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THE NOOTKA - Part I

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE Nootka[1] tribes, composing one branch of the great Wakashan[2] linguistic stock, of which the Kwakiutl are the other, inhabit the west coast of Vancouver island from Cape Cook to Port San Juan, and, in the United States, the territory about Cape Flattery from Hoko creek to Flattery rocks. The Cape Flattery people are the Makah, a name applied to them by their Salish neighbors. The Nootka of Vancouver island embrace a considerable number of tribes inhabiting favorable portions of the shores of the intricate fiords that cut deep into the island. Among the better known of these tribes are the Nitinat, Clayoquot, and Kyuquot.

In the north they are neighbors of the distantly related, and formerly hostile, tribes of Quatsino sound; southward at the foot of Vancouver island are Salish tribes, and across the Strait of Juan de Fuca the once powerful Clallam; while on the northeast coast of the island are numerous Kwakiutl tribes, separated from the Nootka by a difficult chain of mountains, but possessing here and there a favorable crossing. Indeed there was considerable intercourse between the tribes on Nootka sound and the Nimkish of the northeast coast.

1 The word Nootka was applied by the members of Captain Cook's expedition to the people and the village at the south end of Nootka island. The people were the Mooachaht and the village Yuquot, and the name Nootka, which means "to move in a circle," was evidently adopted through misunderstanding. It is frequently used to designate the local group, the Mooachaht, but this volume will reserve it for the collective term embracing all the tribes of the western Wakashan branch. Sproat, in *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life,* suggested the use of the term Aht (an unhappy spelling of the suffix ut^{ha} which appears in all tribal names) to designate these tribes, but the word has never been widely adopted.

2 "Were I to affix a name to the people of Nootka, as a distinct nation, I would call *them Wakashians;* from the word *wakash,* which was very frequently in their mouths. It seemed to express applause, approbation and friendship. For when they appeared to be satisfied, or well pleased with any thing they saw, or any incident that happened, they would, with one voice, call out *wakash! wakash!"* (*Cook, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, etc.,* London, 1784, II, 337.)

The first white men in this region of whom we have record were the command of Juan Perez, who sailed from Mexico in June, 1774, reached latitude fifty-five, and on his return southward put into what is now Friendly cove at the entrance to Nootka sound, the home of the Mooachaht. In the following year two Spanish vessels under Heceta and Quadra sailed along the coast, and in 1778 Captain James Cook explored the northwest coast of America and spent a month at Nootka. Another Spanish expedition, in 1779, explored as far north as Prince William sound, latitude sixty-one. Then followed a period of inactivity until 1785, when James Hanna, an English fur-trader, visited Nootka. Other traders, at first Englishmen and later Americans, quickly invaded this rich field, among them John Meares, a retired lieutenant of the British navy, who has left an account of his voyages.

Meares first visited Nootka in 1786, and two years later returned, built a house, and left a portion of his party to construct a vessel while he himself proceeded southward to trade. In the following year his company sent two vessels to establish a permanent post at Nootka, but in the meantime the Viceroy of Mexico had commissioned Estevan Martinez to take formal possession of the place. Martinez had erected a small post before the arrival of the English-men. There was a clash of authority, the Spaniard seized the two trading vessels and carried them and their crews to Mexico. After nine months of correspondence between Mexico and Madrid, the prisoners were released with refitted ships and full pay. The incident gave rise to a protracted diplomatic struggle which in 1795 resulted in the formal cession of the country to Great Britain.

To these explorers and traders the Indians almost without exception extended a friendly welcome as the bearers of highly prized instruments and ornaments. The reception accorded Meares on the occasion of his visit to Friendly cove is thus described :

"On the 16th [of May, 1788], a number of war canoes entered the cove, with Maquilla and Callicum; they moved with great parade round the ship, singing at the same time a song of a pleasing though sonorous melody: — there were twelve of these canoes, each of which contained about eighteen men, the greater part of whom were cloathed in dresses of the most beautiful skins of the sea otter, which covered them from their necks to their ancles. Their hair was powdered with the white down of birds, and their faces bedaubed with red and black

ochre, in the form of a shark's jaw, and a kind of spiral line, which rendered their appearance extremely savage. In most of these boats there were eight rowers on a side, and a single man sat in the bow. The chief occupied a place in the middle, and was also distinguished by an high cap, pointed at the crown, and ornamented at top with a small tuft of feathers.

"We listened to their song with an equal degree of surprise and pleasure. It was, indeed, impossible for any ear susceptible of delight from musical sounds, or any mind that was not insensible to the power of melody, to remain unmoved by this solemn, unexpected concert. The chorus was in unison, and strictly correct as to time and tone; nor did a dissonant note escape them. Sometimes they would make a sudden transition from the high to the low tones, with such melancholy turns in their variations, that we could not reconcile to ourselves the manner in which they acquired or contrived this more than untaught melody of nature. — There was also something for the eye as well as the ear; and the action which accompanied their voices, added very much to the impression which the chaunting made upon us all. Every one beat time with undeviating regularity, against the gunwale of the boat, with their paddles: and at the end of every verse or stanza, they pointed with extended arms to the North and the South, gradually sinking their voices in such a solemn manner, as to produce an effect not often attained by the orchestras in our quarter of the globe."[3]

The Makah, however, consistently with their later reputation for exceptional surliness, made an attack on a boat of the Meares expedition.

"About five o'clock [June 29, 1788] we hove to off a small island, situated about two miles from the Southern land, that formed the entrance of this strait [of Juan de Fuca], near which we saw a very remarkable rock, that wore the form of an obelisk, and stood at some distance from the island.

"In a very short time we were surrounded by canoes filled with people of a much more savage appearance than any we had hitherto seen. They were principally cloathed in sea otter skins, and had their

3 Meares, Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West

faces grimly bedaubed with oil and black and red ochre. Their canoes were large, and held from twenty to thirty men, who were armed with bows, and arrows barbed with bone, that was ragged at the points, and with large spears pointed with muscle-shell.

"We now made sail to close in with this island, when we again hove to about two miles from the shore. The island itself appeared to be a barren rock, almost inaccessible, and of no great extent; but the surface of it, as far as we could see, was covered with inhabitants, who were gazing at the ship. We could by no means reconcile the wild and uncultivated appearance of the place, with such a flourishing state of population. [The Makah were congregated on Tatoosh island for the fishing season.]

"The chief of this spot, whose name is Tatootche, did us the favour of a visit, and so surly and forbidding a character we had not yet seen. His face had no variety of colour on it, like the rest of the people, but was entirely black, and covered with a glittering sand [mica], which added to the savage fierceness of his appearance. He informed us that the power of Wicananish [the Clayoquot chief] ended here, and that we were now within the limits of his government, which extended a considerable way to the Southward. — On receiving this information, we made him a small present, but he did not make us the least return, nor could he be persuaded to let his people trade with us. We had, indeed, already received some account of this chief from Wicananish, who advised us to be on our guard against him and his people, as a subtle and barbarous nation. ...

"A great crowd of canoes came off to the boat, filled with armed people, who behaved in a very disorderly manner; several of whom jumped into the boat, and took some trifling articles away by force, and then triumphed in their theft. Our people were highly enraged at this conduct, and fully disposed to retaliate; — but the prudence of the officer kept them quiet, who, being fearful of some unpleasant event, had no sooner made the necessary examination, than he returned on board."[4]

First Officer Duffin was sent in the long-boat to explore the strait eastward, and not far from Cape Flattery he had an encounter with

4 Meares, *op. cit.*, 153-155.

the Indians.

"At two P.M. [July 17, 1788] came to in a small cove in three and three quarters fathoms, close to the rocks.... The people here all claim Tatootche for their chief. They appeared, to us, to be a bold, daring set of fellows; but not being near any of their villages, I was under no apprehensions. At seven A.M. came along-side the boat several canoes, with a great number of men in each. Several of the people attempted to come into the boat; I, at the same time, desiring them to keep out, not permitting any of them to come in; neither did any of the people in the boat say, or offer to do any thing to them. One of the canoes put off a little from the boat; when one of the savages in her took up a spear pointed with muscle-shell, and fixed it to a staff with a cord made fast to it, at the same time putting himself in a posture of throwing it, and signifying, by his gestures, that he would kill me: I, at that time, took no notice of him, not thinking him serious. Upon inspecting, however, their canoes, I found them all armed with spears, bludgeons, and bows and arrows; I also perceived a number of armed people amongst the trees on shore, opposite the boat: I then found they meant to take the boat; upon which, I ordered the people to get their arms ready, and be on their guard, and narrowly to watch the motions of the man with the spear, and if he attempted to heave it, to shoot him. The words were scarce uttered, when I saw the spear just coming out of his hand at Robert Davidson, quarter-master and cockswain; on which I ordered them to fire, — which one person did, and killed the man with the spear on the spot, the ball going through his head. The rest of the people jumped overboard, and all the other canoes paddled away. We instantly had a shower of arrows poured on us from the shore; upon which a constant fire was kept on them, but with no effect, they sheltering themselves behind large trees. I was wounded in the head with an arrow immediately as the man fell. We weighed anchor, and pulled out with two oars, keeping the rest of the people at the arms. We found the shore on both sides lined with people, armed with spears, stones, &c. so that it appeared plainly their intent was to take the boat. A great quantity of arrows and stones came into the boat, but fortunately none were wounded mortally. Peter Salatrass, an Italian, had an arrow sticking in his leg all the time till we got clear of them, not being able to pull it out without laying open the leg, the arrow being bearded, and with two prongs; I was obliged to cut his leg open

to get it out, as it had penetrated three inches. The Chinaman was also wounded in the side, and another seaman received an arrow near his heart. As soon as we got clear of them, we made sail, and turned out of the bay."[5]

In 1803 the crew of the ship *Boston,* at anchor a few miles north of Friendly cove, Nootka island, were surprised and murdered, the vessel was plundered and later by accident burned, and the two survivors were enslaved by the Mooachaht chief. One of these, John Jewitt, has left a highly interesting account of their two years' captivity.[6] As the cause of the attack Jewitt mentions an insulting epithet and angry gesture employed by Captain Salter when the chief brought back a new fowling-piece with a broken lock. Native tradition, silent as to this incident, lays the blame on sailors of previous ships, who beat the men and ravished the women of the village. Probably both factors were present: the spirit of these mistreated savages was ready to burst into flame, and the insult to the proud, sensitive chief supplied the necessary spark. The following native account of the affair tallies closely with Jewitt's narrative in such points as are common to both, and furnishes besides some interesting sidelights not found in the sailor's story.

A ship came in at Yuquot [Friendly cove] and stole a man, Múqatuhl, from his canoe and sailed away with him. Later two ships anchored in the cove to buy furs and oil, and one day some of the sailors drove the men from the houses and mistreated the women.

With all this ill treatment Tsáhwasip[7] became very angry. He assembled all his fighting men in a secret place, told them he had decided to kill the crews of the two ships, and commanded them to *ósumich* [bathe ceremonially]. They began to do so, but before they had finished, the ships sailed.

Not long after this another ship anchored outside the cove, sent

5 Meares, op. *cit.,* Appendix, No. IV

6 *The Captive of Nootka, or the Adventures of John R. Jewitt,* Philadelphia, 1841. (There are various edition of this work from 1815 to 1869.)

7 Also called Yáhlua and Múqinna (a Kwakiutl name meaning "moon"). He was chief of the Yáhluashtakumhl'ut^{ha}, the sept which at that time inhabited Yuquot during the spring and early summer. The records of the traders and explorers of that period call him Maquinna or Maquilla, but the natives seem always to use the ceremonial name Tsáhwasip. See page 69.

Múqatuhl ashore in a boat, and sailed away. Múqatuhl declared that he had a message from the white men: they were coming back to destroy the people, for what reason he did not know. So the warriors continued to *ósumich*.

Then came the *Boston,* and anchored a few miles north of the cove. A man went out to her with Múqatuhl, who pointed to the cannon and told his companion what it was for. He went aboard, and soon returned, saying to his companion that he had asked a sailor why they had come, and the sailor had replied, "To destroy you." [Evidently Múqatuhl was playing for revenge!] When they reported this to the chief, all the warriors assembled in his house, and he said: "The best way is to have a dance. I will dance *haíitlik* [a pageant in which the canoes of the maskers follow one another in a sinuous line]." All the warriors made preparations, and each concealed his weapon under his left arm beneath the blanket. Tsáhwasip told them that when they were near the ship, all the canoes except his own would go up to her, and the men would board her. While his paddlers propelled his canoe around the ship, the white men would be so engaged in looking at him that they would pay little or no attention to the others. [Wonderful combination of vanity and prudence!]

