THE KWAKIUTL - PART IV

THE WINTER DANCE

The winter ceremony is called *tsétsehka* ("secrets," or "tricks of legerdemain"), a name which aptly characterizes the great majority of the component performances.[1] There are many points of difference in the procedure observed by the tribes, but in the main the variations are unessential.

During a period of about four months, beginning usually in the middle of November, the members of the secret society devote themselves exclusively to the winter dances and the accompanying feasts, potlatches, payment of marriage debts, and other festivities. No work not absolutely essential to existence or to the progress of the ceremony is performed. The ordinary or summer name, as well as the feast name, of each member is now rigidly taboo, and his ceremonial or winter name is adopted. Among the Wikeno the winter names of all males refer to the female organs, and *vice versa*, which indicates the admitted fact that the winter is a season of uncommon sexual promiscuity. Summer songs are taboo, and constant merriment and good feeling are urged. The symbol of the winter dance is cedar-bark dyed red with alder-bark juice and fashioned into variously shaped rings for the head, neck, elbows, wrists, knees, and ankles, each degree in the society being distinguished by the peculiarities of its bark rings.

The norm of the winter dance we may consider to be a performance in which a hamatsa and his three companions — kôminâka, núnhltsistálahl, and kyénkalatlulu — are initiated. As a matter of fact such an occasion is of rare occurrence. One or all of the three companions of hamatsa may be missing, because of the fact that the man giving the dance has no membership in these orders to confer, and either lacks the means to hire a recent initiate, or can find none willing, to repeat the initiation dance for him.[2]

1 In order to preserve the fiction of miraculous power, this telltale name is not used before the uninitiated. Qéqutsoh ("they are playing sparrows" — qéqutsa) is substituted.

2 A peculiar pantomime in which none of the regular dancers appears is

The following is an account of the procedure observed by the Qá-gyuhl when a hamatsa and his three companions are being initiated.[3] A man who is about to transfer his membership in a certain dance calls to his house a song-maker (*nâkati*, man of understanding), whose profession is musical composition and the leading of singers on ceremonial occasions, and a "word-passer" (*tlíkotalu*), who sets words to music and on public occasions stands and chants each line in advance of the singers in order to prompt them. These two are requested to make the necessary number of songs, the number depending on the dance in question. For the hamatsa it is sixteen. So the composers go into the woods, sometimes accompanied by a *kwánutlimi* ("sitting close beside the head"), who is a novice in the art of composition. The song-maker draws inspiration chiefly from the sounds of running or dropping water, and from the notes of birds. Sitting beside a rill of falling water, he listens intently, catches the music, and hums it to himself, using not words but the vocables *hamamama*. This is his theme. Then he carries the theme further, making variations, and at last he adds a finale which he calls the "tail." After a while he goes to the word-passer, constantly humming the tune, and the word-passer, catching the air, joins in, and then sets a single word to it. This is called "tying the song," so that it may not "drift away" like an unmoored canoe. Then gradually other

called hôhsumlilhla, and is conducted as follows: On the first night the giver of the ceremony announces, "We will show our háohtlin." This refers to all the masks owned by his family, which have been arranged in rows behind a curtain stretched across the rear of the room. While the people strike with their batons without singing, the curtain is raised with three ropes passing over a roof-beam, and every mask suddenly rises and moves about in its place. In a few minutes the curtain is lowered, and with brief intervals the spectacle is repeated three times more. The maskers are supposed to be carried away by the spirits which they represent, and hence they remain hidden during the next three days. On the second and the third night there is no dancing, but a feast is given, and on the fourth night the dancing with masks is repeated in order to recover the maskers from the spirits that have captured them.

3 The greatest liberty is taken with the rules supposed to govern the ceremony, so that a presentation of the rites might materially differ from this description, both in the sequence of events and in the conduct of the participants.

words are added, until the song is complete. The novice sits a little apart from the master, and if he "finds" a melody, he "carries" it at once to the song-maker, who quickly catches the theme and proceeds to develop it. Many songs are obtained from the robin, some from a waterfowl which whistles before diving, and from other birds. An informant has seen a songmaker, after employing various themes, coil a rope and then compose a song representing it. On a certain occasion when the singers were practising the new songs in the woods, the song-maker lacked one to complete the number, and he asked the others if any had a song. The other composers present said they had none. One of them looked across at a visiting woman *nâkati* and said to the presiding song-maker, "I will ask her." She heard the phrase, caught the inflection of the rising and falling syllables, and began to sing *hamamama.* As the sound left her lips, those on the opposite side of the circle heard it and at once began to hum, and together they composed the necessary song. This manner of catching a melody is called "scooping it up in the hands."

Payment is insisted upon before the songs are used. Winter-dance songs for men sell at five dollars each, and for women at one dollar. Some bring fifteen dollars each, because they are very long and contain a great many words, reciting the deeds and names of the man for whom they are made. At the conclusion of the ceremony the dancer or his father may condemn some of the songs, and these are discarded, although they have been paid for and no others are composed without additional payment. It is the duty of the song-maker and the word-passer to hold in memory from year to year the air and the words of every song they have sold, and, whenever there is occasion for the use of these songs, to sing them, their remuneration for this service being included in the original payment.[4]

On the day before the initiates are to reappear, the song-maker, the word-passer, and a number of singers go into the woods to a certain cleared space called *nâkas,* where the song-maker sits behind a board that lies on the ground, and beats upon it with a stick while the songs

4 Winter-dance songs are rendered in the lower register with resonant tones, the tongue being thrown back and the notes expelled with a strong vibratory effect. Love-songs, on the contrary, are sung in a falsetto, and the songs of the tlu'wuláhu ceremony are rendered in the natural tone.

are learned.

On the morning following the practising of the songs, the hamatsa initiate conceals himself near another clearing (not far from the *nâkas*), within which sit the three who are to be initiated respectively as kôminâka, núnhltsistálahl, and kyénkalatlulu, and hither come the singers. First they sing the hamatsa songs, and the young man in his concealment carefully listens, noting the rhythm and the words, and practising appropriate gestures, so that when he dances in the house he may not be at a loss. Then the other three initiates rise and dance while their songs are practised, endeavoring to make themselves proficient. All this time a substitute, whom the *páhus* (uninitiated) believe to be the real hamatsa initiate, is running back and forth on the beach in the sight of the villagers, and the attendants are whistling in the woods, running along in a course parallel with his, and using their whistles in such a way that the sounds seem to come from him. Those who use the whistles are either hamatsas or héhams'hamtsus (plural of háms'hamtsus). The whistles are of cedar, but of various kinds, some broad and flat, others cylindrical, some having two pipes joined with one mouthpiece. All produce mournful notes reminiscent of the sighing wind.

The practice singing is soft, so as not to be heard in the village; nevertheless on a calm day it can be heard, and causes much talk both among the *páhus* and among those *pépahala* who are in the village, and some one quickly comes to caution the singers. For the *páhus* people are always listening and hoping to hear something go wrong. They are constantly in opposition to the *pépahala,* not from any feeling of personal or class enmity, but as a part of the play. Thus, a father of many children may be unable to initiate all of them into the society, on account of the great expense, and when the dancing season begins, those who are not initiated are barred from entering their own house. Their brothers and sisters have something that they themselves have not, and this fact creates in them a spirit of opposition and the hope, not malicious so much as mischievous, that things will go wrong. On both sides great care is taken that the uninitiated discover none of the secrets. It is said that in ancient times one who was so unfortunate as to do so, whether by accident or design, was put to death. More recently he is compelled to undergo initiation. It is for this reason that during the progress of a winter dance *páhus* children may be seen walking at the very margin of the beach, or even in the water, until they have

passed the dance house. One winter day about the year 1865, when the singers and the initiates were assembled in the clearing for practice, a *páhus* man happened upon them. They seized and bound him, and told him he must be initiated. He replied that on account of his poverty he could not, but they confined him. The other *páhus* in some manner learned of this mischance, and at once the men and many of the women girded up their robes and pinned them at the shoulder so as to leave the right arm free, in the manner of warriors, and painted their faces. With clubs and sticks they set out secretly through the woods, and fell upon the initiated, beating them vigorously and driving them down to the beach. Then they stormed back into the village and broke into the houses until they found the prisoner and released him. They destroyed a great deal of property, both canoes on the beach and dishes and boxes in the houses. This has happened twice at Fort Rupert and once at Nawiti. It is called *wátsahstu* ("dogs going through the village"); for the *páhus* are nicknamed "dogs" and "ghosts" (in the winter speech, *wástse* and *yayilámihw*).

While the singers are practising in the woods, the members of the society have been summoned to the dance house, and Nuhní'mis, the master of ceremonies (an hereditary official), has ordered them to "save our great friend," — in other words, to rescue the hamatsa initiate from Páhpaqalanóhsiwi by catching him and exorcising the supernatural madness that possesses him. All wear their red cedar-bark rings and have their faces variously painted with charcoal applied on tallow, while their hair is covered with white eagle-down. The seals, arranged in classes, precede the sparrows, and the party moves slowly toward the sound of the hamatsa whistles. On the way they stop while several youths provide them with green hemlock twigs which they weave into neck-wreaths, thrusting a single sprig upright inside their head-bands. They advance toward the substitute hamatsa, who is running wildly near the edge of the woods, and suddenly they surround him. In order to mystify the village spectators he quickly substitutes red bark ornaments for his green hemlock rings, and when the crowd opens he has apparently disappeared, quickly to reappear at a considerable distance in the person of a second substitute dressed exactly like him; and this one is surrounded and lost in the same manner. After several repetitions of this trick the members join hands and, singing, approach the real hamatsa. A naked man is placed in advance of all the others, as a bait, and suddenly the hamatsa rushes out, seizes the man,

and bites his forearm. While he is thus engaged the people take him and lead him to the dance house. The kyénkalatlulu, naked except for hemlock wreaths, accompanies the hamatsa, while the kôminâka and núnhltsistálahl remain somewhat apart. During the return with the captives the people sing the songs of these initiates. Kyénkalatlulu, walking backward, enters the house and tries to entice hamatsa, but he warily remains in the doorway.

During this play between kyénkalatlulu and hamatsa the people erect the *máwihl* and the *háms'pek* ("eating pole"). The *máwihl* is a seven-or eight-foot square of thin, smooth, closely joined boards, having a symbolical painting. It stands in front of the secret room in the rear of the dance house, and represents the front of the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. a new *máwihl* is made for each ceremony and burned at its conclusion. Just behind the *máwihl* rises the *háms'pek, a* heavy pole extending through the roof. At its top is a cross-piece from which hangs a triangular sheet of cedar-bark bearing the painted face of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi.

Now hamatsa enters, turns to the right, and runs to the *máwihl,* squatting and never standing upright. He disappears behind the *máwihl* and then is seen climbing the *háms'pek* to the roof. Soon he descends, rushes round the fire, seizes a spectator's arm and bites it, and again mounts to the roof by way of the pole.[5] Four times he descends from the roof and bites the arm of a spectator. The biting occurs when the song, which in every case suggests the act of eating human flesh, reaches its most exciting phrase. He never actually bites out a piece of

5 Some hamatsa initiates, unable to climb the pole, pay no attention to it, but after each circuit of the fire withdraw into the secret room for a few minutes. In exceptional cases the hamatsa enacts the myth of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi more literally by climbing to the top of the pole and, while sitting on the cross-piece, making characteristic gestures. The Awaitlala háms'pek is a hollowed half of a log set on end, its length carved into five huge faces with enormous mouths opening into the interior of the column. When the hamatsa initiate climbs to the top, he crawls over the edge and emerges from the uppermost mouth, then descends, head first, to the next mouth, through which he creeps to the inside of the tree; and so he winds his way down, in and out of the five mouths, all in conformity with the Awaitlala myth of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. The Bellabella háms'pek stands in front of the house.

flesh — a feat which is said to be impossible. He simply takes the skin between his teeth and pulls vigorously, stretching the skin away from the forearm, and a practised attendant swiftly and furtively severs it with a small knife. The act is so quick that it is undetected, and spectators not in the secret believe that hamatsa has bitten out the piece. All the while the people are singing the new hamatsa's songs, and various women rise and perform the characteristic gestures of their respective dances. Singing and dancing cease when he retires to the roof or to the secret room, but his whistles, blown by confederates, continue to sound. After a distribution of presents by the giver of the ceremony the people repair to their homes in time for a late breakfast.

Then the giver of the dance brings out a pile of blankets, never fewer than a hundred for the hamatsa and a lesser number for the other initiates. These are the *yútsu* ("something flat on which to dance"). Figuratively they are taken to be the eagle-down that falls from the head of the giver of the dance and makes the ground soft for the feet of the dancers. This is omitted only in rare instances when a man unwisely neglects to prepare for it. The people then say of the hamatsa, in ridicule: "He is dancing on the hard floor! He has no eagle-down!"

As soon as the spectators have departed, the official speaker rises to make known the ceremonial names of the initiates. He forcibly thrusts his speaker's staff upon the ground, making an indentation, and repeats the name of the hamatsa, saying, "This will be the name of the hamatsa." Then he relates the mythical or legendary history of the name, and in the same manner confers names on the other initiates. Four men carefully note these names, because it is their duty to announce them in the street. Finally the giver of the dance thanks the speaker: "That is what I have been wishing, to get these new names." The *yútsu* blankets are then removed.

Sometimes the hamatsa, especially one who has spent the prescribed four months in the woods, is caught absolutely naked, without even a head-band, and all the other hamatsas, regardless of age, at once prepare for a mummy feast. The initiate, after dancing to one song, rushes out of the house and soon returns carrying a mummy[6] wrapped in hemlock branches. Immediately all the hamatsas utter their cry, and, quite naked, go squatting to meet the corpse. One of them places the

6 Or an imitation.

great box-drum behind the fire, and another — the corpse-cutter — takes the body and lays it on the drum. He severs the head and gives it to the initiate, dismembers the body and distributes the parts among the others. All the hamatsas then squat on the floor with the legs, arms, and ribs across their knees, and begin to eat. At the conclusion of the feast the bones are dropped into a box, and by an attendant are thrown into deep water, in order that they may not decay and so cause corresponding corruption of those whose touch lingers on them. Then the strongest men of the tribe are called upon to wash the hamatsas. They grasp them by the hair and with simulated roughness drag them out of the house, down the beach, and into the water. All face eastward, the hamatsas cry out *hap! hap! hap!* and the strong men force them under the water and turn them around until they again face the east. The hamatsas come up, take a breath, and again utter their cry. This is done four times, and then the hamatsas are taken into the secret room. Specific instances of alleged cannibalism will be cited later. The initiates and the attendants of hamatsa spend the day in the secret room, some of the latter whistling almost constantly. The people devote the day to preparations for the dance, which will begin at dark and continue until after midnight.

At dusk (about four o'clock) the giver of the dance sends four heralds with their speaker's staffs through the village with a request for the people to come and tame the initiates. At the first house they stand on the threshold, one behind the other, and the leader calls the winter name of each inmate, adding: "*Lámans yohlatlaí, pépahalé, lah Nôhtanatsi*[7] ['we now will tame Great One-man Eater, shamans']*!*" Before he has well finished, the second begins: "*Lámans nánokamatlaí, pépahalé, lah kya tlúgwala*[8] *gyai, pépahalé* ['now, shamans, we will restore to his senses this present *tlúgwala*, shamans']*!*" Even while his voice still echoes in the house, the third cries: "*Hálagyilíhl tluns, hai! pépahalé* ['quickly we rise, *hai!* shamans']!" Immediately the fourth adds: "*Wíla étla tlunsaí tla wuns tsétake hai! tla wuns pápapahum hai* ['all we will follow inside, and these our women, *hai!* and these our

7 Or whatever may be the new name of the hamatsa.

8 Tlúgwala ("to find something," hence to obtain magic power from a spirit) is here an epithet of the hamatsa initiate.

children of shamans, *hai'*]*!*" These formulas they repeat at each house. a little later three of the heralds, leaving the leader, return to each house and one of them shouts, "We have walked back after you!" The people now begin to stir. The third call is brought by two men, and finally a single man passes through the village crying, "I am the last one to call!" Now the people stream toward the house of the man giving the dance, and the herald, returning, looks into each house, or tries the door, to see that no one remains behind.

The speaker thanks the people for their presence, after which three other men speak to the singers, bidding them take up their batons, and to the people, urging them to refrain from laughter and from speech, lest they say words that excite the hamatsa. Then is heard the cry of the four male attendants of kôminâka: *hai, ai, hai, hai, hai!* But the batons are silent, and the giver of the dance, aware of the significance of the situation, directs his servants to bring out the blankets that pay for the songs. Then the singers, who sit in a row at the rear of the room, begin to sing rapidly, beating on boards with their batons, while kôminâka and her four attendants come out from behind the *máwihl*, she dancing while the attendants keep crying *hoïp!* in order to tame her. When she emerged from the woods in the morning she wore only a scanty girdle of hemlock twigs with a wreath and arm- and leg-rings of the same material.[9] Now, however, as an indication that she has become partially human instead of a forest spirit, red cedar-bark has replaced the hemlock, and she wears an apron and sometimes a blanket. After dancing for a while on her *yútsu,* she moves slowly round the room, counterclockwise, and when for the second time she reaches the rear, she dances back and forth between the fire and the place of honor. Her dancing consists of slow steps taken with a little spring at the knees, while the palms are held upward, the arms being half extended, first at one side then at the other. This is suggestive of the carrying of a dead body for the hamatsa. Usually there are two songs in rapid and two in slow tempo. After each of the first three songs there is a pause of ten or fifteen minutes, during which the four attendants surround the woman, who sits or stands, sheltered by their blankets. Just before the last song ends she walks into the secret room,

9 When there is to be a mummy feast, kôminâka sometimes brings the body, wrapped in hemlock, from the woods.

the attendants with her and still crying *hoïp!* One of them now comes out and calls: "All you *pépahala,* I have good news for you! The spirit is out of our great friend!"

