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THE KWAKIUTL - PART III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Among the poor, marriage is unaccompanied by formal rites, but people of rank are betrothed and wedded with considerable ceremony. Each tribe, and in many cases each gens, has certain wedding customs peculiar to itself — customs obtained, supposedly, by its first ancestor from some supernatural source. In their general aspects, however, these ceremonies are very similar, and the preliminary negotiations and arrangements are almost identical among the tribes.

The usage of the Tsawatenok is typical. Considering how he may arrange a desirable marriage for his son, a man assembles his family and other relatives, makes known his desire, and asks their advice. Various names may be proposed, and when one has been selected, the most persuasive speaker available, whether man or woman, is secretly sent to the parents of the girl to ascertain their attitude. After the match has thus been discussed in secret, the girl is called, and the proposal is made known to her. As a rule she has the privilege of refusing, while the young man has little or no choice. The envoy usually remains until some definite answer is given. If he reports a favorable reply, the father sends his younger brother or his son to the four head men of the gens, or, if the marriage is intertribal, to the chiefs of the tribe, inviting them to a council.

When the villagers see four chiefs making their way to the house of a marriageable girl, they know what is in the air. Arriving at their destination the four stand in the middle of the living room, while one addresses his companions: "Proceed, and tell them why we have come. We have found that for which we have been looking in at the doors." He pretends that they have been searching the houses for a bride, when as a matter of fact they have come straight to this dwelling. Immediately after these words the four begin to shout with all their strength to the girl's parents, and to the girl, and to one another: "We have come to take your daughter for our relative! Do not send us away! We are the best of our tribe, and have been chosen to come to you!" Not a word is spoken by the others in the house, and the four chiefs depart. All this is simply a public announcement for the benefit of the people

outside. Returning to their principal the chiefs report, "We have been there, and of course nobody can refuse us!"

Then a head man of the family is sent to the girl's house to notify her family that the betrothal will occur on the following day, to arrange with them the amount of property that will change hands, and to fix the wedding day, which may be a day or a year after the betrothal.

On the next morning the clansmen of the bridegroom assemble and carry to the girl's house the goods which have been promised for the betrothal. As they count out the blankets and make speeches appropriate to the occasion, the men of the bride's family carefully note the number. Her parents make no comment, and the bridegroom's party soon withdraws. The blankets are now distributed among the girl's uncles and elder brothers, for they are to be paid back to the bridegroom's people with one hundred per cent interest, and her father alone cannot raise the necessary amount.

Early in the morning of the wedding day a war-canoe is taken to some point invisible from the village, and there the young men of the girl's gens dress as if for war. Soon they paddle swiftly toward the village, singing and shouting. They land before the house of the chief of the principal gens, march up to it, and shout: "We come to hire you" — here naming the gens; — "we have work to do this day, and we need your help!" They return to the canoe and paddle about, but soon land again, pretending that they have made a journey since leaving the first house, and go to the house of the second gens. Thus they invite the aid of each gens, even including their own. After breakfast all the men, excepting only the infirm and the father of the bride, embark in canoes or on catamarans, one of which latter craft has been prepared for each gens.

The Guauaenok always use a war-canoe, in the forward part of which stands a wooden effigy of the thunderbird. The leader of the party, sitting just behind the man in the bow, wears a headdress representing the same creature, and a robe with scattered, white tail-feathers of an eagle sewn appliqué. By gesture and cry he imitates the thunderbird.

The Koeksotenok have the prow of their wedding canoe to represent *sísiutl,* the double-headed serpent, and a great wooden tongue in the mouth simulates the darting tongue of the serpent. Long ago a war-party of Guauaenok met a returning war-party of Koeksotenok. As the canoes passed, a paddle was struck and split. A dispute ensued, and

they almost came to blows; but cooler heads convinced the wranglers that it would be folly for friends and relatives to fight. This encounter is always represented when the two tribes meet at a wedding.

A Tsawatenok wedding party of the gens Kékâtilikálla embark on a catamaran, and when they approach the village each man rises and with a tall, feather-tipped, red-and-white staff of cedar thumps the deck rhythmically while chanting the inherited wedding song of the gens. In the middle of the craft is the gentile chief, wearing an enormous head-dress that consists of several graduated hats superimposed, the smaller upon the larger. His personal crest is painted on the hats. In the stem is a man who holds a cedar staff bearing on its tip a wooden effigy which wears a copy of the chief's multiple hat. This peculiar head-dress is an inherited crest used only at weddings, and with the rest of the wedding catamaran was obtained in a supernatural way by the founder of the gens. Across the middle of the craft lies a cylinder of basketry partially filled with stones, which is constantly tipped from end to end, so that the stones produce a crashing, rolling sound in imitation of a landslide on the mountain.

Canoes and catamarans halt a short distance from shore just in front of the bride's house, and each gens (or if it is a wedding to which other tribes have been invited, each tribe) sings, dances, makes speeches, and otherwise performs in its own peculiar manner, the reasons for which are recited in myths that relate how the marriage ceremony was instituted among them in the beginning.

When this portion of the festivities has been finished, the chief who represents the founder of the bridegroom's tribe cries out to the bride's father: "You who hold the world, we have come to get some treasures from you!" By treasures he means the personal crests and privileges (dances and names) of her father. The family crest and name (that is, the founder's) cannot pass out of the direct male line unless male issue fails. A landing is made, and the four chiefs who conducted the preliminary negotiations go again to the girl's home and address her parents in loud tones, acting as if they were endeavoring to persuade the parents to do something against their will. No verbal reply is made to them, but the father throws a new robe about the shoulders of each one, and they return to the beach with the report: "We have prepared the way. We have persuaded them and have placed the woman safely in the middle of the house."

After various speeches in which the visitors insist that they will

take the bride home and not leave their man to live with his father-in-law, a man rushes into the house with a huge wooden hand, saying, "I will lift her!" He comes out and announces, "I barely lifted her." Then raising the piles of blankets with which they are to purchase the bride, they cry, "Let us take our real weapon!" So they carry the blankets into the house, ten by ten, each time saying, "We will carry this, our paddle." The father of the girl keeps account of the number of tens. Finally the speaker of the bridegroom's party announces in a loud voice: "Now we will see what they will do! We will wait here ten days, if it is necessary!"

Soon the speaker of the bride's father emerges and says: "You have what you wish. Come and get your wife." But the speaker of the visiting party answers: "Wait! Go not too fast! We will add more." They bring more blankets, sometimes as many as two hundred. "With these we lift her," says the speaker. So the last load is carried in, and the chiefs of the groom's party enter the house, where the speaker of the bridal party announces what amount of property and privileges the bride will take with her. "This is her mat," he says, indicating a pile of blankets that constitute the initial payment toward her dowry. These the husband will distribute within a few days at a potlatch. But if it is intended that he give this property away at the marriage feast, the speaker says, "This is her basket." Three hundred blankets, or their equivalent in other goods, are the average amount of the "mat" or the "basket."

Now the groom's men surround the bride, and, preceded by others carrying the "mat," they depart, thus symbolically carrying the bride. They proceed at once to the husband's house, where they remain on the outside with the blankets, singing the family's potlatch songs, while all of his family and his other relations come out to dance with joy.

Either now or on the next morning all the women of the village assemble in the house for the marriage feast, the young wife occupying the position of honor. Formerly the marriage feast was not given until some days after the wedding, and in the meantime the young wife was not permitted to eat. After the food has been distributed, the principal women, one by one, rise and offer advice to the bride, citing the evil example of other young women present and calling attention to the virtues of the speaker. Little food is eaten, the greater part being carried away by the guests.

Sometimes the bride's parents obstinately refuse to let her accompany her husband. Then in the evening the young companions of the groom lead him from house to house, singing and shouting immoderately. At bedtime they come to the bride's house and shove him within, laughing, and ridiculing the girl's family. In order to avoid this embarrassing attention the girl usually accompanies the marriage party to her husband's house, even if she intends to return to her parents at night or within a few days.

Among the tribes of Koskimo sound the husband of an eldest daughter of a noble family, provided she has no elder brother, takes up his residence with her people, and "the house is given to him as a part of the marriage portion." The former head of the family retains quarters in the house, but he is now "only the speaker of his son-in-law." In short the sonin-law by virtue of his relationship to the eldest daughter of the family assumes the place that should be filled by an eldest son. So sure is his position that the father-in-law has been known to move out of the house into a small hut as the result of disagreement with his successor.

For the sake of comparison with the previously described customs of the Tsawatenok, the practice of a gens of one of these west coast tribes — the Wuhwá'mis of the Koskimo — is here outlined.

The father of a youth sends his confidential messenger to the girl's father with a brief statement that his son wishes to marry her. The only reply vouchsafed is, "I will see what my heart says about it." Two days later another man is sent with the first messenger, and they receive the answer that the marriage is favorably regarded. When this reply is brought, the father of the young man summons to his house the twelve head men of the tribe, and they soon assemble.

After the feast he tells what arrangements have been made, and four of the guests are despatched to the house of the prospective bride to see if all is well as respects the proposed match. They return with the news that the girl's father wishes the marriage to be consummated as quickly as possible. Now one of the oldest men among the chiefs goes out to announce to all the villagers that the young man will be married on the next day, and that no one is to be absent from the village for any reason whatsoever.

On the following morning everybody rises early, and quickly finishes the morning meal. Then all the bridegroom's clansmen, even the common people, and children as well as adults (except the girl's rela-

tions, if she happens to belong to the same gens, as occasionally she does), assemble in his house, while the nearest relatives of the bride meet in her house. The ordinary garments are worn. The speaker now informs the bridegroom's party that they must ascertain if the girl's father is still willing, and all repair to his house. This is called "falling on" him. When they have crowded into the house, the speaker tells the purpose of their visit, and the bride's father answers: "It is well. I am willing that my daughter shall marry. Go and prepare yourselves."

So the party of the bridegroom return to their homes and bind together as many pairs of canoes as are necessary, and then carry down the blankets (formerly skins) which form the marriage gift. Each person has a staff seven feet long with a ribbon of cedar-bark tied near the tip, the ends hanging free. These are used for beating on the deck while they sing their three marriage songs. Four men now don masks, two representing women and two men, and the double canoes are paddled to the beach before the girl's house, the party singing the wedding songs and beating with their poles. When the craft stop the speaker shouts, "I have come!" He then delivers a long speech recounting the marriages of the traditional ancestors of his clan. "And so," he concludes, "we have paddled this catamaran here to marry your daughter." He lifts a pile of blankets and counts them off in lots of five pairs, each of which is carried up the beach by a man and placed in the house. At the end he says, "That is all," and sits down.

Now the speaker of the girl's father appears. "Come ashore!" he calls. "Get your wife!" They land and enter the house, where they file past a man who wears a thunderbird mask, his extended arms being draped with the blankets provided by the girl's relatives. These are the bride's "mat." When the bridegroom himself passes, the masker hands him the blankets, thus symbolizing the giving up of its wing-feathers by the thunderbird. Accompanied by the wife, the party reëmbark and return to the bridegroom's home, where he distributes the "mat." If, however, the young man is to take the rank of his father-in-law, the bride does not accompany him, and in the evening he himself returns to her house.

Sometimes there is serious fighting between the two parties under the guise of play. It rests with the bride's people to decide whether this shall be the case. If they wish to engage in this form of sport they await the moment when the canoes, nearing the shore, are still in deep water. Then they utter a certain cry indicating their intention to fight.

The visitors immediately paddle with might and main to bring their canoes into shallow water, while the bride's party swim out and try to capsize them. The endeavor of the bride's people is to drag one of the visitors into their house and thus symbolically enslave him, while the others on their part try to lift one of the attacking party into the canoe. If either succeeds, it becomes a standing joke and disgrace against the vanquished party. The sport is very rough, and usually develops into a rather heated battle. Not infrequently severe injuries are sustained, and few come out with whole skin. Women of course have no part in this phase of the wedding festivities. It is a matter of pride that a woman be thus fought for. Frequently is heard the reproach and the boast: "There was no blood in your marriage. I was fought for. When I was married, blood was shed!"

If for any reason a Kwakiutl couple disagree, no matter where the fault lies the wife returns to the house of her father; but he still must pay the residue of the promised dowry, that is, at least double the amount given by the bridegroom's family. Like the "mat," or initial payment, the entire amount of the tangible portion of the dowry is distributed among the people by the husband in honor of himself, his wife, or his children; while the names, crests, and ceremonial privileges are retained for the use of his children.[1] When the marriage debt is fully discharged, the terms of the contract have been carried out and the wife is free, but not obliged, to take a new husband.