So the twenty canoes put out, but when they reached the ship at Auqsha, nearly all the crew were below. So the men, including the chief, went aboard. But Tsáhwasip wished to get them on deck, not caring to risk his men by going below, and he said to one of the sailors: "We are going to dance. Will you watch us?" But only a few came up while he danced. Then it happened that a man came in a canoe with three spring salmon, and the cook saw them and asked where he had caught them. Tsáhwasip quickly ordered the man to say that he had gotten them at Yuquot, and the cook reported to the captain. Then Tsáhwasip proposed that some of his men go with the sailors to show them where to fish and to help with the nets. So ten men in two boats set off, accompanied by some of the chief's fighting men. In the cove the nets were put out, and the warriors arranged themselves so that there was a sailor between each two of them. At a signal, while the sailors were in the water up to their armpits, the warriors drew their knives and clubs and killed them all. Then they went back to the ship and reported to the captain that his men were so enjoying their fishing that they would not return until evening.

At the lake back of the village a woman, Hápiyauksa, was washing clothes for one of the white men.[8] As she worked, he tried to seduce her, but she told him to wait. When she heard certain sounds that to her ears indicated the beginning of the attack, she yielded to his wishes, and afterward, as he was dressing, she struck him on the head with a club. She cut off the head, took it to the beach, embarked with it in a canoe, and proceeded to the ship, singing a war-song. By this time the fight at the ship was on. As she came up, a sailor jumped overboard and fell near her. She killed him and beheaded him.

When the canoes returned from the fishing Tsáhwasip again proposed that the sailors come up and watch his dance. This time seven came up, and Tsáhwasip began to dance. At a signal his men fell upon the sailors and killed them, and then went below to kill the rest. A man was just about to kill Chúwin ["John" Jewitt], when Tsáhwasip saw the fight and stopped his man. When all the others were killed, they took the boats and some plunder and returned to the village.

In the night a woman went aboard with a firebrand to steal. As she went below she heard a sudden exclamation, and fled. She reported to the chief, who made his new slave examine the row of heads to see who was missing. Chúwin looked at them carefully, and then declared that the missing one was his father, and he begged Tsáhwasip to spare him, saying that if the man were killed he would kill himself. So Tsáhwasip promised to spare the man. Then Tómesun ["Thompson"] was brought from the ship, which was afterward beached at the cove in front of the place now occupied by the mission.

Later a warrior who had killed two of the sailors constantly beheld their faces before him. He asked Tómesun if he had any medicine to cure this disease, and the white man said he had. He took a rod and beat the man until he cried out for mercy, and then said: "Now you are cured. This will drive the two white men away from you."

At Clayoquot sound a similar tragedy occurred in 1811 when the *Tonquin,* a ship of the Pacific Fur Company (the Astor enterprise), after a partially successful attack by the Indians, was blown up by a member of the crew. All perished.

8 According to Jewett the steward had been put ashore by the fishermen to wash the captain's clothes.

The physical characteristics of the Nootka cannot be better described than in the words of Cook, or perhaps we should say of the ethnologist who accompanied him.

"The persons of the natives are, in general, under the common stature; but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft fleshiness seem ever to swell into corpulence; and many of the older people are rather spare, or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full; and sometimes, also, broad, with large prominent cheeks; and, above these, the face is frequently much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples; the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils, and a rounded point. The forehead rather low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling; the mouth round, with large round thickish lips; the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin; which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers, or mustachios; both on the upper lip, and running from thence toward the lower jaw obliquely downward. Their eye-brows are also scanty, and always narrow. ... The neck is short; the arms and body have no particular mark of beauty or elegance in their formation, but are rather clumsy; and the limbs, in all, are very small in proportion to the other parts, and crooked, or ill made, with large feet badly shaped, and projecting ankles. This last defect seems, in a great measure, to arise from their sitting so much on their hams or knees, both in their canoes and houses.

"Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were encrusted with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness.... Upon the whole, a very remarkable sameness seems to characterize the countenances of the whole nation; a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them.

"The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form, with the men; from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who were in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome."[9]

As to their mentality, it is sufficient to say that it ranks no higher than their physical attractiveness. They believe, of course, that the earth is flat, but have never speculated as to its extent or the shape of its boundaries. The celestial orbs are thought to pass over and under the earth, but as to the nature of these bodies the Nootka possess no opinion. The tides have so important a bearing on their daily existence that their recurrence is accurately anticipated, but the Nootka mind is a blank when asked to explain the phenomenon. For all that, it must not be inferred that the Nootka is an utter savage; he possesses a relatively abundant mythology, and in the product of his hands he stands high among the natives of northern America.

In their clothing and ornaments the Nootka were like the Kwakiutl, the men wearing a cedar-bark or fur robe pinned together at the right side, and the women a bark apron and a robe. Common people used a hat of red-cedar bark, and the nobility a spruce-root hat; and a bark cape protected the upper part of the body from rain. Ornaments for men and women of high rank were abalone-shell nose-rings, and dentalium shells suspended from the ears (or from the braided hair of women). Women also used bracelets woven from the long, white fibres of bracken roots, and tight anklets of deerskin, which were intended to keep the ankles slender. Makah girls had straight lines tattooed along the calves, forearms, and hands, but the men limited this ornamentation to their forearms. The Clayoquot usually tattooed a ring around the ankles of female children by stitching a fish-line through the skin and drawing after it a nettle-fibre blackened with elderberry-wood charcoal. Their men did not tattoo. Ears were pierced by means of an eagle wing-bone sharpened like a harnessmaker's punch, so that it actually cut out a disc of cartilage. The infant's ear was pressed down on a block of wood, and the man whose profession this was struck the punch a sharp blow. Only one hole was made in each ear at the first

9 Cook, *op. cit.*, II, 301 *et seq.*

piercing, but in later life others were added. Sometimes the holes were a quarter of an inch in diameter. Chiefs wore abalone-shell pendants in the lowest hole, and feathers of the eagle, owl, or hawk in the others. This of course was only for special occasions. At such times common men placed in each hole a small plug of syringa wood with streamers of yellow-cedar bark fastened to the ends, and in the nasal septum a thin, four-inch sliver.

Men permitted the hair to hang loosely, or twisted it into a knot at the crown of the head, sometimes intertwining cedar-bark or fragrant grass. Women parted their hair in the middle and arranged it in two braids, which hung down the back. The heads of all infants were flattened by compression.

The primitive Nootka houses were irregularly placed, end to end and facing the water. The roof sloped slightly, usually from the front. Generally there were five posts at the front and five at the back, hewed to one by two feet and set with the narrower edge toward the beach. The tops were hollowed out to receive the two twelve-inch lintels, on which, connecting each pair of posts, was placed a rafter tapering from one foot at the front to six inches at the rear, and tied down with cedar withes. A series of poles crossing the rafters supported the flat roof-boards. Wallboards were horizontal.

Cook and Meares give interesting descriptions of native houses and settlements. Of the village Yuquot, at the entrance to Nootka sound, Captain Cook says:

"The village at the entrance of the Sound stands on the side of a rising ground, which has a pretty steep ascent from the beach to the verge of the wood, in which space it is situated.

"The houses are disposed in three ranges or rows, rising gradually behind each other; the largest being that in front, and the others less; besides a few straggling, or single ones, at each end. These ranges are interrupted or disjoined at irregular distances, by narrow paths, or lanes, that pass upward; but those which run in the direction of the houses, between the rows, are much broader. Though there be some appearance of regularity in this disposition, there is none in the single houses; for each of the divisions, made by the paths, may be considered either as one house, or as many; there being no regular or complete separation, either without or within, to distinguish them by. They are built of very long and broad planks, resting upon the edges of each other,

fastened or tied by withes of pine bark, here and there; and have only slender posts, or rather poles, at considerable distances, on the outside, to which they also are tied; but within are some larger poles placed aslant. The height of the sides and ends of these habitations, is seven or eight feet; but the back part is a little higher, by which means the planks, that compose the roof, slant forward, and are laid on loose, so as to be moved about; either to be put close, to exclude the rain, or, in fair weather, to be separated, to let in the light, and carry out the smoke. They are, however, upon the whole, miserable dwellings, and constructed with little care or ingenuity. For, though the side-planks be made to fit pretty closely in some places, in others they are quite open; and there are no regular doors into them; the only way of entrance being either by a hole, where the unequal length of the planks has accidentally left an opening; or, in some cases, the planks are made to pass a little beyond each other, or overlap, about two feet asunder; and the entrance is in this space. There are also holes, or windows, in the sides of the houses to look out at; but without any regularity of shape or disposition; and these have bits of mat hung before them, to prevent the rain getting in.

"On the inside, one may frequently see from one end to the other of these ranges of building without interruption. For though, in general, there be the rudiments, or rather vestiges, of separations on each side, for the accommodation of different families, they are such as do not intercept the sight; and often consist of no more than pieces of plank, running from the side toward the middle of the house; so that, if they were complete, the whole might be compared to a long stable, with a double range of stalls, and a broad passage in the middle. Close to the sides, in each of these parts, is a little bench of boards, raised five or six inches higher than the rest of the floor, and covered with mats, on which the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long, and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fire-place, which has neither hearth nor chimney. In one house, which was in the end of a middle range, almost quite separated from the rest by a high close partition, and the most regular, as to design, of any that I saw, there were four of these benches; each of which held a single family, at a corner, but without any separation by boards; and the middle part of the house appeared common to them all.

"Their furniture consists chiefly of a great number of chests and boxes of all sizes, which are generally piled upon each other, close to the sides or ends of the house; and contain their spare garments, skins, masks, and other things which they set a value upon. Some of these are double, or one covers the other as a lid; others have a lid fastened with thongs; and some of the very large ones have a square hole, or scuttle, cut in the upper part; by which the things are put in and taken out. They are often painted black, studded with the teeth of different animals, or carved with a kind of freeze-work, and figures of birds or animals, as decorations. Their other domestic utensils are mostly square and oblong pails or buckets to hold water and other things; round wooden cups and bowls; and small shallow wooden troughs, about two feet long, out of which they eat their food; and baskets of twigs, bags of matting, &c. Their fishing implements, and other things also, lie or hang up in different parts of the house, but without the least order; so that the whole is a complete scene of confusion; and the only places that do not partake of this confusion are the sleeping-benches, that have nothing on them but the mats; which are also cleaner, or of a finer sort, than those they commonly have to sit on in their boats.

"The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion. For, as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which, with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lie everywhere in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away, till it becomes troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties; every thing in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke.

"But, amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly, or by pairs, at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face; the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is *Klumma* [*tlámma,* a house-post]; and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses, were *Natchkoa* and *Matseeta*.... A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part hung before them, which the natives were not willing, at all times, to remove; and

when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner."[10]

A much more pretentious dwelling in the Clayoquot village is described by Meares.

"On entering the house, we were absolutely astonished at the vast area it enclosed. It contained a large square, boarded up close on all sides to the height of twenty feet, with planks of an uncommon breadth and length. Three enormous trees, rudely carved and painted, formed the rafters, which were supported at the ends and in the middle by gigantic images, carved out of huge blocks of timber. The same kind of broad planks covered the whole to keep out the rain; but they were so placed as to be removed at pleasure, either to receive the air and light, or let out the smoke. In the middle of this spacious room were several fires, and beside them large wooden vessels filled with fish soup. Large slices of whale's flesh lay in a state of preparation to be put in similar machines filled with water, into which the women, with a kind of tongs, conveyed hot stones from very fierce fires, in order to make it boil: — heaps of fish were strewed about, and in this central part of the place, which might very properly be called the kitchen, stood large seal-skins filled with oil, from whence the guests were served with that delicious beverage.

"The trees that supported the roof were of a size which would render the mast of a first-rate man of war diminutive, on a comparison with them; indeed our curiosity as well as our astonishment was on its utmost stretch, when we considered the strength that must be necessary to raise these enormous beams to their present elevation; and how such strength could be found by a people wholly unacquainted with mechanic powers. The door by which we entered this extraordinary fabric, was the mouth of one of these huge images, which, large as it may be supposed, was not disproportioned to the other features of this monstrous visage. We ascended by a few steps on the outside, and after passing this extraordinary kind of portal, descended down the chin into the house, where we found new matter for astonishment in the number of men, women, and children, who composed the family of the chief; which consisted of at least eight hundred persons. [Evidently

10 Cook, *op. cit.,* 11, 313 *et seq.*

the entire population had assembled in the chief's house.] These were divided into groupes, according to their respective offices, which had their distinct places assigned them. The whole of the building was surrounded by a bench, about two feet from the ground, on which the various inhabitants sat, eat, and slept. The chief appeared at the upper end of the room, surrounded by natives of rank, on a small raised platform, round which were placed several large chests, over which hung bladders of oil, large slices of whale's flesh, and proportionable gobbets of blubber. Festoons of human sculls, arranged with some attention to uniformity, were disposed in almost every part where they could be placed, and were considered as a very splendid decoration of the royal appartment.