Next there is heard in the secret room the cry of núnhltsistálahl: *hwi, hwi, hwi!* and the singers start a song of this initiate in rapid tempo. Then núnhltsistálahl and his four attendants appear. When this initiate came out of the woods he wore rings of hemlock around neck, arms, and legs, and a mass of hemlock was bound on the top of his head, sloping backward. During the day the hemlock has been exchanged for red cedar-bark, and he is further clothed with a blanket. His bark neck-ring passes over one shoulder and under the other; his unbraided hair is brought forward at the sides, and the two parts are bound together with bark so that his hair hangs down over his face in a tangled mass. As he dances he shakes his head and flings the hair back over his forehead. Two of his attendants have long whistles concealed beneath their blankets, and constantly blow long, shrill notes. Núnhltsistálahl squats with one foot directly beneath him and with only the ball touching the ground, and the other foot flat and a little advanced before him. He first dances on his *yútsu* blankets. He shakes his body up and down, at intervals moving forward by thrusting first one foot then the other in front of him, and pivoting as he goes. He constantly stares at the fire, and occasionally he stretches out his hands toward it and draws them up to his open mouth as though he were grasping and eating it. His attendants keep between him and the fire, but as the songs proceed he works his way in closer and closer, until the attendants' blankets are scorched. Toward the end of the fourth song he begins to seize the burning sticks by the end and throw them promiscuously over his shoulder, and when the sticks are gone he scoops up the burning coals and hot ashes and scatters them about, often burning the spectators rather severely. He is able to do this because his attendants, after the throwing of the brands, have crowded about him under the pretence of restraining him, and have placed on his palms a sheet of thin wood covered with leather. Each person who is burned afterward receives pay from the initiator of núnhltsistálahl.

Now from the secret room comes the sound of many whistles of different pitch, high and low, blowing notes short and long, and through all rings the hoarse, thrilling cry of hamatsa: *hap! hap! hap!* Six or eight attendants appear with their backs to the people. Their robes are fastened at the neck and tied back at the waist, so that only

the back and the chest are covered, and beneath the robe each has a whistle so placed that by bending the neck he can reach it with his mouth. They keep the hamatsa hidden as long as they can, but usually he soon breaks through their line, and they run after him, trying to keep around him, and some holding him by the hemlock neck-ring as if they were restraining a wild beast. After dancing for a moment on his *yútsu* blankets he moves along stooping, sliding ahead one foot then the other. When he comes to the rear, as also when he reaches the front of the room, he always pivots on the left foot, but seldom does this elsewhere. He extends one arm, palm upward, then the other. He advances on certain lines which have been secretly marked out on the floor, and those who have been previously warned by the initiator that hamatsa will bite them sit where these lines touch the edge of the open space, so that hamatsa can easily reach them. Generally they sit out in front of the others, but with a few spectators scattered near and perhaps even in front of them, so as not to be too conspicuous. As the hamatsa dances, his attendants occasionally whisper to him the position of the next person to be bitten. It is necessary to restrict the number of those bitten, since each one must be paid. Usually a large canoe or two hundred blankets is the price, the amount depending on the rank of the bitten one. The hamatsa usually bites two or three men as soon as he comes out of the secret room.

At the end of the first four songs, while the singers beat on the boards, the hamatsa, still stooping low, runs rapidly around the room with his arms outstretched on either side, palms downward and hands trembling slightly, as he simulates great strength. The attendants run behind, two holding his upper arms and the others grasping the hemlock neck-ring. After encircling the fire twice, he suddenly throws off the hemlock ring, wristlets, and anklets, and runs about the fire twice and still more rapidly, and finally he dashes behind the*máwihl* at the left side, while the attendants go around at the right.

As soon as he has disappeared, the cry of *hap! hap! hap!* ceases, and the people hear the cry of the raven, *kô! kô! kô!* and the sound of raven's mandibles clapping together. Two of the singers begin to chant slowly, and there appears a man — supposedly hamatsa — wearing *kwáhwiwi hámsiwi,* the mask of Kwáhqaqalnóhsiwi. He faces the *máwihl*, and dances by stepping high without moving from his place. At the end of the song he leaps suddenly into the air and squats down simultaneously with the ending of the song. The singers abruptly ac-

celerate their beating to a rapid tempo, and the raven masker goes through various motions, while squatting on the floor and holding in his hands the strings that control the beak. Thus he is unable to aid his movements with his hands, and as his performance at times amounts almost to contortions while he squats or actually sits flat on the floor with a ponderous, unwieldy mask on his head and his hands occupied with the strings, his task is not a light one. Only a very strong man can undertake it. As the singing proceeds, he leaps to his feet, the beak flies open and claps shut, and he cries*hap! hap! hap! kô! kô! kô!* to indicate that he is both hamatsa and raven. Then begins another song with the slow, measured beating, and the raven masker moves toward the door of the house, stepping high and timing his arrival at the front of the room with the end of this song, so that just after arriving there he again leaps into the air and drops to the floor as the song ends. Again the tempo becomes rapid, and the raven repeats his dance. When the next song is begun, he returns to the right, rear corner and dances. At the end of this fourth song he rushes behind the *máwihl,* and simultaneously out dashes the hamatsa from the other side, with his *hap! hap! hap! kô! kô! kô!* while the attendants pursue him. He crouches and runs rapidly round the fire four times, while the singers beat rapidly without singing. He constantly utters his cries, and his attendants hold him as before, as if to restrain him with great effort. After the fourth circuit they dash again behind the *máwihl.*

Immediately is heard the cry, *hap, hap, hap! hawuwuwuwuwuwuwuwu!*[10] and there is the noise of a great beak clapping shut. Then comes out another man wearing the mask of Kalóqutsuis (*kalóqiwi hámsiwi*) and performs to the same songs and in the same manner as the raven masker.

After this masker has withdrawn, hamatsa comes again, this time with *hap! hap! hap! hô! hô! hô!* and again he runs four times about the fire and then back into the secret room. At the same time a man wearing the mask of Hóhhuq *(hóhhuqiwi hámsiwi)* comes out clapping his bill and crying *hap! hap! hap! hô! hô! hô!* He performs just like the other two maskers. When he retires, hamatsa comes out, stark naked since throwing off the hemlock, and runs stooping around the fire four

10 This resembles the sound made when one shivers and utters the exclamation expressive of coldness.

times, while the initiator rises and calls to the attendants, "Hold him down!" They leap upon him and bring him to the ground, making a great show of having to exert strength, and hamatsa acts like a wild animal. When finally they have mastered him, they hold him there, and an old hamatsa, stark naked, takes a five-foot staff and calls for an old cedar-bark blanket, which he rolls and ties to one end of the rod, like a mop. This staff is the "tamer of the man-eater with fire." He brings the roll close to the fire, and the singers begin to beat without singing. He swings slowly about, counter-clockwise, and when his back is to the fire the singers give a loud, abrupt stroke and he leaps into the air. He turns on around and again holds the mat near the fire. This act is repeated four times, and the last time the roll is actually put into the fire and lighted. It burns slowly, and he walks with it around the room. When he approaches hamatsa, the strokes of the batons become more violent. He waves the blazing mat four times over hamatsa and the attendants, continuing the fourth motion in a swing completely around the circle, and when his back is turned to hamatsa the singers give a loud rap and he leaps into the air. He turns on around, and repeats his motions.

Every time the blazing mat is waved over him and the sparks fall on his bare back, hamatsa cries *hap! hap! hap!* The attendants crouch around him with bowed heads. When for the fourth time the old hamatsa turns away from the group, and the singers beat loudly, he throws the staff with its burning mat carelessly toward the door. Any one who happens to be struck receives something for the damage, usually a large canoe, from the man giving the ceremony. Sometimes the initiate still wears his hemlock rings, in which case the old hamatsa tears them off and casts them into the fire.

The initiator now calls again to the attendants to hold the hamatsa down, and a woman of high rank brings a robe, usually a bear-skin and preferably that of a grizzly-bear, which she belts around the initiate's waist. Then she puts on him the red cedar-bark ornaments: the wristlets (*tsítsihltsani*) and the anklets (*tsítsihltsitsee*), consisting of four superimposed rings, the ends of the bands flowing free; the neck-ring (*yóhawi*), a large, thick rope of cedar splints wrapped spirally with reddened cedar-bark cord; and the head-band (*yúhwuhi*), consisting of three rings, one above the other, each succeeding one being slightly larger and hence jutting out beyond the one below it. Then tallow is rubbed on his face, and one of the attendants crushes charcoal in his

palms and powders the hamatsa's face until it is black. Another announces, "It is finished." The hamatsa seems now very weak. All the supernatural strength is apparently gone from him. The singers begin to sing in slow tempo, and he rises and dances quietly. Women engaged by the initiator rise in their places and perform their gesture dances. When the song ends he crouches while the attendants stand about him. Another song is begun, and hamatsa rises again and dances very quietly, while the attendants whistle less loudly. Twelve songs are repeated in this way, and each time hamatsa becomes more tranquil and the whistles more subdued. As the last song nears the end, he walks into the secret room.

Then the speaker, for the giver of the dance, distributes miscellaneous gifts, such as canoes and guns, but not blankets, to the singers and those who have been engaged to perform in various capacities, and the people depart.

On the second and the third day there is feasting in the dance house until about dark. Ordinarily nothing is done at night, except that the sparrows hold feasts in various houses and play in their usual manner. But if the giver of the ceremony is a man of great wealth, the second and the third night are spent in dancing. Early in the morning after the taming of the hamatsa, four speakers ceremonially dressed in blankets and eagle-down stand in the doorway of the dance house and call hamatsa and the other initiates to the feast. They go through the village and stop before each house, while three of them shout, one after another, "*Lúmunúh tlílalaaí* ['now we call']*!*" The fourth concludes, "*Hálakilí tlunsaí;* ['we go quickly']*!*" After two or three hours they return and shout in concert, inside the doors, "*Étsestaaí* ['walk back again']*!*" Shortly after noon they bring the third summons, shouting hurriedly and simultaneously, but not in unison, "*Lúmunúh kátsistaaí* ['now we walk back again']!" The fourth summons is delivered shortly before dusk, about three o'clock. With their speaker's staffs they enter each house, beat downward upon boards, and cry: "*Wi, wi, wi, wi! Lúmunúh âlaqaaí* ['now we truly talk']*! We! Kyahwánahlituh* ['now get ready']*!*" At the last house they continue pounding with their staffs until all the initiated inmates have departed. If there is to be dancing, these members are only the sparrows and the seals; for the active dancers are assembled in some secret place, painting and dressing themselves for their parts.

Returning along the street the speakers enter each house in order to

make certain that no members linger behind; and whatever food they find on the floor they eat. For these callers are always héhams'hamtsus who have become seals, and the nature of a háms'hamtsus is to devour everything edible. If a herald approaches a *páhus* by mistake, as if to drive him out to the feast, the latter slaps his thighs and cries *hamamamamama* (the language of the ghosts), and the herald withdraws. Thus also when a hamatsa, running in a frenzy, makes for a *páhus* person, the latter gives the ghost cry and the hamatsa drops his head and runs away.

After the people have come in, one of the heralds goes around the room looking carefully into their faces without saying a word. If any one is missing, as usually is the case, he announces the fact and adds, "We will go and find his face!" Then the four rush out and do not cease their search until they find the man. His absence is generally caused by a secret meeting with a woman, and when he comes in all the people significantly call*hm... !*

An occasion such as this assembly is a favorite time for the sparrows to indulge in their play. For example, they approach a núhlimáhla who has recently given up his dance to join their band, and seize him, saying: "Why do you sit there so still? I suppose you are thinking of your old ways!" They pull his nose, an act which no núhlimáhla can endure. One of them takes him by the hair and draws back his head while another strikes his nose several times with a stick. Then they release him, and if as he stands there he looks the least bit out of humor, they thrust their fingers at him and shout: "Look at him, look at him! It is coming back on him!" Then he looks rather dazed and asks: "What is it? What is the matter?" And off he goes into the fit of the núhlimála. This of course is all planned. On such occasions, if there is present a bear dancer who has decided to become a sparrow, the play is even more rough. The sparrows are always laughing merrily, and if they perceive that the former bear dancer is laughing not quite so lightheartedly as the rest, but perhaps a little gruffly or with an effort, they stop before him, point their fingers, and say: "What is the matter with you? You laugh angrily. It must be coming back on you! " He denies that he is any longer a bear, and asserts that he is truly a sparrow. "Then why are you hiding your hands?" they demand. They pull his hands out from the folds of his blanket and hold them up, but he quickly thrusts them again beneath his robe. "He is a bear!" they cry. "His hands are hairy; he tries to hide them!" Then as he sits there, they

ask, "Why do you tuck your blanket so closely under you?" They pull out the edges, and he tries to prevent them; for the grizzly-bear is supposed to have something about his buttocks which he carefully hides from view. The sparrows seize the bear man, pull his robe up above his waist, and drag him to the fire, where they hold him with his bare buttocks toward the heat and exposed to the view of the people. He begins, very naturally, to growl, and they let him go. He may then start raving like a bear; but if he does not, they seize his hands and hold the palms to the heat. This invariably sends him into a fury, and he goes about raving and growling, and acting as much like a bear as possible, while his tormentors shout: "It has come back on him! He is a bear! He is no sparrow; he is a bear!"

A man who has been initiated as a *fsúnukwa* dancer and tries to become a sparrow never quite succeeds. He associates with the sparrows, but is never able to laugh properly. He always appears to be sleepy and dazed, like a *fsúnukwa,* and when any one points a finger at him and moves it slowly in a circle before him, he lies down and falls asleep, no matter where he may be. This is a sign that the spirit has not quite left him. When the sparrows are walking in a body, he wanders off in another direction until some of them come running after him and seize him by the arm. Then he comes to his senses with a jerk, as if awaking from sleep. At a feast he always sits close to the fire, and while the others feast he sits there nodding as if he can remain awake only by the greatest effort. Some of the sparrows then come to him and inquire what is the matter. And the tsúnukwalahl jerks his head up with an apparent effort and replies: "Oh, what is it? I suppose I was sleeping." The sparrow responds, "Well, if you are so sleepy, you can sleep." Then he points a forefinger at tsúnukwalahl, moves the tip in a circle several times, and soon the other nods and nods and then drops with his head on the floor. The sparrows then cry, "See, it has come to him!" The sleeper lies there, while the others feast. If sparks from the fire burn his blanket, he makes no movement. Rather than incur ridicule for coming out of his pretended sleep, he endures the burning until some sparrow runs to him and puts out the fire.

On the fourth night of the ceremony (the third after the taming of hamatsa) the people assemble and repeat exactly the dances and songs of the first night, except that hamatsa does not dance so wildly, and there is no taming by fire.

All the *páhus* people go out after the dancing is ended. Then

Hótluliti ("obeyed by all"), the official, hereditary speaker of the master of ceremonies, standing beside his superior at one side of the room, commands the clansmen of the giver of the dance to bring out the dishes and the mats that are to be given away. Like the people themselves, these articles have special names for ceremonial occasions. After they are heaped up, everybody sits silent for fifteen to thirty minutes. Then *haqálkis* ("stone-picker") goes to the beach to secure four rounded stones. *Tlúmkenuh* ("wedge-splitter") stands forth with stone maul and yew wedge, saying, "I am ready." *Tsésiluenuh* ("tongs-splitter") rises and procures a cedar stick about four feet long, four fingers wide, and two fingers thick. He stands beside the wedge-splitter and announces, "I am ready." Then *kôyaenuh* ("cedar-bark worker"), a woman with a long bundle of cedar-bark, and *tótsenuh* ("cutter") with his knife take their places beside the others. All these are hereditary officials. By this time the stone-picker has returned, and the giver of the dance spreads one of the mats and the cedar-bark worker stands on it. She opens her bundle and begins to soften the bark by rubbing and twisting, while the cutter sits at her right.

The tongs-splitter lays the stick with one end on a piece of firewood, the wedge-splitter sets his tool in place and commands the singers to beat rapid time. He must split the stick with one blow: to do otherwise would be unlucky for the giver of the dance. The tattoo of the batons continues for a few minutes, then the wedge-splitter slowly raises his maul. When it reaches the highest point, the beating ceases, and the singers hold their batons ready, poised in air, while they closely watch the splitter. As the maul descends on the wedge, the batons also fall in a loud crash, and then continue beating rapidly. With his hands the wedge-splitter splits the stick down to about eighteen inches from the opposite end, and the beating ceases. The stone-picker now orders the singers to continue, and he walks round the fire carrying the stones, pivoting in front of the door, then behind the fire, and again at the door. Then he places the stones in the fire.

The woman has now finished rubbing the bark, and she measures off one fathom and doubles it. The cutter orders the beaters to strike their batons, raises his knife, and with three preliminary motions at the bark which the woman holds out, severs it with the fourth, while with an inhalation he sounds a whistle concealed in his mouth. At this sound the beating ceases. The woman lays the strip of bark on the mat, with the ends overlapping, in the form of an oval just large enough to

slip easily over the body of a man. Then with a piece of the remaining bark she binds the intersection, and two longer pieces she ties at opposite points to the sides of the oval. This *kanaíyu* represents a man, the overlapping ends being the legs, the added pieces at the sides the arms. The woman hangs it on a pole of the drying rack. The wedge-splitter now takes from her a piece of uncolored cedar-bark four spans long and binds it about the tongs one span from the unsplit end, to prevent the stick from splitting further.

Now Hótluliti, the speaker, shouts, "Call our great friend and his friends!" Any one of the attendants of hamatsa who by chance is present

— the others being in the secret room — goes behind the *máwihl,* and the hamatsa comes out, walking erect and without cedar-bark ornaments. He is accompanied by his attendants and followed by the three men who danced with masks. All wear robes. Hamatsa sits on a mat with kôminâka on his right, núnhltsistálahl on his left, and kyénkalatlulu on either side. The attendants sit apart from the initiates, for they have now nothing to do. The speaker calls for *hlálohsilaénuh* ("dish-carrier"), who goes to a wooden dish, pivots on the left foot, then with three preliminary motions stoops and takes the dish and carries it to the left round the fire to the hamatsa, where he again pivots on the left foot and with three motions sets it down before him. Then the speaker calls for *tsuénuh* ("water-carrier"), who goes to the household water-pail, lifts it with the same ceremonious motions, carries it round the fire to the hamatsa, and with the customary motion fills the dish.

