of building a house"), the sept is Wawikam.
 6. K!li'k!álala ("beams held on hands," from the house posts so carved). The sept is Wawikam. The chief was Gwa.e'xdas ("he who causes chafed rumps"). He had a camp at Fish Inlet where he secured great numbers of seals. With these he gave so many feasts that people got sore behinds from attending them.
 7. Lu.wa'skám ("the sky is the roof," so named because it is the custom to remove the roof planks in feasts). The old chief was Lalkawilás ("he who feasts people until morning"). He, however, was on the decline so Wa'kes ("Flow! Respected river") came from Nuxants, a village of the upper lake, to act as house chief. The sept is Wawikam.
 8. Ti'hkáxtih ("whale's tail"). The sept is Wawikam. The chief is La'káyuakli ("roof of an overhanging rock"). This refers to a rock near Koe and the people of the house derive in part from Koe.

In addition to the foregoing, there were four Gwidanoa houses, which faced in the opposite direction.

The Gigilkam and Waokwitam have no sept houses, but live among the other septs.

I have the following further information on certain of the septs.

The Wawikam (Eagle) Sept.—The name is said to be in some way related to "Owikenó," perhaps meaning "part Owikenó." The following is the legend of the origin of the sept.

K!wa'giaxtu ("sitting on the fish weir") lived on the Wannock River, where he had a fish weir. Eagle came to rest on the mountain at the head of the inlet on the north side. Kwagiaxtu said to him, "Where would you like to settle and found a colony (lineage or sept)?" Eagle stated he would like to settle here. Then Kwagiaxtu said, "You shall share my fish." Eagle took off his feathered robe and became a man. In time he came to "own" a part of the river.

One day Kwagiaxtu said to Eagle, "I would like to see you perform as an eagle. As it is, I supply all the fish while you do nothing."

Eagle said, hál to himself, "Yes, I can do things. It is as well that I do them now."

Then he donned his eagle costume and sat on his house peak facing the river. Whenever he saw a salmon, he dove and caught it and brought it to Kwagiaxtu. Then the two made a pact to share equally. Kwagiaxtu said, "Now we will never be hungry, for you can catch fish in your way and I in mine."

From this time on whenever no fish were being caught in the weir, Eagle would don his costume and bring in fish. This worked more to the benefit of Kwagiaxtu than of Eagle, for there were times when no fish could be caught in the weir. They came to call each other manimá ("brother").

Eagle-man now thought of getting married and Kwagiaxtu said it was a good idea so that there would be

children to carry on the line. He promised to hunt a wife for Eagle-man.

There was a man named Wa'nux ("owner of the river." Wannock is the name usually given to the river on maps) who had four daughters. Kwagiaxtu brought these to Eagle-man for his inspection. Eagle-man chose the youngest for wife. The others went back home.

The next day she bore Eagle-man a son [for a day is a year in these legends], and he was named Wi'kwás ("greatly-respected Eagle," from wi'kXU, "eagle"). One day the father said to his son, "About my costume, shall I take it to my grave or pass it on to you?"

The son replied, "Give it to me, so that my children will know of [remember] their grandfather."

In time the Wawikam grew in numbers until they were a large sept.

(This is the origin of the Wawikam and their eagle crest. C.J.)

The Gwidanoa Sept.—The legendary ancestor of this sept was a man named Gwi'no who is said to have belonged to the Owi'tliXU tribe of the Bella Bella (or Tsimshian?) group of tribes. Some of his descendants settled among the Owikenó at Sumxul. It is said that originally the sept had none of the prerogatives of the Tsai'ka dance series, although they later acquired some through marriage. While the Tsaika series was in progress, they were counted as PUKS (uninitiated). In the Glu,ála'xa series they had their own dance, often performed in their own house.

The Máni'xtuis ("people at the head of the valley") lineage has the following semihistorical origin. A man who was an eldest son from one of the Bella Bella tribes came here and married a high-rank girl of the Mankenux lineage. When his wife redeemed herself, she gave to him the desirable name Manixtuis. Later (probably in historic times) the family moved to Bella Bella where some of their descendants live today.

In an obscure way the children of this marriage were not only human but ku'lus (an eagle-like mythical bird) as well. These creatures used to swim up and down the Sumxul River. They could change from bird to human form at will, merely by changing costumes. Later they became human and the kulus became the crest of the family. The family gradually moved down the river and eventually reached the lake.

Among those who came from the north to marry these famous ones was a man named K!u'msxklalá, who brought some of his relatives with him.

The Nau'djuis ("covering the whole of the sky") lineage was the first group to descend the Sumxul Valley. He (Naudjuis) was originally a kulus bird, and this is the crest of the lineage. The Thunderbird escorted him from the sky world to the earth.⁴

Naudjuis had several children.

1. Gya'giklaxstugumih was the eldest son. (The name refers in some way to gik!la, an endearing name for a son.) Some years ago my informant, JC, "brought out" this name in a Gualaxa dance. He wore a headdress in the form of a kulus nest with young kulus sitting around the edge of the nest.
2. K!o'kwagilayogwa'h ("woman producing a calm") was the second child. She was so pampered that

⁴ I am not certain how the following fits into this scheme: Nuakawa and Masmasalawah were the first humans on the earth. They often aided the ancestors in their travels and also created game for the ancestors. The ancestors are also said to be the offspring of these two men.

she cried whenever she felt a draught. Then she was screened by blankets to keep her warm.

3. E'gwaxts!oa ("loved voice") was the third child, a son.
4. The youngest was Yai'dak!yalatsawaks. Like her sister, she was pampered. She cried for the cambium layer of cottonwood, various berries, the fat of goats, and so on. And each time Nuakawa and his brother created them for her. But the first goat thus created did not come to life but remained a white stone which can be seen today in the Sumxul Valley.

The third lineage of the Gwidanoa is called T!i'xklala from the ancestor of that name. This ancestor was made a hunter so that he might supply the game created by Nuakawa and his brother. He always wore a headdress of cedar bark and carried a walking stick decorated with deer hoofs and eagle beaks.

A member of the Wawikam sept (CJ) said this about the Gwidanoa.

The Gwidanoa could claim no supernatural origin. Their ancestors were mere humans who migrated here from the north (and interior?). They even kept some of their northern customs, and for a long time kept their own language [Tsimshian ?]. In the modern village on the island at the foot of the lake the houses of the Gwidanoa faced in the opposite direction from those of the other septs. None of their houses was decorated with carvings or paintings. Their only suyaema was the Kitxa'nis dance and its songs. The dancers numbered eight to twelve persons dressed in gaudy costumes representing these spirits (which were spirits from the north). The words of the songs were in the Tsimshian tongue.

(The word Kitxanis may well be only a corruption of "Gitksan," the name of the Tsimshian of the Upper Skeena.)

The Owikeno of the upper lake probably had more contact with the Bella Coola groups, especially those of South Bentinck Arm, than with the tribes of the open coast. A trail ran between the head of canoe navigation on the Tzeo River at the head of the lake to the head of South Bentinck Arm. The Owikeno traded chiefly dried sockeye salmon (which, I believe, do not run in the South Bentinck rivers) for clover roots and swamp cranberries.

The Bella Coola of South Bentinck are called Ta'luwit-XU.⁵ (This place on current maps is called Tal-lo-mey.) Those of Bella Coola (North Bentinck Arm) are called Nu'xalgmixU, from the river of that name. The Kimsquit Bella Coola are called K!imxkwitXU.

⁵ The suffix -XU means "people."

The Council.—There is no formal organization which can really be termed a council. But in matters concerning the two dance series (which involves the rights, the dances and rules concerning them, potlatching and the like), things are decided by the older men of rank. There is no name for the group and it has no real or formalized authority (and no chief has such, either).⁶ But only a fool would cross the decisions reached, and the rulings, even the opinions, of this group carried such weight that they had the power of law.

Thus when DB wished to sponsor a dance, he went to JC and told him what his intentions were. JC called a meeting with the other elders of rank and the matter was discussed. Their favorable decision was given to DB by JC.

This group may on occasion mete out punishments for violations of the taboos and rules of the Tsaika dances. Thus on one occasion the local people were invited to an affair at Smith's Inlet. Now, one man of the Smith's Inlet group made a nuisance of himself by shooting a rifle at nothing at all while a dance was in progress. The dance being given was the Grizzly Bear. The dancer's attendants had just gone to "capture" him when the shots were fired. The culprit had done this at a previous dance, but it was overlooked. This time, with a visiting tribe present, the council decided to act. They met and agreed that the fellow should be killed. The culprit was persuaded to come into the dance house. Just inside the door the shaman-executioner was seated and as the victim entered someone shouted "Wai ya" ("Let go your power"). The shaman "threw" his power over his shoulder and the culprit fell down, blood streaming from his mouth. The shaman then "pushed aside" his power, but the victim soon died.

When AT was being instructed in his adolescence rites, the speaker of the occasion told him, "Do not disregard the rules [of the dances] because, if you do, things may happen to you." He then related the foregoing incident.

The council has no power to punish a wrongdoer. In case of murder it can give permission to the wronged kin group to exact blood revenge.

A chief (who is of course a member of such a council) can more or less get things done which are for the general welfare. Thus one chief got people to clear out the trail along the river. But he fed everyone who worked at it. A chief, however, could not order such work done or order any person to join in.

⁶ This is not quite true. The council is sometimes called nu'LilákU (lit., "made a fool") and refers to those who have danced the Fool Dance (nu'nLs!stalaL) in the Tsaika series. Since this is a high-ranking dance, it means that the council members are those whose rank is high enough to have among their prerogatives the right to this dance.

WARS AND FEUDS

The Owikeno were not warlike, and I learned of no instances where they were the aggressors. "War" as such was in the form of raids and feuds. There was no sense of tribal unity or organization even in times of trouble. This is the general pattern for all tribes of the area. Raids or feuds which exacted a toll were regarded as the affair of the house-group or lineage (or sept?) involved and those outside these units felt no call to come to the aid of the injured group. Living along the river and on the lake, the Owikeno were less open to raids by the more warlike groups to the north than were the villages on the salt water.

JJ related the following account of a Haida raid on a village at Koey. The date is probably about 1850.

Two old people (a brother and a sister) were paddling up the Koey River. They heard suspicious sounds from an island in the river. They investigated and found concealed Haida canoes. (For Haida it was, and they had come to raid for dried salmon.) Now the woman had once been captured in a raid and taken to Skidegate where she learned the Haida tongue. She heard the chief of the Haida order his men to shoot. (They had Hudson's Bay Company guns.) But she called out in the Haida tongue not to shoot. At this the chief told his men to hold their fire and the two paddled on. The Haida (who had many canoes) followed at a distance. When the two came to the village Tē'klis on the island in the river near the lake, the woman warned the people of her sept of the raid. There were three houses there. [Note that the people of other villages or house groups were not warned.]

The people were on their guard. But one old woman (who was taking care of her eight-year-old granddaughter) went to the creek to fetch water. As she did so, two hidden Haida seized her and killed her, while a third seized the girl. A man named Ai'gák!u saw this and ran to tell the other men. They ran after the Haida, shooting as they ran. Most of the local people had hidden in the woods. They found that two were missing. These missing ones were a little girl (who hid in a cradle-box in one of the bedroom cubicles) and a boy of twelve who hid in a hollow log lying on the river beach.

The Haida started carrying away the dried salmon. In the house where the girl was hidden the Haida chief sat down by the fire to warm himself, watched by the girl. She was able to run to the woods, where she came on her father and told him where the Haida chief was. Her father came and shot at the chief, but the gun partly misfired and the Haida was only wounded. The father and girl escaped across the river. The other Haida, coming to investigate, found the wounded chief and carried him toward their canoes. Aigaku and three other men followed the Haida and when the latter got in their canoes, the men fired, killing the four Haida in the first of the four canoes. [Note the recurring use of the ceremonial number four.]

Aigaku and his men ran down the river to ambush the escaping Haida at the rapids called Gu'stais. One of the young men with him was at the time going through the Grizzly Bear dance of the Tsaika series and had been wearing a grizzly bear blanket. But this

he had lost in escaping and he now saw that one of the Haida was wearing the robe. This one he shot. All the Haida in this canoe were killed. Soon the second canoe-load of Haida came down the river. These, too, were all killed. When the third and fourth canoes came down, the men in these, too, were all killed.

Now some of the Haida had remained at the island to guard the war canoes. [Evidently captured small river canoes were used on the upriver raid.] The Koey men warned these to go back home. This the Haida did. As they passed Bella Bella, there were two Bella Bella men working on the beach. One of them shouted at them "Tawawikai" (meaning perhaps, "Where are the rest of you?"). The Haida answered that they didn't know.

In one of the canoes was a wounded Haida who had a pistol. The elder Bella Bella told his brother to watch out. As the wounded Haida reached for his pistol, this one shot and killed him. [I am uncertain of the significance of this part of the account. Perhaps the Haida, feeling he was going to die, was determined to acquire at least some honor for himself as a dying gesture.]

The term "feud" would describe these conflicts more accurately. Kin groups, families, or perhaps village groups were the contending parties. The following account illustrates the absence of organized war on a tribal basis. The date is probably about 1860-1870.⁷

A high-caste man from Koey named La'kayuakli ("shade over canoe moored in the water") came with some relatives to spend the winter dance season at Ketit, where he had kinsmen. He was a Ta'nis dancer and while here he became possessed. He offended some of the Owikeno by singing many of his Cannibal Dance songs. [Evidently some of these songs were claimed by the local people, or he sang certain songs the local people felt did not properly belong in this dance.] It was decided that he should be killed, and this was done by a shaman using his shaman's power.

Some of the dead man's kin went back to Koey and reported what had happened. Now the Koey people were really one-half Bella Bella and one-half Owikeno, and so the dead man had kin at Bella Bella and these planned revenge. They decided to lure the Owikeno by inviting them to a Glualaxa dance series at Bella Bella. These came to Ketit, sounding the Glualaxa horns from their canoes. Now they had left some of their party at the place called Kwakumi in Schooner Passage. This place is now called Slaughter Ilihee in the jargon. The Bella Bella "hosts" manoeuvred things for a night's camping at Kwakumi. Just as the Owikeno canoes came in to the beach, the hidden Bella Bella opened fire (with muskets). The water turned red with the blood of the slain. Only a few Owikeno canoes escaped, because they had been warned by some of the Bella Bella who were their relatives.

The Bella Bella now went back to Ketit and killed many of the old people and women who had remained at home. Some tried to escape across the river, but in their panic had left the canoe paddles and poles on the beach. The Bella Bella then went into the houses

⁷ Two Bella Bella versions of this episode are given by Boas (1928, pp. 125-135).

and began feasting. But some of these were killed by returning escapees. [Some of the Bella Bella, those called the U'lawitXU, took no part in all this but even rescued and sheltered a number of the Owikeno.]

Murder is punished by the kin of the murdered man. For example, about 1850 there was a young man who fell madly in love with a married woman. She encouraged him by suggestive signs and erotic exposures of her person. Finally she said, "If you love me, kill my husband." This he did. The injured kin went to one of the chiefs who called the council (nulilaku). Since the killing was without

cause, they approved blood revenge. The kin persuaded a beautiful girl to steal his affections. When she had succeeded, she persuaded him to take her to Kildalla berry-picking (to get him away from his kin). The injured kin followed and killed him there. This ended the matter.

If a person accidentally injures another (physically), it is customary to give a small feast for the injured party and perhaps to give over a minor name-title. If the injury inflicts a disability, one should give the injured one a gift from time to time. But there is no hard and fast obligation to do either.

SOCIAL CLASSES

All the tribes of the Northwest Coast recognize and emphasize differences in rank or caste level. The Owikeno are no exception. But perhaps their social classes are not as rigid as among some other groups. As will be seen below, a person may by diligence better his status or, by sloth, fall in the social scale. Station in life is determined in part by birth and probably all those of really high rank must have high hereditary rights to begin with. But these rights do not accrue and attach to an individual automatically. Each must be claimed or taken possession of by means of a public festival such as a dance performance, a potlatch, or other public validation. They have often been called "prerogatives" but the term is inadequate.

A word much in the mind of the Owikeno and often on their lips is "suyaema" and it is a thing difficult to translate and explain. It means "privileges," "prerogatives," "rights," but also "obligations." The term is very inclusive and is sometimes translated by informants as, "those things you can take hold of" (or "grasp" or "seize"). Often the word is accompanied by the gesture of an upward, grasping movement of the hand, as if one were taking hold of something above and thereby raising oneself up. These prerogatives vary in social value and in number, and the right to assume them depends on a number of things. They are intricately interwoven with the whole pattern and system of name-titles, crests, the dancing societies, ownership of hunting- and berrying-grounds, and many other things.

Most suyaema are linked with inherited rights, but others may be acquired through marriage. Where inheritance is involved, a person's rights may be clear and definite, tentative or tenuous. In fact, many marriages are entered into in order to acquire the prerogatives or titles in question. Parents often arrange marriages after long and careful planning so that the hoped-for offspring of the potential mates may have a strengthened claim to certain prerogatives. In cases where the claim is not clear-cut, the advice of an informal council is sought before the necessary ceremonial validation is arranged.

Nearly every suyaema has its legend (*nu'yám*), which is related at its validation. It usually tells how the ancestors came by it and how and through whom it was passed on. To the outsider certain tales may seem identical (e.g., certain crests or name-titles) but they will differ in, for example, the place where the ancestor had his supernatural experience or in some other significant detail.

The highest class is that of the chiefs (or nobles), who are called *hi'mas* (pl., *hi'imás*). Women of this rank are called *u'maks* (pl., *wiumaks*). Commoners are *u'amá* and might be called a middle class. Included are younger brothers, even of the highest chiefs. An alternative designation is *gu'kalut*. Low class or *ne'erdo-wells* are called *xamála* (pl., *xá'xamála*) and are just above slaves. The latter are called *k'a'ku* and are usually war captives. If slaves are freed, they are then classed as *xamala*.

It should be emphasized that these classes are not rigid. A man is born with certain potentialities. Whether he rises to these or falls below his potential rank depends in part how well his parents (or other kin) start him out in life in the years before he is able to help himself; but

above all, he must be industrious and ambitious. Otherwise even an eldest son of high birth may come to be regarded as only a commoner. On the other hand, a commoner (say, a younger brother) by striving, by potlatching, or by a good marriage, or several such marriages, may rise to the chief's class. Very important is the number of times he "wears the bark," (i.e., dances) in the important dances and takes on the names and other kudos which are associated with them. Thus a man got the better of even a haughty Cannibal dancer in an argument by saying, "I have worn more bark than you." (See p. 240.) Even a person born of *xamala* parents could rise above his station. In other words, caste is neither rigid nor dependent solely on birth.

An ambitious man ordinarily needs help in his climb upward, unless he is born to wealth and high station. Even so, his parents and later he himself ordinarily keep essentially poor by potlatching away wealth. For wealth is of no use except as employed in this fashion.

As for women, they are regarded mainly as possible steppingstones for the upward climb. A man may marry solely to acquire the wealth of the "buying-out" and the prerogatives which may come to him and his children through the marriage. These things brought to a husband redound to the credit of the wife; they "make her heavy."

Of course a man must be eligible for the prerogatives he assumes (except for those acquired through marriage). After a man has given a number of potlatches, he may aspire to a certain title. But unless he is very high-born, his right to the prerogatives in question may be uncertain. If his right is doubtful, he secures the services of a speaker, who arranges a meeting of the men of quality (a council). At this meeting the speaker sketches the career of the candidate, what potlatches he has given, what titles he has assumed so far, how he came by them, and so on. His rights are discussed pro and con, and it is decided whether or not he is attempting something beyond his rights. No man would dare presume too much or go against the decision of this informal "council."

It should be noted that not all men of the "chief" class are equal. Those who are chiefs by hereditary right and who have properly potlatched rank above those who have risen by means of potlatches but whose hereditary rank is less high. Thus among the Owikeno of two generations back there were but two top-ranking chiefs, *Naudjuis* of the village of *Sumxul* and *Baslal* of the river settlements. These two men, however, had no special title. Everyone simply knew that they ranked all others.

Rank and potential rank are not merely a question of being high-born but also of order of birth. The rule of primogeniture is operative—the eldest son is heir to the prized name-titles and other prerogatives. Only in the event of the elder's utter sloth and disregard of his privileges may a younger and more ambitious younger brother aspire to his brother's birthright. This operates down the generations. Thus the eldest son of an eldest son outranks the eldest son of a father who was not an eldest son. In the complexities of relationships down through the generations it is inevitable that disputes arise over priorities. In earlier times such rivalries would have been discussed and settled by the informal council of elders of rank. But in post-European times the decimation of the tribe and the over-all decadence of the culture have led to a situation in which no one is altogether sure who may lay claim

to what. There is also the fact that many prerogatives lie dormant, so to speak, and even lesser claimants may lay hold of them, always provided they are willing to undertake the necessary potlatching involved.

Aside from the prime rights of the eldest son, there are few concepts regarding the rank of the younger sons. However, there is always "something special" reserved for the youngest son (a'mainXe, "smallest in the line") and his prerogatives may rank nearly equal to those of his senior brother. Thus in the family line shown in figure 4, the office of speaker descended from No. 4 to his youngest son, then to his youngest son, and so on.

The younger brothers are expected to do willingly and gladly all they can to aid their eldest brother in his long and expensive climb up the social ladder. For this they receive no public credit, and financial or other aid thus rendered is not publicly acknowledged. But the elder brother is properly expected to sponsor his nephews and nieces, to "bring them out," e.g., to see them through some of the minor dances and so on.

The eldest brother can in no wise force his junior siblings to render aid; they are expected to do so gladly, out of "respect" for him. But an ambitious younger brother may assume the place of his senior in the event that the latter is lacking in ambition and industry or interest in his potential position. In a group of, say, five brothers, numbers 2 to 5 would not be ranked in that order but the number 2 spot would go to the one showing the greatest ambition and aggressiveness, the one most willing to strive to become a "big wheel."

Here is an example of how these affairs may work out. TH and JJ were children of two sisters, TH of the elder. But TH on his father's side traced back to a younger brother, while JJ on his father's side had an eldest brother in his ancestry. Both men had some claim to the Fire-throwing dance in the Tsaika series from both their father's and mother's lines. JJ finally performed the dance and assumed the name-title which accompanied it; this despite the fact that TH was an eldest son while JJ was the youngest in his series of brothers. Furthermore, the dance and its title which JJ acquired were from his mother's rather than his father's line. (The two prerogatives in this case are not identical, the dancers being from different families.)

In some instances two men may be of a rank so nearly equal that they alternate in being of higher rank. Such a relationship is called nu'láimt,ala ("alternating eldest brothers"). Unless the one potlatches more than the other, they are counted as equals. I did not hear of any "fighting with property" or feuding by means of potlatches to gain ascendancy.

To indicate how a person can better himself by interest in these things and by effort or, on the other hand, remain low class by sloth, I was told the following.

A woman who was usually called merely "Granny" was classed almost as a xamala (very low class) because she did no dancing except the Salmon dance of the Tsaika series. She was never asked to take part in women's affairs. She had some worth-while suyaema in her line, but did nothing with them. She once danced on the canoe platform but was asked to do so only because no one else was eligible and available. What is emphasized is hustle and ambition. There are those whose pedigree gives them prestige and helps them to rise in the world, but such people almost always have pride of class to spur them on.

DB's mother had kinship ties at Blunden Harbour, where she was reckoned as descended (on her mother's side) from an eldest brother instead of, as here, from a younger brother. Thus her potential rank was higher there than

locally. The people of Blunden Harbour often urged her to return there, where they would "hold her up on the palms of their hands so that she would never touch the ground" (k! la' tálgila).

At the time of my first visit to the Owikeno in 1935, AH was the head chief and bore the name-title Baslal ("one who is always giving potlatches"). However, these things were said of him: there is somewhat of a blot on his rank. In part, this is due to the fact that he was born before the marriage of his parents was complete, though the engagement arrangements and payments had been made; his father died before the final ceremonies. (This should never be mentioned in public.) AH will not be able to pass his name-title on since he has no heirs. All his suyaema will be buried with him. He could give a potlatch and ask dancers to display them and the speaker could "praise" him, but it would be only a display. (This shows that the prerogatives are not individually owned in our sense of ownership, since the individual cannot give them away at will. He is rather the mortal trustee of things which can be kept alive only when passed to a rightful heir.)

