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THE NOOTKA - Part II

WARFARE

The various groups of Nootka villages were mutually hostile. Permanent peace and friendship existed only within the limits of the dialectic unit, and not always then. Between these groups there were intervals of peace for purposes of trade, the news of the truce being spread by means of messengers sent among their nearest neighbors from the villages that desired to be visited by trading parties of other tribes. From these neighbors the report quickly flew to the most distant parts of the west coast. In the absence of such a truce any canoe passing the village of another tribe or encountered travelling was fair game for the fighting man who felt impelled to enhance his reputation by taking a head or capturing a slave. In spite of this condition there was considerable communication between the tribes; but travellers generally moved in large parties, unless they were under the protection of a man allied by birth to the tribe they were visiting.

When the head chief, whether on his own initiative or at the request of a warrior desirous of glory or revenge, decided that an expedition should be launched against a certain tribe, he called his professional fighting men and revealed his purpose. They never refused. On the following day he had his speaker assemble the people and announce the plan. Any man without experience in fighting, but desirous of becoming a warrior, might make a speech declaring his intention to join the party. Then all the members of the expedition disappeared for ceremonial purification. Although, as a rule, he would not accompany them, the chief also bathed, praying that his men might be successful and that no one of them might be killed, and addressing such gods as Moon, Sun, and Mountain Chief. In very important cases they bathed morning and night during the waxing of ten moons, and of course they practised continence. The war-party travelled only at night. Near their destination they drew their canoes into the woods, purified themselves again, and rubbed their individual medicine on their bodies in order to make themselves invisible to the enemy. Meanwhile the scout canoe reconnoitred. After spending perhaps two nights and two days in purification, they put their craft into the water and moved by night toward the village. They landed and crept cautiously toward the houses,

holding hands in order that none might stumble and give the alarm. In groups of two or three they drew aside the mat doors and entered the houses that had been assigned to them. Crouching in the darkness the marauders waited until they heard the signal, usually a screech-owl's hoot, of the party that had farthest to go, or until a scream announced that some one had been aroused. Then they fell upon their victims with spears, knives, and clubs, killing the men and capturing women and children. The entire population having been killed, captured, or scattered in flight, the invaders plundered the chests of food and clothing, fired the houses, and retreated to the canoes, which at the beginning of the attack had been brought into shallow water in front of the village.

During the absence of the warriors their women spent much time in singing, and Clayoquot women, in order to ensure the return of their men, would take two or three hairs at the temple and draw them slowly between their fingers. As soon as the returning canoes were seen, all the villagers dressed and marched to the beach, some striking batons on a sounding-board which they carried, and all singing. The severed heads of the enemy were set up on poles along the shore, or placed on prominent rocks, and the slaves were either claimed by the chief or left in the hands of their captors as a mark of his favor.

Sanguinary quarrels between individuals or factions were not infrequent. Murder for a price was a recognized custom, whether with a weapon, or by poison in the food of a guest, or by the supposedly occult practices of sorcerers.

Meares describes the departure and return of a war-party in August, 1788, in these words:

"Previous to our departure, we confirmed our friendship with Maquilla and Callicum [chiefs of the Mooachaht], with the usual interchange of presents. These chiefs had been for some time preparing for an hostile expedition against an enemy at a considerable distance to the Northward [probably either Quatsino or Kyuquot sound], and were now on the point of setting forward. Some of the nations in the vicinity of the Northern Archipelago [Queen Charlotte islands], had, it seems, invaded a village about twenty leagues to the Northward of King George's Sound [Nootka sound], under the jurisdiction, and

which had been left to the particular government of his grandmother.[1]

"At this place the enemy had done considerable mischief, — murdering some of the people, and carrying others into captivity. On the arrival of a messenger at Nootka [Yuquot, principal village of the Mooachaht, at Friendly cove, Nootka sound] with the news of these hostilities, the inhabitants became instantly inflamed with a most active impatience for revenge; and nothing was thought of amongst them, but the means of gratifying it.

"We embraced this opportunity of binding the chiefs, if possible, unalterably to us, by furnishing them with some fire-arms and ammunition, which would give them a very decided advantage over their enemies. Indeed we felt it to be our interest that they should not be disturbed and interrupted by distant wars; and that, if necessity should compel them to battle, that they should return victorious. This unexpected acquisition of force animated them with new vigour; for they had already confessed that they were going to attack an enemy who was more powerful, numerous and savage than themselves.

"We attempted to instill into their minds the humanity of war, — and they had actually promised to punish the enemies they should take in battle with captivity, and not, as had been their general practice, with death. But it could not be supposed that the doctrines of our humane policy would be remembered by a savage nation burning with revenge, in the moment of battle; and we are sorry to add, that this expedition ended in a most shocking scene of blood and massacre.

"The power that Maquilla carried with him on this occasion, was of a formidable nature. His war canoes contained each thirty young, athletic men, and there were twenty of these vessels, which had been drawn from the different villages under the subjection of Maquilla. — Comekela had the command of two boats: — They moved off from the shore in solemn order, singing their song of war. The chiefs were cloathed in sea-otter skins; and the whole army had their faces

1 The father of Múqinna (Maquilla) had married the daughter of the head chief of the Ehatisaht. The aged woman who "ruled" the village occupied her place because she was the widow of the former chief, and not because she happened to be the grandmother of Múqinna, as Meares thought. It was only because there were no direct male heirs that she became the chief, and when she died, Kóhlanna, a younger brother of Múqinna, succeeded her.

and bodies painted with red ochre, and sprinkled with a shining sand [mica], which, particularly when the sun shone on them, produced a fierce and terrible appearance. While the women encouraged the warriors, in the patriotic language of the Spartan dames, — to return victorious, or to return no more.

"The battles, or rather the attacks of these savage tribes, are we believe inconceivably furious, and attended with the most shocking actions of barbarous ferocity. They do not carry on hostilities by regular conflicts; but their revenge is gratified, their sanguinary appetites quenched, or their laurels obtained by the operations of sudden enterprize and active stratagem. ...

"On the 27th, while we were visiting the village, Maquilla and Callicum returned from their war expedition; and, on entering the Sound, the little army gave the shout of victory. They certainly had obtained some advantages, as they brought home in their canoes several baskets, which they would not open in our presence, and were suspected by us, as it afterwards proved, by the confession of Callicum, to contain the heads of enemies whom they had slain in battle, to the amount of thirty; but this victory was not purchased without some loss on the side of the powers of Nootka.

"The chiefs now returned the arms they had received from us, but the ammunition was entirely expended : — we perceived, indeed, that the muskets had been fired several times; and Callicum assured us that they had taken ample vengeance for the hostilities exercised against them; and had, besides, made a great booty of sea-otter skins, in which they were all arrayed."[2]

The pettiness of most of this primitive warfare may be illustrated by the following history of the encounters between the Makah and the Quilliute.

One summer a man at Warmhouse [a fishing village] invited the Quilliute, and only a few came. The following night some one killed three of them, a man and two women. When the other Quilliute learned of this, one of their young warriors led a party to Warmhouse and stabbed a chief in the back without killing him, and wounded another in the arm. In the ensuing struggle the Makah killed all the at-

2 Meares, *op. cit.,* 196-197, 208-209.

tacking party except one, who escaped by the help of certain Makah relatives. After hiding for some time in the woods, he went home along the beach and reported the news. The chief who was stabbed in the back subsequently died of the wound.

The next summer when the Makah were fishing at Warmhouse, they decided to make war on the Quilliute, and sent to Tatoosh, the other summer village, for help. Twenty canoes with crews of eight men armed with muzzle-loading guns and bows set out. The party stopped at Ozette to make their final plans. One of the bravest Ozette men wanted to go directly to James island, the refuge of the Quilliute, and as no other leader was willing to do so, he planned to go alone with his crew. Two of the chiefs said they would go up Quilliute river and watch for canoes, and the rest were to lie hidden near the island.

They reached their destination at night, and the canoes took up their positions. Soon those on the river saw a man and a woman coming downstream in a canoe, and the man, catching sight of the war-canoes, leaped overboard and escaped. The woman was captured. Later the two canoes went down the river again, and passing the island after daylight were shot at without damage. The proposed attack on the island had not been made, and the Quilliute taunted them with their failure. They now paddled away to the north toward home, but half way to Ozette, out of sight of the Quilliute, they landed, and scouts sent back along the shore saw their enemies preparing to fish. The Makah paddled toward the island, close along the shore and in single file. They were not detected until they were quite near the island, and so they succeeded in intercepting the unarmed fishermen and killing several.

The following summer the Makah heard that the Quilliute were coming for revenge, but it seemed that there was difficulty in organizing a party. Finally four brothers came overland and down Suez river. They stopped at Waatch creek. A man from Warmhouse, armed with a gun, happened along, and they gave chase, but he escaped across the creek. This man was Dahlúka, and he was a noted runner. The four brothers went home, and nothing more happened that summer.

A year later, in the autumn, the Ozette having returned to their home for the winter, a single Quilliute came to visit relatives. The chief immediately sent a messenger to invite the visitor to a feast, and hired a man to kill him. So the Quilliute was murdered. By this the Quilliute

were greatly angered, and three years later Sítadu, a squat, vicious man, selected four companions and came to Ozette. They lay in wait south of the village, and before daybreak they saw a man pass them, looking for sea-food cast ashore. They did not molest him. It grew light, and another man passed, unarmed. They called to him, and he recognized Sítadu as a relative of his. Sítadu told him to sit down, and asked why and how the Quilliute man had been murdered three years previously. The man refused to speak of it, and asked to be released, as he was on his way to work at a canoe. When they still insisted, he said he would go back immediately to Ozette. He stood up, but the four men held him, and Sítadu, exasperated, exclaimed, "Are you going back at once?" With that he stabbed his relative four times, and the man fell to the ground. They killed him, and hid the body among the bushes.

A woman approached, and two of them stabbed her to death and left the corpse on the beach. Soon they heard a man chopping wood, and creeping up slowly they saw the workman, and a little girl seated on a log and cleaning sea-weed. She saw the bushes move, and told the man, but he paid no attention. She sat there and watched for further signs. At this time a woman passed on down the beach. Then Sítadu shot the man in the thigh, and he fell between two logs. Another Quilliute sprang upon the log and shot him in the side, but the wound was shallow. They seized the girl, ran southward along the shore, and overtook the woman. She proved to be an aunt of Sítadu, and he reassured her and went on. They came to a large stump on the beach, and found the man who had first passed them early in the morning. He drew a knife, ready to fight. The others, recognizing him also as a relative of Sítadu, grounded their guns, but he was suspicious. They told him to go home, but he was afraid to turn his back and would not move until they went on. Meanwhile the woman had hurried to the village and told of the two men killed and the little girl taken.