There is especial honor in being many times married and released by payment of the marriage debt. Thus, a woman who has been four

1 Kyáwatsi ("carver's-knife container") is a box about twenty inches long, fourteen wide, and fourteen deep. It contains bits of costume or other paraphernalia employed in all the dances owned by the individual, and hence theoretically the dances themselves with the appurtenant names. When a man gives a dance to his son-in-law, the box goes with it, and the father-in-law must make a new kyáwatsi to contain the remainder of his ceremonial names. The kyáwatsi is the most important part of the marriage portion. Tsét-sehtlunatsi ("winter-dance container") is the cedar chest that contains all of a man's ceremonial paraphernalia. It stands at the head of the house. The owner himself never opens it, but sends one of his men to obtain from it whatever is desired. It is into these boxes that the spirits exercised from initiates are supposed to pass.

times wedded, whether to the same man or to different men, and freed by the payment of property, bears the honorable title *ó'ma,* and she alone is permitted to wear a painted hat and abalone-shell ear-rings.

The dowry is paid whether or not the couple have children. But the more children they have the more crests, ceremonial privileges, names, and property will be given by the wife's family; for the birth of a child involves various distributions among the people, and the means of the young couple are of course inadequate. Furthermore the husband is constantly turning over to his father-in-law property which he expects to be returned in the course of a few years with one hundred per cent interest and some additional ceremonial right. These goods the father-in-law proceeds to lend at interest in order to protect himself.

The dowry sometimes assumes relatively huge proportions. A few years ago a Fort Rupert man married a Nakoaktok woman of high rank, paying four hundred and eighty blankets (two hundred and forty dollars) and promising five hundred and twenty more. As the bride's "mat" he received the value of two hundred blankets in banknotes. At the time his son by a former wife was initiated as hamatsa he received two hundred blankets, one hundred and fifty button blankets, fourteen sewing machines, four Japanese boxes, five hundred pots and pans, thirty-five shawls, two hundred bars of soap, and six dozen towels, all of which he gave away to the assembled tribes. The total value was about thirteen hundred dollars. Later, at the instance of his brothers-in-law he invited his wife's tribe to the Fort Rupert village, and they gave him for distribution eleven hundred blankets, forty hand-knitted sweaters, forty shawls, a quantity of calico, three sloops, and four gold bracelets, the total value being eleven hundred dollars. Furthermore, one of the brothers-in-law, a worker in gold and silver promised goods to the value of twelve thousand dollars: namely, a copper valued at nine thousand blankets, which he had announced his intention to purchase, five hundred button blankets, five hundred pots and pans, eleven sloops, fifty sewing machines, twenty-five phonographs, fifty gold bracelets, fifty gold ear-rings, seven hundred silver bracelets, a quantity of silver finger-rings and brooches, and many fathoms of beads. The goldsmith's brother, a popular medicine-man whose fee is rarely less than two hundred blankets, promised property worth about twenty-two hundred dollars, consisting of three coppers valued respectively at three thousand, nine hundred, and three hundred blankets, and a considerable number of blankets due him as the marriage portion of

a wife who had already left him. These blankets he intended to give in order to "break her highness," as if he had sold a slave for a price; had she not left him he would have distributed the marriage portion among his and her people in her honor. The purpose of the brothers in planning to pay a marriage portion far beyond the usual amount was to raise their sister's name above that of a certain rival, whose family was pursuing a similar course. As a matter of cold fact their final payment on the dowry dwindled to actually disgraceful proportions, consisting, as it did, of two hundred button blankets, seventy-five camphorwood chests, seven dressers, fifteen sewing machines, and twelve boats and canoes.

About 1860 the usual marriage gift among the Quatsino Sound tribes consisted of one to four blankets, and, as a consequence, weddings were amazingly frequent. Almost every day in the Koskimo village, says a reliable informant, several marriages were celebrated, and the great majority of them continued in force only a few days.

In preparation for the discussion of the Kwakiutl social system it is desirable to quote a few of the legends that account for the origin of the gentes. One of the principal conclusions reached by a study of these legends — a conclusion so definitely and uniformly indicated by each and every one of them that it can scarcely be questioned — is that the unit of primitive society in this region was a patriarchal family or village community, all the members of which were supposedly the descendants of one man. In time two or more groups coalesced and formed a tribe,, each component part becoming an exogamic gens. In some cases tribes combined, the units becoming what we term septs or sub-tribes, each of which retained its system of gentes. But Kwakiutl society has not reached its present condition by a uniform process of combination: in some instances new tribes have been created by a process of separation resulting from intratribal quarrels or the operation of economic necessity.

The first man of the Tsawatenok was Káwatilikálla, but before he was a man he was a wolf, and his wife was a wolf. They lived on the upper course of Kingcome river [at the head of Kingcome inlet]. One day a heavy rain was falling, and he said: "I do not see why we should remain animals. We had better leave off these skins and use them only in dancing. Why should we wander about and have no home? If we had a house to live in when it rains, it would be well."

His wife agreed, so they put off their skins and laid them away.

The first thing to be done was to build a house, which he did without help; for he was very strong and very wise, much more so than the men of today. The four posts which supported the two ridge-beams were made in the form of men, and were endowed by Káwatilikálla with power to speak certain words. Whenever in aftertimes a visitor entered the house, the image at the right of the door would call to the two in the rear, "Welcome him!" And the one at the left of the door would say, "Feed him!" The two at the rear would cry, "Prepare meat!" and "Prepare the back-rest!" So the visitor was welcomed. The ridge-timbers projected beyond the front and the back wall, and ended in the heads of *sísiutl,* with the tongues thrust out, and in the middle above the fireplace were the human heads of *sísiutl.* On the front gable perched a great thunderbird grasping in his talons the head of a *sísiutl.* In all this work Káwatilikálla used no tools, but modelled the faces and forms by a touch of the fingers. [The modem successor to this legendary house stands at Kwaustums, on Gilford island, a place inhabited in the summer by remnants of various tribes. The house of the chief of the Kékâtilikálla gens is always made like this mythical structure, and at potlatches and feasts men stand behind the posts and speak through the open mouths of the figures carved on the front of them.]

Káwatilikálla had a dog, and in some manner he secured fire. His first son was Tláwitsâ, his second Kulíili, and his third Ná'nuwalaq ["miracles"]. Tláwitsâ and his father were sad because they had no companions, and one day as they sat outside the house talking about it, they heard a crying sound in a large rock. They arose hurriedly and broke it open, and revealed a youth. "Welcome!" said the old man. "I am glad to see you. We want some one to come and live with us."

"That is why I have come," said the youth. "I heard your wish, and decided to come and be a man with you. I am Tápunt ['helper']. Now that I have come, you may have all my names. My name is Stone, my name is Mountain, my name is Big Mountain, my name is Increasing Mountain." He repeated many other names of this kind, and concluded, "All these you may have and use when you need them." His descendants formed the gens which was formerly called Nínulkinuh ["people of the head of the river"], but which now is called Wíoqumi ["irresistible"].

Again, Káwatilikálla saw a Raven strutting along the beach. All he could think of was how to get tribesmen. He said to the Raven: "I wish you were a man, so that you could come and be my tribesman." The

Raven threw back his feather dress and replied: "What am I, after all? You see I am a man when I wish to be." Said Káwatilikálla, "Well, you had better put that feather coat away. Come and be a man, and use this feather dress only when we dance. That is what I have done." This the Raven agreed to do. "Tell me your name," said Káwatilikálla. And the Raven replied: "My name is Luwágyila, and my name is Kyakyamútlalasú ['folded up']."

"Well, then," said Káwatilikálla, "you shall be the rival chief of my son Tláwitsâ, and your children shall be the rivals of the Kékâtilikálla [abbreviated form of Kékawatilikálla, the plural of Káwatilikálla]." So the Raven man was the first of the gens Líluwagyila [plural of Luwágyila].

On another day Káwatilikálla and the others heard thunder. He said, "It is a strange time of the year for thunder! Perhaps he too wants to be a man with us." Now this noise was not caused by the thunderbird, but by the Sun, who had borrowed the wings of *kólus,* a great bird. Leaving his wings in the mountains he came down in the form of a man, and Káwatilikálla was glad to have another tribesman. Said the Sun: "You may have my names. I have brought many with me. My names are Kéhtlala ['much wood in the fire'], Kéhtlalatsi ['much wood in the big fire']" — and he named many others, all having to do with fire. He built a house, and above the smoke-hole he made a wooden chimney so that when a great fire was burning the flames shot up to the sky. This house he called Kyilúpstala. [A chimney is still added to the house when the Gyígyikumi ("chiefs") gens give a feast or a potlatch.] This gens formerly was called Kékuhtlala [plural of the founder's name].

One day all the people embarked in their canoes and descended the river to see what was at its mouth. On the way they found a man living alone with his mother. His name was Hálhapui ["looking out from under a shadow" such as the rim of a hat might cast]. He had much to tell them, how he had been captured by the wolves and had received from them the living water and the magic death-dealer. After listening to his story Káwatilikálla took Hálhapui and his mother and proceeded to the mouth of the river, where the people built houses. Hálhapui founded the gens Gyágyikyilagya ["those who always wish to kill"].

While the men were taking salmon, some children at play caught a number of oulachon, the first that had been seen. The next spring

when the oulachon came, some were roasted and fed to the dog, and seeing that no ill resulted, the people themselves began to eat them. Thus they commenced to use oulachon oil instead of suet of the deer and the mountain-goat.

One fine summer day Tláwitsâ went walking up the river to see what was the nature of the place in which they were living. He came to a small stream, and, the day being hot, he threw his bear-skin robe on the bank and went in to bathe. Happening to look up, he saw a black bear running away, and he noticed that his robe was gone. It flashed upon him that this was his robe making its escape. When he caught up with it, the bear dropped down and was once more a skin lying on the ground. In order to fathom this mystery, he left it again on the bank while he bathed. Four times he tested it — for all things must be tried four times in order to make certain — and each time the robe ran away like a living bear. When he caught it the fourth time, he thought something would happen, for now the perfect number had been reached. But nothing occurred. He dried his body, shook out the robe, and sat down with his back to a rock, pondering. "It seemed to be frightened," he thought. "I will remain four days and see what happens."

So he continued to sit there, and he was still pondering when he heard a noise like low, distant thunder. There was the sound of the falling, rushing water that poured through a narrow place in the creek-bed, and he knew the cause of this; but above that sound he heard something else. He said: "That is what is going to happen! The bear heard that noise and was frightened." Waiting to see what it would be, he covered himself completely with his robe, and peering out he saw a catamaran on which stood many people, each holding a cedar staff tipped with feathers. With these they beat on the boards and sang, "Upper world, life!" In the stern was an old man holding a staff which terminated in an image wearing a succession of wooden hats, and a man in the middle wore a similar headdress consisting of several huge hats, one on another. Across the craft lay a great, cylindrical basket, from which, as one of the men alternately raised its ends, came the low, rumbling sound Tláwitsâ had heard. He watched them and listened carefully to the song, catching the air and the words. The craft stopped in front of him. He waited, motionless. The chief began to speak: "Listen to our song!" And they sang again:

Yiyahé!	*Kísonuqé,*	*tálatlila,*	*kyásla!*	*Kyásla*	*alálatlila*	*hoskíso*	*gumayakós,*	
Yiyahé!	Crest owner,	hold fast,	do!	Do	cleave to	your crest	on your face,	
kísonuqé!	*Luúmhtuh*	*aláh*		*yánum,*	*kyása!*	*Ómisuh*	*túhwatlila*	*kyas*
crest owner!	It has been	narrowly		obtained,	truly!	Only	it saw	truly
	yakós	*kísonuqé!*						
	you	crest owner[2]						

[3]Tláwitsâ sat without a movement or a sound, for he wished to obtain all the spirits would give him. At the end of the song all sat down except the man in the stern holding the pole with the great hat, who spoke in a loud voice: "You who own the upper world, you who own the life!" Tláwitsâ made no answer. Again the old man called: "I have come seeking life from your lives, you who possess life!" Still there was no answer. Then he called, "Great Tláwitsâ, great Káwatilikálla!" Tláwitsâ crept through the slough-grass toward the canoe, looking to see which one had the *náwalaq*. He saw sitting amidships a man with a deformity of some kind, as if the flesh was raised in a straight line up and down his face and body, and extending even above his skull. When Tláwitsâ was near the craft, he leaped up and ran, and tried to grasp this flesh, but the man shrank back, crying: "Do not, friend! That is not what we have brought you! Do not touch me! I am not a treasure!" This person was Rottenness. Had Tláwitsâ touched him he would have got something bad.