The last of the "truly great" chiefs here bore the title pu'tlās ("from whom one gets a full belly").⁸ He always had a number of people eating at his house. Young fellows always got wood and water for him. He did not work himself and people gladly did his work for him. He died about 1890 and left no heirs.

In the days before the decline of the population and the disintegration of the culture there were scores, perhaps hundreds, of these names, each associated with many things: legends which validated the rights, offices or duties in the ceremonials, and so on. The population is now less than one-tenth of what it was a century ago and this has created confusion. The following anecdote is an indication of this, relating a series of incidents and situations which probably would never have occurred in the old days, or which certainly would have been kept in hand by the informal council of the men of rank:

LW tried to persuade DB's mother to arrange a match between LW's daughter (V) and DB, saying, "I am loaded down with suyaema and we can cover him with them." But the match fell through and V married AT. By him she had a son, and LW arranged to give the boy the title Maxua (which is DB's by hereditary right). Before doing so, however, she rather lamely explained that the name Maxua which was being given was not the same Maxua to which DB had the right. (The name Maxua occurs in most of the Kwakiutl-speaking tribes.) The naming took place at a potlatch given at the setting up of a tombstone. But when LW related the legend behind the name, it turned out to be DB's Maxua name after all, as the legend showed. But by then it was too late to do anything about it; not even the chiefs could alter things. But the father of the pretender knew that the thing was not cricket and never referred to his son as Maxua. DB once told him, "Just don't refer to your son as Maxua." AT was agreeable and the two remained friends. In a case like this the rightful owner of the name may say, "They scalped me."

In such circumstances if DB should speak to LW of her "shame" (ga'x.lá) or if he were to complain publicly, then LW could give a potlatch and "wash off" the shame or insult. However, the whole affair was a source of gossip, and someone once referred to LW publicly as a sa'kaksala ("one who throws things around," as in the Fire-throwing

⁸ It is said that, despite the fact that this is a prime title among the Bella Coola, this title and the word itself derive from the Fort Rupert Kwakiutl. I cannot vouch for this; it seems unlikely. The chief in question is said to have been half Owikeno, half Bella Coola.

dance). This was a barbed pun on the word sa'wáksala ("one who grabs everything towards himself"). LW's son heard this remark and bowed his head in shame.

Highly desirable titles can be acquired by other irregular means, as the following illustrates (it also illustrates the power of a shaman):

There was a shaman named Hai'clámas ("he who makes things right") and he coveted the title wa'nūk ("owner of the river") which was the highest title among the groups living along the river. He was a powerful shaman and much feared by everyone. Now the prime rights to this title belonged at the time in the family line of a woman who was married to a Smith's Inlet man and resided there. She intended to pass the title to her son. But the shaman went to her and asked to "borrow" the title for a time, at the same time voicing veiled threats that he would use his "power" against her if she refused. So she consented under this duress and the shaman took the name. The woman later died, so did her son, the shaman kept the name. It, however, has never been "shown" since. Some distant relatives of the woman still survive and one of them could, theoretically, assume the title, were he so inclined.

When prerogatives are taken by someone without rights to them, there is little that the rightful owners can do. The "grab" is made at a potlatch by the culprit, often without a hint of intentions, and it is a fait accompli. The feeling or almost the rule is that "he who gives the potlatch has the upper hand."

Nowadays there is even a sort of "black market" in prerogatives (Olson, 1950, pp. 78-80). X of Smith's Inlet knows many of the local songs and legends which serve, in a sense, as proof of the rights to suyaema. These are sung and recited at the potlatch validating the claim. In fact, they form the most important part of the proof of right. Now some of the people of Alert Bay, Fort Rupert, and so on, are anxious to acquire local suyaema. But assumption of them necessitates detailed, exact knowledge of the accompanying songs and legends. (Of course many of the songs and legends are very similar from tribe to tribe, differing chiefly in mentions of place names, etc.) For a fee, so it is said, X supplies these outsiders with the necessary songs, and the details of the legends. But there is little that the injured parties can do, especially since the prerogatives in question lie dormant, not having been assumed by the rightful owners for one reason or another.

Slaves.—The slave class is called k!a'ku, but slaves are few in number. One chief of about a hundred years ago is said to have owned four Nawitti slaves, who were killed

at his death. There are some vague memories of the killing of slaves at potlatches.

If a person accidentally hurts a child, he immediately calls himself a "low-down slave" (k!akubatlu) for doing the injury.

In all ceremonies seats are assigned to important persons. In part this is on the basis of location within the house. The four walls of the house are "ranked" much as ours are at the theater or at some sporting events.

1. u'gwiwiL (lit., "forehead side") is the end opposite the door, the side of highest rank. Also called the "front" side.
2. na'watiwiL ("upriver side"). Obviously this would differ according to which side of the river the house was located.
3. xai'sutwiL ("downriver side").
4. u.stuiL ("gap," [i.e., "door"] side").

When DB's mother was trying to persuade him to quit the Alert Bay Mission school and return home to take his place in going through the dances, one argument she used was, "Unless you go through these dances, you will always have to sit at the door side."

Seating arrangements differ somewhat for the two dance series and for feasts and gift potlatches. The arrangements are shown in figures 1-3.

In the gift-giving part of a ceremony, usually at the end of a festival, recipients receive in the order of rank and in amounts according to rank. Some years ago DB changed this for his potlatches, giving the same amount to all present but retaining the principle of giving in sequence according to rank. There has been some grumbling at this.

There is little or no profanity or obscenity in our sense. In anger one may call another wa'.áts ("dog"). The victim of this insult may then call on the other to mind his manners or may say to him yaxba'Los ("You are no good"). Worse yet is to call a person a "nobody" (xamala), or worst of all a "slave" (kaku). But these terms may be used between good friends in a joking sense, as we may say to a friend, "You old so-and-so."

One may also "swear" at oneself, for instance, when one misses an easy shot at game, one might say "U'álas wa,u'sit" ("I am a real pack of dogs.")

Among the Haisla it is said that one may jokingly swear at another by calling him ak!a'át ("big rectum"), but here the opposite to Xukát ("small rectum") is used. A local man once called a Haisla the latter. This the Haisla took as a deadly affront and tried to get a constable to arrest the man. The constable of course refused and the Haisla was depressed for a week.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY RELATIONS

In some way the ideal marriage is thought to be that of second cousins.⁹ They are spoken of as *tá'ngowiL* ("very close together"). This is not a kin term but evidently relates to the strengthening of the *suyaema* of the two for their offspring. It is like the practice of line-breeding among animal fanciers with the idea of clinching and strengthening certain desirable traits. The term is used in discussions of potential marriages. In such marriages, too, there is no danger of dispute regarding succession in the prerogatives. Such an "ideal" marriage was long planned by DB and his wife between his step-daughter and the girl's mother's mother's brother's son's son. Not only are certain *suyaema* "strengthened," i.e., come from both sides, but there will be more of them for the children, since each of the two have claims to certain ones not in the line of the other. In this union the wife comes from the younger branch of the ancestry.¹⁰

The following is the usual procedure followed in marriage. There is little or no courtship, though the groom-to-be may make a secret present to the bride-to-be before any ceremony takes place. Mates are chosen by the kin of the two, chiefly on the basis of how the *suyaema* of the two mesh. Or an ambitious man may strive to secure especially desirable prerogatives by marrying somewhat above his station. If the preliminary negotiations are successful, one of the village chiefs with pleasant manners is asked by the groom's kin to go from house to house to announce the engagement. This he does by remarking, "Nu.námas klínts" ("Old men we will be"). Those wishing to attend then gather at the groom's house. (Children do not attend.) The chief extols the good qualities of the groom, who says nothing. His kin may put in a word for him. If things are satisfactory, the bride's kin say, "We agree with what is said. Go on." The kin of the bride now receive money and goods, such persons being chosen on the basis of their probable ability to return this with one hundred per cent interest when the bride is "bought out." This first payment is called *k!uwa'lám* ("to purchase with intent to marry") or *aLa'keLa* ("payment in part"). The betrothed are now called *wáwakyu'ála* ("sweethearts"), the term implies sex relations, which are now permitted.

The kin of the groom are now especially nice to the bride's kin, helping them in such things as wood- and water-getting. This is a sort of trial marriage period which may last a week, a month, or even a year. If the two find they are not suited to each other, the affair is terminated. In such an event the money paid is returned without interest. During this time both reside in their respective homes.

The actual marriage ceremony is called *k!wála'* (lit., "seated together"). Again the chief invites the guests. The ceremony is usually held out-of-doors. The kin of the two form two groups, with singers in a third. There are special marriage dances by one or two women, who hold miniature wooden coppers in their hands. These dances are hereditary rights. At the end of each song

⁹Second cousins usually use the brother-sister kin terms, as do first cousins. The marriage of first cousins, however, is regarded as shameful (like that of blood brother and sister). But marriage of second cousins is not regarded as incestuous.

¹⁰She derives from the youngest of the "four brothers," p. 254. In some ways the point of view is reminiscent of Polynesia, where the number of first-born ancestors counts heavily.

the groom's kin shout "Uwi+" four times.

At the end of the fourth song the speaker on the bride's side orders the singers to be seated. But now and then a fifth song is sung; this is "playing hard to get." At this point the fastest runner in the village dashes along the street and beach, scattering small gifts furnished by the groom. The children scramble for these.

At this point some other token goods or money are given to the bride's kin. This is called *gá'lgapyu.walayu* ("holding each other"). The party now enters the groom's house and these goods are returned to the groom's kin, who now double the amount and return it to the kin of the bride, and this "handing over" is called *k!wa'taLmut* (the "passing over").

Later that day, or perhaps the next day, four chosen women call on the bride and kin and invite them to the groom's house. The four women walk in with the bride, one in front of her, one in back, and one on either side. The speaker invites the people to the groom's house for the wedding feast. This is called *tsage'sá* (lit., "to drop into one's stomach"). At its end a dish of food is ceremoniously placed in front of the bride's kin. Much more food than can possibly be eaten is supplied, great dishes and bowls of it.

The groom's kin now dress the bride in all possible finery. Her kin make payments to the groom's kin, payment for their having to wash and cook for her in the future—for she is, in make-believe, good for nothing. Finally the bride is handed over to the groom and her belongings are handed over with the statement, "This is her hat, this is her mat, and this is her lunch box full of food." Actually, money and goods are handed over.

The bride is now given her big name, supposedly to be used by the groom and his kinsmen when they speak to her. She now bears the title of "married woman" (*ka'niL-kauwhXU*) plus her new name.

Last, a sum of money is given the groom, this being called *gwi'xu* (referring to bringing back what one goes out to seek). If this is an upperclass or noble wedding, the groom now receives a big name from her line, or perhaps this is postponed until she "buys herself out" (*kuti'xá*).

The "buying-out," which takes place any time after a year, is very important in a woman's career. If this is done, she can be proud of it for all time, and if the marriage is then terminated, she does not feel jilted but can be proud of having been the wife of a great man.

Some men make a series of "investment marriages" and from the money and titles thus gained potlatch themselves into fame, for the buying-out price must be at least double the bride-price. In many instances the "bride" is a mere child and the marriage is avowedly of the "investment" type. Then the "bride's" parents do not feel victimized, for it "made her heavy." In quarrels or arguments a woman may throw in the teeth of her opponent, "I am heavier than you."

But this buying-out is also very important for the husband. It supplies him with money or wealth which enables him to give a potlatch, probably the greatest one of his career. This is often the occasion for his sponsoring a *Glualaxa* dance, which will give him great prestige. At such an affair he may "bring out" his children in the dances; and perhaps the children of some of his kin as well, those who have helped him.

A wife may be redeemed "in pieces," if her family is short of capital. Thus, DB bought out one leg of his sister so that her husband's family could properly bury a daughter.

A poor man's marriage may be financed by his more affluent kin. He may not even return the funds expended for him. In this case, of course, the bride is from the commoner class.

Whether there are offspring or not has no effect on the buying-out of the wife.

The buying-out ceremony is carefully planned by both groups of kin and involves, if possible, a gli'ala potlatch, which follows an important dance. The wife's kin announce the affair and invite the guests some time beforehand. If weather permits, the ceremony is held outdoors. The cash to be repaid is announced, the goods are displayed, and the name-titles involved are declared. (If the ceremony is held indoors, the goods are piled at the "upper" side of the house near the door.)

The wife may say a few words, but the speaker (master of ceremonies) does most of the talking for her and her kin. After the payment of the money and goods to the husband, the "extras" are given him, theoretically for services done by the husband or for things he has given his wife (many of them imaginary). For example, "Here is the money for the basket of berries you gave her," and, "This is for sweeping her floor," and so on.

Finally the wife "buys" each one of the children from the husband. Theoretically, the wife is now "free" and the marriage is terminated. This may actually be the case—if, for example, the husband has ambitions to acquire more wealth and new prerogatives by means of another marriage. In reality husband and wife are often closer than ever, as is shown by their careful planning of dances and potlatches to be sponsored by the husband and for the children.

But the fiction of separation may be carried on. The wife's kin may prepare canoes with a platform across them. On the platform are displayed the goods she is "taking home." The wife now goes aboard the canoe-platform ready to depart (if she is from another village). But the speaker calls her back and the husband re-buys her, but for a nominal sum. This payment is the property of the wife and it is never again mentioned. The wife's kin may at this time give the husband another name-title as a "parting" or extra gift.

It sometimes happens that there is bad feeling between a wife and her in-laws. They may, for example, give her a derogatory nickname such as "Tubby" or "Crane" (if she has a thin neck). If so, she may retaliate and state at the buying-out, "And this money is for the name 'Tubby' you have called me. Now I have paid for it." Now it will not be a nickname or derogatory term, "since she has paid for it."

A special part of the marriage ritual is followed when either family has special rights to goat-hunting places.¹¹ The girl is placed at the peak of the roof and a plank is placed angling steeply from the ground to where she stands. All eligible males make the attempt to climb up to her. But by prearrangement only the groom is successful. The inference is that the best climber, the best goat-hunter gets the girl. This ceremony is called na'xá ("to climb a mountain for goats"). When some young blade (not the groom) gets too enthusiastic and makes the climb, the "mistake" is simply ignored.

In earlier days a young man was often married first to a middle-aged woman, chosen on the basis of industry

and ambition. She was to "make a man of him." She was selected by the young man's parents for her know-how and zeal in such things as the harvest of seaweed, eulachon, herring eggs, salmon, and the general business of running a household. Such marriages were never intended to be permanent.

Commoners who cannot afford the expense of the formal rituals may set up a household by merely living together. This is called k!apia'La. There is no stigma attached either to the couple or their children.

It happens that husband and wife may part because of quarrels. This is called kwapa'h. If the husband wishes a reconciliation, he then goes to the wife's kin with gifts or money. If they persuade the wife to return, the husband is given an equivalent amount. This he gives away in a small potlatch celebrating, as it were, the reunion.

The ordinary or "regular" type of marriage is called hai'sku ("the state of being married"). The form known as "investment marriage" is called ku'mása and affords a method of acquiring capital, for the "marriage" is entered into with the avowed intention of getting back double the bride-price at her buying-out. These affairs commonly involve a very young girl or a child, the "groom" being possibly an elderly man. This is the surest and easiest way for an ambitious man of rank to acquire capital and the prerogatives which form a part of the dowry. Several generations ago an ambitious and ruthless man from the north (named Hámdzi't ?) came down the coast, marrying a woman in nearly every tribe, then discarding her when she was bought out. He thus acquired wealth and prerogatives. He then moved on to another group and a new wife. Thus he parlayed his wealth and rank, and the higher his rank was reckoned, the more difficult it became to refuse a bride to him, even though it became known that he was following a definite and long term policy.

Here is an example of one of these "investment" marriages. About 1928 Chief AH had some \$200. At the time he did not feel inclined to potlatch. So he took this money and "invested" it in DB's stepdaughter, who was at that time six years old. About three years later AH announced that he was of a mind to finance a Cannibal Dance. This forced the hand of DB, who now was honor-bound to "buy out" the girl. She was redeemed with \$610 in cash and \$740 in yard goods and other gifts for women, plus a name which was of high value. The high price was in part given to "shame" AH, since he had given too small an amount for a girl so highly born. This buying-out ended the whole affair, AH was under no obligation of any kind in the matter of repayment.

At the time of the buying-out ceremony the brother-in-law of AH waxed eloquent, remarking that it was wonderful how one man (AH) could do so much. But this was countered by a kinsman of the "bride" who remarked, "He [AH] didn't do it quite alone. Brownie [AH's dog] helped." This was, of course, a dig at AH. But again AH "bought a part" of the girl. Later when DB was putting a small son through one of the Tsaika dances, AH came to the father and said, "I wish to help my brother-in-law," and gave DB \$50. Now if AH wishes to give a potlatch, DB will be obliged to return \$100, because this is somehow regarded as an "investment" loan.

DB has two sisters who, as children, were bought as investments. Their buying-out cost the family heavily. So when DB was about twelve, they bought him a "wife" of five years. But when the time came to buy her out, her family failed and gave back less than the original payment. Her family's prestige was badly damaged by this dereliction.

¹¹ This is also true of the Smith's Inlet Kwakiutl.

Now and then a man without ambition or foresight fails to take advantage of the capital gain of the buying-out. Thus, NJ married DB's stepdaughter, paying a bride-price of \$100. DB bought her out for \$300. NJ failed to make use of this for potlatching and instead allowed the money to sift through his fingers. Now the money is lost and he will be hard put to raise a like amount.

Should a wife die before the buying-out, her kin feel honor-bound to complete the cycle and buy her out even though she is dead. DB's wife's mother was thus bought out by her widowed mother and her maternal uncle.

If the husband dies before the buying-out, it is likewise the thing to do to complete the cycle. Once a widow bought herself out, giving the money to her deceased husband's brother, who was planning a potlatch.

Although chastity and virginity are highly regarded, this is largely an abstract view, more honored in the breach than in reality. Few girls reach marriageable age as virgins and few married women would scorn a high fee for their favors.

There was once a girl who was regarded as very desirable, but she successfully resisted all attempts at seduction. Finally, however, she succumbed. Her lover hired a composer to make up a song, the theme of which was, "And now her hymen is rolling from roof to roof."

Girls who become pregnant pose a problem for the parents. If the father of the child is unwilling or unable to marry her, they try to get a man to pose as husband until the child is born, "so that the child will have a father." This is called *kapiala* ("living together." See also above, p. 224). Should they fail in this, they may try to hide the disgrace by taking her away for a time.

AH's first wife died when their daughter was about ten years old. The girl was very fond of DB and the two would probably have married for love, but AH's second wife was very ambitious for the girl, referred to DB as a commoner and a half-blood, and although the chief would not have objected to the match, he could not or did not wish to run afoul of his shrewish wife. Finally the girl became pregnant and the parents took her to the head of the lake. When the child was born, it was put out of the way and the afterbirth hidden away in a bundle.¹² A little later this bundle was found by the dogs of a hunting party, and the hunters knew the answer almost for certain. In later years the girl (now a woman) used to boast about how lucky she had been not to have been through the ordeal of childbirth. But on one such occasion someone said, "What about that bundle which the dogs were fighting over at Suxmul?" This silenced her.

It is felt that a husband should be the dominant member of the pair. He should now and then "tame" his wife by beating her. This, however, is not regarded as cruelty unless he unduly abuses the privilege. In that event, her parents may threaten to bring her back home. This is called *wa.taxut* ("to pull away").

Most wives feel it necessary to watch their husbands rather carefully to reduce at least the number of their affairs. Usually a wife accompanies her husband to the toilet (the beach) lest he meet another woman there by arrangement. (Actually, it is customary for a couple to go on these errands together.) AH's wife even went with him to the beach when he

went to cut wood,¹³ but the old roué always faced the vil-lage so he could flirt with the passing women and girls. Nonetheless, he was regarded as being henpecked and generally bossed by this second wife. On one occasion a lad came to his house and asked for food. Mrs. AH, instead of acting the hostess, told AH, "Feed him yourself."

Jealous husbands are called *kwá.u'k* ("afraid about wife") and will often carry home long pieces of wood to the house and cut them there instead of on the beach. A flirt is called *k!asáts*. Jealous wives are called *ba'bal-ask!iku* ("in the habit of being jealous").

Men say of women that their gossip about men is much more common and open than men's gossip about women; that men are less overt in this.

Folk knowledge is that while the man is boss of the family in theory, in practice it is not usually true—and this the women also say.

X gets in the doghouse if he spends too much time among his white friends, in which event he keeps pretty quiet until the air clears. When Y's wife gets too much for him, he simply walks out and visits a friend or takes a spin in his canoe. If things are the same on his return, he repeats the absentee treatment. Most quarrels between spouses are over real or imagined flirtations or affairs by one or the other or involve in-laws who are prone to meddle unduly. "Time heals" is said of minor disagreements. Serious quarrels may involve getting a go-between to attempt to patch things up. This is called *kli'xála*.

There is a sharp distinction between a woman who gives her favors without payment and one who does so only in return for money. At her first menses a girl is told, "Now men will be after you. Be careful. But if you must submit, demand payment, because, if you do not, you are a whore [*nu'lsám*, lit., "crazy," i.e., "loose" or "promiscuous"]. And don't submit if a man says, 'I'll pay you later,' because he will not, all men being liars in such matters."

If a girl or woman can show she is getting well paid for her favors, there is no stigma and she is not counted a loose woman. Lovers may agree on the payment of a lump sum to cover a given period of time, but nevertheless in such instances, a right-thinking female demands at least a token payment at each rendezvous. This is somehow a hint that the meetings should be more frequent.

Thus, TH's wife at the time she redeemed herself gave away great bales of Hudson's Bay blankets, which she openly stated she had "earned" in Vancouver. On another occasion a certain chief was planning a potlatch but was having some difficulty raising the necessary funds. The fifteen-year-old daughter of a kinswoman came to him and handed over a considerable sum of cash. He complimented her, remarking, "Well, you are asking a high price."

Children often play "husband and wife," this often involving childish sex relations. But these "do not count" and not until a girl's adolescence is she guarded against lovers. There is no overt or formal sex instruction by elders.

Children are told to avoid persons who nourish hate. To do otherwise will offend "the One to whom we pray" (i.e., the Sun). Never return evil for evil. Be kind to birds and animals lest *tsi'slayatskeh* [the Keeper of all living things] punish you. Girls should remember always that they should be kind and sociable toward everyone (even those of ugly visage.)

¹² Afterbirth so treated is thought to induce sterility. The afterbirth is ordinarily buried within the house.

¹³ Wood-cutting, of logs and driftwood, takes up a considerable amount of time, for fires are burning in each house continually.

MISCELLANEOUS PRACTICES

Mutilations.—The ears of infants are pierced at the age of three months. There is no ceremony involved. It is done by any experienced person, who receives a gift for the service. The ears are pierced with a porcupine quill, which is then trimmed and left in until healing is complete.

Males have the nasal septum pierced during boyhood. They are "talked into it" by being told that in the next world those with pierced noses eat well, while the unpierced live on a diet of snakes and toads. At death a ring is placed in the nose, for ghosts come to inspect the newly dead and, if the nose is unpierced, the new ghost becomes an outcast. Shamans have heard the ghosts inspect bodies and remark, "He has no hole in his septum; he doesn't matter."

The forehead of infants is flattened by means of a flat pad bound on while the child is in the cradle. Flat faces and flat foreheads are admired and a person without the flattened forehead is ridiculed and called ko'kwihuh ("bulging forehead"). Some of the people of the interior are called pa,hLk!ayah ("flat heads") because their foreheads are flattened to an extreme degree.

Boys' friendships.—Boys sometimes form palships and call each other k!wais ("my chum") and refer to themselves (to others) as k!unkwatsuala. The basis of such a relationship may be that the two went through a dance or a dance series at the same time. Or it may be based on similar physical afflictions or even on shared special abilities. No ceremony is involved but the two often refer to the relationship and often give small presents to each other. The relationship fades with time and by middle life is largely forgotten. There is nothing equivalent among girls.

Twins.—A woman who bears twins is called mitá'h and the twins mádá'm. They have a special relation to salmon or are almost literally salmon. The parents and the twins usually go to a camping spot on Moses Inlet because of the supernatural power of the twins. Twins have the power of sending fish away, also of bringing in a run of fish.