The first man killed had a kinsman among the Quilliute, and one of them was very angry because the relatives of Sítadu had been spared but his own killed. In the winter of the same year he asked his brother and two others to go with him to Ozette and remedy this inequality. When they reached the hiding place used by Sítadu, they waited to see if their man would come along the beach again. And early in the morning he came. One of them shot, and he ran toward the water, wounded. Another fired and killed him. A wood-chopper ran to the

village and reported that he had heard shots.

Meanwhile another Ozette came along the beach, and finding a gun-cover he looked carefully about and saw the tracks of four men hurrying southward. He knew they were made by Quilliute, and he quickly carried the news to the village. The warriors armed themselves and started out, and at the place where the shooting had occurred one of them saw a bit of rag fluttering in the breeze. Thus they found the dead man. They perceived the Quilliute, but soon abandoned the chase.

Late in the fall of the following year, when there was snow on the ground, four other Quilliute came north. They lay in wait near the village, and at dawn they killed two women without betraying their presence. Two old women gathering fuel near a brook saw a woman's foot protecting from behind a stump, and then, discovering the body, they turned and ran. Two of the Quilliute gave chase, and shot one of them dead and broke the arm of the other. They caught the wounded one but soon released her, and she ran to the village. Then the men rushed out, and while some recovered the bodies for burial, others followed the enemy. From the point the six pursuers saw four men on the long beach, and at the next point they overtook one of them. The other Quilliute had taken his gun and ammunition, but the Makah did not know this, and were afraid to follow when he plunged into the forest. At the third point they gave up the pursuit, the Quilliute having taken to the woods.

Two years later a Quilliute came to Ozette to make peace. He had many relatives there, and having taken no part in the hostilities he was safe. He went to the home of his nearest relative and said that Sítadu was the only Quilliute who desired to continue the war, and declared that he would bring this man to Ozette and offer peace. The next day he returned home, and it was not long before he had persuaded Sítadu to accompany him and four others to Ozette. It was agreed that the messenger was to lodge with his relatives, and that Klíklihahlik ("face painted red") was to invite the others and kill Sítadu. So this man gave Sítadu a seat at the end of the row, where his wife was preparing the meal. His knife was hidden under his wife's dress, and he himself sat between her and the warrior. When they began to eat, he noticed that Sítadu had a knife partly concealed by his blanket, and he asked to see it, saying: "You ought to trust me. I would not carry a knife if I visited

you." The other Quilliute had guns within reach. At the end of the meal the host gave Sítadu the usual bunch of shredded cedar-bark, and when his guest shut his eyes in wiping his face, he grasped him by the hair, drew his head back, and stabbed him in the neck with the man's own knife. The door opened and some villagers came in, and the Quilliute, with guns ready, backed to the wall. But the intermediary explained to the Makah that their last enemy had been killed, and that these others were friendly. So the Quilliute were permitted to return to their homes, and there they explained to the family of Sítadu that he had been killed in a mêlée from which they had luckily escaped. There was no further trouble between the two tribes.

Village feuds could be as venomous and futile as some of these almost puerile wars. A Makah feud was carried on in the following manner:

The daughter of the whaler Waáli and a sister of the warrior Káshid quarrelled, and such epithets were exchanged that the two men felt themselves involved. Káshid threatened to stab Waáli. There was much talk among the people, and some said that the two had agreed to fight it out on the beach. For four years nothing happened, but Káshid nursed his wrath. One morning when as usual the men sat talking on the platform above the beach, the husband of Káshid's sister surreptitiously placed his foot on Waáli's blanket. Káshid went up the terrace, crept unseen toward the platform, rushed upon his enemy, and grasped his hair. The foot on his blanket prevented Waáli from rising further than his hands and knees, and Káshid struck a glancing blow at his waist. He released his hold, and Waáli stood up almost unhurt. His sons rushed to his aid, but the crowd prevented further trouble, and the chief, who now appeared on the scene, commanded peace.

For four days each constantly expected an attack, and other men stayed indoors as much as possible. The tension however was gradually relieved. Two years later Káshid was heard to say that he would some day shoot his enemy, and the sons of Waáli saw no way but to arrange a battle. At the end of the third year a date was fixed. Early in the morning Waáli, his four sons, and two slaves painted their faces and bodies black, with black stripes on their legs, and each wound a blanket around the left arm, letting a portion of it hang. All had guns except one slave. They went to the shore, the eldest son leading, and stood in a line across the beach. After a while came Káshid with four

guns. His face was black and his body red. He was stripped except for a belt, which held two of the guns. He ran rapidly down the beach to a canoe and crouched behind it. A slave joined him, and a relative took a position behind a whale's shoulderblade. Waáli's party advanced. Káshid leaped upon the canoe and fired at the one nearest the water, and the bullet struck the sand. He ran to the other end of the canoe and shot at the next man, but without effect. Then he fired the other two guns at them, grasped the four weapons, and ran to his house, pursued by Waáli and his men, who shot as they ran. At the door a bullet glanced from his gun-stock and struck his thigh, causing him to fall. Some one opened the door, and he staggered in. Meanwhile the two slaves had been exchanging arrows. Waáli had not yet used the charge in his gun. He now went to the house and stood near the door with his back inadvertently against a loop-hole. Káshid, having reloaded his guns, perceived that some one was leaning against one of his loopholes, and thinking that it must be one of his enemies, he cocked a gun and pulled the trigger. It missed fire and Waáli, suddenly aware of his danger, ran away.

That night no one stirred. The next day it was reported that Káshid was suffering from his wound and was not expected to live long. A day later he sent a relative for a medicine-man to remove the bullet, and bribed him to report that he could not long survive. In fact the wound was only a trifle. In the afternoon the people heard a war-cry, and on rushing out they beheld Káshid with a gun in each hand, and painted with white, red, and black stripes from head to foot like his guardian spirit. He walked up and down the beach, challenging his enemies, but no one appeared. At dusk he went to the house of Waáli and shot into it, but struck no one.

The sons of Waáli felt that they had not enough guns, and before dawn the next day the family started for Quilliute, where they traded their sister for four guns. Then they returned, and none knew what they had done. In their absence however Káshid had gone in a canoe to Baada to have his wound treated, and when he returned he did not propose a fight. He sickened, and a few years later in an epidemic of smallpox he killed himself with a knife.

SOCIOLOGY

The Nootkan tribes were formerly divided into local groups, or septs, but inasmuch as these were not exogamic they should not be regarded as true gentes. There was in fact no clan or gentile system on the west coast south of Quatsino sound. Traditions indicate that at the time when the Nootka came in contact with civilization the tribes of the present day were in process of formation by the coalescing of neighboring groups. There is little doubt that, except for the disturbing advent of the whites, northern influence would have completed the creation of the gentile system thus begun. The traditionists still retain the names of the septs and of their original seats, although all dividing lines within the tribe have been obliterated.

In view of this lack of gentes, the paucity of carved posts is to be expected. Cook and Vancouver apparently saw nothing of this nature except a few interior house-posts.[3] The present Clayoquot chief says that his great-grandfather erected a post bearing the figures of a whale, a sea-otter, and other animals which he had the "supernatural" power to capture, and this, the only carved post in the village, was bequeathed to his successor. Frequently he would set his eldest daughter on the top of it and give away property in her honor. It is specifically stated that the figures on the post had nothing whatever to do with its owner's vision experiences, except in so far as he obtained his hunting ability by ceremonial purification and supplication of the spirit animals.

A few carved poles are now seen on the west coast, and it is perhaps significant that they are most numerous at the northern limit of Nootkan territory. Here, in the Kyuquot village Aktese [A'ktís], are about ten. Very old women who formerly lived in three of the six Kyuquot local groups were questioned on this subject. In one of the three there was no carved pole. In another was a pole carved in the likeness of a man, representing the chief who owned it, and having at the top the figure of an eagle, the chief's watchman. In the third village was a pole with a paddle crosswise at the top, in token of the chief's many potlatches to which all the surrounding people came with canoe and paddle. The chief of each of these three villages had carved interior

3 But Meares found a very large carved pole at the front of the Clayoquot chief's house, the entrance being through the mouth of one of the figures. See quotation previously cited

house-posts. As to the origin of these posts, the old women said that one chief received his from a Koskimo chief visiting in Kyuquot sound, and two others obtained theirs from other Kwakiutl chiefs. Repeated questions failed to reveal the existence of a single carved post obtained in vision, and the definite statement was made that all carved posts were obtained by marriage or by gift.

Like the other tribes of the North Pacific coast, the Nootka recognized three classes of society: hereditary nobles, commoners, and slaves. The nobles, or chiefs, ruled with a high hand, and the common people were, in most instances, servile henchmen, grateful for the protection of their masters. Slaves were prisoners of war, or their children born in captivity.

The authority of a head chief was, and is, considerable. In every matter affecting the tribe, and even in family and private affairs, his voice carries great weight. The following experience of Meares in Clayoquot sound reads like the doings of an absolute monarch.

"Just as we were going to embark, there was a sudden and universal confusion throughout the village; a considerable number of canoes were instantly filled with armed men, and being launched in a moment, were paddled to the ship. At first we were apprehensive that some broil had taken place between the natives and the crew; but we were soon satisfied that a matter of political jealousy, respecting some of their neighbors, was the cause of this sudden commotion. Some strangers having ventured to visit the ship without the knowledge of Wicananish, the chief had ordered his people to fall upon the intruders, one of whom they had now seized and brought on shore. We are sorry to add, that this unfortunate man was immediately hurried into the woods, where we have every reason to apprehend that he was quickly murdered."[4]

It was customary for the head chief to summon the men of importance and inform them of his views on matters concerning the tribe, such as feasts, potlatches, ceremonies, war-parties, and seasonal migrations. He, or another, would then call for the opinion of some wise man, who never failed to agree perfectly. The council therefore was nothing more than a convenient means of disseminating news of the

4 Meares, *op. cit.,* 142.

chief's decisions and plans.

