THE HAIDA

THE Haida are a group of closely related village communities inhabiting the Queen Charlotte islands in British Columbia and the south end of Prince of Wales island in Alaska. They form the linguistic family known as Skittagetan.[1] The entire coast of the Queen Charlotte islands is dotted with a multitude of village sites. The great majority were very small communities, many were mere camps or fishing stations, and of course not all were occupied simultaneously. It is well known that before alcohol and disease destroyed them, the Haida were very numerous. John Work named thirteen permanent towns on Queen Charlotte islands with an estimated population of nearly six thousand seven hundred, and six villages on Prince of Wales island with more than seventeen hundred people. This was about the year 1836.

The Queen Charlotte islanders are now congregated in two towns, Skidegate (Hlagílda) at the southeast corner of Graham island, and Massett (Át'aiwas) near the entrance to Massett inlet at the north end of the island. The Alaska Haida recently occupied three towns, Howkan, Kasaan, and Klinkwan, but practically all are now at Howkan. The total Haida population in 1913 was about 880, of whom 580 are in British Columbia.

When the Haida were scattered along a considerable extent of coast line, there were many minor linguistic variations, and some of these are still discernible. There are however only two well-marked dialects, the Skidegate and the Massett, the latter being evidently the younger as exhibiting a uniform tendency to contraction and elision. The speech of the Alaska Haida, who are sometimes known as Kaigani (Kaigáni), from the name of one of their summer locations, differs so little from that of the Massett that it can be called only a variant of that dialect. This northern branch migrated from the Queen Charlotte

1 Shédagits, which may mean either "son of a chiton" or "ordinary chiton", was the name of a chief, and in the form Skittagete or Skidegate was erroneously applied by whites to his village. This being one of the most populous Haida towns, Gallatin used the name in designating the Haida people, and Powell later made use of it in classifying the linguistic families of northern America. The selection was not a happy one, and the spelling even less so, as witness the lexicographer's pronunciation of the adjective Skittagetan with soft g and penultimate accent.

islands many generations ago as the result of a quarrel with their fellow townsmen.

The earliest observer of Haida territory appears to have been the Spaniard Perez in 1774. In 1787 Dixon cruised among the islands, which received the name of his ship, the *Queen Charlotte*. Explorers and traders in constantly increasing number visited the region, and the natives generally received them with open arms. In common with the tribes of southeastern Alaska, the Haida, more than almost any other Indians, have been quick to embrace the opportunities of civilization. All of them, even the oldest, speak English well enough to transact business with white men. They live in houses of our own kind built by themselves, for the men are capable artisans. They are cleaner, more industrious, and far more ambitious and provident than the tribes to the south. In short, they have rapidly substituted to a considerable degree our individualism for their inherited communism. The individual has a new incentive to labor and save, to set a task for his ingenuity, because the fruit of his efforts will be his alone to be employed for himself and his family. The transformation is not completely effected, but so remarkably swift has it progressed that within a generation the old tribal life with its feasts and ceremonies and native costumes has completely disappeared. On the whole the change has been a vastly beneficial one, without the disastrous breaking down of the moral fibre that so often accompanies the dissolution of a people's ancient habits and beliefs. As a matter of fact the morality of the Haida, as of all the Indians of the northwest coast of America, was of so loose a texture that it could scarcely have been worse. Prostitution of his wives and nieces was a chief's most prolific source of income, and assassination was not a matter to ruffle the murderer's conscience. It must not be imagined that the Haida have become a perfect people. Intoxication, lying, stealing, adultery, are far from rare. But the general average of morality is relatively high, much higher than we would have a right to expect; and the material conditions are surprisingly good.

The Haida consisted of two phratries, the Raven and the Eagle. Each was divided into a large number of clans, which were identical with local groups; that is, one or several of these clans formed a village, and the clans found in that village were not, originally, represented elsewhere. But they are properly called clans, inasmuch as endogamy was strictly prohibited. Each clan was the reputed offspring of a sin-

gle woman and was called a "family." Descent is traced through the female line. The raven or the eagle was the *gyágya* ("possession"), or crest, of each clan in the respective phratries; but this does not mean that every family or even every clan had the right to display a carved effigy of its crest. Besides this principal crest the family had also another, or many others, commemorating various incidents in the very early life of the family: encounters with supernatural beings, presentations by members of other tribes, peculiarities of some ancient ancestor. Some families were very poor as to crests, but every one in the Raven phratry possessed also the killerwhale. This fact the Haida explain by a myth[2] to the effect that the transformer Nunkílslas-hlúnai lived with the Killerwhale people as one of them, and afterward, travelling about the world as the transformer, he assumed the likeness and the name of Raven. The origin of the eagle as a crest for the phratry is said to be in the companionship of Eagle with Raven in the latter's adventures.

It has been stated above that far from every Raven family displayed the raven crest, and those that did placed it at the bottom of the pole. Frequently used crests of this phratry were killerwhale, shark, and black bear. Not every Eagle clan placed an eagle on the top of its totem poles, but only the descendants of the children of Híhlukinan, a woman who was the sole survivor of the village Djigua, which, says a myth, was destroyed by fire by the supernatural woman Chiláhkuns. Híhlukinan went to the Tsimshian[3] and married there, and her children, returning to the islands with such crests as beaver and eagle, founded various families. Only these families used the eagle on their poles, and they did so in order to "show the other people that they were Eagles." In common use also on these Eagle poles were beaver, whale, and sculpin (bull-head). Every Eagle family of noble rank had

2 The whole subject of totems appears to be vaguely conceived by the Haida, and if any certain rules govern the use of raven and eagle as crests, they were unknown to the informants questioned in this investigation. For example, some Eagle families had poles displaying a *raven at the top* (whereas on Raven poles the raven is at the bottom), but no eagle at all. The reason of this could not be ascertained. This uncertainty and lack of comprehension are among the reasons for believing the totemic system not original with the Haida.

3 The constant reference to the Tsimshian as the source of crests points to that group of tribes as the probable source of the entire totemic system of the Haida.

the right to use these, but each had also crests peculiar to it.

One or more of the family crests formed the subject of the tattooed figures that adorned various parts of every noble person's body. Raven and eagle appear to have been more frequently employed for this purpose than for totem poles, but they were by no means always used.

Crests were obtained not only by inheritance, but by war. Thus, if an Eagle chief captured from an enemy a hat bearing the painted figure of a bear, he would use the bear as a crest.

Marriage within the phratry was prohibited, "because all Ravens are friends and all Eagles are friends." Sometimes a speaker, seeking the aid of his fellow Ravens or Eagles, calls them "my uncles, nephews, sisters, mothers, and grandmothers," but it is denied that a man regards his fellow Ravens or Eagles as brothers and sisters. Fellow clansmen are called collectively *díahl gwaíyanai* ("my named-for ones"). The Haida, at least the Canadian Haida, refuse to say that the Eagle people and the Raven people are descended from eagles and ravens respectively.

Every man who succeeded to a seat of nobility had a right to erect a totem pole in building a house. A seat of nobility was inherited by the deceased incumbent's sister's son, preferably the eldest sister's eldest son, but the gradually formed opinion of the people, that another nephew was better suited for the place because of his greater energy in hunting and accumulating property, might cause the place to go to him. There being no sister's son to succeed him, a man's brother, even though already the possessor of a title, could receive also the dead man's title. In default of any heir, a promising young man might be adopted from another family or even another clan. Only recently, and because of depletion of population, have women succeeded to the seats of nobility.

After a chief's death, his heir invited the members of his phratry to the house, brought out all the dead man's possessions, and allowed each person to select what he wished. It was his duty to erect as soon as possible a mortuary column (*hat*) in honor of his predecessor. This was either a large post twenty to thirty feet high, with a niche hollowed out in the top for the reception of the coffin, or a tapering pole with the niche in the bottom. A short, broad board across the front at the top exhibited the engraved outlines of the dead man's family crest, and the face of the post or pole usually carried other crests. On

account of the inevitable expense this event was usually postponed for several years. When the time arrived, the phratry members returned property of much greater value than they had received from the dead man's estate, and this accumulation, together with the heir's property and whatever remained of his uncle's possessions, was distributed among the people. The marriage of the heir to his predecessor's widow, regardless of disparity of age, was avowedly essential: without it he could not succeed to the title. But this onerous condition, like so many supposedly stringent rules of the Indians, could be avoided. For a reasonable amount of property the widow would leave her deceased husband's house vacant for the occupancy of the heir and a wife of his choice. There was considerable latitude in the matter of succession. Thus, if the logical heir was happily married and did not wish to make the changes involved in accepting the position to which he was entitled, he could pass the succession on to the next of kin. If the heir was an infant, the place was held for him pending his attainment of puberty.

The town chief was called *lána-ôka* ("people's mother"), a title which, in a people who observed matrilineal descent, indicates that women may once have occupied this position. Since a man was succeeded by his sister's son, the position of town chief always remained in the same clan and phratry. Previous to any considerable movement of the people, such as the migration to the fisheries, the town chief called in the principal men, passed the tobacco mixture for chewing, and opened the discussion of his plan, with particular reference to the possibility of encounter with enemies. His opinion was usually endorsed by the council. Before undertaking anything of importance, such as building a house or erecting a house-pole or mortuary column, the individual first secured the consent of the town chief, whose approval of the crests to be represented on the poles was required. Even the secondary chief of the village had to gain his approval, for without it not only the town chief himself but many other important men would be absent from the ceremony, and the occasion would therefore be a failure, no matter how much property might be distributed. His consent was necessary for the inauguration of a war expedition. The warriors waited until he announced that on a certain day the start could be made, because then, by the time they arrived in the enemy's country, "my lucky day will come." In preparation for this he observed

sexual continence, bathed, and drank salt water as an emetic. The best of whatever was taken in war, as in hunting, was given to him in return for his influence with the supernatural powers.

Among the common people marriage was very informal. In a noble family the young man's maternal relatives went to the home of the girl who had been selected, and with speeches in his favor made their proposal. The others promised to consider the matter, and the party withdrew, to return a few days later and receive the answer. If the match was refused, it was ostensibly on the ground that another man had been chosen for her, but really because her family did not approve the proposed union. There was a good deal of speech-making on this occasion by the young man's people, who lauded their family and especially their wonderful history and present wealth. In all their speeches the Haida so change the pronunciation of words that young people and many of the elders cannot fully comprehend the meaning. The suitor himself sat in the place of honor. When the father of the girl delivered his speech of acceptance, she went to sit beside her husband, who occupied the position of honor at the rear of the room, and his mother placed a blanket about him.

Sometimes the bride's father would declare that he wished the couple to remain with him, because of his daughter's youth and inexperience in housekeeping; but more often the couple went to live with the husband's people, and if he were a chief — not merely a member of the nobility, but actually a chief — she was compelled to accompany him.

In noble families a girl practically always married the son of her father's brother, in order to keep the crests and other privileges in the family. But of course two Eagles or two Ravens could not marry.

Each of the young man's relatives gave one blanket to the bride, who distributed them among her people, and these later returned the gifts many fold. Her parents gave slaves to labor for her. There was no barter or exchange of marriage portions between the two families, as among the Kwakiutl. After the marriage the bridegroom's maternal relatives successively invited the couple to feasts. If the couple were to live with the wife's people, the husband for a week or two performed no labor, and presents of food and property were constantly given him; but after this period of leisure he became a laborer for his father-in-law, and whatever fish or game he caught he must give to his wife's

people. Even if they went to live with his own people, still he had constantly to make presents of fish and other food to her family.

A man dared not issue commands to his wife's male relatives, but spoke respectfully, deferentially, making requests. They however addressed him unceremoniously, issuing orders rather than asking favors. This was not true of the father-in-law himself, who indeed seldom spoke to the son-in-law, but expressed his desires through the medium of his daughter.

If a man mistreated his wife, her parents had the right to reclaim her and the children. If he ran away and married another woman, he was made to pay indemnity, failing which he was liable to be shot. If however he simply abandoned his wife and took no other woman, there was no redress. Such separations were very common; in fact, marriages generally were of short duration. Payment could be forced from a man who abandoned a paramour in order to marry another woman; generally however the discarded one had not the audacity to make the demand. A widow was expected to marry a relative of her deceased husband, and if she refused, she was compelled to pay his family. Disputes over women were the most prolific source of strife. Death was not rarely the portion of a man who tampered with another's wife, even if she shared his guilt; for the injured husband, after fasting for several days, might suddenly attack his enemy in the street with a knife. More often he demanded indemnity. Inasmuch as the killing of a tribesman had to be satisfied by all the family of the murderer, the entire family of a wronged husband met in council to decide which course should be pursued. If the desire for revenge prevailed over prudence and thrift, and the adulterer was killed, they then had to carry valuable presents, even such as slaves and canoes, to the murdered man's family. But if the original killing of the adulterer were avenged in kind, then both families exchanged presents. Even after the payment of blood-money, some member of the murdered man's family might harbor a feeling of revenge, and kill some one of his enemies, and thus engender a lasting feud. Men have even killed their own nephews in disputes about women.

A man whose relative had been killed by a tribesman might decide that it was best not to take summary vengeance nor yet to make a direct demand for payment. With his sister, if he had one, he would go to the house of his relative's slayer, who, having been informed of

what was to occur, had assembled his family. They received the two with rude treatment, and handled the man roughly and threateningly. The two, refusing to be intimidated, danced, and the family began to pile up blankets for them. The man danced with his eyes shut, and would not open them until he was satisfied with the amount given. So well established was this institution of wergild that even today, if the borrower of a canoe is drowned while using it, the owner must pay the family of the deceased : for if he had not lent the canoe, death could not have occurred. So it is with all weapons and implements. This is an interesting parallel with the old English common law in regard to deodands, by which any object that had been instrumental in causing death was confiscated for the king and supposedly applied to pious uses.