"When we appeared, the guests had made a considerable advance in their banquet. Before each person was placed a large slice of boiled whale, which, with small wooden dishes, filled with oil and fish soup, and a large muscle-shell, by way of spoon, composed the economy of the table. The servants were busily employed in preparing to replenish the several dishes as they were emptied, and the women in picking and opening the bark of a tree which served the purpose of towels."[11]

The average dimensions of houses about the middle of the nineteenth century were sixty feet in frontage, thirty in depth, fifteen in height at the front and ten at the back.

The principal industries were woodworking, basketry, hunting, fishing, gathering vegetal products, and the preparation of these vegetal and animal foods for consumption. The implements employed in these occupations and the products yielded by them were practically identical with those of the Kwakiutl.

"Their great dexterity in works of wood, may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools. For, as far as we know, they use no other; at least, we saw only one chissel of bone. And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which is now universally used in their various wooden works. The chissel and the knife, are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst

11 Meares, *op. cit.,* 138 *et seq.*

them."[12]

The highly important whaling industry however does not belong to the Kwakiutl, and deserves a detailed account. A feat so remarkable as the killing of a whale with the means possessed by primitive men is inexplicable to the Indian except on the ground that the hunter has the active assistance of a supernatural being. Therefore the whaler and his wife observe a long and exacting course of purification, which includes sexual continence and morning and evening baths at frequent intervals from October until the end of the whaling season, which begins in May and ends about the last of June. Prayers and numerous songs form a part of every whaler's ritual. The secrets of the profession are handed down from father to son. As soon as the boy is old enough to comprehend such matters and to remember his father's words, he is permitted to accompany the whaling crew on short expeditions. Now also begins his instruction concerning the most propitious spots for ceremonial bathing — places in lakes and rivers considered most dangerous. At the age of perhaps twelve he is taken at night and shown how to bathe and to rub his body with hemlock sprigs so as to remove the human taint and render the body acceptable to the whale spirit which is being supplicated. Thereafter he bathes alone at intervals, while his instruction in prayers and songs continues until the father deems it proper to retire in the young man's favor.

The most successful whalers are those who, even though they inherited the profession, have found an object which represents the supernatural whale. This object is either a double-headed, black worm eleven inches long and an inch and a half thick, or a certain species of crab. Seeing either of these creatures, a man must throw his spear at it. If it be the worm, he takes it up and preserves it as a charm; if the crab, he removes the right claw and the breast of the shell.

The whaling harpoon consists of a very heavy yew shaft fourteen feet long and a large mussel-shell blade bound with whale-sinew and spruce-gum to a barbed socket of bone or elk-horn. A four-fathom line, one inch thick, of plaited whale-sinew wound with nettle-fibre is attached to the socket and passes along the shaft through several easily broken rings of thread. Then follow an eight-fathom length of plait-

12 Cook, op. *cit.,* II, 329-330.

ed cedar withes an inch and a quarter thick, a twenty-fathom length three-quarters of an inch thick, and a thirty-fathom length half an inch thick. At the end of the sinew line is a hair-seal skin float, another is tied to the next section of rope, and a third at the end of the line.

A whaling expedition consists of several canoes of medium size manned by crews of eight — harpooner, steersman, and six paddlers. The harpooner is the supposed possessor of supernatural assistance, but the others practise continence and purification by bathing for a short time immediately before the opening of the season.

Generally the whalers embark only when a whale has been heard or seen from shore. If there is but one whale, the canoes race for the prize, but if there are more they direct their attention to separate whales, unless one of them be particularly large. If a father and son are in separate canoes, they generally make for the same whale, the father showing the young man every possible favor. Several canoes in pursuit of a single whale, when they near their prey, approach it in single file, in order to minimize the possibility of disturbing the creature.

Whales usually rise two to four times in rapid succession, going eight to twelve fathoms each time. Knowing this, the men can guess with fair accuracy where the cetacean will next appear, and paddling with all their strength while the whale is spouting, they manage to approach so closely that it can be seen beneath the water. All except the leading canoe now hold back, so as not to alarm the whale, and the others paddle swiftly to a position very close to the right of the spouting whale's tail. Just as the animal sinks beneath the surface, and its tail is powerless to damage the craft, the harpooner gives a powerful lunge with his weapon and implants the blade in its side.

The whale plunges down, but reappears within fifteen minutes. The captain now grasps the float at the end of the line and calls on the other canoes for help, promising certain portions to those who succeed in planting their harpoons. The fact that the medley of shouts and splashing of paddles and thrashing of the wounded whale completely drown his voice matters not, for there are rigidly observed rules concerning the apportionment of certain parts of the carcass to the harpooners according to the order in which they implant their weapons. The first harpoon is the only one with three floats, the other spearsmen using lines with one each and reserving their own lines with three floats for the possibility of encountering another whale.

When the wounded whale becomes quiescent, the canoemen paddle up closer and throw into his head small harpoons with small floats of hair-seal skin on two feet of sinew line, in order to buoy up the head and render towing easier. The whale being almost exhausted, they come alongside and hurl into his body harpoons without lines or floats, recovering the shaft by means of a short line; and when the animal ceases to struggle, the first crew draws in its line, leaving only the length of sinew line and its float attached to the harpoon blade. Then one of them dives and cuts a hole through the lower lip and ties in it the eight-fathom length of line. The other end is passed through a hole cut in the upper lip and is made fast to the canoe, and thus with the assistance of the other canoes the prey is towed ashore, the crews joining in the towing songs.

The prize is beached in front ofthe house of the successful whaler, who now marks out the portion for each man of the participating crews. His own share is a wide section of the back next the fin, which he gives away or sells, not daring to eat of it himself, lest he have difficulty in killing more whales. Each man cuts off his own share. The whale most commonly taken was the gray whale *(Rhachianectes glaucus),* a species that attains a length of thirty-five to forty-four feet.

The following account of the origin and practice of whaling was obtained from a Clayoquot whaler by George Hunt, the half-blood authority on Kwakiutl life, and except for grammatical correction and occasional abbreviation it is let as he recorded it. While partially legendary, the narration presents a correct picture of the customs attendant on the pursuit of the whale.

Once there lived at the place which is named Yahksis [Iyák^{ha}sis][13] many people of the Kelsemaht [Kihltsumaút^{ha}] tribe, and in this village they had two chiefs. The first one's name was Tsátsotatlmé, and his rival, the other chief, was Tséihsot; and he was a hair-seal spearer, and also the other chief was a hair-seal spearer.

One day in a feast that was given by Tséihsot, for he gave a feast of one hundred hair-seals, Tsátsotatlmé felt that he was badly beaten, and after the feast he went to his house, and as he was downcast he went into his bedroom, and lay down to sleep. And while he was sleeping,

13 Yaksis village, on Vargas island opposite Clayoquot, is still inhabited.

he dreamed that a man came to him, a kindly-faced man, and spoke very kindly to Tsátsotatlmé, and said, "My friend, if you will tell me what makes you feel so sad, I will tell you something that will make you happy."

And Tsátsotatlmé told the stranger how his enemy Tséihsot had given a feast of one hundred hair-seals, and he said, "I do not know how I can get that many hair-seals to give a feast of that kind to my people, and now all of my rival's people are laughing at me; for I am badly beaten by Tséihsot."

Then the stranger said: "Now, my friend Tsátsotatlmé, you and Tséihsot are hair-seal spearers. But now I will tell you something that will make you spear something greater than hair-seals; and that will be the large fish, the whale, which never yet has been killed by any in the world. But you must wash yourself in the lake for four days, to have yourself as clean as you can, and then I will come to tell you what kind of bushes you have to rub on your body while you are washing yourself. This is to purify yourself in the water. After you have done this for four days I will show you the whale that you will spear," said the stranger as he disappeared.

And then Tsátsotatlmé woke from his sleep, and found that it was late in the night. He said to himself, "Now I will go up the river this very night to wash myself clean, as I am told by my stranger friend." As he said this he put on his black bear skin robe and went out through the back door. He walked toward a small stream and followed it up to a small lake, and there he sat down and threw off his bear-skin blanket. Then he broke off some hemlock sprigs one span in length and tied them together in four bunches. There were four pieces in each bunch.

He put them down at the water's edge, then he walked into the water and sat down to soak his skin well. Then he heard a voice speaking to him, and it said: "My friend Tsátsotatlmé, if you want to get what I promised you, put your head under the water four times, and stay under as long as you can. And after you have done that four times, then take one of the bunches of hemlock and rub it all over your body on the left side, and after you have all the dirt rubbed off, and the leaves rubbed off the bunch of hemlock, put it down on the ground close to the others that you have not yet used, and take up a new bunch; then walk out in the water, and sit down until it comes up around your neck, and then stand up. Then rub the second bunch on

your right side, until you have rubbed all the dirt off your body and the leaves off the hemlock, and go ashore and put down on the ground the worn-out bunch and take up the third bunch."

And now Tsátsotatlmé went into the water and sat down in it as he did before, and rubbed his left side until the blood came out on the skin; and when the blood came freely, he waded ashore and put the bunch of leafless hemlock on the ground. When he had used three bunches and went into the water with the fourth, he was told by his friend the stranger to take, a long dive, and to stay down as long as his breath could stand it. "And as soon as you come up, blow a mouthful of water outward to the lake, and try to make it sound like the whale when he comes up to spout. Take your mouthful of water four times, and blow it out four times, and after you have done this, rub the fourth bunch of hemlock on your right side. Then you may hear a sound like a whale blowing in the lake; and if you do hear it, do not you turn your face to see it, for you must go on washing twice a day for four days. Then I will come and tell you what to do on the fourth evening." Then he heard no more from his friend the stranger. But he tried to remember everything that was told him, and he obeyed in everything.

Now he got up early every morning, and the first thing he always did was to break off the hemlock sprigs, and tie them together, four of them in a bunch, with a split spruce-root. Then he went into the water and did as he was told to do. And he stayed there four days under a large cedar that stood beside the lake, and on the evening of the fourth day, when he went into the water and took his first long dive, he stayed under until the blood came out of his ears and eyes, and his breath nearly ended. And as soon as he came up he began to rub the bunch of hemlock on his left side, until all the leaves were rubbed off, and as he went out of the water to put down the leafless bunch he heard a whale spouting in the lake, and at the same time he heard his friend the stranger call out to him, saying, "Úmik (for that will be your name hereafter), wash yourself as hard as you can, for your great whale is coming to be harpooned by you!" And he took up the second bunch and went into the water, and took a long dive, and as soon as he came up he began to rub his right side. When he saw all the leaves rubbed off he heard the whale spouting closer to him, and at the same time he heard his friend the stranger call out: "Úmik, my friend, I am the Wolf, who has one heart with the whale of the lake! Now wash yourself

well, for the whale is coming to you!" Then Úmik grasped the third bunch, and from where he stood on the water's edge he took another long dive, and came up. Then he rubbed his left side, and this time he tore his skin and reddened the water where he stood; and after he had finished he went ashore to put the bloody bunch of leafless hemlock on the ground.

Then he heard the spouting whale coming close to where he was standing. and at the same time he heard his friend the Wolf call out, "Úmik, wash yourself well this time, for after washing off the fourth time, the whale will come to you!" Then with the fourth bunch of hemlock sprigs he took a long dive, and stayed under the water until he vomited blood, and as soon as he came up he rubbed the right side of his body until the blood came out of his skin. And before he finished rubbing, he heard the great whale of the lake spouting close behind him, for he was facing the shore. Then he heard his friend the Wolf speak to him, saying, "Put your right hand back." And as he did this, a harpoon was put into his hand, and on its end there were a blade and a long line. His Wolf friend commanded him to turn and face the lake, and to get ready to harpoon the great whale of the lake.

He turned and saw the great whale come up spouting close to him, and the Wolf cried out: *"We*! Úmik, now Úmik, spear at him! Now, Úmik, let the whale go down!" Three times he made as if to throw the harpoon, and then when the whale came up the fourth time, he hurled his harpoon. The whale disappeared, and Úmik thought he had missed. But the unseen Wolf said: "Pull in your harpoon line, for you have done well! You have killed your first whale!"