Now Tláwitsâ stood on the deck, waiting to see what they would

2 The thought is that the bear had perceived the canoe coming downstream, and, wishing to obtain the crest offered by these supernaturals, had run away in order to anticipate Tláwitsâ.

3 Tlúgwala, to find a treasure; specifically, to obtain special powers and privileges from a spirit.

do. The chief said: "Go slowly, and we will tell you what we have come to give you. You heard the song. You see this catamaran, as it is. You shall have it all. When there is a wedding, you shall do thus and bring your wife away in this craft." He collected the staffs and gave them to the young man, along with the head-dress of many hats and the staff bearing the effigy. After carrying his gifts ashore, Tláwitsâ returned and reached for the basketry cylinder; but just as he touched it the whole craft and all its contents sank. The young man carried his treasure home and related his experience to his father. Thus were the secondary crests of the gens obtained; for the principal crest was the house of Káwatilikálla, the house with the speaking posts and the *sísiutl* ridge-timbers.

One day Tláwitsâ said to his younger brother Kulíli: "This river is not large enough for all. I think you had better go and find a river for yourself." So Kulíli went forth and found the river Ahlahlho [which empties into Wakeman sound]. He remained there for a long time, washing and purifying himself, to see what kinds of salmon were there. Learning that all the species went up that stream at different seasons, he made his home there and founded the Hahuamis tribe.

The above legend of Káwatilikálla is the only one discovered in a careful search in which the founders of gentes are represented as transformed animals or inanimate objects. In all others they are men who, at the time of the story, are found living in their several localities, or who are represented as descending from the sky or ascending from ocean or lower world in order to dwell on the earth. We should expect the crest, or emblem, of the descendants of the Wolf man to be the wolf; on the contrary, it consists of a house patterned after the one he built, with images of the double-headed serpent *sísiutl* and of thunderbird. As to the manner in which Káwatilikálla obtained the protection of these spirits the tale is silent. Greater consistency is found in the case of the gentes founded by the Raven man and the Sun, their emblems being respectively the effigy of the raven and a hat encircled by a serrated line representing the rays of the sun. The more usual method of obtaining crests, names, songs, and ceremonial privileges is illustrated by the incident of Tláwitsâ and the wedding party. In an isolated place the individual encounters some supernatural beings, who grant these boons; as in the following legend of the gens Walas of the Lekwiltok sept Wiweakam:

Yakayálitnuhl was walking near Tékya, when he saw sitting on a

rock a very large bird covered with soft down of dazzling whiteness. The tip of its hooked beak could just be seen in the midst of the thick down. He cried out, "What-ever you are, I *tlúgwala*[4] you!" The bird threw back the feathers and skin from its head, revealing the head of a man, and spoke: "I am *kólus,* yet I am a man. My name is Toqátlasaqiáq ['born to be admired']." His face was steaming with heat, because of the thick covering of feathers. Soon the entire coat fell away and he stood forth with the full figure of a man.

The bird man accompanied Yakayálitnuhl to his home, and told him: "Give a winter dance, and you shall have these dances from me: *súnqunhulikiyu* [thunderbird], *hóhhuq* [a fabulous bird], *nú'nálalahl* ['embodiment of the personation of weather'], *há'maa* [a large, fabulous bird], *hámasilahl* ['wasp-embodiment'], and *kólus.*" All these dances came from creatures of the sky.

Yakayálitnuhl founded the Walas gens, this word ["big"] being another name of the bird *kólus.* It is believed that members of this gens are easily thrown into perspiration, as was the bird man by his feather garment.

As elsewhere on the North Pacific coast, society was divided by closely drawn lines into three classes: the nobility, the common people, and slaves taken in war. Slavery has been abolished by law, and the depletion of the population has practically eliminated the common people by reducing the number of tribesmen below the number of hereditary titles. The principle of inherited rank is much more evident in Kwakiutl life than in the life of the coast Salish. Scarcely a phase of their activities can be discussed without reference to this idea, and in fact their entire existence is an endless scheming and striving to enhance their individual standing in the tribe and the tribe's standing among all the Kwakiutl tribes.

In each gens is a definite number of "seats," which closely correspond to the hereditary peerages of civilized society in that they were constituted in ancient times, and that to each pertain certain names, crests, special ceremonial privileges, and territorial rights as to fishing and gathering vegetal food. The seats of the aristocracy were created

4 The Wikeno are the northernmost Kwakiutl tribe in which father-right prevails. The Bellabella, China Hat, and Haisla resemble the Tsimshian in tracing descent through the maternal line.

(so the legends relate) at the time of the founding of the gens, since when none others have been created. That nobility can be attained by personal prowess or that new ranks can be constituted by any agency, is to the Kwakiutl quite unthinkable. For these tribes have high regard for precedent and the customs established by their ancestors.

Succession is strictly hereditary, and the eldest son succeeds to the father's rank. In its earliest years the child has no part in the tribal life; technically he is not a member of the tribe. When he has arrived at what the father considers a fit age (from six to fifteen years), the latter at a feast announces that on a certain day he will make his son his heir, and give him such and such a name. On that day the people assemble in his house, each having been invited by name, and after the feast the younger brothers and sisters of the new heir dance before the visitors. Blankets are distributed in the boy's honor, and then the father rises and with the boy standing beside him announces: "This my son is now my heir. His name is [for example] Great Copper. At the next feast let him be invited." The boy now has a "feast name" by which he will be personally invited to every public assembly; in other words he is now a member of the tribe and the tribal council: for all public business is transacted at feasts. Common people of course had no part in the feasts and ceremonies, except as spectators.

Ordinarily a man does not transfer his most important name to his heir and step aside in his favor, but retains his own place until death; but he may give his principal seat to his son when the young man has reached an age of about thirty-five years, and himself step down to a position "at the tail." Legends indicate that this was once a common procedure; but in these days of depleted population the head of a family usually has more seats at his disposal than he has children and grandchildren on whom to confer them. So it is that at the proper age each younger son and each daughter is honored by a distribution of property and the bestowal of a feast name. Formerly, when there were fewer seats in proportion to the population, several sons and daughters of the same parents might receive the same name. This becomes strikingly like a true family name.

Descent, then, is ordinarily reckoned directly through the male

line from father to eldest son;[5] but a childless man may transfer his rank to a younger brother by adopting him as a son. More commonly, if he has a daughter his seat goes to her eldest son, or to her in trust for her infant or expected son. Less important names, along with ceremonial privileges, are regularly given to the son-in-law as a part of the dowry, in trust for his children; in fact, the acquisition of titles and privileges for children yet unborn is the most important consideration in arranging a union. But the principal name and rank never thus pass out of the direct line of succession unless there is no direct male heir. If a man dies while his eldest son is too young for a man's responsibilities, the seat may be given in trust to an elder sister of the boy, or to an uncle.

Various titles of address are in use among the nobility. *Áte* is a title of respect and reverence, and is best translated "sir" or "lord." *Tluwúlkumi* ("eldest son of a chief") is equivalent to "prince," and the corresponding feminine title is *kítihl*. In many cases the chief of a gens refers to his eldest son by a special, hereditary epithet, such as *tlúgwi* ("treasure"). Kíi is a term of endearment applied to the eldest child by the parents and the other children, as well as by one lover to another. Any one of noble rank is *gyíkumi ("*chief"), and the head chief of a tribe or a sept is *hámakumi gyíkumi* ("leader chief"), while a war chief with four heads to his credit is *wáwahs-kumgílaq gyíkumi* ("born to be a double-faced chief"). A person of humble birth, or one who wishes to humble himself for the time being, addresses a noble with the deprecatory word *káqiti* ("slave owner," that is, "I am your slave"), or *wátsiti* ("dog owner"). *Wátsiti* is the title commonly applied to the eldest member of a family by all the other members. So strong is the sense of hereditary rank and privilege that each family has an hereditary name for its dog. In this connection it may be added that the many childless couples of the present day, being unable to give the customary potlatches in honor of children, set their dog in the place that should be occupied by their offspring and proceed with the ceremony of naming their "child" and distributing property in its honor. Even those who have children refer habitually to themselves as the father or the mother of their family dog, without the slightest feeling

5 Vancouver, a Voyage of Discovery, etc., London, 1798, Volume I, plate v.

of having said anything ridiculous.

The hereditary crest of a gens consists of an object symbolical of the original ancestor's place of origin (sky, sea, or lower world), or, more commonly, representing the creature from which he obtained some certain supernatural power or special privilege by reason of his having seen or conquered or killed that creature. It may be a mere mask, a painting on the house-front, a set of carved house-posts, a pole bearing a carved figure at the top. These posts and poles bearing carved images on their front or their top are the so-called totem poles, the totem being simply the supernatural being which, since the days of the first ancestor, has been the tutelary genius of his descendants. Whatever may be the system elsewhere, among the Kwakiutl the totem is never an animal from which the gens claims descent.

The crest of the gens is the exclusive possession of the head of its leading family, and it descends in the male line so long as there is a direct male heir. Every noble family has at least one crest of its own, representing, usually, the tutelary spirit of an ancestor, but there can be only one pole bearing the gentile totem. In many cases the figure of the mythical creature surmounts that of a man, — the founder of the gens, — and not infrequently an image at the base shows the crest of the mother's gens, which because of a want of male heirs has passed out of the male line.

The constant tendency is to a multiplication of figures on the post, and many of them are merely significant of proud deeds in the career of the present or a recent possessor, such, for example, as the killing of a slave at the winter dance or the breaking of a copper; others depict mere legendary events in the life of some more or less remote ancestor. Not a few of the newer carved poles cannot be satisfactorily explained by their owners, and the only conclusion is that the younger generation is willing to court distinction without strict regard to the significance of the images or their right to possess them.

The carving of a post is attended by considerable payments to every participant: the men who cut the tree and bring in the log, the carver, and those who erect the post.

The totem pole was probably a comparatively recent innovation among the Kwakiutl. Certainly there were few even so late as 1865, and these few were nearly all house-posts. It is worthy of note that in Vancouver's journal an engraving of a drawing based on a sketch of the Nimkish village made on the spot shows a number of painted

house-fronts, but only a single carved post.[6] This represented a man, and probably was not a totem, but a "marriage post," that is, a figure representing a chief's speaker or slave watching for wedding parties with dowries for him.

The head of the principal gens is the head of the tribe, and as such is called *qiq* ("eagle"), or *tláhumi* ("standing before" his people). The head of the second gens is known as *úpsikyis* ("rival"), and between these two exists a constant rivalry in the honors to be gained by the distribution and destruction of property in potlatches, feasts, breaking of coppers, demolition of canoes, payment of dowries, and giving of winter dances. Thus also all the other gentes of the tribe are paired, and within the gens exists the same rivalry between chiefs, while many of the tribes are paired in a similar manner. In general there is no feeling of personal animosity, although the taunting, insulting speeches at a feast would lead one to credit the speakers with deadly hatred. The rivalry of chiefs is an inherited custom, and while it probably originated in the desire to exalt one's rank, it is continued mainly because their ancestors practised it. To be sure a chief must be prominent in social activities in order that the lustre of his name be not dimmed; but the comparative rank is so firmly fixed that the people rarely consent to a change in the relative position of any two chiefs. In some instances a gens low in the scale has usurped the place of a higher one, but this has always resulted in long-continued strife and dispute throughout the tribe; in other words, the procedure does not meet with undivided public approval and hence is to be regarded as an exception to the rule.

At the base of the whole social system lies the potlatch, or distribution of property among the assembled people. Together with the practice of lending at interest, it provides for a communistic life. No individual can starve or be in serious want so long as there is any property in the possession of the tribe; for there are frequent distributions of goods, and if the individual becomes needy in the meantime, he can always borrow at interest. If, when the principal and interest fall due, fortune still refuses to smile on him, he simply borrows another amount sufficient to pay. Thus debts may accumulate until payment is hopeless, a condition said to be particularly frequent in the case of

6 This use of the word must be distinguished from the primary use, in which it means one who by magic means cures magically induced disease.

women. On the other hand many a woman is the business manager of the family, and a very canny one too, able to repeat without an error and without ocular aids to memory the names of her scores of debtors and creditors and the respective amounts of the miscellaneous accounts, which include everything from pots to canoes.

The potlatch is intimately bound up with the life of the family. Distributions of property are made whenever a name is changed, a marriage contracted, a dance given, a copper sold, or, failing any such occasion, whenever a man accumulates a considerable amount of property and wishes to do something for the honor of his name and position. There is no word in the language of the Kwakiutl corresponding to our adopted word potlatch; but instead the various forms of the distribution have specific names. Making the promise to give a potlatch is *páqinuq* (*páqum,* having an angry, determined face), the word referring to the feeling, and consequent facial expression, which a man wears when he has determined to "make his name high." The giving of a single blanket (that is, half of a double blanket), or its value of twenty-five cents, to each person is called *tlipá* ("spread open"), because the blanket is spread out and held up as the name of each recipient is announced.