A male infant receives an unused name of his father's father, and a female child one of her mother's mother. Sometimes the father gives an infant daughter a name belonging to his own mother, but in such a case the people generally still use the name from its mother's side more than the one from its father's side, and the latter is gradually abandoned. In noble families the bestowal of a name is accompanied by an assembly of the people, distribution of presents, and formal announcement of the name. The parents of the child are then no longer called by the names they have borne from childhood, but are known simply as the father or the mother of the child. Thus, if the child is Gágit (a girl's name), the father is Gágit-háta ("Gágit's father") and the mother Gágit-ôka ("Gágit's mother"). When Gágit marries and has a child, whose name is, for example, Gwaigwuántlun (a boy's name), her father will become known as Gwaigwuántlun-tsínka ("Gwaigwuántlun's grandfather") and her mother as Gwaigwuántlun-nánka ("Gwaigwuántlun's grandmother"); and Gágit herself will no longer be Gágit, but "Gwaigwuántlun's mother." If after a reasonable period a married couple have no children, the husband is named as the father of their pet dog; the woman retains her maiden name much longer than a childless man, but if she becomes old and childless, she also takes a name from a pet dog or cat.

Immediately after the announcement of a betrothal, the young man is called by the name of his bride-to-be: as, "he that is going to marry Gágit." After the wedding he is Gágit-tlálla ("Gágit's husband"), which remains his name until a child is born or until there is no longer

any hope of children.

The ears of infants a few weeks old were pierced at a feast in honor of the event, and a hole was cut in the lower lip of a female child for the later insertion of a labret.

At frequent intervals, whenever the father gave a feast or distributed property or erected a pole, the child publicly received a new name; but this never came into actual use. Each person of noble birth received a feast name, which was to be used only on ceremonial occasions; having received this name, he or she took a place among the nobles of the tribe. This might occur in early infancy. Thus, a maternal uncle having died, the boy who was to succeed him had a feast given in his honor by his father, who acted in the name of the boy's mother. Then came all the mother's people, each bringing a gift of considerably greater value than the article which each had taken from the house of the deceased man, and this property was distributed in honor of the new member of the nobility. The common people attended feasts and other ceremonial affairs, but had no feast names, these being the exclusive possessions of nobles; in fact, they were nothing more nor less than titles, rather than personal names.

Tattooing was done only on the occasion of a house-building, and was a necessary feature of the attendant ceremonies. Not only the sons and daughters of the builder himself, but the children of other families as well, were thus honored. Some families could not afford this rite, which cost ten blankets[4] for the tattooing of the back, or the chest, or any two symmetrical parts of the body, such as two forearms, or two thighs, or two ankles. Even the shins, the feet, and the wrists were sometimes ornamented.

The tattooing was done at the dance that celebrated the completion of the house. In the course of the dancing, those who were to be tattooed, both children and older persons, stood in a row, while all sang.

At a certain word in the song young men and young women came and dropped eagle-down on the heads of those who were to be tat-

4 In the boyhood of an informant, that is, about 1855-1860, ten sacks of potatoes of about eighty pounds each were purchased for one blanket. These were raised by the Haida themselves in rather early times.

tooed, each selecting from the entire number certain relatives. This was done by the father's sisters' sons and daughters, and by the father's brothers and maternal uncles. Those who were to be tattooed noted the relations who thus honored them, and at the end of this dance went home and soon returned with blankets and other gifts for them. The house chief then with his speaker's staff went about and struck the ground in front of certain men, saying, for example: "The chief Gidánsta will tattoo both arms of S'kilkyúwat!" The chief so selected then went and sat in front of the one whom he was to tattoo; for all these persons had now taken their seats about the room. Thus the house chief went hither and thither, assigning to various men some portion of the work to be done. Sometimes he gave only one arm or one leg to a man, or he might assign to the same chief a portion of the work on two persons. In the latter case the chief sat for a moment in front of the first person named and then in front of the second. Rarely did these chiefs actually perform the work of tattooing, but usually hired young men skilled in this profession. But if the chief had learned this business in his youth, he might now do the work himself and thus avoid the necessity of paying for it. The pay was two blankets out of ten. Women never did tattooing. Each person to be tattooed had brought in a dish to be used by the worker, and a strip of cloth "to wipe the skin." The cloth however was never used, and the dish rarely was, but both were kept by the workman. Alder or buckbrush charcoal and (in primitive times) copper needles were used. The needle consisted of three points fastened to a handle, the middle one being a little longer than the others. The figures tattooed on the body represented the same crests that appeared on the family totem poles. It therefore follows that not every person's body showed a tattooed eagle or raven. When the work was done, all departed. If however there was not time to finish, the work-men and their subjects returned the next day to complete the task without formality. On this next day occurred the distribution of property by the house chief. The father's sisters or sisters' daughters sometimes came to blow on the irritated, swollen skin in order to ease the pain, and for this attention they received payment.

At the age of puberty a girl of good family was secluded behind the low partition of boards that crossed the rear of every chief's house. A bundle of hemlock boughs was hung above the place where she would lie, and the dropping of the withering needles symbolized the

falling of property upon her. A large stone served for her pillow, and she slept on a single mat, covering herself with old mats that could be discarded after her period of uncleanness. Gamblers, hunters, and fishermen were careful to keep their implements away from all possible contamination by too close proximity to the girl. Four days she fasted, and then came out in front of the partition to eat with the village girls of like age. For sixteen days longer she remained behind the partition, eating moderately, but drinking very little. At some time during this period the mother rubbed her daughter's body with four shoots of buckbrush, which she then thrust upright in elevated ground in four different places. This was to induce modesty and a retiring disposition. She rubbed her also with soft cedar-bark, and wedged it into the cleft of a crab tree to make her daughter enduring and strong. At the end of the twenty days the girl bathed in a stream or lake, washing the skin with liquid from the household urinal. All the clothing and mats were thrown away, and the stone pillow was placed in a dry cave. A distribution of food in her honor completed the rites. For two years fresh halibut was not eaten by her, and fresh salmon was prohibited for five years. But the birth of a child before the end of the period of prohibition lifted the taboo. Fresh berries were not taboo. Marriage followed quickly; in most cases some youth was waiting impatiently for her to reach the marriageable age.

There was no puberty ceremony for boys. But generally a boy of good family went, even at a very early age, to live with a paternal uncle, where he was treated with considerable austerity and at the same time was taught what a man should know — fishing, hunting, speechmaking, accumulating of property. A boy who remained too long with his mother was chided by others, and whenever he made a mistake, people would assure him that it was because he had lived too long at home.

Some of the Haida customs connected with the death of a prominent man were unusual. As soon as death occurred, one or two relatives of the same sex as the deceased, but of the opposite phratry, were summoned to prepare the body. They painted the face of the corpse and clothed the body, and drove two stakes into the floor in the place of honor behind the fireplace. To this spot they carried the body, doubled the knees up beneath the chin, and lashed the arms to the stakes

so that the corpse sat there facing the household.[5] There it remained from two to four days, depending on the rank of the dead man, the intensity of the family's grief, and the degree of unexpectedness in the death. While the body remained in the house, the male relatives sang the dancing songs of the dead man, and women wailed. Relatives cut their hair and smeared the face with a mixture of spruce-gum and charcoal. Both now and later, food and water were thrown on the fire for the departed spirit. The fire burned all night, and watchers sat with the body in order to keep it company. When the grief of the family was somewhat assuaged, the corpse was stuffed into a small box, a plank was removed from the rear wall, and the coffin was placed in the family burial hut.

Just before a corpse was placed in its coffin, all the men in that part of the village not separated from the house of death by running water laid their gambling, fishing, and hunting implements outside their houses. When the cover was lashed down, they took them back inside. The thought apparently was that if these articles remained in the house, as the corpse was in its house, their supernatural parts, without which they were valueless, might be confined with the corpse and be carried away with it.

Sometimes the body of a high chief was laid away in a small lean-to, into which the rear wall of the house opened, so that the inmates could look in upon the coffin. Men born so recently as 1875 have seen this done. Fetid, black liquid oozed from the box upon the floor, and swarms of blue flies buzzed about it. In some cases the box was placed in a hollow at the top of a mortuary column, or "grave-pole," and less often in a hollowed niche at the bottom. Not infrequently the coffin, after reposing for a year or more in the mortuary hut, was removed and deposited in the grave-pole newly erected by the dead man's successor.

A widow fasted about four days, and then went into the woods and bathed, rubbing her body with shredded cedar-bark, which she then drove into the crevice of a crabtree or of a rock, in order to make herself strong and to avoid the loss of another husband.

It was the duty of the eldest son of a dead man's eldest sister to take his uncle's place in the tribal nobility, and either marry the widow

5 The stakes were not always used.

or pay her an indemnity. This was done without regard to any disparity of age in widow and nephew, and without regard to the existence of adult sons of the dead man. It then devolved on this successor to erect a *hat,* or so-called grave-pole, an action attended with great expense. A widower was expected to marry the eldest daughter of his deceased wife's sister, provided she was of marriageable age, and he himself in behalf of his new wife erected the mortuary column for her aunt, or "mother." Then at a feast the name to be assumed by the younger woman was announced just as in the case of a man succeeding to the place of his uncle.

Ancient remains of the dead are found in caves, but within the memory of living men all corpses have been placed in huts.

Those who died a natural death, it was thought, went to *gyátlgail,* a place not definitely localized, where they lived in plenty and happiness. But the surviving friends, said the medicine-men, must frequently throw small portions of food into the fire and pour water around the fire, lest the departed suffer in the midst of plenty. Those who died by drowning became killerwhales, and those who escaped from drowning only to become wild men in the woods wandered forever through forest and mountains, pursuing an ever-retreating fire.

The Haida dressed like other natives of the northwest coast, both sexes using a belted robe of cedar-bark or fur, while the women wore also a mass of cedar-bark fringe extending across the front of the thighs. A woven bark cape, fur-lined about the circular opening for the neck, effectively shed rain, and all used the spruce-root hat for protection from sun and rain. Chiefs had their crest painted on the hat. Leggings and moccasins were unknown. Both sexes arranged the hair in a doubled-up knot just above the nape of the neck, but women sometimes had two braids down the back. Both men and women of the highest families used, as pendants for the nose and ears, pieces of Hawaiian abalone-shell obtained from the Tsimshian, to whom they had been brought on trading ships. All female children had the lower lip pierced for the labret, and with advancing age the size of the wooden plug was gradually increased. Women of very high rank sometimes had the labret inlaid with a bit of abalone-shell. It is said that a few women with pierced lips still live. In preparing for a dance the face was painted, the colors and the design being symbolic of the individual's crest. Thus, a circle of red indicated an eagle's nest, a black semicircle the moon, two

arching lines above the eyes represented the grizzly-bear's ears, and a square the sticks of a fish-drying rack.

The Haida house was distinctive, and its construction a matter of infinite ceremony and expense. The average house of a prominent man was about thirty-five feet in depth and twenty-five in width. The roof sloped from the middle to the sides, and the wall-boards were perpendicular. At each corner was a hewn post about nine feet high and two feet thick. In the middle of the front wall stood two taller, heavy, hewn timbers three feet wide and two feet thick, and a similar pair were at the back. At the top of these middle posts a shoulder was cut on the outside face for the reception of the upper ends of the sloping lintels, and at the tops of the corner posts holes were mortised to receive the lower ends of the sloping lintels as well as the ends of the horizontal side lintels. Sill timbers were placed at the base of the frame. Both lintels and sills were grooved to receive the ends of the upright wall-boards, these planks being slid in from the end of the wall. The two rear middle posts supported a plate, and a reinforcing cross-piece joined them at the middle, so that this rectangular wall space was filled by two sets of short planks. The two front middle posts also were connected by a plate. They touched the edges of the carved house-post, or totem pole, which was hollowed out to a mere shell to facilitate erection. Sometimes the doorway was a round or oval opening in the face of one of the effigies on the pole; usually it was a rectangular opening beside one of the middle posts.

There were no rafters, the roof-boards resting directly on stringers that extended from the front to the rear lintels and projected about four feet beyond the walls. The boards ran from ridge to eaves, an upper series covering the joints of the lower, and the ends of the boards on that slope which was exposed to the rain — bringing wind projected beyond the others at the ridge. The smoke-hole, ten feet square, was in the centre directly above the fireplace, which was an excavation in the earthen floor. Even so late as 1850 it was so difficult to make boards that roofs consisted of very large sheets of red-cedar bark. This was stripped from the whole circumference of the tree and at intervals of about six inches was marked across the grain with the end of a hard stick. Then a sharpened whale-rib was used to gouge out the inner bark along these lines, and peeled salmonberry shoots were driven from one side through these grooves. Their combined strength held the

sheet from curling. Tradition tells of a time not very remote when no planks at all were used.

The houses of chiefs stood over an excavation, the depth of which depended on the owner's wealth, because the expense of the work and the attendant ceremonies was very great. The hole was lined with heavy, horizontal retaining timbers twelve to twenty inches in thickness. A single tier of timbers three to five feet wide was generally used, and if there was a second tier, it was separated from the first by a shelf of earth covered with planks. In rare instances there were as many as five such steps leading down into an excavation perhaps ten feet deep.

Intending to build a house, a man and his wife collected a great deal of property, and the woman distributed it among the members of her clan, who later returned it with interest. Then the chief invited the people, and some of his clansmen sang and danced for the spectators, who sat about the walls. At this time the announcement was made that a house was to be built. The family began then to store up food, including twenty to forty chests of oulachon oil purchased from the Tsimshian, and large quantities of berries and crabapples. In due time the chief summoned his clansmen and assigned the task of making the various timbers. Each kind of timber used in a house could be prepared only by certain men who had inherited the privilege. With little delay the men so selected went in canoes to a place where good cedar was convenient, and there they prepared the timbers. When all was finished, they came in a body, towing the logs, and when they appeared off the village, the clanswomen of the builder's wife marched to the shore, where they danced and sang. The timbers were then dragged up above high tide.