Úmik drew in the line, and on his harpoon-blade he saw a small whale, as small as a slug, or four finger-breadths long, and the Wolf told him to take good care of it, and put it in the cleft of a large cedar for four days. "And after you have done this, go home and prepare a large canoe. And you shall have seven men for your crew, and when all is ready, you will take the whale you have hidden in the cedar and put it in the bow of your whaling canoe, in front of you. Then go out in the channel, and there you shall see the whale of the sea, and he will come up to you. Do not fear him, do not be afraid to harpoon him, for he is yours already. But here is one thing: you must not kill more than one every four days; for if you do, something very bad will come to you. If you should harpoon a whale on the third day, that one would kill you

and your crew. So keep every word I have told you. Now I will leave you., I am Wolf, the good friend of hunters and harpooners."

Úmik placed the small whale in the cleft of a cedar, and with it the harpoon and the line. He tied hemlock sprigs among the hair at the back of his head, and went home late in the evening. Instead of showing himself to his father, he went into his bedroom and lay down to rest. But he did not sleep, and as soon as it was light he went up the small stream and washed himself as before with hemlock. By the time he reached the village all the people were sitting outside their houses. Some of them that saw him said: "Oh, here comes Tsátsotatlmé! He looks as if he had been to *ósumich* [bathe ceremonially]!" His rival laughed and said, "My friend Tsátsotatlmé looks as if he has been to *ósumich* to be a shaman."

But Tsátsotatlmé, whose name now was Úmik, did not notice him, for he was already a shaman. He went into his father's house and told him to call in all his people. His father was happy to see his son safely home, and he called all his people. And Úmik told him to pick out seven strong men; and to provide a large new canoe, and a new paddle for each man. So his father selected the seven good, strong men, and one of them had a large new canoe, and each of them had a new paddle. And Úmik said that he wished to start away in three days; but not one of the people asked what they were to do, or where they were to go. Secretly he told his father to have the seven men go to the stream to wash themselves with hemlock twice a day. Then all the people went out of the house, and then the seven men laid the canoe on two logs, one under the bow and one under the stern. They split a roof-board into thin strips, and tied them into a long bunch for a torch, and with it they burned off the roughness of the bottom of the canoe. Then they turned it over, rubbed off the charred wood with an old mat, and then turned her upright again, and it was ready to be launched. Afterward all the seven went up the stream and washed with hemlock, and stayed there until they were called by Úmik on the third morning, just before daylight. Then they carried the great canoe to the water and embarked, carrying their new paddles in their hands.

All this time Úmik was in the woods just behind the houses, and after the crew had taken their seats and waited for a while, he came down out of the woods and stepped into the whaling canoe and took his seat in the bow. On his forehead he had tied hemlock twigs, and

he wore a bearskin robe. He told his crew which way to go, and they paddled off to where he had left his harpoon and the small whale, and there he went into the woods. Still the paddlers did not know what they were going to do; for none of them asked Úmik, and he spoke little, being a very quiet man.

In a short time he came out of the woods carrying a whaling harpoon staff and a coil of cedar-withe rope and something wrapped in a small packet of cedar-bark. He put the harpoon and the rope in the bow, and yet he held the packet in his hand. Then he stepped in and placed it in the bow in front of him. Afterward he fixed his harpoon-blade on the staff, and placed two bands of bark thread so as to hold the line along the staff when the harpoon was used. He laid his harpoon on the prow, with the point projecting forward, and then he told his men, "Now I am ready to spear a whale when he comes." At once the men saw a great whale approaching them, and he spouted four times before disappearing. In a short time he came up nearer, and spouted four times, then disappeared. But Úmik told his men not to paddle, and very soon the whale came up and spouted four times very slowly and disappeared the third time. Now Úmik told his men to hold their paddles ready while he stood in the bow with his harpoon. Very soon the great whale came up near them, and he let the great whale spout three times, and at the fourth time, when he was alongside the bow, Úmik harpooned him where he thought the heart was.

The great whale dived, and Úmik grasped the line and prayed, and said: "Whale, I have given you what you are wishing to get — my good harpoon. And now you have it. Please hold it with your strong hands, and do not let go. Whale, turn toward the fine beach of Yahksis, and you will be proud to see the young men come down on the fine sandy beach of my village at Yahksis to see you; and the young men will say to one another: 'What a great whale he is! What a fat whale he is! What a strong whale he is!' And you, whale, will be proud of all that you will hear them say of your greatness. Whale, do not turn outward, but hug the shore, and tow me to the beach of my village at Yahksis, for when you come ashore there, young men will cover your great body with bluebill duck feathers and with the down of the great eagle, the chief of all birds; for this is what you are wishing, and this is what you are trying to find from one end of the world to the other, every day you are travelling and spouting."

And the great whale did turn toward the beach, and he died just before he came ashore in front of the village of the Kelsemaht. And as soon as the people saw the dead whale, they pushed their canoes into the water and went to tow him in. And Úmik told his crew to let the people take the dead whale in tow. He cut out his harpoon-blade, and told his men to paddle back to where he had hidden the harpoon and the small whale and his harpoon line, which was only twelve fathoms in length. And when he came to the beach where the great cedar was standing, he carried his harpoon and line and the packet of cedar-bark to the tree, and hid them in the cleft. Then he returned to his canoe, and took his seat in the bow, and spoke to his crew, telling them to wash with hemlock every day before sunrise and after sunset. "For I am going to harpoon one whale every four days. So you are my crew. You will have to keep yourselves as clean as you can. And here is another thing you have to do: you must keep away from women in their courses. But it is best to keep away from them all, then no harm will befall us."

Then they paddled homeward, and when they landed at the beach in front of their village, Úmik's father came down to meet them. He carried in his hand a dish of cooked blubber, and told his son to eat it, with his crew of seven men; for as Úmik was the first whale harpooner, he and his crew of seven should be the first to eat whale's blubber. Then they ate it all, for they were hungry, since they had not eaten food that day. And after they had finished, Úmik said to his father: "You had better tell all our people to meet at the side of the great whale I have killed, and I will give a whale feast. For I have a new name, a whale harpooner's name. My name is Úmik, for hereafter I will be a whale harpooner."

And his father was glad of all that Úmik told him, and called the people down to the beach beside the dead whale, and put his son's rival at the head of the great whale. And then he announced that his son Úmik was giving the feast, for that was his new name, Úmik, and that he was willing to stand before his rival Tséihsot to see which would give the larger feast. "And now there is the first whale ever killed, and it is given in a feast by my son Úmik. So take your knives and cut the blubber off the great whale," said he. And the people began to cut off the blubber, and in a short time they had the body stripped. And now all saw already that Tséihsot was a beaten man, for he said no word

while the feasting was going on. But he was studying mischief, how he might bring trouble on Úmik.

On the fourth day Úmik harpooned a whale in the same way as the first one. It died in the same place, and he replaced his harpoon and line and the small whale in the cleft cedar. And this whale also was given in a feast.

One day he took his old father on a whaling trip, and when they went ashore to get his harpoon and line, Úmik told how he came to be a whaler, and also he showed the small whale of the lake. Then they went down to the canoe, and the men paddled out, and in a short time a large whale came toward them and was harpooned. And the whale ran toward the beach of the village and died in front of it, and all the people came out in their canoes to tow it in. And now this Tséihsot, his enemy, was among the crowd, and he paddled up to the whaling canoe and grasped its bow, and said, "My friend, Úmik, you are doing a great thing, and you must be a proud man for beating me, and so I will kill you!" He drew a whale-bone club from under his robe, and he struck Úmik on the head and killed him. And seeing him, dead, Tséihsot went ashore.

But the father of Úmik went to the bow of the canoe and with his knife cut a slit in the neck just above the collarbone. He cut clear down to the lungs, and then he took the small whale out of the cedar-bark and tucked it into the hole and pushed it down to the lungs. And after he had finished, he said to the crew, "Let us hide my son, the great whaler, under the great cedar tree, where he always has been hiding his harpoon and line." But as to the small whale none of the seven men knew anything. So they paddled away from the village and hid the dead body and the harpoon and line under the great cedar. When they returned to the village, they invited the people to cut up the whale and feast. In this feast they broke up the whaling canoe and burned it in the feasting fire, and the father of Úmik told his people that he was not ashamed of his son's death, for he had not been killed for being a bad man, but because he had beaten the man who came to challenge him to a feasting contest. "And my son died a proud death," said he.

Now Úmik had a son, a small boy, but brave and very quiet in his ways. About twelve years from the time his father was killed, he went to wash in the same lake, for his grandfather repeated to him what Úmik had told him at the hiding place before the last whaling trip.

For it seems that Úmik had told everything: how he had washed with hemlock sprigs, and how the unseen Wolf had instructed him. And that is how the young man learned his father's secrets.

And now the very night the young man washed himself, he heard a voice say to him out of the brush: "I am your dead father's friend, and I helped him to be a great whale harpooner. I will help you in the same way, and I hope that you will be as strict as your father was, for he was Úmik the good. And now I will give you a name: hereafter you will be Óyephl. Now you shall rub yourself with hemlock until the blood comes out of your skin. And after that you will get your father's body, that is, after you have washed your body twice daily for four days. Then you shall go to the tree where your father's body is hidden, and you shall bring him here beside this lake, and every time you wash to purify yourself, lay the body of your father on the ground close to the water and tie his hands together behind his head. Drive into the ground a stake the length of your height, and stand the body against it. Then after you have finished washing with the fourth bunch of hemlock, go to the dead body and pray your father to give you his whaling power. And after you have prayed to him, then put your head through his two hands, which are tied together behind his head, and you will have him on your back. Then walk into the lake, and you shall dive and stay under as long as your breath will allow, and when you come up you shall blow as a spouting whale, and be very quiet in your movements, and slow, so that when you harpoon a whale he shall go slowly as you do." And that was all that was said to him by the unseen Wolf

Then he thought, "When I have done all these things, how shall I know how the harpoon was made?" While he was talking to himself, he heard the unseen Wolf say, "You will find your father's harpoon and line hidden where his body is hidden. I will make it as good as new for your use," said he. Then all was still again, and Óyephl began to wash himself. After four days he went to get his father's body, and there he found a new harpoon and a new line, which he left under the cedar. But he took the body to the lake, and drove a stake into the ground, tied the two hands of his dead father, and leaned the body against the stake. And after he had rubbed himself with four bunches of hemlock, he put his head between the arms of the dead body and carried it, back to back, into the water. He dived and stayed under the water a long time, and when he came up, he took a mouthful of water and blew it

out. All this he did four times, and he came out and leaned the dead man against the stake. And he did this twice daily, in the morning and in the evening, for four days. On the fifth morning he went whaling with seven men to paddle the canoe, and he killed a whale in the same way his father had done. The people came to tow it ashore, and after the harpoon had been hidden in its place, his crew carried the great canoe out of the water with the young whaler standing in the bow. For they wished to show all the people that they were going to treat him as their head man, because the head chief did not go out to get food for his people.

And the head chief did not like the way his people were treating the young whaler, and to show that he was displeased he did not attend the whale feast; for as soon as the tide went out far enough to leave the great whale high and dry, the young whaler sent four old men to invite the people. And when the head chief did not come, they sent the four old men three times to call him. But he told them that he would not come to the whale feast, saying, "I see that all you who were my people put yourselves under the young man because he killed a whale, and feeds you on the fat of it; so I will not go to this feast." And when the four old men told the feasters what was said by the head chief, all the men at the feast became angry and said: "We will let him stay in his house! We will take his power away and give it to our new chief." And then the young chief, the whaler, told them to cut off the whale's blubber as they used to do at his father's feast, for this whale was killed by his father's harpoon.

Now the head chief was studying how to kill the whaler, and he asked one of his young men to keep a secret watch on Óyephl. So the spy kept a watch on him wherever he went in the night and in the day, and it was not long before the whaler was seen in the lake rubbing with hemlock, diving with the dead man on his back, and blowing water like a whale. The spy noted everything, and after the whaler had gone home, he also went home and told his chief what he had seen. And the old chief said: "There is one thing more for you to find out. Where does he hide his harpoon and line? Find these two things, or there might be more things that he has hidden in an unknown place." And the spy said that he thought it easy to find them, for the young whaler did not take care to see if there was any one hiding to watch his movements. He said: "And now I know that when he goes out whal-

ing, he does not have a harpoon nor a line in his canoe. And I will try to find out what day he will go again to get a whale," said the spy to the old chief as he went out of the house. He saw some of the whaling crew getting their canoe ready, and so before daylight he went and sat down on the other side of the bay, where he knew the canoe would pass close in.