Once a twin was playing on the river beach where the people were awaiting the eulachon run. A man scolded him, but the boy said nothing. That night the boy told the people to set the nets. The next morning only the man who had scolded him had a full net. The other nets were but one-third full. But the full net had only herring in it. Each morning for a week this happened. Then the boy's mother told him that he had punished the man enough. Thereafter this man's net was also full of eulachon.

The mother of twins, when paddling on the river, uses a special paddle with a hole in the blade through which salmon can pass. It is said that when twins begin to talk it becomes evident whether they have been salmon before birth. One twin related how he had been here before (as a salmon) and had been caught, canned, and sent far away.

In one case the parents had a naming ceremony for twins a few months old. The father, reflecting the dread of twins, said, "You may think I'm doing this for these new ones but it is not so. This potlatch is for this child" (a boy several years old). But the twins understood and started screaming and soon fell into a coma and died. Twins were buried in a special place apart from other children.

Adoption.—Children are often reared by grandparents. A couple often adopts a child who bears a real or fancied resemblance to a deceased child. The parents then are usually willing to part with the child. Thus two Bella Coola lads of ten and twelve years were adopted locally because of a likeness to the sons of a bereaved couple. Sometimes (but not always) the adopted one is regarded as the reincarnation of the deceased.

Nicknames.—These may be acquired in a number of ways. One young fellow is called "Soap" because he once went into a cannery store and tried to buy a special kind of soap for his sweetheart. Calling him "Soap" is cause for merriment on both sides. But if a person acquires a nickname which he doesn't like, he can give a little potlatch and "bring out" the name. It can then no longer be used as a nickname "because it has been paid for."

DEATH AND MOURNING

At death the body is prepared by anyone willing to do something for the deceased. They, however, will be paid for these services.¹⁴ The body is then placed in the box coffin which is set at the "head" of the house. (See further details in the section on the burial potlatch, p. 235).

The day after the death of a husband the widow takes a seat in the corner of the house. She rests her feet on four shiny black pebbles¹⁵ and wears the hat of her late husband. On the fifth morning four attendants, who have been widowed, take her to a bathing spot. There they wash her, rubbing the right side of her body with the four pebbles. In washing the head, the face is kept upturned. The attendants then make four hoops of hemlock boughs and these are passed upwards over her body. A hoop is then made of her blanket or robe and this is passed upward around her. The attendants have brought new clothing and they dress her in this. She now discards on a log all clothing which she has worn during marriage. The attendants may take any of this or her robe for themselves. At the end the attendants try their utmost to make her laugh or smile.

The customs for widowers are the same except that the pebbles are not used and the attendant bathers are two men and two women (widowers and widows?).

Other practices include the following: All dishes used by the surviving spouse are marked and other people do not use them. The bereaved must never be the first of the household to arise lest he (she) "tread on the necks of relatives," bringing bad luck or death. Food should be chewed only with the right side of the mouth. He (she) must sleep on the right side. A widow must do no cooking. Each month during the waxing of the moon the bereaved spouse bathes daily for four days. At the end of ten months all personal clothing and utensils are discarded at the bathing place, the utensils upside down. This ends the purification rites.

However, during this ten-month period a widow or widower must not travel on the Wannock River but must travel by the trail along the shore. For that matter, they must avoid any food-producing place. For example, some years ago it happened that AT had been a widower for six months when eulachon time came. The people had driven the stakes, set the nets, and on two successive nights had had good catches. Then AT set his net. Thereafter not one eulachon was caught! In 1948 two men were practicing witchcraft with a corpse at the head of the river—and no eulachon were caught. In 1949 two men were drowned in the river—and again no eulachon were caught.

Burial is regularly in coffin-boxes which are raised in trees. Markers or posts are sometimes placed near. There is no cremation but food and some personal effects are burned at the grave. Children are buried in a separate near-by cemetery because children are from above and are morally pure. The spirits of all children come from the sky. In fact, until a child can speak he is regarded (in a sense) as a spirit.

¹⁴ Nowadays the handling of the dead has been almost commercialized by the Bella Bella. When a death occurs at the hospital there, the local people hurry to transport the body to the home village, where the kin of the deceased are expected to pay handsomely for the service.

¹⁵ These pebbles signify her desire to remarry. JC was once lost in the mountains. After some days his spouse took her seat in the corner with pebbles. In after years he used to tease her, "You old thing! So you still would wish to marry again!"

Ghosts sometimes return to bother the living, making a whistling sound in the house or outside. Food is then placed in the fire for them or gunpowder is lighted to drive them away.

As recently as 1947 an Owikeno died at the Bella Bella hospital. The body was brought back to Rivers Inlet for burial. The missionary who was to preach the funeral sermon wished to perform the services at the cemetery. The relatives of the deceased wished to take the body into the house of the deceased in order to carry out some of the old rites. The missionary finally agreed that five minutes could be granted for this purpose. The funeral was then conducted at the cemetery. But the next day, after the missionary's departure, the coffin was brought back to the house and the entire "native" ritual performed.

A year or more, sometimes several years, after a death, there may be a mourning potlatch.¹⁶ For this four men are chosen from among the relatives of the deceased to compose songs which refer to the deceased and his ancestors. At the ceremony these lead the singing and the rest of the company joins in. The composer-singers are paid for this, in addition to the regular potlatch gifts they receive. The invitation to a ceremony is stated as, "We are going to cry with so and so," naming the survivor. On the fifth day there is a potlatch with gifts for all those present. A grave post may be unveiled in the house at this time. One widow financed a ceremony of this sort in honor of her late husband, because she had no male kin to sponsor the affair. It is one of the very few instances when a female acted as host or sponsor.

At such a potlatch payments are also made to those who cared for the body, prepared the coffin, placed the grave-marker, or erected the tombstone. Thus when DB sponsored the ceremony for his mother, the speaker (who really is in charge of the whole affair) said there was enough money for four songs. On this occasion two of the family-owned mourning songs were sung and two which were from related families. At the memorial potlatch for Chief AH in 1948 the "four" mourning songs were: (1) His own family song, (2) a specially composed song, (3) two Owikeno "public" songs, and (4) two songs from the Smith's Inlet Kwakiutl, sung by a chief from that place. (Although financed by DB, this potlatch was credited to his stepson and served to "bring out" several persons.)

Suicide.—Suicide is not institutionalized but may occur for a variety of motivations, such as thwarted love, infidelity of the spouse, or finances. The word tu'hsà signifies "to walk away with the intention of never returning." In such suicide the person simply goes into the mountains and is never seen again. Suicides by hanging oneself¹⁷ is "more a woman's way." One man "walked away" because his wife was unfaithful. There is a story of a young couple desperately in love whose parents had other plans. The young man said to his love, "Let us go get some cedar bark." He selected a tree at the edge of a cliff. When he had started a strip of bark, he called on the girl to help him. They both took hold, swung out

¹⁶ This form of potlatch has the name kwasa ("cry potlatch").

¹⁷ Called mu'kwa, lit., "to tie."

over the cliff, and as the strip tore loose, fell to their death. In recent years, X killed himself with a high-powered rifle because his wife was having an affair. More recently his brother, Y, attempted suicide (but used only a .22 caliber!) because his mother refused to let him have money when he asked for it. Z had been committed for insanity but was later released. Not long after, he heard a rumor that he was to be confined again,

so killed himself. W attempted suicide because his common-law wife was having an affair. W had "married" the girl in the first place because she was pregnant by another man and needed a "father" for her child. The child died soon after birth, whereupon she left W to live with J at Bella Bella. After eight years she "eloped" with still another man.

INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION

Material wealth, such as houses, canoes, and so on, is of secondary importance in the native mind. Far more important are the prerogatives (*suyaema*), which include such things as name-titles, rights to certain dances, to hunting grounds, and an almost endless list of both material and nonmaterial items. For women there are likewise many prerogatives, though they are of less importance than those of men.

Primogeniture looms large in inheritance and succession. The eldest son outranks his brothers and the amount of "first-bornness" also counts. Thus the eldest son of an eldest son and so on back through several generations is of highest rank. In some families certain prerogatives pass to a youngest son, then to his youngest son, and so on. Most of the prerogatives seem to be associated with the name-titles, as some of the following accounts show.

Most of the surviving Owikeno trace their ancestry to four brothers who date back to about 1800. Obviously there is not the interest in genealogies which characterizes the clan-organized tribes to the north. Thus, among the Tlingit I was able to trace about twelve generations with considerable accuracy, the accuracy being checked with several informants from several tribes. The genealogy of most of the persons mentioned herein is shown on the chart (fig. 4). There seems to be a firm set of rights which in subsequent generations depend on the order of birth stemming from these four brothers. That is, the eldest, second, third, and fourth sons have as their *suyaema* the traditional privileges which belonged to each of this series of brothers. For example, the name *Dji'ksiwalis* ("the fourth," "youngest," of these four) carries with it certain rights. He is speaker for his elder brother. His youngest son would inherit this same right.

In this same lineage the eldest son of the eldest son automatically bears the infant's name *Na'.as*. Thus when *DB's* eldest was about four years old, he was due to receive in a potlatch. *DB* protested that the child had not been given a birth-name potlatch and so was not eligible (being theoretically nameless). But the host of the forthcoming potlatch said that the child was named *Na.as* and was accordingly an eligible recipient.

In most family lines there are some hereditary rights to certain goat-hunting and berrying places. The former descend from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter. (Fishing spots for eulachon are also owned, these being usually the river area opposite the house, where basketry traps and nets were used. There was no ownership of salmon fishing grounds.) These are counted as *suyaema* and the right to them is usually announced along with the birth-name; in fact, they are often associated with certain name-titles. Thus the best spot for hunting goats is up the *Kildalla River* and is the property of the man bearing the name *Ayu'Ltala*. In actual practice goats are hunted by a party of men, led by the owner of the favored spot. For berrying, women likewise make up a party organized by the woman who owns the grounds where they go.

The following incident may illustrate one mechanism whereby name-titles pass from tribe to tribe and explain how the same ones may occur in a number of tribes (e.g., *Hámdzi't*, *Ma'xwa*, *Ceks* or *Seks*, the last being known from the Tlingit to the Haisla) (Boas, 1897; Olson, 1940).

A local young man was very ambitious. He wished to have a name-title which was higher than he had any rights to, locally. But his mother was a *Bella Coola*. He asked her *Bella Coola* kin for the loan of the name *pu'tlas*, which ranked among the highest in that tribe (McIlwraith, 1948, 1:121, 175). They consented, but it was not to be a permanent loan. The borrower thus acquired it, but, having no children, passed it to his sister's son who was also the head "fool" in the *Tsaika* dance series. This one likewise had no children, so the name died out. (I doubt if it would ever have been returned to *Bella Coola* if there had been survivors.)

One of *SW's* ceremonial names is *Kátxu'n* but his right to it is somewhat clouded for the following reason. From north beyond the *Kwakiutl*-speaking tribes a chief named *Katxun* (probably *Tsimshian*, perhaps *Haida*) used to organize raids on the villages on this part of the coast. Finally he was killed. Long afterward *SW's* mother bestowed the name on her son, financing a feast to do so. But since the name is not one of the family *suyaema*, she told no legend ("history") of its origin, merely pointed to him and gave him the name. The guests were surprised, but they felt it was accounted for only by the fact that she was known to be eccentric.

One of the many name-titles owned by the late chief *Albert Harry* was that of *Yá'kás* ("ugly face"). The following legend is told as its validation.

They lived at *Sumxul* village, where there were many eligible girls. But these would have nothing to do with *Yakas* because he was so repulsive. He used to follow the women and girls when they went berry-picking. There was a woman named *Tě'ánksta* ("lipless" ?) and only she would make up to him ("sleep with him" ?).

Yakas' father told him to bathe and scrub himself with hemlock boughs. This he did. Then his father gave him a peeled elderberry cane and told him to go up the river. "But," said he, "don't forget to sing and call to *Ai'kiyats* (a shaman who lived up the river) as you go along." So he traveled, swinging his cane and singing "*Ai'kiasLán*" as he went. As he traveled, his cane-wand became shorter, and he then would get a new one of the same wood.

Finally he came near to *Ai'kadjuis* (a place ?). There he heard a noise and saw a man standing beside the trail. This one (who was *Aikiyats*) said to him, "Keep on traveling. You will come to a house. When you go in, be careful. Be sure to go along the right side wall as you enter."

He came to the house and as he opened the door, he saw along each side *nau'álaku* (spirits). Those on the right called out slowly, "*Gai'ná, gai'ná*" ("come in, come in"). The spirits on the left side were ugly, with crooked faces, and called out "*Gaina, gaina*" rapidly (eagerly). But he remembered the instructions and turned to the right. When he got to the corner, they gave him a mat to sit on. The shaman of that side "doctored" his face and made his whole body the color of the stick which he carried.

The spirits of that side said to him, "When you go out, be sure not to look back." He did as he was told and started back, singing as he went, "I have been to

that place. I have been cured." When he came back to the river, he looked back and called out, "K! a'xàla" ("I came down"). And that is the name of the mountain to this day.

He followed down the river and reached his village at dusk. He bedded with the woman with the missing lip, who was very glad to see him.

The next morning his father called in all the people to show off his now-handsome son. When everyone had gathered, he brought Yakas out. Now many of the girls who had shunned him wished to marry him. But Yakas would have only the lipless one. He said, "It will be a long time before I marry any other." But eventually he did marry one of the girls, and the lipless one stayed on and became like a mother to him.

When Chief AH died unexpectedly, there arose the problem of a successor to this highest rank (he being childless). During his life he had mentioned two possibilities, PC and DW. The latter's father claimed that AH had publicly said to him, "All that I have will go to your children."¹⁸ Several persons protested that this was not so. There has been much discussion over priority of rights as between PC and DW. After all, it seems that PC is one generation closer to the eldest of the four brother ancestors (see p. 229) than is DW. However, it now (1949) appears that the rank will go to DW. The ostensible reason is that DW has been put through a series of dances sponsored by AH and TH. The latter is the grandfather (m's. f.) of DW and AH's wife is TH's sister. The last is the aggressive, bossy wife of AH mentioned on p. 225, and she reputedly nagged him into "doing something" for her brother's grandson. Over all this there has been much talk and trouble.

There may be some deviations from the ordinary rules of succession or acquisition of *suyaema*. Thus, TH and one J had a common source of prerogatives from the elder of the four brothers in their ancestry. J, however, had first claim. But J was a ne'er-do-well and it was obvious that he would never take advantage of his rights. TH, on the other hand, was a go-getter and from time to time dipped into and acquired some of these things (evidently without protest from J).

The following is the account of the origin of the name Pa'làkKU (referring, somehow, to a plank). It was one of the *suyaema* of JJ's mother's family and was passed down to JJ's brother's daughter. As in all such rights, the relating of the account with its details in public and the public bestowing of the name validated the right to the name and to whatever prerogatives were associated with it. The story is associated with this family in the villages of the upper lake.

There lived a man and his wife who had a baby daughter named Palakku. When the sockeye salmon were spawning in the stream, the mother was dressing them for smoking. One of them carried her away and, when the fish died, so died the woman. The father was fishing for coho salmon and as he speared one, it carried him away. She was adopted by a man and woman who were relatives.

One day, when she was about eight years old, a gossipy old woman of the village told her that she was an orphan. "Those people," she said, "are not your father and mother." Palakku came home crying and told her foster-parents. But the foster-mother told her, "I am your mother and there is your father." The

next day Palakku asked the old woman about it and was told how her parents had died. And again she was told that the foster-parents were just that. Then Palakku went home and said, "You are not my mother and he is not my father." The foster-mother said, "That woman lies. Look at your father's face. It is like yours." But Palakku said, "No, my parents died long ago," and began to cry. To pacify her, her foster-father made her a toy bow and arrows.

Palakku went down to the beach, lay down beside a big log and fell asleep. Her foster-parents looked for her, finally found her and took her home. Again the next day she went out. This time she shot an arrow into the air. It fell behind the log where she had lain. As it struck, she heard something cry out. When she looked, she saw that it had struck a rotten fish. But this "fish" spoke to her and told her, "Your mother is a sockeye, and your father is a coho." And he told her what she must do to find them: that she must have made for her a screened bed where she must lie for four days; that she must have a canoe full of food and a crew; that she must prepare four magical things; toxsu [clover roots], trout called gu'lisih, k!àsà m [an edible root], and bullhead. And these things they got ready for her, and she and the men started on the journey.

For now Palakku was a glu'gwalla [shaman] and her power was wi'wixeaks. When the canoe was shaken and the word "Wai" uttered, the canoe went of itself and the men had only to hold their paddles. They went out to the west, traveling toward the sunset each day. [She had been told by the "fish" what she would encounter and how she must use the magical things.]

Finally [the fourth day, probably] they came to a hole [pass] in the land. She told the men, "Go through the pass, but watch out for Kwasuis" [Bald Eagle, who sat on a cliff at one side]. She took one of her "medicines" and threw it at Eagle. He fell asleep and when he came to, the canoe was far past.

Finally they came to a fine beach and there they saw smoke from houses. She told the men to go in. There they found a woman who was hugely fat and had a big belly. She was Red Cod Woman. They asked her, "Are there any people here besides yourself?" She replied that there were, but that they must watch out for the natives had Kingfisher as watchman. And she asked if the travelers had the necessary magical things. She told them that in the first village they would come to the people who were very tall. She was asked, "Are there any other people [beyond]?" Cod Woman said, "Yes, in the third village are the Sockeye people." "Any others?" "Yes, in the fourth village live the Coho people." And she warned them to be careful. [Then Palakku knew that her parents lived in these villages.] They paid Cod Woman with eagle down and red-dyed cedar bark.

They went on and came to a point where Kingfisher sat. He uttered his cry. But Palakku said to him, "Here are four trout if you will be quiet." A being came around the point and asked Kingfisher what was wrong. But Kingfisher was now full of trout and he answered, "Oh, I just cried out as I woke up."

They went on across the bay and, when they came to the second point, Mallard (who was sentry there) started to give warning. But Palakku told him, "Here are clover roots for you." Mallard came and ate them. He told them to hide. Again a being came and asked Mallard what was wrong, but Mallard told him, "I was merely dreaming."

¹⁸ It should be remembered that of all one's possessions the *suyaema* are regarded as the things of most importance.

They came to a third point where Goose was sentry. He cried a warning but they bribed him with the klsam roots and he hid them. When the being came to ask what the trouble was, Goose told him, "I merely shouted because I felt so good."

Again they went on and came to a fourth point. There Crane was sentry. When he gave his warning cry, Palakku bribed him with four bullheads. When the man [being] came to inquire, Crane gave him an offhand explanation. Now they had passed the four watchmen. When they rounded the next point, they saw a big bay with many houses on the beach. When they came to the beach, the people came out and Palakku tried to talk to them. But the people only laughed and laughed. For they were gwaxamis [dog salmon]. That's why dog salmon have big teeth—from laughing.

Again they rounded a point and came to a village on the beach. The people here were k!la'walamas [steelhead] and were fine tall people. (So it is that dog salmon start up the streams earliest but amuse themselves along the way, so steelhead come up the streams first.) Palakku asked them if there were other people beyond and was told, "Yes, in the next bay a woman lives." Palakku paid them with mats.

Once again they rounded a point and came to a village. The people here were misi'k (sockeye people). The Sockeye people saw the canoe and wondered at it—for the Sockeye have no canoes for travel but merely put on their clothes and jump in the water. They tried to drive the canoe away by shooting magical [invisible]

arrows at it. But Palakku threw her sleep-making power at them and they all fell down asleep. Then Palakku and four of her crew jumped ashore and began looking for her mother. They found her in the farthest house. She was married now. Palakku rubbed her with shredded yellow cedar bark and took her to the canoe. She tried to jump overboard, but Palakku assigned one of the young men to watch her. The other Sockeye people tried to rescue her but could not.

They rounded another point and came to the village of Cohoe (dju'wán) people. Here again Palakku put the people asleep and they found the father. Again, as with the mother, Palakku did not recognize him but her men did. [For Palakku was only an infant when they died.]

As they started back, Palakku took the sleep power from the Cohoe people. She took eagle down from the box and blew it in the air. At the Sockeye village she did the same. As the down settled on the water, the sockeye struck at it [as a trout strikes at a fly]. They started for the "hole" [pass] through which they had come. All the way a curtain as of smoke or fog followed behind. The canoe now traveled under its magic power. When they got back to Cod Woman's house, they told her they had found the father and mother. When they passed Eagle at the entrance to the pass, they again put him asleep and headed for home.

The father and mother were different in appearance from what they had been before as people. At first they were afraid when people came near them. But finally they got used to human beings (i.e., they gradually became wholly human again).

TOTEM POLES, HOUSE POSTS, AND COPPERS

The Owikeno had no poles as elaborate as those of the Alert Bay Kwakiutl or the Haida. Most were plain poles with a single figure or merely a sphere at the top. They were called tso'waxsi ("something placed in ground in front of house"). I was able to learn of but six poles, as follows.

1. Max'biik (Maxua's pole). This is now one of the prerogatives of DB. It is placed on a plot of land called Go'klias at the head of the river on the south bank. Here there stood a group of houses occupied by the Go'klaxtanXU (the people of Goklias). Its only ornament was a wooden ball at the top.
2. Ge'nalabik (Genala game pole). The pole is like the preceding. A feature of the Glualaxa dances was a pushing game in which, at the end, the pole struck the screen so as to awaken the spirits (p. 247). The totem pole merely represents the game.
3. Gli'abik. One family erected this, a pole with ball at top, after giving a Gliala potlatch (p. 237). But not all those giving this potlatch had the right to erect such a pole.
4. Nuála'xbik. The man highest of those "made a fool," the nulilaku, had the right to this. It is carved as a man holding a knife and wearing a cedar headring.
5. The Yaxtsi pole is described in the legend of that character below.
6. The tsu'nugwa (tsonoqwa) of Alert Bay is here called ádzi'h. She is the Cannibal Woman, always represented as having large pendulous breasts. A pole carved in her likeness was put up about 1900 by SW's father. It was called ni,i'sbik. However, it is avowedly derived from the Nimkish, the owner deriving in part from the Nimkish.

House posts are sometimes carved; the figures mentioned are beaver, raven, killer whale, and Cannibal Woman. The last is constructed so that it can "speak." When the owner gives a potlatch, he arranges with someone to call out from the pole some phrase, as, "More eulachon oil!" The host will, of course, then produce it.

One house post is called ni,i'sbik ("tethering pole") because dried salmon are tied to it. It commemorates the time when the first human caught salmon in the Wannock River.

Totem poles, as such, are not often placed at graves but, instead, such things as painted boards or carved house posts may be employed. Among those at the cemetery across from Ketit are: a painted board depicting an archer shooting at a mountain goat; a post with the shapes of seven coppers attached, to signify the number of times the deceased used coppers in potlatches; a whale doing his last dive (a suyaema of the deceased).

In recent years some marble tombstones have been erected, often near the family house of the deceased rather than at the grave. These are manufactured in Vancouver, usually from a carved wooden model, and usually depict one of the crests. A ceremony and potlatch accompany the placing of the stone. The speaker tells the

history of the stone, usually claiming that the stone itself comes from such and such a place—the place of origin of the ancestors of the deceased (a fiction, of course).

The following legend is told of the origin of the totem pole which JJ's father had the right to erect. The locale is Koey. JJ's father (or his ancestors) came from this tribe. This pole is among those now set up in Stanley Park, Vancouver. The uppermost figure is Eagle, the lowermost is Octopus. The latter dragged up on the beach the creatures seen by Eagle. The figures in between these two (I was unable to get a list of them) "praised" Eagle and Octopus for doing these things. One of JJ's feast names is Yaxtsi ("bad one"), from the hero of the tale. The telling of the tale, the knowledge of its details, validates the right to the name and the pole. The name has since been passed (by giving a feast) to JJ's son.

They lived [so the tale goes] at Kwe [Koey] at the mouth of the river along the sandy beach. Among them was a young man named Yaxtsi who had a passion for gambling. So great was this mania that he allowed himself to become lousy, so lousy that his hair stood out and he was scabby from the lice. People remarked about him and his father became ashamed of him.

One day the father sent Yaxtsi up the river to catch Cohoe salmon. While he was gone, his father told the people to pack up, that they were going to move and leave this worthless fellow behind.

The grandmother (whose name was A'gwani) told the younger brother [of Yaxtsi] about this, that they were going to move to axai ["the hole," Hakai Pass].