A man who was building a house was compelled to give the winter dance at various stages in the work. One of these times was in the winter following the preparation of the timbers. Nothing further was done until the next autumn, when the proper men were hired to carve the house-post, or totem pole, and others to dig the hole for it, and with the usual feast and potlatch the pole was raised. Usually the body of a dog was thrown into the hole. There is a known instance of a west-coast chief using a slave instead of a dog. The means of the family having been exhausted by a second performance of the winter dance, it was necessary to wait another year before the house itself could be erected. On the day after its completion, many young people assem-

bled in the new house to be tattooed, and the chief distributed property and paid for the tattooing. It will be seen that the construction of a house was enormously expensive. There was a certain chief whose inevitable perquisite arising from any house-building was at least a hundred blankets. But it must be remembered that the family had the assistance of all the clan, and any one could borrow without stint.

The potlatch, or free distribution of property on any public occasion, was a prominent feature of Haida life, but it has been so thoroughly discussed in previous volumes that it is unnecessary to enter into details.

The usage of the Haida with respect to the valuable copper plates was somewhat different from that of the Kwakiutl. Copper plates are called *tákо*, and all coppers were obtained from the Tsimshian and the Tlingit.[6] The price of a copper in early days was four or five or even ten slaves. The value remained practically constant, and a purchaser could bargain for one without loss of prestige. This is altogether different from the Kwakiutl custom, which involves a somewhat definite ratio of increase in value. The possession of coppers was necessary to a chief, who used them to give away like any other piece of property in a potlatch connected with a house-building or pole-raising. Sometimes in "fighting with property," that is, in striving with a rival to see which could give away the more, a chief would fold a copper and throw it into the sea, but he never gave it to his rival, as did the Kwakiutl.

The Haida occupied their permanent villages throughout the winter, and in spring moved into scattered camps on the small islands and along the coast of the larger ones. These locations were the inherited property of the families that occupied them. The principal occupation of the men in spring and summer was halibut fishing, and the women were kept busy slicing and drying the fish. Some hunted for hair-seals, and a few for sea-lions. In the autumn bears were taken in deadfalls. In June great quantities of black cod were caught in very deep water off the west coast, and the extracted oil was stored in chests, a hundred cod yielding oil to fill a box thirty inches square and thirty-six

6 It is said that the native copper was obtained at Káko in Tlingit territory. This perhaps is for Taku, and the word táko ("copper plate") may be derived from this source.

deep. Some of the fish were split and dried. On account of its keeping qualities, dog-salmon was the principal storage food, and was used throughout the winter whenever the weather did not permit fishing. The blubber and flesh of stranded whales was cooked and smoked, and thus preserved, while the oil was stored in various receptacles of animal integument. Salalberries, crabapples, spruce-bast, and the roots of silverweed, clover (*T. fimbriatum*), wild tiger-lily (*L. parvifolium*), and bracken and other ferns, were the principal vegetal foods.

The only agriculture practised by the primitive Haida was the raising of small quantities of tobacco. Seeds originally obtained, according to tradition, from Skeena river were mixed with rotted wood and scattered over a small, deeply cultivated plot of ground. The plot was kept clear of weeds, and when the plants were about twelve inches high, they were plucked and hung on drying racks over a fire of alder. Thoroughly dried, the tobacco was tied into small bundles, which about the year 1850 sold at the rate of five for a five-dollar blanket. Clamshells wrapped in spruce-bark and steamed over night, in order to soften them, were broken up and roasted, and a small quantity of the powdered lime was mixed with the crushed tobacco leaves and stems. The mixture was chewed, but never smoked. So devoted to it were the people that some of them kept a quantity in their mouths even while sleeping.

Land was held only by the family and not by the individual. Each family owned its house-site, and its other landed possessions might include berry patches, cranberry bogs, trap locations on streams, beaches where whales might strand. Fishing grounds and shell-fish flats were common property. Some families were possessors of numerous pieces of land, which always accompanied the highest title in the family. Sometimes a tract of land was paid as blood-money, or given away in a distribution of property, but this was rare. Theoretically the village chief was owner of the village site, but practically this meant nothing: it gave him no power to dispose of the land.

The Haida seem to have speculated but little on the nature of the universe and its phenomena. The earth was believed to be flat and the sky a great dome resting on it.

There were apparently only two purely gambling games, the principal one of which was called *sin* ("birch") in reference to the material of which the implements were generally made. These were forty rods,

each six inches long, four of which, unmarked, were the *jil* ("bait"). The other thirty-six were of twelve kinds in groups of three, distinguished by variously arranged circles of red and black. The game was played between two men, with perhaps many others sitting by and betting on the result. Each player had a box containing several or many bundles of rods, each bundle of different wood, so that if one was unlucky another might be tried. Bathing and fasting were practised before playing. One player selected any three marked rods and one *jil*, and shuffled them about in the midst of a bunch of cedar-bark fibre, tearing it apart from time to time with two rods in each hand. Finally he laid them down, and his opponent guessed which part contained the *jil.* The other then removed the two rods from the piece of fibre indicated, and one by

one threw them on an inclined board in front of him, so that they rolled back to him. If the guess was successful, the play changed hands; if unsuccessful, the same player again shuffled the four rods, or he might choose others in place of them, believing that the same set would not again be lucky. After eight consecutive failures, the number of rods was reduced to three, and if the guesser still missed, he lost his wager.

The other gambling game was the common hand-game, in which four marked bones were used. It was called *lahál*, which is its Salish name, and the Haida admittedly learned it from alien sources.

A boys' game was played by driving two small stakes firmly into the ground and tightly together, with a similar pair a short distance away. Two opposing parties took their respective places beside the two pairs, and every member of one party threw a pointed stick in the endeavor to make its point go between the two stakes at the opposite end of the range.

Boys also played dice with three bits of clam-shell, wagering spruce-gum moulded by melting and pouring into long, hollow, dry stems of rhubarb.

A ring of bark was tossed about, and whoever caught it on his stick had the privilege of hurling it at any other player.

A small block of wood shaped like a legless chair was tossed into the air. If it fell and lay in any position other than sidewise, the player counted one and put a spot of charcoal on his face. When it fell sidewise, the play passed to the next boy. Women also played this game.

A stick split down almost to the base, with the two blades bent outward by half breaking them at short intervals, was tossed into the air and caught on the player's stick, and he who caught it the greater number of times inflicted an agreed penalty upon his opponent, such as thumping the forehead with the finger, or pulling the hair. Both men and women played.

War was waged by the Haida for the purpose of taking slaves, heads, and booty, and expeditions were made against other Haida villages, and against the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bellabella, Alaskan Haida, and Kwakiutl.

During the winter the warrior prepared by purifying his body. For nine days he used a purgative made of devil's-club bark, and drank very little water. After resting four days, he resumed the treatment again for nine days, and so he continued to do until spring, at which time he began to drink salt water as an emetic.

When an expedition was about to start, the canoe was raised on two pairs of crossed stakes, and the bottom was charred and smoothed. The warrior now wore a girdle consisting of a piece of cedar-bark rope, at the back of which was tied a small wooden image of a man, and his wife wore a similar belt without the image. A few days later, when the village chief thought that his lucky day was at hand, the start was made, and after embarking, each man exchanged girdles with his wife. The image was the symbol of the slaves he was going to bring her. For the next four days the women fasted, and thereafter until the return of the party they ate and drank little. All occupied the same house, and when one went out, all the others accompanied her to see that she did not bring bad luck on the party by drinking too much. At night they lay in the relative positions occupied by their husbands in the canoe. Warriors never changed their positions in the canoe, for if death was destined to come to a certain man it might mistake for him the one who had taken his place. Certain roots and barks were rubbed on the face to cause invulnerability, and others gave the user a sort of magic power to disarm a personal enemy of intent to kill. When the returning party came in sight of the village, those who had taken heads stood in the canoe and chanted their war-songs. The heads were placed on tall stakes, and the scalps were preserved as trophies until they decayed.

The Tsimshian and Haida were usually on good terms, and the latter every summer took dried halibut, seaweed, and canoes to trade

with the Tsimshian for berries, oulachon oil, and dried oulachon. The Tsimshian were frequently rough in their treatment of the visitors, but the islanders were patient, as it behooved them to be in a foreign land. Several years after the founding of Fort Simpson a party from Massett was just ready to leave the Tsimshian village at the fort with their acquisitions, which included a number of slaves, when the Tsimshian gathered on the beach and tried in every way to provoke the Haida. A chief of the place seized a gun and shot dead one of his own people, no doubt a slave, thinking that the Tsimshian would believe the Haida had done it; and thus he expected to precipitate a massacre. But the Haida, supposing that one of their own number had been shot, fired upon the mass of Tsimshian and killed several of them. In the fighting that ensued a number of Haida were killed, but more Tsimshian. Then another party of Tsimshian, ignorant of what was occurring, came out from the mainland to the island to trade, and as they landed the Haida shot at them. One of the Haida canoes lost every man, and two sons of its chief were captured. The others, as soon as they could get off, sailed away to Massett.

After a council it was decided to make war on the Tsimshian. Kógis, a member of the family which had suffered the greatest loss, was appointed chief of the expedition, which consisted of ten large canoes from Massett, Kayung, and Yan. They landed near Metlakatla with the intention of attacking the village at Fort Simpson, but while in camp near Metlakatla they saw a canoe of people returning from the salmon fisheries with winter supplies. As the craft rounded a point, the Haida fired. The dead and wounded capsized the vessel, and the Haida, putting out in their canoes, killed the others in the water and beheaded them. Having been so successful without risk, they decided to remain there and wait for other canoes. This plan was followed, and a considerable number of Tsimshian were killed. Kógis at last told his men that he was "no longer hungry," and the party set sail; but because of the east wind they landed at Lucy island.

A Tsimshian warrior who, unknown to the Haida, had escaped, made his way through the woods to Fort Simpson, and a party immediately set out for the place just abandoned by the Haida. They saw their enemies sailing out from Lucy island, the wind having subsided, but they were afraid to attack because the Haida were in war-canoes. No matter how large an attacking force might be, it was considered

dangerous to assault a war-canoe.

Each war-canoe had its own war-song, and as the party landed each crew chanted its song and shook its trophies in the air. The heads were set on stakes in front of the village, and the people danced with the scalps. No further visits to the mainland were made until the following summer, when Yéswat in a single canoe went over to see how they would be treated. As he approached the shore, the people ran down and began to cry out his name, and shouted: "Where is my son? Where is my nephew?" mentioning the names of all who had been killed. Yéswat then tossed a handful of eagle-down into the air as a sign of peace (and perhaps as a kind of benediction on the bereaved ones). As his canoe touched shore, the Tsimshian cried, "We could kill you right here!" Nevertheless they respected the symbolic eagle-down.

After awaiting for a time the return of Yéswat, the people at Massett sent a number of canoes to see what had happened to him. As they landed on the island at the fort, some Tsimshian from the mainland came out with the intention of fighting them, but those on the island ranged themselves with the visitors and averted trouble. This was the last war between the two tribes, and indeed the last fighting in which the Massett people participated.

The bloody encounters of the Haida with the Kwakiutl have been narrated in the preceding volume.

The religious practices of the Haida were not complicated. Prayer was offered to the Sun when one felt humble or sorrowful: "*Ágida, ágida, ágida!*" During this expression of submission and supplication, the suppliant stood with bowed head and raised hands, turning the palms alternately toward and away from the sun.

Sún-skánakwai ("daylight supernatural-power") was a spirit who dwelt in the air, and was supplicated in the same manner as the Sun. No form or personality was ascribed to the Daylight spirit. High, pointed rocks, reefs, and islands were the abode of numerous *s'kil,* or supernatural beings. In fact, almost every spot with any unusual feature was the home of a *s'kil.* In this respect Haida thought is exactly like the ancient Roman conception of *genius loci.* Cliffs overhanging the water were supplicated to treat the traveller with mildness. It used to be said that before cutting an alder one must embrace it, because this tree is a woman and otherwise would injure the workman. Children were enjoined from imitating seagulls and ravens, lest their fathers' canoes

be capsized, and for the same reason even mussels and clams were not ridiculed. Native tobacco was sometimes thrown into the fire in general supplication to the supernatural powers. It seems to have been a definite belief that fire transformed the material into the spiritual.

The Haida, unlike most tribes, are not prone to claim personal experience with spirits. A man born about 1840, asked if he had ever talked with a man who had seen a spirit, answered that he remembered one of his grandfathers who said that when walking on the beach hunting octopi he had seen a minute, shining dwarf, which disappeared when he called his companion. But no power was received from this spirit. Medicine-men obtained their power by purification of the body, not by personal contact with a supernatural being, and it is well known to the Haida that their first medicine-men were simply imitators of Tlingit shamans. This backwardness in claiming communion with supernatural beings is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the Haida, more clearly than any coast tribes to the south, have the Roman conception of local deities.

Desiring to seek supernatural power and to become a shaman, a man observed two days of sexual continence as a pledge that he would continue so to do for two years. Only the strongest and most determined men undertook this. Then with a small vessel, such as the bladder of a hair-seal, filled with oil, he went into the mountains. In ancient times, it is said, he would remain in the mountains fasting for ten days, but within recent times the limit was four days. After scraping off the outer spiny skin of a section of devil's-club as long as the forearm from elbow to the tip of the little finger, he peeled off the inner bark and ate it; and each day of his fast he repeated this ten times. The bark is said to be a rather powerful laxative, and in order to mitigate the rigor of the treatment, he drank at frequent intervals a small quantity of oil.