If the chief had power, he had also responsibilities. It was his duty to protect the weak, settle disputes, recover stolen goods (peaceably if possible, forcibly by his slaves if he must). He must be a good whaler, and, after certain prescribed portions had been appropriated by his family and his crew, he abandoned the carcass to the people. As a matter of fact his judicial and policing powers were rarely exercised, and his occasional distributions of whale meat and blubber were more than compensated by the frequent contributions of game and skins by hunters, berries and blankets by women, canoes and boxes by carvers, and slaves by warriors.

Descent is reckoned in the male line, but if male heirs are wanting, name, rank, and privileges may pass to a daughter, who holds them in trust, as it were, for her son.

Nootkan life is full of inherited rights. Thus a visitor at Yuquot dare not eat in the house of his host until he first has been invited and fed by that chief who, by marriage, inherited the beach in front of the village. If, on leaving the house to which his possessions have been brought from the beach, the visitor forgets something, he cannot go back and recover it; but there is a certain man who has the inherited right to do this for him.

A marriage in the upper class was arranged and consummated in a prescribed manner. The proposal was made to the girl's family by male relatives or friends of the young man. Among the Clayoquot, two were dressed in wolf-skins, two others carried torches, and a fifth bore a staff with two eagle-feathers bound to the tip by a piece of mountain-goat hair blanket. If the suitor's father were a man of great wealth this part was generally taken by a slave wearing a sea-otter skin and a mountain-goat hair blanket. At the house of the girl, boasting speeches concerning their patron were delivered with ranting voice and fierce demeanor, and the slave thrust his staff forcibly into the earth. As a sign of their assent to the proposal, the girl's family took the slave and his coverings, and drew out the staff. Refusal was indicated by casting the staff to the ground.

The wedding ceremony itself assumed many forms. For example, a Clayoquot whaler took all his relatives and followers in canoes and landed in front of the house of his son's bride. They marched toward the dwelling, and the chief hurled a spear at it and uttered the cry used

in casting a whaling harpoon. It was said that the point must transfix the wall, else the girl would not be given up. As the spear left his hand, the chief's companions held their paddles as if checking a canoe, and all shouted "Wa! Wa!" as if a whale had been struck. Presents were then given to the girl's family, and she was taken away.

The relatives of a Makah bridegroom accompanied his father in a gala throng, bearing a varied array of presents to the bride's people. This was repeated on the three following days, and after the fourth time the young man's father announced that he and his friends could give no more. On the next day the bride, her father, and her relatives carried presents to the other house, where the bridegroom's father gave a wedding feast to all the community.

Another Makah custom is strikingly like one practised by the Puget Sound tribes. Having received a favorable answer to his proposal, the suitor went to his bride's house, his relatives accompanying him and carrying presents. In the house the young man's father made a speech, promising to do certain things for the new couple, but the host maintained silence. The visiting party then departed, all except the suitor, who sat down where he would not be in the way. There he remained, speechless, during four days, while the girl sat on her bed, and on the fifth day they partook of the marriage feast with all the members and friends of both families. On the following day the bridal party led the couple to a feast at the bridegroom's house, and left them to make their home there.

Among the common people marriage was usually an unceremonious mating, but occasionally a young man, having won his suit, laid on his bride's bed the trifles he could afford and then took her away.

Polygamy was recognized, although most men had but one wife at a time. Very few indeed possessed more than two.

Courting was done secretly. It was rather difficult to meet alone a girl of high birth, but to exchange whispered words and tokens in the night through the cracks in the wall was a simple matter; and if the suitor possessed the courage he could occasionally creep through the door and into his sweetheart's presence. Parents were inclined to wink at the peccadilloes of their daughters — and in this category the North Pacific tribes placed all the major sins — provided only the manner of the doing were not too overt. The girl who was trained to be so circumspect in the street that she would not lift an eye from the ground,

who never left the village except in the company of her mother or a slave woman, that same damsel might in the dead of night receive more than one secret lover in her bedroom. But that was nothing to her discredit, so long as she maintained her circumspectness in public. An interesting commentary on this phase of Nootka life is presented in the following song, which was composed and made public by a man who overheard a young woman boasting to another that the married women were jealous and afraid of her because she had no husband.

Divorce was easily accomplished by simply separating. Each retained his own possessions, the children, as a rule, remaining with the mother.

The potlatch, or free distribution of gifts for the purpose of gaining fame and standing, is still prominent in Nootka life. Each person receives according to his rank, and not necessarily according to what the giver has previously received from him, although a man always endeavors not to give less than he has received. Even the poor are not overlooked, though they can never requite the trifling gifts they receive.

Only recently have the Nootka tribes learned from the Kwakiutl to lend at interest. They reckon in dollars, not blankets.

THE WINTER CEREMONY

The principal ceremony of the Nootka was the pseudo-religious performance of *tlúgwana* (Kyuquot, *tlúqan;* Makah*, tlúqali*) by a secret society of the same name. This was the so-called wolf dance. Several times repeated, it occupied the entire winter season, relieving the gloomy, rainy days and chill nights. Its principal features formed the dramatization of a myth, portraying the capture of a number of people (the initiates) by wolves, their recovery by the fraternity after having received certain powers and instructions from the wolves, and the exorcising of the wolf spirit that possessed them.

The strictest secrecy was enjoined on new members, and the uninitiated were prohibited from looking at the novices while possessed by the wolf spirit. It is said that in ancient times disobedience to either rule was punished by death.

A multitude of taboos were in effect during the ceremonial season. The ordinary personal names were exchanged for hereditary ceremo-

nial names, and the ordinary songs were under the ban. Gum-chewing was punished by pushing the lower jaw aside until the culprit cried in pain. Domestic quarrels were avoided, because this was a season of lightheartedness, and, as sexual laxity was by common consent countenanced, the greatest cause of marital discord was removed. The killing of deer or the eating of venison was threatened with death, at least by the Mooachaht.

During the ceremony the novices did not use the common water vessel, and they scratched the head, not with the fingers, but with a stick on the end of which were several slivers of a sea-otter bone,. Female initiates used slivers from the bone of a female otter. For two months following they did not approach a fire with outspread hands lest in old age they have sore eyes, and during the same period they ate no fresh halibut, bass, cod, ling-cod, nor rock-cod. Fresh salmon and fresh herring were taboo for a year. During four months they sang their secret songs twice daily, morning and evening.

Like every other privilege in Nootkan life, membership in the secret society was hereditary; that is, only a member could bestow membership, but he was not limited either as to the number or the relationship of those whom he might initiate. The giver of the ceremony was the sponsor, or initiator, of the principal initiate. Usually, but not necessarily, the initiates were children; men and women up to the age of about forty years were not infrequently seen in this rôle. Sometimes all were of like age, sometimes of widely different ages. The number depended on the ability of the man giving the ceremony to persuade others to have their children initiated — in other words, on his wealth and influence. The one requisite for the family of an initiate was the possession of a sufficient quantity of goods and food to help the giver of the ceremony in his great feast and potlatch, and also themselves to give a smaller feast. One's first participation in *tlúgwana* constituted initiation; no further procedure was necessary to make one a full member in the society. But one might, and did, play the part of initiate many times, the object of the repetition being to better the standing of one's family.

As the ceremony is obsolete, it can best be portrayed by a native's description of an actual performance. The following narration by Má^{ha}tsis of the sept Saiyáchaut^{ha} shows the practice of the principal chief of the Mooachaht. As given by other tribes, and even by other

chiefs of the same tribe, the ceremony differed considerably.

The son of the chief Tsáhwasip ["harpooner"][5] was Cháchunas, whose son Sátsaktsoksís was a little boy. One day the relatives of Cháchunas were called into the house of the chief to arrange how they would do with the boy: for they intended to initiate him. They decided to pretend that they were going to visit the Clayoquot. So they prepared a canoe, and in the evening Tsáhwasip, Cháchunas, and several others embarked, and they secreted the boy in the canoe, but instead of going to the Clayoquot they went to Su'yaktlís [on Bligh island] and spent the night with Tlitsiyúpsa, who had a house there.

In the night the mother of the boy began to look for her son, pretending ignorance of what had occurred, and she awoke the people, who all engaged in the search. A number of fighting men made cedar torches and went about from house to house, dragging people out of their beds and causing the greatest excitement and confusion. They regarded neither sex nor age. They went into the woods with their torches, and then returned to the beach and looked under logs and canoes. Now the mother began to pretend that she thought her son dead, and she wept and wailed; and many joined her.

The next morning Tláshitowanísh, a chief, called a number of chiefs to him and said: "I notice that Tsáhwasip is absent. He is one of those who have gone to visit the Clayoquot. Now Tsáhwasip is going to give *tlúgwana* [*â^{ha} tlúgwana Tsáhwasip*][6] He is giving tlúgwana without consulting us other chiefs!"

Then all were very angry that Tsáhwasip had done this, and Tláshitowanísh said: "Let us do something that will make him angry. Let us go to the Ehatisaht and kill some relatives of his wife! "So the other

5 The Tsáhwasip of this narration was the grandson of that Maquinna (Múqinna) who captured the ship *Boston*. Tsáhwasip is the winter, or ceremonial, name, which alone can be used in the winter season, though there is nothing to prevent its use in summer; in fact this particular Tsáhwasip was generally known by this name throughout the year. Múqinna is the corresponding summer name, which can not be used in winter.

6 The men who personated wolves varied in number at different villages. The Ahousaht used thirty, the Mooachaht twenty. The initiates could not outnumber the wolves, as each had a wolf attendant. The positions were inherited, having been originally assigned by the man who, according to the legend, obtained the dance from the wolves. A wolf personator called s*aïs^{ha} sî* ("goes on all fours").

chiefs were willing to do this. And on the following morning Tlás-hitowanísh and a number of men let it be known that, because the grandson of their chief was dead, they were going to the Ehatisaht to take heads. They dressed for war with blankets about their loins and rod armor about their chests, and carried their spears and slings. When all were ready they pushed off their war-canoes, thirty-five of them.

Just then Tsáhwasip and his friends returned, with the boy hidden in their canoe, and as he stepped ashore a man said to him, "Your grandson is dead." Even as the man spoke, a wolf howled in the woods, and the war-canoes turned back, apprised that tlú*gwana* was to be given. [All this, of course, was in accordance with a prearranged plan.] Ten wolves' ran down to the canoe, seized a roll of mats, and carried it into the woods. Nobody could see that the boy was within the roll. In the woods were many young men giving the wolf call.