The speaker summons *kipstálikis* (the word describes the act of picking up stones with tongs and dropping them into water), who with the usual pivoting and preliminary motions takes the tongs. While the batons sound a tattoo he pivots in front of hamatsa and passes on to the side of the fire at hamatsa's right, where he stops and makes the movement of taking up a stone. Four times he goes slowly round the fire, each time repeating these acts, and after the fourth circuit he picks up a stone and with four preliminary movements drops it into the dish. The others he handles without further ceremony. When the water is hot, hamatsa throws off his robe, rises, pivots on his left foot, and squats on a folded mat behind the dish. The speaker lays down his staff of office, takes up a rattle, and sings the following song, which is used only on this occasion.

As he sings, Hótluliti shakes his rattle and walks four times round the fire, while the batons fall softly. He stops in front of the dish and thrice pretends to take up water in both hands; with the fourth motion he wets his hands and places them on the head, shoulders, arms, and chest of hamatsa, thus symbolically washing him. Four times this is done, and hamatsa rises, pivots, and sits down on his mat. Next kôminâka throws off her robe and rises, having only a small apron of either mountain-goat hair cords hanging in a fringe or woven cedar-bark, and sits on the folded mat. Hótluliti then washes her, and she returns to her seat and puts on her blanket. After núnhltsistálahl and kyénkalatlulu have been washed, the dish is carried away by a servant, and the speaker takes his rattle and calls to the master of ceremonies: "I want help! Come and help me!" Nuhní'mis comes with a rattle and stands beside him, and both sing together, but each a different song, and after one verse they start walking round the fire, the speaker in advance.

That is, the guardian spirit of the singer.

The speaker pivots in front of the door and walks on, and Nuhní'mis does likewise. When they come to the *kanaíyu* (the cedar-bark oval), both pause and look up at it, singing and shaking their rattles. At the end of the song, the speaker gives his rattle to his companion and takes hold of the *kanaíyu* at the top, draws it off the pole on which it hangs, and grasps the lower part with his right hand. Nuhní'mis begins to shake both rattles and the speaker goes toward hamatsa, Nuhní'mis following. In front of hamatsa Hótluliti pivots and Nuhní'mis bids hamatsa sit on the folded mat. The two proceed round the fire, the singers beating loudly and rapidly as a signal for the people to assemble. When the two come again to hamatsa, the speaker swings the *kanaíyu* above the initiate's head with a sweeping motion, allowing the free ends of the bark to graze the head, and then makes a motion with the ring as if to throw it skyward. He turns round again and sweeps the ring a little lower over the hamatsa, and again pretends to throw it upward. The third time he brings it still lower, and the fourth time, while the singers beat yet more violently, he places it over hamatsa's head and draws it back and forth as if rubbing him in a bath. Thus he gradually works the ring downward. When it reaches the shoulders, hamatsa thrusts his right arm upward through the ring, and then the left arm. When it comes to the waist, he slowly rises, and when it is at his feet he pivots, still inside the ring, lifts the right foot and sets it outside, and

the speaker draws the ring out from under the raised left foot. Hamatsa turns and takes one step backward with his left, which brings him in front of the folded mat, where he pivots and sits down. The rubbing with the *kanaíyu* is done four times in this manner, and then hamatsa turns and sits down in his customary place.

Nuhní'mis then calls kôminâka, who submits to the same procedure, and núnhltsistálahl and kyénkalatlulu follow. The speaker hangs the *kanaíyu* on the tongs, which have been thrust into a crack in the wall. The initiates stand side by side, and the singers begin to beat, and sing.

This song, uttered as loudly as the singers are able to shout, is the signal for the people to enter, and when they begin to assemble, Hótluliti takes down the *kanaíyu* and the tongs, while Nuhní'mis remains standing beside the fire. The speaker holds the closed end of the tongs in his right hand, and the open end, with the ring hanging on it, in his left. He starts walking round the fire, pivoting in front of hamatsa and in front of the door, and at the latter place making a motion of tossing the ring upward and to the left. Four times he encircles the fire in this manner, and then after passing hamatsa the last time he holds the ring in the fire until it is consumed, when the tongs also are dropped into the flames.

While the singing continues, hamatsa and the other three walk round the fire in rhythm with the batons, and disappear behind the *máwihl*.

Now the speaker announces, "I have done my work!" To Nuhní'mis he says, "Do what you wish to do." The latter then rises and tells the clansmen of the giver of the dance to distribute the mats and the dishes among all the people. One dish and one mat are given to each person, but one of each is first taken behind the *máwihl* to hamatsa. After the distribution it is just becoming daylight, and everybody goes out, except the singers, the four initiates with their attendants, and the members of the household, the last of whom now retire to their bedrooms, while the dancers and their attendants lie down to sleep in the secret room behind the *máwihl*.

One of the singers has been carefully watching every act during the performance with the *kanaíyu,* as well as during the dancing, and has noted the mistakes made. The singers now go to the door of the room occupied by the dancers and cry out, for example: "We name you for stepping out of the *kanaíyu* with the left foot! We name you for turn-

ing round the wrong way!" And so they go on, applying a nickname suggestive of each mistake made, and at the end they utter the proper winter name of the initiate, to show whom they have been addressing. Next they name the mistakes of the others. The singers then go home, after keeping the inmates of the house awake as long as possible. It is now about daylight, and the household falls asleep. Nothing of a ceremonial nature occurs here during the coming day, but in various other houses men will be announcing feasts.

The hamatsa and the other three dancers, with their attendants, all occupy the same bedroom, and remain there all the time, except that the attendants may take turns in walking about the village. They have a fire in their room and plenty of food, and are quite comfortable. The people suppose that hamatsa is sitting in his room tormented by the spirit which possesses him still, not yet quite tamed by the dancing. If he should happen to be outside at the back of the house taking exercise, and anything happens in the house which is supposed to excite him, such as the overturning of a kettle of food, his attendants blow their whistles, and if he is near he runs in and begins to cry *hap! hap! hap!* If he is not at hand, one of the attendants who somewhat resembles him in stature and voice quickly blackens his face and rushes out into the living room. Surrounded as he is by the other attendants, he is not recognized. The attendants are not at all irked by having to spend much of their time in the secret room, for at intervals one or two of them go out and make requisition on the people for dainties, ostensibly for the initiates, who however see little of them. If any request for favors of this kind be refused, the attendants are careful to see that the next time hamatsa is running wild his course shall take him into the house of that unkind person, and everything breakable is destroyed.

While hamatsa is not permitted to appear in the village for mere recreation, he does go out whenever his simulated fit of madness comes on. Each hamatsa is excited and thrown into a frenzy by some particular word which calls to his mind the eating of human flesh. This word may be maggots, raven, mummy-eating, or any other word suggesting in any way the eating of human flesh. Or if a boiling kettle on the fire is overturned, he becomes mad; for the mere sight of food excites him. He drops suddenly on his heels as if senseless, throws back his head, and begins to sound his concealed whistle or to cry *hap! hap! hap!* He must always eat before anybody else in the company touches food, else he becomes especially wild. If a canoe carrying a hamatsa comes to

the beach in front of a village, some one, knowing what word excites him, is likely to speak this word, as for instance: "Oh, I wondered why I saw those maggots on the shore! It was this hamatsa coming!" Then the hamatsa begins to utter his cry and to whistle, and stooping he runs wildly about. Quickly from the village there run down to the canoe the *sâlatlulu* ("cleaving to"), his attendants both in the dance and later whenever he is in a frenzy. They whistle and pretend to restrain him as he runs about the village in his squatting posture, biting people on the left forearm, and destroying property. All this property and the damage done by biting must be paid for later by the hamatsa's initiator. In some cases this madness comes on the hamatsa every four or five days, occasionally even twice a day; in others long periods of calmness intervene. Recently there was initiated a young man who could not stand the enforced solitude, and nearly every day he would place a kettle on the fire, overturn it, and then rush out into the street.

A certain informant made his son hamatsa, having obtained the right from his brother-in-law, who was old and childless. Giving the dance cost him fourteen hundred dollars, but ultimately he spent five thousand, because every time his son ran wild, it was necessary to have him tamed, and this involved a feast, as well as payments to the numerous officials. In the spring after the dance of initiation the young man kept going into a frenzy on the slightest provocation, as when food was upset or the wrong word was spoken. His father and his mother begged him to desist and to pay no attention when such words were uttered, but he only answered: "You put me to it. It was your doing, not mine. I cannot help it." One day the informant, about to visit his traps, took the young man along. From the canoe he could see that one of his deadfalls was sprung, and he asked his son to examine it. He thought there was an otter in it. The young man stepped ashore and looked at the trap up on the hillside. He stepped carefully and slowly, peering from side to side. He went a little closer, then suddenly dropped to his haunches with a smothered *ha…!* as the hamatsas do when overpowered by their spirit. Then off he went through the woods with his *hap! hap! hap!* In the village a mile distant the people heard it and knew that something had happened. The father returned in the canoe, but the young hamatsa, running through the woods, reached the village first, and dashed into the houses, biting people and gnashing his teeth. Other hamatsas, alone with their fathers, paid no attention to what in the presence of others would have thrown them

into a fit, and when it was known that this man, far from the village, in the woods with only his father present, had gone into a frenzy over the sight of a raven in a deadfall, he was raised very high in the estimation of the people. For this meant to them that he was truly possessed by the spirit of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. Asked if the young man was really overcome at the sight of the raven, the informant answered that "his hamatsa was new, and it was just like a person having a phonograph for the first time: the boy was such a wonderfully fine dancer that the people often spoke of his ability, and besides being fond of dancing he was proud of the attention he attracted." Before he was tamed out of this fit, his father had spent another hundred dollars.

Núnhltsistálahl also is subject to these fits of simulated madness, but in his case they are caused by mention or sight of fire. He rushes out alone, and is quickly joined by all the other nínunhltsistálahl who are still active dancers and not yet retired to become seals, and in a howling mob they roam about with stones and clubs, rushing into houses and hurling their missiles at breakable objects.

On the fourth, the eighth, and the twelfth morning after the dance of initiation, just before the ravens begin to croak, the hamatsa must bathe (at least symbolically) in his room. On the sixteenth morning his initiator passes through the village bidding the people clean out their houses, for the initiates are going to *wélika* ("walk zigzag"). At once arises the question, who is going to feed them; for the initiates must be fed in four houses. One family offers to do so, then another, and another, and a fourth. These four houses are prepared for a feast, with firewood piled ready for lighting and the mats spread. Every house in the village is cleaned out. The initiates now dress themselves. Hamatsa puts his dance-ring around his neck, and adjusts his head-band, his wristlets, and his anklets.

A bear-skin is tied about his neck, and on his head he puts eagle-down, some of which falls down and dots his bearskins Kôminâka, núnhltsistálahl, and kyénkalatlulu put on their dance-rings, wristlets, anklets, and cedar-bark robes, and eagle-down on the head and the robe. Shoulder to shoulder the four walk slowly to the house-door and for a moment stand motionless, then they go slowly round the fire and, again reaching the door, step out backward, followed by the attendants and any people who wish to attend the four feasts. Sometimes nearly the whole of the winter-dance people follow. They enter the first house reached, march about the fire, back out of the door, and

proceed to the next house. When they reach the first of the houses that are to feast them, they stand in the doorway until the host says, "Walk along, friends, and take your seats." Kyénkalatlulu then begins to sing his secret song.

At the conclusion of the song hamatsa goes to the back of the room and takes the seat of honor, with kôminâka as usual on his right, núnhltsistálahl on his left, and kyénkalatlulu at either end of the row. The attendants sit on both sides of the four. Many of the people follow them into the house, and are therefore called *hámanutsuhsti* ("eating food that falls from hamatsa's mouth"). Hamatsa eats very little, knowing there are three more feasts. Four kinds of food are served. First water is offered, and hamatsa takes a sip and passes the cup to the others. Next, dried salmon is given them, and more water, then any three kinds of food are served. Since hamatsa is supposed to be insatiable, he must leave none of the food placed before him; therefore two, three, or four of his attendants are *tékya* ("stomach"). The "stomachs" have a receptacle, the bladder of a porpoise or a seal, under their blankets, and as soon as hamatsa has taken four bites from his dish, they seat themselves in front of him and begin to eat with their backs toward the fire and facing hamatsa. They eat very rapidly, but mostly the operation is only pretence, for the greater part of the food goes into the hidden receptacles. The "stomachs" are usually men who have been núnhltsistálahl, and after emptying their dishes they act like nínúnhltsistálahl by throwing them violently and promiscuously aside. At the end of the feast hamatsa rises, the others do likewise, and all proceed to the adjacent house and on until they reach the next feasting house. Here, as well as in the next two houses of feasting, the procedure observed in the first feast is followed.

The sparrows are ever hostile to the active dancers, and especially to the hamatsas. As soon therefore as the initiates start on their way through the village, the sparrows meet and decide how far they will permit hamatsa to go in his course of feasting. They are dressed in robes belted at the waist and tied at the neck, and head-bands of red and of undyed cedar-bark with an upright wisp of bark in the front. If they decide to stop hamatsa at the third feast house, thither they go after the initiates have entered, and carry in a pail of salt water; for hamatsa is afraid of salt water, lest, touching it, he have scabby legs. While the salmon is being eaten, the sparrows dash the pail of water on the fire and upset the pots. The hamatsa immediately utters his

cry, leaps up, and makes for the sparrows, as if to bite them; but they at once run to the beach and take refuge in the water, while hamatsa stands on the shore, raving and crying *hap!*

The sparrows at length divide into two bands, and thus succeed in getting out of the icy water and escaping from hamatsa. They now don wooden masks which sit on the back outside the robe, representing the dorsal fin of the killerwhale, and thus transform themselves into killerwhales. They return to the water, cold as it is, and come trooping through it parallel to the shore at a depth of four feet, diving and blowing. The hamatsa now is in trouble, for if he comes near the edge they spray water on him, and if he is touched by salt water he comes away defeated. In such contests as this, hamatsa is naked, having in his extreme madness thrown off his bear-skin. In his most violent state he does not utter a succession of short cries, but one long-drawn *haaaap!* When he retires from the water's edge, the killerwhales come out and go to their homes to remove their wet blankets and secure dry ones.

If the initiates are thus stopped before reaching the fourth feast, they do not go on to the remaining ones, but are taken back to the secret room by their attendants, and the people are again summoned to tame the hamatsa. The same procedure is observed as before, except that the purification with the *kanaíyu* and water is omitted. Then again hamatsa begins to take his baths, but this time every eighth day until he has bathed four times. The former restriction of his appearing in public is somewhat relaxed, so that he may now occasionally sit in the doorway. If at the end of the sixteenth day after the first taming the initiates, unhampered by the sparrows, visited the four feast houses, there is no feasting at the end of the thirty-two days, but if they were stopped by the sparrows they must now feast at whatever house or houses of the four they then missed. Hamatsa now bathes every twelfth day, and after four baths he takes four more at intervals of sixteen days. If after beginning this purification he participates in a mummy feast he must begin the purification all over.

As soon as any chief decides to give the winter ceremony, the disappearance of his son, or other relative, whom he is to initiate, becomes known to his rival. It is necessary then that the latter give the ceremony in order to keep his standing, so he sends his son, or other relative, into the woods, to prepare for the initiation. Thus there is a series of successive performances, so that almost every night during the entire winter is taken up with dancing or feasting.

But other conditions are partly responsible for the frequency of the celebrations throughout the winter. One of these is the fact that some of the higher dances require the initiate to repeat his initiatory performance in several successive winters. Thus a hamatsa is active about four years, and must disappear each winter, although after the first time he is not expected to spend four months in the woods, but disappears a short time, perhaps only a day, before the dance in which he is to perform. It is during these four years that hamatsa is expected to become frenzied in hearing the forbidden word or seeing a kettle overturned. Two new songs are made for him each year after the first.

Another of these conditions is the obligation of hamatsa and some of the other dancers to simulate a frenzy over certain words or actions, a madness which can be cured only by the repetition of the taming dance. Not infrequently mistakes in singing or errors of procedure are deliberately made in order to cause all the dancers present to run wild. The sparrows may hold a meeting and say: "Tomorrow will be a fine, sunny day [though in reality the temperature is below freezing point, and they will have to be long in the water], and we will have some fun." So they arrange with a poor man that he shall announce a feast. The seals and the sparrows are in the secret, but the uninitiated do not know but that it is to be a real feast. The supposed food is placed in the sight of the public in the usual boxes. In reality it is merely dried seaweed covered with dry grass in the manner in which "wild rice" (scale-like bulbs of the wild tiger-lily) is stored. After the singing has continued for a while, some sparrows go to the fire, and, apparently by an accident, overturn a kettle. At once the hamatsas cry *hap! hap! hap!* the other dancers respond characteristically, and everything is in an uproar. The sparrows rush out of doors to the beach, in order to take refuge in salt water from the hamatsas, and the hamatsas push out parts of the side walls and run out that way, never through the door, and pursue the sparrows, while the bears, nunúhlimahla, and other seals, follow, each acting in the manner peculiar to his kind.

The hosts in the winter dance feed the people of the village, as well as any invited tribes. Nobody pretends to work, unless unforeseen exhaustion of the huge stores of fuel provided in the fall makes it necessary to gather firewood. Nobody cooks in his own house, but all when hungry go to the house of him who at the time happens to be giving the dance, where food is free and the receptacles are open to all. Each person on taking food gives a bit to hamatsa, if he is present,

or sends it to him in the secret room by kyénkalatlulu, who remains in the living room for this purpose.

The dancing continues until the last man who started giving his dance has brought his supply of food down to the point where there is enough left for just one more feast. Then the people are assembled. After the feast the speaker makes a brief speech, telling them that this is the end of the winter dancing and they are now going to sing the parting song, in order to a sing off the red cedar-bark and the *tsékumhl* ['winter-dance face']." He means by this last expression that although during the winter dance there is no sense of shame, in that women freely dance nude and there is much freedom in the sexual relations, now they are to "sing off" this something which has covered the face and prevented shame, and become once more bashful and retiring. Then the speaker calls Nuhní'mis, who has two small sticks about fifteen inches long, like two held by the speaker himself. Nuhní'mis begins to strike them together and to sing.

When Nuhní'mis reaches the end of the song, everybody takes up the air, and when they have finished, all remove their cedar-bark headbands and begin to address one another by their summer names, to laugh and joke and sing summer songs. Then they depart.