At dawn he saw the crew embark and paddle toward him. A short distance beyond him the whaler landed, and soon returned with the harpoon. While the whaler was killing his whale, the spy crept through the bushes to the landing place and found a plain trail to the great cedar tree. There he concealed himself and waited until the young whaler returned with his harpoon and line. And as soon as Óyephl had gone, the spy examined them, saying to himself: "The harpoon-blade is made of a large mussel-shell, and the socket is of bone or elk-horn, and there is much gum, and the stout piece of rope is made of twisted elk rawhide four fathoms long, and the harpoon shaft is of yew. It is all very simple. And I saw how the whaler washed himself in the lake, and carried the body of the dead man on his back, and dived four times with it. And now I will go and tell my chief what I have seen and found, and after that I will make a harpoon and a line for myself, and I will be a whaler," said he to himself. Then he went home under cover, coming out behind the village, and when he went into the old chief's house through the back door, he found it empty; for all were on the beach at the whale feast. And the spy went into his room and lay down, and fell asleep; for he had not had a good steep since he had been set to watch the whaler. And as soon as the feasting ended, the old chief went home. This was the first time he had gone to the whale feast, for he thought it best to pretend good will to the whaler, so that he might have the young man killed without any one knowing of his part in it. When he came home and heard his spy snoring, he awakened the young man to ask what success he had had. The spy told him all, and then said: "Now, my chief, will you tell me now what you are going to do with the young whaler, now that you have found out all his secrets by my help?" And the old man answered, "I will go to the lake with you this evening; and when he comes, we will kill him," said he.

They both went out of the bedroom, and they sat beside the fire, and the chief's wife fed them on whale meat and blubber. And after they had eaten enough they complained that they felt sick. This was

to deceive the others in the house. So they went together through the back door and up the stream to the lake. And the chief had his whalebone club under his sea-otter skin robe.

And, as soon as they came to the lake, they sat down close to where Óyephl always sat before he washed himself. And the chief told his spy to go home, for he wanted to be alone there, and the young spy departed. So the chief waited near the dead man against the stake, and late in the evening he saw the whaler, with four bunches of hemlock sprigs, sit down at the side of the lake and throw off his bear-skin robe. Then the young man went into the water, and after he had used one bunch of the hemlock, he dived, and the old chief ran out in the water with the whalebone club in his right hand. He stood close to the whaler, and as soon as the head came up out of the water, he struck it with his heavy club. So the old man killed him and dragged the body out of the water and hid it under a tree, and then he hid the body of Úmik in a dry place under another tree. When he went home, he told his spy to go early in the morning and hide the harpoon and line in some other place where no one would find them.

At dawn the spy crept out through the back door, and he kept under cover in the woods as he went to where the harpoon and line were hidden, and he took them to a distant place at the left of the village, and hid them under a large cedar. And after he had finished his work, he went home. And now it was late in the night and everybody was asleep when he came in through the back door of the old chief's house. And he went into his bedroom without making any noise.

And before daylight the old chief heard him snoring in his bedroom, and he went from his bedroom into the spy's room and awakened him, and he said: "I had a good dream tonight about the man whom 1 killed yesterday. In my dream he came and told me how I must pray to four Chiefs. One of them is Háwihlaétlumi ['moon chief']; the second one is Háwihltsowísumi ['south chief']; the third one is Háwihlsuísumi ['sea chief']; and the fourth one is Hawíyumu ['mountain chief']. To these four Chiefs I must pray ten times whenever I wash myself in the lake. He told me also the prayers. And these are the prayers :

"'Moon Chief, listen to my prayer! To the high Chief I pray. Listen to me, what I ask you to give me. I want you to help me, Chief. I want you to give me a fine day, Chief.'

"'To the South Chief! Do not let me speak falsely to you, when I speak to you, Chief, you, the seer of all secrets.'

"'To you, Sea Chief! I want you to help me. Give your aid to me, truly to me.'

"'Mountain Chief, I wish you to give me what I want. Listen to my wish; for I am obeyed by all the tribes, as I am a young man listened to by the young men, chief of all.'

"These are the four prayers to the four great Chiefs, which I have to say ten times over at the morning washing and ten times in the evening, every time I wash myself at the lake," said the old chief to his spy.

Now, according to the story, the dead whaler went to wash himself at the lake at the same time with the chief. For the old man, as soon as he took the bunch of hemlock, walked into the lake and sat down in the water to wet his skin all over, and stood up to rub his right side; then he heard the young whaler's spirit saying the same four prayers to the four great Chiefs; and the old man, repeating after him, by this means learned how to say them all. And then after four days' washing by the old man and the spirit of the dead whaler, every morning and late in the evening, the old man, sleeping in the night, had a dream of the dead whaler, who told him to go to the lake and wash again.

And he said: "While you are washing, let seven men take a good-sized canoe and put her into the salt water; and they shall go into her and sit with their paddles in their hands, ready to paddle. And they shall wait for you to come out of the woods from the lake; but before you come out you shall have a crown of hemlock on your head, and after you have done this, then you come down to the beach to where your canoe is; then you get into it and take your seat in the bow, and let your men paddle to where my harpoon and line are hidden by your spy, the young man, whom you will take for one of your crew. Rise now, and get your men ready before daylight, for the whale will be waiting for you to harpoon him just after dawn," said the dead whaler to the chief.

And the chief woke just after the middle of the night, and he went and picked out seven good, strong men, and told them what to do; and one of them was the spy. And some of his crew were those who had been with the dead whaler. In a short time all the men were ready, and each took a paddle, and they selected one of the best canoes in the

village and launched it, and all sat down on the thwarts. But the old man told them to wait for him, and he went back into the woods to the lake. And there he rubbed himself again with hemlock, and he tied a bunch of hemlock crosswise on the back of his head, with a crown of the same leaves around his head; and then he went to the waiting canoe.

He took his seat in the bow, and his men paddled away from the beach. The spy directed them to a certain place, and there he got the harpoon and line. So in the same way as Úmik and Óyephl, the chief harpooned a whale. But the great whale went down, and the old man did not know what to say or do. And one of the crew, who had been whaling with Óyephl, said, "You had better pray to the whale, and tell him which way he must go!" But the chief replied that the spirit of the dead whaler had said nothing about that. "Well," said the paddler, "if you do not know the prayer, we shall be towed out to sea!" Then the old chief ordered him to say the prayer of the dead whaler, and the man repeated the prayer of Úmik to the harpooned whale. And the great whale turned slowly around toward the village, and as soon as it touched bottom it died; and the chief, instead of hiding his harpoon and line in the woods, sent a man to hang them in the house at the right side of the door. But he himself remained with his men in the canoe beside the dead whale, until the people came down and carried the canoe with its crew and set it on the two logs. Then the chief told his speaker to invite the people to cut the blubber from the whale and have a great feast. And very soon all the people came down, each with a knife, and they climbed upon the whale and cut the blubber off in large squares. The chief announced that his name was changed to Tsáhwasip ["harpooner"], and then sent them home to cook and eat the blubber and flesh in their own houses. And he promised to give a whale feast every four days, and they rejoiced.

And now the old man kept on washing himself in the morning and in the evening, and one evening his spy asked to go the next morning to bathe with him. "For," said he, "I had a dream last night from the young whaler whom you killed. He told me to wash in the lake with you, and if I do not, something against our wish will befall us." And the old man consented.

Now the spy had had no dream, but said this because he wanted to learn where Tsáhwasip hid the whaler's body. At dawn they went

to the lake, and after they had washed with four bunches of hemlock the chief prepared to return to the village, but the young man said: "No. According to what I saw the young whaler do, and according to my dream, we are not done. And the chief asked him what more there was, and the spy said, "Do you not take the dead body of Úmik on your back, and dive into the lake four times?" And the old man replied, "No, I never was told in my dream about such a thing, and you did not tell anything about it." For he was growing angry. And the spy said, "Well, if you do not do it, something against our wish will happen when you are harpooning a whale; for all the power you have comes from that dead body."

And then Tsáhwasip began to see that he was right, that the power must be carried by the dead body of the first man that ever harpooned and killed a whale. "Well," said he, "I will get it." He brought it soon from under a great cedar tree, and laid it on the ground. He asked if Óyephl dived with the body on his back, and the spy declared that he had seen the young whaler do it.

"Well," said Tsáhwasip, "if he carried this corpse on his back, and dived into the lake with it, so shall I do it also." This he said while he put his head between the two arms. With the corpse on his back he walked into the lake and dived, and stayed under as long as he could. The second time he remained down a little longer, but when he came up the spy said that Óyephl had remained under twice as long. "For," said he, "he used to stay under water until the blood came out of his ears and eyes and nose. But you come up in a very short time," said he. And the old man said: "I am only learning how to dive with the load I have on my back. Yet I will try to stay under as long as I can the next time."

The third time he came up very slowly, and he asked if he had remained long enough. But the spy only laughed and said: "You are not diving to please me. It is to please the whale spirit, who is watching you, although you cannot see him. He is here watching all that is going on in this lake, and if you do not act in the right way to please him, he will bring some kind of trouble on you."

And now these very words of the young man frightened Tsáhwasip, and he begged the spy to tell him what to do. "Well," said the young man, "if I were in your place, and this will be the fourth time you will dive, I would try to stay under the water as long as it is possible for a

man to do." And the chief answered that he would do so. And he took a long breath and dived the fourth time, and he stayed under so long that the spy thought he would not come up alive. But at last he came up with blood running from his ears and nose and eyes. And he said: "Tséitlas (for that was the spy's name), you are a great help to me! For by the young whaler whom I carry on my back I was taken to an unknown land, where all the spirits of the dead are, and they sang songs to me. These songs are used by them when their whale harpooner has killed a whale, and as soon as he kills the whale, then they sing these songs when they are towing it home. And also they told me to kill many hair-seals and to take off the skins to make floats of them, fourteen in all. For they had them hanging up on beams of the dead men's houses, where I was taken to learn all the ways of their whalers. And now we shall go whaling in four days from this very day, for we have to learn to sing the towing songs, and I have to send the hair-seal spearers to get fourteen hair-seals, and to skin them and dry the skins," said he, as he came out of the water, and went to hide the dead body under the tree.

Then the spy Tséitlas thought to himself: "I have found out where he has hidden the body, and since the old man has learned that there are towing songs belonging to the whaling, I will let him go on a little longer before I do what I am intending to do. And so I will go into the water with him and wash myself with hemlock, so as to cover what I intend to do against him," said he to himself, as he took off his bear-skin robe. And he went into the water carrying the bunch of hemlock, and he did everything he saw the dead whaler do while he was washing in the same lake; and after he had finished with the four bunches of hemlock, he dived four times. Then the chief said to him, "You do not stay under the water as long as I did." And the young man answered: "No. If I were going out to harpoon a whale as you will do, I would stay under until the blood runs all over my body," said he as he came out of the water.

And they put on their robes and went home; and the chief at once ordered his wife to clear the floor. "For," he said, "I will call all my people to hear what I have to say." And the woman began to clean the floor, while Tsáhwasip sent his four speakers to invite the men. And as soon as all the men entered, the chief informed them that the spirits of the dead had told him to have the hair-seal spearers kill fourteen large

seals, skin them, and make the skins into bags. And then he also told his crew to accompany him into the woods, and there to learn some new songs; and after he had finished speaking, all except his crew went out of the house.

While the hair-seal spearers prepared their canoes and spears for the coming night, Tsáhwasip went through the back door of his house with the spy Tséitlas and the rest of his whaling crew. They went far into the woods, so that the villagers should not hear them singing, and in a good place they sat down, and the chief said that he would first sing the songs that they should use while waiting in

the canoe for him to come out of the woods. "For," said he, "there are four songs that you have to sing to the four great Chiefs, to make the whale willing to come to us to be harpooned by my hand and by their help; and you all have to sing these four songs over and over until I come." And he began to sing the first song to the Chief, the Moon Chief:

"I was taken to the supernatural lake to wash myself in it, to make myself a whale harpooner."

The second song was to the Mountain Chief:

"The ten harpoons that you have in your charge, you, Mountain Chief, who keep me sleepless in the nights for eight moons, you, Mountain Chief, I wish to obtain from you."

The third was to the Sea Chief:

"I am going through a cave in the island, the road of the whale. I am going through a cave in the island, the road of the whale. I am going through a cave in the island, the road of the whale."

And the fourth song was to the South Chief:

"Go cautiously, for two things are there, and they are dangerous! Go as cautiously as you can. For they are taking care of the road that leads toward my house, which you wish to come into, to ask me for power to harpoon my whale, which is my fish."