It should here be explained that the unit of value is the white woollen blanket with blue bars at the ends, originally obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company at seven dollars and fifty cents a pair. The value has steadily declined, until now a double blanket is worth one dollar; but values are always given in terms of single blankets at fifty cents each, even though the amount be paid in double blankets, in other commodities, or in money. From former times has been inherited a quantity of blankets torn in halves, which now pass current at twenty-five cents each.

The giving of one or two double blankets to each person is *pasá* ("to flatten a basket"). *Máhwa* is the distribution of ten double blankets to each chief and smaller amounts to the others. *Wálas síla* ("great around" the world) is the name of the great potlatch to which all the Kwakiutl tribes of a given district are invited.

In each gens is an hereditary official called *tákumi* ("holding the upper part"), who holds up each blanket or other gift before the assembly and presents it to the proper person. This is a position of great honor and responsibility, for as the gifts are distributed in the order of the comparative rank of the recipients, the decision of the *tákumi* in

cases of disputed rank may swing the balance of favor one way or the other. Quarrels and fights are of frequent occurrence at such times, when a man or his wife may snatch the blanket from the hands of the *tákumi* in order to prevent the rival from obtaining it.

It has been said of the potlatch that "the underlying principle is that of the interest-bearing investment of property." This is impossible. A Kwakiutl would subject himself to ridicule by demanding interest when he received a gift in requital of one of like amount made by him. Not infrequently at a potlatch a guest calls attention to the fact that he is not receiving as much as he in his last potlatch gave the present host; and he refuses to accept anything less than the proper amount. Even this action is likened to "cutting off one's own head," and results in loss of prestige; for the exhibition of greed for property is not the part of a chief: on the contrary he must show his utter disregard for it. But to demand interest on a potlatch gift is unheard of. Furthermore, a man can never receive through the potlatch as much as he disburses, for the simple reason that many to whom he gives will die before they have a potlatch, and others are too poor to return what he gives them. Thus, only a chief of great wealth can make a distribution in which all the tribes participate and every person receives something; but all except a very few of these members of other tribes will never hold an intertribal potlatch, and consequently the man who gives presents to them cannot possibly receive any return from them. As to those who die, it may be said that theoretically a man's heir assumes his obligations, but he cannot be forced to do so, and if they far exceed the credits he is likely to repudiate them.

The potlatch and the lending of property at interest are two entirely distinct proceedings. Property distributed in a potlatch is freely given, bears no interest, cannot be collected on demand, and need not be repaid at all if the one who received it does not for any reason wish to requite the gift. When the recipient holds a potlatch he may return an equal amount, or a slightly larger amount, or a smaller amount with perhaps the promise to give more at a future time.

The feeling at the bottom of the potlatch is one of pride, rather than greed. Occasionally men have tried to accumulate wealth by means of the potlatch and by lending at interest, but the peculiar economic system has always engulfed them, simply because a man can never draw out all his credits and keep the property thus acquired.

Before his debtors will pay, he must first call the people together

and inaugurate potlatch, thus ensuring an immediate redistribution.

There are several rates of interest. Five pairs of blankets lent for about six months are repaid with six pairs, and this is called *tlikyoyu* ("lend with"). *Tita* is interest at one hundred per cent on any amount from one pair to twenty, to be repaid in not less than one year, and perhaps — as when the debt is to be discharged at the time the lender must give a marriage dowry — not before the expiration of four or five years. *Táhsitsunt* ("take hold of the foot"), or *káhqahot* ("sell a slave"), is interest at two hundred per cent on a loan for an indefinite period of four or five years. A man requesting the loan of more than twenty pairs of blankets says, "I wish you to take hold of the foot of my daughter"; or, "I wish you to buy my daughter's name to be your slave." The daughter of course is married, but her name is to be placed in pawn for the loan. If the prospective lender acquiesces he bids the other summon the people to witness the loan. The borrower takes a piece of cedar, and with his teeth splits off strips about the thickness of a match, which he breaks into lengths equal to the breadth of four fingers. Of these he makes three times as many as the blankets he is borrowing, ties them into a bunch, and gives it to the lender. A speaker cries out, "Is that all you wish him to pay?" And the lender answers, "That is all." Thus the people take note of the contract.

There is constant borrowing at these exorbitant rates of interest. The explanation of the fact that the mass of the people have never found themselves bankrupt and the wealth of the tribe accumulated in the hands of a few men is that no one can compel payment of a debt without first showing good cause for the demand, and such cause can be found only in the expressed determination to perform some kind of public ceremony at which the property will be redistributed. Thus any property paid as principal and interest will revert quickly to the people; in fact, debts are paid only on the day of the distribution, so that practically no time elapses with the bulk of the tribal property in the hands of one man.

A description of the economic system of the Kwakiutl must take account of the highly prized coppers. These are keystone-shaped sheets of copper with the upper portion (the "face") hammered slightly convex, and with a raised T (the "cross") occupying the lower half. The convex surface is coated with graphite, which serves as a background for the conventionalized engraving of some fabulous creature. As to the origin of the first coppers there is some doubt. Some writers have

said that they were hammered out of native metal, and it may be that more northerly tribes did this. Certainly the Kwakiutl lay no claim to having done so, but admit that their first coppers were purchased from the northern tribes, notably the Haida. It would be more in accord with what we know of other Indians of the north Pacific to suppose that these northern tribes secured their sheet copper from the Russians and the idea of engraving them from Russian icons. It may be noted that in 1792 Vancouver found the Nimkish eager to trade for large sheets of copper, while "iron was become a mere drug."

The price of a copper is not based on its intrinsic value but on the number of times it has been sold; for with every sale the price rises, the greatest rate of increase being one hundred per cent. A copper usually changes hands at indefinite intervals of a few years. In 1864 a Haida chief brought to Fort Rupert a copper which he had made, and sold it for seventy blankets. The purchaser later disposed of it for one hundred and forty, and its next sale brought two hundred and eighty. In 1893 it was worth six thousand blankets, and in 1910 this same copper Tláholamus (every copper has a name) was stored in a house of the village pending its purchase by two brothers at the price of sixteen thousand blankets.

Probably the greatest price ever paid for a copper was twenty thousand blankets, which amount, in the form of blankets, canoes, sloops, and cheaper coppers, was paid in the spring of 1909 for the copper Má'mu'quli'la ("taking property out of the house"). The canoes, sloops, coppers, and coin were worth nine thousand blankets, and of the eleven thousand actual blankets which should have been in evidence there were only two thousand, the remaining nine thousand being represented by the transfer of debts in this primitive clearing house.

The purchaser, a Mamalelekala chief, had taken the copper from its Qágyuhl owner several years before without the payment of a single blanket. In the following year he paid five hundred dollars (one thousand blankets), which the Qágyuhl, a thrifty young man, lent among his people at the Rivers Inlet canneries, demanding one hundred per cent for a period of four months, a very high rate which he could secure only because it was the spring season, when the people are most needy. The Mamalelekala, a successful fisherman, lent the proceeds of his labor, and thus when the time for buying the copper arrived, he had not only a considerable amount of property on hand but many

outstanding credits.

The tribes assembled at Fort Rupert for the ceremony, and a first payment of one thousand blankets was laid out on the ground with a great deal of talk to the effect that this was all the Mamalelekala could afford to pay. The Qágyuhl chiefs told one of their leaders to reply and demand more, and this chief proceeded to remind the people that all knew the price of this copper, and one thousand blankets were nothing. He was therefore going to ask that they give more. This speaker was highly regarded by the purchasers, and therefore they added five hundred blankets to the pile; but had they looked upon him as unfriendly to them they would not have added more than a hundred. Then one after another the other Qágyuhl chiefs demanded still more, all making practically the same speech. The price had not previously been agreed upon, but was set by the seller at as high a level as he thought the purchasers would stand. When, however, he grew too insistent, the Mamalelekala chief rose and cried: "You are a smart young man! Do you not know that my five hundred dollars have been working for you at Rivers inlet? I know it, and all the people know it. If you press me too much, I will charge you five hundred per cent interest for that five hundred dollars!" The people expressed their approval with shouts of *Wa! Wa!*

About two thousand comprising the entire stock of potlatch blankets among the tribes present, it was necessary to transfer credits. Thus, when the purchaser had no more property, he would say to some man to whom he had made a loan during the last five years, "You must pay me what you owe." But the debtor, unwilling to give up tangible property, if he had any, would approach the seller with the request, "Now give out my share." The seller then directed that a certain amount be taken from the pile and given to him, and the latter transferred it to the purchaser, by whom it was again added to the pile which represented the purchase price. This process is called *tsówelsu* ("giving out of the door"), the pile of blankets symbolizing a house. When the distribution of the purchase price among the tribes takes place, the amount advanced in this manner is reckoned against him who receives it. The seller sometimes comforts the man who thus draws on the future, by saying that when the distribution takes place he shall receive something in addition to the advance payment; but such good fortune was never known to happen. Sometimes the would-be borrower has difficulty in persuading the seller to honor his draft to

the full amount of his debt to the purchaser, and he must then make up the deficiency by drawing on his other resources.

This custom of *tsówelsu* and the cognate one of borrowing at interest are the well of evil in the communistic form of Kwakiutl society. By these two practices the people tend to become indolent and mendacious. They are constantly looking forward to the time when they can draw on their expectations, exactly as does a good-for-nothing prospective heir. After the winter dance a large majority of the people have no means of sustenance, for they have just spent six months in idleness, the supplies of food are exhausted, and blankets are pawned with the traders. They therefore borrow from the half-bloods who happen to have money or ability to get it, promising to pay when at the end of the fishing season they receive their wages at the canneries. If the lender is in a position to intercept their wages on its way from the packers' hands, he makes not less than fifty per cent interest in four months, otherwise he is apt to be left in the lurch; for the majority of the Indians immediately spend their money on finery, and for potlatch blankets to be used in the winter dance, promising their conscience, "I will pay my debt with*tsówelsu*."

The distribution of the proceeds from the sale of this twenty-thousand-blanket copper occupied a week after the end of the purchasing ceremony, which itself consumed six days. All the tribes were still present, with the exception of those individuals who had already drawn out their share in the form of *tsówelsu*. In this particular instance the seller had banked the considerable amount of money which had been received in addition to chattels, and this caused much unfavorable comment, as well as loss of prestige to the Qágyuhl tribe. For the selling of a copper to another tribe is a tribal affair, in that while the purchase price is made up altogether by the individual buyer from his own resources derived from loans at interest and from sums borrowed by him at interest, the purchase is always followed by a distribution of all the property involved. This is in fact the only reason for buying and selling coppers. There is supposed to be no pecuniary advantage to the principals in the transaction, but a man cannot acquire a name for greatness without having bought many coppers, and sold them in order to distribute the proceeds among his people. The giving away of property acquired in any other way than by selling a copper is regarded as comparatively small honor, for "there is nothing to give the occasion a name."

It frequently happens that when a man is preparing to buy a copper, another secretly comes to him at night and pays him in advance a considerable amount (a thousand blankets perhaps), which is in reality earnest money, an optional payment made to secure for himself the opportunity to be the next purchaser of the copper. This is called *tákililum* ("take hold of it"), or *kulím* ("to anchor").

At a feast of the Mamalelekala in the spring of 1910 the rival of the chief who had "taken hold" of the twenty-thousand-blanket copper delivered a boasting speech in which he cast reflections on his hereditary enemy. The latter made a bitter reply and sent his son for the copper which he had "taken hold of"; and there in the presence of the assembled people he ostentatiously thrust his spear through it. Such an act means that one will "break" the copper so punctured (after buying it, if one does not already own it): a procedure intended to raise one's name far above that of one's rival, as indicating the possession of greater wealth and a consequently greater contempt for property. In order to preserve his honor, it was necessary for the rival to do something of the same kind, so he went to Alert Bay, and finding there a copper for sale he agreed to pay for it the same amount that had been given for the high-priced one, although in reality it was of much less value. Having paid his earnest money, he immediately transfixed the copper with his spear.