If at the winter ceremony any one is to be initiated as hawínalahl, or war dancer, he sits in the clearing where the new compositions of the song-makers are being practised. Usually he is very pale and perturbed. As a rule no one enters this dance except in a moment of pique arising from a falling-out with his lover or with a member of his immediate family. His assistants procure a quantity of cedar withes and a number of three-inch poles a four eight-foot and ten four-foot lengths. After flattening one end of the longer and both ends of the shorter pieces, they proceed to bind them together in a framework or scaffold eight feet high and four feet square. Four of the short pieces tie the legs about two feet below the top; four others serve the same purpose at the top; and the remaining two are laid across a pair of these upper tie-rods. This is the *kákekii* ("backsupporter").

On a specific occasion described by an informant the initiate sat watching the preparations, his face constantly growing paler. He was stark naked except for a head-band of hemlock. He held a small, sharp knife and a carved *sísiutl* about four feet long, jointed in the middle by a hinge so that both of the terminal heads could be pointed to the front or one to either side. This is called *kántlaiyu* ("prying instrument").

Some of his friends, sent by his parents with the ostensible aim of dissuading him from his purpose, asked him: "Have you made up your mind to be hawínalahl? Do you not think you had better give it up?" But in spite of his terror, which was very apparent, fear of ridicule prevented him from withdrawing. One man ostentatiously sharpened an awl on a stone, another a knife. After the scaffold was ready, they suspended from its two cross-bars a device consisting of two wooden *sísiutl,* forty inches long, placed parallel two feet apart and firmly held together by a pair of mortised cross-bars in front and another pair behind. This is the "warrior's travelling canoe." The song-maker struck with his baton and called, *"Wína hi...* ['war coming']!" And all the people present responded with the same cry. The young man got up, uttered his cry, *haíaï, haíhai, haíhai!* and made a step toward the scaffold. The man with the knife stood near one side of the structure, another with a coil of rope on the other side, and between them a man busily twisting cedar withes. Four times the calls were uttered, and with the fourth step the initiate reached the scaffold and extended his hands toward the top of it. Without waiting for the man with the awl to do his duty, the initiate snatched the implement from his hand and raising the skin at the front of his left thigh about six inches above the knee, he thrust the awl through. While it still remained in the wound another assistant placed one end of a withe against the projecting point of the awl and drew the implement back through the wound, at the same time pushing the withe through. He tied the two ends together. Then the wielder of the awl pierced the right leg and the skin below the shoulder-blades; withes were inserted; and to each loop was fastened a ten-fathom rope.

On a box placed under the scaffold the initiate now took a squatting position. The cutter threw the ends of the ropes over the two cross-bars, drew them taut, made them fast, and called for the other assistants to carry the scaffold. Four pairs of men grasped the four legs, shouted in concert, "*Wína hi...!*" and lifted the structure. The dancer was raised from the box and hung, still in a squatting position, just below the suspended *sísiutl.* They proceeded to the beach and into the village — a distance of half a mile, — those who had supposedly caught the wild initiate in the woods following the scaffold-bearers, and the singers, striking their batons on a long board which they carried and chanting the hawínalahl songs, coming last. As soon as the procession had come in sight, the núhlimahla dancers ran to meet it, each armed

with some sharp instrument. Three halts were made on the way, and a fourth on the beach in front of the dance house, at which time the dancer began to stab his forehead so that blood ran down over his face and dripped upon his breast. He laughed, and shook his body as if dancing. His parents at sight of the blood forthwith stabbed their own scalps, and all the women in the throng wailed.

On the roof were two men, who, having fastened two long ropes to stakes in the ground in front of the house, were now making the other ends fast to the ridge-timbers. The taut, parallel ropes were three or four feet apart. As soon as the singers ceased, the winter-dance speaker addressed the chiefs, saying that the new hawínalahl had a road of his own, and that road was the two taut ropes stretched from the ground to the roof.

Then the initiate was taken down from the scaffold, and was set, squatting, between the two stakes; the double *sísiutl* was placed lengthwise on his back, and his four withes were securely lashed to its cross-bars. The lower ends of the ropes leading to the roof were passed between the two forward and the two hinder cross-bars and again made fast to the stakes, and another rope was attached to a front bar and thrown to the men on the housetop, who drew in the slack. At this instant there suddenly appeared at the edge of the roof all the hamatsas, ferocious and ravenous, apparently eager to leap upon the initiate's body should an accident occur. Their attendants were grouped behind them. All this time the new hamatsa had been running on the beach, as yet uncaught. The nunúhlimahla took their stand under the ropes, holding their sharp weapons upward and themselves looking downward or straight ahead with grim, relentless faces. This was a case of possible death if the withes holding the weight of the young man should tear out of the wounds as he was being drawn up to the roof, for he would then be precipitated upon their weapons.

Two bear dancers now rushed to the front of the roof, and at the same time the hamatsas threw off their robes and put their right arms through their neck-rings, so that these hung under one arm. [11] The

11 This is the manner of wearing the ring when the hamatsa rushes about in a frenzy, for if the ring hung simply around the neck it might easily be thrown off in his violent and eccentric movements; and that would portend very ill fortune, even short life.

hinged *sísiutl* was put into the initiate's hands. Now the speaker shouted, "*Wína hi…!"* and all the winter-dance people responded; but the dancer's *haíaï, haíhai, haíhai!* was more like a hoarse whisper than the fierce shout of a warrior. The two men at the peak of the roof, standing behind the bears, began to haul on the rope fastened to the "warrior's travelling canoe" and thus to draw up the dancer, suspended in his squatting position beneath the double *sísiutl.* As soon as he reached the roof, the two bears seized him and lifted him up. He was then taken through the roof into the house, where, after he had danced briefly, the flesh was cut so that the withes could be removed.

While the war dancer was performing in the house, the hamatsas rushed out to the beach where the hamatsa initiate was running to and fro. The winter-dance people followed, and the initiate was at length enticed into the house and placed in the secret room, after which they went to catch the other initiates at the edge of the woods.

That night when hamatsa had finished his dance and had retired into the secret room after the spirit had been tamed by the burning mat, the speaker Hótluliti shouted, "*Wína hi…!*" In his left hand was his speaker's staff, and his right, extending upward, held a small baton which he shook, as it were, over the people. The last syllable of his cry he held as long as his breath permitted, and at the end all the singers struck the boards with two deliberate but vigorous beats, and then continued beating rapidly while all, including the people, repeated the cry in unison. Every woman in the house now stood up, and with sad, anxious face directed toward the *máwihl*, raised her right hand to the left shoulder, the fingers pointing up, the palm forward and trembling, while singers and people kept uttering the shout of the war dancer. Four who had been háms'hamtsus came out of the secret room and with high-pitched voices cried *hoïp! hoïp! hoïp!* They took their places, two on each side of the door of the secret room. Then hawínalahl came out carrying his jointed *sísiutl* before him at the level of his waist, and working the hinge from time to time so as to make the heads point forward. He had hemlock rings around the head, neck, knees, and ankles. In one hand he had his pointed knife. The blood which ran from the wounds made in his scalp during the morning torture was now clotted on his face, chest, and shoulders. He raised his hand, pointing with his knife to the upper, rear, right comer of the room, and cried *haía…, hai, hai, hai!* He took up the skin of his thighs at the place where they had been pierced as if to cut himself again, and the people

shouted, "Do not do it!" But the sparrows, always in opposition to the seals, clamored: "Let him cut! We will hang him up!" Hawínalahl turned, still directing his knife to the comer of the room. The four lengths of rope were coiled round his neck with the hemlock ring, and four cedar withes waved over his head, their butts thrust down inside his head-ring. After he had turned four times, the singers struck the boards and began to sing, and at the end of the song shouted, "*Wína hi...!*" The dancer, who had been moving slowly round the fire with one foot slightly in advance, as if he were dragging at ropes fastened in his back, now quickly turned, throwing his head, as it were, under his left arm, as if the ropes were still fast to his back and he were dodging under them, while his attendants behind him ran quickly in the same direction, as if they were holding the ropes and were carrying the ends about as the dancer turned. The second song began. Although these songs are always new ones made for the initiate of the night, the one used at this particular time always contains reference to blood and man-killing. When they reached this phrase the dancer stabbed his scalp, laughing wildly and standing with one foot slightly advanced. His parents also cut their scalps. The remaining two songs were sung without further torture, and then he returned behind the *máwihl.*

There was to be a performance by a tóhwit, or woman war dancer, and now in the secret room she began to cry *hyo, hyo, hyo…! we, we, we…! op óp, op óp!* She sang her secret song:

"It is said that long ago this, our great friend, 1 was burned to ashes."

The singers took up the words and repeated the song, and the young woman came out, wearing only a kirtle, a head-band, wristlets, and anklets, of hemlock sprigs. She entered with her back to the room, then turned slowly on her left foot until she faced the spectators, and advanced slowly, thrusting the left foot forward two inches with a slight flexing of the knee and a dipping movement of the body, and following with the right foot. The arms were bent at the elbow, the forearms horizontal and the palms turned upward and held a little in front of the body. Rhythmically with the dipping of the body and the stroke of the batons the palms were slightly raised, the tips of the fingers continuing the motion after the palms had stopped. This is the gesture signifying the paddling of a canoe, in this case the war-canoe of Winálagyilis, the spirit of war. She wore no paint. Her face was grim. At the end of the song she stood beside the fire, unwilling to leave.

Now and then she cried *ep ép, ep ép!* or, *op óp, op óp!*

The sparrows, who sat squatting about the room, now began to call: "Well, ask her what she is going to do. If she is going to do anything, hurry and have it over! If she wants us to do something for her, say so and let us get about it!"

Some little distance from the singers sat *hótlakus* ("quick hearer"), who holds his position by inheritance. The winter-dance speaker rose, saying, "I will ask what she wants." He went to the woman and appeared to whisper to her, but she made no reply. The *hótlakus* in his place bent forward as if listening intently, and exclaimed: "I know what she wants! She says she wishes to be burned in the fire!"

The sparrows at once began to shout their willingness to perform whatever duties were necessary in carrying out the torture, but the woman turned and walked characteristically here and there in the space between the people and the fire, with gestures indicative of throwing magic power from her palms into the floor, and constantly crying *op óp, op óp!* Each utterance was accompanied by soft being of the batons.Then she went to the fire and repeated her cry. Immediately the sparrows set up a babel of shouts: "She wants to go into the fire! Build up the fire! Push her into the fire, friends!" She moved round the fire, which was at the rear and somewhere to the left of the room, and the sparrows continued to make disparaging remarks about her: "*Ha!* Dancers of three kinds are full of lies! They pretend to have been round the world!" The woman stood there for a while, then started again turning round and round and going over the entire floor, putting magic into it. Some of the sparrows followed her, imitating her motions and cries, and saying, "I can do the same thing!" Their leader, the qésilis, was partcularly active. He now called to some of his companions, "Come, stand close to me and burn me up, instead of this liar!"

After the woman had encircled the fire the second time and stood at the rear of the room, the qésilis went to her, broke off a few twigs from her kir4le, and put them on his head, saying to his men, "How do I look?" The sparrows gathered round him in the right rear corner of the house, while the tóhwit went to the left rear and on round the fire for the third time. At once qésilis started after her, imititing her. After the third circuit, some of the sparrows cried to the speaker Hótluliti: "Well, are we going to stay here all night watching this woman go round the fire? Ask her where she is going to do!"

"It is true," answered the speaker. "I am growing weary." Then a

hótlakus spoke up, "I hear her say that you are to bring a box." Obeying the outspoken demands of the people, the speaker went to her and asked if this was in her mind. He whispered to her and laughed out, saying: "Great is your word! It is true, she wants , box to be brought." A man, sent out behind the máwihl, brought a box, saying to the spe,ker, "Ask her if this will do." The spe,ker whispered to her, and *hótlakus* answered, "No, she says this will not do."

"Bring that box to me!" shouted qésilis. "I also want a box." But the man took it away, and qésilis said: "We had better go. She does not mean anything. All her talking is false. She called for a box, the box was brought, and then she did not want it. I called for the box, and you would not give it to me." He threw his robe about his shoulders ,nd called to his companions, "Come, friends, let us go!" But one of them objec4ed, with sarcasm directed toward tóhwit: "It is you who are tóhwit now! You have hemlock on your head, and now you are trying to run away from it!"

The speaker now asked tóhwit: "What kind of box do you wish?" And *hótlakus* answered, "Bring another box, she says, and we will get the right kind after a while." So another was brought, a somewhat smaller one, and *hótlakus* declared, "She says this is too small." Then qésilis shouted, "Bring that box to me, and I will squeeze myself into it!" But it was removed, and again the speaker asked in a loud tone, "What kind of box do you wish?"

"She says, bring a large box," answered *hótlakus*. The speaker turned to him: "It is you speaking from your own heart! You are a liar! How can you in that corner see into this our great friend's mind?" Then a very large box was brought, but it proved too big, and again qésilis asked for it, only to see it carried out. Now the speaker asked the woman: "What are we going to do? We have had three boxes, and have not got the right one yet." Then *hótlakus* declared that in her mind she wanted a certain háms'hamtsus to bring a box belonging to Hótluliti.

The old háms'hamtsus, rising in his place among the spectators, went to the fire, pulverized charcoal and rubbed the powder on his face. "If that man can go, why cannot I?" said qésilis, stepping out and blacking his face. "Keep quiet!" urged some of the people. "You are the man who has been keeping the *náwalaq* [magic power] away from us." They dragged him back and compelled him to sit down. After the háms'hamtsus had blackened his face, he spoke in a low voice: "I used

to be háms'hamtsus and it is gone out of me, but there might be some of it yet left in me, enough to have the power to get the *náwalaq* box which our great friend wishes." He walked somewhat stooping, holding his arms partly extended at the sides, and with forcible expulsion of his breath exclaiming again and again, *ha…! ha…!* thus indicating that he was still partly háms'hamtsus. qésilis rose and imitated him in a grotesque manner. The háms'hamtsus turned, cried *hoïp! hoïp!* and everybody called, "He will be all right!" Then he went out. Qésilis reached the door, but some of his companions pulled him back. They all were laughing.

Soon the old man returned carrying on his shoulders a burial box with the cover firmly lashed down. He stood inside the door and bade the speaker, "Ask our great friend if this is the right size." While the speaker pretended to whisper to her, she turned and, catching sight of the chest, raised her hands and cried *op óp, op óp!* signifying her approval. As usual, qésilis imitated her. The háms'hamtsus carried the box slowly round the fire and set it at the rear, the speaker untied the lashing, and the woman turned around beside the box. All were very quiet, except for the occasional utterances of tóhwit.

Two old hamatsas came from the secret room and took charge of the house-door, which they shut and guarded, one on each side. All the seals stood behind the singers. The woman turned a second time, the háms'hamtsus still standing there, and a third and a fourth time. She raised one foot and set it in the box, then the other. She forced herself down into the coffin, and the háms'hamtsus adjusted the cover and lashed it down. Then he roughly inverted the chest.

During the summer while nearly all the people were absent at the fishing stations there had been secretly dug a tunnel extending from a point just behind the fire to the rear house-posts. It was three and a half feet deep and equally wide. Near the top all along both sides the earth was cut away so as to leave a narrow shelf on which rested several wooden crossbars to support the board that formed the roof of the tunnel. At the end near the fire a square sash with an opening about the size of the box-lid was laid horizontally across the excavation, and the roof-board was so arranged that it could be slid in one direction just far enough to close the square opening of the sash, and in the other direction far enough to open it completely. That part of the board which covered the sash was smeared on the upper surface with sticky, half-dried salmon spawn, and on this was spread a coating of earth,

which, held in place by the glue, effectually concealed the board. Over the board for the remainder of the distance were spread earth-covered mats which were not affected by the sliding of the board.

In overturning the box the háms'hamtsus was careful to place it exactly with reference to certain marks on the floor, so that it was directly above the sliding panel and the sash. Then he went busily about the room on the pretext of searching for something with which to crack the bottom and provide the usual exit for the ghost.

While he was thus engaged, two men in the tunnel pushed back the panel, loosed the lashings, and, while the woman removed her weight from the lid of the box by supporting herself on two cleats fastened to the sides, they slipped aside the cover and lowered the tóhwit into the pit. Quickly substituting a mummy wrapped in hemlock boughs, they replaced the cover, lashings, and panel.

The háms'hamtsus now returned with a stone hammer, cracked the bottom, and turned the coffin back. Three other héhams'hamtsus joined him and the four carried it round the fire, pivoting at each cardinal point. After completing the circuit, they set the coffin on the fire, and while it burned, the woman's voice, singing her secret song, was heard in the midst of the fire. Still lying in the tunnel she was singing through a long piece of bladder-kelp concealed under ground with its trumpet-like end beneath the fire. When the box fell apart there was seen a bundle of hemlock boughs, like those she had worn, and later appeared partially consumed bones.

Now the woman's father stepped forward and spoke very low: "Whose fault is it that my daughter has been burned, you foolish people? I give this dance to entertain you, and now I have lost my daughter through trying to please you. Do one good thing for me: take the tongs and pick out her bones from the fire, that I may bury them."

"We did not want to do it," protested the háms'hamtsus. "It is of her own saying, for when she went into the box she whispered to me: 'I will come to life again!' And that is why I was not in two minds about it, for I believed what she said. Therefore we will take those bones and put them into a box, as she bade me do."

"I hope it is true," the father replied. One háms'hamtsus went for a coffin, another for long fire-tongs, and the bones were picked out one by one and dropped into the box. Then the leader of the four said: "Now I want help from all you tóhwit women. We will bury our dead friend's bones." All the tóhwit women rose and began to sing their

secret songs, each different from the others. They marched round the fire single-file, and then stood about the coffin, and some of them lifted it and carried it round the fire, still singing. They stopped beside the fire, and the háms'hamtsus addressed them: "What are you going to do? You are tóhwit people, and know what to do." The eldest woman replied: "The tóhwit people should never be buried outside when they are killed in the dance. It should be done in the house." All the people expressed approval: "You have been through it and must know what you are saying." The box was carried into the room at the rear corner of the house, where all the tóhwit women began once more to sing. By this time the initiate had emerged from the tunnel and had come into the secret room by a rear door, and after they had sung, each her own secret song, the initiate's voice was faintly heard singing hers. This ended the performance of the tóhwit for the night.