And after Tsáhwasip had sung these songs four times, all his crew could repeat them without his help. And now he told them that there were still many songs that had been given to him by the spirits, which they sing as they tow a whale that they have harpooned in their lake, so as to make the dead whale's spirit feel proud to hear the crew singing happily and willing to let the dead body tow lightly behind the canoe. And the chief started to sing the first towing song of the four that he

intended to teach them. And this is it:

"It is good for you to go quickly toward your shore; it is good for you to go quickly toward your shore. It is good for you to go quickly toward your shore, so that the young men see you quickly, for they all wish to see you."

The second song was this:

"I kill and I stay with him in the river. I kill and I stay with him in the river. I kill and I stay with him in the river. I kill and I stay with him in the river."

This was the third song:

"It is good for you to go ashore on a good beach, for I am the only one in this whaling canoe, and one man beside me."

The fourth towing song was this:

"Raven, Mountain Chief, I am going home with my whale in tow, to pour the fat of it on my fire. Raven, Mountain Chief, I am going home with my whale in tow, to pour the fat of it on my fire.

Tsáhwasip told them that there were ninety-six towing songs yet to will sing them some other time." So they all went home late in the evening, and they found the hair-seal spearers returned from their night's hunting. And the chief selected fourteen of the largest seals and had them skinned. And he made the-skins into air-tight bags with an outlet at the left flipper stopped by a wooden plug.

Now when the floats were dry, Tsáhwasip ordered his men to be ready before the next dawn. But he himself, instead of going to sleep, went through the back door to the lake, and remained there washing himself until he heard his crew singing in the canoe. And when he had heard the four songs, he put the hemlock crown on his head, and his bear-skin robe about his shoulders. Then he felt his way out of the woods, for it was still dark, and took his place in the bow. The crew paddled to the point where he had hidden his harpoon, and soon the old chief secured it. His men paddled outward to the lee of a small island, where before daylight they heard a whale spouting. The chief started to fix his harpoon-blade on the shaft. Then he looked back to see if his crew was ready, and discovered that Tséitlas, his spy, was absent. The others said that when they had called him he failed to answer, and they came away without him. Then the chief wanted to turn back, but his crew declared that he must throw his harpoon at the spouting whale; for the wise old man of the crew said, "If you do

not harpoon the great whale which is calling us, you will never have a chance to harpoon another whale, and also we will never again come out whaling with you." Then Tsáhwasip told them to paddle toward the whale, and he harpooned it. The great whale went down, and the float-tender had scarcely time to tie the floats to the line. The great whale went out to sea, and the chief ordered his crew to sing the four songs to the four Chiefs, and pray to the whale the four prayers. But the wise old man of the crew cautioned them to pray the four prayers first to the harpooned whale; but after they had prayed the four prayers, still the whale did not turn back, and Tsáhwasip said that all the trouble was brought on by Tséitlas, his spy; for he said, "I wanted to go back for him, then we would have had no trouble." But the wise old man of the crew said, "If you had not wished to go back at the time we heard the whale spouting, we would have had no trouble; and also you told us to sing the towing songs and pray afterward, and that is why the whale is angry with us, for the mistake you made in telling us to sing first instead of to pray first."

The whale went seaward for two days, and at last he turned and swam shoreward for two days; and when they were close to land, the old chief told the wise man of the crew to take the place in the bow and throw the second harpoon at the whale. So the man did this, and then threw the third harpoon, which killed the whale. They began to sing the towing songs as they took the whale in tow, for they killed the whale not far from the village. As they came in sight of the village, the chief stood up in the bow, singing the towing songs, and also his crew sitting on the thwarts sang as they paddled. And as soon as the whale was beached, Tsáhwasip leaped out and waded ashore, with his harpoon on his right shoulder and his paddle in his left hand, and he went up the beach and into his house, and hung the harpoon on the two pegs beside the door. He sent his wife to cut off the dorsal fin of the whale with the adjacent skin. So she brought it to him, and he hung it over the fire to dry, and then she told him that his spy had disappeared the same day they had gone whaling and no one knew what had become of

him.

Then the old man said, "I thought he was going to do something against me, for the whale made trouble as soon as I harpooned it." He went out to the place where he had hidden the dead body. It was gone,

and he was very sorry. He went home and lay down and slept, and he dreamed that his spy had the dead body on his back washing in a small lake and getting ready to go whaling. He awoke, and said to himself: "I wish I had killed him as soon as he told me all the secrets of Óyephl. Then there would have been no trouble." He told his wife all about the dream, and she began to cry. The old man lay on his back and covered his face with his sea-otter skin, and there he lay all that day and all night. The next morning his wife called him. But he was dead, and his people said that he had died of a broken heart; and from that time the west coast people always try to keep the different kinds of washings for different huntings and for whaling and sealing, and even for gambling, secret from one another, as much as they can; for if ever they are caught washing with hemlock and have good luck out of the washing, they are sure to be killed by their enemies.

At last it was found that Tséitlas had gone to the Ahousaht [Áhôsut^{ha}] with the body the of young whaler Óyephl, and that he had begun to go whaling there. And from there all the different tribes on the west coast learned how to kill whales by harpooning them.

It was six years after the death of the old chief Tsáhwasip before any one at Yahksis went out to harpoon a whale. Then the young chief who had taken the old man's place tried it, but the whale that he harpooned struck the canoe with his tail and killed the chief; and his people said that he had not observed all the rules of the first whaler's washing. So the people of Yahksis gave up whaling until not very long ago. Then they tried it again, and now they are doing well at it, these new whalers of this generation. They begin their washing in the month of October, and the whaler's wife has to get two dried corpses — a man and a woman — to be used in the washing. The whaler has to carry the dead man on his back when he dives four times, and his wife has to carry the dead woman on her back when she dives four times. And they have to sleep in separate beds until the month of May. Then as soon as they see the new moon in the month of May, the whaling canoe is put on two logs, one under the bow and one under the stern, to raise the bottom off the beach about one foot, so that it will dry. In the evening the crew char and scrape the bottom.

All the while they are working on the canoe, the whaler and his wife are at the lake washing themselves. If it is a calm night, the crew carry the canoe down, with all the ropes, the two harpoon shafts, and

all the fourteen floats. Then all take their seats in her and begin to sing the waiting songs, and as soon as the whaler hears them, he picks up his whaling harpoon, for he has to keep it at the lake, and he carries it on his shoulder as he comes out of the woods with his wife. She goes into the house and takes a mat of cedar-bark, a new one, and lies on her bed with the mat spread over her blankets. She has to lie and sleep as long as her husband is out whaling, and she must not move, nor eat any food, nor drink.

As soon as the whaler sits down in the bow, the crew of seven dip their paddles and go seaward to a small island, and in smooth water on the lee shore they stop paddling and listen for a whale to spout. This is before daylight, and as soon as their watchman hears the sound, the whaler gets his harpoon ready and ties his long line to it; and the float-blower begins to blow three of the floats full of air. When all is ready, they wait for daylight, and as soon as they can see, they paddle to the whale. Now and then he blows, and seems to be waiting for the canoe to come alongside of him. Then the steersman brings the canoe with her bow alongside the whale's tail on the right side, and when the whaler thinks he can harpoon the whale through to the lungs, he makes a thrust while the whale is about three feet under the water, and that is why the harpooned whale never strikes a whaling canoe with his tail, unless the whaler harpoons it before his great body is covered over with water. Just as the thrust is made the float-keeper ties one of the floats about ten fathoms from the harpoon, and from there, if the whale does not take the line out too fast, he ties them on about two fathoms apart until he has tied on thirteen; for he keeps one to tie on the end of the whaling line. All this time the whaler is standing and singing the four songs to the four Chiefs, and his crew help him.

The last two whales killed by the present whaler, Tsátsotatlmé [the informant], did not give any trouble, for they did not even take out all the line; because he killed the mother first, and after she was dead he harpooned the young one, which swam around his dead mother, and the line took a turn around the mother's tail. And after he killed them, the diver took a rope four fathoms long and a sharp knife, and dived under the jaw of the whale and cut a hole through the lip, and tied the end of the rope there. And the other end he brought up, and the others cut a hole through the upper lip of the whale and passed the rope through it, and hauled it taut, so that the lower jaw jammed

tight against the upper. Then they tied the rope, and the whaler gave his diver ten dollars for each whale. For as soon as a whale is dead, then his lower jaw drops and makes the towing very slow. Now they came homeward, and they had not used the second and the third harpoon. When they were near the village, the people heard the whalers singing the towing songs, and that showed them that they had killed a whale; and they put four canoes into the water, and nine men in each went to meet the whalers.

As soon as they came up the whalers stopped and cut from the back of each whale's neck a piece of blubber one span long and a span and a half wide, and one of the four canoes paddled back to the village with them as fast as they could. And as soon as they came to the beach, one of the men took the blubber to the whaler's house and gave it to the whaler's wife, and she cut it into strips, which she put into a kettle on the fire, already boiling. In a few minutes she spread on the floor a small new mat, removed the kettle from the fire, and laid the cooked blubber on the mat. She kept one piece for herself, and the man carried the mat with the blubber on it to the canoe; and they paddled back and gave it to the whaler. He bit off the end of one strip and gave the rest of the strip to the float-tender; and so he gave a piece each to the rope-tender, to the diver, to the whale-spouting watcher, and to the steersman, while the four canoes took the two whales in tow. And after they had finished eating, they joined the four canoes and helped them tow the whales, all singing the one hundred towing songs until they came to the beach of the village.

And as soon as the whale was aground the whaler's wife came out of her house, carrying in her left hand some eagle-down and in her right a horn rattle, and singing her secret bathing song, as she came down the beach running toward the whale. And she went into the whaling canoe and put some of the down on her husband's head, at the same time singing, and shaking her rattle. And after she had finished, they took her out to the dead whales, and she leaped upon the large one and put some down on the blow-hole, and did the same to the other one. Then she stopped singing, and standing on the large whale's back she made a speech to the people, and this is what she said :

"Now, you people of my husband, I have shown you all how I have been strong-hearted, not to do anything wrong in the eight moons that I was washing with hemlock sprigs with my husband, and how

we have had separate beds. And these two whales I and my husband have killed through our uprightness. And I thank our Chiefs, Háwihlaétlumi, and Háwihltsowísumi, and Háwihlsuísumi, and Hawíyumu, for listening to my prayers, and my husband's prayers, and for giving us power to kill these great whales."

As she went into the canoe, the head chief took ten dollars out of his pocket and gave to the whaler, and said, "For this I want a piece of blubber." And many of the people did likewise, but gave not so much as the head chief. And sometimes now the whaler gets as much as two hundred dollars from his people, and of that he pays the diver ten dollars and five to each of the others of his crew. And the whaler gets only the tail.

The whaling canoe is thirty-one feet long and five feet beam, and the prow is short. From the harpooner's seat in the bow to the second seat is six feet, and to the third seat is four feet more, to the fourth seat is three feet more, and to the fifth is three and a half feet, and to the sixth is two and a half feet. In the six-foot space are kept the fourteen floats, and the man that blows them up stays there. In the four-foot space all the lines are kept, and the man who looks after them is there; and in the three-foot space is the watchman; and the diver sits next to the watchman.

A prayer used by a certain Clayoquot whaler in his rite of purification is this:

"Whale, I want you to come near me, so that I will get hold of your heart and deceive it, so that I will have strong legs and not be trembling and excited when the whale comes and I spear him. Whale, you must not run out to sea when I spear you. Whale, if I spear you, I want my spear to strike your heart. Harpoon, when I use you, I want you to go to the heart of the whale. Whale, when I spear at you and miss you, I want you to take hold of my spear with your hands. Whale, do not break my canoe, for I am going to do good to you. I am going to put eagle-down and cedar-bark on your back. Whale, if I use only one canoe to kill you, I want to kill you dead."

While uttering the prayer, the whaler squats on a rock in the lake and rubs his hands. Then standing, he shakes a rattle, holding the left hand with palm perpendicular, fingers extended and thumb upright, in representation of a whale with its fin above water, and he sings:

My supernatural power is in the house, hanging on a staff at the

head of the bed.

There is an old saying that when the whale is weak and is going ashore, it likes to hear the whaler sing. During his purification, therefore, while his wife holds one end of a rope fastened about his waist, as if he were a harpooned whale, the whaler sings the song which later he will repeat for the harpooned whale. Then the woman begins to pray, holding the rope, and in the water the man walks around her with the slow, undulating movements of a whale, while she repeats over and over, "This is the way the whale will act!"