The following day Yaxtsi was again sent to catch salmon. While he was gone, the people moved all their things, leaving only the houses. The following day Yaxtsi was again sent for salmon. This time the people removed the houses, burned what was left, and moved to Hakai Pass.

Now, the younger brother had told the grandmother that he was going to stay with his brother. The old woman made a punk of sá'gam [a root] so they would have fire. This she put in a clam shell and hid it by a post, telling the boy not to forget it.

While the canoe was being loaded the lad held a bundle of arrows in his arms and got into the stern of the canoe. When the canoe was pushed into the surf, he jumped out, ran back and hid in the woods.

When the convoy of canoes was halfway across the sound, Yaxtsi returned to find all the houses burned, the fires all out, and all the people gone. The younger brother watched him as he sat down and cried. At this the younger brother came to him and said, "Don't cry. Our father was ashamed of your lousiness, so they went away. But I jumped out and came back because I wanted to stay with you. Don't cry."

Then the two built a shelter of poles and hemlock branches. Then they cooked the fish which Yaxtsi had taken and went to sleep. The next morning the fish they had not eaten were all gone. Something or someone had taken them.

That day Yaxtsi again went for salmon but caught only a few. These they cooked, but again in the morn-

ing the surplus was gone. (An adji'h, a Cannibal Woman, had taken them.) Again Yaxtsi went for salmon but took only four. Two of these they ate, but in the morning the remaining two had been stolen. (The younger brother had said they would watch for the thief, but they had fallen asleep.)

The next time Yaxtsi caught only two salmon. They ate one of these, put the other away. That night they watched and about the middle of the night heard someone walking on the beach. Yaxtsi woke. As she [the Cannibal Woman] reached for the fish, one of her pendulous breasts came through a hole in the shelter. The younger brother shot her. The next morning they found her body. They pulled out the arrow and kept it. That day Yaxtsi went fishing but caught nothing and they had left food for only two days.

Two days later they were hungry and Yaxtsi was becoming weak. The younger brother made some bird [blunt] arrows. Yaxtsi was too weak to hunt. The younger brother shot two wrens and fed them to Yaxtsi. Each day for four days he did this. Now Yaxtsi felt stronger and he went to a pool to bathe and scrub himself with hemlock to rid himself of the lice and scabs.

The next morning they heard an eagle scream from the top of a big spruce at the beach. Yaxtsi said, "Get up and see what Eagle is talking about. He must see something on the beach." The brother went, found a crayfish on the beach, which they cooked and ate. The next morning the eagle again screamed. This time they found a big ling cod on the beach. Each day now Yaxtsi went to the pool to bathe. The third morning the eagle again screamed, and this time there was a big halibut on the beach. Now they had plenty of food.

The fourth morning Eagle again screamed, and they found a whale on the beach. This they cut up and dried plenty of the meat.

The next morning the boys woke up and they were in a fine house. For during the night Ku' mugwah, Sea Monster, had brought them to this, his house, and had gone away. In the house was a girl (Kumugwah's daughter). Yaxtsi married her. In the house was a magical box which yielded everything and never became empty. Outside the house was a pole with the eagle who screamed at the beach at the top. At the bottom was Octopus (who had dragged the things up on the beach). Between were other figures constantly moving as they "praised" Eagle and Octopus for doing these things.

Now Yaxtsi had a fine house, a wife, and each day all kinds of food drifted in. The young brother busied himself drying and storing food.

In the new village in Hakai Pass the grandmother each day walked on the beach to wait for her grandson. There came a gull which lighted on the beach. The grandmother threw a pebble at it and spoke to it of her grandson. The gull spoke to her and told her all about Yaxtsi, his house, his wife, and the totem pole. She sent the gull to tell Yaxtsi about herself. When Yaxtsi heard this, he told Gull to get someone to bring the grandmother to Koey, and sent back to her a piece of sea lion meat.

The grandmother went to her house and made a mat, under which she hid the meat. Now, the people of the village were starving. They could find nothing to eat. But one day some of them saw the grandmother eating and asked her where she got the food. She

merely said she wanted to go back to Koey. Three boys took her to Koey and there Yaxtsi told them to return and tell the people to come back to Koey, all except the father. Yaxtsi did not wish his father to come.

Yaxtsi had now given the younger brother the name Ka'kâbisilâ ("he who turns canoes upside down"). He also "doctored" his grandmother so that she became young again. The grandmother now started making baskets, drying food, and so on. Soon one of the store-rooms was full of food.

Soon the canoes started coming from Hakai Pass. Yaxtsi had ordered his brother to swim out and overturn each canoe as it neared the beach. This he did, and the people had to swim to shore. They all huddled under the front of the house. The last canoe to arrive was that of the father. Yaxtsi said to Kakabisila, "Don't turn that one over; just shove it back out. Don't let him come in." This the brother did. Each time the father tried to come ashore, his canoe was shoved back. Finally Yaxtsi told the brother to turn it over as he had done with the others.

The people now lived, huddled, hungry, and cold, under the front of the house. They wished to come in, but Yaxtsi would not allow it. Finally one morning Yaxtsi told his brother to call them in. Inside they were seated and Yaxtsi started feasting them. He piled food high in front of them and they felt good.

Soon the people built houses alongside that of Yaxtsi. Every four days he feasted them, for the magic box never became empty.

But Yaxtsi started having affairs with various women. One day his wife took the magic box and went down to the edge of the water. Here she lifted up the edge of the water and walked down under. She went back to her father. At this all the figures on the totem pole stopped moving and became lifeless.

This is the origin of these suyaema in the Owikeno tribe. The right to them comes through the line from Koey.

Coppers.—At this late date it is impossible to secure more than fragmentary data on these ceremonial objects. Certainly they were not employed as blue chips in any elaborate game of finance as they were among the Alert Bay (Nimkish) and Fort Rupert Kwakiutl (Boas, 1897; Codere, n.d.; Ford, 1941). All coppers, however, had names. DB's father once borrowed a copper from AT's father to use in a potlatch. At the same time he borrowed money and blankets. He did not give the copper away in the potlatch, merely displayed it, for it was something of an honor for a man to be able to say that he had "handled" a copper in a potlatch. The loan involved the return of the copper, plus a payment for its use.

The following is an incident relating to coppers. A certain Kingcombe Inlet chief wished to give a potlatch but was short of wealth. He borrowed a copper from a local man, SW. The latter mentioned from time to time that he wished his copper returned, but the Kingcombe chief kept putting him off. Several years later SW gave a mourning potlatch for his sister. Among the guests were people from Smith's Inlet, Seymour Inlet, and Kingcombe Inlet. In a speech SW made as if he were holding a copper and said to this chief, "Here is the copper you returned to me. It is yours now." Then he made as if breaking it and throwing it away. This, of course, caused the Kingcombe chief to lose face.

POTLATCHES

The term "potlatch" is the Chinook jargon word meaning "to give" and implies the ceremonies varying from a minor feast to the great affairs involving dances, feasting, and lavish distributions of property. The Owikeno word is gwai'ninuku, which can scarcely be translated except perhaps "to do," or "to have done something" (worth while). This meaning carries the sense of bettering oneself by giving the necessary festivals, dances, etc.

In the main it is the host who gets the lion's share of the credit for the potlatch, but those he sponsors, those who participate in the dances, those who are given names, and so on, also benefit. These active participants also "wear the bark" and can count it to their credit.

The Owikeno never carried the potlatch system to the extremes of the Southern Kwakiutl or took to "fighting with property." Nor is the potlatch an "interest-bearing investment." One acquires the wealth for a potlatch by hunting and diligence. Investment marriages and real marriages are a source of revenue when the wife is "redeemed" or "bought out." Additional funds are secured by making interest-bearing loans to relatives chiefly, to friends or other tribesmen occasionally. These recognize the motive but, if not actually glad to borrow, at least do not feel they are imposed on (Barnett, 1938; Codere, n.d.).

There is no obligation to return a potlatch gift, much less with the amount doubled, but those able to give a potlatch, chiefly the upper class, have a moral obligation to do so. These receive the largest gifts and will return in kind. But everyone at a potlatch receives, and perhaps only one in four of these ever reciprocates.

As the guests from other villages and tribes arrive at the village, they align themselves opposite the host group, dance, and "throw" spirit power back and forth (ma'kámpt). Finally the host falls over in a mock faint and then rises wearing a spirit mask. The guests are then invited in. On this first occasion they are seated as in the actual potlatch or gift-giving (fig. 1).

The following were given to me as forms or occasions of potlatch distinct from the "great" potlatches involving the dance series or other very costly affairs. Except as noted, these would normally take place during the life of anyone of the middle or upper class or otherwise eligible or able. I list them and discuss them by number merely for the sake of clarity. They are not thought of as the "ten potlatches of one's life" nor are they all given in sequence. Throughout, it should be borne in mind that these potlatches are not "interest-bearing investments" but affairs when the sponsor is giving food and gifts to guests in order that they may witness or serve as witnesses of something which is worth the trouble and expense of the festival, something which will benefit the sponsor or other members of the host group (such as the "bringing out" of a name or dance).

1. Prenatal potlatch. At perhaps the sixth month of a woman's pregnancy the husband plans what is called ku'tálisá ("guessing what is inside"). That is, there is guessing as to the sex of the unborn child. (Males are thought to be more active.) A name is bestowed according to the guessed sex. If the sex seems uncertain, both masculine and feminine names are given. Everyone in the village is invited and there is

a small feast and gifts for all. DB was called klu'hya ("he who appears well-groomed") as a prenatal designation. (It would have been klu'yakka for a female.)

2. Soon after the birth of the child, another small potlatch is given. If the sex of the child is not guessed correctly in no. 1, the name is now changed. In any event, the first real prerogatives are now given to the child, the future hunting-grounds for a boy, the berry-patches for a girl.
3. Puberty potlatch. This is called tu'gwáliL ("to stand up to walk"). It is held soon after a girl's first menses or when a boy is twelve to fifteen years old. For a girl this ceremony may be called yá.e' xánsilá ("handling the menstruant"). At this time there is given the first potlatch name, i.e., the one which will be called out when gifts are given. Again there are a gathering, a feast, and gifts. Sometimes the principal is paraded around the house or through the village on this occasion. Not all families can afford this affair for an adolescent child.

DB and his wife recently gave a small puberty potlatch for a daughter who at the time was away at school in Alert Bay. To this only the local people were invited. But the following summer they gave a larger affair in her honor at the Goose Bay cannery. At this time the guests included the people of Fort Rupert, Blunden Harbour, and Alert Bay. At this time the girl received three new names. One was given by a woman from Blunden Harbour who counts herself as kin of the girl's father's mother. A second was given by a woman from Alert Bay who also counts herself as kin. The affair cost about two hundred dollars.

4. "Made a fool" potlatch (nulilaku). When this is given for a person (either male or female and at any age from four years upward), it makes him immune, so to speak, from some of the hazards and taboos of the dance times and other functions. Or should he transgress some of the Tsaika taboos, his punishment would be mild. The right to give this potlatch is a prerogative, not in the possession of all families. The person (principal) involved is thereafter permitted, e.g., to shoot firearms or bang on the walls during a dance or at a "buying-out" festival. If he does so, the attendants go outside to see what the rumpus is and come in to report it as the doings of the nulilaku, who then comes in wearing his elaborate bark headgear from which dangle four ermine tassels. His face is blackened and he carries a wooden "knife" painted red, as if bloody. His entrance interrupts the current performance, and he then and there gives a little potlatch of his own. Should he violate some of the harsh rules of the higher Tsaika dances, he need not perform the Tsaika dance in question in order to save his life.
5. "Made a Tsaika" potlatch (tsai'kilákU). This means that one is possessed of (one or more ?) Tsaika spirits without going through the usual required dances. The right to this is again (like no. 4) a family prerogative. If one of the family's prerogatives, it is usually given while the recipient is still a child. The potlatch must be repeated for four successive years; it is therefore expensive and is equated with high rank in the dance series. A person going through this would not (ordinarily) also be involved in no. 4. This potlatch would

- not be given during the Tsaika season. Like no. 4, it permits certain violations of the Tsaika taboos.
6. Accident potlatch. This potlatch is motivated not so much because there is a feeling that an accident involves any disgrace as because it gives an excuse for a potlatch, which always adds to one's prestige or merit. The festival, with feasting and gifts, should follow the accident fairly soon. An example is this: In the winter of 1948, AT had a fall in which he cut his forehead, which left a scar. Soon he gave a potlatch in which he took the name "Scar-face" plus, or compounded with, his father's name. Now, if in a quarrel or otherwise, someone were to call him, "You scar-faced so and so," he could reply, "O. K. Remember I potlatched to be called 'Scar-face.'"
 7. I do not quite know how to describe the motivation of this potlatch. It is given or held when one feels that he has "lost face." This restores "face." If I were to fall from the dock into the water, if I were to get into a fight and get bested, the way out—the thing to do—would be to give (or rather have a relative give) a potlatch. This would save my face and no one at any time could ever make a slurring remark about the incident. I give an incident: At the finish of the sockeye season on Rivers Inlet in 1935, all the fishermen were paid for the year's catch. Some of the Indians bought rum from bootleggers (at \$7.00 per "coke" bottle!). There were the inevitable hassles and fights. One lad of about twenty years from Fort Rupert was terribly beaten in one of the fights. I have never seen a more horribly swollen and purpled face than he exhibited the next day. But his parents "washed it off" by that morning giving a potlatch at which his mother sang songs, constantly making the washing gesture across the face. The principal, throughout, sat wiping his face and eyes, which streamed from the beating. In the end everyone present, including myself, was given two dollars. If I ever meet the young man again, I could only say, "Yes, I remember you. We met at Kildalla Cannery in 1935." He would then say, "Yes, we should remember that time." Never could I mention the unfortunate circumstances or incidents involved. His "face" was saved for all time. (I am not sure whether he was given a new name at this time, but I think he was.)
 8. Burial potlatch. At the death of an adult, his body is placed at the "head" of the house, i.e., opposite the door, with a board screen in front. Then the relatives come in. The "horns" of the Glualaxa dances sound to signify that they have come to claim their own.¹⁹ All the people of the village then gather (summoned by the speaker) and the mourning songs of the deceased are sung. Then from behind the screen is heard the sound of the spirit (the horn). The four Glualaxa attendants then announce that the body has become a spirit (nau-akul), and the spirit is named, according to what spirit the deceased has in his suyaema. (The sound of the particular "horn" is in imitation of the sound of the spirit animal.) The "body" is at this time simulated by a roll of blankets, which is picked up by one of those attending. For instance, DB saw a ceremony in which a youngster dressed in the costume of the eagle was lowered down through the smoke hole of the house. He walked toward the casket and took the "body" (actually only an empty roll of blankets) and then was again pulled through the smoke hole.

¹⁹ I wish that I had inquired further into this relation between these concepts and the dance organization, but I did not at the time. The spirits of the Tsaika dances never "claim" a body.

In the event, for instance, that the deceased had the Blackfish crest or prerogative, a dancer comes in wearing the blackfish costume (always with four dorsal fins) and performs a dance, finally going out the door carrying the "body" (again, only a roll of blankets). Then the sounds of the horns (the voices of the souls or spirits) are heard outside four times. It is announced that the soul has been seen to enter the water.

The attendants now come in and call on the wi'umáks (ladies of rank) to lament and sing the mourning songs (k!wa'sà). The male relatives of the deceased now sing a special chant-song called the ski'mLa (this again being a suyaema). During this the women who are present hide their faces and lament. The theme of these songs is, "So and so [the deceased] has gone across to the other side." In the land of the dead the older souls are for a time somewhat in awe of the newcomer, especially if he has amounted to something on earth. (This, as announced, pleases the family of the deceased.)

In some of the mourning songs it may be repeated, "Come back! Come back!"

Finally the chief attendant says, "Enough!" (lit., "Bite it in two!"). Then the giving of gifts (potlatch) takes place. During all this time the coffin is still in the house, the simulated carryings-out having been just ceremonial.

There is one thing about which I am not sure. At one point the speaker says, "The spirit has come to claim the body," and the implication (somehow) is that the deceased has striven during his life to do his best. The soul or spirit is thus called by a special term (k!a'latla) only at a funeral. It is somehow distinct from the soul which gives life.

At the end there is a speech by the speaker who gives the life story of the deceased, most of which is fact, emphasizing how "high he has climbed" by, of course, giving potlatches, and so on. Now his successor can be named and it can be told what name-title he will assume, when, as, and if he assumes it. Then the speaker says, "Now, young men, come tomorrow and we will hide the box." (This is the coffin, which is supposedly empty—the spirit and body having gone.) The next day the coffin (with the body inside) is taken to the cemetery.

- A special area is reserved as a cemetery for children. Until the age of five to seven years children are regarded as not quite human and are "pure" in the mystic sense. They have not yet learned to lie or slander. (Yet there is no sense of "sin" in the Christian sense.) For children there is little or no burial ritual. The body is merely placed in a box and carried to a cemetery somewhat removed from that of adults.
9. Nau'álaksistá potlatch (referring somehow to "the ancestors now become visible"). Sometimes after one of these affairs is over, when it seems as if there can be nothing more and the speaker has said regarding his host, "K!waLamudiL" ("there is nothing more"), there is heard outside the door a spirit. The attendants go to investigate, come in, and announce, "The ancestors of this person [the host] are now going to do something." The "ancestors" wish to come in. They are told it is not appropriate. Again they ask but are told, "The house is not yet quite finished." Finally they are called in, always in the evening—the actual giving-away having taken place in the afternoon. If there is a "Fool Dancer" in the family's prerogatives, he will come in first. Then

all the dancers seat themselves, backs to the fire. Then one end of the curtain is raised and the Fool Dancer comes in wearing a mask and other finery. The curtain is then pulled again and a second dancer comes out. Next, the Tanis (Cannibal) dancer comes (doing his dance with palms upward, signifying that he is now human). Now the speaker outdoes himself in his "praise" of the host and at the end of each of his perorations, the host throws gifts at him until he is "smothered" with these gifts (called udzu'h, the platform on which one dances). These may amount to quite a sum, and afterward gifts are handed around to all those present. In all, these last donations may amount to as much as nearly one-fourth of the total sum given and are intended to show that the host is still not bankrupt. It is as if one were to throw a hundred-dollar bill on the bar and say, "Drink it up, boys," then at the end toss on a twenty or a fifty with the implication, "There's more where that came from." This is the real spirit of the potlatch.

10. "Fireman" potlatch. With the open fires it is a fairly common occurrence that the roof planks catch fire at the edge of the smoke hole. If this happens during a masked dance, only one man, who has the title xo'lalás, is permitted to leave the house to put out the fire. No one else may move during the dance. If the xolalas puts out the fire, he must give a potlatch when the dance is finished. The speaker says of the goods, "These are the extra clothing while putting out the fire." With the reduced number of people in the tribe, such offices may be held by children, the present holder having filled the post since he was a mere lad. The marks of office are a bearskin cape and a cedar head-ring.

Once the host of a potlatch to come has collected the necessary wealth, he gives it over to those who will arrange and manage the affair for him. In fact, I was repeatedly told, once the money is amassed, it is no longer the property of the host but is regarded as public property. The speaker is a manager of this sort, who throughout will take every opportunity to praise the host. The amount he receives for this depends in part on how well he performs. Another man calls out who is to receive a gift and the amount. He must be careful that the gifts are given out in proper order, for those of rank are very jealous of the order of giving. The task is somewhat simplified by a definite seating arrangement (or "seats") on the basis of rank (figs. 1, 2, 3). The gift is handed to one of the young men helpers, who carries it to the recipient. For all this there is a tallyman with tally sticks who keeps careful account. (In recent years some men have been eager to be tallymen so they could filch a little.) At the end the tallyman calls out to ask if anyone has been overlooked. If someone has been missed he keeps silent, but someone near calls out his name. (Sometimes gifts are called out for persons not even present.) There is always a surplus to take care of such contingencies. This surplus is sometimes enough to pay the speaker and other helpers; but some hosts make these payments beforehand.

At the end the speaker may say to the host, "Now if you have a grudge against anyone, sock it to him." This means that if there is a considerable sum left, a last big gift to someone would obligate him to give a like amount to the host at some future time or lose face. This would apply, of course, only to persons of rank who gave potlatches.

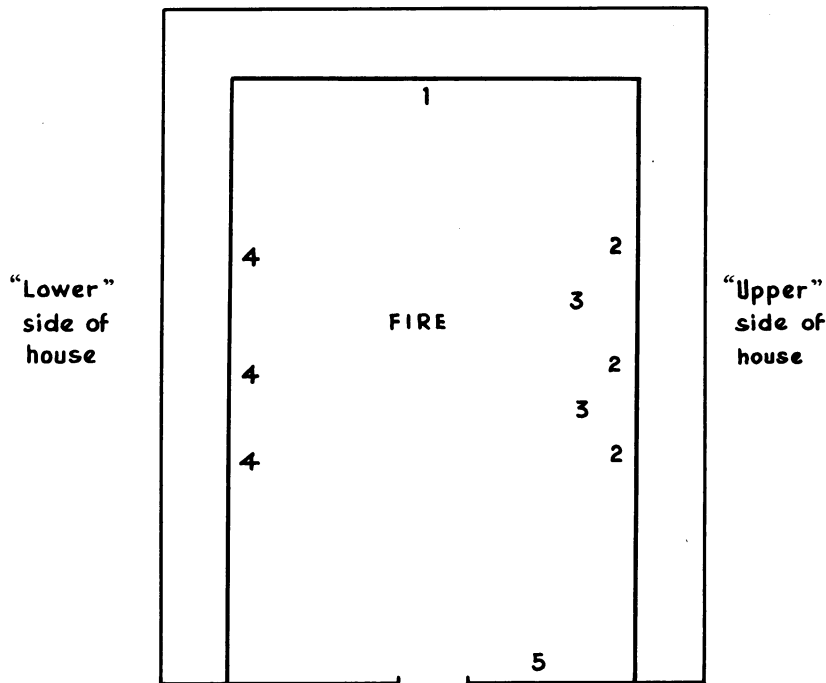


Fig. 1. Seating arrangement in gift-giving.

1. Highest chief and his wife
2. Lesser chiefs and their wives
3. High-class young men
4. Commoners and their families
5. The host, his speaker, and the host's helpers

The praising by the speaker in the beginning speech tells of the host's ancestors, what he has done in dancing, in potlatching, etc. The concluding speech again praises the host and there is an admonition to those present to do likewise.

The donations in the "main" potlatch are to men. But in the meantime the host's wife is usually acting as hostess in a donation to women, the women's presents being usually yard goods, which have been on display. She has a woman speaker and one who keeps tally.

Everyone present receives a gift. Children who have started up the social ladder (especially through dances in one series or the other) receive with the adults. Even a boy of twelve might receive with the chiefs, provided he had been "brought out" in the dances sufficiently. Girls' rank, like that of boys, depends on their name-titles, acquired in dances and potlatches. Other children receive last.

The recipient of a gift sometimes thanks the giver, referring to himself as of low rank and saying, perhaps, "I do not receive this for nothing. I shall make use of it." But chiefs would not do this.

The potlatch which terminates an important Gualaxa dance is called *gliala*. Usually only one is given in any year. This is often the high point in a man's career. Many years of work, saving, and planning go into it. It is usually arranged to take place after the wife has bought herself out so that the capital gain involved in that transaction will be available. The children of the couple, and usually nephews and nieces, will perform some of the minor dances. The sponsor (host) will perform his high dance in the series and assume the appropriate name-title. This name is often one which he receives as a part of the buying-out payment and one which was a part of the marriage bargain. Only an eldest brother can give such a festival. It is the duty of his younger brothers (and other near kin) to help him in all things connected with dances and potlatches. In return the eldest brother will see that their children are given a start in life by sponsoring them in at least some minor dances.

These investment loans mentioned above constitute, therefore (aside from the buying-out payments by a wife's kin), the chief means of acquiring or accumulating capital for a potlatch. The monies acquired in this way are, in a sense, almost public property; that is, the recipient is morally obligated to dispense such capital. Otherwise, people would gossip and his reputation would suffer. Even if the borrower is not planning a potlatch but needs the funds for ordinary purposes, he is still under obligation to pay back double. This one hundred per cent "interest" is the same whether the money is returned within a month, or not for several years. Even when the money is borrowed from a friend or relative, this holds true.