On the next night the tóhwit women assembled in the secret room and sang, and the initiate's voice was heard by the people in the main room a little more distinctly than before. On the third night they sang again and the initiate's voice was still stronger, and on the fourth night she sang loudly. Her parents sat together in the main room, and one said to the other: "Is that my daughter singing? It sounds like her voice." After the song, the eldest tóhwit came from the secret room and announced, "We have brought her to life, and the song-makers will have to sing again to make her dance." So the singers sang the initiate's secret song and the women came out single-file, with the initiate, dressed as before, midway in the line, and all cried *hwe, hwe, hwe! hya, hya, hya!* They danced round the fire once, and then retired into the secret room. Then the *yútsu* blankets which had been counted out for her by the giver of the dance were distributed among the people.

The tóhwit trick of removing the entrails consists in laying the intestines of a seal on the woman's abdomen and covering them with a piece of seal-skin colored to the light-brown tint of her body. The seal-skin is then cut and the seal's intestines are removed, and the uninitiated believe that they are beholding a miracle. Another trick is to have a red-hot stone placed on the head, which is protected by a circular piece of wood covered with well-soaked cedar-bark fibre, the whole being concealed by the tóhwit head-band.

An informant once saw a tóhwit of a visiting tribe begin to dance and utter her cries the moment the canoe grounded, indicating her desire to have her head struck with a stone hammer. So a hammer

was produced, and the woman stood in the canoe. A man raised the stone and seemed to strike her on the forehead with all his strength, and there was heard a resounding thud caused by a simultaneous blow on a heavy timber. The woman fell overboard backward and lay face downward in the water, and she remained in that situation more than an hour. The informant afterward asked the chief of that tribe how it was done, and received the explanation that pieces of bladder-kelp had been joined into a long tube, one end of which was held in the woman's mouth while the other was concealed among the beach stones.

Other ingenious feats of the tóhwit involve apparent decapitation, transfixing with a spear, splitting of the shoulder with a paddle, and driving a wedge into the temple.

If the tóhwit initiate is timid, or is not regarded as capable of accomplishing one of these tricks, she nevertheless makes the appropriate gestures indicating her desire to have some form of torture inflicted; but it is refused her. Then the singers say, "Let us beat the boards and see if she can bring something." While they beat, the initiate moves with gestures suggestive of calling something from above. She pretends to catch something in her hands, and at the end of the fourth song is heard a squeaking sound, which seems to come from her hands. She throws them apart toward the back of the fire, and the horns of *sísiutl* appear. Gradually the whole image rises to view, and a white bird, flying down from the roof, alights on the horns. The wooden bird is guided by strings held by four men at different points in the room and by one man on the roof. The *sísiutl* is raised out of a pit by men below.

Another trick of this kind is to have a wooden image of a man rise from the ground and an eagle descend from the roof and carry it away. Still another is that in which a box stands behind the singers, just high enough to be seen by the spectators. Water is poured into it, the initiate makes gestures toward it, uttering her cries, and presently a wooden loon bobs to the surface. It dives, and reappears. This happens four times. Then the woman calls for an eagle-tail, and with it she makes motions over the box, when a cloud of eagle-down flies upward. This is managed by a man who, concealed behind the singers, controls the wooden loon with strings running through the bottom of the box. After the loon trick is performed, he draws a plug, and the water runs into a pit and sinks into the ground. Through a hole in the side of the box is inserted the neck of a seal-bladder filled with eagle-down. He presses the bladder between his knees and the feathers fly

upward. The uninitiated believe that they issue from the water.

In 1846 at Kalokwis on Turnour island, the home at that time of the Qágyuhl, there were two tóhwit initiates at a dance given by Numúqis, chief of the gens Síntlum. After the bear dancers had performed, the two young women appeared. They kept making signs and sounds to the interpreter, signifying their wish to be burned, and a quantity of logs which were there in readiness was built up into a high, square crib in the middle of the house. Outside in secret two young female slaves had been bound on two long boards. They were told: "All the time you are in the fire, you must say *we, we, we!* and we will bring you to life, if you keep this up. If you do not say we, *we,* we! and if you scream, you will remain dead!"

While this was being done, the attendants in the house tied the two tóhwit to boards in the same manner, and took them outside, ostensibly to carry them to the roof and thence lower them into the fire. But outside the door they were released and the two slaves were hauled to the roof, constantly uttering their cry. They were bound to the boards at full length, and they moved their hands upward with the characteristic motion of the tóhwit. In this position they were pushed down through an opening in the roof until the ends of the boards rested inside the roaring crib of logs. The slaves continued to utter the cry of the tóhwit until they were dead. There was not a scream, so great was their dependence on the promise that they would be brought to life. The boards burned in twain, and the remains disappeared among the blazing logs.[12]

After the fire was burned out, the attendants gathered up the charred bones and placed them in two boxes, which were set in the comer of the house. All the tóhwit women gathered round them, singing their secret songs, and soon was heard the sound of faint singing inside the boxes and the two tóhwit came out.

Many of the dancers practise these sleight-of-hand tricks, which pass for magic. Kyénkalatlulu, for example, may walk about the house making restless motions with his hands and uttering his cries. a noise of something dropping on the housetop is heard, then a wooden kingfisher appears under the roof, and while the dancer continues his mys-

12 This may well have been an ingenious trick involving the substitution of stuffed figures.

tic motions, the bird descends. Whatever way the man goes, the bird follows, and when it reaches his level it darts at him and seemingly thrusts its long bill through his wrist. He resumes his gestures, and the bird mounts and disappears through the roof. There is an accomplice on the roof to release and draw up the bird, but its movements are also controlled by the dancer himself, who while apparently making the gestures by which he exerts magic power is really winding or unwinding on his wrists a pair of strings, which lower or raise the bird. At the same time a kôminâka may be performing similar gestures. Suddenly a big hand comes up from the ground behind the singers, and a great rattle descends from the roof. The hand grasps and shakes it, and the sound of the rattle is heard. The hand releases it, and both disappear. Strings managed from the roof control these movements.

One raises the hand, another lowers the rattle; others close the fingers of the hand, and still another, passing through the handle of the rattle, lifts a weight which holds down the pebbles therein and prevents them from making a noise inopportunely.

The mítla performs the trick of producing salmonberries out of season. While she dances, her four masked female attendants dance around her, and salmonberry shoots are let down from the roof. The shoots bear artificial berries made by covering pebbles with gum which has been colored with iron oxide. The attendants of mítla pick them in their baskets and distribute them among certain confederates among the spectators, who pretend to eat them and immediately to fall dead; for the mítla is supposed to have put some magic power in the berries. The life of these unfortunates is ransomed by the initiator of the dancer, who distributes property among the spectators.

The sísiutlilahl makes his entrance with a club in his hand after striking the door with the weapon. He walks round the fire and goes behind the singers, crying *aí he i…!* The singers begin to use their batons, and behind them a man's head with horns slowly rises far enough to show itself to the people. The two hinged arms representing the body and heads of the double-headed snake *sísiutl* are at first folded together, extending straight back behind the man's head, but they are now unfolded and spread out on both sides. The apparatus is manipulated by a man concealed behind the singers.

The mámaka wears only hemlock rings about head, neck, wrists, legs, and waist, and the upper part of his face to the level of his mouth is painted black. In his right hand is concealed his "death-bringer," a

device consisting of several small telescoping tubes covered with black bark. Fully extended it is about seven inches long. This is believed to be a magic worm which the mámaka can throw into the bodies of others with fatal results. Entering, this dancer stands silently at the door for several minutes, his hands pressed against his thighs. He glances upward from side to side, looking for his death-bringer to be brought by the spirit of the winter dance. Then all the people beat time and he puts up both bands to catch the magic worm. He pretends to cast it at the people, who hide beneath their blankets. Then he throws it down his own throat, and vomits blood which he releases by biting a small bladder concealed in his cheek. He vomits up the death-bringer and then appears to throw it into some of the people, his confederates, who rush toward the fire and fall as if lifeless and bleeding profusely at the mouth. They are carried away like corpses, and the mámaka follows in order to restore them to life.

The ám'lala is naked except for hemlock rings about his head, neck, arms, and legs; the neck-ring passes under the left arm. Held across his breast in his folded arms he carries a two-foot club, the head of which bristles with sharp wooden pins set into drilled holes. While the singers repeat his song he dances four times across the rear of the room. Then, holding the handle of his club in his left, with the right hand just below the knob, he begins apparently to rain blows upon his body, crying *héa héa he he!* Blood flows from his neck and his head; for concealed in his hemlock rings are blood-filled tubes of bladder-kelp, and thorns, which, when pressed, puncture the tubes. With blood dripping over him the ám'lala rushes from the house.

Hawáyatalahl practises a similar deception in pretending to cut long gashes in the sides of his neck. The blood he smears over the front of his body. He is naked except for hemlock rings about the head, arms, and legs.

The performance of a mátum in the year 1868 is thus described by a native informant: "He had hemlock rings around his neck, arms, and legs, and a hemlock head-dress consisting of a band with two cross-pieces over the top of his head. On the cross-pieces were tied ten pieces of crystal about six inches long and half an inch wide. His body was naked, and on his breast were many small cuts just deep enough to draw blood. In his mouth was concealed a squeaking whistle. While he danced, running about and bending his body backward and forward, a long board was leaned against an opening in the roof, and the dancer

ran four times up and down it, as if he were flying up and down a mountain."

Kwíkwasulahl, the begging dancer, coming from the woods as an initiate, is naked except for hemlock rings around his head, neck, arms, and legs. From the front of the head-ring rises a braid of hemlock twigs, eight inches long and two inches thick. He accompanies his entrances with the loud cry: "*Mímasulatla, ye* ['hungry am I for food, yes']*! Kwíkwasulahla, ye* ['embodiment of begging, yes']*!*" Then the song-makers begin his song, and he dances, half stooping with bended knees and one foot in advance of the other. His hands are clenched, with the thumbs standing upright. Four times he crosses the doorway, then he goes to the rear of the room, and at the end of his song he retires to the secret room. In the night performance he has a neck-ring and a head-dress like those he wore in the morning, except that the material is cedar-bark partially dyed red. The bands for his arms and legs are of white weasel-skin, and he wears a black bear-skin. His dance is a repetition of the morning dance.

Hwáhwilikya represents a wolf. The initiate is naked, but has heavy hemlock rings on his head, neck, arms, and legs. In his hand is a six-foot staff with a sliver of quartz crystal, or glass, at the end, which he pretends to employ as a spear against those who come to catch him. His captors tie a long rope about his waist and lead him to the dance house, where he walks four times round the fire, crying *ho, ho, ho, ho!* Then at the end of his secret song he is taken behind the *máwihl*. They now remove the hemlock branches and substitute rings of cedar-bark, some of which is dyed red, and clothe him in a suit of wolf-skins and a wooden mask. Soon he reappears, to dance in mimicry of the wolf.'

Tlúgwala is a woman personator of the wolf. In addition to the usual rings she wears a kirtle of hemlock, and the head-dress projects over the forehead in the rude likeness of a wolf's head. After her capture at the edge of the woods, the initiate, entering the house, drops to her knees and her knuckles, and poses with her head and shoulders somewhat higher than the rest of her body. Rhythmically with the rapid tattoo of the batons she swings her head from side to side, like a wolf. After several minutes she rises to her toes and knuckles, turns once, and goes on all-fours to the rear of the room and into the secret room. There she remains until night, when all the people are called in to "tame" her. The singers beat rapidly and call loudly, *ye he hé, ho...!* Then the tlúgwala initiate appears. Projecting from her forehead is the

wooden likeness of a wolf's head, and across her eyes from ear to ear is a narrow band of black. Around each wrist is wrapped a wolf's tail, and from waist to knees she is clothed in a kirtle of thick, cedar-bark fringe. The upper part of her body is naked. On toes and knuckles she goes round the fire, crying repeatedly *ho, ho, ho!* Returning to the rear of the house she lies in front of the singers on her knees and elbows, like a wolf, and bobs her head up and down in time with the batons. At the end of her song she retires.

Most numerous of all the dancers are nunúhlimahla, who personate fools and are characterized by their devotion to filth and disorder. They do not dance, but go about shouting *wi…, wi…, wi…!* They are armed with clubs and stones, which they use upon anything that arouses their repugnance for beauty and order. Excreta are sometimes deposited in the houses, and the "fools" fling nasal mucus on one another. This use of mucus is in fact the salient characteristic of núhlimahla, in conformity with the myth of the original núhlimahla, who, returning from an encounter with some supernatural beings, would constantly smear the excretion of his nose over his body. In the initiation of a núhlimahla the older members fling mucus upon him. It is the duty of these dancers to compel the observance of the regulations governing the deportment of people in the presence of hamatsas, and to inflict corporal punishment on offenders.

The winter ceremony of the Koskimo and the other tribes of Quatsino sound is opened with the ghost dance, which is here described by a Qágyuhl informant.

I was at the village of the Koskimo in October, and was notified that something would happen that night. Near one end of the village were many grave houses, and here at dusk rose an uproar of noises a bellowing, howling, chattering, whistling. The sounds approached behind the houses, then I heard a peculiar noise at the creek behind the village. I think it was made by beating on the bottom of a pan inverted on the surface of the water. Immediately the other noises ceased, then the beating on the pan stopped. With that there arose in the village itself a tremendous noise caused by *hyíntaiyu* [bullroarers], of which two were being whirled on each housetop. This lasted about five minutes, and the tapping on the pan was resumed. As soon as this ceased, the medley of sounds among the grave houses followed.

I asked the chief how these sounds were made, and he said, "Go and see." I found all the middle-aged people among the burial houses,

each with a long tube of bladder-kelp round his neck, which he was using as a trumpet. The young people were on the roofs with the bull-roarers. This alternation of sounds went on four times, then a man ran through the street, crying: "A child [naming it] has disappeared! The ghosts have taken-it! Let everybody rise early in the morning!"

Early in the morning the people dressed in button blankets and the best clothing they had, for they said the ghosts are proud and delight in cleanliness. All were called into the house of the man giving the winter dance, and the old ghost dancers sang four secret songs. They now had charge of the ceremony. They said, "We will see if we can hear where the ghosts will bring the child." One of them went out and soon came running back, exclaiming, "It is on yonder point!" The people all donned their red cedar-bark, each according to the nature of his dance, and each associating with the others of his kind. The hamatsas went first, even ahead of the ghost dancers, and behind the various classes of seals all the sparrows followed. As soon as the *hámamamama* of the ghosts came from the point, the hamatsas began to cry *hap! hap! hap!* and the others gave their cries. The sparrows, men and women, leaped into canoes and paddled toward the point, while the hamatsas and the other seals went on foot. As soon as the people approached the point, the ghosts gibbered *hámamamama*, and the seals fell on their faces as if dead, while the sparrows threw themselves backward in their canoes and capsized their craft. An old ghost dancer then went in a canoe and towed in the capsized vessels, to which clung the men and women, apparently dead, half floating and half lying on the bottom of the canoes. I think they had some kind of hook which held their clothing to the canoes, for they did not use their hands. Many of the women were floating with their dresses above their waists, but they did not destroy the effect of their acting by putting them down. When they were dragged ashore, they were laid in a row on the beach with their feet in the water, and a man with a vessel of urine then went along sprinkling the liquid from his fingers upon their faces. The old master of ceremonies said to me, "Go and carry them up." I went down and carried them one by one into the dance house, and each one gave me one or two dollars. There were about fifty of them. Next the seals were sprinkled, and I had to carry them into the house, where they began to call faintly in their several ways.

The master of ceremonies said, "We will go and get this child." They took a board about twelve feet long and two and a half feet

wide, and I followed. Behind the point they found a small child in a cradle-board, and laid it on their board, and so carried it to the village. As soon as they came into the house they cried *hámamamama!* and the others uttered their calls. They sang four songs of the ghost dance, without dancing, and after a feast the seals went into a room and the ghost initiate was taken into another.

The master of ceremonies now made a speech and called on a certain man to perform his function. There were two men, rivals by inheritance, each of whom had a rope which he used in the ghost dance. The master of ceremonies called on the one to whose faction he himself belonged, and this man brought out his rope and hung it up, and beside the door piled a considerable number of blankets, to which all his friends added. Next the other man hung up his rope, and he and his friends piled blankets on the other side of the door. Then everybody left the house.

That evening I was called on to "drive the stakes." I did not know what this meant. In the house I was directed to dig a hole about two and a half feet square and one foot deep, and to drive two stakes into the ground inside the hole, slanting them in opposite directions so that their tops crossed each other at right angles, and sinking them in so far that the tops did not show above the edges of the excavation. Another man bound withes about the intersection of the stakes, to make them firm, and a piece of kelp which had been used as an oil receptacle was split open and fastened on the lower angle of the intersection, so that the rope which was to be used in this device would slip freely as through a pulley.

It was now growing dark, and a man was sent to call the people. Men and women, including the *páhus,* because the ghost people themselves are regarded as *páhus,* assembled, and the master of ceremonies arose to thank them for coming, and to say that the initiate wished to go down through the ground, using the rope of Qáhyila. This man then stood and said: "Here is the rope. Before you use it, I am going to put strength into it, so that it will stand the strain." Thereupon he began to give away his pile of blankets. The master of ceremonies took the rope and 'said: "I will put it round the new dancer. He is anxious to go down into the ground." Then he passed the end under the stakes and took it into the room where the initiate was. He came out and said, "It is tied." The other end was on the opposite side of the fire, and the whole rope was in plain sight. At the end in the secret room

came a tugging, and the master of ceremonies called on a young man to hold the rope, for the new dancer was trying to go down into the ground. This young man took the rope and pulled against the stakes. Suddenly the strain on the end in the secret room was relieved, and he tumbled on his back. "Oh," cried the master of ceremonies, "the ghost has thrown you!" The youth then arose and gave away the blankets which he had added to the pile made by the owner of the rope. So one after another the men (as well as any women who happened to occupy a seat in the nobility) in the division sitting on that side of the house were called out, and all were thrown by the ghost. Each gave away property, the usual amount being five to ten blankets, although some gave as many as a hundred. Then the other rope was substituted, and the men sitting on the other side of the house were tried. The whole proceeding was attended with much laughter and joking. The last man with simulated effort pulled in the rope and hauled the little child out of the secret room. He had brought the initiate back from ghost-land, and he gave away more property than any one else. This ended the initiation of the child as a ghost dancer, and the ceremony was continued with the appearance and performance of various other dancers. There are only five principal dancers in the Koskimo winter ceremony: háme'ts, náwaahw, mámaka, sí'lis, and tsíkwis ["bird in belly"].