In the evening the wolves came howling into the village, and wherever there was a child who was to be taken (there were twenty in this instance), they threw a stone against the house, and the child immediately fell over as if dead, and began while lying there to sound a whistle concealed in the mouth. All these children were then carried, as if dead, to the house of Tsáhwasip by men from the respective houses. They were the *á*^{ha}*tsa*[7] Then Tsáhwasip sent out two men to call through the village, "I come to tell you, chiefs, that the spirits have gone into the house of Tsáhwasip!"[8] While these two were passing about with their message, twenty men called *wámas* were in the house of Tsáhwasip arranging white, soft, cedar-bark strips about their heads. They were to go and announce to the people the names of the twenty whose spirits had been carried away by the wolves.

When these twenty wámas were ready, they went out together and into the first house, where they stood in a row, shoulder to shoulder, and the first one cried out: "So and so [naming one of á^{ha}*tsa*] is dead on the floor! He is *tlúgwana* [*â*^{ha}*ísh tlúgwana*]*!"* Then the second in like manner called the name he was carrying, and so it went. Leaving the house, the leader shouted "*Wa…!* Chiefs, I invite you [*há'wa*^{ha}*, ká-*

7 The word means dead in the sense of unconscious.

8 *Hínuáhlsaasutáhl, há'wa*^{ha}*, máchintlishtíyiítl chí'ha úqinitlma*^{ha} *téyuk Tsáhwasip! (Há'wa*^{ha}, plural of *há'wahl,* "chief," is applied to both sexes.)

matshítlssutáhl]!" And the others repeated, as they passed out, "Invite, invite, invite, invite [*kámatshits, kámatshits, kámatshits, kámatshits]!"*

So they went to each house in the village, whether or not the inmates were *tlúgwana*. They returned to the house of Tsáhwasip and made six hundred batons and brought out the boards on which to beat. All this was long after dark, and now they began to beat on the boards.

The beating was a signal for the assembling of the people, and they soon came in parties until all were inside, even those who were not *tlúgwana*. These parties were separate as to sex and age: men, women, old men, old women, boys, and girls. And each group had a song which they sang as they entered. Some of these songs were intended to make the people laugh, others were not so. This part of the ceremony is called *núnuhlupká*. Some wore deer-horns and had a black stripe across the eyes. Others had long tufts of cedar-bark standing upright in the hair like horns, and burning at the ends. Fighting men wore real wolf-heads and wolf-skins, or had bear-skins about the shoulders. With spear in hand they acted as if they were going to war, and sang their war-songs. Girls and women wore the cedar-bark robe and the apron, the robe being over the left shoulder and under the right. As they danced, women and girls extended the hands [in the manner characteristic of all women dancers among the Kwakiutl and Nootka].

When all had entered and sat down about the room, the speaker of Tsáhwasip stood up and cried: "*Wa.... !* Chief who keeps the songs for me, I offer you a box!"[9] He could have offered any other thing, not necessarily a box. Then he called upon another: "*Wa.... !* Chief baton-master, I offer you this," mentioning some gift. The song-keeper had a long horn of cedar-bark at the right side of his head, and the assistant had one at the left side. The song-keeper had a rattle, and the assistant a baton. The speaker called out: "*Wa.... !* Chief who makes the dance for me, I offer you this!" He was addressing *huyahlúk'ks anaïhlá* ["my dancer"]. There were two of these persons, who, like all these others, inherited their office. Next the speaker summoned the other dancer, and the two began to dress for the dance. They wore cedar-bark blankets over the left shoulder and under the right, and belted at the waist, and they blackened their faces with charcoal in a circle from forehead

9 *Wa....! Há'wahl kamátshitlssutáhl yákuitsuqsnáq tláhaiks!*

to chin and in a straight line down the nose to the chin.

When these five men were ready, all the people kneeled and took up their batons. A large box was placed before the two singers, of whom the principal stood at the right. In front of the box and facing the singers stood the two dancers. Now the singer repeated a short song, and his assistant followed with the same song, ending with three rapid strokes. Then he struck twice; the people sang the same song, and the dancer at the left turned and walked a few steps to the left and stood, while the other dancer turned and went around him, passing between him and the box and on around the room, followed by the first dancer. After four circuits they resumed their places at the box. Each circuit was accompanied by a repetition of the song, and at each ending the baton-master, who stood at the left front corner of the room, struck the ground with a long speaker's staff and cried: "Strike twice! Make a noise!"

In the other front corner were twenty or thirty boys and youths, who were going to torment the baton-master and the dancers, while an equal number stood ready to defend them. As soon as the four songs were ended, the assailants rushed upon the three men, beat them, tore their blankets, cast water and urine on them, extinguished the fire, and finally threw them out of the house, all because the singing and dancing had not been effective in raising the dead *á^{ha}tsa* to life. Dancers and baton-master sometimes emerged from this ordeal with bleeding, swollen faces. Now nobody was permitted to light the fire on penalty of being thrown out, but a certain man who had this privilege sang a song, and the fire was relighted.

Then the speaker summoned two more dancers, offering them rewards. These two wore entire bear-skins with the claws still attached but without the head, and their hair was arranged in two long horns stiffened with cedar-bark. In each hand they held a bundle of cedar-bark with the ends spread out fan-like. They took the places of the other two in front of the box, and, as before, another song was used by the song-keeper and then by his assistant. Now the people began to sing and the two dancers went about the room once. In the song were the words, "Otter in the canoe," referring to a story in which a land-otter was in a canoe along with many other animals, including a wolf, and there was a spirit [*chi'ha*] who made *tlúgwana* those who saw him. At these words the dancers went to the *á^{ha}tsa,* who were lying under

a pile of matting in the left rear corner of the room behind a mass of seated people. They shook their cedar-bark wisps over the initiates, while singing, and then continued round the room, and when the song ran, "Wolf in the canoe," they shook their hands and bark again over the *á*^{ha}*tsa*.

Two men now carried out one of the *á*^{ha}*tsa,* a naked boy, and laid him beside the fire, and urged the people to sing better, for there was yet no sign of life. Then one of them grasped the boy's hair and dragged him back to the corner, and the speaker sent several men to rub charcoal on the face of every person in order to make the singing stronger.

The singing was resumed, and the two dancers moved round the room, and at the words "Medicine-man in the canoe," they repeated their motions over the initiates. The fourth time it was "Seer in the canoe." Then the initiates began to whistle, and sat up. Their foreheads and cheeks were covered with blood.

Each of the two dancers took a spear or a pole, held it horizontally before him, and danced round the room once, with gestures of joy, and exclamations that the initiates had been restored to life. Each had his own song of praise for this occasion. Some of the *á*^{ha}*tsa* began to sing, each his own secret song. They were not naked. The boys who sang sat down as soon as they had finished, but the girls, singing, danced once about the room. When they had finished and sat down, the people went home. It was now just before daybreak, the end of the first night.

When the people were all in their houses, wolf calls[10] were heard in the woods, and the wolves came out all around the village, ran into the house of Tsáhwasip, and carried the initiates away into the woods. Nobody ventured out to see them. The *á*^{ha}*tsa* were left at a shed that had been erected a short distance from the village in a place apart from the trails, and the wolf men returned to their respective homes. A little later in the morning the father, mother, or grandparent of each initiate went out to teach him the songs he was to use in the dance. These were songs belonging to the parents or the grandparents. Some were taught two, others three or more. They remained in the shed all day,

10 These were highly conventionalized calls produced by means of whistles of several sizes, all of which were made of two hollowed out pieces of ceder bound together with cherry-bark

but after dark they were brought by their parents or grandparents to the house of Tsáhwasip through a secret door in the rear, and they slept behind a curtain of mats. Nobody was permitted behind this curtain, except those who were teaching the songs and the various people who were to participate in the ceremony. These were summoned to the place by Tsáhwasip in order that arrangements might be made. Before dawn the *á*^{ha}*tsa* were taken back to the shed, and at night again were brought to the house. Three full days were spent in the woods.

At sunrise on the day the initiates were first taken to the shed by the wolves [the second day of the ceremony], Tsáhwasip, through his speaker, invited all the people by name to a feast. This was done also on the next two days. If any were forgotten in the invitation, they would have the right to tear boards from the house, or enter and demolish beds and furniture. At the feast only one kind of food was served, and the number of persons invited was so great that only a small portion was given to each. Entering the house for the feast, some would sing, others would shout funny or obscene remarks, and in the corners groups would be engaged in mock combat.

On the second night Tsáhwasip sent out about fifteen men to gather balsam branches in which to clothe the *á*^{ha}*tsa* on the following day. These men returned late in the night, and the people were careful not to see them. For if any uninitiated person should see these boughs it would be necessary for the *tlúgwana* to take him the next day and run a spear-point through the skin of each arm or through the skin of his back, tie a rope to the points, and so drag him to the beach. They would also break his canoe and wreck his house. A woman would receive the same treatment, but a guilty child was punished through the father. The skin was first bitten and chewed in order to soften it [really to deaden it] before the pointed piece of whale-bone was run through to make a hole for the spear-point.

The balsam boughs were brought to the shed in which the children had been concealed, and on the following morning [the third day] the parents and grandparents met in the shed to make rings for the initiates: one for the head, one for the neck, one for each arm at the elbow, one for each ankle, one for the leg just below the knee, and, in the case of boys, one for the waist. But kilts were made for the girls. The headdress projected about six or eight inches in front, like a pointed vizor.

In the meantime Tsáhwasip had two men in the woods making a

life-sized image of cedar in the likeness of his grandson.