There were two kinds of power which might come to such a man. He might in a dream receive the power to cure sickness, or he might actually be visited and addressed by the spirit Skíhljadai ("property woman"), who controlled wealth, and she would promise to make him rich. Shamanistic power could come also to a man who had been unfortunate, as in gambling, and who was fasting in the village in order to punish himself for his ill luck.

When a man returned from the mountains with this power, the other shamans met with him in a house in order to learn his songs, so

that they would be able to help him when he was called on to use his power. From this time the shaman never combed nor washed his hair. A shaman supposedly under the influence of his power pretended to speak a foreign language, nearly always Tlingit. Rarely he used his native language, in which case his power was believed to have been derived from the mountains of the neighborhood, and not from a foreign land, as was otherwise the case.

In preparing to treat sickness, the medicine-man put on his dancing skirt and fastened a wolf's tail on the top of his head so that it drooped down behind. He held a wooden rattle. While the men beat on narrow boards with elder sticks, he went to the patient and pretended to scoop the illness out of the body. He moved about the room, and with three preliminary movements cast the sickness from him.

Females, except old women and girls under the age of puberty, were barred from the house in which a shaman was at work, lest some one in her periods blight his power. If any one passed behind a medicine-man in the act of eating, the shaman choked, and when this happened the power of the medicine-man might, against his will, cause the death of the offender. The powers of two medicine-men could be hostile to each other without the existence of enmity between the men themselves, and the power of one could cause the death of the other. Shamans were believed to be able to inflict fatal sickness on their enemies, and to cause death by apparent accident, as by drowning. They frequently employed their supposed gift of prophecy, and they sometimes held meetings to decide whether or not to kill by magic a suspected witch.

Certain people called *stáwa* practised witchcraft, obtaining their power by sleeping outside and communing with mice, which became their guardian and informing spirits for evil. Their work was done at night.

There were also sorcerers who worked alone in secret and killed their victim by using his spittle or fæces. Wishing to discover what witch or sorcerer was guilty in any particular case, two friends of the sick person would go into the woods and capture a mouse in a box trap. After fasting for two days, they began to ask the mouse, "What person has made our friend sick?" One after another they repeated the names of suspected men, and when the mouse's ears twitched, they stopped and began again. If at the repetition of the name the ears

twitched again, it was taken as a sign that this was the guilty man. They secured a bone from a human body, broke it up, and thrust the splinters through the mouse, expressing the wish that the sorcerer might die. If after their return to the village the suspected man came and confessed his guilt, he was in no danger; if he did not, it was believed that he soon would die. Absolute secrecy was preserved by the men who communed with the mouse.

Various love-charms were used, and herb remedies were mostly those used also by the Kwakiutl.

The following narration illustrates some of the practices of hunters in purifying the body for good luck.

"When I was just growing into manhood, I began to hunt fur-seals, but while others brought home many, I could get only two or three. One day my brother brought six toads and told me I was to eat them. So after he had pounded them into a pulp and rolled them into six small balls, I began to drink salt water, and after vomiting I swallowed the six toads. This made me vomit again. I went to bed, and in the morning drank more salt water. Then, as it was a fine day, I went hunting. Soon I seemed to be surrounded by seals, and they were not afraid of me. I used a gun, and never missed a shot. The vomiting takes away the human odor, so that you can smell everything while the animals themselves cannot detect you. The seals, if not already sleeping, fall asleep when you come near, and after being shot and dragged into the canoe, they drip foam from the mouth. The old people said this foam was caused by the toads.

"Another method of purifying the body was to take *akúnhyil* [a certain long, green root-stock] and weight it down with four stones in a pail of salt water. After a month it becomes rotten. Then the four stones are heated and put into the water. After it has boiled and cooled somewhat, the four men who form the crew of a sealing canoe come with their cups and drink the bitter contents. Then each one, made very thirsty by the salt water, drinks as much fresh water as possible, and this causes vomiting. The root decoction is a physic. Devil's-club bark also is used for this purpose. Two long sticks are pushed into the ground so as to form an arch, under which the hunter sits. In a semicircle in front of him are thrust into the ground forty pieces of devil's-club, each as long as the forearm. Starting at the left, he gnaws four circles around each piece and then puts it back in its place. Im-

mediately he becomes very sleepy. This bark has a powerful effect on the bowels. At one time it was used especially by gamblers, and was said to give them power to see through the cedar-bark fibre in which gambling sticks were hidden. It was employed also as a preventive of sickness."

Within historical times the Haida possessed no dance or religious ceremony that originated among them. They had in fact only two dances, the less important of which they called *len* (a Tsimshian word). It was given at any season and was simply for the purpose of affording amusement. Two men or two young women with button-blankets or Sitka blankets and forehead masks danced in the centre of a circle of spectators, who sang and beat time. The performers faced one direction for a time, then the other, waving the hands on one side and the other.

The more important ceremony was an imperfect, degenerate form of the Kwakiutl winter dance, obtained largely from the Bellabella through the medium of captives, with some features from the Tsimshian. That the Haida received instruction at the hands of the uninitiated, who had merely seen the public features of the ceremony, is indicated by the fact that they appear to know little or nothing of the underlying myths and the esoteric phases of the cult.

As among the Kwakiutl, so here there were various kinds of dancers composing the secret society that performed the winter ceremony. The most important were these:

1. Úlala, or wílala.
2. Gasíjidás ("those with clubs").
3. Hôhô.
4 .Nuhlchísta.
5. Gagihít ("wild man").
6. Núhlum, or wíhlum.
7. Hagatás ("those who eat dogs").
8. Kuyán-skánakwai ("finely dressed supernatural-power").
9. Dígut-skánakwai ("beggar supernatural-power").
10. Húaji ("grizzly-bear").
11. Cháoga ("woods Indian").

The secret society performed in the winter at every public oc-

casion, such as the building of a house or the erection of a pole. A ceremony was thus inaugurated. The initiator, that is, the chief who was building a house or erecting a pole, invited the secret society to his house, which, while it was being used for the ceremony, was called *skásnai*. The uninitiated were denied entrance to this house. The initiator himself must be a member, but need not have performed in the kind of dance which the new initiate would present. His own phratry members occupied the front seats and the others sat back. If the occasion was the founding of a new house, the initiates were from his wife's phratry and she was the one who persuaded them to act; but if it was the erection of a pole for one of his own people, the initiates were from his phratry. In either case the attendants of the initiates were from the phratry not represented by the initiates. A man could act also for his wife in this capacity of sponsor, at the erection of a pole for some relative of hers, in which case the initiates were of her phratry. When the secret society had assembled, they beat time with their batons and sang.

While they sang, the sponsor went stooping and peering about the room as if searching for some one, and when he came to the person who was to be the principal initiate, he hurled a double handful of white eagle-down toward him, and the initiate, usually a young man, dropped to the floor, twitching convulsively.[7] Soon he began to utter faintly the cry of the dance which he was to present, and the attendants, who had already been selected and notified, ran over to take charge of him, and led him out. The assembled members dispersed to their homes.

The chief initiate now led his attendants through the different houses, and whenever he came to a person who had been chosen for an initiate, he grasped him and even dragged him from the house. The one so taken at once began to utter the cry and make the gestures of the dancer. When all the initiates had been assembled, they withdrew behind a curtain stretched across the rear of the room in the dance house.

Generally the initiates were all of one kind. Thus there might be

7 Only when the chief initiate was acting the part for the first time did the sponsor select him by throwing the feathers. This gave the initiate supernatural power, and when he was to perform again in this capacity it was unnecessary to repeat the act.

three or four initiates all dancing úlala, one being always the leader and the others following him. Or instead of úlala they might all represent nuhlchísta, or gagihít. But if any women were being initiated, there were usually two dances presented: for women were barred from the more important dances, and the initiator always desired that one of the more difficult rôles be given.

Little children could be initiated into the society without performing as one of the dancers mentioned above. They spent the eleven days behind the curtain, supposedly dead for eight days and absent with the spirits for the remaining three, and when the dancing began they came out and stood in front of the curtain. They were then members of the society, and later they might become initiated as actual dancers. Their use in the performance was to blow whistles in the woods at the end of the eighth day, simulating the voices of the spirits that were carrying away the initiates.

After retiring behind the curtain the elder initiates also remained in concealment for eleven days, except that in the evenings of the first eight days they came out in full paraphernalia and went with characteristic actions through the village. During the day they too were supposedly lying dead behind the curtain.

At the end of eight days many whistles sounded in the woods, and gradually receded, and it was said that the spirits of the initiates were being carried away by supernatural beings. For the next three days the initiates remained in constant hiding. Then on the twelfth morning those initiates who were to represent dancers appeared on the beach as if they were wild creatures just come out of the woods after their absence with the supernatural beings. The members of the fraternity proceeded in a body to catch them with ropes, and dragged them into a house (not the *skásnai)* and behind a curtain. In the evening all the people, regardless of membership in the society, assembled in the *skásnai* to exorcise the spirit that possessed the initiates. The female members danced in their various characters, and then the initiates, led in through the front door by their attendants, danced round the fire and retired behind the curtain. They reappeared and performed several times in different costumes until they were "tamed." The night was passed in dancing and performing sleight-ofhand tricks such as seemingly decapitating an initiate and restoring his life. The initiates were now full members in the society, but they could be initiated many

times if they had means to pay for the privilege. Thus, when a relative built a house or erected a pole, even in this same winter, and requested one of these initiates to play the rôle in which he had appeared, the young man would do so if he had enough property to make the necessary distributions. Having done this several times, he acquired a great name.

A day or two after the dance the initiator's wife invited the people of her phratry to a feast of berries, in return for which each person was expected to give her a present, and on the next day he himself gave a similar feast to his own people. At each feast the guest received, besides the dish of food, boxes containing berries and oil. Chiefs were too proud to carry these things home, but young relatives performed the service for them.

The ceremony was repeated many times in a village during a winter. It has been practically obsolete since about 1875, though sporadic performances were given about 1888.

The characteristics of the different dancers will here be set forth.

1. Úlala, or wílala, corresponds to the Kwakiutl hamatsa, although the name is clearly an adaptation of *úlala,* which some of the Kwakiutl tribes apply to the woman war-dancer. It was obtained from the Bellabella by the people of Ninstints (Skángwai) "three generations ago." Úlala was danced only by men. The initiate had a pole ten to fifteen feet long, with a cross-piece near the tip, from which hung ribbons of cedar-bark. It projected up through the roof behind the curtain that concealed the initiates. When Úlala was about to come out for his rounds from house to house, the pole was turned slowly, and the children outside, seeing it, fled to their homes. Úlala went naked, without even bark rings, and when he became too violent, an attendant threw a cedar-bark ring over his neck with a rope tied to it. When visitors came to the village during a performance, he ran into the water and prevented them from landing immediately, and if a kettle was overturned in the fire, he rushed forth without warning, ran over the roofs of the houses, and angrily threw the boards about. When hunters returned with a hair-seal, one of them secretly came to the *skásnai* and reported the fact, and úlala with his attendants rushed down to the canoe, bit at the seal, pretending to eat part of it, and distributed the flesh among the people. His cry was *"Ap, ap, ap!"*

During the last three days of his seclusion in the dance house the

úlala initiate was believed by the uninitiated to be at the home of the spirit from which was derived the power of úlala. The Haida however mention no name in this connection. On the fourth morning the initiate appeared on the beach, and former initiates of the opposite phratry went toward him with rings attached to ropes, to capture him. He made the gestures and facial expressions of the Kwakiutl hamatsa, and pretended to bite either forearm of several persons. Actually he did not bite at all. Those who were to be "bitten" had previously raised a blister on the forearm by burning cedar-bark over a round spot, so that after the "biting" they could exhibit a raw wound. Many of the oldest men have numerous such scars extending along the arm.

On appearing at the edge of the woods, úlala mounted a mortuary hut and took out an image closely resembling a corpse. It was covered with the dark skins of scoters, and looked much like a dried, mouldy corpse. Inside the belly was a mass of cooked spruce-bast, or a long string of flour paste colored bluish so as to resemble intestines. Sometimes the initiate would tear the belly skin open and there on the beach devour the contents, but usually the "corpse" was taken from him and carried into the house, where he ate and passed portions among the other úlala.[8] Such images were kept in the shaman's box along with other paraphernalia pertaining to the dance.

When the úlala had been caught on the beach with a ring and rope, he was dragged into a curtained house, and in the evening, with his attendants restraining him, he came through the front door of the *skásnai* and danced round the fire in the manner of the hamatsa. He bit no one. After he had retired, the people rose and sang, while some of the old úlala who had been dancing with the initiate continued to dance round the fire. At the end of the song the song-leaders went to the back of the room and the others resumed their seats. One of the singers beat time on a drum which hung by a rope from the roof. This was merely an uncovered box five feet square and two feet deep.

While the beating continued, the úlala in the secret room sang his song, which was a heritage in his family. These songs of úlala contained

8 No informant out of many interviewed on this point believes that the Kwakiutl or any other northern tribe ever actually ate human flesh. At Skedans village about the middle of the nineteenth century an old slave woman dancing in front of the úlala was clasped by him and killed by a stab in the abdomen. But no flesh was eaten.

the word Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, the name of the spirit presiding over the Kwakiutl hamatsa dance. Then úlala came out still singing, wearing elk-skin leggings with puffin-bill rattlers, an elk-skin dancing skirt, and cedar-bark head-band and neck-ring. At this time some trick was performed, such as apparently placing the initiate in a drum and pouring water and red-hot stones into it. In reality he slipped away among the throng of older members who were pretending to put him into the box. He soon returned from behind the curtain, singing and wearing a mask. Various masks were worn by úlala, depending on the supposed source of his supernatural power. After several songs, the assemblage dispersed, the úlala having been tamed. Still for a time he wore his dancing hat, which was a carved and decorated forehead mask belonging to the chief who initiated him.