The Makah whaler, after his ceremonial bath and rubbing with hemlock, comes out of the water and dons an elaborate head-dress. A bunch of split feathers is fastened at the back of the head-band,

and below it, reaching to the hips and supported by the head-band, hangs a strip of woven cedar-bark, the broad strips vertical and the narrow ones horizontal. On this a number of hollow, blackened cedar images of the upper part of a whale, ten inches long and four wide, are fastened either horizontally in two tiers facing each other, or perpendicularly in rows of three. A cedar-bark belt holds the back-piece in at the waist. The top of the head-dress is a cap covered with split feathers, some of which project over the forehead. Feathers of the goose and the sea-gull are used, and to the quill of each is tied a red feather of a woodpecker. Two of these outfits were formerly kept in the family of every whaler, presumably for the use of father and son.

With his head-dress adjusted, the whaler goes slowly into the woods, stooping, and with an undulating movement in imitation of a whale. He proceeds to one of the village cemeteries and moves four times around a coffin, then removes the head-dress and returns home. This rite is observed during the waxing of the moon, but during its waning the headdress is not used. A human corpse was formerly used in preparation for whaling only as a last resort to change continued ill luck. The body must be that of a male not more than four days dead, and it is said that sometimes a small boy was killed for this purpose. Occasionally the whaler flayed the body after removing the forearms and the lower legs, cutting the skin down the median line from the forehead and along the inside of the legs. After being dried in the sun with as little handling as possible, the skin was hung over the back-piece of the whaler's head-dress. If the body was to be used, the forearms and lower legs were cut off, and the corpse was placed, face

upward, on the devotee's back with the interposition of an inch-thick pad of rosebush shoots and nettles, the nettles touching the head-dress and the thorny shoots the corpse. A rope under the arms of the corpse passed over the whaler's shoulders and was fastened to his belt, and another encircled the waist of both. It is said that this method was used because a man once placed a corpse on his back with its face downward and its arms about his neck, and it took a death-grip on his throat and killed him.

After the capture of a whale, some of the crew cut off the captain's portion of blubber — a large strip from a point one fathom in front of the dorsal fin to four finger-breadths behind it and extending somewhat below the middle of the sides. This is hung near his bed. By sticking sea-gull feathers into the skin they produce in the middle a figure representing the moon as it appears at the time, and around the edge four rows of stars. At the very edge is a row of goose-and gull-feathers, and at the top a row of gull-feathers. A wooden dish receives the dripping oil. The whaler now invites the old whalers of the village, who sit facing the piece of blubber while each sings his whaling song.

On the fifth day the whaler hires two men to cut and prepare the blubber for a feast. Their faces are blackened with charcoal and lined with white stripes, and they wear belted capes of cedar-bark covered with split feathers. When they have sliced and boiled the blubber, all the men are summoned to the feast. Neither the whaler nor his family eat. If not all is eaten, the visitors do not take portions home, as at an ordinary feast, but the two men who cooked it cast the remnants into the ocean in such a place that it will not drift ashore to be eaten by dogs. These village scavengers however are permitted to eat the remains of the carcass.

The blubber is boiled in large chests by means of heated stones, and the oil is skimmed off and stored in a skin, to be eaten with dried fish, berries, and roots. Oil-bags are made of the stomachs and bladders of sea-lions and whales, and the stomachs of porpoises, hair-seals, small sharks, skates, and dogfish. The larger of these receptacles, especially hair-seal stomachs, are used for whale oil. The cooked blubber, as well as the flesh of the whale, is dried in sun and smoke.

Whaling is nowadays rarely followed by any of the tribes, but, as noted above, the Clayoquot have recently killed whales in the primitive manner, and very recently the Makah have revived the practice.

Among the Nootkan tribes a newly born child was bathed in warm water, anointed with dogfish oil, especially about the eyes, and wrapped in shredded cedar-bark. A piece of partially dried blubber was given it to suck until the mother's flow of milk was satisfactory, and the mother herself ate more than the usual quantity of blubber in order to enrich her milk. The infant was bathed daily, and on the fifth day, still wrapped in bark fibre, it was placed in the woven bark carrier with a pad of bark laced tightly over the forehead and other pads at the sides of the head to prevent the head from turning and from bulging out at the sides. As it grew older it was taken out of the carrier when not sleeping, and at the age of about eighteen months the carrier was dispensed with.

At a very early age a boy began to receive instruction from his grandfather in hunting, fishing, and rules of conduct under various circumstances. Girls were taught by their grandmothers. Children were allowed to do much as they pleased, and were seldom punished.

The parents of twins or of a cripple were sent with their off-spring into the woods, where they lived in a hut lined with blackened matting, spending day and evening in beating on a box-drum and in singing songs about the spring salmon and herring, with the expectation that in their sleep the spirits of these fish would appear and give them songs.[14] After four days they returned to their house. For a year they bathed in a pit instead of the sea or rivers, abstained from herring and salmon, and observed sexual continence. The reason for the taboo of herring and salmon was that they had sung to receive supernatural power from them, and to eat of their flesh would have made it impossible to receive that power. Either a twin or a deformed person is called *númuksti (númuk,* taboo*; stí,* belly), regardless of age or sex, and the infant brother or sister of such a one is called *nachúksti (náchu,* fish-tail). With delicate euphemism the Nootka say that twins usually died young; as a matter of fact their early demise was due to deliberate neglect, if to nothing worse.

The first name is bestowed when the child begins to creep. A boy receives one of the unused inherited names of his father or paternal grandfather, and a girl one of her mother's or maternal grandmother's.

14 On the supposed relation of twins to fish among the Kwakiutl. See vol 10.

The naming takes place at a feast to relatives and friends, and the father, or paternal grandfather, or a hired speaker, announces the name. A name may be changed at any time, but the change must be accompanied by a feast and the distribution of presents. A name must be changed, or at least replaced by another previously bestowed, when another possessor of the same name dies; for the utterance of the name would renew the grief of the bereaved relatives.

A chief's daughter at the age of puberty was put in the position of honor at the rear of the living room, and a small wooden cell was built around her, lest her eyes be permanently weakened by the sight of fire. At such times common girls sat anywhere in the room and without protection from the eyes of visitors. Seated on the floor against the wall, with knees drawn well up under her chin and a cedar-bark robe draped about her, a well-born girl maintained her cramped position in spite of the utmost weariness. Her hair hung loosely behind, and on a string around her neck was a wooden comb which she frequently used. A sharp stick was employed in scratching. Morning and evening she received two pieces of dry fish half the size of the hand, and in the evening a clam-shell full of water. At the very beginning of her seclusion some women, usually ten, were called in, one of them being a song-maker. They sang much during the day and a part of the night, and slept in the house. Usually two small girls were the young woman's attendants. On the fifth morning the girl's hair was dressed, and to each of the two braids was tied a piece of woven cedar-bark with dentalium shells sewn on it. This ornament was six inches long and half as wide, and at the bottom was a fringe of cedar-bark with dentalium shells hanging from the ends. She then went with her mother or some old woman to a secret place and bathed in fresh water, wrapping her braids and ornaments and binding them on her head with a band. She rubbed her body with four bunches of hemlock until each was worn to shreds, and prayed for health, strength, and long life. Returning, she was dressed in a robe and a head-band at each side of which an eagle tail-feather was thrust upright. Then, attended by her father and three other men, she walked through the village, the chief bearing a large wooden bowl painted red, which after a while he threw among the crowd. The young man who secured it received a sea-otter skin and a dentalium shell. After the party returned to the house, the chief distributed presents. At intervals of four days the girl bathed and rubbed

with hemlock four times, and for ten months she wore the dentalium ornaments on the hair-braids.

There was nothing distinctive about Nootka mortuary customs. Even before death ensued, the relatives would gather in the house and wail, and not infrequently the dying person was dressed for burial in his best clothing. As soon as life appeared to be extinct, the body was wrapped in a good robe, placed in a sitting posture in a box, and blankets or robes were doubled and stuffed about it. The cover was lashed down and the coffin removed through an opening in the wall or through the roof: to carry it through the door would mean that the souls of other members of the household might follow this departing spirit. Tree-burial was the most common, but caves also were used; and the Makah sometimes deposited coffins in graves six feet deep, covering them with heavy stones in order to foil any whaler who might desire the corpse for his practices.

When the eldest son of a chief died, a formal ceremony was observed. The corpse was laid on a mat where it could be seen to the best advantage, and on the following day the people were invited to view it. One of the chiefs made a speech, bidding the father and other relatives not to feel too sorrowful, because this was the will of Chábat, who ruled over all things. Then the chief's spokesman named ten men to prepare the body for burial, and they placed it in a coffin and carried it to the cemetery. A few wailing relatives accompanied them. They soon returned to the assembly, and the chief sang a mourning song and distributed the greater portion of his possessions. Not rarely a bereaved chief would send his warriors to make an attack on another tribe, and by killing some of them cause sorrow in the survivors and thus alleviate his own suffering. The execution of a slave sometimes followed the death of a great chief.

When a hunter died, they erected at the grave a pole bearing a carved image of the animal he was most accustomed to hunt; or the image was set in a canoe placed near the coffin. Sometimes the house in which a person of very high rank died was torn down, and the material was burned or erected in a new spot. The contents were given away, and contributions by the people provided the family with the necessaries of life.

To demonstrate their grief, men and women cut the hair, wore old clothing, and ate little, and they walked with a staff, as if very weak.

The more personal and less valuable possessions, such as a man's fishhooks and a woman's sewing instruments, were either destroyed or thrown away in the vicinity of the coffin. If a man wished to take the spiritual counterpart of any articles with him, he so informed his family, and the objects were burned. A man's eldest son had the first right to select what he wanted for himself, and the other things he distributed as he saw fit. If there were no children, the wife kept the property, except the house, if he had owned one. In this case she moved out with all the personal property, and the people made a wild scramble for the material of which the house was built. If a canoe was found, it was generally broken in the mêlée. An unmarried man's property went to his parents, or to the family in which he lived. A childless woman's possessions were inherited by her sister, or by her nearest relative, the widower receiving only the bedding. If a woman had grown children, her property was divided among them, but for minor children it was held in trust by her parents or nearest relative. An unmarried woman's property was taken by her mother or other nearest relative.

The world of spirits is believed to lie beneath the earth. When any one is dying, three or four spirits, his nearest relatives among the departed, come to escort his soul to the lower world. Together they walk to a river, which they cross in a canoe. On the other side the newcomer bathes in the stream and gains strength to walk without assistance. The food of spirits is principally spring salmon and charcoal. When on the earth a cooking vessel spills, it is thought to be at the wish of the spirits. Their dwellings are like the houses of this world, and each tribe lives directly beneath its earthly habitat. In the other world the individual lives on from the age at which his body died, and at a ripe old age the spirit expires. That wife who most loved a man and who bore him the most children is his wife in the other world, and spirit children are born there.

The Clayoquot believe that the dead of noble rank live in *hináihl* ("above"), while slaves and the ignoble abide in*pinápuhla* ("below"). This lower world is inhabited by *chi'ha* who in many petty ways torment the human souls, such as by offering a newly arrived spirit food which proves to be a dish of flies.

The deities of the Nootka tribes seem to be rather vaguely conceived. The Clayoquot pray to Nas ("day"), that is, the Sun; to Athaiyúihupuhl ("night luminary") or Háwihlaétlumi ("moon chief"), the

husband of the Sun; to Háwihlsuísumi ("sea chief"); to Hawíyumu ("mountain chief"); to Háwihltsowísumi ("south chief "). All these are benevolent, protecting beings, but apparently without definite functions. Offerings are made to any one of the gods by burning feathers and whale oil beneath the enlarged smoke-hole, while the head of the household prays aloud and the others sit listening. Prayers are offered during the waxing of the moon, in order that the people may increase and be full of life like the growing moon; but when the luminary begins to wane, the prayers cease, for the people do not wish to die like the moon. Some pray also to Háhlupiháwihl ("above chief"), a name which, according to an informant, was used long before the coming of white people; but as he is a comparatively young man and the influence of missionaries has long been exerted on the west coast, coming to them first through the medium of Indians of other tribes, no weight is to be given to his opinion.

The Mooachaht apply the term *qôuts* to the principal deity, who dwells in the sky, and to the head chief of the tribe.[15]

The supernatural beings which, according to Clayoquot belief, impart ability to hunt all kinds of animals are: Nánika ("grizzly-bear woman"), who appears as a woman with a baby in a carrier; Yaaí, who assumes the form of a man wearing a circlet of eagle-feathers; Haíitlik, an aquatic monster resembling an alligator; Sususshítlik (*súsa,* to swim), a brown or black, squirrel-like, aquatic animal with two red stripes from the angles of its mouth to its tail; Aiaíchkasitlik (*aichshít,* to rot), a minute, porpoise-like creature found in small ponds. When a devotee sees this last creature, he must not let his eyes leave it, or it will disappear; but keeping his gaze fixed on it he must find a stick and turn it over, when it will die. He then must cut it into four pieces, wrap them separately in moss, and conceal them in the woods. He must not let it touch his skin, lest his flesh rot.