About sunset of this third day he sent two men to bid thirty or forty men, whom he already had selected, go to the place where on the following morning the *á*^{ha}*tsa* would come out of the woods. When these men had assembled there, he himself went to meet them. They had a long board a span and three fingers in width, which the singers held in front of them in the left hand as a sounding-board for their batons. There were two men called *kaswík*^{ha}*si* ["holder in the arm"], each of whom carried in the crook of his left arm a rather large oval stone. Two *samichík*^{ha}*si* ["goer on all fours in front"], who wore pointed head-dresses of fir sprigs, took their places on all fours behind the line of men with the board, while the two stone-carriers stood in front of the line with their backs toward it. Now a man with a rattle, standing at the left of the board at the water's edge, sang a short song [a chanted call], and the singers repeated it. Then the singers commenced a song, and the two *samichík*^{ha}*si* crawled forward between the legs of the men in front of them and under the sounding-board, each passing on the outside of the stone-carrier in front of him. Each then crawled toward his end of the board, and about half-way there he turned and crawled back almost to his stone-carrier, where he faced the board and crawled back under it to his original position. The two stone-carriers meanwhile stood still, handling the stones like a mother rocking her baby. They constantly whistled with instruments concealed in their mouths. At the end of the song all moved forward without order, rearranged themselves in the same formation, and repeated the same song and movements. This procedure was continued until they had sung the song four times at four different places. Then they went to the house of Tsáhwasip, each man in his position, with the rattler leading the procession. All kept shouting "Ô... *hihihihi!* Ô... *hihihihi!*"

In the house flamed a great fire. Still beating, but not singing, they all went in order to the back of the fire, and all sat down except the stone-carriers. Then a man whose office it was to perform this duty cried, "*Hei, hei!*" and the stone-carriers sat down and ceased whistling. This man who caused them to sit took the stones and hid them behind

the row of singers.[11]

It was now dark, and Tsáhwasip sent his two speakers to call the people. They went through the village calling a general invitation, and the people soon began to assemble, no matter whether they were *tlúgwana* or not. Attendance was not compulsory. The singers, the *samichík*^{ha}*si,* and the kaswíkhasi took their places among the people. When all were present, the speaker of Tsáhwasip rose and called: "*Wa…!* Yaksíuhlatak, give me now goods! I say this in the name of all *tlúgwana!"*[12]

One parent of each *á*^{ha}*tsa* rose, holding forth some article in each hand, and all, speaking at once, called: "This is the offering of my right hand! This is the offering of my left hand!" Then all went to where Tsáhwasip sat in the left rear corner and laid the offerings on a mat before him. He carried them away to his seat, and the second chief of the tribe took his place in the corner just vacated by Tsáhwasip. The speaker repeated the call for gifts, and the same persons repeated their former words and took their offerings to the mat. The second chief bore them away to his place, and the third chief came forward. So it went until each of the first ten chiefs of the tribe received two presents from each family of the *á*^{ha}*tsa.*

Then the two speakers were again sent out to summon those who had not yet come. When all had entered, the speaker stood up and shouted *Wa!* Chief, I offer you this gift, whoever will split the stick for me! *Wa!* Chief, I offer you this gift, whoever will help split the stick for me!" After summoning three more helpers with the same call, he cried: "Wa! Yaksíuhlatak, I call on you for five of the best mats!" The five mats were brought out and placed in a row behind the fire, extending toward the back of the room. Five men whose right this was came from among the people and sat down on the mats, the chief being on the mat nearest the fire. Then the speaker called: "*Wa!* I want every kind of dancer to look for the stick that is to be split! *Wa!* I want every kind of dancer to look for the wedge and the hammer!

11 The meaning of these stones cannot be learned. The only explanation offered is that the man who received the dance from the spirit wolves saw them perform in this manner.

12 *Wa! Yaksíuhlatak, Kastlítsuyuqats! Washaítstlúgwana, ai!* (*Yaksíuhlatak* is the title of the giver of the ceremony.)

Pick out the best stone for the hammer! Go to the best place to look for these things!" Then almost everybody went out and soon returned with stones, blocks of wood, handfuls of food, each endeavoring to bring something as useless as possible for the purpose desired. Some were painted in a ludicrous manner or wearing old, worn-out clothing, and as they entered they sang or danced ridiculously. Some would push aside the five splitters and take their places in fun, but the splitters soon resumed their seats. All the objects brought to them they refused with the words: "It is useless. Take it away."

After a time some one brought the right kind of wood for the splitting, another provided a good wedge, a third a stone maul. The speaker cried: "*Wa!* Chief, Yaksíuhlatak, give us five mats to place under the stick that is to be split!" Five mats were spread before the splitters. Then the speaker said: "Now we have all that we wish. Get ready your batons!" The chief of the splitters took up the wedge and the maul, and the four helpers grasped the piece of cedar, which had been put before them on the mats. It was two fathoms long and a span wide, a clear piece of board. All the people held their batons and waited.

"*Wa!*" called the speaker. "Make the motion of striking!" The chief splitter and the two alternate assistants moved to the opposite side of the stick, the people made two movements of striking the boards, and the splitter did the same with his maul, the splitter and two helpers returned to their former positions, and the other two assistants went to the opposite side of the stick. "*Wa!* Strike!" All struck the boards twice and then began a rapid tattoo, chanting, "*Wa.…, wa.…, wa.…, wa.…!*" At the same time the splatter struck the wedge twice. All these acts were repeated three times more, until the wedge and the sounding-boards had received two blows four times. Thus the cedar stick was split, and one of the four assistants rose, holding the split stick, and shouted: "This stick is not good! We could hardly split it!" He threw it on the floor.

The speaker at once called for another stick, and again the people went out and repeated the previous actions. At length another stick was laid before the splitters, and when it had been split in the same manner, the speaker shouted: "*Wa!* Chief who smooths the stick for me, I offer you this gift! Bring your adz!" He repeated his call for an assistant, and then went on: *"Wa!* Chief, Yaksíuhlatak, give me two mats to place under the men who will smooth the stick!" When two mats

were brought out, the adzers set to work and soon finished smoothing the two sticks; for even the one which the splitters had affected to reject was to be used. The mats on which the adzers sat belonged to them, and two mats of the ten belonged to each splitter. The two sticks were the property of Tsáhwasip, who would later give them to the man that was to hold the feast of salmon-roe. For they were to be used in stirring the roe. The sticks were laid aside in the house.

Now the speaker called: "*Wa!* Chief, I offer you this gift, who listens for me! Please!" He wanted a man to listen for the wolves. "*Wa!* Chief, I offer you this to go with this listener! *Wa!* Chief, I offer you this gift to go with the man that goes with the listener! *Wa!* Chief, I offer you this gift to beat time for the singers!"

Then the listener and his two helpers went to the roof to listen for the wolves. The listener had a ring of dry cedar-bark about his head, and a wreath in his hand. The time-keeper brought out the big box-drum and stood on it with a baton in each hand. He raised his batons as a signal to beat a rapid tattoo. Three times this was repeated, then he told them to be ready. He gave the signal, and they struck their boards twice, and then beat a tattoo. The time-keeper, standing on the box with his batons in hand, very slowly stooped as low as possible, and then as slowly rose to his full height. This he did four times, and then with a sweep of his right arm he gave the signal to cease beating.

The listener on the house-top began to sing, asking Yaksíuhlatak[13] what kind of dance he was going to give after coming out of the woods, while the two helpers, looking down into the house, kept calling to the people such words as these: "We hear thunder! We hear birds singing! We hear wolves howling!" When the song was ended, the time-keeper gave the signal and the people beat as before. Thus the listener sang four times and the people struck the boards four times. But before singing the fourth time the listener called down: "Young men, arm yourselves! Our *tlúgwana* are coming out!" Some young men, members of the fraternity, armed themselves and went through the rear door, secretly accompanied by the *áhatsa*. At the end of the fourth song of the listener these young men in the woods blew whistles, imi-

13 Here and later the title applies to the chief initiate, not to the giver of the ceremony.

tating birds, and gave the wolf call. There in the woods some of the initiates sang their secret songs. Then while the others were silent the grandson of Tsáhwasip sang his song, and the people in the house said, "It is Yaksíuhlatak!"

After this song the young men and the *á^{ha}tsa* all came around to the front of the house, the young men whistling and the *á^{ha}tsa* singing their individual songs. They went to one end of the village and around behind the houses to the other end, then back in front the full length of the street; and so until they had encircled the village four times. Nobody was permitted to go outside at this time. The houses all were closed until the procession returned secretly to the house of Tsáhwasip through the private door at the rear. It was now nearly morning, and the people went home. This was the end of the third night.

Then Tsáhwasip sent two speakers to go about the village and bid the people have their urinals filled so that they could wash their heads when day broke. Before dawn the *á^{ha}tsa* and the twenty wolf personators went secretly to the place on the beach where the initiates were to be caught. When the first light was seen in the sky, Tsáhwasip sent his two speakers to bid the people awake and be ready to wash their heads with urine, and prepare their boards and canoes. Now the wolf men were blowing their whistles.

Soon the people began to make catamarans, ten to fifteen in number, some consisting of three canoes. The young people dressed in the most pleasing manner. Girls had a head-dress of cedar wands upright about the head with an eagle tail-feather at the tip of each. Young men had a circlet of green grass rising about the head. All painted their faces with red. This finery was to attract the eyes of the wolves and make them forget to watch their captives. Just as the sun rose the *tlúgwana* people got on the decks of their catamarans and paddled to the place where the whistles sounded. Some of the young men had harpoons with long lines.

When the catamarans neared the beach, the wolves and *á^{ha}tsa* emerged from the forest and came to the shore. The chief of the wolves was followed by the chief *á^{ha}tsa,* then came another wolf and another *á^{ha}tsa,* and so on. The wolves went on all fours with the head held up. The girl *á^{ha}tsa* walked with the palms upturned and moved the hands from side to side; the boys had their fists turned down and arms stretched out in front and slightly downward. Before they emerged

their fathers had cut their own tongues and spit blood on the faces of the *á*^{ha}*tsa*. Each one had a concealed whistle, and each sang its secret song. Back in the woods were young men blowing whistles. As the catamarans approached the shore, some of the young men, hurling their spears at the beach, purposely capsized their canoes, and they were compelled to lie on the shore as if dead, without rising until everybody had gone back to the village. This was a form of ó*sumich* [ceremonial purification] for killing hair-seals, porpoises, and other sea animals.

The procession of wolves and *á*^{ha}*tsa* went slowly to the beach and turned back into the woods, while the people on the catamarans were dancing and singing. After they had disappeared into the woods, the wolves gave a long call, and then again they came into the open, repeating their previous actions.

Now Tláshitowanísh was really angry that Tsáhwasip had not consulted with all the chiefs about beginning *tlúgwana,* and he decided to kill a wolf man. So he ordered his slave to go to the woods and shoot the leader of the wolves. This the slave did, and the man fell dead as the wolves came out for the third time. The others went running about the beach, thinking that their leader was merely pretending to be killed. But as he continued to lie still, some of them called to him in a low voice: "Come! Why do you lie there?" Then they found that he was really dead, and they ran back into the woods, taking the *á*^{ha}*tsa* with them. The news quickly reached the village, and the *tlúgwana* men at once ordered all the uninitiated into their houses and closed the doors on them, lest they see that the dead man was really a man and not a wolf.