2. Gasíjidás wore a bear-skin, had the face blackened with charcoal, and carried a crabwood cudgel. His attendants had dancing skirts and cedar-bark head-rings, and sometimes bear-skins. His cry of "*Ihí… …!*" was uttered just before striking with his club. Coming from the woods, this initiate was surrounded on the beach, covered with mats, and led to the house in the centre of the throng. The procedure of exorcising him was much the same as for the taming of úlala.

Every evening during the eight days of seclusion in the *skásnai,* the gasíjidás initiate, accompanied by some older members and attendants, went through the village, and in various houses they smashed furniture and utensils. The attendants kept account of these things and on their return reported them to the sponsor, who at once sent men to replace the articles destroyed.

3. The hôhô initiate, who sometimes was a woman, wore a bear-skin and had a blackened face. The cry was *"Hô… … hô… …!"* On the first night of their seclusion these initiates went through the village with short, large-bladed spears, which they pointed threateningly at the inmates of the houses. On the second night their attendants carried large stones, and at each house visited they dropped one beside the fire. The people of the house placed before them some piece of property which they were willing should be destroyed, and unless it was already damaged, the hôhô usually respected their wish and smashed this article with the stone. If the article was already damaged, they selected some valuable object for destruction. This procedure was repeated on the following evenings, with the occasional substitution of spears for

stones. The initiator made good the losses inflicted by them.

4. Nuhlchísta is an obvious adaptation of the Kwakiutl núnhltsista. The dance was the exclusive property of the Hlkénuahl-lánas clan. These initiates were practically naked, and the cry was "*Up, up, up!*" in a long-drawn, high-pitched voice. In the evenings, of their confinement they went through the houses scattering fire-brands among the people, and any one who was burned was paid by the initiator.

5. Gagihít, the wild man, was naked except for a breech-cloth. In the evening, or even in the middle of the night, he and his attendants would go through the village, damaging and misplacing property. When they were about, the people avoided being out of doors. On his return to the village after his supposed absence in the woods with the supernatural one, an inflated bladder was hung in the street from a house-beam, and the wild man began to play with it like a cat with a mouse. Then approached a group of attendants, each armed with a salal switch. They avoided coming in his line of vision, because whenever the wild man looked upon any one, that person, it was said, would fall dead. They slipped up, rushed upon him, beat him with their switches, and hustled him off into a house.

6. Núhlum, or, as many call it, wíhlum, is another plain case of borrowing from the Kwakiutl. It was danced by women as well as by men. The initiates wore bear-skins, and going each evening into the houses, they cried "*Hamamamamama!*" and passed out without doing any damage. They were caught on the beach beneath a mat and were led into the house with singing.

7. Hagatás initiates were naked except for a breech-cloth, but women hagatás wore bear-skins. Each evening they went quickly through the village, and in each house ate some of the cooked spruce-bast which they scraped out of the belly of a dead dog, pretending thus to eat the dog. They uttered no cry, but their attendants carried a sounding-board and beat on it while singing. This dance came from the Tsimshian, and all its songs had the words in that language. Here is an example:

Look at this! Here he is, the one who was doing that singing alone.

8. Kuyán-skánakwai initiates, both men and women, wore a Sitka blanket and a forehead mask with sea-lion bristles standing upright in front and weasel-skins hanging down the back. The face was variously painted. With their attendants they entered a house and sang "*A la la*

la," and then departed to the next. This was a Tsimshian dance.

9. Dígut-skánakwai initiates of both sexes wore elk-skin dancing skirts and leggings, and cedar-bark head-bands and neck-rings, and carried bird-shaped rattles. Entering a house, they sang their secret songs, and the chief of the house gave them a present, which with the others received in other houses they carried to their several fathers. These gave in exchange like articles in greater number, which the initiates then distributed among the original donors. The dance was Tsimshian.

10. Húaji, which was danced by men and women, was exclusively the possession of the Skedans family. The dancers, wearing black-bear skins, growled and otherwise acted as much as possible like grizzly-bears. After their disappearance they were ostensibly shot on the beach by their attendants and carried into the house. This also was a Tsimshian dance.

11. Cháoga dancers wore deerskin leggings to the hips, but the upper part of the body was naked. With bows and arrows they went into the houses, crying "*Ha ha*^{n} ... ... !" in high, shrill voices, and threatening to shoot. They were caught on the beach and covered with mats, and then led into the house. This dance came from Stikeen river.

MYTHOLOGY

THE TRANSFORMER MYTH[9]

From where we are now there were five villages below us. [That is, there were five successive worlds beneath the earth.] From where we are now there were five villages above us. [It was customary for the narrator of this myth to pause at this point and then repeat the two statements.] Listen to what I am about to say.

There was no land. There was only one chief who had a house. This was under the water. He would always lie down with his back to the fire, which burned crystals. He was all alone. His name was Nunkílslas ["wonderful doer"]. He heard some one crying. A man came in through the door. He wore a yellow-cedar bark band about his head. This was Loon. The chief turned his head and said, "Why are you making that

9 The tale is entitled *Hoyá Káganas* ("raven travelling").

noise?" The man answered: "Chief, the supernatural beings have no place to settle. That is why I am crying." And he went out.

The next day he came again, still crying, and the chief looked over his shoulder, saying: "Do not make that noise. You make my head ache. I will attend to that after a while." The man went out, but the next day came again and cried. The chief stood up and said, "Go to the rear part and bring that box hanging there." The man went to get the box, but could not unknot the rope. Then the chief took his walking-stick and hobbled to the rear of the room. He reached the rope on which the box hung, and without an effort loosed it and took down the box. He removed the cover and took out, one after another, five boxes, one within another. In the fifth box was a piece of rock, dark colors mixed with bright. Another piece was white. This he held in his right hand and said, "Put that white one in the water first, and afterward put in this dark one." The man went out and put the white one in the water. Bubbles came pouring out of it. He put in the dark stone, and bubbles poured out of it.

The chief lay on his back with his hands on his face and made the motions of catching, something in them. He blew on them, and a small object like a human being appeared in them. He stood it up and drew it upward until it became of full size. "Now go and travel on the islands," he said. The newly made man went out and saw land stretching about him. This was Didahwá-gwaiai ["near-shore land" — Queen Charlotte islands]. Far away he saw land without end. This was Kadahwá-gwaiai ["far-fromshore land" — the mainland]. Now he started to travel about the world.

In his travels he came to a man drinking salt water. But he had a bag of fresh water, which nobody else in the world had. He never left it from his side. So the traveller stopped and drank salt water with him, because he wanted an opportunity to steal the fresh water. He said, "I too have fresh water." He went away and pulled out some spruce-roots and shook the sap off them into his mouth, and returning he spit it out. He climbed a tree, and the man, thinking himself safe, laid down his bag. Suddenly the traveller broke a branch and cried, "Look out, look out!" The man was frightened and ran, and the other came down and took the bag. Then he went about the world and sprinkled drops here and there, making streams and lakes. From the mainland he came to the islands.

Naíkun [at Rose spit] was a town of five rows. The chief's daughter Kaihlkájat had a child in a cradle. The traveller slipped into the house, took the child out, removed its skin, and put himself in its place. They greatly loved their chief's grandson.

One morning, every person in the front row of houses had one eye missing. Nobody knew how this had happened, and there was much talk. On the following morning the same thing happened to those in the second row, and then the third row was attacked.

In the chief's house was an old woman, Tíjihlkaga ["half rock"], who always sat immovable in a corner. To her came the town chief, and he asked, "In all the time you have been living, has anything like this occurred?" She said: "Chief, it is that grandchild of yours. After everybody has gone to sleep, he gets out of his cradle. He returns with some round, black things, and goes back to the cradle and eats them out of the fold of his blanket, and the remains he throws into the fire." So they took the child in the cradle to throw him into the sea. But he thought, "I wish when they cast me into the water, it may be with my face up." And so it happened. Then his mother followed him along the shore. He drifted ashore at Mossy point, and his mother wiped him with a small sea-otter skin.

She went to her brother Skóhokona, but when his servant told him that his sister was outside, he said, "Oh, I suppose she has been doing as she always does with some young man, and has been driven from home." The servant said, "She has a baby." Then Skóhokona was glad, and invited her to enter. He stood the baby in front of him. He stepped on the child's feet and drew him upward until he was large enough to walk. The boy thought, "I wish he would stop now." The chief stopped. Then Skóhokona said: "I wonder what we will call him. I wonder if we will call him after his grandfather living in one of these five villages below me. I wonder if we will call him Nunkílslas-hlunai ["going-to-be wonderfuldoer"].[10]

Now he was a little boy and slept with his mother, holding his little bow and arrows. But one morning he went to the door, which was very heavy, pushed it back, went out, and slammed it shut. When he

10 Skóhokona referred to Nunkílslas, the creator, as the boy's grandfather only in the sense that anyone may address a supernatural being as grandfather or grandmother.

came back after a while, he slammed it again. His uncle Skóhokona looked closely at him. Still he pretended to be only a little boy and slept with his mother. The next day he repeated his actions with the door, and Skóhokona said to his sister: "You must stop your son from doing this. I have this door because I am a supernatural being, and he is making sport of it." She said: "Now, chief, I cannot do it. You must talk to him." Soon the boy returned with a number of different kinds of birds which he had shot. Early in the morning he went out again and brought some birds, which he told his mother to skin, for he wanted a blanket. When the blanket was made, he rolled it in cedar-bark and kept it in the cleft of a cedar behind the village. Then he shot a number of small birds in a cedar and brought them home, and his mother made their skins into another blanket. Next he killed a butterball duck and commenced to skin it by cutting down the back from head to tail. But all the objects in the woods — trees, bushes, stones — cried out, "Not that way!" So he thought for a while and began cutting from tail to head, and thus he skinned it. He put the skin with the blankets in the fork of the tree.

One day he saw his fathers, the Killerwhales, travelling southward, hunting whales. These were his foster mother's people. For she and Skóhokona were Killerwhales. He sent a slave to call to them, asking them to leave something on the beach for him; and soon a dead whale was lying there. Near the whale he built a blind, and from this he saw all the birds that came to feast on the carcass. One day he saw a strange black bird, which he shot. This was a raven. He started to skin it from the head downward, but everything cried, "Not that way!" So he skinned it from the tail upward, dried the skin, and put it with the others in the forked tree.

One day his fathers came swimming along and stopped in front of the village. He sent a slave to tell them that Nunkílslas-hlunai wished them to be left stranded. Immediately the tide ran out and left the Killerwhales stranded. When the sun grew hot, their skin began to crack, and Kaihlkájat went down with a pail and poured water on her former husband's sides. Then the boy sent his slave to say that Nunkílslas-hlúnai wished his fathers to float, and quickly the tide came up and covered them.

Once, walking in the woods, he came upon two women singing. These were *skalánkana* ["those singing"], supernatural beings whose

special power was for singing. They asked him what he was doing, and he said, "I am looking for woman medicine." They asked, "The kind that brings two together?" He answered, "Yes." They laughed, and gave him some spruce-gum and said, "When your uncle's wife asks for what you are chewing, do not give it to her until she asks again, and then throw it to her as if you were angry." Then they sang a song: "*He tímhltikaídacha!* Nunkílslas-hlúnai fell in love with his uncle's wife. It is already known from here to the five villages below, and from here to the five villages above. Do not you know this?" Then he went home.

His uncle's wife asked for his gum, and he began to cry. Again she asked for it, and he gave it to her angrily. The next morning his uncle went hunting whales, and remained away during the night. Then Nunkílslas-hlúnai made himself a man and went to his uncle's wife. She gave him a bit of white foam from beneath her belt, and now he as well as Skóhokona could cause a flood. While he was with her there was constant thundering, and his uncle heard it. The next morning he returned with a sad face, and said to his wife: "How is it that last night the same sound was heard as when I am with you?" "*He!*" she laughed. "It must have been Nunkílslas-hlunai!" And she looked down at the dirty little child and laughed.

One morning Skóhokona, his wife, and his sister, all sat in the house at the top of the terrace. They saw water spurting out of the four corners of the room. The boy went and put his foot on the streams, and they stopped, but came out again when he removed his foot. Then he went out, put on two feather blankets, painted his face, and came in with a staff in his hand. He walked about the room and his mother was proud, for he was handsome. He went out again and got his other bird-skin blanket. The water was now coming out so rapidly and boiling and swelling in the room that he quickly put on the butterball-skin and in the form of a duck he dived repeatedly in the water, bobbing up to the surface just like a duck. His mother looked proudly at him. Still the water rose, and he put on the raven-skin, and in the form of a raven he flew quickly up through the smoke-hole; but the rising water touched his tail as he went out. He flew straight up into the sky, and still the water followed him. He reached the next village above, and there he walked about in his human shape.

He began to think about his uncle and his mother, and wondered what they were doing. He looked down and saw the house, and the

foam was settling down, all white over it, and smoke was rising from the house. This made him angry. He put on his raven-skin, flew straight down, and settled on the pole in front of the house. The pole split in twain. In the house his uncle exclaimed: "*A!* You will all be dead by Nunkílslas-hlúnai!" Soon he came in and lay down beside his mother in the form of a little boy in his otter-skin blanket.

After this, Nunkílslas-hlunai had many adventures, and he transformed many things. But from this time his name was Nunkílslas and also Hoyá [Raven].

One day coming into the house of Skóhokona, Raven said, "Mother, Kéngi is coming to adopt me." Skóhokona said: "Kaihlkájat, you must stop that boy from saying such things. I wonder what we are going to have for human beings. I wonder what they will have for food. Who will take care of them when they come? What shall we feed them?" He was worried because, if people came to visit the place, he, the chief, would have to feed them, and there was no great store of food for this. Therefore he told his sister to cause her son to stop this talk. Still the boy one day said again, "Mother, those people are going to come tomorrow." And Skóhokona said, "I wonder what we are going to feed them?" The boy said, "I have been stepping hard on the ground; I can bring people here out of the ground."