To "break" a copper is to cut off a portion of it for the purpose of presenting the fragment to one's rival, in order thus to prove oneself indifferent to the destruction of valuable property. The rival must then break a copper of equal value and give both pieces to his enemy. The contest continues until one or the other has exhausted his resources and is obliged, with great loss of prestige, to admit defeat. It is not permitted to redeem one's reputation by paying a rival the value of his broken copper; one must respond by breaking a copper. When a copper has been reduced to the raised T, which is valued at two-thirds of the whole copper, this remnant may be given away just as is any other fragment. The person who receives the "cross" may then buy the other pieces, rivet them together, and sell the whole renovated copper, which is now worth more than ever. This however is attended with loss of standing both to the individual who does it and to his tribe; but no disgrace falls upon the purchaser.

A rather unusual copper-breaking is described in the following narration.

When I was a boy of fifteen [in 1865], Âwati, the head man of the village at Fort Rupert, came to me one day and said, "Come, Háwi ['loon'], we will walk in the woods." With him were his brother and a cousin, Hé'matsu'lus, and we four went back into the woods. We scattered, and soon the cousin called, "Here is a toad, a good, big one!"Âwati said, "Háwi, take him by the feet, and keep him alive." I picked up the toad and carried it with me. It was not long before the chief found a very large one, and he said, "How are we going to pick up this one?" I went and took it, for I knew his meaning. When we had four toads, Âwati said they were enough, and he led us deeper into the woods. From a hole under a log the cousin drew a cedar stick about six feet long, which he split at one end into a pair of tongs. There was no laughing nor joking. I was sent for some long, slender cedar withes, and then was told to sit down with my back to the men. "Do not look around to see what we are doing," they said, "or it will be short life to you!" But now and then I would take a sly backward glance, and saw that while one held the mouth of a toad open, another stuffed into it something which they took from the hole under the log. The chief prayed to the toad: "Friend, I have come to you for help, to take away the life of Nukápnkyim." Then they opened the cleft of the cedar stick, put the toad's lips between the two edges, and bound the stick tightly at each side of the toad's mouth. At once the toad began to swell. Thus the four toads were used, and the stick was pushed under the log.

Hé'matsu'lus came to me and spoke gruffly: "If you say a word about this, I will some night cut your throat!" He held a knife before me. I looked up at him and said: "I do not know what you have been doing. What can I say?"

"Well, be careful! Do not say a word about it. You know what I am." He had killed a man with strychnine. Again he exhibited the knife.

Then I felt that he was going too far, and I said: "The thing you have been doing must be very bad, if you threaten me in this way." He made no answer, and we returned to the village by different routes.

In the house I sat down to ponder over what I had seen. The more I thought of it, the less I liked the threats of Hé'matsu'las. But Nukápnkyim was my best friend, and he was the one who had been named in this thing. If I warned him, my throat would be cut, but I thought it better to have the throat cut than to lose a friend. While I

was thinking this over and over, Nukápnkyim himself entered. He sat down and said: "I had a spy on you today. When I saw you going to walk with Âwati, my enemy, and his brother and cousin, I sent a man to watch. After you picked up the first toad he lost you. What did you do after that?"

I laughed: "I had to pick up that toad, and some others." He tried to find out what we had done, but at first I would not tell. At last he said, "I thought you were my friend, but you refuse me this favor."

"I am your friend," said I, "but when it comes to a thing of hard talking (the threats of death] it is different. In matters of your affairs with women I am your friend, but when it comes to death talk our friendship has nothing to do with that!" [Nukápnkyim made use of the narrator in his clandestine dealings with women.]

"I know Âwati is my enemy," he repeated. "He told you to pick up that toad. That is sorcery against me. I sneezed on the left side of my nose today: something is wrong. What did he do with the toads; where did he put them? Come, my friend, I trust everything to you, and now you will not tell me this secret."

Then I laughed and answered: "It was only that you were in too much of a hurry. I will tell you." So I told Nukápnkyim all that had occurred, and then led his cousin to the log, from which he drew out the stick. One toad was missing. I quickly ran back to my room, entering unseen through the rear door, and as I sat there a heard the report of a small cannon which Nukápnkyim kept in front of his house. I hurried out, and on my way to the place found Âwati going in the same direction. "I wonder what is the matter with Nukápnkyim?" he said. And I answered, "I do not know. I heard his cannon, and I am going to see."

When we reached the house, out came Nukápnkyim with the stick and the three toads. In his left hand was a copper, and the stick he held like a speaker's staff. Âwati looked at me and whispered, "He has that stick with our toads!"

Nukápnkyim cried aloud: "Qágyuhl! Assemble before my house and listen to me! I am going to tell you great news!" Everybody crowded up, and he began: "My *náwalaq* [tutelary supernatural being] is flying over me all the time, my long-life giver. He came and told me there was something going on in the woods, and I put out a spy. That spy saw what was going on, heard what was said against me by three men while these toads were filled up and put into these tongs as you see them now. Poor men! Because they cannot defeat me in fighting with

property, they try to take a life by the help of these toads! Âwati was the head man, and with him were his brother Amá'hyokyila and the dog that Âwati always leads with him, I mean Hé'matsu'lus."

The face of Âwati was twitching convulsively. He looked down at me and muttered: "He must have had a spy out. I will see if he mentions you."

Nukápnkyim continued: "They had Háwi also, but they put him in a place where he could not see. So it is useless to ask him about it, for he was threatened that his throat would be cut if he said a word about what happened there in the woods, and besides that poor boy could not see a thing through his back!"

Âwati whispered, "That shows he had a spy on us! Take care! It they question you, lie for us."

I said: "No, I will not say a word. I have gone far enough in this." Then we two parted, and I sat down where I could see what occurred. Some of the old people seemed to favor Âwati, and one of them said, "Take the toads out of that stick and see if there is anything in them."

So the toads were opened, and in them were found small bits of cedar-bark fibre and a piece of the shirt of Nukápnkyim. As soon as he recognized the bit of calico he became like a madman. He was always armed, even in his sleep, and now had his pistol in a belt under his shirt. He drew the weapon, fired a bullet into the air, and shouted: "Neighbors, this is my blood-drinker! But I cannot make it drink the blood of Âwati and his brother right now. For love of you, my neighbors, I will do it another way!" He put the pistol back in his belt, and addressed Âwati: "Friend, come and sit here, and we will have a plain talk. Do not be afraid, for I have already fired the bullet!"

His rival went to him with a slinking, guilty appearance. I was sitting between his two accomplices. Nukápnkyim laughed and said: "Why do you not do these things the way I do? There was a man who came into my house. I did not look for toads with which to kill that man! I told my wife to feed him, and when his belly was full, I took my gun and shot him right in my house. Outside my house it is running streams of blood from the men I have killed! A Wikeno chief came into my house. I told my wife to feed him, and when he had finished I shot him. The inside of my house is overflowing with the blood of men! To get a toad with which to kill another man is the secret method of a coward. Now I will take it the other way. You wanted to kill me, and I will take it in the way of property. I will kill you with property!"

He set down the copper and said to his cousin, "Come and break it up." His cousin cut it into three pieces. "Now," said Nukápnkyim, "put them in the place of these toads." After the three pieces of copper were placed between the jaws of the tongs and tied there, Nukápnkyim took up the stick and said: "These are my toads! This is my short life giver! That piece on the upper end is the short-life giver to you, Âwati. This will be you. The next piece is the short-life giver to your brother. The third piece is the short-life giver to your dog, Hé'matsu'lus." Then he gave the stick to his rival, who, as he took it and arose, looked at Nukápnkyim and inquired, "Chief, who is your spy?"

"You will have to go and find my *náwalaq*," answered Nukápnkyim.

"All right," said Âwati. "We will have it out. I am a chief and you are a chief. We shall see who will be broken first."

Said Nukápnkyim, "That is the way to do it, not by killing with toads."

Âwati sent for his copper, and at the same time Nukápnkyim called me to him and said: "Go to my wife's father and tell him to get coppers ready. We are going, to fight it out." I bore the message and returned to my seat. Âwati broke his copper into three fragments, and removed the pieces from the tongs. On one of them he laid a piece of his copper, and holding them both up, he said, "Nukápnkyim, *he!*"[*He* is the ejaculation used in presenting a potlatch gift.] He gave them to Nukápnkyim, and then handed the second pair to the cousin and the third pair to the speaker of his rival.

"Oh, this is sweet, better than toads!" exclaimed Nukápnkyim. His father-in-law now rose and said: "I see that you are having trouble, my sonin-law. I have brought you a copper with which to play." Nukápnkyim took it and uttered a derisively laughing *"Ha…!*" He broke it into two pieces, and cried: "'Now we are going to play the right way." He placedone half on the two pieces he had received from Âwati, and called out:"Âwati, *he!*" Then he threw them to the ground. He wished to take the two pieces away from his cousin, but the latter said: "No! Fight your own! I also am going to be in it." Nevertheless Nukápnkyim took them, and breaking the remaining half of his copper in twain he laid one fragment on the two pieces taken from his cousin and threw them down for the brotherof Âwati. He took the two pieces from his old speaker, added another piece of his father-in-

law's copper to them, and cast them down "for thedog of Âwati."

Then Nukápnkyim's cousin, unsatisfied, brought out a copper. He took from the heap the two pieces given to him by Âwati, doubled his own copper, placed the two pieces between the folds, and cast the whole uponthe ground, crying, "Âwati, *he!*" That chief responded by stepping forward with another copper, which he broke and gave to Nukápnkyim, who at once sent to his father-in-law for another copper. When it was brought he held it up and said to his rival: "Have you any more coppers? If you have not, speak up like a man and say so!" He knew that Âwati had no more, and his rival made no reply. Nukápnkyim called on his cousin to bring a board. On it he piled the pieces of copper, with the last copper, unbroken, on the top. His cousin bound them to the board, and the chief said: "Now go and feed this to the fish. Âwati, your name is in this! You will go with it, but you will not be lonely: your dog will be with you!" His cousin and some others launched a canoe, took the board and the coppers, and sunk them in the deepest part, of the bay.

Âwati was beaten, and it was many years before he could rise again; for without property no man could have a place of importance. While coppers representing a great deal of wealth were absolutely lost in this contest, Nukápnkyim himself lost little, since the coppers represented mainly a marriage debt, which, had it been paid to him in the usual way, would have been distributed among the people and left him with no more property than before.

The destruction of canoes and the less common burning of blankets are other methods of showing disregard of the value of property with the aim of reflecting glory upon one's name. In the same category may be classed those feasts at which the prime endeavor is to squander more food than one's rival can equal in the feast which he must soon give in order to preserve his self-respect — to set before the guests so much that all cannot possibly be eaten, and the chiefs of the rival gens (or tribe), in their efforts to avoid the disgrace of leaving food and thus acknowledging the wealth and power of their host, may incur lasting disgrace by vomiting in the feast.

The greatest, because the most costly, of all feasts is the so-called "grease" feast, in which a dish of oulachon oil is served to each guest, while huge quantities are thrown upon the fire with the purpose not only to destroy property but in so doing to cause such an intense heat that the host's rivals may be made to shrink from his fire. They on their

part must not show any sign of discomfort, lest he at once compose a song of ridicule which would live into future generations to the dishonor of their descendants.

In every feast involving rivalry, the host has two objects in view: to destroy a great quantity of food, and to find or create some circumstance on which to base a taunting song. For example, in traditionary times a chief of the Gyíhsum gens of the Lekwiltok sept Wiwekae gave a tribal feast, in the beginning of which his servants distributed large balls of dried salalberries soaked in oulachon oil. One of the servitors, a fighting man, offered food to a chief of the sept Hahamatses, who for some reason defiantly threw back his head and refused the food. "Do you think you are the only man here?" cried the warrior, as he hurled the oil-soaked ball into the guest's face. To this day a disputatious Hahamatses is silenced, at least temporarily, when a Gyíhsum remarks: "Why do you talk? You were born from a throwing of grease in the face!"

An extreme method was that of Tlúnanashunihl, a Gyíhsum chief who, according to tradition, shot an arrow through the Hahamatses chief Amá'yaïs, one of his guests. The man fell dead, and blood trickled into his feasting dish. It was the intention of the host to frighten his rivals away from the feast, and their duty was to "sit heavily," as if immovable. And though they sat there without visible perturbation, nevertheless a Gyíhsum now reproves a Hahamatses with the reminder, "I am your *kum'ít* ['cause of ridicule']."

A parallel occurred at Fort Rupert about the year 1864, when Nukápnkyim in the midst of his feast climbed upon the roof of his bedroom and shot one of his guests. He cried: "That will be one of them in my song!" and he began forthwith to sing: "That blood on the floor horrifies everybody in the house of the double-faced chief!" (He referred to his position as both a chief in the social system and a leader among the fighting men, the Indians representing this idea figuratively by the conception that such a man has a face in front and a face behind.) The dead man's friends went on with their eating, and said nothing. Even after the feast they did not remove the body. Yet, such is the curious logic of the Kwakiutl, which no white man can comprehend, to this day it is a reproach to them and their descendants that they had the courage to sit still in the house of a murderer who might shoot any one of them the next moment. But had they fled, or even stirred uneasily, their ignominy would have been much greater.