Three young men were sent in a canoe to "spear the dead wolf." They did not call him a man. One of the young men took his harpoon ashore while the others remained in the canoe holding the line. He threw the harpoon into the body, and they dragged it into the canoe. The parents of the dead man were sternly forbidden to cry, and Tsáhwasip threatened them with death if they should do so.

Now the people on the catamarans, and those back in the village who were on shore watching, began to sing, expressing the wish that they might recover all the *á*^{ha}*tsa* from the wolves.

When the band appeared the fourth time, a woman at the village began to sing a song which was used in praising any one either for fighting or for giving away property, or for other reasons. She stood on the

beach at the village. It happened that this song was also used to express sorrow for the dead, and Tsáhwasip immediately thought that she was lamenting the death of the wolf chief. Therefore he sent a fighting man to the village and had her killed.[14]

After the killing of the wolf man the assassin ran off into the woods. Later in the day Tsáhwasip led a number of men to the house of Tláshitowanísh, in order to tear it down or beat the people in it; but it was guarded by an equal force. The two parties faced each other. "Why did you kill my wolf?" asked Tsáhwasip. "Because," answered Tláshitowanísh, "you did not tell me you were going to give *tlúgwana*. If I had done the same thing, you too would feel angry. And if you break my house, your wolves will not come out of the woods!" Then Tsáhwasip felt ashamed and called his men away. Some time after this the chief fighting man of Tláshitowanísh was invited in the evening to a feast at the other end of the village, and as he went, four warriors of Tsáhwasip leaped upon him and roughly dragged him over the stones. This was the only revenge Tsáhwasip took; for an open revenge by killing would have told the uninitiated that the wolves were really men.

When for the fourth time the wolves and *á^{ha}tsa* came out of the forest, some of the boys had spears in their hands as a sign that they would become spearsmen. Others had knives, to show that their fathers would go to war and cut off an enemy's head. Others had wooden herrings, meaning that their fathers were going to *ósumich* for herring. Yet others had images of a whale, salmon, goose, or fur-seal. All these things they were supposed to have received from the spirit wolves, as reminders for their fathers to *ósumich*.

On the beach were a number of fighting men, one for each *á^{ha}tsa*, crouching in a semicircle open toward the woods. The wolves came down close, apparently without seeing them, and when the wolf leader was opposite the last man in the semicircle and the last wolf opposite the first man, each fighting man slyly seized the child opposite him and carried it aboard the vessels. The wolves went quietly on and back into the woods. Then, as if they had just become aware of the capture, they gave a great howl and rushed down to the beach and into the water,

14 It is highly probable that this incident and the supposed murder of the wolf man were merely tricks.

trying to recover their lost captives. They howled and snapped, and overturned some of the craft. The young men thus thrown out into the water drifted ashore, where they had to lie until all the others had returned to the house. They purposely let themselves be thrown out, because they wished to do this as a ceremonial washing for hunting. But the capsized women were hauled into the canoes.

Before the canoes landed at the village the speaker of Tsáhwasip shouted: "Now take all those who are not *tlúgwana* into their houses, and lock the doors!" This was done lest the uninitiated learn the secret of the howling and whistling, and the costumes of the *á*^{ha}*tsa*.[15] "Now take all the strangers into the woods!" This referred to the slaves and to visitors, who were now sent away, even though they were *tlúgwana* in their own village. Some of the *tlúgwana* men went about with spears and other weapons, searching for strangers as if to kill them. When all these had gone away, the catamarans approached the beach in front of the village, and the grandson of Tsáhwasip appeared on the deck of one of the craft, singing his song. But instead of standing on the deck he was supported above a hole by two men in the hold. A speaker on board called the people closer. So they all went down to the top of the terrace to observe what was going to be done. "Listen to what Yaksíuhlatak is going to say," shouted the speaker. The boy sang his songs four times, and then the speaker cried out: "The wolf chief has told this boy to be a man-killer, to go against other tribes and kill men. This boy has met the wolf chief and has been made a fighting man." Then while a few men crowded in front of the boy, the two below drew him into the hold and quickly substituted the wooden image, which was dressed just like the boy. The crowd drew back to their places. This trick had never before been played, and the people, who were at some little distance from the craft, were deceived into thinking that the boy still stood before them.

"This boy is going to be cut up!" shouted the speaker. "The wolf has told him to be cut up! The wolf has told this boy to have his head cut off first!" The two best fighting men, with knives in their hands,

15 In recent times any uninitiated person who saw the *á*^{ha}*tsa* while the wolf spirit was in them was required to be initiated at once. But in earlier times the offender was punished with spear-points thrust under the skin of the back. It is said with apparent truth that long ago the penalty was death.

stood ready to behead the image. They sang their war-songs and told what they were going to do, then tore off the head-dress, seized the hair, and drew their knives about the neck. With a jerk the head came off, and a spurt of blood followed; for

in the neck was a deer intestine full of blood. On shore the women began to wail. The fighting men cut off the hands, the forearms, the upper arms, the feet, the lower legs, and the thighs. Every cut was followed by blood. Now all the people were crying aloud.

From the house of Tsáhwasip a covered trench lined with boards had been dug down the bank across the beach and into the water. In the bottom of the canoe a piece had been cut out, leaving a hole large enough to let the boy pass. As soon as the cutting of the image began, the hole was opened and the boy slipped through and dived into the tunnel. He quickly worked himself up out of the water and then crept on into the house. The hole in the canoe was quickly stopped, and the buoyancy of the other two canoes to which this one was lashed was sufficient to keep it floating and prevent much water from entering. When the wooden image was completely cut up, the pieces were bundled in the boy's sea-otter robe and the whole was carried ashore and into the house.

"Now, people, cry!" shouted the speaker. "Your chief is dead! You see that he is cut into pieces! "Then they began to wail more loudly than ever. Some went to the beach to look for the boy in the canoe, even turning it over. [These of course were in the secret.] Some were actually weeping, thinking that the boy had really been killed. While only a few were in the secret, most of the people must have been aware that this was a trick. The canoes were now drawn out, and the *á*^{ha}*tsa* went into the house, while the singers sang.

The speaker, still outside, called the people into the house. The boy's mother was crying, and pulling her hair. When all entered, the men who had been lying at the water's edge were now seized by the hair by other young men and dragged, face upward as if dead, through the water along the shore to the front of Tsáhwasip's house.

A certain man of the Tsá'wunut^{ha} refused to obey the summons to the dance house, and muttered something about his disbelief in the wolves. This was reported to Tsáhwasip, who immediately gathered twenty to thirty warriors and went to the house of the Tsá'wunut^{ha}, where this man lived. The door was barred, but they broke it in. There

stood the man's son, naked, and he cried "Do not spear my father, spear me! He is nothing! He is poor and has nothing to give away! But I have something to give away!" The Tsá'wunut[ha] chief grasped the young man by the hair and cried to the fighting men: "Why are you afraid to spear this man? It is your duty to do this work!" Then they came forward. There was a man whose special right it was to bite the skin, and another to pierce it. These two approached and put two spear-points through the skin of his back; but so angry was he that this did not satisfy him, and they put two more in his back. Still he cried out wrathfully, demanding that they raise him on sharp spears. So they removed the spear-points, and put the ends of four yew spears under the cut skin, and thus raised him four times from the ground, the skin stretching more than a hand-breadth. When they released him, he caused all the Tsá'wunut[ha] to assemble and had two of them fire two gunshots to summon all the people. They soon congregated, and the young man told them that he had been pierced and that he was going to cover his wounds by giving anway property. So he distributed his goods, giving something to each person.[16]

Meanwhile the *á*[ha]*tsa* had entered the *tlúgwana* house, and had been led around the room [counter-clockwise] by two men with rattles. Coming to the right rear corner for the second time, they one after another pivoted, and then stepped upon a long board running across the rear of the room two or three feet above the floor. Here they stood facing the rear wall. A large fire was kindled, for they were very cold, being practically unclothed.

The men who had been dragged along the beach were now carried up either on the shoulders or by the hands of other men, and were laid on the floor just below the platform. Their skins were red with cold. The batons were taken up, for these dead men were to be brought to life. Four times the people beat a tattoo without singing, and then the men sat up. Those who had brought them in took them to their respective homes, where they warmed themselves and put on blankets.

The speaker stood up and said: "We will rest now. These *tlúgwana* are going to sing. We will make them sing." The grandson of Tsáhwasip now came out of the tunnel, the mouth of which was hidden un-

16 This incident of course was prearranged.

der the platform, and he stepped up beside the others. The bundle of wooden pieces wrapped in the sea-otter skin had previously been put into the mouth of the tunnel in full sight of the people, so that this seemed a sudden rising of the dead, and as he turned and faced them, they expressed their astonishment. He was holding a piece of wood wrapped in fir sprigs, representing the stone club, the death-dealing weapon of the wolves. He began to sing, and when he had finished, the speaker said: "The wolves have told this Yaksíuhlatak to be a man-killer and to go against different tribes and kill men. The wolf also has told him to invite the different tribes, one by one, and distribute property among them. The wolf also has told him that he is to have a bird [thunderbird] with which to catch whales. The wolf also has told him to invite all these people of this place ten times on different days." At this point the men who had been in the water entered, and those of them who were the fathers of *á*^{ha}*tsa* sat on the platform beside their respective children.

Then the *á*^{ha}*tsa* all cried *"Hihí... ...! Hihí... ...! Hi! Hi!"* They made their characteristic motions with extended fists or up-turned palms. The second *á*^{ha}*tsa* sang his song, and the speaker told what the wolf had given him. Thus it went, each one singing his secret song.[17] Each one who carried an image of herring, seal, or other creature, told his father, through the speaker, that the wolf had instructed him to bid the father *ósumich* during the winter for hunting that particular animal represented by the image. Some said that they had been told to invite the people at once, while still assembled in the house of Tsáhwasip, and they gave a feast then and there. Others were to invite the people later. Some had been told to give a potlatch immediately, and they did so. Whenever they gave to a man they said, "Blood has dropped on it." A boy who came from the woods bearing the image of a man's head explained that the wolf had told him his father must go to a certain place and kill a man. And later his father did so.