The following incidents and accounts may serve to illustrate the wide variety of practices and procedures involved in such "investments".

DB's classificatory "sister" was involved in a potlatch arrangement. In public she stated that she was temporarily short of funds. She then pulled a hair from her head, said, "Will one of my 'brothers' buy this?" DB did so, for \$50. A few years later she paid it back, plus \$50 more. Actually, she had not needed the money in the first place, had been merely trying to "help" him. He should therefore have used this \$100 for a potlatch but failed to do so.

TJ of Blunden Harbour married DB's classificatory "sister" of Smith's Inlet. Some time later TJ came to DB and said, "You were not present when I married your sister, so here is \$20." DB could not refuse the money,

and the next time TJ was ready to potlatch DB paid him back, \$40. TJ did not have to "dun" DB and would not have done so.

JC was noted for his somewhat sharp practices in financial matters. One day he invited DB to his house. The latter noted that JC's wife was not about and was told the two had quarreled and the wife had gone off in a huff. DB said a little sweet talk would bring her back. So he went to the woman and persuaded her to come back. For this little service JC gave him \$20. This gift could not be refused. About six months later JC sent word that he was planning a little potlatch and there was that matter of \$20. So DB had to return \$40, even though this was not quite cricket.

I would again emphasize that the idea of the potlatch (for the Owikeno) is not to show liberality. It represents a striving to better oneself, but not financially. One potlatches as often as possible to "bring out" names and the many other things which constitute the *suyaema*. There is a saying, "No chief ever dies with anything"—because he will have potlatched as much as possible. The idea of hoarding or accumulating wealth for any other purpose except to give it away would be regarded as abnormal, and is unthinkable, incomprehensible.

Now and then through misfortune or otherwise, even an aggressive and hard-working man may find himself in financial straits. He then refrains from potlatching until his affairs are in better order. However, if he has debts, these must be paid and one way of accomplishing this is as follows: If A owes B \$100²⁰ and B intends to potlatch, A must find the \$100 or lose face. He may raise the money by publicly pulling a hair from his head and saying, "Who will give me \$100 for this hair?" C, who has been forewarned by A, will make the offer of the loan (which must be repaid with \$200). This causes B to lose a little face, for A is demonstrating his good credit. C will probably be a near kinsman. A person may "sell" a part of his body in the same way to obtain funds, but this is not so common.

There are a few social functions which are essentially for men, although there is no overt policy of exclusion of women. These are the following.

The host of a potlatch invites the men of the village to the current potlatch house for a breakfast on each morning of the four or five festival days. This he does if he is "anyone at all," i.e., has pride in his station.

When a festival, for instance a dance, is being planned, the sponsor calls in those men who are to help him: those who are to supply firewood, to cook,²¹ and those who are to compose the songs, the singers and those who are to act as attendants to the dancer. At this meeting the whole affair is carefully planned so that there will be no hitch in the dance. This is called the *kli'lsut*. Those few women who are to prepare the ceremonial cedar bark are also present at the gathering.

The magical tricks of a dance are gone into and rehearsed at a special meeting. The call to this is made by the speaker going from house to house and mentioning "*kwa'k!waká*." The word means "to eat smoked salmon" prepared in a special way, but those in the know understand the hidden meaning.

It is customary for a man who has had exceptional luck in hunting to invite all the men of the village to a little informal feast. The women of the host's household may

²⁰ The original loan, if "public," or of the investment type, would have been \$50. If a purely personal one, it may have been \$100.

²¹ It still seems to be customary for men to do the main part of the cooking at large gatherings, as at the annual conventions of the Native Brotherhood.

remain in the house during this gathering.

Men sometimes have a feast by themselves distinct from the foregoing, a mere "stag party." What food remains is given to the man with the largest family. But the girls of his family must not eat of it, lest in later life men pass them by with a single look.

I suppose the potlatch system is largely responsible for the fact that the people of the Northwest Coast have been represented as mean, mercenary, arrogant, grasping, and so on. And I suppose that casual students of the culture will go on holding this view to the end of time. It is, nevertheless, an incorrect one. Money- and property-minded these people certainly are. But wealth and goods are of use only to be given away in the endless striving of the ambitious, those who wish to "better themselves." "A true chief always dies poor."

The giving of a potlatch is not an obligation to be avoided, but rather a privilege to be exercised as often as possible, provided, of course, that one has the means. Thus a man enhances his own prestige and that of his family. The ideal man looks for an "excuse" to give a potlatch and almost any excuse will serve. Thus, a few years ago DB's stepson fell from the fish ladder into

the water at the Goose Bay cannery, an accident of a type common enough. DB thereupon invited all the native workers of the cannery to a potlatch. These included people from Smith's Inlet, Blunden Harbour, and others. He gave away \$100 "to wash it off," even though no injury was involved. It would have involved no loss of face had he ignored the incident, but it was an opportunity to do something for the lad (and for himself).

Children are told that they should save and be frugal, to budget so they will not have to worry and will have peace of mind. The ideal man is generous above all. He always has guests. He always invites in anyone passing by. He has a ready smile. He is industrious. (The emphasis is not on planning and scheming but on work.) Thus, JC used to advise DB when the latter was a boy:

"You are not high-born but birth is not everything. You can raise yourself high by potlatching. You have health and two hands and you can climb up. Chiefs have no more than these things and for all their prerogatives, these will be of no use unless they potlatch for them [validate them]. Every person can make something of himself."

THE WINTER CEREMONIALS

Although the year among the Owikeno may be described as being divided into a season of economic activities connected with making a living and a ceremonial season, it would be wrong to state that the two involve different social structures such as Boas has described for the Kwagul of Fort Rupert and the Nimkish of Alert Bay (Boas, 1897, p. 418). Instead, the winter ceremonial season is merely the time of dances and the potlatches which invariably accompany these. To the Owikeno this is the time of "bringing out" or "showing" the prerogatives (*suyaema*) of those actively participating in the festivals. In fact, the whole object of the various dances is to lay claim to prerogatives and publicly validate them by the potlatch which follows (Barnett, 1938). Certain prerogatives may be claimed at other times during the year, but the most important ones, especially those involving the highest name-titles, seem to be always linked with the winter ceremonials.

Neither is there a division within the societies on the basis of age or sex, as among the people of Fort Rupert and Alert Bay. Before the decimation of the tribe it was probably true that certain of the higher dances were performed exclusively by men, without, however, age being the determining factor in the right to perform a given dance. Yet it was undoubtedly true that children or even youths would not be assigned the rights to the higher dances.

Marriages are sometimes arranged so as to give the groom certain highly prized prerogatives from the bride's family, these being involved in the bargain. But many others pass from father to son (or daughter) or from mother to daughter (or son). There is no acquisition of prerogatives by killing their owner. A prerogative once assumed remains the property of the possessor until he passes it on during his life or it becomes a part of his "estate" at death. But in either event, the prerogative cannot be assumed without a potlatch, or, in the case of those associated with the dancing societies, the dance and a potlatch.

No prerogative is divisible. That is, it may be held by only one person. This point needs some clarification since, e.g., identical name-titles occur in tribe after tribe and the right to a certain dance may be held by several lineages in the same tribe. This is explained or rationalized by the fact that for each prerogative there is an associated legend; and since such items as the places where events of the legend took place differ in the various legends, the prerogatives are regarded as different in origin.

With the decimation of the tribe many of the prerogatives lie "dormant," so to speak (for no prerogative ever passes out of existence), since the few survivors have not the means necessary to assume all those once active.²² Many of these have become but dimly remembered and many will probably be forgotten altogether as the culture continues the process of breakdown.²³

The dancing societies, despite the fact that a very few persons are not eligible for membership, are not to be regarded as a disruptive feature of the culture. Dancers are proud of the number of times they have danced. The sponsoring of a child or other kinsman in a dance is a

means of giving him a start in life, just as we give a child a college education, technical training, or set him up in business. Nonmembers are not pushed around beyond being forced to observe certain rules (taboos) during the dancing periods. The dances and the accompanying potlatches are things to strive toward. They give meaning, purpose, and incentive to the business of living. This is at least the Owikeno attitude.

Owikeno culture has not been lived on the old plane for a half-century or more. This, plus the fact that all of the elders of the tribe have passed on, makes it impossible at this late date to give a complete or even always accurate account of the social life and structure, and applies particularly to the activities of the ceremonial season. Many of the dances have not been given or held in decades, and those which are still performed are sadly watered-down remnants of their earlier forms. This should be kept in mind in reading the following description of the winter ceremonials.²⁴

I agree with Drucker that the "Secret Societies" described by Boas are not secret organizations at all but are merely dances. The only "secrets" are those which involve a magical trick as one feature in some of the dances and the fact that the whistles and horns are, to the uninitiated, the voices or breathings of the spirit. But the uninitiated are only the very young and a very few adults and even these are allowed to witness the final night's performance, by far the most spectacular. For these reasons I do not feel that the appellation "secret society" is deserved at all, though Drucker applies the term to each of the two dance series.

The ceremonial season is divided into two parts or two series of dances. The first is that of the month or so when the *Tsaika* series (called the "Shaman's series" by Drucker) is held; the second is that of the *Glualaxa* (the "*dluwulaxa*" of Drucker). This second series begins perhaps a week (sometimes a month) after the first and in ancient times probably lasted a month. Nowadays both the seasons and the individual dances are much abbreviated.

Each year there is a ceremony called *ya'yumala* ("greeting with your presence"), which takes place at the time when the snow line approaches the village. It ushers in the time of the winter dances, though it is not connected with either of the dance series. The snow is regarded as a spirit. The saying is, "He is coming closer" (meaning the snow line comes lower). When the snow line reaches the village, a great fire is built in each house and people go to the stream or lake and take a ceremonial bath. At this time the council meets and decides when the *Tsaika* dance series should begin.

The season when the winter dances are given is called *tso,a'nxala* (from *tsoa*, "winter" and *xala*, "to act the giver") and means literally, "Winter giving away time." It is the sacred season in a vague way. It should be borne in mind that the dances are primarily concerned with bringing out or "showing" prerogatives (*suyaema*) and giving of the potlatch which validates these prerogatives (Barnett, 1938). The spirits associated with the dances arrive as the snow creeps down the mountains to the village.

²² It is this situation which probably lies back of one informant's statement, "My *suyaema* are without number."

²³ This situation has resulted in a certain amount of selling prerogatives to alien tribes by persons who sometimes have no right to them. See Olson, 1950.

²⁴ Drucker (1940) has given a brief account of Owikeno dances. His and mine are not in complete agreement and the two should be regarded as complementary to each other. The discrepancies can probably never be resolved.

In the work of many kinds involved in getting ready for these festivals the word "hire" (*hai'liála*) is not used, but the word *k!la.o'xwa* is used instead. This means to hire in the special sense of preparing for the festivals—for all this work must be paid for at the potlatches which follow the respective dances.

The theory of each dance is that at some time in the past an ancestor of the dancer had a supernatural experience with the spirit who taught him the dance, the songs, and gave him the paraphernalia used (or showed him these). The right to the dance in question thus came to be passed on to the descendants of this ancestor.

The dances vary in rank as high or minor but not in a very definite order except for those of greatest importance. Thus a person must have danced at least once before he would be admitted to the house to witness some of the higher dances, especially the Cannibal dance, except on the final night of the dance. Should one of the uninitiated see some of the "secrets," e.g., the workings of the magical tricks or that the whistles are not the voices of spirits, he would, or might be, killed, theoretically by shaman's magic.

Actually, at least in recent times, even a small child may be credited with the highest dances, with an adult carrying out the dance in his stead.

After some of the dances in both series which involve a magical trick, one of the attendants may burlesque the trick. This is another indication that these dances, or, for that matter, the series, are not "secret societies" at all but merely a method of "bringing out" the prerogatives of the dancer. Thus, following the fire-walking, one of the attendants, wearing heavy boots, performs on (in) the fire box with its secret plank covering the coals and hot stones. He pretends to be terribly burned! Following the water-walking trick (in which a secretly placed plank lies just under the surface of the water), an attendant jumps "onto" the water, but instead of walking on the water, he makes a tremendous splash! In the trick where a dead salmon comes to life, the burlesque of it is that the salmon remains very much dead. These burlesques, naturally, vastly amuse the spectators. Following the Thunderbird dance, with its stately rendition of the behavior of that mythical bird, there is a parody of it by one of the attendants. (I do not know where this dance fits into either series. It is said that it was borrowed from the *Bella Coola* and that the words of its songs are in that tongue, but I find it neither in Drucker's nor my lists. I believe it forms a part of the *Glualaxa* series.)

It is not correct to state that rank depends on the order or rank of the dance which one has achieved. The number of times that one has danced counts as much. Thus, on one occasion two men got into a hassle about something. One was a *Tanis* (the highest rank in the *Tsaika*); the other had danced only in the lower dances. The *Tanis* referred to his having danced this dance. The other countered by saying, "I have more cedar bark (*k!la'kut*) than you." He had danced nine times, the *Tanis* but three. Thus he bested the *Tanis*.

JC had danced thirteen times in the *Tsaika* series but never the *Tanis* dance. Yet he was regarded as the equal of a *Tanis* dancer because of the large number of times he had danced.

Both series of dances are administered or the arrangements approved by a sort of council (p. 217). Its members are such by hereditary right, usually chiefs, and are always *nulilaku* ("made a fool"), which means that they are not subject to the taboos of the *Tsaika* series. A potlatch validating the "office" is necessary. (DB thus named his three-year-old son to the position.) A chief function of this group is to see that all the *Tsaika* rules are followed.

In one instance the *Tanis* (Cannibal dancer) was known to be sleeping with a woman during the time of his dancing. The council met and decided it was a capital offence. They secured the services of a shaman and the following night as the *Tanis* finished his dance and started into the cubicle (1 in fig. 2), the shaman "shot" his power into the offender, who immediately fell dead. In another episode involving breaking the same taboo, the dancer was killed as he appeared out of the woods on the river beach across from the village.

In the invitation to the *Tsaika* dances the speaker goes from door to door calling out, "Attendants of the *Tanis* (*hai'likála*), ladies of rank (*wiumaks*), you *nu.ánLa'm* and you *u.ulalau'*,²⁵ we are going to beat sticks and sing (*klixitikluxants*) for *So* and *So* and *So* and *So*." On the final night of a dance, however, when the dancers are masked (i.e., are spirits, not merely possessed by spirits), he merely goes down the street, inviting everyone. But the *PUKS* (children and others who have not danced or those who are not eligible to dance) must be escorted or chaperoned by members. During the *Tsaika* series the house in which the dances are held is called *tsaika'tsi*, meaning that the *Tsaika* taboos are in force.

Various subterfuges are used in the preliminaries of the higher *Tsaika* dances to indicate "nomination." Thus on one occasion a girl went berry-picking with two women. After a time the two women were seen and heard, shouting and screaming in excitement. One of the *nulilaku* went about announcing that "something must have happened." People went to meet the two, who related that a spirit came and possessed the girl, who ran away. The two were set upon, scratched and beaten (in mock seriousness). From time to time during the next two weeks the girl was seen at daybreak on the river bank across from the village, singing her spirit song, and the (whistle) voices of the spirits were heard. But she eluded attempts to capture her until, of course, the fourth attempt.

Although the *Glualaxa* dances seem to rank higher than those of the *Tsaika* (for example, in certain ceremonies and in ceremonial or formal address the *Glualaxa* rather than the *Tsaika* names are used), the rules of the *Tsaika* series are more rigorous. This is especially true as regards taboos. Some of these are the following (in addition to those cited elsewhere).

During the *Tsaika* dances no one may laugh, talk, go in or out of the house. Quiet and decorum must be maintained by all not actually performing. The uninitiated (children and other *Puks*) must not pass the *Tsaika* house by the street but must go down along the beach.

During the dance season the young bloods (those of the more important dances, their attendants and perhaps others) make the dance house their headquarters. They are called *ma'mádzilhá* ("covetous noses") and if they choose, they get a man who holds the office of *kwe'kwasa-laL* with them and demand in a chant whatever it is they wish. It is bound to be given to them. Thus they go from house to house, getting food for the most part.

During the four days of the Cannibal dance the word "hamatsa" (from ham, "to eat") is taboo and the dancer is called the *Tanis*, or, equally often, the *Glugwalla* ("shaman"). The Fire-throwing dancer (*Nunlístá*) is also referred to as *Glugwalla*. These are the only two dancers in the *Tsaika* series who are so referred to.

The four days of the three highest dances are referred to as the *hai'liká* (the period of healing). These are the dances in which there are special attendants called *he'liká* (healers).

²⁵ These two groups are those who have danced only once or twice yet are allowed in the dance house. All others are *Puks*.

One of the magical tricks (or "miracles" as they are called) involves "beheading" of the dancer. Drucker places this as a definite dance in the series (Drucker, 1940, p. 202). I did not get it as a part of the series, but the trick was described as follows. A mask, or rather a head, is carved which is a "portrait" of the dancer, and in the dim light of the dance house the uninitiated will see the wooden head as a real one. One of the attendants announces that the dancer has called for a plank and an axe. The attendants crowd round the dancer who disappears into the cubicle. One of the attendants lies down on the plank, bending his head far back into a hole in the plank. The wooden head is placed in position and is then "cut off" and "blood" from concealed bladders squirts from the neck. The "severed" head is now exhibited and is placed on a shelf at the wall of the cubicle. The dancer now gets under this shelf and puts his head through a hole. The wooden head is removed and the spectators are invited to examine the head, which is real flesh and blood! The portrait head is now carried back to the body. Through more hocus-pocus the dancer finally takes his place on the plank, eventually getting up and dancing, alive and well.

In one of the dances (I am not certain which one) there is the firewalking "miracle." An attendant announces that the dancer has called for a box to be filled with red-hot stones. A heavy piece of plank is surreptitiously placed over the stones (of course unseen by the spectators). Not even the dancer always knows that the plank is so placed and may be afraid. But to the spectators the dancer stands and dances barefoot on the stones.

There is one dance linked with the Tsaika dances which is not properly a part of the series. It is called *i'giwaliLa* and means something like "nonstop from the door to the head of the house." A person dancing this may be an attendant to the hamatsa, go into the cubicle, and further may dance the hamatsa as his next dance, if he is eligible.

The high dances which involve a disappearance in the woods are called *aklakem* ("far away gone"). I am not certain how dance No. 6 in my series conforms with this concept.

Most of the high dances are danced by men but in recent times, because of the decrease of the tribe, an eligible man may not be available. So, rather than let the valuable prerogative lapse, a woman may be chosen. But in this event she is counted as being a man within the society.

A host or sponsor may vary the dance almost at will. Thus, Chief AH once sponsored one of these dances and had two groups of masks (spirits). One group with hideous faces ranged along the lower side of the house whereas on the upper side were fine-looking spirits. As the dancer came out of the cubicle dancing a dance (step ?) called the *a'ikiya* (to improve oneself), each group of spirits called to him "Gaiye'm, gaiye'm" ("come here, come here"). He went to the good-looking spirits and finished a fine-looking fellow. (Evidently he changed masks so that the final one was of a fine appearance. Some other dancers had scorned him earlier and thus he shamed these persons. A comparison is made with the story of lousy, scabby Yaxtsi (p. 232), scorned by his fellow villagers.)

The following shows how one may become a member of the Tsaika higher dances in an unusual way. All this was prearranged, though it must have seemed very realistic and terrifying to those not in the know.—SW's father was sitting in front of his wife during one of the dances and leaned back against her knees. This sort of thing was taboo and the council met to decide on what action to take. They decided to dig a hole near the fire and to bury him

alive in this by covering him with the ashes and embers of the fire. The pit was dug, he was placed in it (in a squatting posture) and the burying begun. Just as the fire began to burn his blanket, the sound of a Tanis whistle was heard, signifying that this spirit had possessed him. At this the other *Tata'nis* (those who have previously danced this dance) rushed in and hauled him out, saving him, and he was initiated.

The Flirting Dance, which is No. 13 in Drucker's series (1940, p. 202), is not really one of the graded series but fits into the cycle as follows: On the last night of the Tsaika dances, while the Tanis is being tamed, the *Tatanis* as usual are seated in front of the cubicle. Along the house wall nearest the cubicle are seated certain women who have this hereditary right and who are female healers. Whenever the dancer is in front of these women, everyone is expected to burst forth with his own song,²⁶ creating a bedlam of sound. The *Tatanis* watch out for anyone not singing and, if they see such dereliction, they signal the *k!lu'slaL* dancer who comes to the center of the floor where he does a dance imitating the motions of the sexual act. The master of ceremonies thereupon picks out those who have failed to sing. These must now come to the dance floor and also do a similar erotic dance. Should a person refuse, the *Tatanis* would beat him up. DB's wife, who is extremely shy, was once forced to perform this dance.

In all but the minor dances one of the first three nights is called *dă'tokulā*. The master of ceremonies calls on all the women present to accompany the songs by humming.

While the minor dances are in progress or during a lull, one of the singers may take up the song of any person present. The owner of this song must then get up and dance. This is called *nu'La* and is done merely for amusement and to keep things going.

Each dance series has distinct sets of "feast" or ceremonial names which are given to the performers at the potlatch following each dance. These are distinct also for men and women. Thus each person has two ceremonial names—one from his last-performed Tsaika dance, the other from his last-performed Glualaxa dance. The feminine names of the Tsaika series always (?) refer to male sexual organs, the masculine names to the female organs.²⁷ The Glualaxa name is or may be customarily used in everyday reference and address and in funeral and wedding ceremonies. The Tsaika names, on the other hand, are ordinarily used only during the period in which those dances are being performed.

These names follow family (lineage) lines rather than being owned by the septs. But they can pass from lineage to lineage by marriage. Thus desire to acquire a valuable name (title) may be a factor in the choice of a mate. For example, at the time a wife "redeems" herself she may give her husband the desired name as a part of the redemption payment (p. 223).

JJ gives the following account of his dancing "career."

When I was about seven years old, my parents talked to the chiefs about starting me in the dances. They agreed that it was time. They told me to play ball with the other boys. When the ball struck me, I was to fall down as if

²⁶ Except the *Puks*, who would have no songs.

²⁷ These names, of course, are inherited. Examples are: *Haba'kkatsi* ("container for female pubic hair," a man's name); *Kli'mklalis* ("circumcised penis placed in the fire," a woman's name; circumcision was not practiced); *I'xamtah* ("Menses," a man's name); *Dzaká'is* ("exposed female genitals which are the color of blueberries"; this, curiously enough, is a woman's name). There is no thought of these names being "dirty" or obscene in our sense. Yet when the "more obscene" (or clever) ones are mentioned, the spectators cry "iith" in amusement.

dead. This I did, and they carried me into the house in a blanket. Shamans were called in to see me, and my parents were told to put me behind a cedarbark screen [mat] on a bed about four feet above the floor and to let no one see me. A young man came to care for me [i.e., one who was a "member" of the dance, an attendant] while other dances went on in the dance house.

On the fourth day I was given a whistle, and the people were told that the spirit had possessed me.

My spirit was the yai'ktualis ["stubborn"] and meant that I was to act mean and throw things around, especially dirt. That night I danced in the dance house and when I finished I was put in the cubicle [of the Tsaika series]. For four nights I danced and each night the women "healers" tamed the spirit. The fourth night²⁸ there was a feast and the gifts were given out [for me]—blankets, sea biscuits, sacks of flour and sugar. I was given the name Yai'kamuyah ["bad," "mean," or "crazy"]. For four years I danced this dance. Each time something wrong happened I would become frenzied and throw dirt about. Or my attendants would take me around to the houses where I would put on my act.

Then [the fifth year] I started the nunlsistalal ["crazy," "fool," or "fire-throwing" dance]. For this I was taken to the woods and "trained" for four months. After coming back to the village, my power was so strong that I was tied in the cubicle. In there was a gadget which made a horrible noise [to frighten the uninitiated]. In this dance hot stones and firebrands are thrown around. This dance I danced for four years.

Then [the ninth year ?] I started the hai'likilä [in the Glualaxa series]. This I also danced for four years. In this my name was e'kamuyah ["good"].

In both series of dances the dancers who have performed the dances of high rank are for a time (up to a month) regarded as somewhat taboo or sacred, perhaps still somewhat under the spell of the spirit. During this time they are called dji'LiL and must wear the cedarbark rings which are a part of the dance paraphernalia.