The next day came ten canoes, and Kéngi was in the middle. He wore a high hat of spruce-roots. Kéngi landed and went into the house and walked round the room. He kicked one corner and cried, "Are there any people here belonging to my clan?" People began to come out of the ground in that corner. The leader carried a large drum. Kéngi went to another corner, and the same thing happened. The people spoke somewhat differently from the others. Thus Kéngi brought people out of the four different corners, and they all danced down to the shore in four parties to meet the ten canoes of Kéngi. Those in the canoes landed, and all came into the house. Kéngi had the place of honor in the rear, and the great crowd sat in a circle.

Now Nunkílslas sent young men to various places inhabited by supernatural beings, with orders to bring the food that was found in those places and controlled by those spirits. When these things were brought, there was a feast. Then Skóhokona was surprised and began to say that Nunkílslas was a great supernatural being. The guests were treated with great consideration. All the time the four parties of peo-

ple were dancing. After several days Kéngi and his companions, who were supernatural beings, prepared to depart. After embarking, he told the people whom he had called from the ground to scatter and settle wherever they wished to live. These four became the Bellabella and other southern tribes, the Tsimshian, the Tlingit, and the Haida. With Kéngi went Nunkílslas, whom he had adopted.

They came to another village of Kéngi [at a bluff on Bigsby inlet, Moresby island], where many people lived and the houses were very large and full of food. At every meal he invited all the people in honor of his adopted son, but the boy merely tasted the food. Two large, black men stood beside the door. Each time a whole box of berries was given to each of these, and they ate them all. One day Nunkílslas went quietly to these men and said: "I wish you would tell me something. What makes you eat so much? I have eaten nothing. Could you tell me why you eat so much? Tell me, and I will be hungry, and my father will invite the people often, and you shall have more to eat." They answered: "When you go to bed, scratch your body, and when it becomes sore and scabby, take off the scabs and swallow them." They showed that their bodies were covered with scabs.

Two of the nephews of Kéngi slept beside Nunkílslas. Early the next morning he said to them, "Tell your father I am hungry." So the people were invited, and Nunkílslas ate. Now after this he was constantly hungry, and so frequent were the feasts that the house became empty of food. Then Kéngi sent him out and barred the door. After a while Nunkílslas returned and asked for admittance. "No, chief my son," said Kéngi, "you have eaten up my house." One day they saw him on the beach eating filth. He disappeared for a while, and later came back and stood outside the door, and on his shoulders were the skins of all the animals now known. "Father, will you let me in? If you do, you shall have all these animals." But Kéngi refused: "No, chief my son, you have eaten up my house." He said, "Well, if you will let me in, you shall have this mountain-goat and this grizzly-bear." Still Kéngi refused. A mischievous nephew of Kéngi, passing Nunkílslas, seized three furs from the top of the pile of blankets: black bear, marten, and otter; and he ran into the house with them. That is why these are the only large animals on the islands.

Again Nunkílslas went away, but one morning early he came back singing, and lay down against the house. As he sang, he kept knocking

his head against the wall. The house began to lean backward, and the people inside braced it from behind. Kéngi said, "Chief my son, you had better come in." But there was no answer. Still the house continued to incline, and just as it was about to fall, Nunkílslas ceased and departed. After he had gone, word came that he was going to cause a flood.

The people met in the chief's house to make plans. Kéngi said he would become a great, hard spruce branch, and the others should hold to him and float on the water; but they rejected this plan. Then he said he would become a floating seaweed, but this was not satisfactory. He said that they should hold to the rings of his great hat, and to this they agreed.

One day Nunkílslas appeared in a canoe, wearing a hat with a bit of foam on the top of it. From this fleck of foam spurted water, and the level of the ocean rose rapidly. Kéngi put on his high hat, and the others held to it as it grew upward. Still the water rose, and the hat broke. Those who held to it were drowned, but the ten nephews of Kéngi became small islands. Then the flood subsided. Kéngi was too powerful to be drowned.

Then Nunkílslas with ten companions came into the house. After they had eaten, Kéngi said, "Chief my son, I wish one of your companions would tell me a story." Nunkílslas asked one after another, "Do you know a story?" But they all said no. "Father, they do not know any stories," he said. Kéngi sat there for a while, and then he said, "Well, could not one of you tell us about Raven Travelling?" Then Nunkílslas was ashamed and dropped his head. One of the ten threw himself back and cried "*Ya ya ya yo… …!* The chief of story-tellers! In front of the village of Kéngi there was a large kelp starting to grow, and the supernatural beings came to watch it grow. But the kelp was broken and they were destroyed." Then Kéngi hung his head in shame. The reference was to Kéngi and his ten nephews. Another threw himself back and sang: *Ya ya ya yo… …!* In front of the village of Kéngi there was a reef, on the top of which were sitting the greatest sea-gull and the greatest cormorant. They were tossing the tail of a whale from one to the other, and the supernatural beings came to look at it. But they all were destroyed." So they continued to humiliate Kéngi, because he had made Nunkílslas ashamed.

After this Nunkílslas went away and travelled about the world.

DAYLIGHT ALLOWS HIMSELF TO BE BORN[11]

She was the chief's daughter at Ju [about four miles from Kaisun]. Her name was Tullájat ["orderly woman"]. After she reached the age of puberty and before her marriage she went with a young man, and when the chief learned this, he sent his slave to announce in a loud voice that on the next day all would leave the village and abandon his daughter. For in those days the daughters of high chiefs were very carefully watched, that they might be able to make a good marriage.

The ten uncles of the girl took all the mats and even the cedar-bark roofing from the house. So when the people had gone, she made a little hut of hemlock boughs. But her youngest uncle's wife pitied her, and left some food. When in a few days this was exhausted, she went to the beach at low tide and dug clams. In the fourth clam which she broke open she found an object that looked like a human body. She took it into her hut and cared for it, and it grew very rapidly into a strong boy. Soon he was creeping about. When he began to walk, he said one day, "Mother, this way, this way," making the motions of using a bow. So the girl made a bow of hemlock and some little arrows tipped with shell. The boy was pleased, and spent his time shooting about the hut. The next day be brought in a bird which he had shot. Later he killed larger birds, such as cormorants and mallards. Then he brought in a bluejay, which he himself skinned, and the next day he killed and skinned a wren. The next was a woodpecker, and then he shot many other birds and skinned them.

One night the boy awoke and heard some one talking with his mother, and he felt the hut move slowly from side to side. At daylight he saw some one lying with his mother, and the house was a great house of timbers, the carvings of which were alive, winking their eyes and thrusting out their tongues. This person with his mother was Wátkadagan [the supernatural being from whom comes the ability of artisans]. Said he: "Come here, chief my son. Let me dress your hair." So the boy went to him, and Wátkadagan moulded his face until it was beautiful, and when he drew a comb through the hair, it became long and glossy. He said: "It is well, my son. Go and sit on that rock."

11 "*Sun Ankédaga.*"

When the boy sat on the rock, a fine, sunny day broke. For he was Sun ["daylight"]. All day he remained there, and in the evening he returned to the house. He said to Wátkadagan, "Father, tomorrow get a stick, and we will go to the beach for an octopus." So they got the octopus.

On the following day they went to fish at Náhgyu [a fishing bank]. Wátkadagan baited his hook and lowered it, and held it all day without a bite. The boy said: "Now, father, say this: 'The chief of all the halibut, thinking about it and getting it.'" Wátkadagan repeated it. Then the boy said: "Father, say this: 'The one who has seaweed growing on his ribs, thinking about it and getting it.'" And Wátkadagan repeated this. Next the boy said: "Father, say this: 'You are looking at it. You have *kódan* [quartz crystal] for an eye.'" Wátkadagan said this, and still waited. "Say this, father: 'Coming up against the current; you are looking at it, largest one.'" Again: "Say this, father: 'Greediest one, you are looking at it.'" And: "Say this, father: 'You, the biggest one, going along eating gravel; you are the one who is looking at it.'" Now the sun was beginning to sink. "Say this, father: 'The time is nearly past; you are looking at it.'" Finally: "Father, say this: 'The hills are spotted with shadow and sunlight; you who are looking at it.'" Then came a jerk on the line, and the canoe was drawn swiftly forward. Four times it passed completely round the islands while Wátkadagan was drawing up the line.[12] When the line was drawn in there came up a huge halibut covered with tangled seaweed, among which were hundreds of small halibut. These Wátkadagan began to pick off and pile in the canoe. When it was full, he pushed on the gunwales and raised them, and continued to pile up the fish. Thus he did four times. When he had enough, he took the hook from the lips of the great halibut and pressed his hand on its head, and it sank. Then they went home. The woman cut up wood and dried the flesh.

The people were starving, and when they learned that the chief's abandoned daughter had food in plenty, they came and begged of her, but she gave only to the aunt who had befriended her. Then all the people returned to Ju and began to fish. One day Tullájat told her

12 It is thought that islands stand on thin stems, which conception is somehow supposed to explain the phenomenon of passing four times round the Queen Charlotte islands in so short a time.

youngest uncle to put on a new hat and take his new paddle and go fishing. So he did. She sat on the edge of the terrace and drew up her skirt a little. A wind blew off the land. She drew the skirt a little higher, and the wind increased. Higher still she drew it, and the wind increased. When the skirt was as high as her hips, the wind was so violent that all the canoes were capsized and the men drowned, all except the youngest uncle.

Now Wátkadagan prepared to depart, and he said to his young wife, "Make your home on this creek, and sometimes I will come to visit you." Then he went.

One day Sun took his bluejay-skin and went out, saying, "Mother, come out soon and see what I look like." She went out and saw beautiful blue clouds in the sky. She withdrew into the house, and when Sun came he asked, "Mother, how did I look?" And she answered, "Chief, you looked fine." Then he went out with the wren-skin, and she saw brown clouds. "Mother," he said when he returned, "how did I look?" As before she replied, "Chief, you looked fine." Next he took the woodpecker-skin, and his mother saw reddish clouds. "Mother, how did I look?" he asked. And she said, "Chief my son, supernatural beings cannot help looking at you, for you are so pretty." Last he used a snowbird-skin, and his mother saw cumulus clouds.

Then Sun said: "Now, my mother, I am going to leave you. You must make your home at the head of this creek." He disappeared. Tullájat went to the head of the creek and made that place her home. She was a supernatural being, but is regarded as belonging to the Raven phratry. She is called also Skánajat-kída-kátlhaskas ["supernatural-being-woman princess coming-out"], because when an offshore wind blows it is this being who "comes out of" the woods to the shore and sends the wind, as she did when she destroyed her uncles.

THOSE WHO WORE DANCING HATS IN THE WATER IN A CANOE

They were ten brothers, and one day they went hunting in the woods. They had ten dogs. They travelled for a while, and in the evening they camped; and the next day they went on. The following morning, when they awoke, they found themselves on the top of a high rock with perpendicular sides. There was no way to get down. Be-

low were the dogs, leaping at the rock and barking. One of the brothers, a mischievous young man, broke up his bow and arrows and made a fire-drill, and when the fire was burning he threw the remains of his weapons into it. Happening to look below, he saw his bow and arrows lying on the ground at the foot of the rock. So he built up the fire and threw himself into it, and when he was consumed, his brothers saw him standing alive and well beside his arrows.

He said: "You had better do the same thing. I felt nothing, and now I find myself down here." So one after another they threw themselves into the fire, and all thus escaped from the rock. The eyes of one, while he burned, grew very large.

Now they started homeward, and came out to the water at the head of Massett inlet. While they travelled, they heard a wren making the sound which is called drilling, and one of them, happening to glance down, saw a blue hole in his chest. He crossed his arm over it to conceal it, and went on without saying anything. They found the wing-feather of a hawk and fastened it to the hair of the youngest brother, and on the quill end they tied some neck-feathers of a mallard.

Then they came to a deserted village. All this time they had had nothing to eat, and now it was low tide. They gathered some small mussels, went into a house, built a fire, and roasted them. As they ate, the mischievous brother spit a piece of mussel up toward the smoke-hole, and the others began to do the same. Thus arose a contest as to which could send his the highest, and one of the brothers climbed to the roof and held a blanket, catching the pieces that went high enough. When he descended, the pieces of mussels had become eagle-down. Unconsciously the brothers had all become supernatural by passing through fire, and they had not yet discovered their power. They found an old, moss-covered canoe with grass growing in the cracks. They launched it, and one brother took his place in the bow with a pole, and the others lay on the bottom. The one in the bow had a bunch of eagle-feathers in his hair.

The mischievous brother carved a small wooden bird and set it on the handle of their bailer. As they poled along the shore, a mallard swam beside them. This was the small wooden image transformed into a living bird. As they approached their village at night, they heard the beating of a drum in their house, and the light from the open door streamed down on the beach. They landed in front of this house, but

the boys playing about paid no attention to them. It was as if the brothers were invisible. The one with the pole got out and went toward the house. The shamans were singing, and one said, "The supernatural being who uses the pole is coming." The young man stood unseen in the doorway, and becoming ashamed went back. Another landed and went up, and heard a shaman sing, "The supernatural being with a hole in his chest is coming." He looked down at the hole in his chest, and went back ashamed. A third landed and heard the shamans sing, "Now that supernatural being on whom the sun shines is going to come." He too went back ashamed. When the next one approached the house, the shamans said, "Now the supernatural being that has daylight and stood on the water is coming." He also went back. "Now the supernatural being Puffin-stood-on-the-water is coming." The one so named went back to the canoe. Another brother landed, and a shaman sang, "The supernatural being, the one who wears clouds round his neck, is coming." This one returned to the canoe, and then the one who had been lying in the stern came out, and the shaman said, "Now the supernatural being is coming, the one who was lying in the stern of the canoe on his back." So he returned to the canoe. Thus they were learning their new names as shamans. "Now the supernatural being is coming, the one who has large eyes." Then this brother remembered how his eyes had become large in the fire, and being ashamed he withdrew to the beach. Next the youngest came, and put his head in at the door. He saw the shaman wearing a feather just like his own. The shaman said, "Now the supernatural being is coming, Hawk-feather-standing-in-the-water." And this one went back. When the eldest came to the house, the shaman said, "Now that supernatural being is coming, he the half of whose voice is raven." And the eldest went back to the canoe.