The power to heal or to cause sickness is generally inherited.

That son (or daughter) of a medicine-man (or medicine-woman) selected as his successor is sent at an early age into the woods to bathe

15 The word is used also in addressing a grandchild, and the natives therefore translate it "grandchild." Of course the process of transition has been in the opposite direction: the word is a term of reverence, equivalent to "lord," and as such came to be addressed to favorite grandchildren.

and rub the body with hemlock or a certain kind of grass. The baths are taken frequently, sometimes four times a day and four times at night, and the youth may remain away from home for several days, wandering from place to place, bathing in every stream and lake and eating just enough roots and berries to sustain life. Prayers are addressed to the Sun, the Moon, and other deities. It is not expected that a spirit will be seen before the end of the first year. These habits, in a milder form, are continued even after the power has been obtained.

The Makah address the supreme being as Chábat ("chief"), which title is given also to the Moon, the Sun, and to a water deity. The most frequently supplicated is Kliséikak ("day," an epithet of the sun). Prayers are offered by bathers, by those who believe themselves in danger, and, formerly, by warriors in preparation for an expedition. Whalers, and those who desire riches, pray at night in whispers.

Ósumich is the Clayoquot term for the process of purifying the body by washing and rubbing with hemlock sprigs in order to obtain special ability from supernatural beings. As practised by the youth it is done in this manner: At the age of twelve to twenty, after instruction by his father in the purpose and the procedure of this rite, he goes at daylight into the woods to the side of a stream or lake and rubs himself violently with four bunches of hemlock. If he is seeking the power to take some water animal in the hunt, he goes into the water and imitates the actions of that animal. If he wishes to capture land animals, he stands at the edge of the water. If he is successful, a spirit (*chí'ha*) appears and speaks to him. If its form is human, he knows its real identity by something it wears. The devotee may continue his bathing for many days, returning each evening, or he may remain in the woods fasting for as long as four days and three nights. Having obtained the guardianship of some spirit, he reveals the fact to his parents and intimate friends, without telling in detail what the spirit did and said. From his subsequent success as a hunter, a shaman, or an accumulator of wealth, the people gradually become aware that he has had such an experience.

Here is the experience by which Waáli, a Makah of a former generation, professed to have secured shamanistic power. As a young man he prepared to become a whaler, bathing frequently and sometimes spending eight sleepless days and nights in the woods or on the beach. Though he went whaling many times, he was never successful because

he did not observe strict continence. After three seasons of failure, on a very dark night in late spring, with his bear-skin and a cape of cedar-bark he started for the promontory south of Ozette. The tide was at its lowest, and he went down to the water to bathe. He discerned a figure between himself and the ocean. He stopped, and watched closely to see if it moved. It seemed to be a man. He crept closer, and saw the man's left arm extended, and on his chest some shells which now and then he shook gently. Still closer Waáli approached, and then lay down, to see the better. The figure moved slowly toward the bluff, emitting an occasional grunt. Waáli knew now that it had some power for him, and since its form was human, it would make him a medicine-man. He felt disappointed, for he wanted to be a whaler, but he thought it best to take what was offered. He tied the bear-skin about his waist and with arms extended followed the figure. The super-natural one was heading for a crevice in a rock. When it was nearly there, Waáli made a spring at it, and immediately fell unconscious. In the trance he saw the figure plainly, and knew it to be the source of great power.... When he became conscious, he went into the woods, where he remained four days and four nights, eating fern-roots, and bathing often. Now and then his senses left him, and always, sitting or walking, he heard the gentle rattling of the shells on the breast of the supernatural one. After his return home he still had trances, at first twice a day, but gradually at longer and longer intervals until at last he was no more troubled by them. In later life Waáli obtained shamanistic power from two other sources, and thus became a great medicine-man.

Another Makah shaman professed that he had found his super-natural power in the form of a kelp-fish in a quiet pool. He placed a small stick between his teeth, and uttering a long-drawn *wu...!* slowly approached the fish. Before he reached it he fell unconscious, and the fish entered his body. When he recovered, he went home, and in the house he fell in a trance. He was put to bed, and the best medicine-man was summoned to ascertain the cause of the "death." The family wailed while the shaman made his examination; but when he learned that the youth had had an experience with a spirit he ordered them to cease crying, for their son had been very lucky. Then he turned again to his patient, brought him out of the trance, and said that on the morrow he would help the boy to "set the power in the right place," so that he would not "die" again. On the following evening he went about this

work. First he pretended to remove the fish, and to wash it in a pail of water. The spectators could see the tail of the fish, but its body was covered by the shaman's hands. After washing it he held it over the fire, and suddenly it disappeared. He grasped at the air, and they saw the fish again in his hands. He repeated the washing and drying, and then placed it in the boy's side near the heart. Daily for five days he repeated this procedure, in order to accustom the fish to the heat of the body. Meanwhile the boy was ill, because the fish could not bear the heat. He ate nothing and became very thin, but at the end of the treatment he felt stronger, began to eat, and improved rapidly. When he was entirely well he continued to travel in the woods and bathe, but not so much as before. Later he acquired another power, but being himself a medicine-man he did not this time need the help of another.

Three kinds of shamanistic power were all that could be had by one person. Once upon a time a woman who already had the three took one from a medicine-man and put it in her body. It killed her. Apparently there was little, if any, difference between the powers conferred by different spirits upon Makah medicine-men; but the possessor of three powers was much stronger than a man who had one or two. In fact the possessor of only one had little ability. Among the Clayoquot the power of medicine-men comes from such beings as wolf, owl, raven, and squirrel.

Medicine-men treated sickness by pretending to scoop out of the body with their hands, or suck out with their lips, a worm-like object which they declared to be the disease itself. This they would either lay on a black stone and cast into the fire, or explode on a hot ember, or ostensibly throw into the body of some other person, whom it would cause to fall sick. All this the shaman accompanied with his songs, and with weird sounds and gestures, while some of the spectators struck batons on long narrow boards.

If the shaman found his patient unconscious, he proceeded to recover the soul, which had prematurely journeyed to the lower world. The human spirit is said by some to resemble a screech-owl, by others a small man, and to dwell in the head. Whenever one is unconscious, even in sleep, the soul has absented itself, and its return brings a restoration of consciousness. Finding the soul of his patient absent, and believing it not too late to recover it, a shaman fixed his eyes on some certain spot of the floor, and slowly proceeded straight to it, shaking

his rattle. He fell upon hands and knees, and then lay prone. His spirit apparently left his body, in order, as the shamans told the people, to search for the sick man's soul, visiting house after house in the land of the dead until it found the object of its search. If the patient was irrevocably dead, the door of the house in which his soul was found was locked, and the shaman's spirit returned alone. If however the absent soul was recovered, the shaman, when he became conscious, held a small image in his hands, and this he pretended to replace in the patient's head.

In certain families were held the secrets of medicinal herbs. These remedies were sometimes used in connection with the shamanistic treatment, but the medicine-man himself did not administer them.

Payment of the agreed amount was made after the course of treatment. A medicine-man was not held responsible for the death of his patient.

Shamans were supposedly able to cause death. When a wealthy chief, in order to limit the expense, hired an inferior medicine-man, the slighted members of the profession resented it and tried to make his illness incurable. One of the talismans used for this purpose was a three-inch tip of deer-horn with one end carved into the likeness of a human face and the other tapering to a point, to which was tied a wing of finely split whale-sinew, hair, cherry-bark, and dried hide, to guide the "missile" in a straight course. Armed with this object, the medicine-man in the darkness of night crept noiselessly through the door of the intended victim's house, pointed the horn at the sick man, and released it. It was supposed to enter the man's body and cause his speedy death. This method was not effective against another shaman. To accomplish the death of a professional rival, a medicine-man opened a new coffin, took a portion of flesh, and went to some quiet place to try out the oil. This, which was held to be an infallible poison, he secretly spread on dried halibut intended for his rival's meal. One poisoned by this oil did not die immediately, but gradually wasted away.

Few of the Nootka games were purely and simply methods of gambling, for most of them involved some athletic exercise. For the game *nunúehis* (Clayoquot dialect) a pair of five-foot stakes were driven into a sandy slope with their tips crossing at an angle of about thirty degrees, and a shorter, perpendicular stake was set up, bisecting the base of the triangle formed by the ground and the two intersecting

stakes. A similar wicket was made a hundred feet distant. Twenty men in two parties took their place somewhat beyond the middle of the range, and one by one each threw a small stone at the farther wicket, trying to send it between the upright and one of the slanting stakes. When all had thrown they determined by measurement which stone was nearest to one of the slanting stakes, and its owner was the winner, unless some one had cast his missile through the wicket. This was the best shot. The winner and his partners received the wagers from their opponents, and the stones were thrown at the other wicket. A similar game the Clayoquot called *pi'yís*. Two stout stakes were set in the ground twenty feet apart, and ten men in two opposing parties stood together near one peg and tossed from the open palm, as our athletes "put the shot," a naturally shaped, flat, stone disc ten inches in diameter. The player whose stone rested nearest the stake won for his side.

The game *nútstuhl* (Clayoquot dialect) was played on a level, sandy beach by two opposing lines of young men a hundred feet apart, each player armed with a four-foot throwing stick. A strong player hurled from his stick a cedar-withe hoop about twelve inches in diameter, and his opponents attempted to catch it on their sticks, only to throw it quickly back. The side first failing to catch the hoop lost a point.

In playing *dutúdutsh* (Makah dialect) two rows of ten men stood thirty yards apart, and a player rolled toward the opposing line a braided cedar-bark hoop twelve inches in diameter and two in thickness. Each of they released an arrow, and those who failed to pierce the bark of the hoop had to join the side that rolled it.

Shinny was played with a ball of cartilage found in a whale's fin. In the tug-of-war the two leaders grasped a short stick and each of the other eighteen contestants clasped the waist of the man in front. Wrestling was practised in various forms: by the ordinary body-holds; by grasping the hair and attempting to force one's opponent to his knees; by interlocked arms; by two men who lay on the backs of two others and attempted to dislodge each other with kicks.

Foot-races and canoe-races were of frequent occurrence. Young men engaged in sham battles, in which the contestants, with left arms tied to the body, hurled stones and sections of kelp.

A few games involved only pure chance. Such was what the Makah call *eis,* the play of dice, in which women cast on a mat four beaver-teeth marked on one side, two with straight lines, two with circles.

If all lay with the marked surface in sight, the player won two tally-sticks; if one of each kind was exposed, she received a single stick. The other possible combinations counted nothing. Twenty, thirty, or forty points decided a wager.

Another game of chance was known to the Clayoquot as *tsahtsáhwa (tsahtsáh,* to roll). Ten small balls of yew, one having a distinguishing mark, were shaken in the hands of a player and thrown out at random one by one, while the players on the opposite side guessed whether or not the next would be the marked ball.

Some of the guessing games involved the clash of wits, the one side attempting to read their opponents' thoughts, the other to maintain a noncommital or actually misleading expression. The well-known hand-gambling game was played between opposite rows of ten to twenty men. The chief of one party held a marked and an unmarked bit of wood or bone, and while his companions sang vigorously he rapidly threw his closed hands back and forth in opposite directions. His opponent then guessed at the position of the two bones, a mistake being penalized by one of the twenty-one tally-sticks going to the party that was having its inning, while success meant that the other would now have an inning.

Quite like one of our games for children was that in which men and women sat in opposite rows with their blankets reversed so that the opening was at the back and the arms were covered. On one side a pebble was passed from hand to hand, and the other players, silently watching for a movement or expression of self-consciousness, guessed which one held the pebble.

The Nootka played the game which the Salish call *lahál,* in which ten wooden discs were juggled about in two masses of shredded bark, and the other side guessed which bunch contained a certain disc.

Battledore and shuttlecock was played by boys and girls. Another game of skill was what the Clayoquot call *shashayíhtsaku. A* pierced bone from the fore flipper of a hair-seal was held on a stick with a curving point. With a quick flip the bone was tossed into the air, and as it turned and fell, the player caught it on the point of the stick. He continued until he missed, when the play passed to another contestant. The first to make twenty catches scored a point, and each of his partners received a wager from the others.

A favorite evening pastime is the "good time" dance, *yátiyáta,* as

the Clayoquot call it. This was entered into on the spur of the moment, a few of the best singers furnishing the music, and the dancers, men and women, performing singly as the fancy took them.

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