One who had been told by the wolf to do this went armed about the village with his father and nine others, looking for uninitiated per-

17 A secret song is *tsíhka.* Cf. Kwakiutl *tséhka,* trick; *tsétsehka,* the winter dance. The Makah apply the name *tsíhka* to the bullroarers which they use in this ceremony. There was no beating of batons with a secret song

sons. They tried all the doors. This youth, before going into a house, cried "*Wi… … ! Hap, hap, hap, hap"*[18] shaking his head and striking the boards near the door. Thus they visited every house, and then returned to the *tlúgwana* house.

After all the *á*^{ha}*tsa* had sung, the grandson of Tsáhwasip stood up holding a *haí'na* [crystal] in his closed hand before his breast. The people leaned back on their hands and kicked their heels rapidly on the sounding-boards and cried *"Wa… … !"* The boy swept his closed hand containing the crystal around before him, and when he had done this four times, the people fell back as if dead. For the *haí'na* is the power of the spirit wolves, which they carry in their sides. Ten men who had been selected by Tsáhwasip to remain active began to beat on the sounding-boards rapidly without singing, and after a time the people sat up, and one of the ten arose to announce that they had brought the people to life. It was now nearly evening of the fourth day.

As soon as the people sat up they began to arrange themselves in groups according to the kind of dance they were to perform the next day. Thus, those who would dance like deer formed one party. Then one from each group arose and announced what they would dance. Some of the male dancers were deer, eagle, killerwhale, masked dancer,[19] hair-seal, kingfisher, crane. Among the women dancers were snipe, woodpecker, butterball duck, sawbill duck, mallard. The women usually represented birds. When each group had made its announcement, the people all beat a tattoo and the members of the bands got up, group by group, and passed once round the room, making motions characteristic of their dance .[20]

18 The cry of the Kwakiutl hamatsa, a dancer not found among the Mooachaht.

19 This was the equivalent of the Kwakiutl *tsúnukwa*. See Volume X, page 157

20 The dancers who represented animals and mythic creatures did not constitute societies. Each chief had dances that he himself owned by inheritance, and in giving the ceremony he had these dances performed. He selected young men or women for the various parts, and these parts were retained so long as the performer was young and active. In this respect the dancers formed societies, but membership was not based on anything in particular, and they were not really fraternities. Such a group was called *upáhl* ("companions"). The dances were all based on visions. In recent times the hereditary ownership of these dances was not respected: anybody could dance as he wished.

This ended the ceremonies for the night, and the people went home. The moon was setting.

The *á*^{ha}*tsa.,* in single file and observing their usual order, followed three men through the street from house to house. The first man entered each house and announced the coming, and the *á*^{ha}*tsa* went in dancing in their usual manner.

On this same night the people who were to dance on the following day had to prepare their costumes and masks. Nearly all the rest of the night was thus spent.

About sunrise of the fifth day began the *qámmas* dancing. First those who were to perform like sea-otters came to the house, where only the usual inmates were present. There were perhaps thirty or forty dancers, each with sea-otter skin on his breast and a head-dress made of the whole skin of a young sea-otter. One of them came inside the door and stopped, threw back his head, held up his hands before his breast, and clapped two stones together like an otter cracking shellfish. Then he moved forward to the right and another followed with a similar exhibition. Thus it went until all had entered. They were followed by the hunter, who carried a spear and an arrow. The otters now scattered behind the fireplace, and the hunter moved slowly toward them with motions of paddling a canoe. Frequently he would pretend to lay down the paddle and take up his spear. Among the dancers was a man with a stuffed young sea-otter, representing a mother with her young. At last the hunter came upon this one; the dancer immediately laid down the stuffed skin, and the hunter speared it. Then all the otters leaped up in a commotion, but gradually they became quiet and sank to the floor. They went out and into the next house, where they repeated the dance, and so in every house.

When this was over a canoe happened to approach, and Tsáhwasip ordered all to assemble in his house for the land-otter dance. This belonged to his eldest son, whose consent was necessary. So all congregated and the dancers put on fir-sprig head-dresses and rings for the neck and wrists, and the secret whistles in their mouths. They were quite naked, and their faces were blackened. The women dancers wore their bark aprons. This was a very hard dance, but in *tlúgwana* nobody could refuse the giver of the ceremony under pain of severe punishment with spear-points thrust through his arms or his back. Two men waded out to their arm-pits to prevent the landing of the canoe, and

the dancers and spectators went to the beach. All extended their arms, and all beat their feet rapidly on the ground, while those who had been directed by the chief to do so leaped and tumbled about like otters at a slide.

Then all rushed into the water toward the canoe and splashed water upon it until it filled and sank, and the visitors had to swim ashore. The people and the dancers returned to the house and stood in three lines — men, women, and children — behind the fire and facing the door; while the visitors were placed just inside the door, with the two men who had prevented their landing stationed before them and holding long poles crosswise in order to protect them from the otters. The people and the dancers now made the usual motions with their hands and beat the floor with their feet, and with cries of "*Ha… …!*" they advanced toward the visitors. Some tumbled and leaped as before, and the two men simulated the actions of defenders. After advancing four times the people scattered and sat down about the room.

Then the speaker said to the visitors: "Now I am going to make you warm. I am going to make a dance for you." The fire was built up and oil thrown on it. Tsáhwasip sang, clasping his hands, and his grandson came out, dressed as when he came from the woods, and danced. The visitors were four men and two women of the Hesquiat. Three of the men received a sea-otter skin each and the fourth a slave, while the women received dentalium shells. Food was given them, and while they ate, the otters went from house to house, repeating their dance.

Later in the morning Tsáhwasip ordered forty or fifty young men to dance *hó*^{ha} *sinnimuts*. The *hó*^{ha} *sinnimuts* are spirits which cause people to lose their way in the woods by shouting here and there and confusing the travellers [evidently a personification of the echo]. These men doubled their bark blankets and belted them on and put on masks with long cylindrical mouths. In several parties they rushed into the various houses through whatever opening they could find. Twelve — two for each of the visitors — came to the house of Tsáhwasip, grasped the Hesquiat by the wrists, and led them away into the woods. Round and round they led them, while others kept calling here and there. At length they released their victims, and ran swiftly away in different directions, always away from the village. For a long time they remained in the forest, roaming about and constantly calling in order to deceive the strangers. It was about noon when they ceased. Two of

the Hesquiat remained in the woods all night, unable to get out, and in the morning they were brought to the village by an early fisherman who heard their cries

When the *hó*^{ha}*sinnimuts* returned at noon, other dancers had their *qámmas,* and then the *á*^{ha}*tsa* had theirs. This consumed the time until nearly evening. Last of all were the killerwhales, and after they one by one had entered the house of Tsáhwasip, came two men carrying a whale mask, going through the motions of rising, spouting, and diving, while the killerwhales sported about. Then one of them discovered the whale, dashed toward it, and bit at it, and the others joined in the attack and killed the whale.

It was now evening, and the women who were to represent woodpeckers were ready. They wore only the bark apron, and had the breast and the parts under the arms painted red, the back and the outer parts of the arms being black. Under the arms were fastened pieces of matting to simulate wings, red underneath and black outside. Masks were worn on the top of the head. Like the others they danced first at the house of Tsáhwasip, and went on through the village. The performance of various dances continued until morning. If any visitors had come before they were finished, it would have been necessary to repeat them.

The *á*^{ha}*tsa* performed their dance through the village each morning and each evening on the next three days. During this time also there were feasts given by them in the house of Tsáhwasip, as the wolf chief had directed, a speaker sent by the giver of the feast delivering the invitation at each house and to each individual by name. The first feast was given by Tsáhwasip himself on this first morning after the dancing. He had sent men for seals, salmon, and roots, and the guests found eleven kinds of food provided. Hair-seal, dry dog-salmon, dry halibut, salmon-roe, clover-roots, two kinds of fern-roots, fresh spring salmon, porpoise, goose, and herring-roe were there. A portion of each kind was offered first to the chief *á*^{ha}*tsa,* but he refused everything until they offered goose. As soon as he began, the others were at liberty to call for whatever food they wished, and they ate a single bite. Had any one eaten before the chief *á*^{ha}*tsa* or taken more than a single bite, he would have been punished with the spear-points. Then the boy called for spring salmon, and again, as before, he took two bites, but the people did not eat. He called for clover-roots and ate two bites, but the people did not eat. He demanded fern-roots and ate two bites, but

still the people did not eat. Then the speaker called for the man whose right it was to take away from the people all the food before them, only one bite having been eaten. When Tlúpananuhl and his assistants had removed the dishes, he shouted an invitation to the people to feast with him, and the food was restored to them. Tlúpananuhl took a bit from each guest's portion, or pretended to do so, and the people then ate.

"Now, people," cried the speaker of Tsáhwasip, "call for whatever you wish! I have not given you all my food. Let all who wish spring salmon go together, and all who wish hair-seal go together." So the guests arranged themselves in groups according to what they wished to eat, and servants distributed the remainder of the food in great feasting dishes. The speaker kept urging them to eat all.

Just as the feast ended a canoe of Muchalat people was seen coming, and the speaker at once cried, "Let the adz dancers dance [*kayáhmísinuk,* adz dance]!" Forty men expert in using the adz for building canoes and making boards went to the house of Tlúpananuhl, to whom this dance belonged. He said, "Now, we will break this canoe that is coming, because I have a big canoe to give in payment for it." So they went out and sang, "I can do this, and none can censure me," and then marched into the water where the canoe was just about to land. They seized it and dragged it up on the sand, and while the visitors still sat in it they began to chip at it with their adzes, and in a short time there was nothing left of it. The Muchalat were left sitting on a slab.

The dancers went up on the terrace and repeated their song, carried out a large canoe, and, still singing, they danced, moving the canoe up and down. Then Tlúpananuhl gave the canoe to the owner of the one he had destroyed. Two of the others received each a sea-otter skin, and the fourth a land-otter skin.

It was now evening, and Tsáhwasip sent a man to call the visitors to his house, where the people were still assembled. With them came the forty adz dancers, still singing, and at the end of that song they struck the walls with their adzes. The chief's speaker leaped up and shouted: "Stop! I offer you this otter-skin to stop!" He gave the skin to Tlúpananuhl, the chief of the dancers, and they ceased chipping the walls. Then Tsáhwasip through his speaker invited the people to eat again, for he had other stores. When the food was distributed, each person took a single bite of each kind and kept the remainder to carry

home. The feast ended about midnight.