An important prerogative like the Cannibal dance or Fool dance must not be allowed to lie dormant. For example, a Cannibal dancer must always be ready to go into his frenzy (i.e., feign possession) when anything goes awry in the dances or when the taboo word is spoken. This holds for him throughout his life or until he passes the prerogative on. And each time he must be "tamed" and must give a feast at which those who tame him must be paid.

THE TSAIKA SERIES OF DANCES

The following is the list or order of dances in the Tsaika or Shamans' series of dances. These are sometimes referred to as the "earthly dances," because most of the creatures or spirits represented are of earthly origin rather than coming from the heavens or upper world.²⁹ The list differs somewhat from that given by Drucker, but it is impossible at this late date to determine which list is the more complete or accurate. The

²⁸ He probably means the morning of the fifth day or the fifth day.

²⁹ In all but the first two the spirit possesses the dancer but once. In the Cannibal and Fire-throwing dances the spirit remains in a sort of dormant state, likely to cause a frenzy at any time, such as when the taboo word is spoken or when those involved fail to receive food first.

Tsaika dances are (rarely) also called wau'nkastah ("below") and the Glualaxa series is sometimes called ai'kastwah ("above"). It is an interesting dichotomy and may possibly represent a feature which was important in the early history of the dances.

1. Cannibal or Tanis dance, Hamatsa (meaning "to eat," or "one who is going to eat"). This is the highest in the Tsaika series. In recent times only four families (lineages) have this dance among their suyaema, but it is said that in former times the number was larger. In this the dancer is possessed by the Cannibal Spirit (Ba'xbakwalanusiwa) and the fourth night of the dance the dancer wears a costume and mask representing this spirit. Within the dance house the dancer is never referred to as hamatsa but always as Tanis. A somewhat detailed description of the Tanis dance follows at the end of the list of dances.
2. Crazy or Fool dance (or Fire-throwing dance), Nunlsistalal. No mask is worn in the performance of this dance. It ranks as high as the Cannibal dance or nearly so.
3. Grizzly Bear dance. Although this dance ranks high in the series, it is seldom performed and my informant has seen it but once in his seventy-five years.
4. Skull dance, K!o'minuahslax. A mask representing a human skull (or a headdress of skulls ?) is worn in this dance. The spirit is somehow associated with (or "friendly" with) the Cannibal spirit.
5. Ghost dance, Läu'LaL. The dancer or dancers are possessed by spirits of the dead. The headdress is made of hemlock boughs burned enough to remove the leaves.

The following of the Tsaika dances are regarded as of rather minor importance in comparison with the first five:

6. Ak!la'k'em ("taken into the woods" or "far away gone"). The performer spends at least ten days in the forest preceding the dance. No mask is worn and the idea of spirit possession is not involved. A part of the dance is a trick or "miracle" such as the turning of a stick into a frog or causing a stone to float.
7. Sleep dance, k!ya'LkyaLamas ("sleep causing"). In this the dancer projects his spirit or power into the audience causing some of them to fall to the floor in deep sleep, with snoring. When he withdraws the power, they awaken.
8. Salmon dance, mi'älal. The trick of this dance involves a dead salmon which becomes alive.
9. Bird dance, ma'tasuh. Although in this dance the spirit is a bird, it is regarded as an "earthly" dance "because the bird is not named." The dancer's power enables him to "pull out" the souls of the onlookers. His spirit power must be pacified by singing and hand motions by his attendants.
10. Hai'liktsakstah. At the beginning of this performance the dancer and his attendants make the round of the village and in every house are given food. On the final night the dancer causes a stone to float in a box of water.
11. Thieving dance, Gĭlu'tlaL. This dance is much like the preceding, but in this the dancer and his attendants go from house to house and in each the dancer goes through a mock theft of food, which he shares with his attendants. In the final night's performance he performs any one of several magical tricks—causing a stone to float, dancing on the water, or fire-walking.

12. Rat Spirit dance, K'ya'pálaL. In this the dancer is possessed by the Rat spirit and goes about tearing the clothing from the backs of spectators, seizing various objects and so on. He gnaws at these or otherwise destroys them. After the dance these things must be replaced. It is said that this dance is unique to the Owikeno, whereas all the other dances are found among neighboring tribes as well.

THE TANIS (HAMATSA) DANCE

It is no longer possible to secure a detailed description of any of the dances and those held nowadays exhibit only remnants of the old performances. Even the names and places in the series of some of the dances have been forgotten. The Cannibal dance, being the most important, is remembered best and I give the following description of it. Even so, the description is abbreviated and perhaps even inaccurate in certain details. Many of the songs and other features which are no longer obtainable were undoubtedly very similar to those described for the Kwakiutl by Boas.

At the potlatch which follows the four nights of the dance itself, the speaker or master of ceremonies gives the new (Tanis) name of the dancer. He then relates how the dancer came by this. He recites the dancer's genealogy, mentioning names and places, and recites the legend (nuyam) associated with the origin of the dance. It involves the experience of an ancestor with Baxbakwalanusiwa ("people-eating spirit"). This experience evidently involved certain things not mentioned in the legend, but it is related nevertheless as validating the right to the dance.³⁰ The legend obtained is as follows.

Nuakawah lived at Nuxants with his wife and four sons. The four were getting ready to hunt goats. The parents begged them not to go but they said they must. So they were told not to go where they saw red smoke [the color of blood] but only where they saw white smoke. To the eldest son, who was the fastest runner, they gave a basket in which there was a whetstone, a comb, a fluff of goat's wool, and eulachon grease in a kelp cup. As they started, it was snowing very hard.

They came near a house from which issued white smoke but they did not go to it. Then they came to a house with red smoke and went in. In the house there were two people, a woman and a child. Now one of the lads had hurt himself and was bleeding from the knee. When the child saw this, he kept pointing at it, wanting to lick the blood. The boys knew they were in danger and wondered how they could escape. The eldest shot an arrow out the door and ran as if to fetch it, but kept on running. The second and third boys did the same. Finally the youngest shot his arrow and ran after it. At this the woman shouted for her husband (who was Baxbakwalanusiwa),³¹ "Come quick! Four men we could eat have run away." Four times she shouted this. The boys were running as fast as they could, the youngest bringing up the rear. The cannibal gained on them and when he had nearly caught them, the eldest threw down the wool. From it there arose a dense fog which delayed the cannibal. But again he gained on them and, as he came near, the whetstone was thrown down. This became a mountain and while

the cannibal climbed it, the lads gained. But again the cannibal caught up with them. Now the oil was thrown down and it became a lake. But the creature swam across and again came on them. This time the comb was thrown down and it became a dense thicket which hampered the cannibal.

As they neared their own house, the boys shouted, "Your door! Nuakawah! Your door!" [i.e., "Open the door!"] The giant tramped round and round the house for four days. Then Nuakawah called him and invited him and his family to a feast. While the cannibal went home to bring his family, the people dug a hole near the fire, covered it with a skin, and put a seat across it. Now the cannibal and his wife came but left the little boy at home. When the cannibal pair were seated, Nuakawah began a chant, "What story shall I tell these, my grandchildren?" This he sang until the two fell asleep and began to snore. Then they sprang the trap so that the cannibals fell into the pit. Then the family took a plank and raked the fire and the fire stones into the pit. Four days they left them there. Then they dug them out and cut their bodies into small pieces which they scattered about. "These will be mosquitoes now," said Nuakawah. [For these creatures had liked blood.]³²

The following tale (probably somewhat garbled) has to do with both the Cannibal and Fire-throwing dances. It may indicate that the latter was at some time connected with the Dog-eating dance of some of the neighboring tribes.

When the Fire-throwing dance began, the dancers ate only dogs. That year they had finished this dance. A man named Mu'dana was sitting in his house with his wife, eating. He had danced the Fire-throwing dance for two years. As they were eating, the spirit Baxbakwalanusiwa came to the door and said, "Now, Mu'dana k' lau [signifying that this was now to be his name], from now on humans instead of dogs will be your food." Then Mudana went away into the woods to begin to become a Cannibal dancer. [His secular name was HamdzidaukeL.]

In some of the minor dances several novices may appear in a single night but in the higher ones (including the Tanis) a single dancer, and only one each year, may perform. It is known, of course, which persons are eligible for the Tanis honor. Since the number of Tanis is limited to four, it depends on one of these being willing to give up his place in favor of a new holder, if possible, a son. The matter is discussed long beforehand by the council, the Tatanis (the other Tanis dancers), and most of all by the sponsor or host, for the last must have available the necessary considerable capital.

Some time (probably several months before the dance) a secret meeting of those who will participate is held. Present are the Tatanis, the attendants, the master of ceremonies, the women "healers," those who are to carve the masks, those who will prepare the paraphernalia, and so on. The whole affair is carefully planned. When, or soon after, the whistles of the spirits are heard, the candidate has a seizure and dashes away shouting, "Ham, ham" ("eat, eat"), his attendants in pursuit. However, he escapes. Somewhere far from the village is a cave or shelter where he stays. (Probably with him is an old Tanis dancer who instructs him in the necessary steps, etc.)

³⁰ Boas (1897, pp. 400-401) gives a slightly different version of this, but his tale likewise lacks the actual account of how the dance and its paraphernalia were obtained.

³¹ These creatures had human bodies but the heads of animals.

³² This would be the legend related for only one of the Cannibal dancers. Each of the others lays claim to a legend differing in some essential particulars from this.

During the ten days to a month that he is away the minor dances are being performed at the village.

On the appointed day at dawn the Tanis is seen on the river beach across from the village. A pair of canoes with planks lashed across has been prepared and the attendants and two designated dancers (male and female?) go across to entice the possessed novice, the dancers singing the songs which he has been heard singing and which will lure him aboard. They conduct him to the dance house and into the cubicle.³³ The dancer is fitted with a sort of harness with a rope attached, by means of which his attendants lead him about and restrain him. However, he escapes from time to time, only to be recaptured and led again into his cubicle and (supposedly) tied to the tethering pole. This is so fixed that it projects through the roof, and those passing the house can see it sway as the Tanis struggles to escape. There is also a device which makes a horrible rasping sound as the pole sways.

For three nights the Tanis dances without a mask, holding his arms, one extended, the other carried over the head. On the fourth night (the masked dance) the arms are carried forward bent at right angles at the elbows.

In one of the songs sung on each of the first three nights the word *lu'aL* ("corpse") is used. This word throws the Tatanis into a frenzy and they shout, "Ham! Ham!" ("eat, eat"). The Tatanis (attendants) dance per-

³³ Drucker (1940, pp. 203-204) gives some additional details of this part of the procedure which I did not obtain.

haps once around the fire, then go outside, come in again and follow the Tanis into the cubicle. During this the healers shout repeatedly, "Wai+ yâp, Wai+ yâp." When these phrases have soothed the Tanis and Tatanis sufficiently, the dance is over for the night.

While the Tanis is in his cubicle on the final night the four *hâmsi'wâ* (cannibal) spirits appear, two male, two female (the males being distinguishable by their longer beaks). These are masked dancers. They circle the room once, then enter the cubicle. Now the Tanis comes out—wild! He crawls on his belly with quivering outstretched arms and as he inches along, his breath comes in great gasping sounds (the whistles) which grow louder and louder! Finally he gets to his feet and rushes about, his attendants trying in vain to hold him. A post is ready, by means of which he climbs to the rafters and beams and out the smoke hole. Eventually he comes down again, only to rush out and through the village. Then he comes back in. During all this only those in the inner circle fail to be terrified and some of them admit to fear. Only the singers and drummers are immune to his attacks, but actually by pre-arrangement only four persons are bitten. Again he escapes and rushes about the village, then again enters the house. A council member now speaks up, saying he knows how to pacify the wild thing—with a corpse!

The *laLuLayë'lks* (procurer of the corpse) and his three helpers now take torches and go across to the

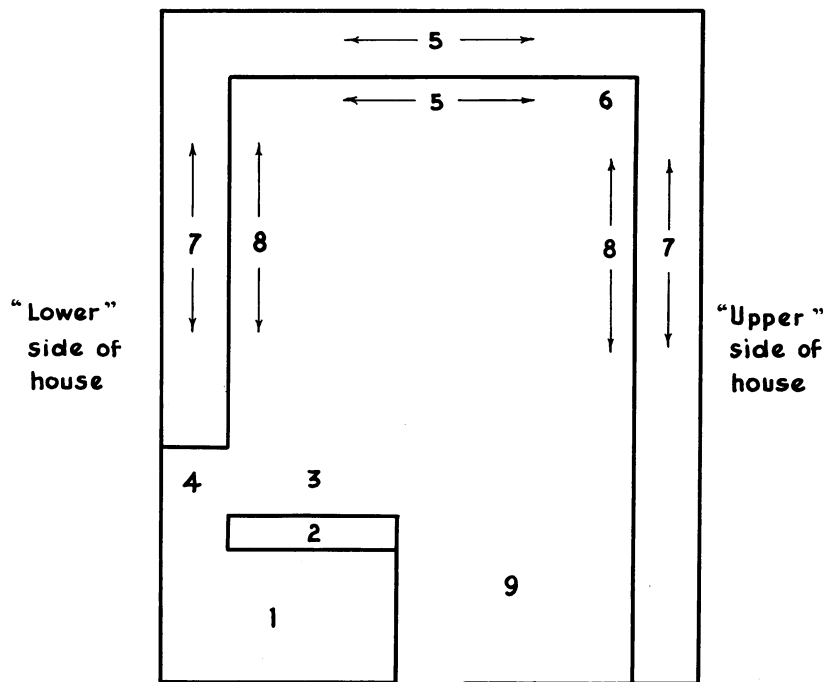


Fig. 2. Seating arrangement for the Cannibal dance.

1. The dancer's cubicle
2. Seat of those who have danced the Cannibal and Fool dances
3. The "healers" (attendants)
4. The four female attendants
5. Male singers and time-beaters
6. Drummer
7. Children and teen-agers seated on platform
8. Women, seated on floor
9. Fire-tenders, cooks, etc.

cemetery to get a body.³⁴ During all this the Tanis continues his wild antics. He climbs on the roof, tearing at the planks, and now and then comes down through the smoke hole. Finally the corpse is carried in. The Tanis gets first chance at it, but at the sight of it, the old Tanis dancers (the Tatanis) also go into a frenzy and they all tear and eat at it. (I have conflicting statements as to whether or not the flesh is actually eaten or whether bits are merely held in the teeth, then adroitly dropped inside the blanket.)

The "eating" of the corpse tames the dancer and the Tatanis. This is indicated by a change in the tone of the whistles, the rasping, gasping "breathing" of the spirit becoming somewhat subdued.³⁵ The master of ceremonies now speaks up, saying, "We are saved! There will be no more damage!" A designated man who has the hereditary right now takes the Tanis by the hair and leads him into the cubicle. This he does also to each of the Tatanis in turn, chanting the special song of the Tanis.

But now the Tanis may have another seizure and dash madly about, in and out of the dance house, followed by his "healers," who finally capture him and put him into his harness and tie him to the tethering pole.

He is then (the fourth morning) roughly escorted to the beach, still held in his harness and tethering rope. He is immersed in the icy water, then turned around. Four duckings and four turnings make the purification complete. While this is going on, the tethering pole is taken down, cut into four pieces, and thrown on the fire. Once more the dancer is taken into the cubicle, where he is dressed in a dance apron and a bearskin robe. Around his neck is a huge cedarbark ring, and other rings on head, arms, and legs. He now dances in an almost normal (human) fashion. Again he is returned to the cubicle. The female attendants enter and pacify him with songs and by blowing on his body. The male attendants aid in the taming by shouting in unison four times, "Wai+ yâp!" At intervals all those in the house create an uproar by each singing his Tsaika song. It is evidently at this point that a further feature of the purification takes place in the cubicle. This is called gâ'lxwa ("to cause to vomit"), and, in theory, the vomiting is the spirit coming out. I have no further details.

At last the Tanis emerges from the cubicle and seats himself on the bench with the Tatanis (i.e., those who have danced in previous years). There is now the guessing of the taboo word by the Tatanis. After seemingly random guesses, one of them "comes close" to the real word. E.g., if the word is "ant," the word "insect" will cause the Tanis to shudder. Guided by his actions, the word is finally spoken (as by prearrangement) by one of the Tatanis. This throws the Tanis into a frenzy, but this time he is quickly tamed. The people are warned never to utter the word in his hearing; throughout his life the sound of it will throw him into a frenzy.³⁶ The one who guesses the word then gives a feast. Sometimes a friend or relative may be asked to speak the taboo word. He must then give a feast—which is to his credit and that of the "owner"

³⁴ Actually, the body has been prepared and brought into the cubicle some days before. The corpse is that of a relative of the Tanis (to avoid hurting the feelings of others) and should be that of one who died a "natural" death rather than from disease.

³⁵ DB relates how he was an attendant to a Tanis dancer who put on such a convincing act that he, DB, was carried away and actually wept in sympathy and fear.

³⁶ Examples of taboo words are raven, snail, and maggot. They are seemingly chosen at random. The person uttering the word (sometimes intentionally) must give a feast.

of the word. Taboo words are also a part of some of the other high dances.

The Tanis is not the only dancer who may go into a frenzy. Thus, on one occasion something went amiss in the dance house and all the Tatanis went into a frenzy and were taken into the cubicle to be tamed. Also sitting on the bench was a Fire-thrower, but he remained quiet. Soon one of the attendants came out and put a pot on the fire, purposely setting it so that it would tip over. When it upset, the Fire-thrower dancer went into a terrible tantrum. He threw hot ashes and burning brands around the house, many of them over the partition and into the cubicle. Finally his attendants were able to tame him.

A favorite bit of "play" by the Tanis is for him to have an especially violent seizure when something goes wrong in the dance house, usually by prearrangement. He may then seize a spectator by the foot to drag him away (to eat him, of course!). At this those near the victim try to prevent his being taken away. Children in the audience usually cry in fear at this exhibition, for the Tanis seems truly frenzied.

If the Tanis carries things too far, one man who has danced a certain dance (I do not know which one) is called upon. He seizes the Tanis by the hair, sings his own song and, with no make-believe, drags the Tanis over to the cubicle.

The Tanis dance is supposed to be repeated three times. That is, it should be danced in four successive years. If it is the fourth dance, the Tatanis, attendants, master of ceremonies, and others who have helped have a meeting a few days after the dance is over. They chant their personal Tsaika songs, and as they do so, burn the cannibal masks. One informant stated that the use of a corpse in the dance also takes place only the fourth year. The dancer of the fourth year now becomes a Tatanis.

The following day the potlatch, which is really a part of the ceremony, is held and the Tanis name of the dancer is given. The speaker tells the legend which proves the right of the dancer to the dance and his new name.

A sort of second Tanis series may be given for another four years. (Drucker records that still a third four-year series may be given.)

During all of the dances of the Tsaika series, the Tatanis watch the spectacle. Should anything go awry or should a taboo be violated, they all cry "Ham, ham" repeatedly and breathe gaspingly. The attendants surreptitiously hand each a whistle, which is blown, to simulate the breathing or voice of the spirits.³⁷

After the Tsaika dances are finished, all those who have danced must wear the cedarbark rings on head, neck, ankles, and wrists for about ten days. During this period they are called dzi'Lil and are somewhat sacred (or impure?). I have no further details. I believe the same rules apply to the period following the Glualaxa series.

In the first part of the Tsaika season when the lower rank (beginning) dances are being held, as many as four initiates may dance in one night, all of them being financed (sponsored) by one man. These initiates might include his own children, his nephews, and nieces, and perhaps others. The kin of all these help with the expenses. The names and the funds are given out by the sponsor (actually by the speaker). While these minor dances are being held, the novices of the higher dances are in their retreats.

³⁷ The whistle is called ha'sbis ("my breath") but the word is seldom used, for the uninitiated are to believe that the whistle is actually the breathing of the spirits.

THE GLUALAXA DANCES

Like the Tsaika dances, these constitute a graded series but the two series are not related. A person may have danced a dozen of these yet may not be permitted even to attend a Tsaika performance, this privilege depending upon the performance of at least some of the lower grade Tsaika dances. And even a Tanis may be a nobody in the Glualaxa, unless he has gone through the preliminaries in this series. The word "Glu.ála'xa" means literally "descended again" or "come down again" and refers to the fact that most of the spirits represented are those of birds, and that in these the performers disappear some time beforehand, then return. Supposedly they are taken to the upper world by the (bird) spirits, then return to perform the dance. The series is sometimes called, accordingly, the "Heavenly Dances." Another name for the Glualaxa series is aikastwah ("above") or e'k!xtwalla ("traveling high"). The corresponding term for the Tsaika series is waunkastah ("below"). Some of the spirits involved are those of earth or sea and when this is so, the performers do not disappear before the dance begins. The Glualaxa dances begin some time, perhaps ten days, after the Tsaika series has been completed. But, in any event, these dances must be performed in a different house from that used for the Tsaika.

In the Tsaika series the sound of the spirits is made with a whistle, but in this series of dances a tube or trumpet is used. This is made of two thin pieces of cedar and is really a trumpet rather than a whistle.

These trumpets³⁸ are blown at dawn each day during the performances.

As in the Tsaika series a common feature of each dance is a "trick" or sleight-of-hand performance. This "secret" is supposedly known only to the performer and those who have previously danced the dance in question.

As in the Tsaika series, several dancers may perform the same night for the minor dances, but for several of the highest a single dancer is involved for four successive nights.

The only inkling the uninitiated (the Puks) have that the Tsaika series is at an end is when they hear the word ha'yīLglilis ("to make the end good") in the song of the last dancer. This last dance is not necessarily the Cannibal dance even though it ranks highest. The place in the series of the Cannibal dance may be at any point, depending on when the Tanis is available. That same night, sometimes immediately after this last dance, the horns of the Glualaxa dance series are heard. These are blown beginning at the lowest (downriver) house and proceeding up the village at about one-second intervals. These are the voices of the spirits, but are of course blown by persons, stationed on the roofs of the houses. The dancers of the Glualaxa dances are often referred to as Glualaxa when speaking of them, but in direct address are called mi'tla.

³⁸ These whistles and horns or trumpets are like those illustrated in McIlwraith, 1948, Vol. II, pl. 3. The three on the left are like the horns of the Glualaxa, the four whistles on the right are the type used in the Tsaika dances.

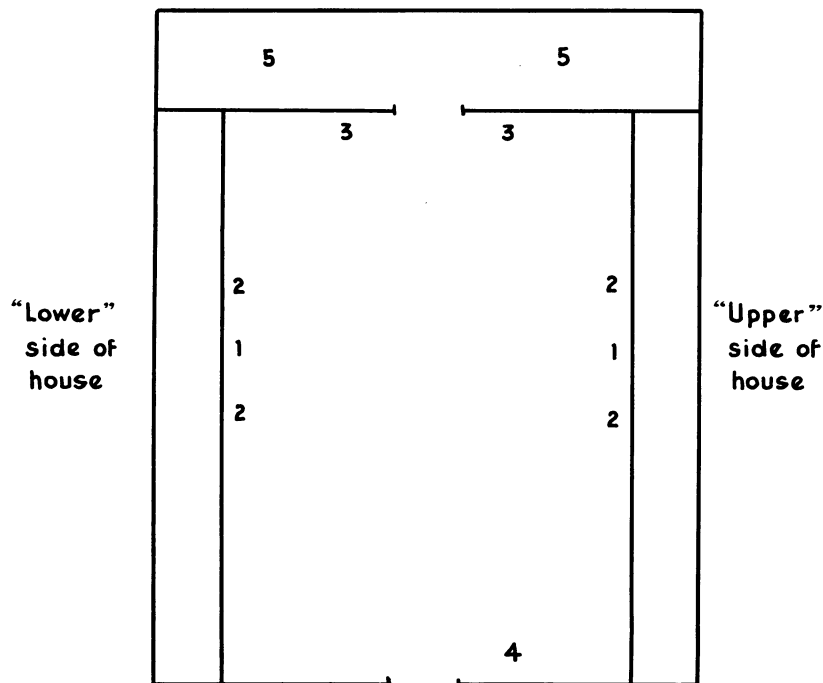


Fig. 3. Seating arrangement for the Glualaxa dances.