He said to his brothers: "I believe we are supernatural beings. Let us go and prepare ourselves." So they went to the end of the village and gathered piles of grass, which they arranged in the canoe like nests: for they were going to live in the canoe and wished to make themselves comfortable. They took the playing boys and girls and stuffed the cracks of their canoe with them. They pushed off, and the pole in the hands of the bow-man became fiery red. Around the west coast of Graham island they travelled, and whenever they passed any floating feathers, these were put in a small box. They used no paddles, only

the pole.

At a village on the west coast they saw a woman crying on the beach, and took her into the canoe. Her palms were burned. For her husband, returning in the early morning from net fishing, saw her lying beside the fire with her arms clasped about her body; and thinking that a man was embracing her, he seized a burning ember and thrust it into what he supposed was the hands of her lover. The brothers in the canoe took her away and called her their sister. They split the bottom of the canoe so that water came in, and placed her hands in it, and healed them. They reached the village Kaisun, and Tullájat came down to the beach and said, "Come, brothers, and let me advise you before you go on." She gave to each one the name applied by the shaman at their own village, and then she said: "The eldest brother in the middle shall own this canoe. The youngest in the bow, the one with the pole, shall control its movement and take it to every place where power is to be given to shamans. This sister of yours shall be Skánajat-húdagins ["supernatural-power-woman bailing"]. Now, brothers, go to Stángwai [a reef off the west coast]. Whenever a man becomes a supernatural being, the being that lives at Stángwai is the one who finishes the work. Go there, stay four days, and he will finish you."

So they went to that place, and the supernatural being there completed the work of making them supernatural. He made dancing hats for them, and *tlíhidakana* [a rattle made by bending a stick in a circle, fastening a diametrical stick to it, and hanging puffin-bills around the periphery]. He also placed a cloud all about the outer edge of the gunwale of their canoe. Whenever there was water in the canoe, the mallard, which continued to follow them, rose on the water and flapped its wings, and immediately the craft became dry. Whenever a man was to be made a shaman by these spirits, the one in the bow pushed the canoe toward him and gave him the supernatural power.

A LAZY YOUTH WHO OBTAINED SUPERNATURAL POWER

Two brothers went fishing at Iron river. Diwún was lazy and never helped set the traps, but whenever there were fish in them he always was in the canoe to take his share. One day the other became angry and swam out to where his lazy brother was taking fish from the traps. He

climbed into the canoe, seized the dip-net, and threw it over Diwún, crying out, "It was not for your wife that I built this trap!" Then with the net still over his brother, he took the canoe home. Greatly shamed, the younger brother determined to leave home and seek supernatural power. He had his wife fill with oil a bladder of a very small bird, and then took her in a canoe. He went to the foot of the mountain Álgum and sent her back, saying that she could return in four days to see if he were alive.

Then he went to the top of the mountain and lay in a small hut under a tree. On the fourth day the woman and a man returned to the foot of the mountain and followed his trail. At intervals they shouted. After they had climbed some distance, they heard him feebly calling out that he was alive, but they must go back and return again in four days: for he had heard a sound like the tapping of a small bell, which showed that a spirit was about. On the fourth day following, very weak for lack of food and with eating of devil's-club bark, Diwún came staggering down to the shore. There his wife found him. She helped him into the canoe and paddled homeward.

On the way she pointed to a flock of geese on the water. He said, "Call to them that I want them to stay there for us." The woman shouted, "Diwún wants you to stay there!" Immediately the geese turned their bellies up and floated there dead. She gathered them into the boat and went on. After a while she observed a number of hair-seals and these she obtained in the same manner.

Diwún never told the people what his experience had been, but his deeds showed that he had seen a *s'kil* [supernatural being]. He heard that his brother was dying at Massett, and went quickly to the village; and after his brother was dead he gave a great feast. Many names of the Satsúkahl-lánas clan are derived from the experience of Diwún: thus, S'kiltkáhltsu ["spirit waiting"]; S'kilkétlas ["spirit looking-out-from-under" — referring to Diwún looking out from under his hat at the spirit]; S'kilkyúwat ["spirit trail"]; Suântl'suas ["only mountain"].

LITTLE-FINGER SUPERNATURAL POWER[13]

13 *"Sulkót-skánakwai."*

A chief's daughter, though unmarried, gave birth to a child. So the chief had her placed apart with her son at one end of the village. She built a hut of hemlock boughs and hung an old mat over the doorway. The boy grew very rapidly, and helped his mother by gathering food along the beach. He made a bow and some arrows, and killed small birds, which his mother cooked. When he was old enough to make two pointed arrows, he carved a porpoise on the point of one and a killerwhale on the other. At this work he happened to cut his little finger.

His uncles had many daughters, and he used to see them playing at camping in the woods or on the beach. But these, whom he should have had a right to marry, would not look at him. Sometimes he would play alone at being a medicine-man, with an old mat for a dancing skirt and clam-shells for rattles. One day at low tide he found on the beach a crane with a half-broken beak, and he whittled it to a point, so that the crane could catch fish. Then the bird said: "Now, my son, I am going to help you. I am going to give you *hyil* [medicinal herbs]." He took something green from his mouth and gave to the boy, and also one of his wing-feathers he gave, saying, "When you are angry with anyone, blow on this and send it into his body." The boy went home and took out his old mat dancing skirt. He spit some of the green medicine on it, and it became a fine elk-skin skirt with puffin-beak rattlers. He spit on his little drum, and it became a great drum with the painting of *wásko* [a mythical animal].

One evening the boy went about the village peering into the cracks of the houses, and catching sight of a chief's son he blew on the feather. Immediately the youth complained of a sharp pain in his side, and all the shamans were called in; but none could help him. The boy went again to look through the cracks, and saw the shamans working. Two dark men stood beside the door with pitch-pine torches. These guards were Porpoises.[14] He saw also the tip of his feather projecting from the sick boy's side, and he said to himself, "I wonder if they can see that thing." At once the two Porpoise men dropped their torches and ran out to catch whoever it was that could see what was the matter with the sick youth. He ran away and hid in his mother's hut, but

14 To the coast Indians the porpoise is the very embodiment of keen hearing.

they followed and summoned him to the chief's house. So he dressed himself in his dancing skirt and his chief's hat, and while the people waited in the house, his great drum came flying through the air, and the baton was beating. They looked for the young shaman, and soon saw his dancing hat sticking up through the floor in the corner of the room. After a while he stood before them. While the drum beat itself, the boy danced and then he pulled out the feather; and the chief's son was well. The boy took the property they paid him and went home, and the drum and the baton flew away.

Now one day he saw his uncles' daughters playing in the woods, and he made himself into a salmonberry bush near the trail. When they started homeward, the youngest cousin, who was lame, came walking last, and her hair caught on the bush. The others went on, and the youth stood before her and said, "I want to marry you." He spit his medicine on her leg, and made it sound. So they were married. The youth accumulated great wealth by blowing his feather into the sons and daughters of chiefs and then curing them.

One night the hemlock hut moved strangely. In the morning there stood in its place a great wooden house with carved posts, and with his mother lay Wátkadagan. In one corner was a half man hopping about. Now the boy's finger was constantly swelling. Wátkadagan said to him: "My son, go and marry the daughter of Tésqanaya, the supernatural being who lives at Kónu [Skedans]. There is no drift-wood at that place, so you had better take this." And he gave the young man a heavy, water-soaked limb. So the young man's wife went home to her parents, and Hlkyánkaikwa-skánakwai ["hopping supernatural-power"], the half man, took him beneath his arm and carried him away toward Kónu. He had his bow and two arrows, on one of which was carved a weasel, on the other a mouse. These were given to him by the half man, who said, "Every time you shoot these, they will come back to you." On the way they passed through a swampy place, and the half man could not cross, because his single foot, when he hopped, sank into the mire. But the young man spit his medicine, and the ground became firm. Leaving him at Kónu, the Hopping Supernatural-power returned to his master Wátkadagan.

Now the two daughters of Tésqanaya used to go down to the beach every evening, and the youth placed himself in the large club which he was carrying, and lay on the beach like a piece of drift-wood.

The two girls, finding it, were surprised, and took it home. Tésqanaya had five axes, but one after another he broke four of them in trying to split the stick. With the fifth he cut it, and he placed the pieces in the fire. When the girls went to bed behind the wooden partition, a spark from the fire went flying over it. This was the young man. He stood beside the bed and put his hand on the head of the one he was to marry, and she asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am Sulkót-skánakwai." She said, "Oh, that is the one my father wishes me to marry." So he went to bed with her.

In the morning Tésqanaya said: "I wonder what supernatural being that was who talked with my daughter last night. I wonder if it was Sulkót-skánakwai." The girl replied, "That is the one, my father."

"Well, come out and eat," he said. So they came and sat by the fire. He said they would first eat berries, but in the dishes which he set out was what looked like burning embers. The girl secretly warned her husband not to eat, but he swallowed his green medicine, dipped his spoon into the dish, and ate the embers. These passed right through him and set fire to the floor beneath him. He moved to another place and repeated the act. Thus he ate all the embers.

The next morning the chief called, "Well, chief my daughter, tell your husband to get the alder tree behind my house." The young man started up at once, but the girl clung to him, saying that her father was only trying to kill him. Still he insisted, and she said: "That tree has a crack which comes together five times, and each time there is lightning. After the fifth time, strike it." She gave him an axe. So the young man waited, and after the fifth time he began to chop. As the tree fell, it grasped him in the cleft. He was almost dead, and could not control his medicine, but he thought of his father's supernatural power, and immediately a man with a hammer and a wedge appeared and opened the cleft. Soon Sulkótskánakwai felt a little stronger and rubbed his medicine on himself. The man with the wedge left him, and he tore the tree apart. Inside were the bones of many men. He broke up one side of the tree by stepping on it, and scattered the pieces, saying, "You will be useful for the people who are to be." The rest he carried into the house and threw down against the wall, and the chief cried, "Oh, he has killed one of my powers!"

The next morning the chief said, "Chief my daughter, I wish your husband would get me the octopus on the point." The girl began to

cry: *"Hájadia* [alas]! Every time I get a husband, this is the way you treat him!" While the young man gathered up his two arrows and an octopus stick, she told him, "If you see water spurt up four times, then shoot the octopus." So he did this, and after shooting his arrows he thrust the stick under the rock. Then he became unconscious, and found himself in the mouth of the monster and nearly smothered with the thick slime. Again he thought of his father's supernatural power, and a man came with a club and killed the octopus. Half of the body Sulkót-skánakwai tore up and scattered, and the rest he threw into the house. The chief cried: "*Hájadia!* He has killed another of my powers!"

The following morning Tésqanaya gave his son-in-law a club and ordered him to kill a sea-lion. The girl warned him to wait until the sea-lion had roared four times; so after the fourth time he shot his arrows, and they came flying back to him. Then he clubbed it to death, and half of its body he tore up and scattered, saying, "You will be useful for future people." The rest he brought to the house and threw inside. "*Hájadia!*" lamented the chief. "He has killed another of my powers!"

Thus one by one Sulkót-skdnakwai destroyed a monster hair-seal, a great eagle, an enormous horse-clam, and a cockle. Finally Tésqanaya filled a large chest with water and dropped heated stones into it until the water boiled. Sulkót-skánakwai secretly spit his medicine into it, and then got in, and Tésqanaya clapped on the cover and said, "Now I will kill you!" But soon the cover was thrown violently off and the young man stood up and broke the box to pieces. From that time Tésqanaya treated his son-inlaw kindly.

After a while Sulkót-skánakwai became homesick and told his wife he wished to return to his mother. She informed her father, who promised to provide a canoe. Soon he said, "I have left a canoe on the beach." She went down, but quickly returned, saying, "There is no canoe, only an old rotten one." He told her to look again, and she went down with her husband. Then she kicked the rotten canoe and said, "Launch yourself, my father's canoe." It slipped into the water and became a large, handsome vessel with a carved man in the stern and another in the bow. They had paddles in their hands, and they obeyed the girl's orders, moving the canoe forward and back. Now Tésqanaya gave his daughter five boxes of berries, and said: "When the carved

men become hungry they will paddle the canoe backward. Then you must feed them, and they will go forward again." He sent five women to be the servants of his daughter, and when the canoe started, she and her husband sat in the middle without moving, like great chiefs.

When they reached the village of Sulkót-skánakwai, every house was lighted up with great fires. They landed, and the people came to help them carry up all the things they had brought. They sent back the canoe with its two men, and Sulkót-skánakwai went to his mother and said, "Mother, go down and call my wife, who is sitting among those things." She went to the beach, but saw nothing except a small cloud among the objects piled there. When she reported this to her son, he said: "Well, that is my wife. Go and call her." So the woman called the little cloud, which rose and floated after her to the house. When the village people came to look at the new wife, nobody could see anything except a cloud sitting beside the young man. Then he said to his wife, "You had better take off your hat." She asked him to do it for her, and he removed the cloud, which was her hat. Then the people were astonished at her beauty. Outside peering through the cracks were his cousins, crying because they had not married him.

One day a white sea-otter appeared in the water before the village, and all the men went to shoot it, but they could not strike it. When Sulkótskánakwai shot, his arrow struck it near the tail, and they threw the otter into the canoe and skinned it. Then the young wife placed the skin in the water and trod on it to wash out a spot of blood. Gradually it slipped away, and she kept following it into deeper water. Suddenly a killerwhale dashed up and carried her away. For all the supernatural beings wanted her, and this was a plan to secure her.