Immediately after this the *á*^{ha}*tsa*, all in the house of Tsáhwasip, sang each one his secret song, and then they went through the village dancing and singing in each house [the *qámmas* dance]. When they returned, groups of men and women, two to ten in number, went through the street and sang in the houses either *tsíhka* songs or common songs, and clapped their hands in order to keep the people awake all night.

About daybreak of the sixth day one of these singers saw an approaching canoe, and the Seshart chief Kanákum, who owned the chopper dance [*hismíssinuk*], gathered a number of men and told them he was going to break the canoe. When Tsáhwasip heard this he thought it not right that this should be done again, one canoe having already been broken. He called in some of the chiefs to discuss it, and they sent two men to bring Kanákum. When he came, Tsáhwasip asked if he intended to break the canoe, and Kanákum replied that he did. Then Tsáhwasip led forward a slave girl and said: "I offer you this slave, and you shall have her. If you want to strike her instead of this, you may do so." So Kanákum agreed not to break the canoe and took the slave, and said he would *qámmas* with his dancers. And they danced about in the house, breaking up a few dishes and striking the posts, and then went on through the village.

The new visitors were invited by Tsáhwasip, who gave them presents. On this day another *á*^{ha}*tsa* called the people to a feast, and as soon as this was ended, another gave an invitation. Thus there was feasting all day, and the night was spent like the preceding one in loud singing.

On the following day, the seventh, all the dancers performed *qámmas,* and on returning to the house they resumed their ordi nary clothing. Tsáhwasip sent men to bring a young fir, which they planted in the rear corner of the house at the left of his seat, for a sign that the children would no longer wear branches. Later the tree was to be thrown into the fire. On the walls of the house hung all the rings worn by the initiates. Neither they nor Tsáhwasip were permitted to go out of the house on this day.

In the evening Tsáhwasip again summoned the people through his two speakers, who carried the invitation, saying: "These tlúg*wana* are going to wash their heads, and the blood from their faces, and wash out

the wolf spirit that is in them."[21]

When all had assembled, the speaker shouted: "*Wa!* Chief, I offer you this gift, you whose right it is to wash the heads of the *á*^{ha}*tsa!* Please come, now, and wash them and bring, your basin with you!" The head-washer [*tsuyukuksanaïhlai*, he who washes the head] brought out his basin of water, a comb, and oil in a cup, the edge of which was set with small shells. Then a fire was built near the back of the room, and the initiates were seated in two rows facing each other and extending from the fire toward the door. The washer stood and sang, shaking his rattle, and then washed the head of the chief initiate, dried it with soft cedar-bark fibre, oiled it, and combed it. The spirit of the wolf was then gone. Thus he went along the line and washed the heads of all. The washing was formal, a very small quantity of water being used.

Then the speaker said: "*Wa!* Chief, you who brush them on the back, I offer you this gift, to brush their backs!" He called also for another brusher, and the two men who possessed this right came forward with head-dresses of cedar-bark fibre, which in the back spread out like a bird's tail. A cedar-bark ring was over the right shoulder and under the left, and each held a bunch of fibre by the middle. They stood, one behind each row, while the people beat a tattoo. The two shook their bunches of bark over the backs of the *á*^{ha}*tsa*, walking up and down the line, moving their feet rapidly. At the end of the row near the fire, where the chief *á*^{ha}*tsa* sat, they stopped, and raising their bark they shook it rapidly while slowly lowering it as if rubbing the backs of the first four in the row. Four times they did this while the people beat rapidly, and repeatedly cried "*Wa…!*" in long-drawn, monotonous chant, and the *á*^{ha}*tsa* blew their concealed whistles, and made the same motions as the two brushers. Then the brushers passed to the next set of four initiates and did likewise, and so until all had been brushed. The washer shook his rattle, and the initiates stood in a single line, arm in arm, with a brusher at each end of the line, and thus they marched round the fire [counter-clockwise], while the people sang the song of the head-washer. Thus with four pauses they marched four times about the fire and sat down around it with bowed heads, simulating the shyness of animals in the presence of humans. After a

21 *Yuhmisanupakatlsah*, I am going to exorcise the spirit.

short time the two brushers rose and led them to the place where they usually stood, and the people went home.

Between this time and the new moon the days and nights were passed in feasting, holding potlatches, singing of *tsíhka* songs. Then when the new moon appeared, Tsáhwasip assembled all the people in his house, and his speaker cried: "*Wa!* Chiefs, you who walk with high steps, I offer these gifts to you!" Two men came forward, placed a cedar-bark horn on the left side of the head, and pinned a square piece of bear-skin about the shoulders, belting it at the waist. Each had a pole two fathoms long, on the tip of which was a bunch of balsam sprigs taken from the rings that had been worn by the initiates. They approached the fire and placed the end of their sticks on the ground, with the tip inclined over the fire, as if to dry the sprigs. While a man with a rattle sang, the two men walked three times round the fire, holding the sticks up with the ends over the fire and taking high steps [like the high step used in the German army]. Then a man brought to the fire the rings which the had worn, and also the fir tree, while the two men passed round the fire a fourth time and let the sprigs on their poles catch fire and burn. At the end of this circuit they threw the other rings and the tree into the fire, placed the ends of their poles in the fire and raised them toward the roof by a succession of vigorous jerks, and shouted, "*Wa… …! Wa, wa, wa, wa!*" Four times they used the poles thus, and then threw them on the floor. All this was to exorcise the spirits from the rings and the tree, and the act was called *yukmísanúp* ["shake it out"].

There were two men whose right it was to bury the remains of the burned boughs. They now tied them to one end of the poles that had just been used, and one behind the other went out with the poles over their shoulders, the leader shaking his rattle. They passed entirely round the village and then again along the front of the houses to the end of the street, where they placed the charred twigs under an overhanging rock. When they returned, the initiates were permitted to depart, and the people went home.

Now each *á*^{ha}*tsa* took many children of his own age and sex, as many as he could get, and all dressed in the same manner, boys with a head-dress of bark arranged like horns with a bracelet hanging on the horn, and girls with a head-band of dentalium shells or eagle-feathers. From house to house they went, singing and rejoicing that now the

á^{ha}*tsa* were really human. Their companions were not necessarily *tlúgwana*, because now the initiates were no longer wolves, and could be looked upon by any one.

In the night following the end of the ceremony, Tlúpananuhl, chief of the Haíyanuwashtakumhl'ut^{ha}, went about quietly and called Tsáhwasip, Kanákum, Tláshitowanísh, and Húyahl, the four principal chiefs besides himself. It was his custom that when his child was*á*^{ha}*tsa* he would himself give the ceremony immediately after. So he said to the chiefs: "As is my rule, I will have to give another *tlúgwana*. My child is going to disappear tonight." The chiefs agreed, and thanked him for informing them of his plan.

On the day after the disappearance of the son of Tlúpananuhl, Tsáhwasip sent ten *yuatsítl* [men who summon the people to a potlatch], who went to the last house in the village and stood in a row inside the door with their speaker's staffs] grounded before them. The first man cried, "Come and see!" The second called out the name of the chief person in that house, the third man the name of the person next in importance, and so on to the tenth man. The first messenger then called the name of the tenth person in that house, and so it went until each one had been invited. Thus they went from house to house. After they had finished, the two speakers of Tsáhwasip called through the village, "Come, hurry!" And soon all came into the house. Each family had its regular position for such occasions, the men sitting in a row, with the women and the children behind them. The family of Tsáhwasip sat behind the fire and in front of a curtain. While the people sang and beat the sounding-boards, a masked man came from behind the curtain and danced, and thus ten masks were shown successively. Then Tsáhwasip gave away everything in the house. This was the rule, that the chief who had given *tlúgwana* must distribute all his possessions.[22] On this occasion he gave away also the property received from the families of the *á*^{ha}*tsa,* and to each person who then had contributed to him the chief now returned a double portion. Sometimes a man would rise and call upon the host to give him some particular object, such as a whaling canoe, promising that he would present to the chief half of the whales he killed.

22 This must not be taken too literally.

Now the ceremony was repeated from beginning to end, with Tlúpananuhl and his son acting as giver and chief *á^{ha}tsa*, instead of Tsáhwasip and his grandson. At the conclusion of this performance, some other chief caused his son to disappear as if stolen by the wolves, and thus the ceremony was kept up all winter.

The similarities between the *tlúgwana* and the Kwakiutl *tsétsehka*2 are strikingly apparent. With the substitution of wolf spirits for the numerous spirits with whom the Kwakiutl novices are supposed to pass their period of absence, the two ceremonies are essentially the same. It is true that of the component dances, both the Kwaikutl and the Nootka have some that are peculiar to themselves. But many of them differ only in name, and not a few bear the same name in both localities. So many of these words are evidently borrowed by the Nootka, that we must conclude the dances themselves were borrowed, or obtained in marriage. Many of the *tlúgwana* songs too contain borrowed Kwakiutl words which the singers cannot translate, and the very name of the ceremony, *tlúgwana,* is a Kwakiutl word meaning to find a treasure, particularly to find supernatural power. The influence of the northern cult is further shown in the *tlúqan* of the Kyuquot at the northern limit of Nootkan territory. In the Kyuquot secret society are eight kinds of dancers: *núhlim* ("fool"), the deer dancer; *úshtakiyá* (cf. Makah *úshtake,* a shaman), a dancer for good in contrast to *háme'ts; qoíyitsín'k* ("wolf personator"); *nunukén'k* ("grizzly-bear personator"); *wínachtin'k,* the war dancer; *wúhnaken'k* ("otter personator"); *haiyáhlin,* a white spirit seen in the forest; *háme'ts,* the hamatsa.

Of the eight dances four unquestionably are borrowed. *Núhlim* is the Kwakiutl *núhlimahla*. *Nunukén'k* is *náne* (the Kyuquot do not know the grizzly-bear and have no name for it). *Wínachtin'k* is the same as *winálagyilis*. *Háme'ts* is known to have been obtained in marriage from the Nimkish, a Kwakiutl tribe.

The evidence seems to indicate that an ancient wolf ritual possessed by the Nootka tribes has become essentially modified by the influence of the Kwakiutl ceremony, while the wolf dance of the Kwakiutl (*wálasáhaaq*) was borrowed from the Nootka and made a part of their winter ceremony.

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