1. Women of high rank
2. Women of lesser rank
3. Singers
4. The host and his helpers
5. Area behind screen where novices stay; their "house"

The spirits of the Glualaxa dances are called *mi'tla-gilá*³⁹ or sometimes by the general term for spirits, *naualaku*. After this first sign that the spirits are present several days or as much as two weeks may pass before anything overt happens. But then the horns are again heard. Now the speakers (or the *nulilaku*, see p. 240) go from one end of the village to the other, warning with the cry, "Beware! [*yai'ka salis*]. Beware! Use any medicine! But the best is *ma'dzam!*" [*salmon-egg cheese*].⁴⁰ This is supposed to prevent possession of children by the spirits, but is half a hazing of these poor innocents for all children are smeared with this by their parents.

This same night the "healers," attendants, and others who are to participate in the ceremonies meet in a certain house and make final arrangements. The attendants now go from house to house; when they enter, a certain (prearranged) question is put to any child candidate present. No matter what the answer, the attendants state, "He said so and so." The "reply" indicates that the child is possessed. In the meantime those with the horns have been sounding off outside. If the child is to perform a dance involving a novitiate in the woods, he is now taken along. As the attendants emerge they cry, "ye+" (indicating that something—i.e., the child—is lost). Thus they go to each house where there is a child who is to disappear. These are then taken to the prepared place where they are instructed in all features of the performance.

Those children who are to perform the dances not involving this "carrying above by the spirits" are nonetheless "possessed." They are also taken, but to the house where the dances are to be "shown" and put behind the screen at the "head" of the house, i.e., opposite the door (see fig. 3). The next night these novices can begin the dances indicated for each. These dances continue for three days before the fourth, mask-wearing, dance. When not dancing, they stay behind the screen, lying on shelves or bunks in a sort of stupor from being possessed.

The fourth night one of the guests suggests that games be played. The first game is usually a sort of tug-of-war with two men holding a short stick. Others of each team line up behind, each grasping in turn the team-mate ahead around the waist. This is called *ge'nala*. This is followed by other games and various stunts.

The last game is called *tsai'gala* and consists of two teams of perhaps six men, each grasping in series a long pole and pushing, one team toward the door, one toward the "head" of the house. At a given signal those pushing toward the door give way and the pole end is driven hard against the planks of the screen. This blow wakens the novices who "turn over" (*li'Liá*) on their bunks. Immediately the "horns" of the spirits are heard (a different one for each spirit). These are blown by the attendants who are with the dancers behind the screen.

At this the singers strike up a new set of songs, and the masked dances begin. The dancers now represent the spirits instead of merely being possessed by them. (In fact, the masks and the masked dancers are spoken of as being the spirits.)

³⁹ It is difficult to find just how this term relates to the dances. *Mitla* means "to miss," *gila*, "causing." So the term means to do wrongly, to make wrong intentionally. During the dances the performer is often addressed by his attendants as *mitla*, "one who misses" or "you who miss." Just what is "missed" I could never quite ascertain. My best informant-interpreter could give no clue. *Mi'La* is said to mean "to tease" in the Fort Rupert dialect, but there is no evident relation to this. The term may be merely a homonym. To guess wrongly, as at cards, or to miss the target or game in shooting is also called *mitla*.

⁴⁰ Salmon eggs in a seal's stomach allowed to ripen for six months or more. Like limburger cheese, only more so.

There need not be any fixed order for these minor dances and the following was given merely as an example.

The *TSUKla'lla* ("poking the fire") might be the first of these dances. (I cannot place it in the general Glualaxa series. It is evidently a clowning dance which is not a part of the regular series.) The masked dancer comes out clowning. He huffs, puffs, pokes at the fire as if fixing it, but ends with it being merely smoking, scattered embers. There is much laughing at his buffoonery. The attendants now come from behind the screen and hustle him out the door. As they come back in, they remark how "that will take care of him." But he is seen sneaking in behind them. This again amuses the spectators. When the attendants go behind the screen, he again clowns at the fire. Again the attendants manhandle him to the door. This whole procedure may be repeated several times, depending somewhat on the amount of merriment produced.

Soon a group of singers is heard outside the door. (These would be the *Kitxanis* dancers. This dance is said to be Tsimshian and does not really belong in the Glualaxa series except in a special way.) An attendant goes to the door. He may tell them they may not come in and the audience may protest, so they are admitted. Or they may be actually sent away. Their dance differs from all other (Owikenos) dances. The costumes are all women's and are very beautifully done. All wear masks, none of which is grotesque. As they dance they sing a song, the only words of which are "wi ai haw." (This is doubtful as the words are said to be in the Tsimshian tongue.) At the end of the dance they say "Gu gu gu gu+" and exit.

On the fourth night of each of these minor dances the spirits are taken out of the dancers. The noises and "voices" of the spirits are heard behind the screen. Finally one of the attendants (healers) comes out and announces, "So and so is now normal [human] again," and tells someone to call him by name. This person then says, "Yau, so and so," and the dancer named replies in a high pitch, "Uuuuh."⁴¹ His recognition of his own name shows he is again normal. (This is evidently done for each of the dancers.)

During all these dances the War dancer has been seated on the bench near the screen or going about seeing that everything is going in the proper way. In the meantime the other novices are still in their retreat (carried away by their spirits). The next morning evidently their dances begin.

Very early in the morning the voices of the spirits (the horns) are heard in the woods across the river from the village. One by one the dancers appear on the shore, naked and flapping their arms as if they were wings. (This is linked with the concept that their spirits are from the upper world where they have taken the novices.) Those chosen now cross the river on a craft of two canoes with planks lashed across them. On the platform and in the canoes are the chosen attendants who chant the songs of the dances. One among them dances. He or she must be one high in Glualaxa and is called "Yuxweya'h" ("he who dances above the others," referring to dancing on the platform.)

The novices are taken on the platform, enticed by the songs, and the party comes back to the village and goes into the dance house and behind the screen. Now follow the days of dancing for this group, the masked dances being "shown" on the fourth day of each dance.

⁴¹ This "Yau" and "U+" are the call and reply used in everyday life (as in a party of berry-pickers) and is roughly like our, "Halloo, where are you!" "Here, over here!"

There is one person of the dance series whose functions are unique. He is the *kí' msiLa* ("fool dancer on the floor," said to be so called because his movements are quick and jerky). He calls out a series of masked dancers from behind the screen, all men. The last of the dozen or so is called "pregnant woman." He "gives birth" to four children, in the meantime uttering cries from the pain of "childbirth." A "midwife" is in attendance. The four "children" are children wearing the appropriate masks of salmonberry, wild parsnip, *glá' glanuL* (?) and rose hips, this being the order of their ripening. The Kincombe Inlet Kwakiutl also have this dance, having acquired it from the Owikeno through marriage.

The following list gives the ranking order of the *Glual-axa* dances, beginning with the highest. As in the *Tsaika* series, the lower rank dances are performed first and the series culminates in the *Uwi'nalaL*. My list involves nineteen dances and is not complete, but nearly so, the unremembered dances being several minor ones. Again my list differs from Drucker's but is longer, just as his *Tsaika* list is more complete than mine.

1. War dance (*UwinalaL*). The owner of this dance ranks more or less as the *Tanis* (*Hamatsa*) does in the *Tsaika* series. He wears no mask but carries a club carved in the form of a sea lion, a sea serpent (*si'siuL*) or other creature, depending on the crest of his family. During the performance of the other dances of the series he sits on the bench in front of the screen at the rear (head) of the house and watches the performers. If things go awry or if he is not given the first bite of food, he has a seizure. The spirit within him cries "*Hu.u*" and he strikes the offenders with his club. On occasion such incidents may be prearranged. Like those bitten by the *Tanis*, those struck must be paid at the end of the dance.

At a given point in the actual dance by the War dancer, he becomes possessed and rushes through the village and into every house breaking things. These things must all be replaced when the series is over, so he uses some discretion. Should a thing be placed in his way, he is obligated to break it. Some persons may take advantage of this and intentionally leave old things about, say, an old sewing-machine or an old storage box. These he must break, then replace them with new ones.

2. Healing dance (*Hai'likilá*). During this dance "insiders" or *clagues* in the audience feign possession by evil spirits which the dancer exorcises. The "healing" qualities of this spirit make it natural that those who have performed this dance often act as attendants to the *Tanis* in the *Tsaika* series. Some time before the dance begins the principal disappears (is taken to the heavens by the spirit). Just before the dance begins he is seen wandering aimlessly on the beach. Those who are to attend him then lash two canoes together, place a platform of planks across them as a dancing platform and go out to bring him to the ceremonial house.

3. Land Otter dance (*wua'laL*). Just before this performance begins a land otter (mock-up) is seen swimming in front of the village. The *Hailikila* dancer goes out to spear it. The Land Otter dancer goes to retrieve it, but as he touches it, it disappears and the attendants are possessed by its power. They dash madly about but eventually enter the dance house where they all fall to the floor. The *Hailikila* dancer drags them to a spot on the floor where the Land Otter dancer exorcises the spirit and they return to normal. But the spirit now enters him. Some of the onlookers also have seizures, but the spirit finally settles in the chief dancer.

4. Urinating dance (*Ha'gwagweh*). Some days before this dance the principal disappears and when he returns from the sky, the dance begins. The spirit within him is inordinately thirsty and the dancer "drinks" gallons of water, then "urinates" continuously as he dances round the house. (The "trick" is that he has a concealed container under his blanket. From this a tube leads out, enabling him to simulate urination.)
5. Eagle dance. The spirit of this dance is not really an eagle like a mythical eagle-like bird called *gáni'slád-joáh* ("screaming in the sky") or *kulus*. Instead of feathers, the body is covered with down. Before the dance the novice is carried away to the sky and on his return is seen near the village. His attendants bring him in dancing on the platform of lashed canoes (see above). He is naked and blows the horn of the dance as he comes in. On the fourth day of the dance he dances wearing the bird costume.
6. Raven dance (*Gu.i'h*). This dance is regarded as relatively unimportant. As in most of the other dances, the novice spends some time before the dance in isolation, supposedly carried to the sky by the spirit. On the final (fourth) night the dancer wears a raven costume (mask).
7. Monster-in-human-form dance (*Pu'küs*. The word is whispered). Here again the novice is carried to heaven, to return possessed. In the final dance the monster-costume is worn. It has hands of wood. He digs a cockle clam from the earth of the floor. But since the body (foot) of the clam moves, he does not eat it. (Nor is the cockle eaten in everyday life for the same reason, it is said.)
8. Monster-under-the-sea dance (*K'u'máwa*). This is known as the "heavy *mi'tlágila*" spirit. In this the novice is not carried away beforehand. The dancer performs once, then goes out the secret door behind the screen. One of his attendants puts on the mask-head-dress, but he is possessed by a "phony" spirit and performs a parody of the real dance. Soon the horn is heard, muffled as if under water. At its sound the attendants return to normal and question each other about their recent antics. One of them is chosen to call the monster in. He asks the *Hailikila* (healer) dancer for aid. A woman aide, called *k'e'lakhtsas*, then utters a long cry, which is heard by the spirit. She and the attendants face the door and begin a chant. This is repeated four times and each time the voice of the spirit is heard nearer. They call for blankets which they throw around the dancer (spirit) as he enters. At the end of the dance he disappears behind the screen.
9. Monster-who-swallows-canoes dance (*Ha'nak!atsa*). This dance differs but little from the preceding one except in the props involved.
10. Blackfish dance.
11. Whale dance.
12. Echo dance (*sp!ah*). The dancer remains in view in the house and imitates whatever (spirit ?) sound is heard outside. This is accompanied by rapid surreptitious changes of masks, which are held in place by a mouth-piece. Four masks depict Spring Salmon, Frog, *Xawa'h* (Crack-in-the-rock), and Starfish.

The following dances are of minor importance.

13. Beaver dance (*Kuln*).
14. *Kitxanis*. This is a dance derived from the north. (The name is probably *Tsimshian*. See p. 217.) In it a dozen or so performers wearing masks join hands and circle

round the fire, now and then reversing direction. This is also said to be a special dance of the Gwidanoa sept, which they sometimes performed in a separate house during a feast to which they had not been invited. The accompanying song is said to be merely the meaningless phrase "wi ai haw" (repeated over and over) ending with "gugugu wah+."

15. Xwa'niah. This is much like the foregoing. The dancers are usually children.
16. Weather-spirit dance (Ai'kyaiyuli sanah). The dancer first disappears, i.e., is taken to the Sky-world. When he wears a scowling mask, the weather is bad; when wearing a friendly face, the weather is fine.
17. U'makámL dance. (From u'max, someone well advanced in the Glualaxa dance series.) Four different masks are worn in as many dance steps.
18. Brant dance.
19. Crow dance.

For each of the dancers in the series the sponsor gives a feast and a potlatch on the day following the last night of dancing. For the very high dancer of this series this may be the biggest affair of his life; it is often given shortly

after his wife buys herself out. He will now have not only his own capital, but also that involved in the buying-out. He often will assume the high name which is given him as a part of the marriage bargain and is often a dance name, so it involves the dance as well. He may also "bring out" various suyaema, often dances, for his children, nephews, nieces, or other kin.

At the end of the giving, the host may announce that he is completely "broke." But, on the side, just before this, his speaker has said to him, "Now! If you have it in for anyone, give him the works!" A host and his speaker usually figure it out so that after all the giving there will be quite a lump sum left. This can then be given to a visiting man of high rank or a rival, in addition to what he had already been given, so that when he gives a potlatch, he will be honor-bound to give a gift of equal size to his recent host. Let me emphasize that he need not give this amount doubled, or even the same amount. But there is the moral commitment. Should his gift be less, equal, or less than double, he would lose face. This is not an "interest-bearing investment." It is merely as if A feasts B and relatives on filet-mignon; B is "cheap" if he returns with a feast at which the cheapest of hamburger is served.

RELIGION

SHAMANISM

There is no belief in a Supreme Being or High God. The nearest concept is a rather vague one involving a Being called Nuakawa, "He who knows thoughts" or "He whose thoughts are above others." This Being in a way provides everything for people. No prayers are made to him.

Prayers are offered to the sun but there is no "sun worship." At sunset one might say, "Look back to us before you disappear."

A Being known as Ná'nkyuplis travels up and down the coast in a huge canoe which anchors at night in front of a village. Usually he appears near mid-winter after the dance season. When a shaman sees this canoe, the children are taken to bathe ceremonially on the following morning. At this bathing they wear cedarbark rings around their necks. About mid-day the shaman takes them into a (his?) house. Here he inspects their souls (he'Layu, "that thing which causes you to be alive"). Each child is given a baton, and they beat time while the shaman sings songs and a drummer at the door does his part. Those children whose souls have strayed are put in a separate group. The children then throw their cedarbark rings into the fire and how each burns is an indication of the condition of the soul of the child who wore it. Now the shaman takes a "soul catcher," made of cedar and funnel-shaped, and keeps watching the smoke hole. His singing and the drumming become frenzied. As each lost soul comes down, he captures it and puts it back in the body to which it belongs. If a child whose soul has wandered fails to perform this ceremony, his soul will remain absent and he will soon die.

This same Being brings whatever is to grow during the coming year, e. g., he gives "permission" for the berry bushes to grow and bear.

At the time of his visit some souls may decide to go away with him.

Souls may also go astray in the following manner. When there is thunder in the summer,⁴² it is Thunderbird inviting everyone to a great feast in the sky where a great river flows. Thunder in the winter is his second invitation and this some souls accept and leave their owners. Shamans can see these souls floundering in the water and can send their power to bring them back.

Still another spirit is rather specialized in the sense that its presence or "ownership" is a *suyaema*. This is the spirit *hai'yaLgligalis* ("he who repairs the damages of the year"). The inclusion of the name in a song marks the end of the Tsaika dance series. The dance and song, like all others, are owned.

The souls of the dead go to the underworld, which lies in four strata. Those recently dead live in the uppermost, but as time passes, they gradually sink to the lowest level. There is no sickness among them.

Ghosts are evidently distinguished from the souls of the living and are called *PUwá'ni*. At death the spirit goes back to the ancestors or to supernatural animals associated with the ancestors. Those handling the dead or even making the coffin must take care lest their own souls become enclosed in the box. To avert this danger, the coffin is handled ceremonially three times. The fourth time the lid is held ready and the coffin is struck a sharp blow to cause any souls inside to come out.

⁴² A rather rare phenomenon on the Northwest Coast.

A shaman is called *glugwalla*, literally one who has or controls a spirit power (*glu'gwi*). The word *tsaika* also means a shaman but with the meaning that he can perform sleight-of-hand. This last title is used mainly in connection with the Tsaika dance series, which is sometimes called the "Shamans' Series." On the night that the dancers perform their tricks, they are called *tsi'tsixel*.

Professional or practicing shamans are both beneficial and dangerous. They have the power to cure but also have the power to work black magic and even to kill by shooting or throwing their power. No one should pass in front of a shaman while he is eating, for the soul of a person precedes his body and there is danger that the shaman may swallow the soul with his food.

Shamans are sometimes called on to punish those who violate the taboos of the winter ceremonies.

Shamans usually acquire their power by means of a supernatural experience following or during a severe illness. The following incidents are examples.

There was a man of the village of Tsiu who became very ill. No shaman could help him. Finally someone told him, "You will never get well so long as you stay in this smelly place." His friends took him away from the village and built a shelter for him. After four days he heard wolves howling. They came near and circled him four times. Then they came up to him in the guise of men. They built a huge fire and threw the sick man into it. After a time they took him out and cut him open. Then they cleaned and replaced his viscera. When they had sewed him up, they told him to stand. They then sang shamans' songs to him and had him repeat them. He was given the name *O'magilá* ("one who causes pain to cease"). When the people of the village came to see him, he told what had happened.

Back at the village he sang his songs for four days. In this he had helpers. This ceremony is called *gla'ddluXsilá* ("attending the shaman"). Now he was a shaman.

There was a man of the village of Sumxul who fell very ill. His body was covered with sores. When he was nearly dead, there came to him four small frogs who told him to isolate himself. These frogs took him across the lake and as they turned to leave, he saw that they were not frogs but four beautiful girls. That first day geese circled him four times, then came down to his bed in the guise of humans. They darkened their eyebrows to improve their appearance. Then they left. The next day a loon circled him four times and then landed near by in his "canoe" [the body of the loon]. Loon now told him to come into his canoe. The sick man stepped on the gunwale without tipping it. The next day he heard wolves howling. They came to his bed and circled it four times. Then they came to him in the form of men. They built a great fire and threw him into it. Then they cut him open, stripped his intestines clean, and licked his sores. While they were closing his body, they sensed a human approaching so they did a hurried job. The man's father (for it was he approaching) took him home where for four days he sang his medicine songs. Now he was a healer.

About seventy-five years ago there was a local shaman named kwali'kâlagilâ ("he who gives the sick the thought of making an effort to live"). He presided in the dut,kwiliL ceremony (the annual ceremony of inspecting the souls of the people, see p. 250). He wished to assume the title wanuk and threatened harm to the man who "owned" the right to this name. So the man lent it to him, but eventually the rightful owner got the name back.

MAGIC

Black magic is ordinarily of the "sympathetic" or "contagious" type and often involves the use of the dead or dying. The following accounts illustrate the techniques and purposes. It is necessary that some objects such as clothing or hair belonging to the victim be obtained. These are placed in a magic bundle (now usually referred to as a "masachi box"). I do not know if magical formulas are used.

AH and PW, it is alleged, took a corpse from one of the boxes in the cemetery at the foot of the lake. This they placed in the water at the head of the river, head downstream, and with the skull just showing above the water. Every day at dusk they went to it. A woman questioned them and they admitted they were "doing something" but warned her that if she told of it, they would kill her. Soon after this a great snow avalanche roared down the mountain at night and carried a part of the cemetery into the lake. A great rushing wind accompanied it. Early the next morning the two went to the place, saw what had happened, and wept. Their working this magic is thought to be the cause of their death by drowning soon after.

A woman we shall call L has the reputation of employing black magic. Some years ago she predicted the imminent death of four of the villagers. Now all are dead and the supposition is that she is responsible. Later she threatened the death of four others, but something went wrong (with her magic) and two of them are still alive. Some years ago, when one of her daughters lay dying, she sent everyone out of her house, including her son, her daughter, and her daughter-in-law. When they returned, she said she had bathed and dressed the body for burial. But one of the dead woman's daughters sensed that something was wrong. (The old woman supposedly had taken things from persons she wished to harm and placed these in the mouth and vagina of the newly dead woman.) when burial took place two days later, rigor mortis had not yet set in and the body was not entirely cold.

A case is also cited of a man doing this with the body of his newly dead wife. The intended victims felt dull and "dopey." They went to the body and removed the things.

Soon they felt well again.

At Smith's Inlet a man was known to be working magic with a corpse. People found the corpse. Here and there on the body were limpit shells and inside were pieces of clothing and a towel belonging to his two intended victims. The body was taken to a stream and weighted down. The objects were washed to purify them. A month later the magician drowned.

Some few persons have dreams about the future. These are not formalized or interpreted; the persons merely remark, "I dreamed such and such." The dreamed-of event is expected to occur.

Body-twitchings (mâta'h) foretell events, such as death. Twitchings portending ill are called yai'Xânalâ ("to sense something bad"). The pattern of twitches and their meanings are different for each person, who learns about them as time goes on. When a thing is correct or right or when a thing is done for good luck, it is said to come from the right side of the body (hai'LguLna). If a person sleeps on his right side, he will have no bad dreams. A twitching of the right arm means good luck, that of the left portends bad luck, even death.

Good fortune or good luck is associated with spirits and is called glugwi. It may be personified or not. Thus, a glugwi is the spirit which comes into the house when a dancer performs. But it is also the good fortune of having a child, or good luck in fishing. Certain figures on totem poles are glugwi, and also the good fortune to have the right to erect a totem pole. In the story of Yaxtsi (p. 232), the eagle on the pole was his glugwi, but the sea monster figure was not; it was a suyaema instead, "because one can dance the sea monster dance."

The spirits of the dances of the winter ceremonials should be mentioned in this connection. These are called ki'su and are counted as suyaema. (The KwaguL of Fort Rupert evidently refer to all prerogatives as kisu.) Thus, a kisu is a spirit or supernatural being or a representation of something supernatural which is a part of one's suyaema. The concept is rather obscure. All kisu are a part of one's suyaema, but not all suyaema are kisu. The dance itself, the mask worn, and the dance name (e.g., mu'dan, "ate four") are kisu, but ordinary name-titles such as Wakes are not kisu but are suyaema. The kisu are thus not merely a part of the religion but are elements of social rank and structure as well.

When the first salmon of the year is taken (usually in April), it is decorated with eagle down, then cooked. The highest ranking chief must eat the first bite. The first eulachon are likewise treated. Eulachon must not be dried, but used only as fresh cooked or for oil. If a eulachon is caught which has a fleck of blood in the eye, it is a sign that someone has broken the taboo on menstruating women being present in the vicinity at the time of the run.

APPENDIX A

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The following terms are those which should be used, but in actual usage there are marked deviations from the abstract system. Often the reasons for these deviations are vague or unknown. One element involved is the relative age of connecting relatives several genera-

tions removed. Following the list of terms are a number of examples of actual usage. The list combines terms secured by Drucker (personal communication) and my own list. There are probably other terms overlooked by both of us.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| ump | father |
| abu'k | mother |
| hunu'k | child (terms for "male" or "female" added explanatorily) |
| sasu'm | children |
| ani's | father's sister, mother's sister |
| xoLá'mp | father's brother, mother's brother (seldom used, the term "father" being usually applied) |
| nu'la | elder sibling, vocative |
| ts! a'yáh | younger sibling, vocative (the sibling terms are used for cousins, even for second and third cousins and perhaps beyond these. The term "elder" or "younger" depends not on the respective ages of the living but on the relative ages of the connecting relatives, who may be siblings several generations back.) |
| nu'lakami mánu'yáh | elder brother, male speaking |
| nu'lakami wakwa'h | elder brother, female speaking |
| ts! aya'yás mánu'yáh | younger brother, male speaking |
| ts! aya'yá wakwa'h | younger brother, female speaking |
| nulayas manuyaks | elder sister, male speaking |
| nulakami'yas wakwa'h ... | elder sister, female speaking |
| wawxu'yá | brothers, male speaking, without age distinctions |
| wiwawkwa'h | brothers, female speaking; sisters, male speaking (siblings of sex opposite to that of speaker) |
| wixu'yaks | siblings of same sex as speaker |
| gagá'mp | grandparent |
| tso'tlama | grandchild |
| asikwi'L | great-grandparent, great-grandchild (lit., "person across the house," i.e., against the opposite wall) |
| nu'la | great-great-grandparent (see "elder sibling") |
| ts! a'yah | great-great-grandchild (see "younger sibling") |
| tawu'nám | husband |
| gáná'm | wife |
| yaka'ta | man's sister's husband, wife's brother |
| gi.ĩ'mp | woman's sister's husband, wife's sister, brother's wife, husband's brother |
| náku'mp | parent-in-law, child-in-law (reciprocal) |
| awawdzuh | aunt's husband, stepfather |
| apadzuh | uncle's wife, stepmother |
| wisâmas glul | nephew |
| gânâmas glul | niece |
| xungu'h | spouse's nephew or niece, stepchild |
| a'djidáh | elder brother or elder sister (an endearing or "pet" term used by children) |

The following terms seem to be employed only in ceremonial speeches:

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| gǎ'l gilis | most remote ancestor (lit., first this earth) |
| gi'gilgalis | ancestors, male and female |
| ai'âmbiL | those before you (i.e., ancestors, referring to them as though they were in a house) |

Children often use the endearing term *agwani* for grandfather and its equivalent *numat,tsa* for grandmother.