Each gentile chief has a servant whom the Qâgyuhl call *alq* ("blood"), the Nawiti *kyíllim* ("tongue"), the Nakoaktok *ta'k* ("belly"). This is his speaker and herald, whose principal duty is to make all his public announcements. Formerly even at feasts and potlatches all the chief's speeches were delivered by his herald, who received instructions in general terms. During feasts and on other public occasions the speaker stands at the right of his master's seat, leaning on his *qéspek,* a tall staff which is his symbol of office. He never sits. At a "grease" feast when the dish of oil is offered, the chief only tastes it, and his speaker then squats on the ground facing the dish, saying, "I am the one to do this." Then he drinks it down, or if he cannot take it all he smears the remainder on his body, remarking, "If I cannot eat it, my body will eat it." When the feast consists of solid food he takes the dish from his chief and devours the contents, in a very swinish manner in order to waste as much as possible, lest his capacity be too greatly taxed.

The speaker is of the common people, and the office, though it does not elevate him above his class, is one of honor and importance. It is hereditary, and the new incumbent serves his father's master, or at least the successor to that chief. The speaker's family lives in the master's house, either in the corner at the left of the chief's place or in the corresponding front corner. A child destined by birth for the position of speaker is trained to be a huge eater, being constantly stuffed with food until his stomach attains a remarkable capacity. Some of the exploits attributed to these trenchermen are incredible.

When two speakers become involved in an argument, their masters take up the quarrel, and distribute and destroy property — the inevitable outcome of any dispute.

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION AND RITES

CEREMONIAL DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBE

The ceremonial life of the Kwakiutl finds expression principally in the winter season, which is devoted exclusively to a series of quasi-religious performances constituting the so-called winter dance. The right to be initiated into one of the many degrees of the secret society that controls this ceremony is bequeathed, either directly to one's children or other heirs, or, as a part of the dowry, indirectly to one's grandchildren through the medium of the son-in-law. The son-in-law himself

may be initiated and then initiate his son, or he may pass the privilege directly to his heir. A man can only once bequeath his membership in a given degree, but the transfer does not otherwise affect his status in the society. Membership in one of these orders may also be acquired by killing a man of another tribe who possesses it.

For ceremonial purposes the entire tribe is divided, regardless of gentes, rank, sex, and age, into two classes: the *páhus* ("uninitiated "), who take no part in the winter dance, except as spectators, and the *pépahala* ("shamans"), who compose the secret society. In 1865 out of a population of about one thousand at Fort Rupert not fewer than four hundred were uninitiated.

Again, the *pépahala,* exclusive of novitiates, comprise two divisions: the *méumqat* (singular, *miqat*), or seals, and the *qéqutsa* (singular, *qétsa*), or sparrows; seals and sparrows being those who by dance and song have become "tamed," that is, freed from the domination of the supernatural beings from whom their respective dances were learned.

In the order of their importance the dancers who constitute the membership of the society among the Qágyuhl are as follows. Except in the case of a very few at the head of the list, the comparative importance of these dances is vaguely defined.

Háma'ts *(há'map,* to eat). Men. The hamatsas are supposed to eat human flesh as a ceremonial rite.

1. Kóminâka ("rich woman"). Women, occasionally men.

2. Núnhltsistálahl ("embodiment of senselessness"). Men. This dancer is fascinated by fire, and is believed to handle it without danger.

3. Kyénkalatlulu ("leaning against"). Men or women. This dancer always accompanies hamatsa. See pages 160, 174-175. (By marriage the Qágyuhl in 1864 obtained the above group from two sources: the Wikeno and the Bellabella.)

4. Háms'hamtsus ("eater on the ground"). Men or women. Prior to the acquisition of the hamatsa dance, ceremonial cannibalism is said to have been practised by the háms'hamtsus.

5. Nánstâlihl-Páhpaqalanóhsiwi ("grizzly-bear in the door of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi"). Men

6. Yákes ("evil thing in the belly"). Women, rarely men.

7. Mítla ("tease"). Men.

8. Páqusilahl ("man-of-the-ground embodiment"). Men. This character represents páqus, a wild man of the woods

9. Sísiutlilahl ("embodiment of *sísiutl,"* the double-headed snake).

Men

10. Hawáhlilahl [7] ("embodiment of the personation of otter"). Men. An initiate for this rôle appears at the edge of the woods dressed in skins and a mask.

11. Kwíkwasulahl ("embodiment of begging"). Men.

12. Hámasilahl ("wasp embodiment"). Men.

13. Táwihyilahl ("mountain-climber [i.e., mountain-goat] embodiment"). Men.

14. Mámaka ("thrower"). Men. The mámaka is believed to have power to throw magic disease into one

15. Gyíkumi-kóhlila ("chief transcendent"). Women.

16. Sí'lis ("snake in belly"). Men. The dancer is believed to have a snake in his stomach. In his mouth is a section of soft, thin bladder-kelp, which he inflates so that it protrudes like the tail of a snake.

17. Hwáhwilikya *(hwílikyit,* to swing a long-bodied object over the shoulder and upon the back). Men.

18. m'lala ("sound of playing at games"). Men. The ám'lala pretends to inflict self-torture, hence the name signifies how lightly he regards the pain.

19. Nán-kóhlila ("grizzly-bear unrestrained"). Men.

20. Hawáyatalahl ("embodiment of mercilessness"). Men. This dancer practises self-torture.

21. Há'maa ("just about to eat"). Men. Há'maa is a fabulous, long-jawed monster. The initiate appears at the edge of the woods clad in a skin costume and mask, and in his dance he snaps at people.

22. Haiyákantálahl ("embodiment of the personation of speaking"). Men or women.

23. Yeyákyatálahl ("embodiment of the destructive one," i.e., *yákyim, a* fabulous sea-monster). Men.

24. Qúnhulahl ("thunder embodiment"). Men. The initiate is caught arrayed in a suit and a mask representing the fabulous thunderbird.

7 The prefix ha, as in several of the following words, indicates acting or pretending; while the suffix lahl signifies the embodiment of the quality suggested by the word to which it is appended. In many cases, as for example the forty-fourth, forty-sixth, and forty-ninth names below, the prefix ha becomes, for euphony, a reduplicative syllable.

25. Kólusilahl *("kólus* embodiment"). Men. The initiate wears the costume and mask of *kólus (kósa,* eagle-down; *lus*, covering), a mythic bird with sharply curving beak and very thin coat of soft, white down.

26. Hóhhukulahl *("hóhhuq* embodiment"). Men. The initiate wears the costume and mask of *hóhhuq, a* monstrous, crane-like bird of mythology, so powerful that it can thrust its bill through great trees, and said to be named from its hoarse cry, *ho, ho, ho!*

27. Kwákwahulahl ("raven embodiment"). Men. The initiate wears a costume and mask representing the raven.

28. Náne ("grizzly-bear"). Men. The initia te imitates the bear in dress and action. It is the duty of bear dancers to guard the dance house and to punish those who fail to observe the rules governing the privileges of the hamatsas. In former times, it is said, such a lapse was not seldom punished with death.

29. Wáswaslikyi ("dog again and again," therefore, chief dog), or a'wásilahl ("dog embodiment"). Men. The initiate wears the dog costume and mask.

30. Winálagyilis (" making war over the earth"). Men. The dancer personates the war spirit, Winálagyilis.

31. Tsúnukwalahl (" *tsúnukwa* embodiment"). Men or women. The initiate wears the costume and mask of the mythical being *tsúnukwa*.

32. Hawínalahl ("embodiment of the personation of war"). Men, rarely women. This dancer undergoes severe torture.

34. Núhlimahla ("embodiment of foolishness"). Men. The núhlimahla pretends to be crazy, and assists the grizzly-bears in protecting the hamatsas.

35. Kámhulahl ("embodiment of eagle-down"). Men or women.

(The following dancers, mostly women, automatically become sparrows at the beginning of the winter following their initiation, unless in the meanwhile they have found an opportunity to be initiated into one of the other orders. In other words, their period of activity as personators of mythological beings is limited to a single season.)

36. Lulúhlilahl ("embodiment of ghosts"). Women. The initiate performs in a manner suggestive of a visit to the lower world and the return through the ground. See page 161.

37. Awílotlilahl ("embodiment of great gain"). Women. This dancer uses a song composed of the songs of four other dancers: tóhwit, háms'hamtsus, winálagyilis, and haíyalikyilahl. To this fact the name

refers.

38. Tlúgwala ("to find supernatural power"). Men and women. This dancer personates a wolf.

39. Wálas-áhaaq ("great thing, completed, come down"). Men and women. Those who perform in this dance personate wolves in the manner of the Nootka wolf dancers. It is said to have come down in its present form from above, hence the name.

40. Mítla ("tease"). Women.

41. Hámiyalahl ("embodiment of the personation of salmon"). Women. As twins are thought to "come from the salmon," a twin child takes this dance whether or not the right is inherited. Others obtain it by inheritance.

42. Mátum *(máta,* to fly unseen). Men or women. The dancer personates the spirit Mátum, from whom, says a myth, a young man in ancient times obtained magic power to fly through the air. As the symbol of this power the spirit gave him quartz crystals, hence the dancer wears a row of five crystals (or pieces of wood covered with shining mica) along the crown of his head.

43. Haíyalikyilahl ("embodiment of the personation of healing"). Men or women.

44. Tútahlulahl ("embodiment of the personation of laughter"). Women.

45. Tóhwit (in the Wikeno dialect the word means "to walk," a figurative expression for going to war). Women.

46. Nú'nálalahl ("embodiment of the personation of weather"). Men or women. See illustration facing page 164.

47. Múmtsalahl ("embodiment of the personation of mink"). Men.

48. Tlistlinálahl ("embodiment of black gnats"). Women.

49. Yayúhwiuka ("personation of flood-tide woman"). Women.

50. Kohkulísilahl ("embo diment of *kóhkulis,"* cylindrical holes in the beach from which, as the tide rises, water spurts). Women.

51. Áo'malahl ("embodiment of the personation of a chieftainess"). Women.

52. Tlutluákulahl ("embodiment of the supporter of the world"; *tluláhlu,* to hold the hands motionless, palms upward, with the elbows at the sides, the action signifying the supporting of the world). Women.

53. Nánakawalihl. The word refers to the middle portion of the house, the significance lying in the fact that this dancer in his song uses alternately the words of a háms'hamtsus and those of a haíyalikyilahl,

being thus midway between the two. Men or women.

54. Kómulahl ("embodiment of abundance"). Men.

55. Núhlimista ("foolish in a circle"). Men, rarely women.

56. Ám'holahl ("embodiment of a mute"). Men.

57. Nunúhlilahl ("embodiment of a fool"). Men.

58. Hámahulahl ("embodiment of the personation of killerwhale"). Women. This dancer has on her back a wooden effigy of the killerwhale.

59. Kwuqékilahl ("embodiment of the personation of whale"). Women. This dancer has on her back a wooden effigy of the whale.

60. Ku'má ("sculpin"). Women. This dancer has on her back a wooden effigy of the sculpin.

61. Tsúnukwis *("tsúnukwa* of the sea"). Women. This initiate uses a face mask.

62. Nánis ("grizzly-bear of the sea"). Men. The nánis uses a face mask.

63. Númhyalikyu ("one chief one," a monster halibut). Men. This initiate uses a face mask. (Initiates into the last six orders are caught on the beach instead of at the edge of the woods, for they pretend to have come up from the sea.)

Many of these orders, especially those near the bottom of the list, are evidently of quite recent origin, the dancers merely imitating in costume and gesture some mythic or real creature,[8] and not presenting, as do the performers of the more important rôles, a dramatic portrayal of a myth. There is of course little doubt that most of the dances originated in the same manner, that is, by the invention of individuals, the myths being supplied to explain the dances.

Before a man becomes hamatsa, the most important of all, he must have been initiated successively as núhlimahla, náne, qúnhulahl, kólusilahl, hóhhukulahl, haíyalikyilahll, and háms'hamtsus. One who has been initiated into these eight orders is *láhsâ* ("go through"), because at each initiation he has worn (that is, "gone through") a new neck-ring of red cedar-bark, the symbol of the winter ceremony. One who starts on this course but stops before its completion is *wíhsa* ("not

8 A similar process of invention is seen among the Pueblo tribes of Arizona and New Mexico, where at the present time new kachinas (deities represented in dances) are being constantly added to the list of ancient gods

through ").[9] Recent practice permits one to start as núhlimahla and omit any or all of the other degrees, and then be initiated as hamatsa. But only the *láhsâ* can participate in the so-called mummy feast.