The Nakoaktok, Goasila, Wikeno, and Bellabella resemble one another in their observance of the winter ceremony. A brief résumé of the Wikeno practice must suffice.

When the men return from their fall hunting of mountain-goats, they report that one of their number has been killed by falling over a precipice. This is the means taken to account for the absence of the prospective hamatsa initiate. On an evening in early November the hamatsa whistles are heard in the woods, and the head chief sends his speaker to summon the people to his house, as if in the expectation that the spirit Páhpaqalanóhsiwi would come to that dwelling; but when from the roof of another house is heard a hamatsa whistle (blown by a youth secretly stationed there), the people know by this sign that the dance will be performed in that house. All the members at once assemble and each receives a head-band of red cedar-bark, which has been secretly gathered by the man giving the dance and prepared by his wife. Sitting about the walls of the principal room, they paint their faces, put eagle-down on their heads, and dress in the manner peculiar to their respective dances.

Then kôminâka begins to dance. Almost immediately all the hamatsas go into a frenzy and in the confusion a young child of the man giving the dance disappears. This act is called *lákun* ("struck down"), because the child is supposed to have been prostrated and carried away by the spirit which is to initiate him.

Now the four gentes congregate in separate corners of the room, and each is addressed by the speaker of its chief with many gestures and much moving of the lips and showing of the teeth, but without an audible word. The import of the "speech" is that Páhpaqalanóhsiwi is about to visit them, and it is the impending approach of this dread spirit that causes the speakers to employ no words. There is no more dancing on this occasion, but the following three nights are devoted to dancing for the purpose of bringing to life the child who has been struck dead. The father, having purchased from the carvers a number of masks (ten to forty, according to his means), hires an equal number of young men to dance with them simultaneously. These masks represent the thereomorphic spirits atlkánum ("beings that live in the woods"). At the end of the third night's dancing all the masks are piled on the floor and burned.

It is on this last night that the child initiate, ostensibly restored to life, reappears and dances with a mask. Simultaneously with its entrance comes a messenger with the report that a certain child has been found dead in the street. Immediately the clansmen of the child, pretending not to know who it is, cry out: "Who is it? Go and see!" Some one goes out and brings back the news that it is the child of the chief of that gens, and they at once arrange to have a dance in order to restore it to life. The dancing therefore continues on the following three nights, the child's father buying a new set of masks and hiring new dancers.

When on the third night of this second dance the second initiate appears, another child is found apparently dead; and so it goes until a child of each gentile chief has been struck down by the atlkánum spirits and then restored, each by three nights of dancing. During all this time the hamatsa initiate remains in the woods, either in fact or in pretence. Sometimes after the four children have been brought to life by dancing, the head men arrange that the children of second chiefs shall be initiated, and so this preliminary dancing may continue for a long time. On one occasion it lasted forty days, and the hamatsa, Gwákiils, remained in the woods trapping.

The Wikeno and the other tribes mentioned above have the

máwihl, not in the back of the room, but in the front at the left of the door; and the *háms'pek,* instead of being behind the *máwihl,* stands in front of the house. From the top of the pole a rope extends through the roof into the secret room behind the *máwihl.* Along that part which is above the roof are tied strips of copper, which, when the rope is shaken, rattle and cause the uninitiated to believe that the wild hamatsa is bound to the end of it and is trying to escape.

The Wikeno have far fewer degrees of dancers than the Qágyuhl, but the procedure following the capture of hamatsa is essentially alike in both tribes.

It remains now to speak with greater detail of the hamatsa. This dance originated apparently somewhere north of Vancouver island. Neither the Koskimo, the Nawiti, the Qágyuhl, nor the Nakoaktok, all of whom live near the northern end of the island, claim it as original with them. The Nakoaktok obtained the dance by marriage from the Wikeno about the year 1854, and in 1864 the Qágyuhl first had it, initiating three hamatsas. These were Âwati of the Qágyuhl sept, whose father hadmarried a Wikeno woman; Núlis, or Ótsistalis, of the Kueha sept, whose father had married a Bellabella woman; and Hámasaka of the Wálas Qágyuhl sept, whose grandfather had married a Bellabella woman and lived among that tribe, but whose father returned to reside among the Qágyuhl, bringing the hamatsa membership for his son. The Koskimo obtained the dance by imitating the Wikeno.

The Wikeno and the Bellabella, then, were the sources from which the southern Kwakiutl received the dance, and it is significant that these two tribes possess the clearest myths of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. But each declares itself the originator of the dance, and in the absence of further evidence it is impossible to say which, if either, is entitled to the distinction.

The Kwakiutl declare that the hamatsa eats human flesh, and the assertion has been accepted as true; the more readily because of the testimony of some early arrivals in this region, more than one of whom has reported having observed the killing of slaves, supposedly for ceremonial purposes. But there is grave doubt whether cannibalism ever existed in British Columbia. Some of the reasons for this unbelief are the following:

All other wonder-workers in the winter dance, with the possible exception of hawínalahl, the war dancer, are admittedly more or less clever tricksters.

Feats of such utter impossibility are ascribed to the hamatsas as to reflect doubt on even the more credible ones. It is difficult to believe that the human throat is capable of swallowing numerous long strips of the hard, dry, leathery integument that covers the bones of a mummy. But, granting the possibility, who can believe that one man ever ate the skin of four mummies within a few hours, and lived!

A considerable number of old men of more northerly tribes — Haida and Tsimshian -have been questioned on this subject, and with unbroken uniformity they declare the hamatsa's cannibalism a trick, performed by substituting for the corpse a figure covered with, or containing inside of it, the flesh of deer, halibut, or salmon. Several of these men have helped to prepare such figures.

Of the Kwakiutl men who can be induced to discuss the subject, all except one say that substitution has been invariably practised in modern times, adding, however, that "long ago" human flesh was eaten. This single professed believer in the existence of cannibalism described many of the winter-dance tricks as if sleight-of-hand played no part in them, but, confronted with evidence from another source, he explained the method of procedure. His insistence on the point of cannibalism is therefore open to question.

It is quite possible, even probable, that in earlier days slaves were sometimes killed and coffins robbed of their dead for use in the winter dance. It is not unlikely that corpses were dismembered in the sight of spectators. But at that point the genuineness of the performance probably ceased. In the uncertain light of the dance house, with a throng of practiced men ready to shield the operation from too close scrutiny, or on the beach at a considerable distance from the uninitiated, the substitution of an imitation corpse was a simple matter indeed for these tricksters. Even the killing of a slave could easily have been simulated.

The following experiences of the informant so frequently quoted in this volume should be taken merely for what they purport to be a substantially verbatim accounts by a native who professes to believe in the recent existence of ceremonial cannibalism in British Columbia.

Âwati, a hamatsa of long standing, was giving the winter dance at Fort Rupert in the year 1871, and the Wikeno tribe was invited. One day there were seen approaching nine canoes and catamarans, from which came the sound of hamatsa whistles. The Wikeno began to sing, their hamatsa initiate cried *hap! hap! hap!* and sang his secret songs. Some who knew the ways of the Wikeno hamatsas said, "He has a

dead body in that canoe!"When the hamatsa's catamaran came close enough, Âwati and his young attendants, of whom I was one, waded out to it. Everybody heard the speaker of the Wikeno asking, "Have you the food which will tempt our hamatsa ashore?" Âwati replied that he had not, and the other went on: "Well, if you do not have food to get him ashore, we will go back. You know our rule, and we do not want to break it. You have to feed our hamatsa first with your food, in order to get him ashore; then his turn will come, for he has mummy food in the canoe. "

As soon as he heard this, Âwati flung out his arms, threw back his head, and cried *hap! hap! hap!* We attendants caught him by the arms. He ran along the beach toward the burial ground, where nearly every tree contained a coffin, and sent us up different trees, looking for a suitable mummy. Soon one was found and thrown to the ground. Âwati sprang upon it, examined and smelled it, to see if it was in the proper condition, that is, not mouldy nor rotten, but dry. Then he took it in his arms to an adjacent creek and dipped it several times in the water. At the same time we attendants hurried into the woods, broke off hemlock branches, and brought them to him. While we were wrapping the mummy in branches,Âwati said to us: "I do not know, but I may need help. When we enter the house, if he gives me the body I will pretend to eat the strips of skin, but will let them slip to the ground. You take them and hide them in your blankets."

He took the bundle and began to sing. As soon as he came to where the people could see him, he assumed the pose characteristic of the hamatsa and ran along crouching and uttering his cries. Gwákiils, the Wikeno hamatsa, was a great, fat man with a huge, brutal face and very thick, long hair, in which he had twisted ribbons of red and white cedar-bark, so that an enormous tangled shock of hair and bark surmounted and surrounded his head. On the edge of the catamaran's deck he squatted, rolling his eyes, thrusting out his lips, raising his hands, and uttering his hoarse cries. He was a terrible sight, even to those accustomed to the hamatsas. He waited until he saw Âwati bringing the body, then his attendants carried him ashore, so that he should not touch salt water. They set him on the beach. Âwati, carrying his mummy, was moving backward toward the house, showing the body to the Wikeno hamatsa, so as to induce him to follow. Gwákiils moved slowly forward, a half sitting, halfsquatting, and now and then, simultaneously with Âwati, pivoting on one foot. Both were crying

hap, in angry tones. Four times they turned before reaching the house. Âwati turned to face the house and entered, and then began to sing one of his songs. All the Qágyuhl winter-dance people were assembled, and as soon as he appeared they began to use their batons. He moved slowly round the fire, and just behind it he stopped and faced the door, watching for Gwákiils and moving the corpse as if playing with something he held in tender regard.

The Wikeno hamatsa came in and crouched by the door, watching Âwati, and all the time extending his hands and drawing them back to his face, as if taking the body and eating. At brief intervals Âwati pivoted on one foot and then resumed his play with the corpse, and each time the other turned with him. They did this four times, then Âwati moved to his right, and the other in a succession of long, swift leaps on hands and feet covered the space between the door and the rear, going round the left side of the fire. Behind the fire he stopped again and faced Âwati, who was then at the right of the fire. In this relative position they moved slowly round the fire four times. When Âwati was behind the fire after the fourth circuit, Gwákiils leaped upon the mummy, took it in his arms, and twisted the head. But the skin was too tough to be twisted off, and one of his attendants came quickly and cut it. Then Gwákiils tore off the head and tossed it to Âwati, and himself carrying the headless body he began to sing:

"Do not yet truly eat, do not yet truly eat! By and by you shall truly eat, when you eat with me! The food refuses to go down your throat! I have become Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, I have become the good hamatsa!"

The Wikeno singers took up the words, and then Gwákiils stopped and went through the usual gestures and movements of the hamatsa. He rolled his eyes, held up his palms, rocking the corpse from side to side, thrust out his lips as if with great desire, then laughed hideously. Next he ravenously licked the body from one end to the other, and after a while, as the singing continued, he seized a knife and rapidly cut the dry skin of the arms, legs, and trunk into long narrow strips. One by one he tore them off, raised them at arm's length, threw back his head, lowered one end of the strip into his mouth, and with a single movement of the throat and tongue he swallowed it.

Âwati was holding the head, and did not seem to know what to do. He tried to bite out a piece of the skin, but could not; then an attendant gave him a knife, and with it he cut the skin into small squares and began to swallow them hurriedly. He was afraid. Before he had fin-

ished, Gwákiils had stripped the bones of the body. I stood just behind Âwati and only two steps from Gwákiils, and clearly saw everything.

After the Wikeno hamatsa had stripped the bones, separated and licked the joints, and swallowed every particle of the dry integument except that of the palms and the soles, his sister, a kyénkalatlulu, came forward with her robe turned front to back, pinned at the neck and belted at the waist, so that it formed a bag at the bosom.

She picked up the bones one by one and thrust them inside her robe, andthen stood there beside him while he seized the skull from Âwati's hands. Only a part of one cheek was eaten. Gwákiils put his fingers under the edge of the skin and with a jerk tore off the entire covering of the skull. Then an attendant trimmed off the scalp and cut the rest into strips, which the hamatsa swallowed. All the time he was making inarticulate sounds expressive of the greatest delight. Next he grasped the scalp, nor would he give it up, and the skull he nursed under his armpit. He tore off the lower jaw and licked it, and pretended to pick off bits of flesh, though there could have been none on it. He threw it down, and his sister put it in with the rest of the bones. Then he picked over the skull, and tried to break it on the floor, so as to get at the cavity. An old man, his father, came forward with a small axe, and said: "Qágyuhl, you feed my hamatsa falsely! Why did you not bring two of his food instead of a small child? He is just as hungry as when we came!" He took the skull from his son and laid it carefully on its side. The hamatsa stepped forward, eyeing it eagerly, with trembling, outstretched hands. The old man chopped it into two pieces, one of which Gwákiils quickly seized and placed carefully in one hand, while with the other he as carefully picked small objects from the floor, put them into his mouth, and ate with great delight and much smacking of lips. I think these objects were the thin brown shells left by maggots. Next with his right hand he scooped out from the half the skull whatever was in it, probably maggot shells, poured them into his open mouth, and ate them with a crunching sound which I could plainly hear. He handed the bone to his father, who took it to the water-pail, poured a cup of water into it, shook it with a rotary motion, and handed it back to Gwákiils, who drank the contents. Then the hamatsa licked the inside of the bone, and with grunts of satisfaction threw it down. The same things were done with the other half of the skull, and the woman thrust both pieces into her blanket.

Still Gwákiils was unsatisfied. He did not seem to be hamatsa, for

he was not wild and excited. He went slowly about the room, lifting men's blankets and peering under them, as if he suspected that some of them might have food for him. Âwati had gone back into a bedroom, and when we asked what Gwákiils was looking for, he answered that the Wikeno feared he might have dropped a piece of flesh which some one was hiding. Âwati said his throat felt small and drying up, and he had gone to the bedroom for water. Finding no food, Gwákiils became excited and ran about the room like a hamatsa. Through the doorway he went, and down to the canoe. The Qágyuhl were disturbed, thinking he would go to the burial place and get one of their dead. When an attendant came to tell Âwati that Gwákiils had gone to the canoe, he exclaimed, "That bad man is going to get another one!"

Soon we heard Gwákiils singing at the door. He entered, singing, and the Wikeno joined in the song. He was bearing a naked mummy. He was a big man, weighing probably two hundred and sixty pounds. As soonas he appeared, Âwati came out of the secret room. Meanwhile there had been much talking among the Qágyuhl, and it was decided that Núlis andHámasaka, the other two hamatsas, must help him; for Âwati was being beaten. So these two came forward, stripped naked like the others except that they wore cedar-bark rings about the neck. The three Qágyuhl hamatsas were timid in the presence of this rapid eater of human flesh, for their way was to take it slowly. Gwákiils twisted the head off, quickly (he must have had the skin previously cut) and gave it to Awati. He tore off the right arm for Núlis and the left for Hámasaka. I do not know whether or not these three ate their portions, for I was watching the Wikeno man. The skull and the two arms were picked clean, but I think there was secret work going on; that is, that they cut off the skin and pretended to eat it, but really dropped it on the ground for the attendants to conceal. Gwákiils again scraped and licked the bones, and wanted to take the skull fromÂwati, but the latter had finished and thrown it down. Gwákiils examined it, and tucked it under his arm. His sister had gathered up the bones and put them in her blanket, and she now had quite a burden. This second body was that of a woman, the first that of a youth. The second skull was split and rinsed out like the first. Still his father said the hamatsa was not satisfied, and Gwákiils went about once more, looking under the men's blankets. He went to his sister, put his hand in among the bones, drew out a thighbone, and gave it to the old man, who chopped off the two ends and handed it back. Gwákiils placed one end in his

mouth, and sucked on it. Then the old man poured water into a bowl, and Gwákiils, placing an end of the bone in the bowl, sucked the water up through it, and drank. All the long-bones were treated in this manner, and then were restored to the woman. Gwákiils began to sing, and his people took the words from him, while he hopped about the fire. They sang four songs, and he retired behind the *máwihl* into a bedroom.

His sister, the kyénkalatlulu, still standing there beside the fire, called for a box. Some of the Wikeno brought an old chest, and she took out the bones slowly, one by one, so that everybody could see that all were clean, and dropped them into the chest. She called for the cover and four heavy stones. She placed the latter in the box, adjusted the cover, and tied it down with a long rope which she unwound from her waist. Then she told the men who had brouiaht the stones to carry it out. At this point Iwent into the bedroom to Âwati, but Captain Alexander W. Mouat[?], the Hudson's Bay Company's representative at Fort Rupert, who was present, later told me that the chest was placed in a canoe and carried to deep water, where it was sunk. I was in the room when the four men returned and reported, "We have been out to bury the dead."

The father of Gwákiils asked, "What dead?"

"The mummy," they answered.

This conversation was prearranged, in order to excite the hamatsa by the utterance of the word mummy, and immediately the four hamatsas began raving and crying, *hap! hap! hap!* There were many attendants holding the Wikeno hamatsa, and two were restraining each of the three Qágyuhl.

Four big Wikeno men wearing only shirts now began to roll up their sleeves. These were the *háphila* ("put a living object into water"). They went to the beach and stood at the water's edge, and Gwákiils went down to one of them. The other three hamatsas followed him, for though he had defeated them by the greatness of his deeds, still they felt it incumbent upon them to follow in his steps and do, or attempt, what he did. The other three big men stood a short distance from the one toward whom Gwákiils was going, and one of them called out to the three Qágyuhl and their attendants, "Come this way!" When we got to him, one of the others called, "Come this way!" So two of the hamatsas and their attendants went to him, and at the fourth man's bidding one of these two with his attendants passed on to him. The

breast of Gwákiils was slimy like a snail with handling the mummy; for mummies are always well soaked before being eaten, in order to soften the skin. This slime is believed to have the effect of causing the speedy death of the hamatsa unless it is promptly washed off with salt water.