After a person becomes a grandparent the terms *nu'mas* (old man) and *Lkwa'ni* (old woman) are often employed. These are terms of respect.

In the event that a child is named for a deceased grandparent, he may be called "grandfather" or "grandmother" even if he is only a few years old.

Anyone might call a boy *ade'h*, a girl *kita'h*, as endearing terms more or less equivalent to "little one," "sonny," or "little girl."

The terms actually used often fail to conform to the standard or theory and make little sense to the outsider; informants themselves are often unable to explain why a particular term is employed. The following are examples. The numbers refer to the numbers assigned to individuals in the genealogical chart (fig. 4).

The term *abu'k* ("mother") may be used for mother's or father's sister.

The term *ump* ("father") may be used for father's or mother's brother.

DB (20) calls 18 and his siblings "elder brother (or sister)" even though DB is in his fifties and 18 and his siblings range in age from three to twenty years of age. The usage reflects the fact that 20 is descended from 4 who was the younger brother of 3, the great-grandfather of 18. DB is a grandson of 4 and is accordingly of the next ascending generation in relation to 18.

DB calls JC (8) "xolamp" ("uncle"), though the latter is actually DB's mother's father's brother's son.

A woman of Blunden Harbour who is about forty years of age calls DB's daughter of two years "mother." This is because the child bears the name of a deceased woman of Blunden Harbour who was kin of DB's mother and the deceased was called "mother" by the woman in question.

Mrs. DB (21) calls her mother's brother's children "elder brother [or sister]" because her mother was the younger of the two. DB also uses these same terms for

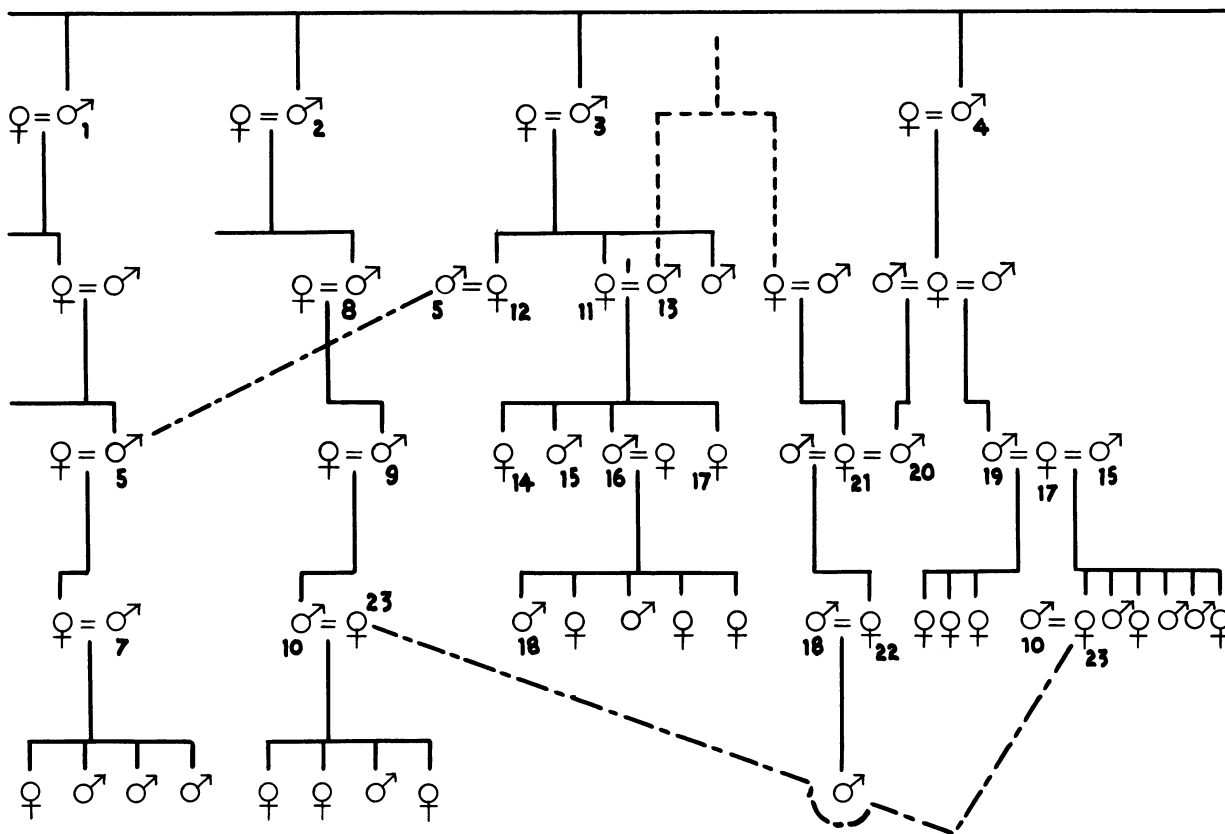


Fig. 4. Genealogical chart.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Xe'xlamas ("He who makes things correct") | 12. Hannah |
| 2. Nu'maskas ("Grand old man") | 13. Cap'n Johnson |
| 3. U'gwallas ("where things are placed for safe keeping") | 14. Edith Johnson |
| 4. Dji'kswalis ("spearing salmon place owner") | 15. Matthew Johnson |
| 5. Tommy Hyclamas | 16. Jack Johnson |
| 6. Lila (only d. of [5]) | 17. Mary Johnson |
| 7. Simon Wakes | 18. Norman Johnson |
| 8. Joe Chamberlain | 19. Henry Hanuse |
| 9. Louis Chamberlain | 20. Dave Bernard |
| 10. Peter Chamberlain | 21. Maggie Bernard |
| 11. Susan | 22. Patricia Thompson |
| | 23. Agnes |

the children, though he doesn't know his exact relationship to them.

HH (19) called his wife (17) nu'la ("elder sister") before they were married. She called him ts!ã'yâh ("younger brother.") This is because she is descended from 3, he from 4.

Twenty-one calls 14, 15, 16, and 17 by elder brother—elder sister terms because their father was older than her mother. Twenty also uses the same terms for them, but doesn't know why.

Twenty called 21 (his wife) anis ("aunt") before he married her.

APPENDIX B

MISCELLANEOUS TALES

THE BEGINNING OF THE HAISLA

The following legend is the Owikeno version of Kitimat (or rather of the origins of the Haisla tribe). It was related by JJ. I set it down for comparison with the comparable one I recorded among the Haisla themselves (Olson, 1940, pp. 187-189).

Ha'ntlikwinas lived at a place called Chinici where Genesee Creek flows from Walkus Lake. There was only one house and Hantlikwinas lived there with his wife and three sons. He had once been a great hunter but now he was old and blind as well. One day the wife saw a black bear across the creek from the house. She came in and told him and added, "I wish you could hunt like you used to." He told her he could if she would aim for him. "Point the arrow at his heart," he said. This she did, and when he shot he heard the bear snarl in pain.

Hantlikwinas said, "I think I got him; I hear him." But his wife said, "No. You missed him." Then she led her husband into the house. (But the bear was dead.)

She took the boys across the creek to the bear and they took the bear to a sandbar where she skinned and dressed him. Then she dug a pit, put stones in it, and built a fire on the stones. When these were hot, she put the meat on them, covered it with brush, leaves, a mat, and sand. While it was cooking, she scraped the hide. As the fat collected in the musselshell scraper, she ate it. When the meat was done the four ate. The woman told the boys not to tell the father about the bear. But the youngest boy hid some of the meat under his arm. This lad played for a while, then ran to his father and gave him the meat. But the old man would not eat it. When it was dark, the wife and the two older boys came in.

The youngest boy slept with his father. The old man asked him, "Do you think you can guide me to the lake [Walkus Lake]?" The lad answered, "Yes, I know the trail." "We will start in the morning," the father said. (Now, at that lake there was a [supernatural] loon which Hantlikwinas knew about.) During the night he kept asking the lad, "Is it light yet?"

At daybreak they started. They took along a quiver of arrows and a fine bow. The quiver was inlaid with shell. The lad led the old man, who from time to time asked where they were. Finally they came near the lake and heard Loon (hawi) cry. Four times they heard Loon cry.

Then Hantlikwinas called to the loon and told him he wanted help. The lad sat behind him. Loon came to them and asked what was wrong, and Hantlikwinas told him of his blindness. Loon promised to help him. Loon told him to take off his clothes and they would dive in the lake. "When you can stay down no longer," he said, "pinch me and we will come up. Are you ready?" So they dove. In the first dive Hantlikwinas was able to stay under only a short time. When they came up, Loon spewed water in his face. They dived again, this time longer. Again Loon spewed water in his face when they came up. The third time they dived they swam all the way around the lake under water. Again Loon spewed water in his face as they came up and said, "Now you will be able to see." The fourth time they dived they swam twice around the lake. Again Loon spewed water in his face and asked, "Can you

see now?" Hantlikwinas answered, "A little." They continued this until they could swim four times around the lake under water. Then Hantlikwinas could see as well as a young man. He told Loon this and called him "brother." Then he went back to his son.

Hantlikwinas asked Loon, "What shall I pay you?" Loon said, "Give me that inlaid quiver." This he did and Loon put it on his back where you can see it to this day. Then they said goodbye.

As the two reached the big flat, Hantlikwinas asked the boy, "Do you like your mother?" And the boy said, "No." "Do you like your eldest brother?" The boy said, "No." "Do you like your second brother?" The boy said, "No." "That is good," said Hantlikwinas, "because I am going to kill them when I get back."

When they got to the house, Hantlikwinas killed his wife and the two elder boys. Thus he paid his wife for what she had done. Four days later he went away [hunting], leaving the lad behind. He went across Owikeno Lake to the big slide called Kex.xi. Then he climbed the mountain and came to the head of the Chuckwalla River. There he saw a huge mountain goat which he followed. The goat kept looking back at him. The goat went toward the Tsaigwalla River. At that place there is a sloping cliff with a ledge along its face which leads to a cave. The goat disappeared into this cave. Hantlikwinas followed him. The cliff was really a tunnel which led through the mountain and they came out the other side.

Again they came to a cliff in which there was a cave into which the goat went. Inside this cave was a huge house, the home of the goats. At the entrance to the cave Hantlikwinas tore off a piece of his robe to mark the spot. Then he came back and went down to the river and followed along it. At the mouth there was a village. Three boys came across to ferry him over. They took him to the chief's house. The chief had a beautiful daughter and Hantlikwinas married her. Soon they had a baby daughter. His wife had four brothers. The youngest always carried the baby about and took care of her. The other boys were jealous. Hantlikwinas named the baby Tsaikiasgah. One day he called the alku ["speaker"] to his house and said, "Go around to the people today and tell them this: I am going to do something [give a feast] for my daughter. Tomorrow afternoon everyone must watch the river. Everyone must have his canoe ready and be prepared to get the things which will come floating down." This the alku did.

The next morning before daylight Hantlikwinas climbed the mountain to where he had seen the house of the goats. He looked in and saw that it was full of goats. Then he built a fire at the mouth of the cave with his fire drill. He stationed himself on the trail from the house. Soon the smoke inside was thick and the goats started coming out. As each one came to the spot, Hantlikwinas kicked it over the cliff where it rolled into the river and floated down. The last to come out were the goat he had first seen and his mate. The male had only one horn, in the center of his skull. These two he let go by.

At the village the people watched and soon saw the goats floating down. They brought them to the beach. There were hundreds of goats. That night Hantlikwinas came home.

Now, there was a monster at the mouth of the river who often swallowed canoes as they came down the river. He told his brothers-in-law that the next day he would kill this monster. They told him he could not. "Tomorrow we will try," he said.

The next day he went in his canoe, taking along four lads to hold the canoe steady as he shot. The monster came up and Hantlikwinas shot four arrows into his mouth. The monster sank out of sight. Thus he "beat" his brothers-in-law.

The next night the three eldest plotted again. They told him of four giant sea lions who lived on the Virgin Rocks [off Calvert Island]. "You can't get past them," they said. But Hantlikwinas said he could. The next day they started out, the three acting as crew, but leaving the youngest to care for the baby. His wife warned him that the three were plotting against him. But he told her, "If they desert me out there, I'll still come back."

At the rocks they saw the giant sea lions lying in a line. Hantlikwinas landed and got within range. Then he shot and his arrow went through all four. This made the brothers angry. He dressed the sea lions and tied the pieces to the line which the brothers heaved ashore. Then they hauled the meat through the surf to the canoe. When it was all loaded, they told him to let go the line. Now his robe was still in the canoe. This they threw ashore to him and paddled out. He thought they would come back for him, for the day was fine. But when the canoe passed out of sight, he knew they had deserted him. Then he climbed to the top of the rock and sat down and wept. Finally he fell asleep.

Something came and tugged at him and said, "You, you. Wake up! [ti hitli]." Then this being ran into a small hole. Hantlikwinas looked, but could see nothing. Again he wept and again fell asleep. Again he was awakened the same way. A third time the same thing happened. Then he made a hole in his robe through which he could watch. Soon he saw a little being [man] come out of the hole. Just before it touched him Hantlikwinas said, "Don't run away. I see you now."

This being was Mouse, named yai'hâmoigalagah and he was alku ["speaker"] for the chief ama'xkliaslisoh ["deep-dung-of-the-sea-lion"]. Now Mouse told him to hold to his back, that they would go to see the chief. "But," said he, "watch out as we go in. The doors will be open but we must jump through them fast. And watch out inside where there is a big halibut." So they went through the doors, jumped onto the halibut, and slid down to the door of the chief's house.

The chief said, "What's wrong with you?" and Hantlikwinas told him how his brothers-in-law had deserted him. The chief told him to sit by the fire. Walking around the house were seals (which were the "dogs" of the chief). The chief asked him, "Will you eat my dogs?" Hantlikwinas said he would. Then the chief told his alku to kill some "dogs" and cook them.

But Hantlikwinas felt depressed and sat holding his head in his hands. The chief had a small son. This lad climbed over the visitor examining him. He said, "This man is different. He has holes in his body." He called Hantlikwinas "Gwi'nax." The chief told the boy, "Don't do that to my brother," (for this he now called him) so the lad let him alone.

Now they were going to eat the "dogs" and dried halibut. They gave Hantlikwinas a small dish of grease to dip the meat in. Each dip emptied it but it immediately became full again.

After eating, the chief said, "Do you wish to go home?" And Hantlikwinas said he did. The chief asked if he could

use the seals [as canoes] to go home on [for seals can go through the surf even in heavy weather]. But Hantlikwinas was afraid so the chief said, "You had better use my big canoe." This was the stomach of a sea lion. He got in and tied the opening on the inside so he could get out. The chief told him, "If something bumps the canoe, strike the top to scare the thing away. You must say 'Yi'hnis' as you drift. Then you will land at Yihnis on Calvert Island."

All this he did and at last heard the surf. The "canoe" went through the surf. He landed, untied the opening, and pulled the canoe above high tide [where it can be seen to this day].

He walked toward the south and came to Rocky Bay. There he came on the village of the U'igaitXU ["outside people"]. There he married again and his wife had three brothers. Soon they had a baby. But he wanted to go back to Chuckwalla to avenge himself on his brothers-in-law there. He got his new brothers-in-law to take him there. There they landed him on the beach and went back.

He waited until dark to go to his house. Inside he could hear his wife in her room, crying [wailing] for him. He knocked on the planks outside her room and she got up and let him in without his being seen.

In her room they started making love and she laughed. Her three brothers heard her and said, "What are you laughing at? Have you got your husband there?"

Again she laughed, and this time the youngest of the four came and saw them. He told the three elder brothers but they did not believe him. They went to look and saw him there. They seemed glad to see him back and called him out to eat.

After eating, he and his wife went back to her room. Then he asked her if she cared for her three brothers. She said she did not, and he told her he was going to get even with them for what they had done to him.

Then he went out with his bow and arrows and shot the three. The youngest he spared. Then he went back to his wife's cubicle, said goodbye to his wife and daughter and told them he would not be back.

He went back to Calvert Island where he gave a big potlatch. Then he went away toward the north. He came to Klemtu and went on to Kitimat [which he founded].

CANNIBAL WOMAN¹

A certain man died and his grave-box was placed in a tree. The next morning it was noticed that something was amiss and inspection showed the box to be empty. Some time later the same thing happened again.

Now there were two youths who were friends. One told the other of his plan to feign death and be "buried" in the tree. "Nothing will happen to me," he said. So it was done and his friend took two other lads to help with the box. When the box was slung our hero climbed in. The others wrapped a cloth around his head.

That night the cannibal woman (adji'h) came, climbed the tree and cut the lashing ropes with her knife. She somehow felt something was wrong and put her hand on the lad's chest to see if he were breathing. When he could scarcely hold his breath longer, she took her hand away. Then she put the "body" in her basket and started toward her house. (Now the lad had told his friends, "As soon as daylight breaks, go to such and such a place near the cannibal's house and wait for me.")

¹Told by Joe Chamberlain. This and the tale of the Four Brothers were recorded on an occasion when the only interpreter available was a girl of twelve years whose knowledge of the old culture was insufficient to enable her to translate adequately.

At a certain spot on the trail the cannibal walked under a windfall and as she did so, the lad seized a branch and held it for a time so that the cannibal fell down and the basket fell over her head. She said to herself, "That's funny; that's the first time that ever happened." And again she felt the lad's chest to see if he were breathing. Farther on again the trail led under a log and again the lad caused her to fall by holding on to a branch. This time she said to herself, "It's strange what this fellow is doing. It seems almost as if he were alive." Again she felt his chest.

At daybreak they came to her house, which was in a cave high on a mountain. There she laid him on the platform. Her two children now came over and began playing with his privates. But the cannibal told them to leave him be because he was acting strangely.

When he had the chance, the lad looked and saw hanging on the wall at the head of the house the clothing of the two men whose bodies had disappeared.

Now the cannibal took her knife and started cutting him open. She began at his throat and cut slowly down. But the lad didn't move, for he wanted his people to see the cut so that they would believe his story. When the cut reached halfway down his chest, the lad jumped up suddenly. At this the cannibal fell over in a faint. The lad then took a long knife from the wall and started running toward home. As he did so, the blood ran down his chest. After a time the cannibal came to and started in pursuit. When he reached the mouth of the Wannock River, he started shouting to the people of the village. Then the cannibal turned back. The lad told the people all about his adventure.

The people decided to go to the cannibal's house. They started early the following morning, guided by the one who had feigned death. When they came near to the cave, they became faint and could not go on, for the cannibal "let out" her power. But they took a medicine called hi'kU [a plant?], put it on the end of a long pole, set fire to it and pushed it toward the mouth of the cave. Thus the cannibal was killed. They cut her body into small pieces and threw them about and said thus there would always be cannibal women.

Now long before the cannibal had kidnaped a little girl. The cannibal fed her goat tallow and this (?) caused roots to grow out of her rectum into the ground where she sat so that she could not move. The people tried to dig to the end of the "root" but could not. They decided to cut the "root" off. But when they did so, the girl died.

THE FOUR BROTHERS

There were four brothers who had a house on Wannock River. The three elder brothers went up the mountain to hunt goats. While they were gone, the youngest roasted and ate some salmon. The brothers returned empty-handed. [For it is taboo for salmon to be thus cooked while a goat hunt is in progress.] They asked the youngest if he had cooked fish while they were gone, but he denied doing so.

Early the next morning the three eldest again went goat hunting and again the lad cooked salmon. At dusk the three returned empty-handed. Again the youngest denied cooking salmon. But now they were cross and told him they were going to desert him. So they put out the fire and went away.

When it became dark the youngest cried at being left alone. But he dug a hole in the warm earth of the fireplace and lined it with grass. Then he covered himself with skins and again began to cry. A spirit came into the house and told him not to cry but to get ready to meet a canoe which was coming for him. The lad quickly uncovered his face but could see no one. Again he covered his face and cried. Again the spirit voice told him the same thing. Now he made a hole in the robe and then the spirit spoke again saying he (the spirit) would not disappear because now he had been seen. The spirit said, "Go to the point and sit there and when you see a canoe coming, you must say three times, 'Come closer!'"

The lad did as he was directed, and the canoe came in to shore, those in it saying, "Wai, wai, wai" as they paddled. As the canoe touched land, he stepped aboard and seated himself beside the chief. In front of the chief was a box. The chief asked him if he wanted a beautiful stone with magical powers which, if placed in the water, would turn into a salmon weir. The lad said, "No." Then the chief asked him if he wanted anything in the way of spirits and magical powers and the lad answered, "No."

Then the chief opened the box and inside was his daughter. The daughter was to be a wife for the lad, the chief said. And he told where the two were to build a house and took them to the spot. The chief gave them the box and told them to strike the box when they wanted a house. This they did as they stepped ashore and immediately a house appeared, ready for them. In front of it was a totem pole with the figure of an eagle at the top.

When they wanted fish to eat, the wife struck the box and all manner of fish came out of the sea onto the beach. Again one of them struck the box and many whales came onto the beach.

One day the husband saw a gull overhead. He wished that the gull were a person. At this the gull said he was a person. The gull alighted and the man gave the gull food which he was to take to the grandmother. This the gull did and told her about her grandson—how he had magical power and all manner of food at his house. So the people of his old village began to move to that place. Each time there came a canoe load, the man struck the box and a new house appeared for them to live in. Finally the next youngest brother moved. But the two eldest brothers remained behind, for they hated him.

At the new village the people were very busy drying all manner of fish, seal, and so on; all of which came to the beach of their own accord.

Now the eldest brother decided to make a raid on the new village. But as the raiders approached, the youngest brother struck the box and there came a swift current which swept the canoe out to sea. Again the canoe tried to come in, but again the man struck the box and the canoe was carried out. A third time they tried, and this time the current spun the canoe around and overturned it and all the occupants were drowned.

The high-class families began giving the couple children to adopt, but this spoiled things. One day the husband went to the river to get water, carrying his own daughter. On the way back she accidentally scratched him on the neck and some blood fell into the water he was carrying. His wife asked him what he had been doing that he was bloody. [She suspected him of an affair.] Then she put her baby into the magic box and walked down to the river. There she lifted up the edge of the water and walked under as if it were a blanket.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barnett, H. G.
1938. The Nature of the Potlatch. *Amer. Anthro.*, 40:349-358.
- Boas, Franz
1897. The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl.
U. S. Nat. Mus. Rept. (1895).
1928. Bella Bella Texts. *Columbia Univ. Contr. Anthro.* V.
- Codere, Helen
n. d. Fighting with Property. *Monogr. Amer. Ethnol. Soc.*,
XVIII. New York.
- Drucker, Philip
1940. Kwakiutl Dancing Societies. *Univ. Calif. Publ. Anthro.*
Rec., 2:201-230.
- Ford, Clellan S.
1941. Smoke from Their Fires, The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief.
New Haven.
- McIlwraith, T. F.
1948. The Bella Coola Indians. 2 vols. Toronto.
- Olson, Ronald L.
1940. The Social Organization of the Haisla of British Columbia.
Univ. Calif. Publ. Anthro. Rec., 2:169-200.
1950. Black Market in Prerogatives among the Northern Kwakiutl.
Kroeber Anthro. Soc. Pap., No. 1, pp. 78-80.