Another recent custom is that which permits a man to give a winter dance and a potlatch for the purpose of initiating an unborn child. He himself dances, holding in his arms a doll which represents the child. A chief has been known thus to initiate his unborn child successively into three degrees. Usually, but not necessarily, núhlimahla is the first step taken. Furthermore, many poor boys without hope of inheriting membership in the higher orders are initiated as núhlimahla in return for services rendered the chiefs. There are consequently many members of this order.

A prospective initiate "disappears," either at the beginning of autumn or a short time before the opening of the ceremony at which he is to be initiated, and during the interim he remains either actually or supposedly in the woods. During this absence (or concealment about the house) he is supposed to be with the spirit from whom a mythical ancestor obtained the supernatural power which the new initiate is now to receive. After acquiring this power the ancestor returned to his people and performed a dance portraying his experience and extolling in song the power he had gained. The initiate supposedly remains with that same spirit and receives from him that same power, and on his return to the village he performs the same dance. The principal spirits supposed to be visited by the initiates are these:

1. Páhpaqalanóhsiwi,[10] who is seen by one about to become hamatsa, háms'hamatsus, nánstâlihl-Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, kôminâka, núnhltsistálahl, kyénkalatlulu, hóhhukulahl, or nánakawalihl. (But a nánakawalihl initiate sees also the spirit Haíyalikyawi (*hélikya,* to heal), who is the sponsor of the haíyalikyilahl.) Páhpaqalanóhsiwi is

9 No confirmation of the statement of Boas connecting these words with the conception of "going through the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi" could be obtained.

10 The probable etymology is: puhpáq, to eat human flesh, whence puhpákwala, the sound of eating human flesh; noh, owner; óhsiwi, mouth of a river; therefore, "owner of the mouth of the river where there is the sound of man-eating." The form Páhpaqatanóhsiwa is used when the spirit is represented as distant, not present.

described as a man-eating being who comes like the wind — swift, irresistible, unseen, perceptible only to the ear by the whistling sound produced by the innumerable holes with which his body is dotted. He carries away the body of a man as the tornado snatches up the bodies of its victims. The hamatsa initiate during his four months of absence is supposed to be travelling about the world with this spirit. In every way Páhpaqalanóhsiwi seems to be the personification of the ravaging wind. Thus, just before the hamatsa initiate is to be caught, confederates secretly stationed at different points in the woods about the village blow their whistles here and there, so that Páhpaqalanóhsiwi appears to be flitting instantaneously, like the wind, from place to place.

In the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi live his servants: Kwáhqaqalanóhsiwi ("raven of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi"), who sits at the door and performs the duty of "food taster" for his master by pecking out the eyes of his prey; Kyénkalatlulu, a woman who procures human bodies for him and who, when there is no food, offers him her arm to bite; Hóhhuq, the monster bird who crushes their skulls; Nánstâlihl-Páhpaqalanóhsiwi ("grizzly-bear of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi"), who tears up the bodies and gives the flesh to his master; and Kalóqutsuis ("curved beak of the upper world"), a huge bird. In the Bellabella version of the myth describing Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, the part of Raven is played by Kôminâka, a very large woman who cries *ha… ai, ai, at, ai, ai!* The Wikeno, and other tribes who base their hamatsa dance on their version of the myth, have adopted this character, and the action has caused bad blood with the Bellabella. In the Bellabella myth Páhpaqalanóhsiwi has still another servant, Núnhltsista, whose antipathy for fire is such that the sight of it throws him into a frenzy, and only his destruction of the fire by scattering the brands can appease him.

2. Winálagyilis ("making war over the earth"), who is seen by one about to become tóhwit, sí'lis, or mámaka. Some say that he is sponsor for the hawínalahl, others that a candidate for this dance visits the ghosts of dead warriors. Winálagyilis constantly travels about the earth in his swift, silent canoe, and those whose souls he takes soon die. In his silent warfare he is opposed by Haíyahlilakus.

3. Mátum, the tutelary spirit of mátum and kómulahl. This being dwells among inaccessible mountain fastnesses, and is closely identified with quartz crystal, which is regarded as the symbol, or perhaps the source, of his ability to fly with lightning rapidity and without effort or movement.

4. Lulâlinuh, the ghosts, spirits of the dead, who are visited in the other world by those about to become lulúhlinlahl.

5. Haíyahlilakus, who appears to those about to be initiated into certain women's dances. This being is very vaguely conceived.

The other beings on whom initiates into the fraternity of the winter ceremony depend for their supposed magic power are for the greater part preternatural animals or fabulous creatures of animal form, and as a rule the dancer mimics his tutelary being. Among the most important of these creatures of the fancy are *sísiutl,* a great serpent with a head at each end and a human head in the middle, and *tsúnukwa,* a woodland monster of human form, with huge, pendent breasts and protruding, rounded mouth.

In general the candidates for hamatsa, kôminâka, núnhltsistálahl, and nánstâlihl-Páhpaqalanóhsiwi are the only ones who actually endure a period of solitude in the woods; and even they by no means always do so. Others remain in hiding in a secret room of the house, and on the first day of the ceremony they go stealthily into the woods in order to follow the hamatsa and others when these emerge to be caught by the other members of the fraternity. The hamatsa spends four months in seclusion; on the other hand núhlimahla and many others disappear only on the night before the ceremony.

Various artifices of considerable ingenuity are practised in order to account for the absence of the initiates. Thus when Tláqatsi ("big copper") was to become hamatsa, the villagers who happened one day to be looking out upon the water saw what appeared to be two men in a canoe. Suddenly the one in the bow turned and shot, the canoe capsized, and only one man rose to the surface. The news was spread that Tláqatsa had been killed and his body had sunk.

In reality the figure in the stern of the canoe was a log dressed like a man, and the whole affair was planned and carried out merely to account for the disappearance of Tláqatsi and to make his subsequent reappearance mysterious to the uninitiated.

When it was time for Numúqis to go into hiding he was invited into the woods to play *álahwa* (the hand-game). As the game progressed, he was given the markers, and holding both in one hand, he cleverly threw one of them into the other at the moment when his opponent successfully guessed where they were. But the guesser, by a prearranged plan, cried fraud, leaped upon him, and precipitated what looked like a general scuffle, although in reality only a few who were in

the secret participated. a number of these crowded about, completely hiding Numúqis from the sight of the others. Suddenly they leaped up, and nothing was to be seen of Numúqis. He had disappeared, leaving behind him his blanket, blood-soaked and full of cuts. Everybody except the conspirators and the wise ones who knew how such things were done believed that the young man had been killed, and miraculously carried away by a spirit. In truth an excavation had been covered with a sliding board, which was concealed by a layer of loose earth. On this sat Numúqis, and when the players leaped upon him a man in the pit drew the board aside, and Numúqis fell into the hole. The board was quickly pushed back, and the men above, in their apparent struggles, spread the loose earth over it.

In the winter of 1909 a man at Cape Mudge, having a son of eleven or twelve years and wishing him to be initiated into the winter dance, was ignorant how to proceed. All the neighboring tribes had been invited to the village for the winter ceremony. Learning of his desire, the Qágyuhl chief secretly instructed a man who had just become hamatsa that when he was running about the village in one of his frenzies he should collide with this boy; and he told the boy that he should fall and lie motionless, as if dead. Absolute secrecy was enjoined. So the boy was apparently struck down, and there he lay limply across a log. The report quickly was spread that the boy had been killed by the hamatsa, and everybody except the few in the secret believed it was so. The father of the boy, playing his part, went about with a gun, looking for the hamatsa, while women screamed and scratched their faces. Then the chief came and said: "Páhpaqalanóhsiwi has taken his life. Bury the body in the woods." Confederates carried the boy into the woods, and almost immediately the whistles were heard, and the people knew that he had disappeared to become hamatsa; but many of the uninitiated actually believed, in such cases, that Páhpaqalanóhsiwi had really snatched away a victim. In the present case the initiate was so young that he could not exist in the woods in winter; hence he was secretly brought back and kept in the house during the time that intervened between his disappearance and the initiation.

Sometimes it happens that a young man or a young woman, dancing as a new initiate, drops down in the midst of the other performers and again disappears. a few days later he reappears and is initiated into some other dance. In this manner a person of high birth has been known to receive three degrees in rapid succession.

A dancer may many times perform like a new initiate. That is, whenever a chief calls upon him to perform his dance in the ceremony which the chief is about to give, the dancer again becomes, to all appearances, an initiate and proceeds exactly as when he was really being initiated.

There is no prescribed rule respecting the length of time that must elapse before an initiate may give up his rôle as an initiate possessed by the spirit in order to join the seals or the sparrows. Some of the most important, including hamatsa, núnhltsistálahl, nánstâlihl-Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, kwíkwasulahl, yákes, mámaka, male kôminâka, and háms'hamtsus, are expected to dance in four consecutive seasons. In other cases an initiate may become a seal or a sparrow whenever he can successfully endure the tormenting of the other seals and sparrows and thus demonstrate that he is no longer possessed by the spirit which hitherto caused him to act like that spirit. Whenever a man bequeaths his membership in the highest order he has attained, he then becomes a seal or a sparrow until such time as he shall be initiated into a higher order. Nevertheless he is not debarred from all participation with the active dancers of that order, although he never again resumes his rôle as one possessed by the spirit. As an example of this temporary emergence from the ranks of the seals may be cited the participation of old hamatsas in the mummy feast.

During the initiate's first season he is called *tsíhlhlala* (*tsihl,* salmon cut up ready for drying), but recently the hamatsa initiate has acquired a special epithet, *áhlwuhltala* ("new from the back," that is, newly come from the woods).

To repeat, the entire fraternity of the winter ceremony, exclusive of the novitiates, is divided into seals and sparrows. The seals include those who have become "tamed" after dancing as hamatsa,[11] kôminâka, núnhltsistálahl, háms'hamtsus, nánstâlihl-Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, mítla, páqusilahl, sísiutlilahl, kwíkwasulahl, hámasilahl, hawáyatalahl, há'maa, qúnhulahl, kólusilahl, hóhhukulahl, kwákwahulahl, náne, hawínalahl, wáswaslikyi, núhlimahla, or hwáhwilikya.

11 Until about 1892 the hamatsas were not included among the seals, but stood apart under the name tsátsukumtsin ("cedar-bark boxes"), the significance of the name being that as a box of pliable bark can be stretched to contain more after it seemingly is full, so the stomach of the hamatsa is never quite full.

The sparrows are subdivided into several groups, which bear some slight resemblance to the age-societies of the Plains Indians. The rules governing membership in these groups are very indefinite, and more often ignored than observed. There are several factors, including age, rank, personal preference, the status of one's companions, and the kind of dance one is giving up. The following are the Qágyuhl subdivisions of sparrows:

1. Hyíhyitpa ("sea-parrots"). The youngest boys.

2. Hláhlihlkyu ("mallards"), now called kákakao ("chickens"). Young boys of thirteen to fifteen.

3. Hehaésla (plural of Haésla [Haisla], a tribal name). Youths of about sixteen. The name commemorates the killing of a party of Haisla by the Qágyuhl.

4. Tótotopa ("rock-cods"). Active, quick-footed young men.

5. Maámhenoh ("killerwhales"). Strong young men.

6. Qéqutsa ("sparrows"). Men of thirty-five to forty.

7. Kóquskimuh (plural of Kóskímuh [Koskimo], a tribal name). Men of about fifty.

8. Qéquyim ("whales"). The oldest men.

9. Wáhwahwahhuli (plural of *wáhwahhuli,* a small bird). Women of eighteen to twenty-two years.

10. Kyákyehuláka. Women of about thirty years.

11. Kóqutsahsum ("Koskimo women"). Women of forty to forty-five years.

12. Hehaétsahsum ("Haisla women"). Women of about fifty years. These were mostly women temporarily without husbands, ready for any prank, such as thrusting their bare legs down between the roof-boards of the dance house.