The four men grasped the hamatsas by the hair and dragged them into the water, handling them roughly, as if they were dogs. Each warned his man, "When I dip you in, take a long breath." They went out until the water was breast-deep. It was February, and the weather was severely cold. Each took his man by the hair at the back of the neck and by the thigh, thrusting one hand between the hamatsa's legs from behind and thus grasping the front of one leg. Facing the sun, he pushed him under water and turned slowly on the left foot until he reached the starting position, when he gave the hamatsa a shove, and the latter, staggering to his feet, cried *hap! hap! hap!* rather feebly for want of breath. This turning about is symbolical of going round the world, and recalls the hamatsa's supposed journey round the world with Páhpaqalanóhsiwi during his period of absence in the woods. Four times this was done, and the last time they turned very slowly. Then all came out of the water, and Gwákiils asked the Qágyuhl hamatsas, "Where is the nearest washing place?" They led the way along the beach up the slope to the terrace, and into the woods a short distance to a place where four logs lined the four sides of a shallow excavation. The upper edge of the logs was level with the ground. The hole was filled with fresh water, for the salt water must be washed off the hamatsa as quickly as possible. The four sat on the logs, throwing water up over themselves and laughing. There was no more crying, of *hap,* but the attendants kept blowing the whistles for the benefit of the people back in the village. Then we all detoured through the woods to the other end of the village, Gwákiils leading, because of the inexperience of the Qágyuhl.

As soon as they reached a point where they could be seen by the people, they again left off their human demeanor and acted like wild creatures. They went through the village street, then back of the houses to the end of the village where they had begun, and so four times they passed in front of and behind the houses. Then Gwákiils led the way inside the dance house. The four began to sing, and the Wikeno singers wielded their batons and took up the song. Gwákiils danced and the other three joined him, and after four songs they retired into the secret room.

The Wikeno people then unloaded their canoes and hauled them upon the beach, and Âwati had them invited to a feast, which commenced about dark. During the feast two medicine-men of the Wikeno stood inside the doorway, one on each side. Their faces were blackened, and they wore blankets, and head-bands of cedar-bark with several pieces of quartz crystal set on the front. They constantly bore an expression of great austerity. Nobody dared laugh in their presence. One man inadvertently laughed, and they both directed their black looks at him until he dropped his eyes and sat crestfallen and frightened. The Qágyuhl all were afraid of them. What with these awe-inspiring medicine-men and the superiority of the Wikeno hamatsa, the Qágyuhl were quite humble.

That night I sat in the secret room with the hamatsas. Gwákiils constantly wore a bear-skin, and kept his whistle ready to play his part if any word that was supposed to excite him should be spoken. I noticed him drink copiously from a wooden pail which I had not seen brought in. After a while he went to sleep, leaning against the wall. When he snored, I dipped my finger into the pail and tasted the liquid. It was simply salt water, an emetic [doubtless to wash off from the pieces of human flesh the "touch" of the hamatsa and so prevent him from decaying coincidently with its corruption]. During the night Gwákiils did not sleep much, and frequently he went out through the secret door. The hamatsas do not vomit the pieces of skin. Men have told me that they cannot disgorge them, no matter how much water is drunk and vomited. The number of pieces swallowed is carefully counted, and the excrement is examined to see that the full number is voided. Men say that after swallowing the pieces, there is great pain in defecating. Each piece passes separately, but only after the exertion of the greatest effort, and it is accompanied by blood and the sensation of red-hot iron passing through the rectum. While the pieces are in the stomach there is considerable pain, for they lie in a hard, compact mass.

There was no dancing nor other ceremony during the next three days and two nights, but on the night of the fourth day the hamatsas were to be tamed. The songs used on this occasion were not those of Gwákiils, but of some of the other Wikeno hamatsas. For when several hamatsa initiates are being tamed at the same time, the songs are not those of any one of them, lest the others insist that their songs also be used, and thus the ceremony be made too tedious.

On the fourth night the Wikeno took charge. Far from feelingchagrined over this usurpation of his place, Âwati was pleased; for since his hamatsa membership came from the Wikeno by marriage, some of the people would not admit that his right was valid, and now that the Wikeno had come into his house to give the ceremony, as it were, for him, he would have the endorsement of their superior standing. Speakers were sent out just before the dancing was to begin, and almost immediately the people came without waiting for a second summons. When the Qágyuhl entered they saw sitting on boxes, one on each side of the doorway, the two Wikeno medicine-men. Their faces were black and their heads thickly covered with eagle-down, which, falling, spotted their faces and bodies here and there. They were terrifying objects. They sat perfectly motionless, except for their eyes, which turned this way and that, glaring at the people. If any one dared to meet their eyes, they stared at him fixedly until he dropped his head and looked at the ground, unable to stand their gaze. After all the people were inside and the door was closed, the old Wikeno speaker went to the medicine-men and whispered something to each in turn, but apparently they made no response. Then he called out: "Wikeno, you know why our friends are sitting at this door. No one may pass outward through this door until the end of this meeting. If any one tries, he will drop dead! If it is father, brother, sister, or mother, these our two friends will not spare him! Also you, Qágyuhl, if any one of you tries to walk through, he will drop dead!" He returned to his station behind the fire and addressed the singers, "Take hold of the handles of your batons, and get ready!" [This was probably a cue for the hamatsas in the secret room to commence their song.]

As soon as the singers grasped their batons, Gwákiils began to sing. The batons beat slow time, but when the singers took up the words they beat rapidly and loudly. The whistles of the hamatsas sounded long, slow notes. Gwákiils wore a very wide head-band, and his hair and entwined cedar-bark ribbons burst out at the top and fell in a tumbled mass at the sides and the back of his head. Pinned around his neck was a grizzly-bear skin bordered with a strip of cedar-bark matting four fingers wide. His neck-ring was so massive that it could not be spanned by a man's two hands. His wristlets consisted of four twisted strands of cedar-bark rope, the frayed ends of which projected, and his anklets were similar. He looked like a great king. He came out squatting and

extending his hands upward, and when he was a quarter of the way round the fire, Âwati appeared and followed him. At equal intervals came the others. They did not go round and round the fire, but danced back and forth, keeping about equidistant from one another. Gwákiils danced very quietly, and the others, timid and consciously outclassed, for the greater part squatted motionless, surrounded by their attendants. As soon as the first song ended, Gwákiils began another, the singers beating fast and loud. After a brief interval he started a third song in slow time, and when the singers took up the words he danced quietly, and the whistles sounded softly. With scarcely a pause, he began the fourth song in slow time, singing quietly. He uttered a weak *hap*, and the singers took up the song, while Gwákiils danced, this time with his eyes directed straight before him and not rolling, with his lips normal instead of protruding. The words were of "pressing down the spirit" of the hamatsa. At the end of the song he dropped to his haunches as if exhausted. Two attendants grasped his arms, and followed by the other attendants almost dragged him round the fire. His arms were extended straight behind, his body was bent at the waist and leaning forward, so that the upper part of his body was horizontal. There was no sound. Then they took him into the secret room. The other hamatsas had imitated these acts to the best of their ability.

The Wikeno speaker arose and said: "Wikeno, I am going into the room to feel our friends, to see if they are really tamed." All the Wikeno shouted, "Go, go!" He came into the secret room and remained a short time, sitting with Âwati and telling him of the singing contest they were going to have. When the hamatsas are in their room they lie about talking with one another and with their attendants, indulging principally in indecent conversation about women whom they have seen in the other room, and laughing quietly. The speaker returned to the main room and said: "I have been feeling them, and the *mítsis* [the ceremonial name of the hamatsa's whistle, the sound of which is supposed to issue from his vitals] is moving [that is, the frenzy is leaving]. Now it is best for you Wikeno to divide into two parts. We will *mótsikya,*[13] and you Qágyuhl, you Kueha, you Wálas Qágyuhl,

13 Mótsikya is performed when any untoward circumstance has occurred to mar the course of the winter dance during the initiation of a hamatsa. Thus, a serious mistake in the singing or in the striking with batons, so that the

divide also into two parts, each tribe." To each division he assigned a place in the room, and he said, "I will make our friends tame, so that they can walk out tomorrow." Each of the four tribes divided into two parties, and everybody procured a small baton. Each of the eight divisions crowded closely together, the individuals facing one another, and simultaneously each group began to sing a song different from all the others. They sang as loudly as they were able, and carefully watched one another's lips in order to aid their ears and concentrate their attention on their own song, lest they be confused by the sounds of the other seven songs. In the secret room the hamatsas and we attendants also sang. At the end of the singing the speaker said, "I will go back and see how they feel." He came into the secret room and soon returned, half laughing, and announced: "They are now of us, human like us. They are now truly men." This ended the ceremony of taming the hamatsas.

The two medicine-men came into the secret room and relaxed their sternness. One of them asked Âwati, "Have all your attendants been yénkalatlulu?" Âwati indicated several who had been, but one who had not. The medicine-man pointed his finger at that young man and said sternly, "Go out, and never come back!" So the attendant, though he had been initiated as a bear dancer, was not permitted to be attendant to the hamatsa. The four hamatsas remained that night in the secret room, where they had been since the beginning of the ceremony. Some of the attendants remained, but others went out through a secret door. The people supposed them all there.

On the following morning the people were invited to a feast, but they did not begin to assemble until dusk. After the sparrows and the spectators had taken their seats there came a pounding on the door, and two núhlimahla dancers rushed in. One stood in the front of the room at the left of the fire, the other in a corresponding position at the right. Next Gwákiils entered very slowly, his bear-skin blanket covered with eagle-down. He wore his great neck-ring, and on the front of his head-band was a wooden skull. His face was blackened. As soon as he appeared, the two Wikeno medicine-men stood up at the left of the

hamatsa misses his step; the stumbling of a hamatsa; his loss of self-control, so that he becomes really vicious in his biting — any such event is cause for mótsikya, in order to "heal the wound." Usually also, but not always, this is done at the end of the dance in order to "sing off the red cedar-bark."

fire. Gwákiils proceeded to the right, walking upright, and sat behind the middle of the row of singers. The other three hamatsas came and sat beside him. There were now no attendants, as the hamatsas were tame and required no restraint.

Then two bear dancers entered side by side, their faces painted black below the mouth and above the eyes. In the intermediate space were black perpendicular streaks, the spaces between which represented bear's teeth. Their bear-skins were folded lengthwise and tied about the waist so that they extended only to the knees, and on their hands were bound the claws, attached to long strips of fur which covered the outside of the arms to the shoulder. Around their necks were cedar-bark rings. They stood before the fire and glared at the people from side to side, baring their teeth, but uttering no sound. They went to sit on the bench with the hamatsas, and then came other bears two by two, about twenty of them, wearing ordinary blankets.

All this time the two núhlimahla dancers stood in their places. Now the others of this degree came one by one. Their faces were black, and they wore tattered blankets pinned at the neck and hanging unconfined. They never held the blankets with the hands or arms. Their neck-rings and head-rings were ragged. Some of them carried on their backs baskets of stones, so that if any one displeased them they might have something to throw. In such a case they do not really hurl the stones, but let them fall behind them just before the arm goes forward. In everything they act like fools.

Next were the thunderbird dancers. Their faces were black from the nose downward, and just below each temple and level with the eye was a black mark [shaped like an interrogation point with the back toward the eye]. These dancers walked like eagles.

Then followed the hóhhuq dancers. Their painting was black from the level of the nostrils downward, and two curving black lines on each cheek representing two pairs of horns. There was usually only one hóhhuq dancer, but this time there were two. They stood in the doorway and looked this way and that, then stepped slowly, like cranes in the water looking for fish, and so went back to the seat of the seals behind the singers.

The war dancer was next. Coiled about his neck and hanging down on his breast were four pieces of cedar-bark rope, each ten fathoms long. In his right hand was a knife and in his left a stick about three feet long. A cedar-bark blanket was doubled and tied round the waist, leav-

ing the upper part of the body bare except for the rope hanging from his neck, and his wristlets and anklets were of cedar-bark. Twisted, red cedar-bark formed the head-ring, and at the top of the head on each side was attached a long cedar withe, stripped and barked, which stood up and out like a-plume. This dancer was not painted. He stood looking at the upper left corner in the rear of the room, and pointed his hand toward it. All the people shouted, "No, it is not time!" He pointed again, but they repeated their cry, and he went to sit beside. the other dancers.

Next appeared the raven, the wasp, and several other dancers. Among the last was the tsúnukwalahl, feeling of the door-posts in his pretended blindness. He came to the right corner and trod on the people, who pushed him away, saying, "That is the way, over there." He went to the left corner, and trod on the spectators there, apparently lost, until some one who had been tsúnukwalahl led him to the seat.

Last of all was the mámaka, with a doubled blanket tied round his waist. The upper half of his face was black, and he wore no head-ring, but the hair was brought around to the front from both sides and the two halves were tied together with a piece of bark. Inside the door he stood and looked about, then half turned his body, at the same time flexing the knees and straightening them with a jerk. With hushed voices the people implored him: "Do not do it! Do not do it!" He repeated this movement several times, and then went to the seat.

The two núhlimahla dancers were still in their places. They now followed the mámaka, and one stood at each end of the seat. Then the two Wikeno medicine-men took their position beside the doorway, the door was closed, and everybody became very quiet. There was not a sound, except that now and then the two medicine-men made their guttural, whistling noise. This period of silence is called*aquníkyalihl*, a secret word meaning that the weight of the winter-dance spirit is pressing on the people. The speaker rose after a few minutes and went through the pantomime of making a speech, but not a word did he utter aloud. I have asked several speakers what they say in this silent speech, and they all told me nearly the same thing: "Now we are all in this great *tsékatsi* [winterdance house] with our great friends [the hamatsas and the other dancers]. Now we will sing. Song-keepers [here he repeats their names to himself], take your batons.

Then one of the song-keepers went outside, and there was heard the sound of chopping. Soon he returned with a great number of sticks,

one of which he gave to each person a man, woman, and child. A number of long boards, mostly the side boards used for raising the gunwales of canoes in making a catamaran, were laid before the, people in such a position that everybody could strike on one of them. Even the seals were so provided. Small sticks were placed under the sounding boards to give them resonance.

The speaker, who was still on his feet, said: "There is one of our friends who has not yet come. Hótluliti is not here." This was the winter-dance speaker of the Qágyuhl. Four men were sent to summon him, and soon he came, shaking his rattle and singing his secret song. His face was blackened, and he was covered with eagle-down. A round his neck was a very thick ring of cedar-bark loosely twisted. All grasped their batons in readiness. He walked slowly round the fire, singing, and back of the fire he pivoted on his left foot. Again at the front of the fire he pivoted, and when the second time he reached the back, he turned, still singing, raised his rattle high, and brought it down with a sweep, and simultaneously every baton crashed on the boards. Rapid beating without singing followed for about three minutes, while Hótluliti shook his rattle. Then he extended his arm and swept the rattle horizontally through a semicircle, and the beating ceased. He stood there silent and motionless for a few moments, during which there was no sound except the whistling of the two Wikeno medicine-men. Then again he brought his rattle down and the beating was resumed. A second time he stopped it with a sweep of his arm, then once more he gave his signal to resume. This time the kyénkalatlulu and the tóhwit women began to sing, each her own secret song. When Hótluliti swept his arm again, the beating ceased but the singing of the women continued. Then the rattle was brought down for the fourth time, the beating commenced, and the singing ceased. When Hótluliti swept his arm again through the semicircle, the beating by the people stopped and the singers struck their board and sang, while all the people joined them in an ancient song. After this was done, the Kueha song-keepers struck their board and started their ancient song for this occasion. Next the Wikeno, singing very low and gruffly, repeated two songs, because they were guests.

It was now time for the feast, and the kettles were set upon the fire. When the food was cooked, a kyénkalatlulu came with four spoons, which he filled with rice and bore to the four hamatsas, who still sat behind the singers. As the spoons were passed to them, the

sparrows stretched out their hands, crying: "Give it to me! Let me eat first!" This was in keeping with their rule of tormenting the hamatsas. Then the speaker held aloft a great wooden dish filled with rice, crying, "Dish for Gwákiils!" One of the four heralds who had invited the people to the feast carried it to Gwákiils, and then simultaneously a dish was given to each hamatsa. Next they distributed dishes among the seals and the sparrows, one to each three persons, and other dishes were set before the spectators. As soon as the hamatsas began to eat from their dishes, the two nunúhlimahla dancers sat down, at which signal the other people began to eat, everybody devouring his portion as rapidly as possible. As soon as the seals finished, they threw the dishes roughly over the heads of the singers toward the fire, taking no care to toss them gently, but rather desiring, if possible, to break them. Some of the nunúhlimahla [plural of núhlimahla] threw theirs into the fire. After all the dishes had been cleared, the hamatsas walked slowly round to the left of the fire, and the other seals followed them through the doorway. The people then filed out.

In the month of October, 1904, two young men of the Wikeno tribe went hunting in the mountains. Káhetasu one evening told his elder companion that in his sleep the previous night he had heard something which he thought must have been the voice of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. The other advised him to bathe ceremonially; and early in the morning and again at evening Káhetasu went into the stream and rubbed his body vigorously with hemlock tips. The place was close to the hill where, according to the myth, Páhpaqalanóhsiwi was living when Núnwakawi killed his body. On the following morning the young man said: "That thing came near me again last night. It cries somewhat like hamatsa."

"You had better continue washing," replied his companion. "It was our people who killed Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, but his spirit yet lives. If it falls to anybody to meet that spirit, it will be you, for your father is hamatsa."

So Káhetasu washed again, morning and evening, and now he rubbed until the blood showed on his skin. Before they fell asleep he said: "Last night when that thing came, it made my head feel very strange. I saw strange things."

"It might be that *pahála* is coming to you, if it acts that way," replied his friend. They went off to sleep, and toward daylight the elder man heard his companion singing a *pahála* song, a new one which the spirit had given him that night. After a while, still singing, he went out

and wandered away into the woods. Káhetasu was to have disappeared for initiation as hamatsa in the following month.

The elder man returned home and informed the parents of Káhetasu that he had disappeared; and so the news spread that he had been taken by Páhpaqalanóhsiwi.

On a very cold day in November, when the lake was frozen, the people heard cries of *hap! hap! hap!* and then this song, sung in the way of the medicine-men, not the winter-dance people:

"Four-man Eater, I! I eat your parents, *ha!* Magic power!

Four-man Eater, I! I eat your children, *ha!* Magic power!