Now Sulkót-skánakwai wandered about, weeping, and in the woods he came upon an old man, whom he asked where he could find his wife. The old man answered that he could tell, and Sulkót-skánakwai gave him a drill, some rope, some tallow, and a whetstone. Then the old man said: "I will go with you. We will use my canoe. Skánakakwánkidas ["supernatural-power in cradle"] has taken her." This was a Killerwhale, who in his house lay constantly in a cradle and had a servant swing him by pulling a rope.

One clear, calm day Sulkót-skánakwai proposed that they start, but the old man said, "No, this is bad weather." Again this happened. Then on a rough, rainy day he sent for the young man and said: "Now

it is a fine day. We will go. When you get away from land, all this will disappear and the sun will come out. Get a drill, some rope, and some tallow." Then they started, and far from land they found fine weather. "Look for a two-headed kelp," said the old man. "That will be the starting of the trail. When you come to the village, beware of an old man who lives near it. He is always watching to keep anyone from entering." When they found the double-headed kelp, Sulkót- skánakwai stepped out of the canoe and found himself on a broad trail. He went along and soon heard the sound of bailing out a canoe, and suddenly came upon an old man, Crane, who immediately shouted the alarm. But Sulkót-skánakwai quickly gave him the drill, rope, and tallow, and Crane hid him under his broad arm just before the people came running out. "What is the matter?" they demanded. "Oh," answered Crane, "my drill slipped and I always shout when that happens." They insisted that they smelled a strange odor, and searched him over and over, but found nothing.

When they had gone, Crane said: "When you come to that chief's house, be cautious. The top of his house-pole is always on the watch. And where he gets water, the head of a dogfish also is watching. These may see you. Two men will come for wood. They are full of sores on their skin. When you meet them, spit your medicine on them and rub your tallow over them and heal them." So Sulkót-skánakwai went along and escaped the eye of the watchman. Coming behind the woodcutters, he put, a stone into the cut they were making in a tree, and they broke their axes. When they began to cry, he put the axes into his mouth' and drew them out, better than before. Then he healed their sores. They were grateful, and informed him, "Tonight they are going to steam the fin for your wife." For when a person from the earth was taken by the Killerwhales to be made one of them, they took a fin from the numerous ones that stood in the corner, heated it in the fire, and threw it against the back of that person, so that it stuck there.

Then the wood-cutters made a plan for the escape of his wife. They carried him into the house in the midst of a load of wood. Then they brought water, and as if by accident spilled it on the great fire. Immediately the house was filled with steam, and the young man grasped his wife's arm and ran out with her. The two woodcutters followed, and so hindered the pursuers that the fugitives could not be taken. The watcher on the house-pole called out the direction in which they

were running, but the wood-cutters would stop and swell up so that the others could not get over them. So Sulkót- skánakwai and his wife reached the canoe in which the old man was waiting, and returned safely to the village.

THE YOUTH WHO MARRIED A GOOSE

A chief's son hunting ducks on the shore of a lake saw two young women swimming. On a log lay two goose-skins. He cautiously watched them, then suddenly ran out and sat on the skins. The young women leaped toward them, but when they saw that they were too late, they dropped back into the water and looked at him. After a while they spoke, "Give us our skins." He looked at them and said to the younger and prettier one, "I will marry you." But the elder answered: "No, do not take my sister. Take me. I am the elder."

"No," he said, "I must marry your sister before I give up these skins." For a long time they stood there in the water, and the young man sat on the log. At last the elder said: "Well, you shall marry my sister. This lake belongs to my father." So he gave her a skin and she put it on. At once a fine goose was swimming on the water. It rose into the air and flew about the other young woman for a while, and then flew straight up into the air and disappeared. Then the chief's son climbed a cedar and placed the other goose-skin in a cleft of the tree, and throwing one of his two marten-skin blankets on her shoulders he led his wife home to his father.

Now the chief invited the people to see his son's wife and to feast with her. But when they placed food before her, she picked up a bit, smelled it, and laid it back. One day her mother-in-law began to cook some silverweed-roots, and the Goose woman at once fixed her eyes on this food. She said to her husband, "Tell your mother to hurry with that food." When the dish was ready, she ate all, and thereafter they fed her only these roots.

One night while the young man was sleeping, he was awakened by his wife coming into the bed and touching him with her body, which was very cold. The following night he remained awake, but pretended to sleep, and so he saw his wife rise quietly and go out. He followed her along the front of the village and into the woods to the tree where her goose-skin was. Soon a goose flew away to the point near the vil-

lage, and he followed her. He saw a goose's tail above the water. She was diving for eel-grass. Then he went home, and soon she came into the bed.

Now the food in the village was exhausted. One day the Goose woman heard a flock of geese behind the village, and she ran out with her husband and found a pile of food in the woods. They carried it to the village. A few days later more food was brought. But some of the people complained that the geese did not bring enough: they were stingy. And the Goose woman became angry and said she would go. Her husband tried to restrain her, but she ran away, got her skin, and flew up into the air above the village, and passed out of his sight.

Now the chief's son began to cry, wandering about the village and through the woods. He went to Crane, the oldest man in the town, who lived in the last house, and said, "Old man, do you know the way to my wife?" And Crane answered: "Yes. She is a supernatural being, to marry whom is unthinkable." Then the young man gave him a bone drill, some rope, and a wedge. He wanted more information.

The old man said: "Well, the first thing is to take a water-basket. Put into it two stone axes and the point of a salmon-spear. And take a silverside salmon's skin, a whetstone, and a rawhide string, some oil, a comb, a knife, and a piece of preserved salmon-roe." And he explained how these things were to be used. He knew all about the supernatural beings.

When the young man had all things ready, he went again to old Crane, who said: "*Íljô!*[15] The trail begins just behind my house." So the young man started, and before long he came to a person sitting beside the trail and lousing his body. Whenever he turned, lice fell from the folds of his skin. He was the source of all lice. The chief's son stood there peering at this person, who soon said *"Íljô!* Do not tickle me by looking at me. It was already in my mind that you were coming." So the young man came out from the bushes and combed and oiled the man's hair and gave him the comb and the rest of the oil. Then the old man said: "*Íljô!* This is the trail to your wife." So the young man went forward.

He travelled on and came to a very small mouse trying to cross a

15 A term of address indicating humility in the speaker.

log with a cranberry, which it held in its mouth. He lifted it over the log and it went along happily with its tail curled up over its ears. It crept under a bunch of fern, and the young man sat down and waited. Soon a voice called him: "The chief woman wishes you to come in!" He raised the fern and saw an entrance, through which he passed into a large house. The chief woman sat there, and she said, "I am the one whom you helped across the log." They gave him a dish with a single berry on it. As rapidly as he ate the berry, another took its place. Then the chief woman said, "I am going to give you a mouse-skin, which I formerly used in my hunting." So from the innermost of four boxes a small skin was taken and given to him. She told him to put it on and practise how he would act; and he started to put it on very carefully, but to his surprise it slipped on easily. Then he climbed the walls and ran about the roof, and when he descended, she said that he acted well. "Now go along this trail," she said.

After travelling onward, the young man heard a strange sound. He saw a woman tying cedar-withes about large stones, which she was trying to carry away, but constantly the ropes broke and the stones fell. "What are you doing?" he asked. And she said: "I have to carry away all these stones and build the mountains, but my ropes always break." He gave her some rawhide ropes, which easily supported the load, and she assured him that he was on the right trail to find his wife.

Next he came to an open, mossy place in the midst of which was a knoll, and on its top stood a red pole with human bones scattered about it. He drew out his preserved salmon-roe and rubbed it on the pole; he put on his mouse-skin and climbed upward, constantly rubbing the roe above him in order to make the pole sticky so that he could hold fast. When he reached the top, a ladder came down from the sky and he mounted it to a land which looked the same as the earth. There the trail went on.

He heard shouting, and soon came to a running creek filled with silverside salmon. At a shallow place an eagle and a bear sat on opposite sides, and just above this were a kingfisher and a crane on opposite sides. All were catching salmon. The eagle caught them with his claws, and the kingfisher and the crane with their beaks, but the bear had no talons and no beak, and he experienced difficulty in fishing. While the young man watched, the eagle took pity on the bear and gave him one of his talons, and when the next rush of salmon came the bear suc-

ceeded in catching a fish. Now came hopping along up the stream a half man, who had only one leg, one arm, half a head, and half a body. He was spearing fish. The chief's son at once went farther upstream and put on the salmon-skin he had brought. He swam down toward the half man, who soon speared him. Then the salmon rushed this way and that, trying to break the line or drag the half man into the water, but he could not. So with his knife he cut the line. The half man examined the severed end and said, "It looks as if some human being had done this." Then the chief's son, having resumed his proper shape, came down and asked, "What has happened?" Said the half man: "My line is broken and my spear-point lost. It looks as if some human being had done it." Then the young man gave him the spear-point which he had brought, and the half man thanked him and gratefully informed him that his wife was in the village near at hand.

Above this place were two old men cutting rotten trees. Now and then they would throw an armful of chips into the stream, and these became silverside salmon, which ran down the river. The chief's son slipped up, and while they were throwing chips into the water, he placed his whetstone in the cut they were making, so that when they resumed their chopping they broke their stone axes. Then they lamented, and wondered what their chief would do to them, and the young man asked what was the trouble. He gave them the two axes he had, and out of gratitude these servants of the Goose chief informed him that his wife was in the village. Soon he found the village, and as he stood for a while before the largest house, his wife came out and greeted him, and led him in. There in that upper world he remained for a long time, and he saw bow the bird people lived.

But he became homesick, and his wife told her father, who invited all the people to a feast. At the end he asked the people, "Who is going to take my son-in-law home to his father's village?" The Loon said: "I will do it. I will put him close to my tail and will dive with him at the edge of this village, and let him off in front of his father's place." But the chief said, "That will not do." Then the Diver offered to take the young man beneath the water, but the chief objected. The Raven said, "I will put him under my arm, and when I become tired, I will turn in the air and so become rested." To this the chief agreed. So the Raven flew away with the young man, and the people watched him. Near the end of his journey the Raven became weary, and said to himself, "Such

a heavy fellow, I think I will let him drop!" So he dropped the young man, who alighted on a reef and turned into the first sea-gull.

LEGENDARY WARS BETWEEN THE WESTERN AND THE SOUTHERN HAIDA

The Ánit-hade, who occupied a number of villages at the southern end of Moresby island, were on very friendly terms with the Dó-hade, who lived on the west coast. Each visited the other in alternate summers. One summer a great whale came ashore among the Ánit-hade, the largest whale ever seen. Its fin, stood on end, projected out of the smoke-hole. An old man started to make the fin-bone into war-clubs, which he placed by the fire to dry, and later hung in the smoke. When they seemed to be dry enough, he tested them on a dog. Then the Ánit-hade made a plot that when the Dó-hade came, each crew should be quartered in a separate house, and they arranged a signal which would mean that an attack should be made on them. So the Dó-hade came, and one night the chief of the village, a great fat woman, ordered two of her slaves to take her to the beach to defecate. They led her down to the beach, and as she sat there she gave a shout, and the Ánit-hade with their new clubs fell upon their guests and killed nearly all.

A few escaped, and the Hláït-hade, inhabiting another village on the west coast, sent several successive expeditions to coast along the island and rescue the survivors. A young man of the Dó-hade had been adopted by the Hláït-hade chief, and since his dead body had not been found it was believed that he had escaped. Therefore on every fine day the chief put off in his canoe to search for his foster son. At last as they paddled along they saw a raven in a tree, croaking away and looking down at the ground. They went to see what it was, and found the young man dying with an arrow-point in his ear. On a sea-otter robe they carried him to the canoe and hurried home, where they drew out the arrow-point. He began to recover.

Now the Hláït-hade bought from the Ánit-hade as many of the Dóhade women as they could afford, and thus the people were saved from extinction. They increased, and after many years began to think of revenge. Meantime the Ánit-hade had built their village on a high island and placed a stockade around it. One night the Dó-hade climbed the hill, crept over the stockade, and massacred nearly all the men and

captured the women and children. A baby strapped to its board was thrown over the stockade. But the board slid down without harm to the infant; so the invaders recovered it, and feeding it on masticated food carried it home to Nístu, their fortified village. They named it Táuhlkai.

Other villages of the south coast ransomed some of the captured Ánit-hade, and thus the tribe was rehabilitated. For many years the Ánithade were few, and they lived in small scattered camps. When the population increased, they planned revenge, and a party went northward to the territory of the Dó-hade. One of the men pursued alone two Dó-hade women. They crept into a cave with a very low entrance. When he called to them that they had better come out, they told him to come in and they would give up to him. So he started to creep in. One of them seized him by the head, and with a stone they beat in his skull, and then scooped out the brains and scattered them on the walls of the cave. Táuhlkai, now a man, was sent out to find the two missing women, but coming upon the tracks of many men, he turned back. A man with a spear pursued him, but he scrambled to the top of a steep rock, and the other did not dare follow. The spearsman commanded him to descend, but the youth said: "Come and get me. I have nothing with which to fight." So the warrior climbed upward, and Táuhlkai hurled a heavy stone and killed him. Then he took the spear, donned the warrior's costume, and went home. Meantime the other southern warriors had successfully attacked the village, and one of them had put on the dress of a medicine-man whom he had killed. This man Táuhlkai discovered on the trail, dancing in his new dress; and he ran his spear through him. The attack was still in progress, and when the Dóhade saw Táuhlkai attack the Ánit-hade from behind, they rushed out of the fort, and the Ánit-hade were soon routed. Táuhlkai became a great warrior, and always fought in behalf of the people who had adopted him.

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