13. Músmus (Chinook jargon, "cows"). The oldest women. In a 1908 this society, which had been obsolete for some years, was succeeded by one obtained in marriage from the Nawiti — the páputla. [12]

It has been explained that a man (or woman) becomes míqat or

12 The list does not include some groups peculiar to the septs Wálas Qágyuhl and Kueha. The "sea-lions" and the "eaters" of Boas belong to the Wálas Qágyuhl, the former being equivalent to the "whales" of the Qágyuhl. His naanE'Xsok u (náanuhsoq) are the qéqesilis under a different name.

qétsa (*qetsí'sta,* "he changes into a sparrow") whenever, through his dancing and the people's singing and his subsequent purification by bathing, the spirit's control over him has been overcome. In the ceremony the sparrows, even more than the seals, pretend to be desirous that none shall join their ranks unless he has been completely tamed. To test the newcomer they utter all the words which formerly excited him, and do all the things which formerly he could not permit to be done without going into a frenzy. On leaving the ranks of the novitiate, he joins whatever group of sparrows is appropriate to his age, and there he remains until his increasing age brings him into another class. There is no initiation into these societies: before the winter dancing begins, the sparrows hold a meeting and informally arrange themselves according to age and sex. If a leader sees in the group above him one who appears too young for it, he calls that one back into his own group; and *vice versa*. In the dance house all these societies sit near one another, in order that if the novitiates, especially the hamatsas, become frenzied, they may lend mutual protection and assistance.

Qésilis ("sparrow from the beginning") is a sparrow who has never been initiated into any degree. If a man desires to initiate his eldest son and the youth refuses, the father may then at a feast lay the case before the chiefs, saying, "My eldest son will not take this dance, and what shall I do?" The chiefs reply, *"Kaihhyúmt* ['put the head-band on him']," meaning that he is to give away property at a winter dance and place the red cedar-bark head-band on the young man, who thus will become a member of the fraternity, though he has never been initiated into any dance, not even the lowest. He will belong to the qéqutsa, and specifically he will be called qésilis. No man who has been initiated into any dance, no matter how low in degree, can be qésilis. The qéqesilis (plural of qésilis) take the lead in the tormenting of the new qéqutsa, trying to throw them into a frenzy such as they exhibited before they left the ranks of the novitiates. They are the ones who lead the sparrows in the fun-making of the winter dance. Women also may be qéqesilis and qéqutsa; as the latter they are designated qéqutsahsum (singular, qétsahsum), or sparrow women.

MYTH OF PÁHPAQALANÓHSIWI

The most important and striking feature of the entire winter ceremony is the performance of the hamatsa, the origin of which is ac-

counted for in a myth. The Wikeno version follows.

In the tribe Núhwuntsitoh [living on Neechantz river (Núhwunts), Rivers inlet] was the chief Núnwakawi. He had three sons and a daughter. One summer berry-pickers began to disappear in a strange manner, and at last the daughter of Núnwakawi was missing. Her three brothers determined to search for their sister, and each took his bow and four arrows. As they travelled toward the mountains they saw an old woman in a little house. She called them in and asked where they were going.

"We are going to hunt mountain-goats," they told her.

"Take care!" said she. "When you see the foggy smoke, go to that place, for there is the home of the mountain-goats. If you see black smoke rising from a house, that will be the home of the bears. Do not go there! And if you see rainbow-colored smoke, do not go there, because that would be short life for you! That is the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. Lest you happen to go near that house, I am going to give you these things." And to the eldest brother she gave a small stick, a bit of stone, a piece of bladder-kelp filled with oil, and a wooden comb. "If you happen to go to the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi," she continued "as soon as he sees you he will try to eat you. When you run, he will pursue. Now when he comes too close, throw this piece of stone behind you, and the next time the oil, then the comb, then the cedar stick."

They thanked her and went on, and it was not long before they saw fog-like smoke. They decided to go farther in search of their sister, and so likewise they passed by the black smoke of the bears. On they went toward the mountain until they saw smoke like the colors of the rainbow, and the eldest said, "That is the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi." The youngest answered, "We will have to be careful!" They proceeded slowly to a small house at the foot of the almost perpendicular mountain, and inside was their sister rocking a little boy in a cradle. As soon as the three brothers entered, the child began to cry loudly; for the second brother had torn his leg on the thorns as they journeyed, and the child was crying for the dripping blood. Said the young woman, "Scrape off that blood, please." So he scraped off the blood on stick and handed it to her. She gave it to the child, who greedily licked off the blood.

This act somewhat frightened the three brothers. One of them noticed that in a corner at the rear of the house was a hole through

the roof, and he said, "Let us shoot at that hole, to see who is the best marksman." The youngest shot first, and his arrow went through the hole. The second was equally successful, and so was the eldest. "Now," said the eldest, "we shall have to go out and get our arrows." No sooner were they out of the door than they ran off swiftly. Without seeing them the woman knew they were running, and she hurried out and called: "Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, there was flesh in the house and it went out!" Immediately the brothers heard a whistle begin to sound on the top of the mountain, and it came down rapidly, as if flying. a hoarse voice crying*hap! hap! hap!* seemed to accompany the whistle. When they reached the top of a hill the sound was not far behind, and at the foot on the opposite side it was coming close. The eldest, who followed the others, now threw the piece of stone behind him, and it immediately grew into a great mountain between them and the pursuer. So on they ran, but before long Páhpaqalanóhsiwi was close behind them. This time the comb was thrown down, and it became a tangled undergrowth. This too he passed, and then the oil, tossed behind, became a long lake in his path. When he again approached, the stick turned into a great cedar, which, no matter in what direction he dodged in order to pass it, always stood directly before him. By this time the brothers were near home, and the tree enabled them to bind long ropes about the house, and to bar the door. Even while they were telling their father how they had found their sister the wife of this man-eating being who was now pursuing them, Páhpaqalanóhsiwi leaped upon the roof, where he ran up and down, whistling, and crying *hap! hap! hap!*

Now Núnwakawi, as his name indicates, was very quick, resourceful, and decisive, and he shouted at once: "Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, be not so angry with my sons! I want you to come early tomorrow with our wife and your son. I will kill my sons and feed them to you!" Páhpaqalanóhsiwi said nothing, but went away, and soon his whistle and his voice were heard in the distance.

Then Núnwakawi had his sons dig a deep hole in front of the place of honor in the rear of the house, and in it they built a great fire, in which they laid a quantity of stones. When the fire-had burned out and the stones were red-hot, they dragged the great back-rest directly over the hole. Finally they killed their three dogs and threw away every part except the intestines.

Early in the morning they heard Páhpaqalanóhsiwi coming.

Now, the body of this being was covered with holes, which were his mouths, and as he went, these mouths whistled constantly. As soon as Núnwakawi heard the whistles, he had three new mats spread out. "Now, my sons," said he, "come and lie down. Remain quiet, as if you were dead." They lay down on the mats, and Núnwakawi coiled the intestines of the dogs on the abdomens of his sons, so that they appeared to have been disemboweled. The daughter of Núnwakawi entered first, and he gave her a place on the back-rest, on which two new mats had been spread. Then Páhpaqalanóhsiwi came in, and, discovering the bodies, made quickly toward them; but Núnwakawi restrained him: "Not so with us! We always have something to do before we feast." So Páhpaqalanóhsiwi sat at the left of his wife, and Núnwakawi said: "Recline against the end of the back-rest. According to our custom, we are not to feed the guest as soon as he enters the house. The rule is, to tell four stories before we eat." For the first time the visitor spoke: "Tell the stories, then!"

So Núnwakawi began, and he related the story of what had happened to his sons in the search for their sister. When he reached the end, he saw that the eyes of his guest were growing heavy, and he began at once to tell about the disappearance of his people. Next he made a story about the customs of the people of his village, and by this time Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, his wife, and the child were sleeping. Núnwakawi pinched the toe of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, but the man-eater did not move. Still he thought he had better tell the fourth story to make the number complete, and after a brief narrative about himself, he moved and sat as if by accident on the foot of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. There was no movement, and he whispered to his sons: "Get up! I have put him to sleep!" Then carefully they moved the backrests, lifted the mat on which Páhpaqalanóhsiwi and his child were lying, threw them into the pit on the red-hot stones, and quickly replaced the heavy back-rest over the hole. From the pit they heard him crying *hap! hap! hap!* and the whistling of his many mouths. Now the wife of Núnwakawi came out of the secret room at the rear of the house, and finding a whistle fallen out of one of the mouths she secreted it in her garment. The whistling in the pit continued four days and four nights, and during all that time the young woman slept.

When-the daughter of Núnwakawi awoke, she asked, "Where is my husband, and where is my son?" The eldest brother answered, "We have killed them."

"Oh, you cannot kill him!" she exclaimed. "Death cannot hold him. Where is his body?"

Núnwakawi spoke: "It is best to show her and ease her mind." So they removed the back-rest and pointed to the bones. She looked, and taking the mat on which she had been lying, she folded it into four thicknesses and fanned the ashes, which flew upward and turned into mosquitoes, sandflies, and deerflies. "You shall be man-eaters forever!" she said. "You will constantly be seeking man's blood."

Then her mother took out the whistle and asked what it was. The daughter seized it, saying: "Oh, I thought all these were burned! Now we can have *tsétsehka* [the winter dance]." She hid the whistle and would not let them examine it.

Now the family prepared to follow her to the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, which, she told them, was called *tuwínatsi* ["mountain-goat hunter's house"]. They found it full of drying mountain-goat flesh and of human bodies with their abdomens cut open lying across scaffolds in the smoke. She said: "Do you want those bodies to have life? If you do, we can get the living water."

Núnwakawi answered: "We will pick out our nearest relations. Get this living water." She explained that it was in *tsétsehkatsi* ["winter-dance house"], and directed them to lay the bodies of their nearest relations in a row. Then she invited them to accompany her to *tsétsehkatsi*. So they went along the foot of the precipice, and around a comer they found a cave, into which she conducted them. Here she called her father aside to the right-hand corner of the front of the cave, where in the very corner they found a door, and she led him in.

Here were three great masks representing three of the servants of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi: Kwáhqaqalanóhsiwi, Hóhhuq, and Kalóqutsuis. In a second secret room the woman showed her father the dance costume of Kôminâka, in a third the costume of Núnhltsistálahl, and in a fourth that of Kyénkalatlulu.

All these she gave him in addition to the meat and the skins, and finally at the left of the door in a hollow rock she showed him the living water, directing him to sprinkle it on whatever corpse he wished to revive. He carried some of it in his hand to the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi and sprinkled it on the dead, who at once sat up and rubbed their eyes, saying, "We have had a long sleep!" Then they were made to carry to the house of Núnwakawi the mountain-goat flesh and skins, the masks and dance costumes.

Before returning home the young woman said to her eldest brother: "You will be Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. All the flesh of the mountain-goats which he killed was for me. He himself ate only human flesh, dead bodies. So you shall eat these dead bodies. When we go, you will remain behind and eat them." So the eldest brother lived in the house with the dead and ate their dry flesh.

Now the young woman knew not only the sixteen songs of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, but the four songs of Kôminâka, the four of Núnhltsitálahl, and the two of Kyénkalatlulu. Therefore after Núnwakawi had cleared his house and arranged it exactly like the *tsétsehkatsi* of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, and the secret rooms were ready, the second brother disappeared at her command, and four days later the youngest likewise. They went straight to the house of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, and except the young woman and her father none knew where they had gone nor what had happened to them. Their sister had ordered them to eat nothing but dry human flesh. This was in the moon when salalberries ripen [September].

Four moons later Núnwakawi called his people together, and spoke thus: "My sons have disappeared. Of course you do not know why they have disappeared. Now I will tell you the secret. My daughter was taken from me by Páhpaqalanóhsiwi, and many of our people disappeared; yet we did not know whither they had gone, until my sons found what had killed them. They learned that Páhpaqalanóhsiwi had taken their sister. He it was who was killing our people, taking them for his food. Now, since we have killed him, my sons have disappeared to take the place of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. By killing him I obtained this *tsétsehka,* the dance of Paqalanóhsiwi, which I am going to show you. Tomorrow this house will be *lópuq* ['cleared out for a ceremony']. Tomorrow all of your names will be changed. The winter dance will begin tomorrow, and no summer names will be used. No summer songs will be sung, and instead of red paint only charcoal will be used. Instead of white cedar-bark only that which is red with alder juice will be worn on your heads. If any of you use these forbidden things, his life will be short. Tonight my daughter will disappear. My eldest son will be hamatsa in the place of Páhpaqalanóhsiwi. And when he comes, he may eat some of you. My daughter will be Kôminâka. My second son will be Núnhltsistálahl, and my youngest will be Kyénkalatlulu. Before my daughter disappears, she will teach us the songs."

So that night certain men went into the house and learned the

songs, and the young woman disappeared. In the morning the people washed themselves in order to wash off the summer names, and while they were so engaged they heard in the woods the whistles of Páh-paqalanóhsiwi. Thus was the first winter dance begun.

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