Four-man Eater, I! I eat your parents, *ha!* Magic power!

I eat with the appetite of a raven, *ha!* I eat with the appetite of a raven, *heyé!*

I double up the strips of flesh with the appetite of a raven, he! I double up the strips of

flesh with the appetite of a raven, *he!*

I eat with the appetite of a raven, *he!* I swallow skulls with the appetite of a raven, *he!*

I gouge out the eyes of the dead and suck them up with the appetite of a raven, *he!*

I eat with the appetite of a raven! *Hup! hup! hup!*"

The sounds came from a burial house on a small island near the larger one on which the village stands. As the people flocked out of doors, they beheld Káhetasu climb up out of the hut with a mummy on his back, another under one arm, and a recently interred corpse under the other. On the roof he squatted, still singing his song, and began to devour the fresh body. He had a knife concealed in his hand, though hamatsas are not supposed to use a knife. According to eye-witnesses he picked the bones clean and then began on the two mummies, the skin of which had been softened by recent rains dripping through the old roof. The mummies finished, he descended into the hut and brought out another, which he ate, for in his song he had called himself Mótana ["four-man eater"]. Once more he went below, and this time he brought out two more dry bodies, with which he disappeared into the woods.

Four days later Mótana reappeared, ate two mummies on the roof, and carried away two more. The people now began to talk about it, and some who visited the burial house to see what ravages he had committed found that he had been there several times. They advised

his father, "The quicker we catch him, the better it will be." At a meeting it was decided to catch the young man in the morning, if he should return on the fourth day following his last visit.

When for the third time he was heard singing in the hut, the people surrounded it. The young man came out upon the roof with a mummy under each arm, and began to sing and to dance slowly along the ridge. Because of the irregular way in which he had disappeared, there were no other initiates. When he had devoured his corpses, he leaped down and ran among the people, biting here and there, without regard for the rule that the hamatsa must bite only on the left forearm. In his palm was a knife with which to cut off the pieces of skin which he raised with his teeth. He began to sing about his father and his mother, and even his children, how he was going to eat them; and the people saw that he was not the same person, he was strangely changed. He broke through the lines and ran away.

Four days later he returned, but again they failed to catch him. Then another meeting was held. The people were becoming frightened, for this man had been biting arms and legs indiscriminately, and taking not only the skin, as the hamatsa should do, but the flesh with it, and not a mere shred, but the full width of his mouth; so that when he cut off with the knife what he had taken between his teeth, the wound spread open to a considerable size. An old man said: "We cannot catch him. But we will try as Núnwakawi did. That belongs to us. He beat Páhpaqalanóhsiwi by killing dogs, but now we will get mummies for this man, and have four men to carry them and lead him into the house." This plan was tried, and it succeeded.

Four mummies were procured, and a strong man to carry each one. The four went close to the hamatsa, who no sooner saw the mummies than he came toward them; and as the men withdrew slowly toward the village, he followed. All the winter-dance people of the Wikeno were assembled in the house of the young man's father, ready to sing. Three of the mummy carriers came into the house, while one remained outside near the door. The hamatsa stood off, undecided. Then he came closer, and followed the mummy carrier into the house, and they barred the door. The young man did not seem to come to himself. His eyes were turned up, so that only the whites showed. That was customary for the hamatsa, but this man never let the iris of his eyes be seen even for an instant. They gave him a mummy, and he sat down and began to eat. After he had devoured it, they gave him another, and

when the second was finished, the young man began to turn his head this way and that, and to sing the song about eating his parents and his children. But these had been sent into the back part of the house.

As the proper season for the dance had not arrived, the song-makers had no songs ready for him, so they began to sing the hamatsa songs of Gwákiils; but it was evident that the new hamatsa did not approve. He kept singing his own secret song, and the singers soon caught it and began to use it; but this seemed to make him the more violent. So afraid of him were the people that they would not let him bite them, but they held up their forearms to the other hamatsas who were present, and these bit and cut off small pieces of skin, which they gave to Mótana. Still he was not satisfied, and the old man whose plan they were following sent two men for the other two mummies. The hamatsa was leaping about, crying *hap! hap! hap!* People were leaving the house by the back door, afraid to remain and afraid to open the front door lest he escape. The mummies were placed where he could see them, and he was then left alone. Soon it became quiet in the house, and a man sent to peer through a crack saw that Mótana was devouring the bodies.

The old man said: "We had better send men to bring all the coffins from that grave house, and we will tame him with mummies. Singing will not do it. We have tried that, and it made him worse." Soon the boxes from the grave house were brought, some containing mummies, and others bodies not yet thoroughly desiccated, and were taken into the house, where the young man lay sleeping among the bones of the two mummies he had just devoured. At the same time his father removed the bedding and whatever else was needed for the temporary sojourn of his family outside of their home. Eye-witnesses say that the inside of that house looked more like a huge grave than anything else: all about the sleeping hamatsa were piled boxes with the covers open, each containing a corpse, and on the floor were scattered the bones, heads, hands, and feet of the mummies he had already eaten.

When Mótana awoke he was very quiet. There was no singing nor crying of *hap*. The watchers said he went from one box to another looking at the bodies and cutting off a small piece here and there, shaking his head and muttering *hm…!* The old man went into the house through the back door and said to the hamatsa, "Tlúgwala, you have much food that we have brought to you." Mótana replied: "This is the only way you could have caught me. Without it you could never have

got me." Said the old man, "We will call our people and sing for you tonight."

"It is a good thing to have them here to sing," answered the hamatsa, "and to see what true hamatsa is. I have been with Páhpaqalanóhsiwi and have talked to him. This is what he told me to do, to eat this sweet food. So long, as you keep me well supplied with this food, I will be quiet, but when it fails I shall have to eat my parents and my children!"

In the evening the people were summoned. It was not at all like the winter dance: the people were too afraid for enjoyment. There sat the hamatsa among the bones, and of the people who came in, none could look at him. The slime of the mummies was like glue smeared on his face, arms, and breast, and dried there. Even before all the people had assembled, he began to shake his head and to whistle in his throat like a *pahála*. Now and then he would appear to remember that he was really hamatsa and not medicine-man, and would come to himself with a start and cry *hap! hap! hap!* Then he would fall back into the *pahála* singing. He went to a coffin and removed the body, holding it in his arms and observing it closely.

He out it back and went to another box. The body in this one seemed to suit his desire, and be deposited it on the floor. So he went from coffin to coffin, rejecting some bodies and selecting two, which he carried in his arms to a place behind the fire. He sat on the ground, laid a mummy across his lap, and began to devour it, tearing off long strips, apparently with his teeth but really with the aid of his small knife, which he kept concealed in his palm. Now and then he would rise and dance a little and sing like a *pahála,* occasionally uttering his cry. Then he would return to his feast. Again, he would sit there and sing in his natural voice, neither like a*pahála* nor like a hamatsa. None of his songs mentioned Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. After he had finished singing, while the singers beat on the sounding boards and practised his songs, he was offered food, but he pointed to the boxes and said: "There is my food! That is what I have been living on in the woods. Go yonder and look." When certain men went to the burial house he indicated, they found the coffins empty.

At the end of his meal Mótana told them to make him a bear-skin robe, for all this time he had been naked. It was four days later that the robe and the cedar-bark head-band and neck-ring were finished, and he was now becoming more like a hamatsa. In the meantime the

people had been feasting and endeavoring in other ways to carry on the winter dance as it-should be, but with poor success. Everybody was afraid. When the robe and the rings were ready, the people assembled and sang, and the hamatsa danced quietly. Four nights later he told the people to come and sing again while he danced, and on the next day he sent for his father, who however said that he had better not as yet live in the house. "I know why you are afraid," said Mótana. "You are afraid of my food. But that is going back tomorrow." True to his word, on the following day he sent the coffins back to the burial house, and the people rejoiced. The young man now began to eat the usual kinds of food. He walked about in his bear-skin robe, generally acting normally; but occasionally he would throw back his head and emit a powerful *ha!* and sometimes he would utter the ululating cry of a *pahála.*

Mótana became a great medicine-man, and grew very large in the chest and arms, which the people attributed to his eating of human flesh. A year after his initiation the Wikeno were invited to the winter dance by the Goasila, and Mótana said, "If we are going to that winter dance, I want two mummies for food." So the people embarked with two coffins in the bow of the principal canoe, and Mótana beside them. The Goasila already were engaged in dancing when the Wikeno arrived, and the hamatsa initiate of the hosts went around behind the house and then reappeared in the front with his mummy. As soon as Mótana saw them, he began to perform like a hamatsa. He came out of the canoe, and all his people followed, singing, and advanced shoulder to shoulder, with Mótana in front dancing in a squatting posture from side to side. When they reached the door of the dance house the Goasila hamatsa went in first with his mummy, as if leading the visitors.

And now Mótana found that he had made a mistake: he had counted on the Goasila having two corpses, as he himself had, but there was only one. His song demanded four, since it named him Four-man Eater. The hamatsas went four times round the fire, the Goasila leading, and after the fourth circuit Mótana took the body from him, tore off the head and gave it to him, while he himself sat down and began to devour the body. He finished, but the other was intentionally slow, knowing that the Wikeno hamatsa always brought a body, and Mótana took the head from him and finished it. Then he broke up the skull, went to his canoe, and brought the two corpses. The Goasila hamatsa took one, and they began to eat. When Mótana finished, he took the other mummy from the Goasila man, who had not eaten much; and

having finished this he bit some of the people to make up for the lacking fourth corpse. Then began that part of the dance which the Goasila call "dancing it down," and at its conclusion the two hamatsas retired into the secret -room while the Wikeno unloaded their canoes.[14]

About the year 1875 the Nakoaktok were invited to the winter dance of the Wikeno. It was the custom of these tribes for the visiting hamatsas to bring a corpse for their hosts. Before the start therefore some of the Nakoaktok hamatsas proposed to secure two mummies, so as to outdo the Wikeno, but Yáhyekulágyilis ["constantly eating (that is, destroying and distributing) property"], the principal hamatsa, said: "Let it be. We can get plenty of mummies when we are near the Wikeno." So they went without further preparation, but when they drew near the end of their voyage they could find no mummies. All the coffins seemed to have been emptied, and they reached the village without a corpse. After they had entered the dance house, their hosts brought forth a mummy and it was eaten in the usual way. During the feast Yáhyekulágyilis was evidently revolving something in his mind while he regarded a female slave belonging to one of his companions. Soon he directed one of his attendants, in a whisper, to go and ask the owner if he would take a hundred blankets for his slave. This was a generous price, and was quickly accepted. Nobody knew what was the intention of Yáhyekulágyilis when, after the mummy was eaten, he rose and led the other hamatsas in a rapid dance round the fire. Four times round they went, and then suddenly he leaped upon the slave woman, who fell on her back. Quick as a flash he fastened his teeth on

14 In 1908 Mótana and six others, including two Bellacoola couples, went in a canoe to Virgin rocks to club sea-lions. They never returned. Some believe that the canoe capsized. But there is a report that in the thick fog they landed at Cox island, where were some Bellabella of the Kitamat tribe, whose chief is said to have sworn to kill Mótana because the latter, after curing a Kitamat man of sickness, sent the disease into the chief's daughter and killed her. Rumor says that the Kitamat treated the sea-lion hunters in a friendly way, but attacked them sleeping, shot them all, and laid the bodies in a row under a great rock. The Bellacoola and the Wikeno still offer a considerable reward to the man who will find the bones of the seven and thus prove that the murder was committed by the Kitamat, so that they may be justified in taking revenge.

her throat. She struggled, and scratched his face, but he kept his hold, and two other hamatsas seized the woman's legs.

When she ceased struggling, Yáhyekulágyilis cut a hole around the navel, severed the intestine, placed an end between his teeth, and ran about the fire dragging out the intestine like a rope. While he was doing this, another hamatsa was cutting the woman's throat and catching the blood in a wooden dish, which was passed among the hamatsas until the blood was drunk. Then the flesh was cut into pieces and distributed, and as there were many hamatsas among the Wikeno, there was no difficulty in consuming all the flesh and leaving only the bare bones.

About 1867, when I was seventeen years of age, I had charge of a trading sloop for the Hudson's Bay Company. I was at Nawiti with a crew of four Indians. We trading schooner *Nonpareil,* Captain William Stevens, was lying off the village. The people were having their winter dance, and the háms'hamtsus was still in the woods. At Nawiti the háms'hamtsus is the same as the hamatsa of other tribes. We were told that they were going to catch the initiate, and the next morning all the winter-dance people were called into the house. I was on board packing my goods, when I heard the women singing their secret songs, and at the same time in the woods near the village the cry of the háms'hamtsus, *hoïp! hoïp! hoïp!*

Then all the héhams'hamtsus came out, followed by the mámaka and then by the úlala, as the Nawiti tribes call the tóhwit. Next came *gyílkatsi* ["first to go into the mouth"], the bait for háms'hamtsus, and all the people streamed after her. All went to the beach, where four canoes were joined with strips laid crosswise to support the deck-boards. They embarked and crossed the bay toward the initiate, who could be seen sitting on the narrow strip of beach. As soon as he saw the *gyílkatsi* sitting on the deck with her left arm bare (the women at that time wore only the cedar-bark apron and blanket, which left one arm and shoulder exposed), he came running, leaped upon the craft, and bit her left arm. As soon as he was aboard, they paddled back to the village and a young slave woman landed first. She had been ordered to make herself ready by bathing her body and combing her hair, which now hung in a thick mass about her shoulders and down to her waist. She wore cedar-bark apron and blanket. In rhythm to the beating of the singers, who had hurried into the house, she slowly danced backward up to the house and through the doorway, and the initiate followed, while Núnkamaïs, the secondary chief, kept close at her back. Four

times they danced thus round the fire, the woman followed by the háms'hamtsus, who faced her, and preceded by the chief, who danced behind her. Sometimes she would bump against the chief and would look around, but he would only say, "Dance on!"

Just as the fourth circuit of the fire was completed, and the initiate was pivoting on his left foot, the chief drew a hatchet from under his robe and buried the blade in the back of the woman's head. She fell in a heap without a groan, the hatchet still fast in her skull. Instantly all the héhams'hamtsus screamed *hoïp!* and rushed forward. The body lay on its back. Yúmqus, an old háms'hamtsus roughly tore the hatchet from the wound. Brains adhered to the blade. Then he opened the abdomen and disembowelled it, and cut off the head, which he gave to the initiate. He dismembered the body and distributed the pieces among the héhams'hamtsus, not only those who had not yet given up the dance in order to join the seals, but also any such retired ones as wished to participate in the feast. Others slit the flesh into long ribbons, cutting clear to the bone, and severing the strips at the ends. The héhams'hamtsus then dangled the strips one by one above their mouths and swallowed them without chewing. They watched one another and exhibited rivalry, each endeavoring to eat more than the others. When they could eat no more, they took the remnants to their seats and laid them down, and after the dance, so the chief told me, they boiled the meat and ate all. At the beginning of the feast an old háms'hamtsus, seizing the skull out of the hands of the initiate, thrust a stick into the cleft made by the hatchet, drew it out, and licked off the adhering blood and brains, saying, "This is how we used to do!" He thrust the stick in again and handed it to the initiate, who licked it and immediately vomited. "Short life to you!" exclaimed the old man, and grasping the skull he plied his stick until he had exhausted the contents. At the end of the feast a chief passed me with blood-smeared face, and smiled as he exclaimed, "Sweet food!"

About 1892 the Tlauitsis invited all the tribes to their winter dance. There was not the usual spirit of happiness in this dance and a hamatsa, Tsáhâhstala ["holding a strip of dry flesh between the teeth and pulling on it with the hand"], called his people into his house, and addressed them: "How is it we are having the winter dance, and there is no happiness? Now we will find out some way to make the place boil up with happiness! I think I will *hwásа* [to run about in a frenzy, in the character of hamatsa]. I will get a mummy and we will have all

the other hamatsas *hwása*." About a third of the assemblage objected: "We are not old-fashioned people. The hamatsas have different ways now. In the time when the people were poor, it is true they used to eat mummies, but now it is giving away property and breaking coppers." But Tsáhâhstala insisted: "No, we are too downhearted. 'We will get a mummy."

He sent a man to get the corpse, telling him to hide it where nobody could find it, lest the feast be stopped by theft of the food. The man secured a mummy and laid it to soak in a small stream. In the evening of the fourth day when the feast was to occur, Tsáhâhstala sent a man for the body, but it had disappeared. Tsáhâhstala and his attendants went to look, and found it not far from the place where it had been left. They were happy, and sent criers to collect the people. After all had assembled, Tsáhâhstala entered, wearing hemlock boughs and carrying the mummy. There were two Nimkish hamatsas, one Mamalelekala, and three Tlauitsis besides Tsáhâhstala. As soon as the mummy was seen, the hamatsas leaped forward out of the crowd, crying *hap! hap! hap!* An old man much experienced in cutting mummies now prepared the body and passed the portions among the hamatsas.

A Nimkish man was the first to begin eating. No sooner had he swallowed his first piece than his head fell forward and rested on the piece of mummy in his hands. His attendants raised his head to see what was the matter, and he fell back dead. They carried him out at once. A Tlauitsis named Kyémkâlus was stricken next. His head fell forward, and then he himself tumbled backward. They carried him out. Then the other Nimkish, a young man, perceiving what was happening, ran out, got a dish of oil, and drank it. He became very sick, but did not die. Tsáhâhstala was just starting to run like a hamatsa round the fire and out, when he too fell dead. The Mamalelekala hamatsa arose, presumably to go out, and dropped in his place, and the other Tlauitsis fell dead. The people sat stunned for an instant, then silently arose and passed out. The dead were disposed of secretly in the night, for the people were ashamed that death had occurred in the very midst of the winter dance. It was reported that Páhpaqalanóhsiwi had taken the spirits of these men. I think that those who had so strongly objected to the feast poisoned the body.

Hámasaka, principal hamatsa at Fort Rupert, admitted in 1910 that he had participated in thirty-two mummy feasts. When his rival Ótsistalis (or Núlis) gave a feast, Hámasaka of course had to attend in

order to maintain his standing, and for the same reason it was necessary for him in a very short time to give such a feast himself. The contest continued until the death of Ótsistalis.

With great secrecy the hamatsa feast is still occasionally observed in a few out-of-the-way places.

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